

TOWARDS A EUROPE OF HOPE, HEALING & HOSPITALITY

What can Malta's rich heritage - Paul's shipwreck, the Great Siege of 1565, and stubborn refusal to surrender in WW2 - teach us in Europe about facing today's challenges?



THE REPORT OF
THE STATE OF EUROPE FORUM

held in VALLETTA, MALTA, MAY 7&8, 2017

with contributions from President Marie Louise Coleiro Preca, Maria Voce, Archbishop Scicluna, Brig. General Arie Vermeij, Prof Dr Henrik Syse, Prof Dr Evert Van de Poll, Prof Dr Hector Scerri, Dr Ahmed Bugre, Dr Katrine Camilleri, Dr Sue Vella, Dr Lyndon Drake, Dr Noemi Montes, Dr Vanni Xeureb, Rev Vilver Oras, Branislav Skripek MEP, Florica Chereches MP, Jennifer Tunehag, Julia Doxat-Purser, Rosemary Caudwell, Mari Blaj, Jonathan Tame, Pyt Farrugia & Jeff Fountain.



HOPE, HEALING & HOSPITALITY

The report of the **2017 State of Europe Forum**

Valletta, Malta, May 8 & 9, 2017

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TOWARDS A EUROPE OF HOPE, HEALING & HOSPITALITY



MALTA
EU2017

THE REPORT OF THE 2017

STATE OF EUROPE FORUM

May 7 & 8, 2017 - Valletta, Malta



St Paul's Pro-Cathedral, St Johns Co-Cathedral, Upper Barrakka Gardens

& the University of Malta, Valletta Campus.

with Mari Blaj, Ahmed Bugre, Katrine Camilleri, Rosemary Caudwell, Florica Chereches, Paul Chetcuti, Julia Doxat-Purser, Lyndon Drake, Pyt Farrugia, J. Fountain (*editor*), Noemie Montes, Vilver Oras, Marie Louise Coleiro Preca, Hector Scerri, Charles Scicluna, Branislav Skripek, Henrik Syse, Jonathan Tame, Jennifer Tunehag, Evert Van de Poll, Sue Vella, Arie Vermeij,

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUNDAY MAY 7, 2017

ST PAULS PRO-CATHEDRAL, ST JOHNS CO-CATHEDRAL, UPPER BARRAKKA

GARDEN

		7
		8
1. Why this forum?	Jeff Fountain	13
2. Towards a Europe of <i>HOPE</i>	Jeff Fountain	14
3. Towards a Europe of <i>HEALING</i>	Fr Paul Chetcuti SJ	17
	Maria Voce	21
	Archbishop Scicluna	
4. Towards a Europe of <i>HOSPITALITY</i>	Ahmed Bugre	

MONDAY MAY 8, 2017

UNIVERSITY OF MALTA, VALLETTA CAMPUS

MORNING

PLENARIES

		25
		27
1. The State of Europe, anno 2017.	<i>Intro:</i> Jeff Fountain	30
2. Europe under threat. (video)	George Weigel	
3. Panel: The State of Europe, anno 2017	Arie Vermeij, Henrik Syse	33
	Katrine Camilleri	36
4. The way forward for Europe	Archbishop Scicluna	43
	Jonathan Tame	46
	Florica Chereches	48
	Vanni Xuereb	51
	Branislav Skripek	59
5. Faith, Hope and NATO	Arie Vermeij	62
	Vilver Oras	66
	Henrik Syse	72
6. Do Hope and Hospitality have limits?	Katrine Camilleri	75
	Ahmed Bugre	

MONDAY MAY 8, 2017

UNIVERSITY OF MALTA, VALLETTA CAMPUS

AFTERNOON

SEMINARS

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|-----|
| 1. Interfaith dialogue & peacemaking. | Henrik Syse | 85 |
| 2. Churches & Politics, partners towards hospitable communities. | | 86 |
| | Julia Doxat-Purser | 93 |
| | Vilver Oras | 99 |
| 3. Populism, patriotism and hospitality. | Rosemary Caudwell | |
| 4. French elections, eurocritical movements & church responses. | | 112 |
| | Evert Van de Poll | 131 |
| 5. Building hospitable communities | Jonathan Tame | 135 |
| | Florica Chereches | 138 |
| | Hector Scerri | 142 |
| 6. Economics and artificial intelligence | Lyndon Drake | |

CLOSING SESSION

- | | | |
|--|--|-----|
| 1. Building Europe's future together. | Her Excellency
Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca | 153 |
| 2. A Malta Manifesto | | 157 |
| 3. St Patrick's Prayer for Europe | Mats Tunehag | 161 |

Appendices: 162

Speaker profiles 166

Sallux Report



SUNDAY MAY 7, 2017, 17.30
ST PAULS PRO-CATHEDRAL

Towards a Europe of

Hope

The Maltese mens choir, *Cappella Sanctae Catarinae*

1. Why this forum? Why Malta? Why this date?

Jeff Fountain, forum convenor

Welcome to this year's State of Europe Forum. The forum has been held each year since 2011 in the capital of the country holding the presidency of the EU on or near Europe Day, May 9: Budapest, Copenhagen, Dublin, Athens, Riga, Amsterdam and now Valletta.

This date is the officially recognised birthdate of the European project. It was on this day in 1950 when Robert Schuman, as the French Foreign Minister, proposed for France, Germany and any other democratic countries in Europe who so desired, to place their coal and steel industries under a common supranational authority so that none of these nations could independently begin to build a war machine.

Schuman's speech lasted a mere three minutes, roughly the time it takes to boil an egg. In that brief time he laid the foundation for the European house in which today half a billion Europeans from 28 (soon to be 27) nations live together in peace. While his plan has not been faithfully followed, it was the catalyst for the long and eventful process of European cooperation that has continued since that day. The headlines referred to the proposal as the 'Schuman bomb', a plan that 'surprised the nations'.

For his decisive statesmanship, Schuman was recognised by the European Assembly, forerunner of the European Parliament, as 'Father of Europe'. Schuman, who was a man of faith and prayer, dreamed of Europe becoming a 'community of peoples deeply rooted in basic Christian values'. This forum aims to provide a framework for the evaluation of the state of Europe today in the light of that dream. The forum aims to be pan-European (not just the EU), trans-confessional (Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant and Pentecostal) and multi-disciplinary.

We wish to thank the Chancellor of the St Paul's Anglican Pro-Cathedral, the Reverend Canon Simon Godfrey, and the Archbishop of Malta, Archbishop Charles J. Scicluna of St John's Co-Cathedral, for the generous use of these magnificent sanctuaries; the Maltese mens choir, *Cappella Sanctae Catarinae* for their unique contributions in song, and Maestro Hamish Dustagheer, Director of Music, St John's Co-Cathedral who also played the organ at the St Paul's celebration.

Our thanks also go to Sallux for advice and financial support of this event.

2. Towards a Europe of HOPE

Jeff Fountain

The rich heritage of Malta holds important lessons concerning challenges facing Europe today. We are most grateful for the cooperation from local leaders, including Professor Dr. Hector Scerri and other members of the *Christians Together in Malta* committee, who helped with choice and outworking of the theme: *Hope, Healing and Hospitality*.

Let us reflect on three episodes from the Malta story which teach us something about hope relevant for Europe today.

I. **PAUL'S SHIPWRECK:** We all know something of this famous story that happened here on the Maltese shoreline. How can this story inspire hope as we face today's storms of financial, political, social, religious and environmental storms?

Acts 27:13-15.19-20

A violent wind, called the northeaster, rushed down from Crete. Since the ship could not be turned head-on into the wind, we gave way to it and were driven. We were being pounded by the storm so violently that on the next day they began to throw the cargo overboard, and on the third day they threw the ship's tackle overboard. When neither sun nor stars appeared for many days, and no small tempest raged, all hope of our being saved was at last abandoned.

Acts 27:21-26

After they had gone a long time without food, Paul stood up before them and said: "Men, you should have taken my advice not to sail from Crete; then you would have spared yourselves this damage and loss. But now I urge you to keep up your courage, because not one of you will be lost; only the ship will be destroyed. Last night an angel of the God to whom I belong and whom I serve stood beside me and said, 'Do not be afraid, Paul. You must stand trial before Caesar; and God has graciously given you the lives of all who sail with you.' So keep up your courage, men, for I have faith in God that it will happen just as he told me. Nevertheless, we must run aground on some island."

Acts 27:39-44

In the morning they did not recognize the land, but they noticed a bay with a beach, on which they planned to run the ship ashore, if they could. So they cast off the anchors and left them in the sea. At the same time they loosened the ropes that tied the steering-oars; then hoisting the foresail to the wind, they made for the beach. But striking a reef, they ran the ship aground; the bow stuck and remained immovable, but the stern was being broken up by the force of the waves. The soldiers' plan was to kill the prisoners, so that none might swim away and escape; but the centurion, wishing to save Paul, kept them from carrying out their plan. He ordered those who could swim to jump overboard first and make for the land, and the rest to follow, some on planks and others on pieces of the ship. And so it was that all were brought safely to land.

Paul's trauma brought healing and salvation for the Maltese.

Lesson: God can still bring blessing out of human adversities.

Congregational prayer responses:

Almighty Father and ever-living God, we too face many storms in our own life experiences. We trust in you and so turn to you, as we pray:

Lord, fountain of all hope, hear us.

When faced with the terrible news of terrorist violence in Europe, particularly during the last months and weeks – Paris, Brussels, Nice, Berlin, London, St Petersburg, Stockholm – we are overcome with fear. And so, Lord, we ask for your protection.

Lord, fountain of all hope, hear us.

May all European leaders, during their meetings, seek what is truly the common good, that all nations show solidarity among themselves, as well as with nations outside the European Union, and outside our continent.

Lord, fountain of all hope, hear us.

Lord, may all men and women of good will, like the people of Malta who welcomed Paul and the 275 individuals on the shipwrecked vessel, show loving hospitality and boundless generosity to all, especially those most in need.

Lord, fountain of all hope, hear us.

II. THE GREAT SIEGE: When in 1565 an Ottoman armada of over 200 ships and some 48,000 soldiers besieged Malta, the Knights numbered only 500, supported by just 5600 other soldiers, galley slaves and servants. Here is an inspiring story about how Suffering produces perseverance produces hope.

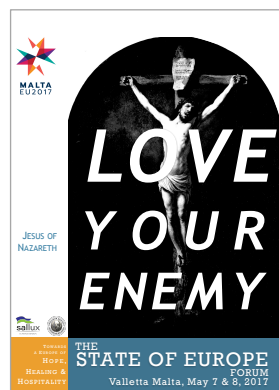
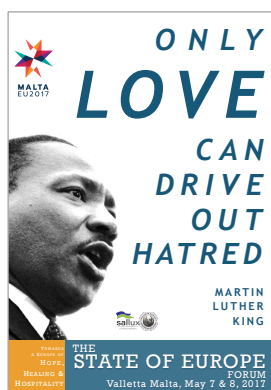
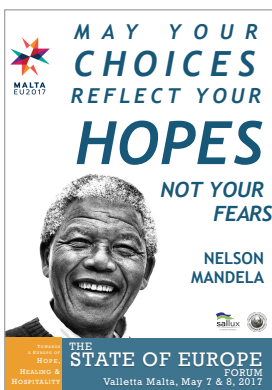
Lesson: unity with diversity can overcome over-whelming odds.

Psalm 20:1-9

- 1 *May the LORD answer you when you are in distress;
may the name of the God of Jacob protect you.*
- 2 *May he send you help from the sanctuary and grant you support from Zion.*
- 3 *May he remember all your sacrifices and accept your burnt offerings.*
- 4 *May he give you the desire of your heart
and make all your plans succeed.*
- 5 *May we shout for joy over your victory and lift up our banners in the name of our God.
May the LORD grant all your requests.*
- 6 *Now this I know: The LORD gives victory to his anointed. He answers him from his
heavenly sanctuary with the victorious power of his right hand.*
7. *Some trust in chariots and some in horses,
but we trust in the name of the LORD our God.*
8. *They are brought to their knees and fall, but we rise up and stand firm.*
9. *LORD, give victory to the king! Answer us when we call!*

Congregational prayer responses:

- *Lord God, enlighten us in all the choices we make that they may reflect our hopes and not be influenced by fear.*
- *Loving Father, fill our heart with your endless love, so that we can overcome hatred.*
- *Give us the strength, Lord, to overcome bitterness & to love our enemies.*



III. WORLD WAR TWO: At the start of the war, three Gladiator biplanes, nick named **Faith, Hope and Charity**, were the only airborne defence the islands had against Mussolini's bombers. They symbolised the brave and stubborn defense of the Maltese during the war, once more against overwhelming odds. Their memory reminds us that truth, character and values are still worth dying (and living) for.

Lesson: Faith, hope and charity are still our best defence.

1 Cor 13:1-13

If I speak in the tongues of men or of angels, but do not have love,

I am only a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal.

Love is patient, love is kind.

It does not envy, it does not boast, it is not proud.

It does not dishonor others, it is not self-seeking, it is not easily angered, it keeps no record of wrongs.

Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with the truth.

It always protects, always trusts, always hopes, always protects

Love never fails.

For now we see only a reflection as in a mirror; then we shall see face to face.

Now I know in part; then I shall know fully, even as I am fully known.

And now these three remain: faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love.

Congregational prayer responses:

Loving Father in heaven, may the hope which fills our hearts shine in the darkness caused by hatred, conflict and injustice. May hope strengthen our faith as Christians and lead us to be messengers of your unfailing love. Amen.

THE CROSS MEANS THERE IS NO SHIPWRECK WITHOUT HOPE

JOHN PAUL II

THE STATE OF EUROPE FORUM
Valletta Malta, May 7 & 8, 2017

Logos: MALTA EU2017, SOLiUX, and the forum's theme: FAITH, HOPE, HEALING & HOSPITALITY.

HOPE IS A STATE OF THE MIND, NOT OF THE WORLD

VACLAV HAVEL

THE STATE OF EUROPE FORUM
Valletta Malta, May 7 & 8, 2017

Logos: MALTA EU2017, SOLiUX, and the forum's theme: FAITH, HOPE, HEALING & HOSPITALITY.

FAITH HOPE & CHARITY: STILL OUR BEST DEFENCE

THE STATE OF EUROPE FORUM
Valletta Malta, May 7 & 8, 2017

Logos: MALTA EU2017, SOLiUX, and the forum's theme: FAITH, HOPE, HEALING & HOSPITALITY.



SUNDAY MAY 7, 2017, 19.00
ST JOHN'S CO-CATHEDRAL

Towards a Europe of

Healing

3. Towards a Europe of HEALING

i. Fr Paul Chetcuti SJ

Welcome.

'That they may be all one' was Christ's dream and Christ's prayer. It is also a human dream. Tonight we are making it our prayer. We have gathered in this majestic cathedral, the home of an ancient order of knights who felt called to be defender and granter of a budding Christian European dream. At the time people were identified more by the language they spoke rather than their country of birth. The order was one community in the full respect of eight languages in which Christ's prayer needed to be expressed: unity in diversity.

Like St Paul, the local church, as well as all people of good will, we also have heard the call and been inspired by the dream. Gathered in prayer, let us open our hearts to the hope, healing and hospitality that our common faith in Christ and in humanity indeed makes possible.

Let us start by reading the account of the warm hospitality the Maltese people have extended to a shipwrecked man and his companions, St Paul, praying that the same openness will endure today as throughout so many centuries.

Reading: In Acts 28: 2, 7-9 we read how the first proclamation of the gospel in Malta was accompanied by the ministry of healing.

- 2. After we had reached safety, we then learned that the island was called Malta. The natives showed us unusual kindness. Since it had begun to rain and was cold, they kindled a fire and welcomed all of us around it.*
- 7. Now in the neighbourhood of that place were lands belonging to the leading man of the island, named Publius, who received us and entertained us hospitably for three days.*
- 8. It so happened that the father of Publius lay sick in bed with fever and dysentery. Paul visited him and cured him by praying and putting his hands on him.*
- 9. After this happened, the rest of the people on the island who had diseases also came and were cured.*

Towards a Europe of Healing

ii. Maria Voce, International President Focolare

*Your Grace Archbishop Scicluna, Distinguished guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

This past March 25th was the 60th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, which gave rise in concrete terms to the “community of peoples” which Robert Schuman had already so clearly envisaged.

In fact, on the 9th May 1950, he had suggested to Konrad Adenauer a “solidarity in coal and steel production”, which would make any form of war impossible between France, Germany and other countries that would have joined. It was an extraordinary step to reconcile peoples shattered by the most terrible conflict ever experienced.

Europe had been devastated and over 35 million people had died. There was not only physical destruction but social, political and moral destruction too. There was absence of law, public order and public services.

At the time, it would already have been an achievement to secure borders and maintain the peace agreements. How, then, could they imagine such a deep healing of wounds as to bring together many opposing peoples into one European people? Who inspired Schuman, Adenauer, De Gasperi and others? We would like to believe that God gave the ideas and the strength for Europe. God had shown his love for people to the point of dying a terrible and shameful death for them. He had identified himself with all the pain of humanity, including those resulting from violence and wars.

Today too, God urges peoples to be reconciled and become a single universal family. The founders of Europe had their own experience. They did not allow themselves to be crushed by the absurdity of evil, by inhuman dictatorships, by conflict and the Shoah.

Chiara Lubich, founder of the Focolare Movement, spoke of the culture that arises from profound reconciliation:

“...every person can give his or her particular contribution in each field, whether it is in science, the arts, politics, communications or other areas.

Each will be more effective if he or she works together with others united in the name of Christ. It is the incarnation that continues, the complete incarnation that encompasses all the members of the Mystical Body of Christ. This gives rise to and extends what we could call the "culture of Resurrection" in the world: the culture of the Risen Lord, of the new Person and in Him, of a new humanity."

If this was to some extent the adventure of Europe's founders, we can - and I would say we must - aspire to continue their work. All of us are called to this. The unity of European peoples is a path to be followed simultaneously in the fields of education, culture and spirituality; and also in politics, economics, social structures and communications. Here, therefore, are some further steps that could be taken:

First, we Christians are asked not only to be reconciled but also to pursue a path of shared witness, one that has recently seen historic meetings at Lund, Sweden; in Lesbos, Greece; in Cuba. All of us have the task to enable steps towards full and visible communion, knowing how decisive this will be for the unity of Europe and to better serve humanity.

We also want to extend our vision to the whole of Europe - from the Atlantic to the Urals - and this means mutual recognition of values and contexts that allow collaboration between North and South, East and West. Wars, totalitarian regimes and injustices have left wounds that need healing. If we truly want to build European unity, we must be able to recognise that what we are today is the outcome of a shared history and a European destiny that we must fully own. If then, as a result, relationships can be renewed between the European Union and European countries that are not part of the Union, this would already be an important step ahead for peace, especially in the Middle East.

In Europe, there is a great need for citizens to be fully engaged in the life of their cities and of the whole continent. This means, in other words, giving new life to democracy, which began in Europe but today needs a new dimension, one that is more incisive, more engaging, more suited to our times.

Furthermore, in a European context that is both multi-cultural and multi-faith there is great need for a new capacity for dialogue. Dialogue can be founded on the “Golden Rule” which says, “Treat others as you would have them treat you” (Cf Lk 6:31), a rule shared by the world’s major religions and accepted by those who do not have religious beliefs.

Additionally, it will be necessary to review and apply the motto chosen for the European Union, “unity and diversity”, also at the level of institutions. It would be a gift for peoples in other continents who are seeking ways to unite.

The founding fathers never envisaged Europe as closed in on itself, but instead they saw it open to the unity of the entire human family.

It is particularly meaningful to be able to reaffirm this here in Malta, the southernmost European state, set by its very vocation, food and language in the Mediterranean. From being a watery graveyard this sea must become once more “Mare nostrum” for a united Europe, Africa and Middle East. Many ongoing international crises give us a clear picture of the long road ahead in order truly to reach this goal.

Chiara Lubich also said, *“What is needed, then, is patient study, what is needed is wisdom. Above all, we mustn’t forget that Someone’ is following our history, Someone who desires – if we collaborate in good will – to fulfil His plan of love for our continent and for the entire world.”*

We can conclude that it is certainly worthwhile spending our whole lives for such a high goal.

My wish is that this Forum may contribute to establishing “Europe – a family of peoples” which, according to Pope Francis, is “a Europe capable of giving birth to a new humanism based on three capacities: the capacity to integrate, the capacity for dialogue and the capacity to generate.”

Towards a Europe of Healing

iii. ✠ Charles J. Scicluna, Archbishop of Malta



I would like to offer a short reflection on the theme of healing by asking you to concentrate your focus on the beautiful marble sculpture which is the focal point of the Co-Cathedral dedicated to the patron of the Order of St John, St John the Baptist.

I am sure you had the opportunity to admire Preti's cycle on the life of the Baptist. But truly this sculpture of the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist is an extraordinary gift from the knights.

My first reflection on the meeting of two names *"l'incontro di due nomi"*. Both names were chosen by God. The angel Gabriel told Zechariah, "You will have a son and you will call him John". And he told Mary: "You will have a son and you will call him Jesus".

In this sculpture we have the meeting of these two names, of these two

persons, but my first reflection is on the name “John” or “Yochanan”: the Lord is merciful. And the other name is “Yeshu'a”: the Lord saves. If we talk of healing we need to remember the meeting of these two names: they are missions, they are vocations, they are called to true healing. The Lord is *merciful*, the Lord *saves*.

So if we want to offer healing for our beloved continent, for Europe, we need to remind ourselves and believe that healing is going to be a work of divine mercy, the work of God.

When Jesus forgave the sins of the paralytic, the Pharisees objected, “Who is he who forgives sins?”, that he offers radical healing? And Jesus then offered physical healing as a sign of his spiritual power to forgive. At his resurrection on the first day he met his disciples locked in the chamber, afraid of everybody and of everything, and he said, “Peace be with you”. Then he breathed on them and said, “What ever you forgive is forgiven.” He gave them the sacred power to for give; to be in a radical spiritual healing.

God forgives, God saves.

And as Maria Voce says (and I would like to greet you in a special way “*un cordiale benvenuto a Lei, Maria Voce, qui nella ConCattedrale di San Giovanni*”), we need to rediscover the agency of God in the European project. The founders were men and women of faith. There is also a hidden motive in the icons they gave Europe; the 12-starred flag which reminded them of the Lady and the apocalypse which obviously Europe chooses to forget nowadays. All these symbols, which remind us of a past with days of glory and days of shame and shadow, cannot be forgotten if Europe needs to find its true roots and a new beginning.

As we await of the outcome of the French elections today, as we happen to meet on such an important day, we also remember that to tomorrow, the 8th of May, is also a very important date in the Medieval calendar of Christian devotion. Traditionally, the 8th of May was linked to a devotion to our Lady and the devotion to St Michael, the archangel, especially on the Gargano peninsula. However, on the 9th of May we celebrate Europe Day. In Malta, we celebrate also a humble priest who was an apostle of evangelisation, St George Preca.

As I thank you for your presence and also hope that we meet tomorrow for the forum, I remind you of this beautiful image of Jesus, who humbles himself, immerses himself in the river of our sins to bring us up with him

to a life of freedom, of healing. There is an image from the beautiful film by Pier Paolo Pasolini *“Il Vangelo Secondo Matteo”* of Jesus joining the queue, waiting to be baptised. Pasolini sees this from a far; he is interested in the long queue of people waiting to be healed by the ritual offered by the Baptist. Jesus joins that queue; he is an anonymous carpenter from Nazareth. John recognises him and says, “I’m not worthy”, but Jesus insists. He comes to John as the carpenter of Nazareth and coming out from the water he is declared as the *“figlius dilectus”*, the beloved son.

And all this Giuseppe Mazzuoli tries to bring to our attention. There is a *“carteggio”*, that flowing word banner which says *“ecce filius dilectus”*: this is the beloved son. There’s the Holy Spirit, hovering over Jesus in the form of a dove, and there’s the second person of the Holy Trinity, the Word incarnate become now.

And so an anonymous carpenter is declared the Son of God and we have a share in the divine revelation of the intimate love and life of God: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. This is the source of true radical healing, sharing and a life of God, who is love.



SUNDAY MAY 7, 2017, 20.15

UPPER BARRAKKA GARDEN

Towards a Europe of

Hospitality



Ethiopian and Eritrean Refugee Choir

4. Towards a Europe of HOSPITALITY

Ahmed Bugre

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE GOD'S HOSPITALITY TO THE WORLD? In the story of Paul's shipwreck, we read about the hospitality by the locals and by Publius, the Roman official, extended to those cast up on the shore.

Shipwrecks with migrants from North Africa and the Middle East are now daily occurrences here in the Mediterranean. How should we respond?

Let me tell you about Haji, a 45-year-old man whom I had to bury, whose lifeless body was retrieved from under a bridge. Haji was but one of thousands of individuals caught up in similar circumstances. Various terms have been concocted to refer to these people: migrants, asylum seekers, '*klandestini*', and so forth. All seem to have the same effect as 'statistics'... the reality of the situation is at once depersonalised, and reduced to a vague, shadowy category that defies any form of empathy or identification.

We are not looking only at people who arrive here by boat – mainly, sub-Saharan African migrants – although these are still the majority of the people we interact with and see. But we also now deal with Filipinos, Serbs, Russians, and various other categories of people. Not all are 'irregular'. Many have arrived here with a visa. Some might have a permit to work; others might not. However, we deal with all types of people – Arabs, Eastern Europeans, people from Asia, for although all these migrant communities are different, they all have problems in common. The main issue has to do with integration. Malta doesn't have an integration policy, and that is one of the key struggles that migrants face.

There are serious questions concerning human rights and basic justice and deep contradictions in Malta's overall immigration and integration policies. When it comes to the integration of African people in Malta, that is not even discussed. To me it looks as though there is a general rejection of the people who have arrived here irregularly... even if they are refugees. Should such people remain refugees the rest of their lives? There is this perception out there that one day, Somalia will get better. So all the Somalis who are in Malta with subsidiary protection: they should remain here in limbo, for as long as it takes for Somalia to improve. How long will that take?

Haji had been living here since 2004. He died under a bridge aged 45. He had been here a quarter of his life. He hadn't seen his wife or children in all that time. He died without seeing them. And some have been here longer. I know one person who has been here since 2002: he still goes and renews his work permit every year. How long must you live and work in Malta, to be given the right to apply for citizenship... or at least, long-term residency?"

Do we really mean what we say when we talk about integration? We may talk about integration, but migration is still viewed as a security issue. These people who have lived and worked in Malta for 10 years, who have paid taxes, who renew their permits regularly ... what security concern are they posing to this country?

Malta is a small country, and we all agree that there has to be a proper management system of people coming and going. People who are 'high-value' and have money, can come and buy a passport... and they can come and live here as Maltese citizens. So there is space. There is space for everyone. But it has to be controlled.

Every day we get phone calls from Maltese employers, scared of losing their own employees. They tell us that they've trained this person, invested in him, that he is a very trusted worker... so why is he going to be deported? They are even willing to pay fees to retain their employees. If there wasn't room, employers would not be calling us in tears. Malta always needs workers. There are Italians working here... Spaniards... Asians... Africans. Would the construction industry even function without African workers? Same for garbage collection, cleaning beaches... where can you go in Malta today, and not see an African person working? From factories, to cleaning of the streets... there is a demand for workers.

In Malta, the problem is not lack of space or lack of demand. It is lack of management. We need to relearn the lesson of Paul's ship wreck."

Prayer: "Let us be God's hospitality in the world.

Give us eyes to see the deepest needs of people.

Give us hearts full of love for our neighbors

as well as for the strangers we meet.

Help us understand what it means to love others

as we love ourselves.

Teach us to care in a way that strengthens those who are sick.

Fill us with generosity so we feed the hungry, clothe the naked

and give drink to the thirsty.

Let us be a healing balm to those who are weak and lonely

and weary by offering our kindness to them.

May we remember to listen, to smile, to offer a helping hand

each time the opportunity presents itself.

Give us hearts of courage that we will be brave enough to risk

loving our enemy.

Inspire us to go out of our way to include those in the margins.

Help us to be welcoming and inclusive to all who come to our

door.

Let us be God's hospitality in the world.

Source: <https://gracerules.wordpress.com/2015/06/23/prayer-for-the-week-let-us-be-gods-hospitality-in-the-world/>

MONDAY MAY 8, 2017
UNIVERSITY OF MALTA, VALLETTA CAMPUS

Plenaries



CROSS
THERE IS NO
ECK WITHOUT
OPE
JOHN
PAUL II

ONLY
LOVE
CAN
DRIVE
OUT
HATRED
MARTIN

MALTA
EU2017

1. Welcome and introduction

Jeff Fountain

WELCOME TO ALL AND THANK YOU FOR BEING WITH US TODAY. And thank you to Your Grace, and to Father Joe Curmi, the vicar-general for joining us here this morning. Welcome to all of you who come here from all over Europe today - from as far north as the Baltics, from Eastern and Western Europe, and even from the the British Isles.

It is very gracious of you to be here with us today in your former colony which ironically holds the presidency of the EU at the time when the Brexit process gets under way. That says something about the parity in the EU where small nations can play significant roles.

We are here today on the eve of Europe Day. Usually we hold this event on Europe Day itself but because we wanted to hold a public event, we held that yesterday, on a Sunday, and so today on the eve of Europe Day we are continuing with our forum.

For those of us who were there, we had a very rich day yesterday starting in St Paul's Anglican Pro-Cathedral and continuing on to St John's Catholic Co-Cathedral. Lastly we came to the very historic and scenic Upper Barrakka Garden where we finished our reflections on the triple themes of *Hope, Healing and Hospitality*.

So we wish to start this morning with a brief oversight of the state of Europe anno 2017. Some describe last year as the year that Europe forgot World War Two. We can breathe a little easier after the outcome of the French elections last night but we do continue face a lot of challenges this year.

The first person we have asked to contribute to this panel is not here with us in person, but who has especially made a video for us. He is the American author, and political and social activist, Professor Dr George Weigel. I have read several of his books, one of which is *The Cube and the Cathedral*. Another book is *The Final Revolution* which is the story of the spiritual revolution which took place in the communist nations which eventually led to the downfall of Communism itself.

But before we watch this video, let's ask God's blessing on us here together.

Lord God, we thank you for the possibility to come from all over Europe with means of communication and travel that Paul never had.

Yet we see the impact still on our lives today of the ministry of this one man.

We pray that the things we hear and come to understand while together will help us also to make an impact in the places we have come from.

Thank you that you have always chosen to use faithful minorities through the centuries and that we need not be discouraged by being small minorities in Europe today.

Instead of a minority complex, give us a creative minority complex.

We ask today that you would grant us gifts of hope, faith and vision for your Europe, for our future.

In the name of Jesus, Amen

2. Europe under threat

George Weigel (via video)

EUROPE IS UNDER THREAT FROM EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL SOURCES.

The first of the external threats is the easiest to identify. That is the determination of Russian President Putin to reverse the verdict of 1989 and 1991 and to reconstitute the something resembling Stalin's internal and external empire. That this is being done is the name of an ideology of Eurasianism, even more bizarrely through the vehicle of Putin presenting himself as the defender of Christian civilisation is important, but perhaps less important than the extraordinary propaganda programme that the Russian state is conducting throughout the western world. and which is already having a very bad effect on our politics. We don't seem to have developed an adequate response to this. This is clearly an external threat to Europe and indeed to the entire democratic enterprise throughout the north Atlantic world.

The second external threat is the fact that American interest in Europe is at its lowest ebb since the 1930s and we all know where that un fortunate vacation from history ended up. I don't see much chance of turning that around although there is some degree of hope to be found in some of the more senior cabinet appointments of the Trump administration. America is on a vacation from history right now. The political leadership to call us out of this vacation from history the does not seem available at the moment. And that makes all of our lives more difficult.

The internal threats seem to me at least as great as the external. *The first of those* is what I would call the postmodern high culture of Europe, which is indifferent if not hostile to the intellectual and moral foundations on which European civilisation has rested for millennia - convictions which were at the root of the project of European integration when it began in the aftermath of the Second World War.

If Europe cannot rediscover and reappropriate the contribution to its present commitment to civility, tolerance, democracy, human rights and rule of law in biblical religion, in the classical Greek conviction that human reason can get to the truth of things and in the Roman conviction that the rule of law is superior to the rule of force, if Europe cannot regather itself around these elementary foundational convictions of its civilisation, then I think the European future is in grave doubt.



Another internal threat seems to me to come from Brussels. The EU leadership's response to the Brexit vote seems to be to have doubled down on precisely the kind of bureaucratic arrogance and democracy-deficit that I believe led to the Brexit in the first place and is a threat to the entire project of the EU. A deep searching re-evaluation of where the European project is going is essential. But until the EU leadership recognises that that exploration has to take place it won't take place and the present discontent still will continue.

Another threat is that Europe is deep into demographic winter with no EU member state having a replacement level of fertility rate. What is filling the demographic deficit vacuum now is mass immigration from other spheres of civilisation, creating great social welfare problems and questions of national identity...

What does it mean that Europe is refusing to have children? When a culture or civilisation fails to create the human future in the most elementary sense, by creating new generations, something is seriously wrong. It can perhaps be described most simply as selfishness; an intense focus on present and immediate satisfaction that simply ignores the future. We all know what this means in terms of fiscal policies, social welfare policies. I wonder what it means in terms of the soul of Europe.

Also of concern are new forms of populism that seem to have forgotten the lessons of the mid 20th-century. This disturbing lack of confidence in the democratic project and willingness to toy with new forms of totalitarianism is deeply disturbing and reminiscent of the mid 20th-century. This has to be addressed by people across the political spectrum, to bring back to life the great ideals that inspired so many of us throughout the 1980's and achieved the revolution of 1989.

This new populism and its rise have also been paralleled by some thing else: the seeming inability of many Europeans to grasp the fact that many people still find the deepest meaning of their lives in religious faith, in family, in local traditions, in national tradition, in what you might call the ancient God. We know the dangers of an excessive nationalism; we are now seeing something of the dangers of a vapid internationalism or globalism. To dismiss the concern for many over the assault on the religious tradition and the family and traditional social arrangements as simply mindless reactionary nonsense is itself a danger European elites have consciences to examine on this, as do American elites.

These internal threats might be summed up by the Böckenförde dilemma, named after the German legal theorist Ernst Wolfgang Böckenförde who wrote more than 40 years ago: *the modern secular liberal democratic state rests on a foundation of moral and cultural premises, on a fund of social capital, that it cannot itself generate.*

Pope John Paul II put this in a slightly different way: *it takes a certain kind of people living certain virtues to make free politics and free economics work so that the net result is genuine human flourishing.*

In the triad of the free society, democratic politics, free economy, a vibrant public moral culture, the third leg of public moral culture is absolutely crucial to the vitality of democratic politics and free economics.

I hope that as we go forward in this challenging moment that more and more people like yourselves will be willing to look at the moral cultural leg of the triad and begin to understand again that democracy is not a hardware that can be run by any software, not a machine that can run by itself, that it takes a certain amount of virtue to make the great adventure of self-governing democracies to work.

3. Panel: The State of Europe, anno 2017

Arie Vermeij, Henrik Syse, Katrine Camilleri.

Jeff Fountain: *Could you please comment briefly, from your particular field of expertise, on the events of this past year which require our attention?*

ARIE VERMEIJ: **One of the greatest threats we face in Europe to day is Russian aggression of various kinds.** We are sending person nel to the borders of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Finland where strange things are happening. For example, Finnish soldiers posted close to the Russian border are discovering that pictures of their girlfriends and wives are appearing on dating and sex websites. I am convinced and many of us are convinced that Russia is influenc ing our lives in various subversive ways.

HENRIK SYSE: **In the north we live in a world of different languages - Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish.** My uncle was driving once through Finland to get back to his home in Norway and came across a road sign which seemed to be a danger sign, but in a lan guage he could not understand. You drive on and you know you are supposed to be in danger from something but don't know what or from where- above or below. The world right now seems to be some thing like a Finnish danger sign. Beware! We know there is danger but we don't know from where. The great thing about unpredictability is that perhaps there is an fantastic opportunity coming along. Risk can be positive as well as negative.

In the last few years, anger is very strongly present in the public square, a sense of not belonging. A lot is expressed in subjective language we can't second guess. This is famously expressed in the American term 'Alternative facts' - the way I see it. There are no main stream media or institutions seen as authoritative enough to correct that. The danger is that our sense of a common world starts to disap pear. If you believe that this carpet here is black, why not? If hate mainstream media says otherwise that's all the more reason to be lieve they're wrong. Faith-based institutions have a great role to play, but do they have the authority to do that?

The re-enchantment of the world and spirituality. Also a war over science is going on. Natural scientists tell us that climate change is very real and dangerous but a lot of people ask 'who believes in science?' 'I have

different views.’ My challenge to our faith communities is where do the churches stand on this? Our church traditions represent some of the finest science there is, in the sense of a serious reason-and-faith-based discourse about what it means to be a human being, what is right and wrong, what is this world. I fear a world where the church is not taken seriously in this discussion, and are seen as strange people who believe in unicorns. We need to emphasise the seriousness and rationale of our position and to be an important voice on the same side as scientists on climate change for example.

KATRINE CAMILLERI: Over the past year migration remained as topical within the EU as it was the year before, 2015, which saw a massive increase in the number of irregular arrivals, most with Eastern Mediterranean roots. During 2016 and 2017 we have been seeing the impact of those arrivals not only in terms of logistics, of the impact on those arrivals on our communities, but also their impact on European law and policy.

Amnesty International described 2016 as Europe’s year of shame, the year that Europe signed the infamous agreement to stem the flow of migrants. This deal was highly criticised primarily because it appeared to have been designed to stem flows without looking too deeply to see whether needs of asylum seekers were being met.

Following that we saw we are reviewing our Common European Asylum System. The EU-Turkey deal had some real concrete results. We saw a sharp drop in number of irregular arrivals in Mediterranean. In Greece they dropped from 850,000 in 2015 to 175,000 in 2016, which brought more or less in line with arrivals in Italy. Of course we did forget during 2016 that refugees are still arriving in Libya in great numbers.

What we see is a move towards ever more restrictive laws and policies always with a focus of stemming the flow of arrivals. There’s talk of replicating the EU-Turkey deal with Libya which is extremely worrying. If you look at the revised Common European Asylum System what you will see is that there is a clear move to make it more difficult for those who do reach Europe to lodge an asylum application and to have their application examined.

There is a whole new process of admissibility to determine if states should even look at the merit of that asylum claim. What it means in practise is that be fore determining whether or not they need protection from return to



their country, states will be looking at whether they could have got what Europe deems to be sufficient protection elsewhere. And the definition of sufficient protection is in fact extremely basic: basic safety and survival.

The quality of protection in the EU is law also being undermined. Because we are looking at a system where we move from permanent to precariousness, through the introduction of compulsory reviews of status. We are already seeing a system where asylum seeker's freedom of choice is completely restricted. If you are an asylum seeker you can completely lose your freedom to decide where you lodge your asylum application.

On the face of it it may look legitimate but in fact the situation on the ground in different European countries is anything but equal. Comparing Romania with Sweden, or Malta with Germany, Italy with France, you will see the quality is extremely diverse.

4. The way forward for Europe

i. Archbishop Scicluna

CHAIRMAN: *What is the way forward for Europe? Some say the European dream threatens to become a nightmare. But could today's traumas end in hope as with Paul's shipwreck, as one of the lessons we were reflecting on yesterday? What can heal Europe's malaise?*

President Jean Claude Juncker has presented his White Paper on the way forward for Europe, outlining five scenarios:

- *Carrying on*
- *Nothing but the single market*
- *Coalitions of the willing*
- *Doing less more efficiently*
- *Doing much more together*

From our faith perspective, what do we envision as the way forward for Europe?

ARCHBISHOP: I would like to offer some short reflections based on the contribution of Pope Francis in his address to the European head of states on 24 March 2017. What are the perspectives for the future? What suggestions might be coming from faith-based perspectives? There is a paragraph towards the central part of the address which posits some important questions.

The first question Pope Francis poses is about an interpretative key for reading the difficulties of the present and finding answers for the future.

The first part of the address is dedicated to the contribution of the founding fathers. The pope recognises and indicates a number of key values that are at the basis of the European programme or vision. He mentions the centrality of man, effective solidarity, openness to the world, the pursuit of peace and development, and openness to the future. The last part of his address takes these important points and underpins them with an invitation to find new hope - in line with the theme of this forum.

You have graciously adopted the image of finding new hope after Paul's shipwreck, which has a place close to the heart of the Maltese, who know how that shipwreck brought new hope and faith, not only to the

contemporaries but for generations during these last 2000 years.

Firstly, the Holy Father Pope Francis mentions that Europe finds new hope when *man is the centre* and the heart of her institutions. The pope here is offering an answer to the malaise so many populations are finding when they look at Brussels as a bureaucracy very distant from their concerns. I know that the Malta presidency of the EU has tried to bring this on to the European agenda, the fact that policy has to be an answer to the concern of the populations. The pope insists on harmony within a community, on unity in diversity. The founding fathers sought that harmony in which the whole is present in every one of the parts, and the parts are, each in its own unique way, present in the whole. And we know that most of the rhetoric for Brexit was about how distant Brussels was from the concerns of the general population.

The second value Pope Francis mentions is *solidarity*. 'Europe finds new hope in solidarity', which is also the most effective antidote to modern forms of populism. Solidarity entails the awareness of being part of a single body, while at the same time involving a capacity on the part of each member to 'sympathize' with others and with the whole. We see that this is at times lacking even with the member states. There is a common mission expressed publicly, then member states are walking away from their commitment - that is certainly not solidarity. Solidarity is not only among individuals but also among members states.

A third point is that Europe finds new hope when *she refuses to yield to fear* or close herself off - a false form of security. This answers much of the concerns expressed by Dr Camilleri. Most of the knee-jerk reactions when it come to the question of migration express this fear or this temptation for Europe to close herself off. Openness to the world implies the capacity for 'dialogue as a form of encounter'.

Fourthly, he talks about the richness of Europe which has always been her spiritual openness and her capacity to raise basic questions about the meaning of life. Openness to the sense of the eternal has also gone hand in hand, albeit not without tensions and errors, with a positive openness to this world. The pope talks about *European heritage*. Europe has a patrimony of ideals and spiritual values unique in the world, one that deserves to be proposed once more with passion and renewed vigour, for it

is the best antidote against the vague vacuum of values of our time, which provides unfortunately a fertile terrain for every form of extreme.

So there is a great search for spirituality in the peoples of Europe. I think that we need with great humility to go back to the roots and propose the Christian heritage based in the crucified and risen Lord, the Son of God made man, in a fresh way. This is also a call based on faith in the resurrection.

Fifthly, Europe finds new hope, according to Pope Francis, when she invests in *development and in peace*. When I was in Brussels meeting with representatives from COMECE, I asked a colleague whether development aid from Europe had any strings. It usually does. Europe needs to discern what strings it attaches to the development packages it offers. Most of them are aggressive when it comes to the local cultures. They are a form of negative neo-colonialism. When it comes to religious freedom, that is something that seems to be a taboo in some quarters in Brussels.

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

When you go to the statistics of abortion in Europe you realise there is a demographic crisis which is self-inflicted. When you go to England and Wales, and see the official statistics of abortions since 1968, we're talking about 8 million human beings that have not been able to see the light of day because of our own fault.

So what future? to embrace life and the dignity of every human being whether they are coming knocking on our shores, or the walls of the womb of their mother. Then we need to help them.

4. The way forward for Europe

ii. Jonathan Tame



In this session, I will present a summary of the report *'Confederal Europe: Strong Nations, Strong Union'* produced for Sallux by my colleagues in one of JC's sister organisations, Relational Research.

You can read the Exec Summary at: <http://relationalthinking.net/confederal-europe/>, or buy the full report from the Sallux website, www.sallux.eu.

First, a comment about the Commission's five futures white paper. Cedric Dupont from the Graduate Institute in Geneva writes:

"This was not the result of a genuine foresight exercise. First, it contains nothing new... Second, the range of variation it considers in its five scenarios is relatively narrow. Foresight should cover all possible future scenarios, which are typically of four types: growth, constraint, collapse and transformation. The five futures presented cover only two of these, growth and constraint. The authors were not prepared to look at the possibility of collapse or the potential of transformation."

He concludes by saying:

"We have here the output of an exercise in self-reassurance and wishful thinking. It is a missed opportunity, conducted by a commission that is shaken, wanting of ideas and bereft of true leadership. By ignoring the big questions of the day, it is lacking in honesty, transparency and realism, traits that true leaders do not shy away from."

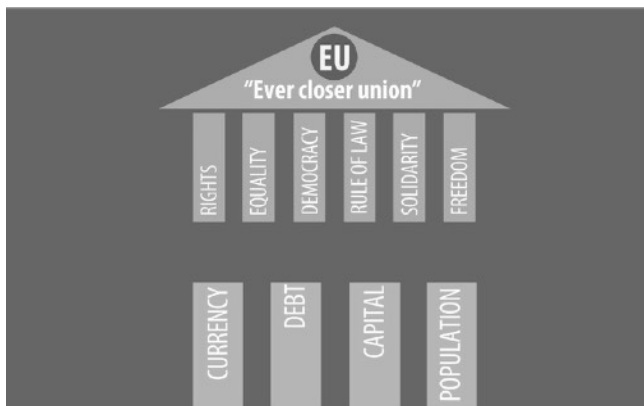
This forum is a call to leadership, from Christians who serve in public

institutions, in the private sector, in the churches and non-profit organisations. We have dual citizenship – of the nation whose passport we carry and of the Kingdom of God, by virtue of which we are called to exercise a prophetic and priestly role, drawing on both human and divine wisdom to understand the times and propose what should be done.

In this spirit let me share the way forward set out in this report.

The European project has always had a relational goal. The Treaty of Rome, 60 years old this year, set out the goal of “ever closer union” – and that wording has been passed down from treaty to treaty. But by what method has the EU sought to make that goal real?

The answer is: by building from the top down, where the supporting structures for “ever closer



union” are our best and highest ideals.... These are: human rights, equality, democracy, rule of law, solidarity and freedom. It’s a monumental effort to keep these in balance, in a way that meets the needs of the one and the many. And what mechanism is used to do that?

The EU treaties go straight from ideals to policy instruments and institutions. These include: Fiscal and currency arrangements – Financial structures – Forms of governance. We’re in Malta this year because of those governmental policies. But of course there’s a problem...

Policies and institutions create and influence relationships – between whole populations and blocks of stakeholders – but these are not always the kind you want or intend. Why is that a problem? Because the relationships are like the wheels on the car. If the wheels don’t turn, the car doesn’t move. And, in its current form, the EU is being held up by four dysfunctional relationships:

ONE. The euro tends to create a dysfunctional relationship between nations:

- Euro is now “cheap” for the North and “expensive” for the South
- Fixed exchange rates mean there is no way for weaker economies to rebalance
- The Euro does not come with a “Plan B”

Think of the following:

We love the convenience of the euro – BUT – it fails to adapt to changing conditions on the ground. Since joining the Euro, productivity has risen more quickly in Germany than in Spain or Greece, and when wages and inflation is taken into account, over the first 10 years of the common currency, the ‘German euro’ has depreciated by 20% while the ‘Spanish euro’ has appreciated by 50%.

The Euro removes the safety valve of currency revaluation. *Exam ple:* UK and its referendum last year. The day after the Britain voted to leave the EU, Sterling plunged 10%. In this way the impact of the anticipated economic shock is absorbed by the currency.

By contract, Greece has no way to rebalance – so the pain is felt elsewhere. Half the young people in Greece and Spain are out of work. Is that good for social cohesion? Does it encourage collaborative politics? So the inflexibility of relationships in the euro system (and the fact you can’t leave it) has direct economic and political consequences as we have been seeing in recent years.

TWO. Debt finance tends to create a dysfunctional relationship between lenders and borrowers:

- A new situation: peak debt without a war
- Debt shackles growth across the EU
- The quake of debt default would be felt all over Europe
- Short-termism: what are we doing to future generations?

To extend on this

Debt finance has driven the financial crisis starting with sub-prime mortgages in the US.

- Globally, governments have responded to the downturn as if it’s a war – expanding money supply, increasing borrowing to levels unprecedented in peacetime
- Debt-to-GDP ratios have gone up across the whole continent, increasing the burden of debt servicing: for example, that the UK government now spends more on interest on national debt than on defence.
- Also, because debt relationships are so complex, they create massive

mutual exposure to default risk: both governments and banks across the Eurozone are heavily indebted to each other.

- This leaves them more vulnerable to new external shocks...
- And deepens the problem of intergenerational injustice. We want to protect our children from global warming – but we seem happy to let them carry the burden of paying down our debts.

We can now see that over the long term, a reliance on debt finance creates in the EU, at individual, corporate and national levels, a densely interwoven network of those struggling to pay back loans on the one hand and those who could be ruined by default on the other. Since the borrower is the slave to the lender, this is a far cry from the freedom that the EU was intended to promote.

THREE. Financial markets tend to create a dysfunctional relationship between suppliers and users of capital:

- Big-corporates with narrow, short-term targets
- Weak governance and absentee shareholders
- The victims: employees, customers, suppliers, tax- payers
- The drag effect of capital movement

Anyone with a pension or any savings is a supplier of capital. But we have little or no control over how the capital is used or the ethics of the companies where it's invested. Global capitalism has far too many absentee shareholders, who like absentee landlords, care for little aside from extracting the best financial return on their investment.

How does the capital market affect employment? Here's what's happening in Greece:

- A single market turns growth areas into new centres of employment. (Ironically this is one reason why the UK voted for Brexit!)
- Another way of saying that is: the single market sucks talent and skill out of the economically weaker nations – most of which never goes back.

So, complete freedom of labour isn't an unmitigated good at either end of the process.

The relationship – or lack of relationship – between corporations and the investors who own the capital has helped shape a financial landscape in which capital gravitates to the strongest growth points and drags labour in its wake, with sometimes severe repercussion for the sending and receiving populations.

FOUR. Liberal democracy tends to create a dysfunctional relationship

between governments and electorates:

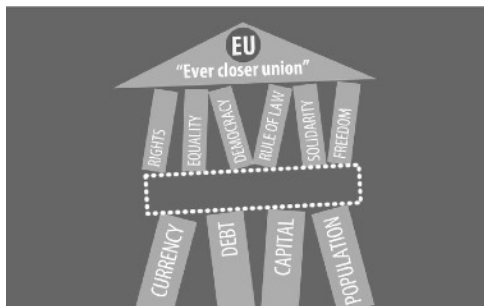
- Honesty about unfunded liabilities: we need new solutions
- Ageing populations mean economic weakness
- Honesty about migration: it's probably going to get worse
- For "European" read "Individual"

Political parties need votes, and to win votes they make promises. The result of 60 years of electoral promises (more benefits, lower taxes), the average EU nation has unfunded liabilities for pensions, health and welfare, amounting to over four times their GDP – by the way, that's on top of national debt.

And the growth-centre effect also works regionally: Europe's relative prosperity, combined with its geographical exposure, is starting to suck in migrants from a surprisingly wide area. Hence the alarm in Hungary and Poland.

These are all REAL processes going on in REAL relationships between peoples in Europe. We cannot treat them as marginal, as externalities.

Because, in the end, it's the relationships that make policies and institutions work – or not work. If the relationships created by the political-economy are weak or stressed or corrupt ... the whole EU structure is going to suffer – and ever closer union isn't going to happen.



So here's what the report recommends ...

Start with the relationships:

- Strength of communication and mutual understanding
- Fairness in the distribution and use of power
- Unity of purpose

Acknowledge in real terms the importance of Europe's relational capital.

- Learn to apply a simple policy test. For example, when a proposal is drafted or debated, we could begin by asking: "Which relationships are most affected?"
- Is the proposal likely to strengthen communication & mutual

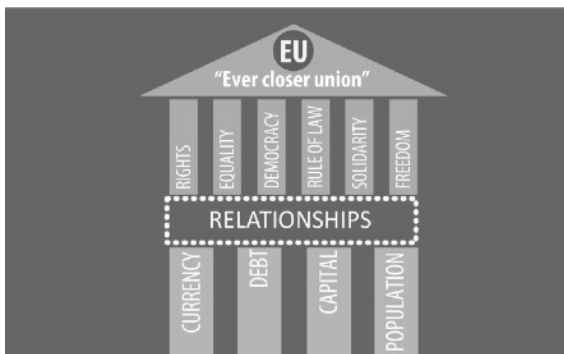
understanding between stakeholders?

- Is it likely to promote fairness in the distribution and use of power?

- Is it likely to increase unity of purpose?

These should be the foundations, and we're now building from the bottom up. We must design policies that

optimize relationships, and the relationships will support the ideals on which your ultimate goal depends.



So what about those policies? There's no time to spell them out in detail – as there are 20 proposals, coming under the following 7 headings:

1. **A people's Europe**, where we change the Lisbon Treaty to redefining 'union' away from a federal towards a confederal structure, and include the interests of future generations. This is the idea behind the report design – the stars are no longer the same colour, but different, as the nations retain more of their uniqueness and autonomy, yet pursue greater shared values and cooperation.
2. We ensure **sustainable finance** by deferring the goal of a single currency which includes re-enabling flexible exchange rates, addressing the unequal trade balances between member states, and converting national debt into appropriate forms of equity.
3. **End our addiction to debt**, before it kills us. A "debt-free growth" characterised by:
 - Fiscal transparency
 - Reduce demand on public services
 - Reduce tax advantages to debt
 - Charge banks for government 'insurance'
 - Shared equity for housing
 - Students: tax, rather than loans.

It will be hard, as anyone who has come off a drug or alcohol addiction will tell you – but it is the only way to steer away from the perils of a toxic financial system.

4. Instead of the four freedoms, we should **go down to three** by allowing national governments to manage their own immigration policies:
 - Free markets for goods and services
 - Capital Mobility
 - Constraints on economic migration
5. In the realm of (strong) **corporate governance**, the policy recommendations seek to bring a better balance between risk, reward and responsibility among the different stakeholders of companies, pro mote more transparency and greater social accountability by:
 - Integrated reporting
 - Sharing ownership transparency
 - Measurement and reporting of stakeholder relationships
 - Tougher merger control
6. Member states should be allowed to set their **own rules on migration** and, by doing so, recognising limits of national tolerance, while collectively contributing to ensuring strong external borders as part of a co-operative EU immigration system.
7. Policies would encourage **city-regions to take a stronger role** in economic planning, investment and welfare provision, and extended families would be incentivised to provide more support and care, thus reducing the demands on limited state resources.

To conclude:

The report draws on the three ideals of the French Revolution. “Liberty and equality are matchless ideals – but they are only two of three. Neither can be implemented in isolation from the third, which since the middle of the 20th Century has received far less attention – namely fraternity.

4. The way forward for Europe

iii. Florica Chereches

EUROPE IS OUR HOME, YOURS AND MINE.

We are all a big family and as we wish the best for our homes, we should wish the best for each other and this should be the guiding line for the way forward for Europe.

We are all members of different communities in our country, in our city, we all go to a church, we all have different hobbies, so we are all active parts of the society and we all contribute to the future.

Jean-Claude Juncker presented a White Paper with five scenarios; of these five, the most important is “doing much more together”. If we all come together we can come up with better ideas and in bigger communities we can find the perfect matches for every problem that has to be solved.

Europe is struggling right now: we have the Brexit, we have the crisis of immigrants, we all have problems in our countries, but we all, as a family can come up with ideas for a better future in Europe.

Is the image of a better future in Europe the image of being more open, of acceptance, of fighting for each other, of supporting those brothers and sisters in Europe that have problems? I think it is. I think it is the only way in which this family called Europe will survive. As Christians, we tend to forget that the most important thing that Christianity teaches us is love, this word "love" has in it so many more meanings like: acceptance, support, giving not for the sake of receiving but for the sake of doing good to those in need.

The European dream is not a utopia, as Christian life is not utopian, is something that we can reach if we all help each other, if we build bridges between communities and not fences, if we open the doors for those in need, if we give up from our time and goods in order to make someone's day bearable.

“Doing much more together” in my opinion is also accepting the differences between our faiths, our traditions, our looks, our ages, our nationalities. For example I work very well with young people, I am inspired by them and I also give them advice from my experience.

Many people more and more often ask, where does Europe go, what is the

future of EU? Do we still want to be together or not? Does EU have a limited life? Did it accomplish its goals and is it now time to say goodbye to the union? A series of questions were sent to us to prepare for this topic, one being, is Robert Schuman's dream becoming a nightmare?

I am sure that the vision of the founders of the EU, of its pioneers, even if it started with a pure economic purpose, the production of coal and steel, included an economic common market, freedom of travel, study and work in any of the member states, even the creation of one civil entity, without her people losing their national self-awareness, traditions and identity. EU was founded on the Christian roots of Europe, where Christian values and principles played a significant role in the development of each state separately. However, the emerging tendency is more and more to transform certain European countries into secular states without any reference to religion, even if this is a denial of their spiritual legacy.

Robert Schuman in his declaration in 1950, was dreaming at creating a "democratic model of governance", a "community of peoples" in "freedom, equality, solidarity and peace and a community deeply rooted in Christian basic values."

True religion means man's connection with God. It plays a major role in shaping and reforming the European Union on principles that will last over time. However, more and more, Christianity has been exiled from people's lives and preoccupations. Certainly because of consumerism, the major concern of European society is no longer Christianity, but economy.

This exclusive concern for the economy leads not only to the emergence of consumerism, based on economic growth, but also to forgetting God's will. When life is good, people tend to take every thing as granted and without any longer realising that they need God. The founders of the European Union certainly did not want a union among peoples in which the religion, morality, traditions and customs of each of the peoples would be removed or gradually disappear, and, in exchange, to have a consumerism policy promoted.

Forgetting God and denying our Christian identity leads us today to experience a very difficult period from the moral point of view, fighting against our own humanity. We have come to confuse evil with the good, we invent new words like gender, replace the biological sex, invoke more and more freedoms and promote same-sex marriage that is against human nature. We want to please ourselves and feel free to do whatever it takes to

accomplish this purpose and we are no longer interested in finding and doing what pleases God.

At the same time, we all want a secure borderless community in which we can manifest ourselves freely, but this can only exist in God. Schuman didn't want to see any other war in Europe and tried to accomplish this desire. At the heart of the Christian faith is a message of forgiveness and reconciliation, of a God who sent His Son to die so that we could be forgiven and be reconciled to Him. In turn we are to extend this forgiveness to others. Schuman recognised that one of the reasons for the never-ending series of wars in Europe was the failure to forgive and to fully reconcile the warring nations to one another.

Equality was another of the Christian values, fundamental for the creation of the EU. In the Bible, the dignity of every human being is stressed in how humans are created in the image of God, and Paul emphasises that "you are all one in Christ Jesus". Schuman took it further to include nations as well. He believed that all nations were equal, and so resisted the nationalism and isolationism of many of his contemporaries, who sought to promote their own nation at the expense of others.

The equality and unity of all nations naturally leads to a desire to see nations working together for each other's benefit. Schuman extended Jesus' command to "love your neighbour as yourself" to be applicable to nations as well. A Europe existing of nations all working together and loving their neighbours would be a far more prosperous, peaceful and stable one than one in which each was only concerned with its own national interests. This love for neighbours could transcend differences, and help to bring about the forgiveness and reconciliation necessary for the success of the European project.

In conclusion, for a functional EU, for a future of Europe in union, for a peaceful Europe, we need to return to our Christian beliefs, remember all our national Christian values, be proud of our national identity and preserve it, recover our Christian faith and teach our children in respect to all these.

It is time for Christians to be more active in public life and politics, to prepare and lead, to teach and mentor younger generations. It is important for Christians to become involved in political life to ensure a sustained and protected future for new generations.

It is time to share and collaborate, to work hard to preserve our values.

4. The way forward for Europe

iv. Vanni Xuereb

THE FUTURE OF THE EU WAS THE FOCUS OF THE ROME DECLARATION, made on March 27th this year on the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome. The declaration pledged to work towards the following goals:

1. **A safe and secure Europe:** a Union where all citizens feel safe and can move freely, where our external borders are secured, with an efficient, responsible and sustainable migration policy, respecting international norms; a Europe determined to fight terrorism and organised crime.

2. **A prosperous and sustainable Europe:** a Union which creates growth and jobs; a Union where a strong, connected and developing Single Market, embracing technological transformation, and a stable and further strengthened single currency open avenues for growth, cohesion, competitiveness, innovation and exchange, especially for small and medium-sized enterprises; a Union promoting sustained and sustainable growth, through investment, structural reforms and working towards completing the Economic and Monetary Union; a Union where economies converge; a Union where energy is secure and affordable and the environment clean and safe.

3. **A social Europe:** a Union which, based on sustainable growth, promotes economic and social progress as well as cohesion and convergence, while upholding the integrity of the internal market; a Union taking into account the diversity of national systems and the key role of social partners; a Union which promotes equality between women and men as well as rights and equal opportunities for all; a Union which fights unemployment, discrimination, social exclusion and poverty; a Union where young people receive the best education and training and can study and find jobs across the continent; a Union which preserves our cultural heritage and promotes cultural diversity.

4. **A stronger Europe on the global scene:** a Union further developing existing partnerships, building new ones and promoting stability and prosperity in its immediate neighbourhood to the east and south, but also in the Middle East and across Africa and globally; a Union ready to take more responsibilities and to assist in creating a more competitive and integrated defence industry; a Union committed to strengthening its common security and defence, also in cooperation and complementarity

with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, taking into account national circumstances and legal commitments; a Union engaged in the United Nations and standing for a rules-based multilateral system, proud of its values and protective of its people, promoting free and fair trade and a positive global climate policy.

'We will pursue these objectives, firm in the belief that Europe's future lies in our own hands and that the European Union is the best instrument to achieve our objectives. We pledge to listen and respond to the concerns expressed by our citizens and will engage with our national parliaments. We will work together at the level that makes a real difference, be it the European Union, national, regional, or local, and in a spirit of trust and loyal cooperation, both among Member States and between them and the EU institutions, in line with the principle of subsidiarity. We will allow for the necessary room for manoeuvre at the various levels to strengthen Europe's innovation and growth potential. We want the Union to be big on big issues and small on small ones. We will promote a democratic, effective and transparent decision-making process and better delivery'.

The current 28 members each have their own vision of the future - and we saw this diversity in Rome - and there was some fear not all could sign the declaration, particularly the Poles. However, despite these differences, we have convergence in these aspects and we have to see how we will translate this.

The declaration pledges to 'listen and respond to the concerns expressed by our citizens'. For the EU to have a future we have to start from the human dimension. Unless people are convinced that the European Project is something worth fighting for, you have no future. It is very important that we have this debate about the future of Europe in a genuine way involving people: citizens, academics, politicians, faith communities, civil society groups, and make a genuine effort to take the people on board.

4. The way forward for Europe

v. Branislav Skripek

I WILL START WITH A QUOTE FROM ROBERT SCHUMAN: *Europe will not be made all at once or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity.*

This was said in 1950. So we should ask if we have managed to pass through each stage to fulfill his vision or prophecy. I don't think so. Jeff has given us a perspective on May 9 1950 which was the start of this great vision. I was struck by a new information to me that in 1948 Schuman visited a bible study group with Pastor Frank Buchman. They got this amazing vision just three years after the end of the war. We have all seen pictures of the conditions of German cities like Dresden and Berlin and how completely destroyed they were. Just three short years after the war, these two men along with other Christians learned how to create vision. Already in 1950 he announced his biblical understanding in political terms what we can do. Let's do it, they said.

We are 60 years later and we have to evaluate what has happened. After 44 years the first country has said they are not happy to be here anymore and there are reasons. As I remember, Mr Farage's first statement after the Brexit referendum in the European Parliament in Brussels was to shout out: 'You imposed on us a political union too quickly'. So 'ever closer union' was probably a splendid idea but applied too quickly. It was created from above, trying to create an institution, to impose a good idea of the EU which on its way lost a great part of the spiritual content. We ended up with values which focuses on individual freedom and rights on such an enormous scale that I as a Christian and a young politician would say this is starting to create a dictatorship again or towards freedom of expression and I'm a victim of that.

President Jean Claude Juncker at Rome recently said these words: '60 years ago when the founding fathers of EU decided to unify the continent by the power of law not by the power of guns. We can be proud of what we have achieved. Our darkest moment in 2017 would still be less worse than any moment our forefathers spent on the battlefield.'

Now we are remembering the 60th anniversary of the Rome Treaty. This is the time when unified Europe needs to bring its vision for the future. It's time to try for unity. Yes, but what is ahead of us? A very new Europe, new technologies, unemployment, doubts about globalisation, and other concerns for security.

I was very happy for this proposal for a confederate Europe; this is an amazing, very good scenario (presented by Jonathan Tame). But one thing I don't see. I was very happy with the visit of Pope Francis in the Strasbourg Parliament in 2015. But I don't see the advice of the Pope applied in our politics.

Let me read from his address of 25 November 2015:

I want to bring a message of hope in the Lord. It is a message of encouragement to return to the firm conviction of the founders of the European Union, who envisioned a future based on the capacity to work together in bridging divisions and in fostering peace and fellowship between all the peoples of this continent.

At the heart of this ambitious political project was confidence in men and women as persons endowed with transcendent dignity... Today, there are still too many situations in which human beings are treated as objects whose conception, configuration and utility can be programmed, and who can then be discarded when no longer useful, due to weakness, illness or old age.

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

At the same time, however, care must be taken not to fall into certain errors which can arise from a misunderstanding of the concept of human rights and from its misuse. Today there is a tendency to claim ever broader individual rights; underlying this is a conception of the human person as detached from all social and anthropological contexts.

I believe, therefore, that it is vital to develop a culture of human rights which wisely links the individual, or better, the personal aspect, to that of the common good, of the "all of us" made up of individuals, families and intermediate groups who together constitute society.

One of the most common diseases in Europe today is the loneliness typical of those who have no connection with others.

I think this is the main point: We are always stressing individual human rights, so much so that we are endangering the wholeness of society. The answer to this is evangelisation, brought by genuine Christians into every part of society. Because evangelisation has to create Christian community. But I am very frustrated by seeing that there are not enough genuine Christians among politicians who pronounce without any shame their persuasion about Jesus Christ. Somehow we have started to feel that it is politically incorrect even to say 'I am a believer and I do as my God.' This is not bringing church into politics. My values have to be mirrored in my approach to politics.

Right now at this moment whenever I speak I'm labelled as fanatic.

I think Pope Francis brought a really central point to the European Parliament and I'm hoping we will be able to change it.



5. Faith, hope and NATO

i. Arie Vermeij - FREEDOM IS NOT FREE

'FREEDOM IS NOT FREE' MEANS A RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL EUROPEANS. The Invasion in Normandy in 1944, for example, cost 92,000 young lives. Since the Second World War, the Netherlands has lost almost 5,500 people in International Operations for Peace and Stability. As Europeans we have the responsibility to protect our beautiful home Europe against 'burglars'.

Also as Christians we have a special responsibility to protect our Christian culture, our values and our constitution which is based largely on the Ten Commandments. Moreover, we cannot be only selfish, but we have to help our neighbours (people and countries). As a Christian community of hope, we have to reach out to poor people. To support your neighbour is also a democratic principle for countries and for the EU as a whole. This was also Robert Schuman's vision, which was foundational for the EU.

The most important question connected with our responsibility to protect our freedom is: *'What are the threats or security risks in Europe?'*

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Nowadays most EU countries view Russia as *the* threat for Europe. While this is a widespread opinion, we have to analyse this threat in order to make the right decisions on the political level.

To understand it better, I have analysed Russia using the concept of Strategic Culture. This means the totality of ideas, conditional emotional responses and patterns of habitual behaviour that members of a national strategic community have acquired through instruction or imitation and share with each other. Firstly, I have analysed the political culture based on roots, experiences, geography and history. From this point of view we can understand Russia's behaviour better and predict strategic and operational choices and actions. The most important core elements of Russia's national culture in my conclusion are: Autocratic Leadership, Superpower, and Near abroad (threat perception).

Our review of the strategic strength of a country takes into account all kinds of power: political/diplomatic, information, economic, military, geographical, demographic and social-psychological.

During the first decade after the implosion of the Soviet Union, Russia was weak on almost all aspects of strategic power. The West agreed with

President Yeltsin not to incorporate previous Soviet countries or autonomous provinces into NATO or the EU. But in 2004 we agreed for the Baltic States to become a member of NATO and the EU. In the same time frame the new President Putin started the rebuilding of Russia towards becoming a superpower.

From 2004 till 2008 Putin was not really a hawk, but a realist who wanted to cooperate with the EU. Russia had plenty of raw materials, especially oil and gas and the West had the knowledge and technicians to support Russia in rebuilding and diversifying their economy. The West wanted cooperation on their terms and neglected the right of Putin, as an important player on the world scene, to really take part in the discussion on several international issues. That made him frustrated and more assertive and during the Munich Conference in 2007 he stated the U.S. was the real threat for the world, because they wanted to continue their position as the *only* superpower. In 2008 Putin tested NATO with a cyberattack on Estonia and attacked parts of Georgia to avoid Georgia becoming a member of NATO. Moreover, Putin started the development of his hybrid warfare.

In 2014 NATO recognized Russia as a superpower again, because she has:

- a permanent membership of UN Security Council;
- nuclear weapons;
- modernized its armed forces, smaller but capable;
- a good information position and well developed cyber experts;
- the 8th Economy (72% based on oil and gas);
- a very strong geography;
- a shrinking population, but socio-psychologically strong and supportive to Putin.

Also in 2014 Putin's friend President Yanukovics of Ukraine was chased away by pro-West rebels encouraged by some EU politicians. This was a real slap in Putin's face. In February 2014 Russia occupied Crimea and, together with the pro-Russia rebels in Donetsk and Luhansk, started a war against the government in Kiev.

Based on the rising tensions between Russia and the West, many measures were agreed during the last two NATO summits to strengthen NATO and especially reassure those members sharing borders with Russia, like the Baltics and Poland. There was already the NRF (NATO Response Force) in place which consists of some 40,000 soldiers able to move within 15 days, but our politicians did not want to send them to Ukraine for an exercise or

other support. My personnel opinion is that the decision not to interfere in this conflict was the right one; Ukraine's culture and values do not fit with our EU values, and the culture of kleptocracy fits better with Russia's culture and values.

The two most important NATO measures were the creation of the VJTF (Very High Readiness Joint Task Force) able to move in five days (first elements within 24 hours) and the permanent forward positioning of four battalions of 1000 soldiers in Poland and the Baltic States, composed of almost all the NATO countries. However, we have to realize the use of the NRF or the VJTF demands a political decision of 28 countries, which will cost precious time.

Therefore the forward positioning of the four battalions is a good measure and the combination of these three guarantees the right escalation. Finally there was also a clear statement that a cyberattack on one is an attack on all.

The metaphor which best fits Putin is that of a 'cornered rat' which warns us that 'desperate needs lead to desperate deeds'. While Russia may have returned to superpower status, it has important strategic weaknesses. The armed forces are a heavy burden for her one-sided economy with the low oil and gas prices. Four years ago, Russia's treasury had a reserve of €500 billion, but is now empty. The Gross National Product of Russia is only 7% of that of the EU and only a little higher than the Netherlands (€1000 billion compared to €860 billion). Yet this weak economic and financial position has to carry Putin's decision in 2010 to increase the defence budget by 460% and investments by €200 billion up to 2020. The demography is also weak, with the current population decreasing from 142 million today to 130 million in 2030, and the number of Muslims growing to 20 million. This is only one quarter of the EU's population of 502 million. Based on those facts there is a possibility Putin will start desperate deeds by occupying one of the Baltics. Of course the West would win such a war on the long haul, but at the cost of a lot of lives.

Conclusion: The EU and NATO have to regain a powerful position and start negotiations from a position of strength with Russia. We as the EU have to have respect for different cultures, including Russia's. We also need to create a balance of power within Europe again. We have to realize Russia is a superpower again with some weaknesses. Finally, Ukraine fitting better, values and culture-wise, with Russia than with the West.

Recommendation: go back to the negotiation table and strive to cooperate

within Europe, otherwise Russia will be a dangerous military power for neighbouring countries and the U.S. and China will profit from Europe's divisions.

ISLAMIC STATE (DAESH)

The second security risk for Europe is Islamic State. Abu Bakr al- Baghdadi created the Islamic Caliphate on 29 June 2014 in Mosul and announced himself to be the 5th Caliph in the big Mosque in Mosul by killing personally twelve moderate Mullahs (Iman's).

My analysis of Islamic State is structured along the aspects of strategic strength of a country, as explained before, by taking into account all kinds of power: political/diplomatic, information, economic, military, geographical, demographic and social-psychological.

Firstly, let me elaborate briefly on the causes of Islamic State:

- It started with the discrimination of the Sunnites in Iraq by the previous Prime Minister Maliki and the occupation of Fallujah and Ramadi with the support of the Sunnite Army Brigades of North Iraq.
- Second cause was the Arabic Spring or better Uprising and the anarchy in Syria.
- Third cause was the support of Turkey to Islamic State to solve their Kurdish problem.
- Finally an important cause was the abuse of religion by the Leadership of IS and the recruiters and the frustration of young Muslims in our European countries.

Organizational and political power: Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi has two deputies for Iraq and Syria, a cabinet/shura, a military council, sever al regional governors and approximately 40,000 fighters or terrorists. The ideology is to create a Large Caliphate like the old Ottoman Caliphate comprising Southern Europe, the northern half of Africa and the Middle East stretching out eastwards towards India.

Information: ISIS have smart guys dominating the news with fearful videos about beheadings, contacting frustrated young Muslims in Europe for recruitment.

Economic power: The daily income was in 2015 €2 million, 90% from selling illegal oil via Turkey. The other 10% and later on more (due to downsized oil production and sales) was human trafficking, narcotics, donations, extortion of local inhabitants, antiques and traffic in organs.

Military and demographic power: ISIS have brand new US military

equipment from Sunnite units in North Iraq. They recruited 31,000 young Muslims in the period 2014–2016, but have lost already 40,000 in combat.

Geographic power: ISIS have lost already about 75% of the initial occupied areas in Iraq and Syria and now they are defending only West Mosul and Raqqa.

Conclusion: The coalition of 60 countries against Islamic State are busy with bombardments and training of ground forces (Iraq and Kurds). But we have to fight them on all aspects of Strategic Power like an oil stain. We have to realize that beating them only in Mosul and Raqqa will not be the solution; they will simply move to countries like Libya, Nigeria or Somalia. Moreover, they will continue to create fear with their terrorist attacks as in Paris, Brussels, Copenhagen, Berlin, London and in Turkey. Finally, we as European countries have to address the frustration of the young Muslims in our countries, by not discriminating them but supporting them in getting jobs.

REFUGEES

Related to Islamic State and the war in Iraq and Syria is the risk of numbers of refugees for the stabilization of Europe. A key factor is the large role criminal organizations are playing, by seducing lots of merely economic refugees to pay some €7000 per person for the boat trip to southern EU countries. If there were not such criminal organizations the number of refugees would have been 60% lower, because only 40% of the current refugees is coming from real warzones like Iraq and Syria. Moreover, the irresponsible behaviour of the criminals to earn as much money as possible with poorly maintained ships cost some 5000 lives in 2016. In my opinion, we as EU and NATO have to fight against these criminals.

We have to do our utmost to support the refugees in the region by building sustainable camps in countries like Lebanon, Jordan or Turkey. I do not mean just giving money or tents. We should spend most of our budgets for refugees via our own companies building villages with prefab houses, with a prefab school, a medical post, shops, a church and/or a mosque, etc. to give the real refugees a safe place to live in their own region and culture. There is an important role for the EU to coordinate this.

Finally, as 'rich' Christians, we should help those refugees already in our countries and to support them to get a decision about citizenship as quickly as possible. Currently in countries like the Netherlands, this process is taking too long (3 to 9 years). In their waiting phase, they are not allowed to work so they cannot earn their own living. Their education will



be outdated after several years. Another aspect to realize is that the current numbers of refugees in EU countries are not higher than 20 years ago. However, the media publishes merely negative news about the refugees and influences people negatively to vote for populist political parties. These populist parties exaggerate the risk of the arrival of terrorists under the disguise of refugees. Of course this is possible, but there are easier ways to arrive in Europe as a terrorist.

Conclusion: We must support the refugees as much as possible in their own region, but when they are already in our countries, we must support them as Christians and help them get jobs as soon as possible.

HIGH NORTH/NORTH POLE

The North Pole: where are we talking about? There are a lot of definitions, but most of the experts and the Arctic Council are using the Polar Circle as the southern boundary of the High North (66 degrees North Latitude). This means there are eight countries with territory in the High North: U.S., Canada, Russia, Denmark (Greenland), Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland.

What is happening on the North Pole? The ice cap – at sea (the Arctic Ocean) is one to four metres thick, and on land it has a layer of kilometres in thickness – is melting. This started years ago with a higher concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere melting the ice and then the Albedo-effect did the rest. This means the reflecting of sunbeams on the surface; snow and ice reflect 90% of the sunbeams and sun heat; water only reflects

10% and is absorbing 90%. This creates an accelerating effect and over the last two decades melted an ice surface on the North Pole as big as India.

This melting has created several new situations and possibilities. Countries are disputing their rights, such as their territory of 12 nautical miles from the coast and the economic zone of 200 nautical miles. This governance of territorial and boundary disputes is organized by United Nations Convention on the Law of Sea (UNCLOS). Currently this governance works well, but what will happen if the melting continues, as the experts are predicting. In 30 or 40 years, the Arctic Ocean will be ice-free during summers. Besides the economic zones there will be an international open ocean in the High North of 3000 by 1800 kilometres.

To solve all future challenges, the eight North Pole countries set up an intergovernmental organization in 1996, called the Arctic Council. Currently the Arctic Council has also twelve observer countries including China, South Korea, Japan, India, France, Germany, Netherlands, Great-Britain, Italy, Spain and Poland. Moreover, there are also twenty "Observer International Organizations" and NGO's. Under the umbrella of the Arctic Council, ten separate organizations have been set up to coordinate developments, organize environmental protection and avoid disasters in the High North.

Since 2010, ships have been using new sea routes during summertime via the North-East Passage, which is 8000 kms shorter than the Suez Canal route (13,000 kms versus 21,000 kms). The North-West passage is also 4200 kms shorter. The problems between EU/NATO and Russia have reduced the number of ships on the North-East Passage (which peaked in 2012 at 254 ships).

The melting ice will also give access to raw materials like oil, gas and minerals. Experts are estimating almost a quarter of all unexploited fossil fuels will be accessible in the Arctic Ocean in the near future. Under the melting ice on land, especially in Greenland, a lot of minerals have been discovered like gold, silver, diamonds, uranium, copper, iron ore, and 17 rare earth metals necessary for iPhones and tablets. Currently China has a monopoly on these 17 rare earth metals in China and in the DRC (Democratic Republic Congo). Now China has also already bought the mining rights in Greenland. The Arctic Ocean is sea that is most abundant in fish in Europe. Given the rise of the temperatures and the change of the salt level of the water, more fish will swim north.

Conclusion: Firstly, a unique nature area will undergo great changes. Secondly, the accessibility of raw materials will create international tensions. Moreover, the sea most abundant in fish will attract more fishing fleets. Fourthly, China is buying mining rights in Greenland and other strategic positions in Iceland, and developing plans which are not in Europe's best interests or those of our trans-Atlantic partners. Finally, we as EU countries have to cooperate better to avoid problems between individual European countries and Russia or China. Is this really a threat or a risk? In my opinion this is currently a risk which will probably transform into a threat within 10 till 20 years, if we do not take this risk seriously.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

We have to control the security threats and risks not only from the military perspective, but along all the lines of the strategic aspects of power. This should lead to a stronger common EU foreign- and security policy.

We have to respect other cultures and we have to do our utmost to solve problems not with weapons or via the media, but at the negotiation table. It is also necessary for our politicians to think more on the long term and to know their opponents better.

We as EU countries need to spend more money on our armed forces and we need to cooperate better. For example: 23 different armed vehicles for 27 countries is ridiculous and a logistical night mare; yet almost every country wants to support its own industry.

We do not have to fear; not only because we trust our Creator, but also because we, the EU has a large population of 502 million (four times that of Russia), our Gross National Product is some 20% higher than the U.S. and more than 16 times higher than Russia. But we have to protect ourselves better against military threats (like Russia) and this asks for an additional yearly budget for defence of some 1% of our Gross National Product.

We as EU countries have to protect our Christian culture and values and our constitution which is based largely on the Ten Commandments. Yet we cannot be only selfish; we need to help our neighbours (people and countries) and we have to reach out to poor people and poor countries as a Christian community of hope. To support your neighbour and uphold human rights are also democratic principles for countries and the EU as a whole.

This was also the vision of Robert Schuman as a foundation for the EU.

5. Faith, hope and NATO

ii. Vilver Oras - STANDING FOR WHAT WE BELIEVE IN

WE CAN LOOK AT THESE TIMES IN TWO DIFFERENT WAYS: either with the eyes of despair or with the eyes of hope. These times are testing us in who we are, in what we believe in and how united we can be.

I personally believe in the unity of Europe. However over the last year, in several occasions, the most unlikely scenarios have come to past (e.g. some elections). While we have also seen that some scenarios can go the way expected (e.g. the recent Dutch general elections and the French presidential election), we need to be ready to see that the things we think of as the most unlikely scenarios can come to past. We live in a time of change.

In this situation of testing in who we are and what we believe in, our Lord sets the example by staying firm as well as being good. We must keep what we believe in, know our values and keep up with them no matter what.

EU - Russia Relations.

The relations between the EU and Russia is an example of standing for what we believe in. The European Union has imposed sanctions on Russia. This is one example of the reactions that we can have. A military attack is not in our beliefs but we can take action. In these days, we have to accept that we need to that will hurt us but that are necessary to stand for what we believe in. The sanction system will test the European unity and will really show us what we stand for and believe in.

My suggestion to the world and to Europe is: listen to Eastern Europe, because Eastern Europe has history with Russia and with the Soviet Union. We have something to contribute in the way that Russia thinks. Sometimes, it can be something that the civilized world won't maybe see it that way. Because we have history, it is vital to listen to Eastern Europe.

Estonia has a story of independence, of gaining it as well as regaining it. This is much rooted in our identity as Estonians. Estonia first became independent in 1918, then had a two-year war with Soviet Russia from which we came out victoriously. Then we had a brief 22 years of independence, followed by a fifty-year occupation, before regaining our independence in 1991. As heard yesterday concerning the history of Malta and how it stood against the Ottoman Empire, this shows that against

overwhelming odds, good can still prevail. And I believe that we, as Christians, must believe this fact.

But Estonians know the price of freedom and the price for independence. We have paid for it the first time with a war, and the second time without any casualties, which I believe to be nothing else but the grace of God.

Terrorism and migration

I will join the issues of terrorism and migration together as I regard them as closely connected. Coming out of fifty years of occupation, Estonians have been migrants. Many of us escaped our country or were chased to Sweden, Germany, Canada or the United States. Estonians know what it means to be a migrant nation. We were very well-received by our hosting nations. Many found a new home and kept the Estonian spirit alive during the occupation. For that reason, the issue of migration is very dear to our hearts because we have experienced it ourselves and we are very thankful for having been hosted somewhere else during the occupation. This means that we need to look at the migrants in a different way.

The most important reasons for these troubled times is the question of meaning. Migrant or not, most of the youth nowadays won't find a meaningful job during their entire lifetime. For me as a man, being able to work and to provide gives me meaning. So the youth nowadays won't be able to find meaning for their lives. They will therefore look somewhere else. Radicalisation is a very attractive way to find meaning in one's life. We need to find ways to give meaningful lives to Europeans but also to migrants and to integrate them before they radicalize.

Democracy in crisis

Inequity is greater than it has ever been. Democracy is at a crisis point. Do people believe in democracy? People often feel alienated from the authorities that they feel don't listen to them. Many feel that Brussels doesn't listen to people. We have to consider what has gone wrong there. How can we reintegrate the nations in a way that people will feel listened to?

It is about uniting people as a nation with the authorities because I strongly believe that God in His essence is in a relationship. He is a Trinity: three Persons in one. This means that he is always in a relationship. He has created man to be in a relationship with Him. He is a relational God. We know that Satan is the divider. As we have already heard, people feel lonely. We have to find ways to unite people into a society with the

authorities under which they live.

I do believe we can change situations. We can stand strong for goodness even against overwhelming odds. We just celebrated the n-year anniversary of the riots in Tallinn¹. As mentioned by General Arie Vermij, there were huge riots in Tallinn with cyber attacks in 2007. They could have evolved into something drastically different but we stood for what we believed in and we are still here.

Borders with Russia

The border with Russia is, of course, an issue. However, the Baltic nations are not Ukraine nor Georgia. The Baltic nations are in a different situation and of different natures in many ways. With regards to integration, they are probably the most successful part of the former Soviet Union. This shows that unity gives freedom. Nevertheless, we need to stay aware of what is happening behind our borders. 95% of the Eastern part of the country is mainly Russian speaking but there, too, integration is the answer.

I think that it is time for us, as the European Union, to stick together, to stand for what we believe in, for our foundation, to know our values and stay with them no matter the cost. Sometimes it costs a lot. Freedom is not free. Independence is not free. It will cost us. But we cannot give up our values and cannot desert those who have not been as lucky as we are. We need to spread that.

Climate change

Finally, on climate change, I personally feel strongly about the issue. The very beginning of the Bible tells us clearly what we need to do. One of God's first commands to man was to be a good governor of what He has given to him. Very often we have forgotten this. 'This world is going to perish anyway. Let's use it as much as we can' has been the kind of belief that has spread and very often into Christians circles too. But as the Lord commanded Adam, let's be good governors of the earth.

¹ The Bronze Night was a series of riots that occurred in Tallinn between the 26th and the 29th of April. They were caused by ethnic Russians in protest of the relocation of the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn, a controversial World War II Soviet memorial initially built at the site of several war graves.

5. Faith, hope and NATO

iii. Henrik Syse - DON'T LEAVE YOUR VALUES

THANK YOU VERY MUCH for inviting me to this panel of the State of Europe Forum 2017. There is not much that I can add to the great comments made here. I think we need more of these debates in which we actively engage with our values.

A friend of mine, the former Bishop of Oslo, told me once that he had seen a funny sign at a hotel reception in Switzerland saying: "Please leave your values at the front desk". He assumed that it meant valuables. We can't leave our values, we need to take them with us.

Today I am wearing a tie called 'the Glasnost tie', dating back from when my father was the Prime Minister of Norway² at the time of the fall of the Iron Curtain. On it are drawn the flags of the Soviet Union and the United States side by side. The other symbols are doves of peace. We must recapture what we were thinking at that time and what we were hopeful about. This, I think, is what this conference is about too: looking back at history and trying to relive the values that were crucial and positive at that time. How can we talk about them and utilise and live them today?

I would like to challenge one point of General Arie Vermij's presentation, regarding the description of Russia and Ukraine. I think that it is very useful to try to understand cultures and ways of being within nations. We often underestimate them. We are often way too naïve. Few have seen these things up as close as General Vermij has seen them.

On the other hand, there is the danger of what we philosophers call 'essentialism', meaning thinking that "well, that's the way they are". Most nations and cultures are manifold. They consist of different elements and move in different ways. Sometimes, things can move those nations in a certain direction because of certain individuals, groups of people or ideologies.

All of us here would say that in Germany today is a stalwart modern rule of law and democracy. That was not quite how we would have summed up Germany in 1945. I remember the great Norwegian author and

² Jan Peder Syse, Prime Minister of Norway between the 16th of October 1989 and the 3rd of November 1990

contributor to European Christian culture, Sigrid Undset, who wrote an essay in 1943 asking: 'can we ever trust Germany again?'. She asked that question because of the autocracy, the suppression and the war that Germany had caused. But of course, we saw some great leaders standing forth. We have spoken here several times about Robert Schuman, but central was also the role of several German leaders, including the German chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

What I am trying to say is that, yes indeed, there are things that have happened in the last decades in Russia that are deeply worrisome, especially during the most recent one. Some of it has to do with deep-seated features of Russian history and a wish to stand forth as Russia, a great historic nation, and some of that has really worrisome consequences. But also some of this is the result of a certain route taken by Vladimir Putin. It needn't have gone that way. Are there other forces within the Russian culture and society which would have wished to have taken the nation into a different direction, maybe toward more cooperation with the rest of Europe?

General Vermij was also very right in describing the way Ukraine comes across today. He said that it fits better, from both value and culture points of view, with Russia than with the West. But once again, is that a sort of 'essentialism', is that the way Ukraine is – period? Or are there in that nation, as in so many other nations, many different aspects of that culture? Ukraine is a very rich country culturally speaking and also very divided in many ways, for example between the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox traditions. There is a rich heritage there when we speak about Christian values.

What I would like to ask, is how we can recapture a sense of wanting to search for what we share. That is, after all, what Robert Schuman tried to do in 1950, finding what we, as Europeans, share in spite of all our differences, as did another hero of mine, Eleanor Roosevelt, who chaired the committee that wrote the draft for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. She knew that this world was so divided in many ways, but were there certain values that we could all share? Of course she believed there were. She believed that if we were to build on the basic building block of inherent dignity, we could actually come together. And I think that we are united in this room by still believing in that.

But what we have learned is that if we are to encourage this sort of cooperation, of peaceful coexistence, of sharing of values, we also have to



take seriously that identity and particularity ought to be respected. We can't just come there and say "Hello, here we have some universal values for you. Please exchange your own for these and we'll be fine. Don't be so Russian anymore but be like us!" That is a danger. It is like welcoming someone, telling him to come as he is but after that asking him to become like us.

How do we maintain that sort of balance? I believe that it is the key for the future cooperation with Russia, with Ukraine, with all of the Eastern Europe, but also with the rest of the world. And that is inherent in what General Vermij was saying. I couldn't agree more that we need to stand firm. NATO's commitment right now is more important than ever. That is why we fear so much when we get these weird signals from the US President, one day stating that the NATO is fine and the other saying that we don't quite need that, or when he says that he would be honoured to talk with Kim Jong Un. We need steadfastness which includes military readiness but at the same time we need openness.

I would like to mention two very brief points of agreement with both previous speakers. We indeed need a broad approach. Military means can't

by themselves create a more peaceful world at all. We need a sort of engagement in these countries that faces huge political, cultural, military and demographic challenges. And it is, after all, a wake-up call to the world.

Many analysts say that if 'they' – meaning all of us – had made sure that the United Nations World Food Program had been much better funded over the last five years, we would have seen much less of a refugee crisis. The World Food Program told the world that it was seriously underfunded and that the consequences would be a refugee crisis, but very few woke up to this call.

We need to also learn from the good examples, to tell the stories of what actually works and not just talk negative, as it was emphasized this morning. If we keep talking negative, by for example blaming that the UN doesn't work at all, that it is all chaos, that is having the kind of talk Donald Trump has. If we keep on saying that everything is going bad time and again, people will actually believe. If we read 'The Sun' for 25 years, we will believe that everyone in Brussels is an idiot. I think that we have an important role to play in talking up the institutions and in finding ways to act that actually work.

Finally, as was emphasized by Dr Camilleri this morning, one of the main elements of this tradition that we are talking about and celebrating here is the view that individual human beings have basic rights, everywhere they are from, and that includes, for example, the rights of asylum seekers. To use the example told by General Vermij, if there were really 80.000 Chinese people coming to settle in Iceland and Greenland in the future, how would we welcome them? How would their rights be ensured? How would we make sure that we don't end up with a new permanent underclass of slaves that has no rights, that ends up in ghettos, that no one cares about because we assume that they came here only trying to earn more money, but without thinking that we have responsibility for them.

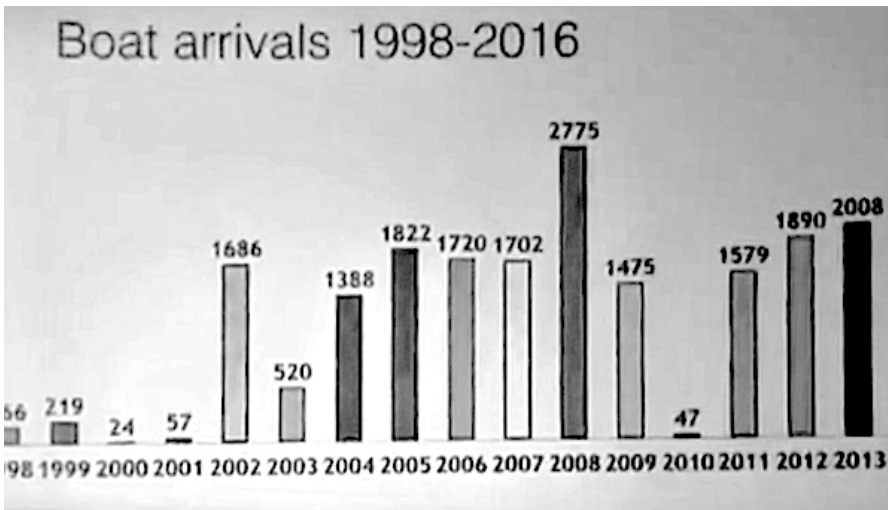
One of our main tasks is, I believe, to stand up for those values that we truly believe in, in order to make sure that we don't create more of a divided society in the future.

6. Do hope and hospitality have limits?

i. Katrine Camilleri

I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS AND REFLECT ON THE KIND OF EUROPE THAT WE WANT TO BUILD TOGETHER. What I am going to share with you today is some insights from my work with the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) in Malta, an international Catholic NGO with the mission to accompany, serve and defend refugees and forcibly displaced people. My presentation is based on my experience with the JRS in Malta for the past almost twenty years.

As you are probably aware, because of Malta's position on the so-called Central Mediterranean route, the irregular migration route from Libya to Europe - mostly to Italy, to a lesser extent to Malta - in the years 2002-2013 Malta received an average of 1600-1800 migrants annually through this route.



Boat arrivals in Malta

While of course this number is almost insignificant in absolute terms, especially if compared to, say, Italy which experienced a larger number of arrivals, for a country the size of a rock you can imagine that these arrivals strain not only our logistical capacities but also perhaps more worryingly our longstanding tradition of hospitality. To me it is a little ironic that the country that prides itself on having welcomed St. Paul with unusual

kindness, as the Acts of the Apostles tells us, chose to welcome these arrivals by locking them up in make-shift detention centres (on account of their irregular migration status, which was of course based on the law). While this response could have been justified initially, because clearly we were not prepared for this new reality, it became far more difficult to justify, at least in my view, once we moved past the emergency or crisis phase.

Over the years I have been in contact weekly, if not daily, with the reality of detention for the people who were locked up there. A Ghanaian man called detention: “the dark side of the world, the starvation of the soul”. Coming into contact with this reality day in, day out, it was impossible not to question how a country that prides itself on its hospitality and generosity could institutionalise a policy of mandatory long-term and quite arbitrary detention. Migrants were held in detention in some cases up to 18 months.

I couldn't help but question how we could justify keeping people in these kinds of conditions. The conditions in detention centres were completely substandard. The centres were overcrowded. People didn't have access to basic services, which we knew were desperately needed.

Also over time, it became clear that we were dealing with a population of people that, for a large part, were fleeing war and the massive violation of human rights. We also came to realise that the journey itself from their country to Malta made many of them pass through hardships that are difficult to imagine (let alone the impact that these hardships had on the people).

We knew from some of the statistics coming from the Refugee Commissioner that many of them were legally entitled to international protection. So looking at this reality, I couldn't but ask if this way of receiving these people who turned up at our doors asking for help was not completely out of sync, completely incongruent with our perception of ourselves as a nation and with the values that supposedly shape us.³

True, I must admit, Malta and other countries in the region felt that they were struggling alone. Malta was, in fact, experiencing a complete deficit of solidarity from the other members of the EU. But still, even in the face of this, could this way of receiving people be justifiable? I'm using Malta as

³ 2002-2012: 56% of applicants were granted some form of protection – In 2012, 2013, 2015 and 2016, almost 80% were granted protection

an example but in fairness, I should state that our nation is not an exception. I mentioned earlier the response of the EU to the arrival of large numbers of mostly asylum seekers who came to Europe through Greece in 2015. The way in which Europe responded to these arrivals was much the same. Although we say that we are part of a Union founded on the core values of solidarity and respect of human rights and human dignity, we saw states acting alone, refusing to see this as a European challenge and refusing to develop a common and effective response.

We saw and we are still seeing European states responding by putting up walls. Literal walls but also others which are less visible but nevertheless there. We put up these walls to protect ourselves from real or perceived threats to our culture, to our Christian values and heritage, to our stability, may I say sometimes to our comfort and possibly to our security. These walls come in many shapes and forms. There are border walls, ever more sophisticated and militarized border control measures, agreements with third countries such as Turkey, some countries are pushing for an agreement with Libya – Malta included – countries where asylum seekers can't find effective protection, obstacles to access protections. The list is endless.

These walls are possibly, in part, the result of indifference. Pope Francis talks repeatedly about the culture of indifference, which doesn't allow us to see the needs of the other, much less to empathize with them. But I think they are also the result of fear. I don't know if any of you have ever experienced great fear in your life. I live a very secure and privileged existence by and large. But on a couple of occasions I have experienced fear. And what that experience taught me is that fear makes you completely unable to think of anything else except your own protection. Someone made an acronym about fear which is: *False Expectation Appearing Real*. Everything looks like a threat and you respond accordingly. You put up walls to protect yourself.

I think this is true on the individual as well as on the national level. It is fear that leads us to build walls and makes us incapable of looking beyond our own self-preservation, to the needs of the people who are going to be affected by those walls. The effects of those walls are very real and the costs are more than the costs to put them in place. Border control costs a lot of money but there are other costs which far exceed this financial cost.

In Malta, the costs are all too visible. Over the years, we have witnessed on countless occasions the loss of lives at Europe's borders. People see photos of children dead on a beach and that's heart-breaking, but for me, it is

much worse than that. I have met so many people landing in Malta who have lost wives, husbands or children. If you talk to a parent who tells you: “we had three children when we left Libya but we arrived here with only two because we couldn’t save all of them.” If you meet somebody who has to live with the consequences of that choice, I think that there’s no better way to ponder the huge cost that these walls have on people’s lives.⁴

Beyond that, there’s the reality for the lives of people who are stranded in countries which don't offer protection. We talked earlier about protecting people in the region where they are from, possibly there is some value in that, but one major problem is that these countries don't offer refugees what they are looking for, that is durable solutions. Refugees hope to build their lives anew. They want to live their lives to the full. They don’t want to be warehoused in a camp to wait until the situation in their country gets better. And frankly we can understand why: because many people are refugees for all of their lives.

Beyond that, there is the reality that some countries are not safe. We take Libya as an example. For years, we have been hearing stories from migrants arriving in Malta, of the hardship of the violations of human rights, of the abuse that they face in Libya. The fear that they must live with, of being picked up and detained, the fear of smugglers, of militias, of the numerous people who abuse and exploit migrants. You can read below some quotes describing the hardship of the violation of human rights that the migrants face in Libya.

You may have read the report recently published by Mark Micallef called ‘The Human Conveyor Belt’, in which he documents human smuggling and its impact on Libya, but also on the lives of migrants in post-revolution Libya, and it makes truly horrific reading. It talks about kidnapping, slave labour and endangered labour. It talks about people being essentially held for ransom and tortured until the relatives pay the money to allow them to be freed. People are sold in Libya. One migrant who arrived recently told me that they are sold from hand to hand. They are just a commodity exploited by anyone who has some control or power on Libyan territory.

Beyond the impact on people outside European borders, there’s the impact on the lives of those who make it inside. There are countless other little

⁴ The number of people who have lost their lives on the Mediterranean this year (2016) has now passed 5.000. That means that on average, 14 people have died every single day this year in the Mediterranean trying to find safety or a better life in Europe.

debts, even for asylum seekers who make it here.

To conclude, I don't want to minimise in any way the challenges posed by large numbers of arrivals. The challenges are real. There are the practical challenges but, I think, also the long-term challenges of receiving and absorbing large numbers of people in a relatively short time. People worry that it will change Europe, and I say they are probably right. But I believe that what changes us will not be determined just by external factors, by the number of people who arrive or by their religion. I believe that what will change us is how we choose to react to this challenge. We can choose to put up walls, to react out of fear, out of an instinct for self-preservation or we can choose to welcome, to receive the people who are arriving at our shores, who are fleeing as we ourselves would want to be treated if it was us.

Reacting out of fear is very problematic for me for what it does to the refugees but not only. It is also problematic for what it does to us. It prevents us from seeing refugees arriving at our borders as people, as individuals with needs and with rights. Fear allows us to assume that the violation of human rights is in certain circumstances necessary and justified. Dead people at the border, arbitrary detention and miserable conditions, ill-treatment, abuse: what to do? Do we have no choice? No we do. Fear allows us to dehumanize the refugees and close our eyes to their needs and suffering, which we are obliged by law to respond to. We are obliged by law to protect and assist refugees.

So the ultimate effect for me is that not only the face of Europe is changed but our soul. We become less human and we progressively turn to everything that is the opposite of what we profess as individuals and as a Union, which is supposedly founded on solidarity and respect for human rights. We respond in a way that is anything but Christian even if we do it ironically to protect our Christian heritage.

For me, in the ultimate analysis, Christianity is not about a set of principles, traditions or values only, it's about a commitment to follow in the footsteps of Christ and live his commandment to welcome the stranger and to love one another as he loves us. That, Jesus says, is how they will know that we are his disciples. Europe is facing a challenge, possibly I think one of the greatest challenges that we have ever faced. It is a defining moment in our short history as a Union. The way we respond will not only define the fate of the refugees, but it will also define us and shape the kind of Union we will become.

Quotes from migrants regarding their experience in Libya

- *“Everywhere you are you feel helpless and afraid”*
- *“The smugglers are terrible. We were always afraid because they can take every woman and rape her and even kill her.”*
- *“We used to sleep in our shoes, so that if the soldiers came to kick in the door, we could all jump up and run.”*
- *“One night, after about four months, four soldiers took me and another woman and raped us. When we refused, they took us by force. They hit my face and burned my hands with a lighter when I tried to hug myself in self-defence.”*
- *“It is not only women who suffer sexual abuse, it is terrible. A lot of men have been sexually abused but are afraid to speak out because they may be stereotyped.”*

6. Do hope and hospitality have limits?

ii. Ahmed Bugre

I WANT TO ANSWER THE QUESTION OUTRIGHTLY AND SAY, NO!

The Apostle Paul wrote to the Corinthian church: *There are three things for the Christian that remain: faith, hope and love. And the great est of these is love.* Why? Because faith and hope are grounded in love.

The writer to the Hebrews wrote: *Keep on loving one another as brothers and sisters. Do not forget to show hospitality to strangers for by doing so some people have shown hospitality to angels without knowing it. Continue to remember those in prison as if you were together with them in prison and those who are suffering as if you yourselves were suffering.*

And the writer to the Hebrews was writing to a group of believers who were going through tremendous persecution under one of the most vicious Roman caesars of the time.

Let me tell you my personal story. I grew up in a muslim family. All my family are muslims. I'm the only Christian in my family. Coupled with that my father was an imam. I have always been religious since I was very young. My father was grooming me to become an imam. I was very proud as a muslim of being an example for my parents. I grew up as a muslim to the greatest of my ability. When I was in high school, I used to be a very, very bad stammerer. I could not speak one sentence without stammering.

In the mid 1980s Ghana had a disagreement with Libya or the muslim world where there was a scheme to build a mosque in every town and city. I used to belong to the Ghana Muslim Students Union. Our ambition was to raise Islam in every school. The Christian groups were our target. We believed the Christians had changed the scriptures. So Christianity was a fake religion. That was what I was told.

I met this lady who in arguing about Christ and about the church said to me: 'You don't know Jesus. You know him as a prophet but he is more than a prophet.' One day she invited me to a prayer meeting, so I went and saw them praying, shouting and singing. I was very up set. She said to me, 'you are a stammerer, you stutter. Jesus can heal you.' I thought, this is the time that I am going to get this woman to see that this is a fake story.

They prayed for me, I left and I got healed. I had a miracle. I can talk to you now because of that encounter that evening. In my heart was fear. I knew that if my father hears I have gone to a church I have a problem. In fact, after I became a Christian, for 20 years my father did not speak to me. That's how I ended up here in Malta. I had to leave my town and my family.

I have been received by many Christians and and taken care of by many churches. I do not adhere to any denomination because I see Christians as one people. I believe the fear of people coming from Africa to Europe is based on two things: race and religion. People believe that as we receive refugees and migrants they are going to challenge our Christian values. But how can your values as Christian be changed if you believe that those values are not just something you learn but something that comes with your faith?

Yesterday I was reflecting again on what the bishop said. The coming together of the two names: John, God is merciful, and Jeshua, God saves. Are values something you teach to a person in a classroom? No. I know what it means to love and to be hospitable. But how can I live those values if I do not have a personal relationship or personal faith with the Lord Jesus?

This sometimes is a problem we have in Europe. We try to keep the values of Christianity yet take the Lord of the values out of the discussion. I used to manage one of the largest refugee centres here in Malta. Over ninety per cent of those living in the centre were muslims, coming from Africa. Many times someone would say: 'Oh, your name is Ahmed; you are a muslim.' 'No', I would say, 'I'm a Christian.', The person would look at me and say, 'You are a traitor.' And I would sit the person down and say, 'Listen my brother, you have been cared for, been given a bed, food to eat, you are free to eat, and you are threatening me that I have no freedom to believe in what I want to believe. How could you accuse Europeans of being racist, or persons who do not treat you with respect if you yourself do not see the freedom, the basic values of belief.'

I think we are afraid that people who are coming are going to change our faith, the structure of our family. But we Christians are called to love. This is why the writer to the Hebrews writes: *Continue to love one another.*

The church has a role. I pastor a church and whenever a muslim, a refugee, dies, we are there at the funeral, to give our support. We open our churches for people to come, and we respect them and serve them. We don't make distinctions. People ask me 'why do you do this to us, why are you kind?' I say, 'because God has been kind to me'.

I have a responsibility as a Christian to serve you, but also I would do this to a Chinese, Filipino, I would do this to anyone who needs help. Because as Christians we are called to live our relationships with God with others. That is what Jesus said, love God with all your heart and love your neighbour as yourself.

I would in conclusion say that we the church have a responsibility. In the church we have fellowship with one another. But also the church is an

instrument of the evangelisation of the good news to those who are coming. In love there is no fear. I have had people put a knife to my throat and say, you are a traitor we will kill you because of your faith. But they have not killed me. The more I love them, the more they come to know. One person who threatened me is now a person who comes to my church. And he's from Somalia.

We have a duty not only to tell people about the Lord but to live by the example that we have learned from the Lord.



6. Do hope and hospitality have limits?

iii. Noemi Mena Montes

Noemi Montes, originally from Spain and now based in Amsterdam, is a media lecturer and researcher, an expert on immigration and refugees, and an advocate on behalf of displaced persons. She presented the following visual essay.



WHEN WE DIDN'T KNOW ...



- ❖ Europe did ignore the thousands of people have to leave Syria from 2011 till 2015...
- ❖ In our sincere ignorance we didn't know that a SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS was taking place
- ❖ Neighbour countries over crowded
- ❖ The invisible refugees from Yemen, Ethiopia, Sudan..and the 60 million internal displace people in the world
- ❖ IGNORANCE is not an excuse..

❖ DIVISION IN EUROPE: Hospitality to the strangers...yes or no?

- No quota system
- Extremist & Populist won voices
- Countries close borders (Hungary, Denmark, UK..)
- Media and political speech change (UK debate: Migrants vs. Refugees and Brexit)
- EUROPE IN FEAR
- Increase of Islamophobia and fear
- Terrorist attacks and the incapacity to prevent them (fear that ISIS will send terrorist as refugees)
- LOSING THE WELCOMING SPIRIT AND BREAKING PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS
- Turkey EU-deal, Repatriation



Death at the European borders; a continuity



CONSCIOUS STUPIDITY THE GLOBALISATION OF INDIFFERENCE

- ❖ But in 2015 the refugees came to Europe and we realise that a “REFUGEE CRISIS” was taking place...so we were not ignorant anymore and then we decide to be stupid....Do we really believe that the Turkey-EU deal has solved the problem of the refugees?
- ❖ When the EU declares that the Refugee Crisis is over: Turkey-EU deal (March, 2016)...when we accept to be consciously stupid

THE GLOBALISATION OF INDIFFERENCE

- ❖ “Good news”: European countries decide that Afghanistan is a safe country, 2017
- ❖ Do we really believe that Afghanistan is a safe country?...Do we know that after the second world war, Afghanistan is the country where more European soldiers have died?

BREAKING PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

- ❖ From the Refugee Convention to the EU policies
- ❖ “The constitutional inability of European nation-states to guarantee human rights to those who had lost their national guaranteed rights, made it possible for the persecuting governments to impose their standard of values (...)
- ❖ The very phrase ‘human rights’ became for all concerned — victims, persecutors — the evidence of hopeless idealism or minded hypocrisy”.
Hanna Arendt, 1951

*Sending people to Afghanistan
violation of the principle of non-refoulement*

“No Contracting State shall return a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion”

Article 33(1) 1951 Refugee Convention

WHAT IS HAPPENING AND WHAT IS NOT HAPPENING

- ❖ We should know what is happening with the refugees and also what is not happening...
- ❖ We should know the paradox of European policies and be aware of the double moral standards of European policies and do something about it

WHAT IS NOT HAPPENING

❖ GREECE-ITALY

- ❖ The Welcome center that become a detention center- MORIA-LESBOS
- ❖ The Camp life Resettlement from Greece and Italy
- ❖ We did not create a safe route for refugees to come to Europe
- ❖ Camp life in Greek and Italian “hotspots” – holding centres set up at migrant arrival points – is plagued by a lack of security safeguards, water, decent food, blankets and medical facilities, the new study says.

❖ LEBANON-JORDAN-TURKEY

- ❖ During the refugee crisis we hear voices, I remember hearing political parties, christian organisations...Lets help the refugees in the neighbour countries, lets help them there so they do not need to come here...DID WE REALLY HELP THEM AFTER THEY WERE NOT COMING?
- ❖ BECAUSE WHEN WE DO NOT SEE, WE DO NOT FEEL, in the moment they were not coming anymore we forgot about them....
- ❖ HELPING THE VULNERABLE ONES: WOMEN AND CHILDREN

ABOUT NUMBERS, INFORMATION AND PERCEPTIONS

The top three host countries: Turkey, Pakistan, and Lebanon (30% of refugees worldwide).

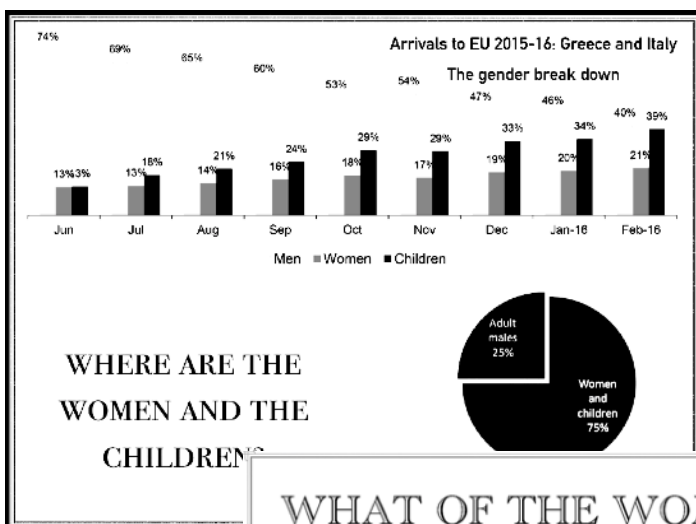
The top 10 host countries 57% of all refugees.

80% Development countries

Only a small fraction of refugees fleeing their homes make into Europe.

The UN has registered four million Syrian refugees in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt and North Africa.

Most of them live in refugee camps close to the border. They would fit on 59 futbol fields.



WHAT OF THE WOMEN??

- ◊ Stories of young women who become prostitutes in Athens
- ◊ A lot of Pakistani women having sex to collect money to pay the smugglers.
- ◊ Manar is from Aleppo, she is selling herself for sex. She is working for Samir, who 'protects' her. She is living in the hotel and she is selling sex in the city, she is a refugee pregnant woman and she is selling herself for sex for old Greek men.
- ◊ Family from Afghanistan a province with lots of Talibans. The family have one son with mental problems. They are trying to send a 10 year old daughter via smugglers to Germany. Once she is safe there, the family will ask to go to the country where their daughter is. It is only possible for young people, younger than 16 years old.



TODAY: EU BROKEN PROMISES... STUCK IN GREECE

- ◊ The Greek and Italian "hotspots" – holding centres set up at migrant arrival points – is plagued by a lack of security safeguards, water, decent food, blankets and medical facilities, the new study says.
RELOCATION PLAN : 63.000 refugees from Italy & Greece to Europe / 2016: only 8000 were re-located. Countries like Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Denmark...Zero refugees
- ◊ In the islands: People stuck in the islands. Procedure is very slow. They are not allow to go anywhere.
- ◊ In Greece: No platform for accommodation. If they are recognise as refugees, they will apply for asylum in Greece but there is a big problem of accommodation (live in parks, many people in one apartment...)
- ◊ The EU and European member states put refugees in a risky situation.
- ◊ There are indicators European leaders are turning their back on refugees

THE FORGOTTEN REFUGEE CAMPS IN GREECE



MORIA:

FROM WELCOME CENTER TO DETENTION CENTER



NO FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT: NO FREEDOM

- ✦ Why to be concern about the situation in Temporary Refugee Centers than become Detention Centers or “Home” for many people who can not go back, who can not go anywhere?
- ✦ Freedom of movement is the key fundamental freedom.
- ✦ This right is the cornerstone of other rights. Like the right to education, employment, legal access, identity papers....

WHERE IS THE CRISIS?

- ✦ Where is the crisis? Outside our borders? Yes it is there but it is also here...
- ✦ DO WE HAVE A CRISIS OF HOSPITALITY? A CRISIS OF COMPASSION? a moral-humanitarian crisis?

THE FEAR: TERRORISM

- ✦ But there is one big reason that it seems it can justify the crisis of hospitality:
- ✦ TERRORISM....It is sad to see that the victims of terrorism become the threat...
- ✦ We live in a culture where REFUGEES are the victims who are suspicious of being also the ones who attack|with
- ✦ TERRORISM
- ✦ What is terrorism? Terrorism is basically taking an innocent stranger and treating them as an enemy whom you kill in order to create fear.
- ✦ What's the opposite of terrorism? It's taking an innocent stranger and treating them as a friend whom you welcome into your home, in order to sow and create understanding or respect, or love.
- ✦ The opposite of terrorism is Hospitality,

HOSPITALITY

- ◆ Let me ask you a question. How many of you have had the experience of being in a strange neighbourhood or strange land, and a total stranger, perfect stranger, comes up to you and shows you some kindness — maybe invites you into their home, gives you a drink, gives you a coffee, gives you a meal? How many of you have ever had that experience? The Middle East is the land of Abraham, a man that practice hospitality, a man that without knowing it, he host men who were actually angels. Abraham is an example of hospitality and service to the stranger
- ◆ What if HOSPITALITY could be an antidote to radicalisation and terrorism?
- ◆ What if Hospitality would help to blocks religious intolerance?
- ◆ What if we practice the faith of Abraham and we have more faith that God will protect us when we practice hospitality?
- ◆ What if Christians believe again in hospitality?

ABRAHAMIC HOSPITALITY

- ◆ To offer food and a generous welcome to anyone is a strong Middle Eastern tradition.
- ◆ There are many examples of this in the Bible, where hostility and suspicion are transformed thereby into understanding and trust.
- ◆ New Testament: Do not forget to show hospitality to strangers, for by doing so some people have shown hospitality to angels without being aware of it. (Hebrews 13:2)

THERE IS HOPE... WE NEED ACTION, ENGAGEMENT

- ◆ Demand our Government to fulfill their promises and international treaties
- ◆ Europe needs an agenda to restore protection
- ◆ From an ethics of blame the others and fear to an Ethics of compassion and mutual responsibility
- ◆ Christians: welcome the stranger, practice hospitality

HOPE NOT TO LOSE HOPE



❖Refugees' hope and resilience refugees is inspiring and makes me even more determined to continue advocating for their safety.

IT MAKES A DIFFERENCE FOR THIS ONE...

"One day a man was walking along the beach, when he noticed a boy picking up starfish and throwing them into the ocean. Approaching the boy, he asked, "Excuse me, but what are you doing?"

The boy replied, "Throwing starfish back into the ocean. The sun is rising and tide is going out. If I don't throw them back, they'll die."

The man laughed to himself and said, "But there's too many starfish on this beach. You can't possibly make a difference!"

After listening politely, the boy bent down, picked up another starfish and threw it into the ocean. Then, turning to the man, he said, "I made a difference to that one."



**"Hope has two beautiful daughters;
their names are Anger and Courage.
Anger at the way things are,
and Courage to see
that they do not remain
as they are."
- St. Augustine**

HOPE

www.itakeofftheface.com



MONDAY MAY 8, 2017
UNIVERSITY OF MALTA, VALLETTA CAMPUS

Seminars

1. Faith, ethics, and peacemaking

Henrik Syse

1. Three core perspectives

I will cover three perspectives on how Christian can contribute to peace and justice in our societies:

- i. Through a meeting between ideals and concrete, everyday reality.
- ii. Through a combination of being fast and being slow.
- iii. And through a proper regard for the key virtue of moderation.

2. The ideal and the real (or “the Constitution-Day Speech problem”)

We need principles and ideals: they provide us with meaning and direction.

But we also need an eye for the mundane, the everyday, the concrete.

How do we make the two meet?

How can we employ faith and the Biblical tradition to make the two meet, and not instead create a ‘second reality’?

How can we be *firm* and *flexible* at the same time?

3. The dynamic and the careful

Two crucial competencies:

> The ability to look ahead, be open to change, and be curious and ‘hungry’.

> But at the same time: The ability to look back, be careful, take precautions, and safeguard values.

- How do we combine the two?
- Faith communities have a special mission, not least because they also add the third dimension of looking not just ahead or back, but also up, in humility, to God.

4. Moderation

Moderation as a key virtue

Does *not* mean half-heartedness or a lack of true engagement.

Consists in the following key elements:

Humility.

Self-knowledge.

Giving each other space.

Giving each other time.

2. Churches and Politics: partners towards hospitable communities

Julia Doxat-Purser

1. WHAT IS / SHOULD BE THE ROLE OF FAITH COMMUNITIES IN TODAY'S POLITICAL SCENE?

Is it right for Pope Francis to compare refugee camps in Europe to concentration camps? Was it right for the Archbishop of Canterbury to let everyone know he was against Brexit? You may or may not feel comfortable with the role that faith communities have played in politics in the past and are doing so today. How much separation and how much connection should there be between the two spheres?

I'd like to look at what clues the Bible gives us.

Romans 13 & 1 Kings 21 imply the government as an institution established by God, politicians are God's servants for our good, to ensure peace, justice and righteousness. They are subject to God's law.

The Church is the Bride of Christ! It is to be a worshipping, praying, loving, teaching, witnessing, discipling and serving community that honours Christ. Christians are salt and light, working to prevent decay, to bring flavour, and to shine light into darkness.

Of course, it doesn't always work like that. In the Old Testament, when rulers made mistakes, God sent prophets to correct or to condemn. In the New Testament, when the apostles were told by rulers to stop preaching, they said "We must obey God, rather than men", and they carried on preaching. (Acts 5: 28-29). Paul complained when the authorities abused him. (Acts 16: 37).

But God's people make mistakes too, by becoming too inward looking, lukewarm or compromised.

What does it mean for faith communities to get it **right** in the politics of the 21st century? (My thoughts are based on what I believe the Church's role is, but other faith communities will very often be contributing in similar important ways. I'm also thinking of local Church, not just denominational level Church.)

The Church's first job must remain to worship and honour Christ and to share about Him. But this includes political involvement. "Love your

neighbour” has huge political consequences.

As it interacts with the wider community, the Church can model and inspire what is best, challenge what’s wrong, and suggest and work for improvements. The verb “model” is key here – it’s not just words but actions that are key. Christians should **act**, and then earn the right to speak and be heard.

Let’s reflect a moment on Mother Theresa. In the last years of her life, she could say anything to anyone. She was almost universally revered. Why? Because everyone knew she had spent years lovingly caring. Those years of sacrificial service had given her authority. She wasn’t a great speaker. She had no political power. But politicians had to listen when she spoke.

Think of Moses with Pharaoh, Daniel & Nebuchadnezzar, Joseph & Potiphar or the Jailer & Pharaoh, Esther & King Xerxes. Each time, God’s person had no political power, indeed they were vulnerable, but still they had authority. Their authority came through faithfully doing the right thing in God’s eyes, courageously saying the right thing, not striving for political power but to serve God, whatever it might cost.

That’s what the Church’s role is. To speak and act with authority that is obvious to all, not because of power or position, but because of doing and saying the right thing. 1 Peter 2: 12 tells Christians to live such good lives that, although non-believers accuse us of doing wrong, they will see our good deeds and glorify God.

What is the right thing to do and to say? Let me highlight just 3 things.

First: God made human beings, all of them, in His image. Every person is therefore infinitely precious and has God-given dignity. Even so the Church’s role is to work practically and to speak up for the dignity of all. From the youngest, including the unborn, to the old est, including the dying, from our immediate neighbour to the stranger, including whoever we might view as a “Samaritan”. The parable of the sheep and goats makes it absolutely clear that care for the vulnerable, whoever they may be, is one major way how He decides if someone belongs to Him or not.

Secondly, God gave human beings freedom to choose Him or to reject Him. And that’s why freedom of conscience for all is so important. It’s not just for Christians. As the saying goes, the Church must work for justice, not just for us.

And thirdly, God made human beings to live in relationship with Him and

with one another. Every individual in our diverse societies matters. The Church should be strengthening the ties of support between us all. The Church also has a unique ability to offer long term friendship and support to people, in ways that the authorities struggle to do. A social worker can offer vital help to a vulnerable people but that person remains a client, and soon it's time to move on to the next. But a local Church can provide a sense of belonging, acceptance and permanent community.

One final thing to add here. The Church is made up of individual believers and it should be preparing these individuals for works of service. (Ephesians 4:12). Some of these individuals are meant to go into the public sphere as their place of service, to be politicians, journalists, civil servants, campaigners etc. The Church is separate from actual politics. But it should be equipping and sending its members into the political and every other sphere.

2. HOW CAN APPEAL TO FAITH BE ABUSED?

The Church gets it wrong when it gets involved in politics for its own benefit, to gain power or privileges. The Church can also abuse its own power.

This is simple to say but life is more complicated. A Church may gain the role of service delivery to the vulnerable. Is it then tempted to put faith conditions on receiving of care? A Church may cooperate with politicians in order to protect its religious freedom. A Church may be very supportive of certain politicians because they stand up for something the Church believes to be important. But what does the Church do when the politicians also do or say stuff that is profoundly un-Christian?

History sadly teaches us that politicians are good at manipulating and even co-opting the Church. They give the Church something it wants. They may refer to "Christian values." The Church feels great. And then it feels obliged to stay quiet on the negative things.

Let's remember what the Bible says. The Church must remain independent and able to criticise wrong actions, words or policies, and also to offer radically different approaches. If it loses the ability to have a prophetic voice, then the salt is no longer salty.

The European Evangelical Alliance strongly believes that, while individual Christians can and should join different political parties, the Church must always remain neutral when it comes to party politics. This is so that it can criticise all, bless and work with all. And, most of all, it can share Jesus

with all. And the Church is not called to gain political power. Instead, it should focus on earning and maintaining authority based on doing and saying the right things in God's eyes.

This means there will be times when the Church must make itself unpopular, including among some Christians. It must be prepared to speak up to condemn actions, policies and words that are blatantly wrong, even if they are from a political party it quite likes. Sometimes a red line is crossed, and to be faithful, the Church must speak. The salt must remain salty.

3. WHAT CAN CHURCHES DO TO PROMOTE A CLIMATE OF HOSPITALITY?

Be the Church! The Church is, or should be, a place of life, forgiveness, love, healing, hope and peace. For everyone. Our societies are increasingly diverse. The local Church is the one place used to diversity, or at least it should be. The Church brings to gether young and old, rich and poor, educated and less educated, the "successful" and the "unsuccessful" and impaired, and every ethnicity and personality.

Of course, the Church is not multi-faith, but it is used to welcoming all and serving all. It is used to hosting events for all kinds of people and every generation, status or ability.

So, let's keep being the Church. If that means working harder at being diverse and welcoming, then let's start there. But let's also work together with others in our town to listen to what the town needs in terms of support to create a climate of hospitality. What are the needs out there? Poverty? Loneliness? Fear? Debt? Abuse or exploitation? Who are being forgotten? Who are extra vulnerable because there is no longer public money to run the services they used to rely on? Let's cooperate with the local authorities so that the Church can help... but still remain free to be the Church.

4. WHAT ARE SOME CONCRETE STEPS - LOCALLY, NATIONALLY OR AT EUROPEAN LEVEL?

In many localities, including my own, the Churches have got together and then approached the local politicians, health, education, police and other professionals in order to find and celebrate all the good work that is being done to serve the community. But then there is the chance to see the gaps and to come up with new, much needed projects. So just in my town, the Poole Conversation as it was called, has led to several churches now



collaborating with the local authorities to ensure that the most isolated older people are invited to friendship clubs etc.

The Church is used to talking about belief. In our multi-faith, multi-worldview society, many politicians don't know how to talk about faith, they don't know how to build bridges between communities. They fear diversity. Some politicians think it is best to impose neutrality, by which they actually mean squashing faith out of public life. That's exactly the wrong way of bringing about cohesion and neighbourliness. Instead, everyone in society should be able to live their lives according to their faith and worldview, provided that they also support the idea of everyone else doing the same and accepting that we need to find accommodating solutions where beliefs bring about clashes. In case you have not noticed already, Muslims and people of other faiths normally love to discuss faith and to collaborate with Christians. They feel more comfortable with Christians than with those that seem to be against all faith. Just one proof of this is how Muslim or Jewish friends will, if given the choice, very often opt to send their children to Christian rather than secular schools.

Our communities are fragmenting. Demographic, economic and political change has brought about fear, anger, tension and division. All of these things are to be found within the local church, as well as in the surrounding community. And so there's one other concrete step for the local church that I want to highlight. This is for the local church to be a place of honest listening, of meeting, of people being able to express their

fears and concerns without being judged, but also so that they learn to listen to others with very different views. The local church has a vital role of bridge building and reconciliation – between Christians and also with the wider community.

The Church should be an example for others to follow and can make a huge difference. By being hospitable, it gains authority, knowledge, and the right to speak. The Church also often gains the imperative to speak. It sees what works and what doesn't. And it can offer up expertise to politicians in order to help them to do a better job. Or, if they really will not listen and the situation is serious, then it can speak up to criticise.

But what about the national or European level? What should happen there to promote a climate of hospitality? Churches at national or European level can:

1. *Inspire and equip their local churches, with good practice and other resources to support their hands on work.*
2. *Gather together experts, often from local church but also from academia or NGOs to come up with new solutions and resources which can equip the local church but can also help the authorities to improve their policies and practice.*
3. *Speak effectively to government and to wider society. Through quiet diplomatic influence, the media and through more active campaigning.*

I want to highlight just one thing that EEA has done to help promote a climate of hospitality – at the European, national and local level. To respond to the asylum and refugee crisis, we built a broad partnership of Christian experts and churches working together on “the Refugee Campaign”. This has many aspects to it but a particular feature is a one stop shop website of resources, FAQs and news to help the Church think, pray and act appropriately: www.eearefugees.org

Let me pick out some quotes from just one resource, highlighting “What matters” when we are thinking about the refugee situation.

WHAT MATTERS:

(see: <http://www.eearefugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Campaigning-What-Matters.pdf>)

Facts matter. Do you spot sensationalism or naivety, scapegoating or wishful thinking, inappropriate nationalism or ignoring of the challenges? Be bold. Prayerfully and graciously speak up where you see or hear untruth.

Language matters. Careless, sensationalising, pejorative, dehumanising, populist, generalising language can turn fear into paranoia and hatred. Be

bold. Prayerfully and graciously challenge damaging language.

Religious freedom matters. Refugees of all faiths are experiencing harassment, especially those exploring changing their faith. Speak up to ensure protection for all faiths among the refugee community and for facilities for them to meet to worship and pray.

Culture matters. The glory of the kings of the nations will be represented at the end of time (Revelation 21). Europe and each of its nations are made up of many cultures. Refugees come with their own culture and will want to continue to treasure it. But, if new arrivals are to settle well, they need to understand and take on many parts of their new country's culture.

"New arrivals have a duty to integrate. Hosts have a duty to welcome, inviting and helping refugees to understand their new home, to abide by common rules and to participate in cultural practices that are appropriate for all.

"Let's promote a culture of hospitality, which includes recognising the culture and dignity of the other and to speak up against those who would call on refugees to abandon their original culture. Be champions of virtues of civility so that neighbours can live together in harmony, including with their differences. Where Christianity is viewed as a cornerstone of a nation's culture, let's grab the opportunity to generate debate on what society would be like if it truly promoted biblical principles. This includes, of course, neighbourliness to the foreigner."

I quoted from this text because it is about promoting hospitality. It's focused on one context - of so many refugees coming to Europe and it is one contribution of one European Church body, the European Evangelical Alliance. It pulls together the **key things we feel matter, making things simple, and giving encouragement to the local Church** to be both bold and balanced on these politically sensitive issues.

The Church's role is **different** from the politicians' one. It is separate. But, the Church has a biblical command to be salt and light, and that includes caring about justice and righteousness in society. It starts with practical deeds, modelling and inspiring the best. But that leads to words, words of encouragement and of challenge to politicians. Some issues are political dynamite, they divide Christians, and they are complicated. So, the Church should tread carefully, but not ignore these words. And the Church must dare to make ourselves unpopular with the State if that is needed.

Christians are (to be) the salt and light of the world. Let's keep going.

2. Churches and Politics: partners towards hospitable communities

Vilver Oras

Nigel G. Wright has described the problem of the state, any state, as follows: “The state, whatever form it happens to take, is a limited, ‘this-worldly’ reality with a constant tendency to self-exaltation. It is closely associated in a biblical tradition with idolatry. Its role is to be acknowledged, respected and constructively enhanced but also watched, criticised and sometimes resisted since as a fallen power in possession of immense coercive potential it has the greatest difficulty in minding the things of God and seeking God’s kingdom in any shape or form.” (*Nigel G. Wright “Free church, free state”*)

In the present moment people would probably question what the role is of the modern church in a modern state?

Europe and its states have gone through radical changes over the last few decades and especially during the last ten years. Some countries have done better than others. Some have done better in a number of areas and not so good in others. As development is never ending and it only speeds up, one must question what the role is of the modern church, something that we have come to see as stable, in this time of change.

BAD NEWS

Europe is facing the greatest threat and crises since maybe World War II. There are several issues of concern (the refugee crises, the financial crises, Middle-East, Russia, Brexit or the disillusionment with EU, terrorism to name the few biggest ones). Then there are people who will not find meaningful jobs during their lifetime. That is called structural lack of labour. There is greater inequity than ever before.

At state level it is said that democracy is at a crisis. People feel alienated by their leaders and that gives birth to radicalism.

If you add to that the general lack of values, roots and identity, detachment from everything Europe is facing today, you see a continent that is in serious trouble. Traditional Christianity is at a decline but at the same time general spirituality is increasing. And yet we do not understand these



changes and their influence until they have taken place.

That's the bad news.

GOOD NEWS

The good news is that this is not the first time this has happened. The world and also the church has faced this before. The changes that the world is facing today are as big as they were during the Reformation era which 500th anniversary we are celebrating this year. The growth of individualism, poverty and migration, being frustrated with the elite, threat of Islam, and threat of international conflict, those were the issues back then. The time of Reformation was a time of great uncertainty just like it is now.

What is the role of the church during these turbulent times of change? I believe it is still called to be the rock. Christ promises us that the gates of hell will not overcome it, despite of whatever earthly crises.

I'm a strong believer in a Church and in Christians that should and do want to influence the world around them. We are facing a time of great detachment in the world so the churches' answer should not be an even greater detachment from this world.

The church and Christians are called to be the salt and light of this world

by the Lord Jesus himself (Mt 5:13). We are called to preserve what is good and further increase the goodness that is already in the world. Not simply to be there, but to change things where we are.

Just as in the times of the Reformation, also now we need people who step up and face the challenges ahead of us. Though the church at the time of the Reformation was flawed, Luther did not choose to desert the church, he chose to change it from the inside out.

Isn't it now time to follow Luther's example with regard to the present world?! Working together as a church, knowing that it now is many times stronger than ever before. Because we know that if we leave Europe to its troubles, it will be "empty and taken over by ungodly powers" just like Jesus explains in Luke 11. We can not leave Europe to be 'an empty house' with the danger that it will be 'taken over by ungodly powers'. Europe belonged to God but now it is empty.

Today Europe must find its identity. And therefore the church must rediscover her identity first. European identity is still based up on Christian roots and values even though they are no longer sealed in the treaties of the EU. And if the church returns to these roots it can be as relevant and strong as needed to face the mentioned challenges in Europe.

I love the church of God. I've always felt that it is the most genius invention in the history of the world, because very often its parts, the people, have nothing more in common but the belief they share. And still that's enough to unite the separate parts into one functioning body, that is meant to love the world and through this love to bring upon a change in the world.

Do we believe that we can transform or are we just afraid that we will be transformed? If the latter is the case, we indeed should be afraid!

Do we believe that God is behind the problems we face today? And, if not, who then is behind these problems, and how should we fight him? Any human state or organization is flawed but, should therefore the Church leave the world to its problems? The example of Christ shows us not to do so.

God gives His children assignments, problems if you will, so that we will be forced to deal with them and turn to Him for the solutions. In this way

our trust and dependence on Him increases. Out of His love for this world He challenges His children to be made ready to obey His calling.

What Martin Luther achieved with the Reformation was the understanding that people are not justified by themselves but by Someone outside of them. Not because what they can do and who they are, but because what Someone else has done – justification by faith. This also means that the solution to our human problems cannot be achieved by ourselves.

Are we ready to accept that the solutions for the problems of the world have its origin outside of us? Whatever the situation, heaven is not bankrupt. So, for answers, we have to throw ourselves at the mercy of the Lord and ask for wisdom – heavenly wisdom.

The church has constantly been called by society to change with the times. But in the end, isn't the human soul always looking for something stable in the midst of constant change? We do know that, as followers of God, we have the best message in the world that is able to give answers to all the problems of the world. The content is good in itself but the form needs to be changed. People might say that they know what the church has to say. But do they truly? If they had listened wouldn't they have accepted it for what it is? Because it's the best message ever.

So, the church must change the form of communication, in order for people to be ready to listen. But we can't expect people to listen if we separate ourselves from the world. We have to be involved. Because involvement shows that we care enough to get our hands dirty.

Father Jean Vanier, a founder of L'Arche—the international network of communities dedicated to the support and flourishing of people with disabilities—has said: “The most important thing in life is connections.”. That's what Jesus Christ got for us, he reconnected us with the Father. We, as his followers, should now help the world to connect with its creator as well. Even If we believe that the separation of church and state is necessary, it doesn't mean that we have to separate ourselves from society.

Jesus left us an example. The feared Islamic invasion needs a reaction, the right-wing radicalization needs a reaction, the detachment of people needs a reaction and I believe it can only be found in a radical reaction of love.

For instance: the secret of the success of Islam lays in its connection between people and order. That can be used by showing the 'key command' that Jesus taught to "love God and thy neighbour". To love them before they radicalize. To live a holy life graciously before the watching world.

The church at its best is an exemplary community which truly acts as salt and light and has the power to transform. But we can only do this as one Church of Christ following His command. And, as members of the Church we need to be salt and light at our local level through our own churches. Pastor Bill Hybels has repeatedly said that the local church is the hope of the world. I believe it to be true if the local church takes its place and mission to heart. The cooperation between churches is at an unprecedented level which gives good opportunity to see societal transformation happening.

The church I believe is called to be the ultimate relational discipleship society from where transform can take place. One in its rich diversity. Only through loving, purpose-driven relationships that aim at following Jesus' great commission can these challenges be over come. That's how the world knows that we are the followers of Jesus Christ. But if we talk about relationships we can't separate ourselves. Relationships mean: "coming close". Satan is the divider but God is the One who unites. We must act like God in order to reflect His face upon this world and break the stronghold of the darkness that threatens Europe.

I believe that the answers we need are personal just like God himself is personal. The answers lay in the personal, intentionally and radically loving relationships between people and between God and man. Faith to be passed on effectively must be personal and intentional. It must become personal to those it is preached to. So we must find and create environments where the message can become personal. Where people can meet Jesus personally.

Throughout history the church of Jesus Christ has often had the courage to be a pioneer, for instance in social- or financial matters etc. The church has always found ways to go beyond what is generally accepted in society, to show the world a radically different way of living and loving. It is only in these radical times and through these radical actions that the church has

shown a mark of Jesus Christ in this world that others wanted to follow.

And in the end we must admit that even at our best, we don't have all the answers. We must humble ourselves and ask God for wisdom. We must ask: "God what are you doing? Jesus didn't leave us a structure, but a relationship with himself and a promise of a happy ending. First of all we must start with the relationship we have with Him.

We can look at any threat and any time of change as an opportunity to find out what we truly believe as Christians and who we truly are. May we find strength in that search and find hope for the future. I'm sure it's there. Because God says: "For I know the plans I have for you," declares the Lord, "plans to prosper you and not to harm you, plans to give you hope and a future." Jer 29:11.

All it takes for evil to prevail is for good Christians to do nothing.

Let's instead do something radical.

3. Populism, patriotism and hospitality

Rosemary Caudwell

IN A EUROPE WHERE POPULISM SEEMS TO BE INTRODUCING ILLIBERALISM, how can we discern between a 'good' populism and 'bad' populism, between nationalism and patriotism?

1. Introduction: what is the issue?

At a time when many in Europe are engaging in identity politics⁵ it is very important for Christians to have a proper understanding of their own identity, and an awareness of how they should think, pray and engage with political matters. This is particularly the case when the temptation to react to the challenges of liberalism and Islam by behaving as yet another group engaging in identity politics is all too evident.

2. What is nationalism?

One of the difficulties is the lack of any agreement on a clear definition of nationalism. Secular commentators have put forward a variety of distinctions between nationalism and patriotism, or types of nationalism, to distinguish between what is acceptable and what is not. There is also much disagreement about the historical roots of nationalism. Some see it as dating from the French Revolution or the development of German Romanticism, while others trace it back to the Reformation or even earlier in the medieval period.

Professor Seton-Watson concluded that a nation is any community of people that perceives itself to be a nation (1977). Leaders of independence movements frequently rely on a distinction between ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism, made popular by Ignatieff. Civic nationalism, which Ignatieff considers to be acceptable, holds that a nation should be composed of all those regardless of ethnicity who subscribe to the nation's political creed, irrespective of race, colour or religion (1993, pp.1-4,189). According to this view what holds a nation together is not its common roots, but the rule of law.

⁵ The appearance of exclusive political groups based on nationality, religion, race, social background etc., replacing traditional broad-based party politics. 99

Ethnic nationalism, according to Ignatieff, finds that national belonging is the overriding form of belonging, based on the people's pre-existing ethnic characteristics; their language, religion, customs and tradition. The peoples of Europe living under imperial subjection in the 19th century looked to this for inspiration and it is currently gaining ground in many European countries. However, Ignatieff warns that the more strongly there is a sense of belonging to one's own group, however, the more hostile, the more violent, the feelings towards outsiders, the "other" (1993, pp.6,189).

However, this neat distinction does not accord with reality. It is a fact that even nations based on common citizenship do remember the ethnic tradition that has shaped them in the past (Baum, 2001, pp.120-121). Furthermore, ethnic nationalist struggles against colonial domination have been considered sympathetically in Africa and Asia. The United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 recognises the right of nations and people to cultural and political self-determination.

Nationalism was responsible both for multiple claims to sovereignty which caused conflict and war in the ethno-federal setting of the former Yugoslavia, but also liberated states and united people in a common cause in the revolutions of 1989 in the Baltic Republics and Central and Eastern Europe. These were not just rebellions against illegitimate regimes, but also nationalist revolutions against Soviet domination (Bunce, 2005, p.412)

On the other hand, it is evident that this type of ethnic nationalism is open to idolatry, requiring loyalty to the state, the people and the race, the motherland, the fatherland, King and country (Storrar, p.111; Spencer, 2016, pp.36-37). Even in those states where the initial struggle was viewed positively, nations affirming their identity can be tempted by self-absorption, narrowness of spirit and xenophobia (Baum, 2001, p.90). The position is complicated in multicultural states by the fact that ethnicity may be fluid and many people now have more than one ethnic identity (Joireman, 2003, pp.31-32). Christians must consider carefully what aspects of nationalism they are able to affirm. Secular definitions of nationalism do not give us a clear distinction, but the biblical narrative has much to say on the subject.

3. What is populism?

The Oxford English dictionary definition of populism is neutral: populism is “support for the concerns of ordinary people.” The difficulty of definition is that most leaders do not self-identify as populist; it is a negative label given to them by academics and media. Politically populism has been linked to the radical right or left. It is a “thin” ideology which means that it is almost always linked to one or more other ideologies, nativism (the idea that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group and that non-native elements are fundamentally threatening to the homogeneous nation state) on the right, and socialism on the left. (Mudde, C. 17/2/2016). Its key concepts are notions of ‘the people’, the ‘elite’ and the ‘will of the people.’ Supporters argue that populism constitutes the essence of democratic politics (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2013 pp. 500-506), and that it is liberalism, and the liberal elite, that is the problem. Populist ideology frequently brings to the fore issues that many people care about, but which have been kept off the agenda by cross party consensus, for example, immigration, austerity, globalisation, and European integration. It frequently attracts those that have been left behind not just economically, but also culturally by liberal democracy’s rejection of traditional values (Inglehart and Norris, August, 2016).

Populism’s main danger, according to opponents, is that it is a moralist ideology that rejects any division of interests or opinions within “the people.” It rejects the legitimacy of opponents and weakens the rights of minorities. This uncompromising stand leads to a polarised political culture, dividing the people into a good “us” and a bad, or even, evil, “them” (Marzouki and McDonnell, 2016, p.2). Mudde calls it ‘an illiberal democratic response to undemocratic liberalism.’ (Mudde, C. 17/2/2015). In European populist radical right parties there is a close connection with nationalism and authoritarianism (Mudde, 2007). The xenophobic nature of much of current European populism comes from a concept of the nation that relies on an ethnic and chauvinistic definition of the people, and rejects the multicultural nature of many modern European societies (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2013, p.502).

In defining who is the ‘us’ and who the ‘other,’ religious identities often play an important role. The populists’ use of religion is more about belonging than belief; frequently they are focused on a restoration to a

native religious identity with traditions and symbols, without any spiritual content. This ideology calls for a battle against the elites who disregard the importance of religious heritage, and against 'others' in society, allegedly seeking to impose their religious values and laws on the native population. These 'others' are usually immigrants, particularly Muslims. Both groups are 'enemies of the people' (Marzouki and McDonnell, 2016, p.2). Most populist leaders and parties pay lip service to Christianity in order to reject Islam (Roy, O, 2016, p.186). For Christian believers, Roy argues, Christian identity without a Christian faith does not make sense, and there are serious differences in Europe between church leaders and populists on values such as attitude to ethnic minorities and foreigners, immigration, and aid to the developing world. Populists may be pro-Israel, while not supporting the rights of European Jews. In Europe, some populists are fairly liberal on sexual issues. They tend to promote a Christian identity for Europe, while further secularising the public space (Roy, O., 2016, p.196-9). Roy argues that the challenge now is for the Churches to reaffirm their spiritual message as a universal message, without allowing it to add "further fuel to the populist fire."

4. A Biblical view of nations

In the Old Testament, the nations of the earth are viewed as part of God's providential ordering of human societies. They emerge after the fall and are mentioned for the first time in Genesis 10 and 11 (Storror, 1990, p.112). Although nations are not mentioned in the Creation story, the diversity of nations within the unity of humanity is described as part of God's creative purpose, and of the structuring of social relationships for which humans were made (Deut. 32.8; Acts 17.26; Wright, C., 2004, p.214). Yahweh exercises legitimate governance over all the nations and peoples of the world, and the gods they worship. They must come to accept His rule, which is characterised, by equity, righteousness and truth; any imagined autonomy of political power is rejected (Psalm 2; Kidner, 1973, p.51; Psalm 96.5-10; Broyles, 1999, pp.375-7; Brueggemann, 1999, p.492 ;). This is articulated more fully in Genesis 9.8-11.30 in a passage preceding the election of Israel as Yahweh's preferred and privileged partner (Brueggeman, pp.492-4). Kidner notes (1967, p.104) that not every nation known to the Old Testament is enrolled in Gen. 10, but enough are present to make the point that humanity, for all its

diversity, is one under the one Creator. The Noahic covenant applies to all the nations (*Genesis 1.28, reiterated in Gen. 9.1,7*). It was intended that all nations bound together, should live under Yahweh's life giving covenant. The future envisaged for them was one in which there would be an end of hostility and barriers, the building up of common worship, all submitting to a God who is larger than their own state ideology, under a rule of shared shalom (*Brueggemann, 1999, pp. 493,521*). Inclusion is seen as God's ultimate aim (*Is. 2:3-4; Motyer, 1999, pp. 51-52; Is. 56.7; Motyer, p.351*).

However, in *Gen. 11.1-9*, the nations are seen in a negative light. The result of the pride and arrogance (which, Kidner says, could be the motto of modern nationalism) exhibited in the building of the tower of Babel, with its stairway to heaven, is expressed in the discipline of the Lord, resulting in division and mutual incomprehension (*Kidner, 1967, pp.109-110*). The blessed state of the family of humanity, characterised by unity and coherence, has been transformed into a relationship of vexation, alienation and insecurity (*Brueggeman, 1999, p.494; Storrar, 1990, p.113*). Storrar, citing Barth (*1961, Section 54.3*), notes that it is important to hold together these two different views of the nations: the positive aspect of diversity of cultures in response to the divine command in *Gen. 9.1*, and the negative aspect of fragmentation and division as a result of judgment, remembering that both the command and judgment were given to the whole of humanity. The nations are the communities that arise in the course of human history, now affected by sin, but also upheld by both the blessing and judgment of God's sovereign rule over human life on earth. It is through the diversity of nations, languages and countries that humanity now fulfils its cultural mandate. But it is through the alienating differences that God restrains sin (*Storrar, p. 114*), and prevents the limitless potential for evil of a unified and fallen human race (*Wright, C., 2004, p. 216*).

In God's story, the focus is on building a community to serve God's purposes. The call to Israel is not based on cultural, ethnic, territorial and military grounds, unlike the gentile nations, but on the spiritual ground of God's election covenant and law. Israel was to be a holy nation, and through its faithfulness to God's Word, all nations were to come to know God and His Torah, the command to love God and neighbour (*Brueggemann, 1999, pp.494-6; Storrar, 1990, pp. 114-116*). However, Israel struggled with this

national identity, and repeatedly wanted to be a nation like the others, with its identity based on the images of kingship and pagan worship. In the fullness of time, God would send to Israel His chosen servant who would hear and fulfil God's word not only for Israel but for all the nations of the earth (*John 1.1,2,18; Tasker, 1960, pp. 41-2, 44-9; Luke 24.45-47; Morris, 1974, p.343; Storrar, p.118*).

The final reversal of the Lord's discipline of the nations in Gen. 11, is promised in Zephaniah 3.9. (*Kidner, 1967, p.110*) when from among all the nations a people would be assembled who call on the name of the Lord for salvation (*Palmer Robertson, 1990, pp. 326-328*). So, in Pentecost, a new chapter of the story is opened, in the articulating of one gospel in many tongues (*Acts 2; Kidner, 1967, p.110*) and the inclusion of both Jew and Gentile, commissioned to be God's new community. Through the Word of the crucified Jesus, all the barriers of Babel were to be broken down, as the Word makes all nations into one people of God (*Storrar, 1990, p.122*). Christian identity meant sharing with Christ in kingship, being a holy nation, called for the purpose of proclaiming God's character (*1 Pet. 2.1-10; Stibbs and Walls, 1959, p.104*).

For those in Christ, the law which maintains ethnic boundary lines and social and gender distinctions has no relevance to their new identity, one rooted in and defined by Christ (*Gals. 3.28; 1 Cor. 12.13; Col. 3.11; Jervis, 1999, p.107*). Paul says that old distinctions cease to be relevant to their standing before God or one another. But this is not to say that every aspect of human identity becomes irrelevant for all purposes. Paul is still aware of himself as a Jewish Christian (*Romans 11.1-6; Cranfield, 1985, pp. 266-270*), but it is not the basis of his status in the Christian family. Every situation in which the church is divided along ethnic or cultural lines is therefore condemned and the passion for the unity of the church, welcoming to the alien and the stranger is explained, (*Wright, 2002, pp.42-3*).

The final mention of the nations is in Rev. 7.9, in which people of every tribe and language, people and nation will bring their wealth and their praises into the city of God, and in Rev. 21 and 22, where there is a threefold reference to the nations. First, they will walk by the light of Christ; secondly, the glory and honour of the nations will be brought into the New Jerusalem, symbol of God's new creation; thirdly, the tree of life

within the city will have leaves for the healing of the nations. The witness of the church is intended to bring about the conversion of the nations. The mixing of references to covenant people and all nations in Revelation 21 brings together the Old Testament promises for the destiny of God's own people and the universal hope, in the Old Testament, that all the nations will become God's people. The history of the covenant people—both of Israel, and of the church which is redeemed from all the nations—will find its eschatological fulfilment in the full inclusion of all the nations (*Wright, 2011, pp.198-199; Bauckman, 1993, p. 138-139*), contributing the richness of multi-cultural life and diversity God's people are called to a dual nationality in which they live out their eternal Christian identity within the provisional community and identity of their nationhood, seeking to transform it according to the Word of God, and thereby inaugurating the Kingdom of God (*Storrar, 1990, p.124*).

5. Christian assessments of modern nationalist movements

In the context of considerations of Scottish Identity, (*Storrar 1990, p.131*) maintains that there are three assumptions to the biblical model of the relationship between church and nation. First, what he calls the pluralist assumption, that the church, nations and Kingdom of God operate as three distinct but related communities in a set of relationships determined by the biblical story of salvation. These relationships cannot be confused without harm to each of them. Secondly, an incarnational assumption that it is only through Jesus Christ that the holy nation of the Church finds its identity. That identity cannot be reduced to the nationhood of the communities among which it lives, otherwise the Church would be merely a national and not a Christian institution. Thirdly, the missionary assumption, that church and nation will always be two separate communities with a missional relationship, and not one community with a common identity, thereby excluding any sense of a need for mission to the nation. In Storrar's view, if these three assumptions are missing, there is a crisis in the relationship between a particular church and nation.

Storrar argues that a Christian approach to culture that is faithful to Christ's own example will adapt to changing cultural contexts (p. 163). This means that at some times in the history of a nation, Christians may be able to affirm many aspects of the culture in which they live. At others,

Christians may be called to separate from aspects of culture because of their primary and overriding loyalty to Christ. In most situations, Christians must seek to transform culture in the light of the gospel. To determine the appropriate response, it is necessary to discern what is happening in the nation, and apply to it the demands of faithfulness to Christ. As Reimer says (2015, p.77) the Church of Christ will stand against a sinful and corrupted culture, but accept and affirm aspects of culture that are in alignment with God's Word. Further comments on the biblical approach to nations and identity are set out in Appendix 2.

The failure to maintain a distinction between our loyalty to Christ and the culture within which we live out our calling as a holy people, has led to situations where Christianity has served as an agent rather than a critic of nationalism. This was evident in the Lutheran Church in Germany during the 1930s when German Christians, religious nationalists, aligned the Christian faith and Church to Nazi ideology, including its anti-Semitic elements. It was against this nationalist captivity of the Church that Bonhoeffer and Barth signed the Barmen Declaration in May 1934, confessing the Church's supreme loyalty to Jesus Christ. Unfortunately a false link between church and state is also a feature of many nationalist ideologies in contemporary Europe, potentially affecting every geographical area and major denomination. As Goudzwaard warns, (1981, pp. 39-48), any nation which claims a Christian heritage can fall into the trap of a nationalist ideology through a selective reading of the Bible. Where there is a sense of threat, which may come from a secular humanist or Islamist ideology, there is a temptation to link up with an extreme ideology and call for strong leadership in the hope of restoring national pride and identity. But where the main concern of this ideology is to preserve national interests, and those national interests dictate what is good and just, a nationalist ideology is at work, and the nation has become an idol. It is, therefore, important to set appropriate boundaries to nationalism.

In the context of Canada, and the movement for an independent Quebec, Christians have attempted to consider where those boundaries should be drawn. Their starting point was the need to have a respect for the community to which we belong and which provides us with the context in which we develop as human beings. Cultural identity is both good and

necessary, giving people a sense of belonging, but it is important to remember that it has for Christian's limited autonomy. If nationalism becomes an absolute and autonomous loyalty it becomes an idol, destructive rather than protective of humanity.

The Quebec Roman Catholic bishops therefore put forward the following conditions: for them, a nationalist movement is ethically acceptable only if it advocates a more just society, respects minorities, intends to cooperate with its neighbours, and refuses to regard the nation as the highest good (*Baum, 2001,p.108*). Others added that a nationalist movement should open the door to cultural and human renewal. If it has developed as a reaction to an oppressive or alienating regime, it should help people to discover their identity and freedom, and support a culture within which people can discover their vocation (*Grand'Maison cited by Baum, 1970, pp.107, 183-4*). In this way, it avoids the danger that a nationalist movement, possibly born out of an experience of oppression, fails to pursue justice and reconciliation, and a cycle of oppression and violence continues.

In the Netherlands, Stegeman and Verheij responded to the attempts by certain politicians to hijack Christian culture, by reaffirming the primary loyalty of Christians to follow Christ and work for His eternal Kingdom. Christian culture is not to be mobilised as a political force or reduced to a political programme. Furthermore, the Christian gospel is an invitation to all and is not compatible with rejection of peoples or groups, or a lack of compassion. It is to be a blessing to all peoples (*2017, Appendix - introduction and free translation by Jeff Fountain*).

6. Questions to consider when considering nationalist and populist movements

In the context of nationalist movements in Europe, some helpful questions to ask ourselves are:

1. As our starting point, do we have a proper understanding of our identity in Christ; that this is our primary loyalty, and that it is on that basis that we approach our culture and our nation?
2. Are we certain that the movement or party does not call for absolute loyalty, and that its ideology is compatible with our primary loyalty to Christ?
3. If a political movement has arisen in response to a sense of injustice or

oppression, does it accurately identify the issues, and does it propose a solution that is achievable and that would contribute to the wellbeing of the whole community? Or does it stir up a sense of victimhood, grievance, and blame against other groups in society?

4. Will it contribute to human flourishing, a respect for culture and a sense of identity and belonging for all?
5. Does it respect democracy, the rights of representation and access to justice for all⁶?
6. Does it respect the rights and needs of minorities, and enable them to participate in the society?
7. Will it respect the rights of asylum seekers and attempt to integrate immigrants?
8. Does it advocate sustainable economic development, and protection for the vulnerable and poor?
9. Does it intend to build good relationships with neighbouring countries, and respect for other cultures?

7. Conclusion

Christians have an overriding loyalty to Christ. But we live out our calling in the context of a nation and culture. Provided we recognise that it has a limited autonomy, the nation can provide for us a positive sense of belonging and community. However, at any time we need to be discerning as to the aspects of our nation and culture that can be affirmed by us, and those that must be challenged in the light of the character of God as revealed in the biblical narrative. It is vital at a time of rising nationalism in Europe that the claims and ideology of political movements and parties be examined carefully and in faithfulness to Christ. We should not be misled or manipulated by references to 'Christian values' or 'Christian heritage.' If these 'Christian' values and programmes are not consistent with the character of our Lord and His Word, they must be challenged.

⁶ The rule of law, applying equally to all, is an important aspect of democracy. It is protected by an independent judiciary to which all citizens should have access.

Appendix

FLIRTING WITH CHRISTIAN CULTURE *WEEKLY WORD, MARCH 13, 2017 BY JEFF FOUNTAIN*

Concerned with how some politicians have been using the Christian tradition as a stick to chase migrants away from Europe during the Dutch elections, two theologians recently drafted a manifesto now signed by many other theologians, church leaders, publishers, broadcasters and prominent believers.

Janneke Stegeman, 'theologian of the fatherland', and Alain Verheij, self-styled 'theologian of twitterland', noted the flirtatious behaviour of politicians towards Christian culture. While appreciating the renewed interest in politics in 'our beautiful tradition', they wanted to clarify some points to these politicians before they could see how much common ground they shared.

Freely translated, their [manifesto](#) reads:

1. Bosom pals we will never be (fortunately).

A church is not a political party, a political party is not a church. That's why we have the separation of church and state. When those two sit on each other's laps, you get a political or religious dictatorship, where neither God nor the people, but only those in positions of power, are well served.

Whether the election results swing left or right, the church will always steer its own course. And she will not be afraid to be critical of the government where the gospel would require. In the Bible, the best prophets lived far away from the palace for everyone's sake.

2. God's kingdom is not from here.

Christians are not to follow politicians like sheep. Their kingdom is not from here; their king is not of this earth. You may call it 'other worldly', head-in-the-clouds, super-spiritual or even dangerous to the state (because Jesus had no message to Caesar).

We see it a little differently.

We will always use our hands and words to create a better version of the land on which we stand.

We will always work towards this promised kingdom on earth in the country where we live.

We will always seek connection with our neighbours.

And yet the fact remains that it is impossible to mobilise Christian culture as a political force.

Our kingdom is an outrageous utopia – too radical for the compromise of your coalitions, too embracing for your borders, too demanding for responsible policy makers.

3. 'Christian' is an invitation, not a rejection.

Anyone may belong to the Christian culture: Jew, Gentile, woman, man, slave, king. So said the apostle Paul, one of our founders. This Christian Jew with a Roman passport wrote that in Greek.

You don't become a Christian by race or birth or because of your history; but rather by the gracious adoption of a loving heavenly father. This invitational character is deeply rooted in the Christian culture.

Everywhere the term 'Christian' is used, it needs to sound a welcome. Excluding whole groups while calling yourself a Christian is not an option within our tradition. Even if that person is regarded as a competitor or as a threat.

'Love your enemy' is a rule of thumb that we have wonderfully (sometimes painfully) learned from our Lord himself.

4. Christian culture is compassion.

Jesus explains who may be called 'Christian' through the story of the sheep and the goats. The sheep (Christians) are at Jesus' right hand because they feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, give a home to the foreigner, give clothes to the naked, and visit the sick and those in prison.

This, more than all creeds, all the church buildings or church history, this is the foundation of all Christian culture: compassion.

Love God above all things and treat one another as you want to be treated – this is the heart of the Law and the Prophets, and so the heart of the Christian tradition.

5. Christian morality is virtually impossible to translate into a political programme.

Those wanting to apply the Sermon on the Mount or other words of Jesus to a political programme will sooner or later start tearing their hair out.

Revenge is subordinated to turning the other cheek! Forgiveness needs to be repeated *ad infinitum!*

To those demanding something from you, you should not refuse but rather give double! No politician can convert this into policy!

Realistically, Christian morality is an open invitation for violent opportunists to exploit a defenseless culture.

Century after century, followers of Jesus have said, 'You can't be serious!'

But he was indeed serious enough to put it into practice, to hand himself over to be mocked, spat upon, tortured and crucified. Political flirts should also reckon with the example of the 'first' Christian, Jesus Christ.

6. Finally, we as Christians refuse to be used for this empty campaign rhetoric.

We refuse to be the symbolic stick by which others are being chased away.

The heart of Christianity has compassion beyond borders, is far above local political affairs, and should be 'a blessing to all peoples.'

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4. French Elections, Eurocritical Movements and Church Responses

Evert Van de Poll

THIS PRESENTATION TAKES UP THE THEME OF POPULISM AND NATIONALISM, relating it to the French presidential elections in May 2017, in which the candidate of the Front National made a serious bid for the highest office in the second largest economy of the European Union. We shall first comment on the outcomes of these elections that was record-breaking in many respects. Europe was a decisive factor in the election campaign. While Macron, the winner of the elections, was the most European minded of all the candidates, the various Eurocritical candidates attracted about half of electorate. We shall then take a closer look at one of them, the Front National, that seems to have taken an ideological shift from right to left. Finally, we shall summarise how Churches take position with respect to the FN and the candidacy of Marine Le Pen.

Record breaking elections

The French presidential elections in 2017 were record breaking in many respects. Emmanuel Macron won the final round with 66 % of the votes. Aged 39, he became the youngest French president ever. He also made the swiftest access to the highest office of this country ever witnessed in the history of the French Republic. It was only in 2012 that he became involved in politics, as he left the Rothschild Bank to join the team of counsellors of then president François Hollande. He was still unknown to the wider public when he became minister of economic affairs in 2014. Almost two years later he left the government to create a new political movement, En Marche, to support his candidacy to the upcoming presidential elections.

He succeeded in winning the elections as an outsider, leaving all the traditional political parties behind. Macron is often presented as belonging to the political centre, because he describes himself as 'neither left nor right'. Analysts describe him as social-liberal. He turned out to be the most liberal of all eleven candidates, taking a progressive stance in matters of personal liberty, and a liberal approach to the economy, reducing state interference and adapting regulations to the dynamics of the market. He clearly supported globalization, a European common market with free competition and open borders. At the same time, he was in favour of

maintaining the welfare state.

Most European minded of all the candidates.

One thing was sure, Macron was the most European minded of all candidates. He openly supported the EU, pleading for more economic and political integration. During the campaign, he often repeated that 'the future of France is in Europe' and the 'it is Europe that should protect France' (and any other of its member states) in economic terms and in terms of security.

On the evening of the election day, just after the provisional results had been announced, he delivered his first public address in the court of the Louvre Museum. As he walked to the platform, he was accompanied by the music of the Anthem of Europe, 'Ode to Joy', transmitted through huge loudspeakers. This choice was deliberate, a kind of statement where he stands. During his second public address, shortly afterwards in his headquarters, there was again the European anthem, this time followed the national anthem. During his election meetings, the French and the European flag were always posted side by side on the podium.

Highest score ever for FN

Another record was the score of 34% for Marine Le Pen, candidate of the Front National (FN). Considered as a populist party, and one of the largest in Europe today, it presents itself as patriotic, with a program of national economic protection, social welfare, strong measures against immigration and radical Islam. It wants to renegotiate the EU treaties in order to restore the borders, to regain complete national sovereignty and to leave the euro. For some decades now, the FN is a major political force in France, but they have very few deputies because the voting system is not proportional but majoritarian. When no candidate obtains an absolute majority in the first round, there is a second round between the best placed candidates. Even though the FN comes out as the largest party in the first round, its candidates hardly succeed in winning the second round, because only a limited percentage of those who voted for other parties is prepared to vote for a FN candidate in the second-round. The only way for the FN to enlarge its support in the second round, is to form an alliance with other parties or with individual candidates in certain districts, but this has never happened because the other parties form a so-called 'republican front' against the FN. So together they rally behind the opposing candidate.

Given these limitations, it is all the more striking that the presidential candidate of the FN, Marine Le Pen, obtained 34% of the votes in the first

round. This was more than the FN ad ever obtained in preceding elections.

Other records

When people join the 'republican' front in the second round, the question always is whether they really support the 'republican' candidate. In this case, did they really support Macron and his programme or was this just a way to keep Marine Le Pen out? Post-election surveys brought to light that the latter motivation applied to 43% of those who voted Macron in the second round.

But this is not all.

The 2017 presidential elections were the first in which the 'republican front' no longer worked across the board. For a start, FN could form a coalition, as Nicolas Dupont Aignan of the small sovereigntist party Debout la République chose to support Marine Le Pen in the second round, although this was not enough to obtain the majority.

Secondly, Luc Melenchon, the leader of France Insoumise, refused to call his supporters to vote Macron in the second round in order to prevent Marine Le Pen from being elected. He stated that he himself would never vote Le Pen, which left two alternatives: abstention or a white vote. About 20% of his electorate voted Le Pen anyway. While the national leaders of the The Republicans called to vote Macron in the second round, several deputies of this party took the same position as Melenchon: neither Le Pen nor Macron.

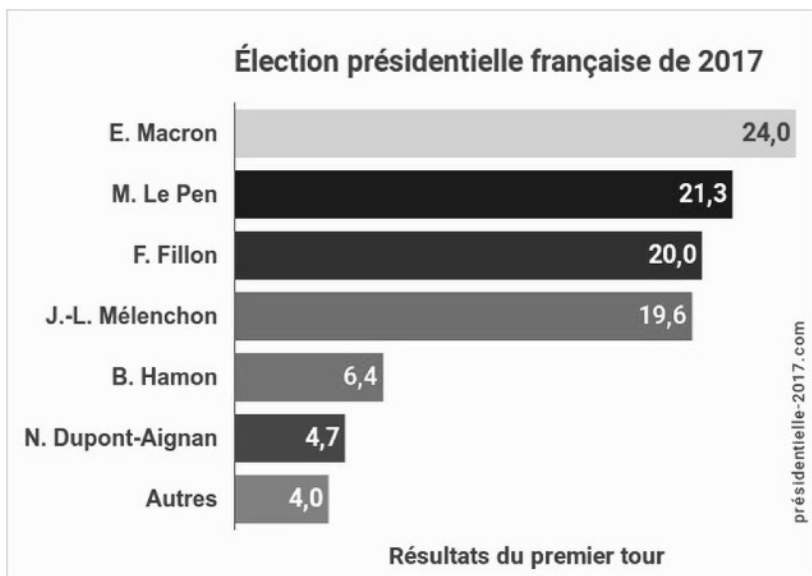
Apparently, many voters have adopted this approach, because they broke to other records. First, the abstention rate, 25%. Moreover, 9% had gone to the polling stations but deliberately invalidated their form to vote against both candidates (the so-called 'white vote'). This means only 66%, that is two-thirds of the electorate has cast a vote for Macron or for Le Pen.

When we take this into account, their scores in absolute numbers are much lower than their official scores of 66% and 34% respectively. Only 44% of the electorate has voted for Macron (i.e. 66% of 66%), only 22% for Le Pen (i.e. 34% of 66%), while 34% have decided not to vote for any one of them

'Europe' a major issue

One of the issues that divides the electorate is Europe. What is the place of France in Europe? How do people see the role of the EU? Should we keep the euro or return to the national currency? This clearly comes out when you take a closer look at the outcome of the first round. The results of the first round are always more telling than second round, because they give a

real indication of the political preferences of the electorate. The figure below shows the results of the first round.



(Figure published 24 April 2017 on the public domain, www.présidentielles-2017.com)

The following candidates have spoken out against the EU in general and the euro in particular: Marine le Pen (FN), Jean-Luc Melenchon (France Insoumise), Nicolas Dupont Aignan (Debout la République), and all the five other candidates (autres). Added up, their cumulative score was nearly 50%. The remaining 50% were for Emmanuel Macron (En Marche), François Fillon (Les républicains) and Benoît Hamon of the Socialist party.

In other words, almost half of the French electorate has voted for a Euro-critical candidate.

This does not come as a real surprise when one considers the out come of two referendums in the past. In 1992, 53% of the French said no to Treaty of Maastricht that changed the European Community in to the European Union and decided to introduce the euro as the common currency. Despite this outcome, the government signed the treaty and introduced the euro. Same story in 2005, when 56% voted against the Project of a European Constitution. Even so, the parlia ment adopted the Lisbon Treaty that took over all the main elements of the Draft Constitution. This has created a wide-spread resentment among the population. It nourishes the idea that 'Europe' is a sort of foreign power that does not respect the will of the

French people.

Of course, 'Europe' is not the only factor when people decide for whom they shall vote. But the results of the first round confirm the outcomes of surveys about the level of 'Europhobia' in France. A survey conducted in March 2017 put some questions and found the following percentages of response.

- ▶ *France should leave the EU* 28% (*stay in: 66%*)
- ▶ *France should leave the euro and return to the franc* 27%
- ▶ *The EU and the European institutions function badly* 67%
- ▶ *The EU causes us great concerns* 52%
- ▶ *The enlargements of the EU have come too quickly* 74%

More than half of the French people today are negative about the way in which the EU functions, but most of them do not go as far as wishing to leave the EU and the euro. The survey specifies that 56% of the working class and 43% of people with low schooling are against the EU. On the contrary, 76% of those with a university degree want to stay in the EU.

Movements left and right, how to call them?

Whilst right-wing populism re-emerged some decades ago, left wing populism is a more recent phenomenon. Syriza in Greece, Podemos in Spain, Anti-Austerity Alliance in Eire, France Insoumise, and others. As a German journalist has put it, 'Left-wing nationalism has emerged condemning the EU as the cold-hearted perpetrator of endless neoliberalism'. 'Radical left wing politics has always been suspicious of the neoliberalism of the single European Market,' writes Jim Memory in a recent survey of the rise of nationalism in Europe. What is new is how openly and firmly the radical left are playing the nationalist card, as across the EU anti-austerity parties rail against the imposition of economic restrictions of the ECB as an attack on their sovereignty.

While we hesitate to use the label 'nationalist' for these left-wing movements, which they themselves would certainly recuse, at least in France, Memory is certainly right in saying: 'If the scapegoat of the far right is the migrant, the scapegoat of the far left is the Euro.'

When it comes to financial, economic and social measures, left-wing populism prefers a national frame of decision making. When Jean- Luc Mélenchon, the leader of the France Insoumise (FI) affirmed that the Euro was a threat to French independence, he said that 'faced with the choice between the Euro and sovereignty, we choose sovereignty'.

How should one call these movements? Populist? This term indicates the opposition between the people and the elite, between the voice of the people and the voice of 'the system'. But this can take different forms, right-wing, left-wing or other. Not all of them are nationalist in the sense of a superior nation or an essentialist national identity.

'Populism' and 'nationalism' are pejorative terms. The movements themselves identify as patriotic, sovereigntists, real left-wing, antiliberal (anti-austerity), illiberal (anti liberal globalisation) but at the same time liberal (progressive) when it comes to individual ethics.

A comparison, FN and FI

It is interesting to compare the FN with FI (France Insoumise) in which Communists and left-wing socialists have joined hands, as shown in this table. The x means *yes*, the - means *no*

French elections		
	FN	FI
Against 'the system', the political elite, financial power	x	x
Protection against globalisation and liberal economy	x	x
Renegotiate European treaties and leave the Euro	x	x
Social welfare, minimum wages	x	x
Against austerity, state investment, demand side economy	x	x
Separation religious expression and public sphere	x	x
Emphasis on European individual freedoms	x	x
Against same-sex marriage and adoption, euthanasia	-	-
National identity (traditional values) vs (radical) Islam	x	-
Limit immigration, restore borders, xenophobic tendency	x	-
Emphasis on security, strong leadership	x	-

It appears that both have quite the same social and economic agenda, that they also converge in the area of 'micro ethics', and that the main differences are found in the area of 'national' cultural identity.

Characteristics of the FI are:

- ▶ Against liberal economics and 'the enemy called finance', against a politics of austerity, in favour of a participative democracy, an ecological transformation.
- ▶ Critical of the present technocratic EU, opposed to the euro, in favour a Europe of peoples and citizens.
- ▶ At the same time, they are progressive in ethical issues (same-sex marriage and adoption, euthanasia) and for a strict separation of religion and the public sphere.
- ▶ And they are not anti-migration!

Common denominator: Eurocritical

A common denominator between right-wing and left-wing populism is their Euroscepticism, or rather their critical attitude towards the EU as it has taken form in recent decades. Therefore, I would prefer to call both categories together Eurocritical. Both of them are on the same side of the new political dividing line that we have mentioned above. It appears that there are different ways in which political movements can be Eurocritical, or pro-European for that matter.

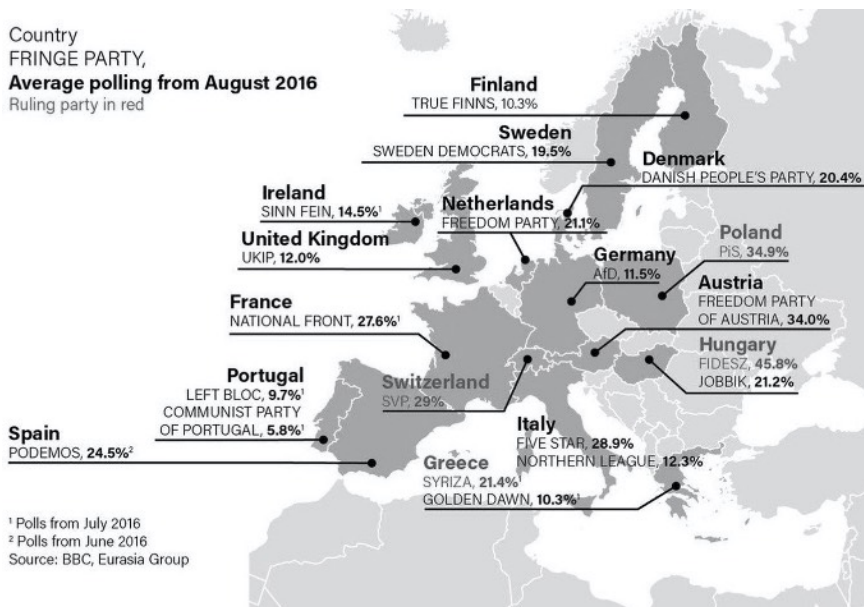
Eurocritical movements are not against the idea of our nations be longing to Europe. They do consider Europe as our immediate economic context, and are conscious of belonging to the cultural zone called Europe. But they are critical of the construction of Europe in the form of the present EU. Rejecting the idea of a federal Europe, they present alternative visions.

Instead of political integration, a single market and open borders they favour a 'Europe of the nations' (as former French president Charles de Gaulle called it): collaboration between sovereign nations, economic and cultural exchange between peoples. Left-wing populists speak of a 'Europe of citizens'

Therefore, populists either propose to leave the EU or to renegotiate the treaties in such a way that the countries are fully sovereign, also in economic and financial matters. This implies a return to national currencies, or at least changing the euro into a complementary currency for international transactions.

Populist or Eurocritical movements in Europe

Both FN and FI are part of the European wide phenomenon of populist, anti-establishment and Eurocritical movements.



New dividing line

Some students of the political developments in Europe argue that there is transformation going on of the traditional left-right divide, into what they consider to be an opposition between the political and economic collaboration in the EU on the one hand, and national identity and sovereignty on the other hand. Or between 'globalism' and 'patriotism', as Marine Le Pen likes to resume it. She saw in the second round of the French election a referendum 'for or against France'. In other countries, a similar dividing line is being drawn, not only by the proponents of populist movements, as can be expected, but also by observers who do not necessarily take the same view.

Some argue that left and right take on new characteristics. Essayist Chantal Delsol, for example, considers that...*The postmodern situation at this moment presents a globalist and cosmopolitan left' in contrast to 'a right-wing attached to cultural differences and to the pride of groups, countries, and beliefs.*

We find this analysis somewhat reductionist, because Euro-critical views are not limited to the populist movements and the conservative side of the

political spectrum. We also find them among people from the left. 'Europe' is certainly an issue that changes the political landscape, influences all political streams.

For all their differences, these movements are illustrative of a structural change in our societies. They mark a new dividing line in our societies. We already mentioned it above, but in the light of the diversity of these movements, we rephrase it in the following terms:

European-minded, liberal economy, cosmopolitan outlook, winners in globalization, versus: Cultural identity, interests of working class, local outlook, victims of globalization.

Some remarks about the FN

Leaving aside left-wing populism, we will concentrate on the FN which is the largest in size and which arouses most public debate, in France as well as in other countries.

Who are the voters?

To begin with, who are the people voting for the FN, making it the first political force during the regional and European elections in fore going years, and the major force of opposition to the traditional socialist, republican and centrist parties?

Today, the FN is the first party among the unemployed (the level of unemployed people looking for a full-time job is over 9 %), and among blue collar workers who formerly voted communist or another left- wing party. It also comes first among the rural population that traditionally voted Republican, which is certainly related to the economic concentration in the big cities and the 'desertification' of the rural areas. Surprisingly, young people form the largest part of the FN electorate.

In summary, one could say that the FN brings together the victims of globalisation and liberal market economy. The same is true of left-wing populism, that finds its main support among the same categories of voters.

Christians voting FN

Political scientist and expert on right-wing political movements Pascal Perrineau has shown that the FN has largely penetrated the nominally Catholic population for whom 'Christianity' is the same as the traditional culture, but that the category of practicing Catholics has largely remained resistant to the vote for the FN.

According to a survey conducted just after the first round of the pres

idential elections (when people express their real political preferences – see above), it appeared that 24% of the Catholics occasionally going to Church voted for Marine Le Pen, while she obtained only 16% of the vote of regularly practicing Catholics, 16%. The first percentage is higher than her general score of 21,5%, the second significantly lower. The same pattern can be observed during the second round. Le Pen's national score was 34%, she obtained 45% among occasional Churchgoers but only 29% among regular Churchgoers.

These figures confirm that a minority of practicing Catholic is attracted to the FN. We find them mainly among traditional Catholics. For example, the movement *Sens Commun*, that has come out of the movement *Manifest pour tous*, and its giant demonstrations against the proposed law to open marriage and adoption for same sex couples in 2013-14. During the second round of the last presidential elections they have refused to rally Macron against Le Pen.

We do not have figures for the number of Protestant and Evangelical Christians voting FN, but there are sufficient indications to suppose that the percentages run as high as among practicing Catholics – if not higher.

Motivation

As to the reasons, research is only beginning to be conducted. We can discern two clusters of motivations. The main one is agreement with the analysis of the present situation and the solutions proposed by populist parties like FN.

A second motivation sometimes comes into play, namely that these parties are thought to stand for Christian values and because it defends traditional culture, based on the Christian heritage. For this reason, some Christian organisations are speaking about these parties in favourable terms.

The latter motivation is a quite curious, given the fact that some leading populist politicians in France and elsewhere are not so traditionally Christian in their lifestyle. Nor do they take the same position as conservative or evangelical Christians do in issues like family, same-sex-marriage, abortion, euthanasia, bio-engineering, adoption and so on. Some of them are members of a Church while being critical of the leadership of that Church. Marine Le Pen, is quoted as saying: 'I am a believer but I have a problem with my [Roman Catholic] Church'. More striking in this respect is Alice Weidel, one of the two new leaders designated by the German populist party *Alternative für Deutschland* for the parliamentary elections in

September 2017. While the other co-leader, Alexander Gauland, is a conservative and former member of the CDU of Angela Merkel, Alice Weidel presents herself as 'modern'. She lives in cohabitation with a woman, together they raise two boys in Switzerland.

Some populist leaders, e.g. Geert Wilders in the Netherlands, claim that they defend the Christian roots of our society, but this usually amounts to defending the cultural heritage of Christianity, or to underline their view that Islam is incompatible with our society as it is historically 'rooted in Christianity'.

Ideological shifts of FN

An interesting aspect of the populist movements today is the ideological shift that is taking place with respect to the marginal right-wing movements out of which they have emerged. Therefore, it is no longer appropriate to call them extreme right-wing, because they assemble a large part of the electorate and unlike these preceding movements they no longer profess a biological racism or a cultural form of racism. They remain anti-elite and this stance is combined by a second opposition between 'us' vs. the 'foreigners' in our midst, i.e. immigrants. The xenophobic dimension of populism is quite present, although it is not always assumed explicitly. Some propose to simply define these parties as anti-immigrant parties. It is in fact around the rejection of the figure of the immigrant that voters from different social backgrounds are finding themselves together under the same populist banner: the working people because of the pressure on the labour market, the middle strata of the population because of the tax burden on their shoulders to pay for the social welfare system, and all of them because they find that the national identity is in danger.

In a portrait of the current right-wing populist movements, *Marjorie Legendre* aptly summarises the ideological shift that has taken place, at least in the Front National.

It is mainly Muslim immigration that is pointed at, because it is seen as the source of a destabilising cultural heterogeneity and incompatible with the values of liberal democracies. The *tour de force* operated by most contemporary populist movements, and which marks their distance from fascism, is that in the official discourse Islam is refused in the name of freedom, and not in the name of biological or cultural racism. The French case is revealing in this respect, Marine Le Pen systematically presenting herself as the defender of the secular republic, against the onslaught of

'Islamism' (radical Islam). A very clever shift is carried out, as the president of the FN, playing the analogy with World War II, compares today's Islamism to the Nazi occupier and presents the FN as the party of the French resistance!

Another shift is that populist movements increasingly adopt a 'leftist' social and economic agenda. We can say, roughly speaking, that it borrows from the right the valorisation of the homeland, drawing on sentiments of nationalism, and from the left the valorisation of solidarity, albeit a targeted one. In social solidarity, the 'we' of 'our nation' come first. With its famous 'national preference', populism defends an 'ethno-socialism', as political scientist Dominique Reynie calls it. The central theme in the proposals of populism is protectionism, whether economic or cultural. In this regard, several authors believe that current populism is as much a defender of the cultural heritage as a defender of the nation. Dominique Reynie continues:

This is a new type of populism, which I call patrimonial populism because it is based on the conservative and virulent defence of a material heritage, which is the standard of living, and an intangible heritage, which is the lifestyle.(...)

Many Europeans can fear the decline of Christianity, worry about the rise of Islam and invoke the risk of an identity choice, but how many of them would be ready to become regular churchgoers again? It is here that the sincerity of concern for questions of identity, cultural, cultic, or even national, deserves to be questioned. What is the nature of the concern for identity? Is it a question of preserving deeply felt convictions that order our personal life, or even our society, and that is now threatened by competing convictions, or is it more a matter to preserve a cultural environment that contributes to the well-being, in material terms, of our level of existence?

In other words, the success of populism is more linked to the materialistic and post-materialist individualism of our late modernity than to a collective passion for history and identity. Today's populism seems to be a strategy, not so much of national conquest but rather of individualistic defense of the security, the welfare and the liberal life-style to which Europeans have become accustomed but which they feel threatened.

A third ideological shift operated by the FN has to do with the history of France during World War II. Originally, the FN had a quite favourable view of the Vichy regime of Maréchal Petain that collaborated with the Nazis, while it opposed General De Gaulle who had resisted the Nazis, as

well as his political family of Gaullists (today largely found among the Republicans). Jean-Marie Le Pen, founder of the FN, did not denounce the collaboration, nor the colonial past. He downplayed the persecution of Jews, found that the gas-chambers were 'a detail of history' and accepted negationist historians in his movement.

His daughter Marine has drawn the FN out of this reactionary position and placed in the republican mainstream of French history. 'I consider that France and the Republic were in London during Occupation and the Second World War. The Vichy regime was illegal, and guilty of collaboration.' She clearly denounces antisemitism and recognises the Shoah as the greatest horror of history. She calls herself a Gaullist.

The present leadership of the FN has put aside most of the old guard, including the founder. After Le Pen the father had once again caused a scandal by making an anti-Jewish statement, it was daughter Marine herself who led the procedure of the destitution of her father - although the latter won a law-suit to maintain his title of honorific president.

Isolation of FN

Despite these changes, voting FN is still taboo among many voters who share some of the views of the FN. This is true for well-known conservative intellectuals like Eric Zemmour, as well as traditional Catholics and Evangelical Christians.

Can the taboo on the FN be lifted, given this ideological shift? Can they be considered as republican and democratic like the other parties?

The answer of their opponents is no. They argue that the FN has not really changed. They point out that the old line is still present in the nucleus of the party, even though the new line is trying to silence them or to expel them.

The leadership of the FN clearly feels handicapped by the party's past, and its reputation as a racist, xenophobic, isolationist movement and anti-Semitic movement.

This is obviously the reason why Marine Le Pen, only minutes after the results of the presidential elections were made public, called for the creation of a new patriotic party to replace the present FN.

Real concerns

The concerns expressed by the populist parties are real. Even when we do not agree with the solution they propose, we should lift the taboo on

honestly discussing these issues, instead of refusing to talk about the failed integration of certain categories of immigrants, for example, only because the FN depicts immigrants as one of the main causes of the economic problems of our country.

Political scientist Catherine Colliot-Thélène argues convincingly that when a political movement is called ‘populist’, this is an obstacle to a serious analysis of the transformations of politics. ‘It is certainly a term that disqualifies the opinions and the persons who hold them’. She goes on to say:

There are reasons for the distrust towards traditional parties and their elites, and these reasons are grounded, because after all it is these elites – in Europe divided among left-wing and right-wing – that have conducted economic policies during several decades creating social inequalities of unprecedented proportions since the end of the Second World War.

For those who reject the ideological basis or the xenophobic approach of populist parties, but who want to take the issues they raise seriously, the only alternative is that other parties take over these themes and provide answers. And that Churches and civil societies also address these issues.

Political leaders, intellectuals, journalists and Church leaders are quick to warn people against ‘populism’ when they express their concerns about the place of Muslim communities in society, or about the overriding role of the European Union and its liberal economic policies. This only creates a barrier to honestly discuss these matters.

One should not be amazed, then, when people who are concerned by these things, are indeed tempted to look for the so-called populist parties for answers.

Populist ideas are more widespread than constituencies of populist parties. At any rate, the ideas defended by populist parties are more wide spread than their constituency. This is true for all European countries, but let me first look to France.

Attitudes

The research institution CEVIPOF regularly conducts surveys to measure the degree of populism among the respondents. They use five questions framed in a ‘scale of attitudes’, from low to high level of populist tendency:

- › The Members of Parliament should follow the will of the people;
- › The most important political decisions should be taken by the people and not by politicians;

- ▶ The differences between ordinary citizens and the elites are more important than the differences between the citizens;
- ▶ I prefer being represented by an ordinary citizen rather than by a professional politician;
- ▶ Politicians talk too much and do too little.

During the presidential election campaign in France in 2017, researcher Luc Rouban found that ‘the average level of agreement with these theses is very high’. From the analysis of the results, he concluded that 55% of the respondents have a high level of populism, while 45% of them show a weak or moderate level.

Pattern

Looking at a wider scale, we observe that all over Europe populist parties, whether right-wing or left-wing, only obtain a minority of votes during elections, but that their view of the state of the country and their approach to solve the problems find are shared by a majority of the population. An IPSOS study carried out towards the end of 2016 in 22 countries around the world shows that this is true for the five largest countries of Europe (Germany, Italy, Spain, France and the United Kingdom), in particular the three countries of southern Europe.

In the analysis of this research team, the rise of European follows a typical pattern, even though they differ from each other according to the emphasis placed on this or that priority. The pattern is threefold. It begins with ‘declinism’, the idea that ‘we are worse of then in the past’, that ‘we have lost our rank in the world’, or even that ‘our country is going down the drain’. Then comes the mistrust towards the ruling political class, called elite or ‘the system’, also towards international institutions such as the IMF and the EU. The corollary of the last factor usually is the desire to see the emergence of a ‘strong leader’, although left-wing populist parties are less prone to express this desire, since they are in favour of a participative democracy and critical of authoritarian political leadership.

Statistical research of the five major countries of Western Europe suggest that that a large majority is persuaded that their country is in decline, except in Germany. Moreover, Europeans in general have little or no confidence in their government. Distrust of international institutions is highest in southern Europe, slightly less in Germany and in the United Kingdom.

This research also shows a growing anxiety and dissatisfaction towards the

so-called traditional parties, the ruling elite, and 'the system'. According to the IPSOS researchers, this has to be seen against the background of two factors: the very low level of economic growth over the past decade (between 0 and 1,5%) and the rising inequality in social and economic terms. A majority of people blames the ruling political class for both.

There is also a majority for the idea that their country needs a strong leader. To improve the situation, 80% of the French say they would vote for 'a leader ready to change the rules', against 68% of Italians and 50% of Britons and only 21% of Germans (this figure is of course related to the memories of the Nazi-period). In Spain, 62% of respondents even declared themselves likely to vote for a party or a leader willing to 'radically change the status quo'.

Closely related to this call for strong leadership is the issue of security. The study points out that countries recently struck by terrorism are more inclined to demand that the state combats terrorism by all possible means, even when this implies reducing certain civil liberties. This is the opinion of 59% of respondents in France and 55% in Belgium, but only 35% in Italy and 31% in Spain.

Relating this phenomenon to the French presidential elections, the IPSOS report writes:

In this world whose mutations are frightening, Marine Le Pen responds most to the demand for absolute protectionism and the welfare state, while Emmanuel Macron embodies a liberal tradition for whom globalization is synonymous with deregulation and opportunities.

The two candidates in the final round could not have been more opposed to each other. But they have one thing in common: they have emerged outside the existing parties. In fact, they have blown up the system of two main parties dominating the French political scene for the last 50 years or so: the socialists and the right-wing Gaullists or Republicans.

Reactions of churches: Taking position or recalling basic Christian social values? How do church leaders and representative bodies react to the rise of the FN?

The Roman Catholic Church has not explicitly taken position against voting FN, knowing that the Roman-Catholics are divided on the issue. But they recall the social doctrine of the Church, which is an implicit way of rejecting the possibility of voting for the FN.

As always, the Fédération Protestante de France (FPF) has clearly taken position against the FN and appealed to vote Macron in the second round. They base their position on certain principles such as justice for the stranger (who today is the immigrant), peace and reconciliation between peoples.

Some individual Church leaders have spoken out in the same way or in terms of that effect. Others hesitate to do so explicitly, because they feel it is not the task of the Church to tell people what to do in this matter, leaving the decision to everyone's individual conscience. This is especially true for representatives and official instances of church denominations. But they do give pastoral advice by recalling fundamental Christian values that should help people to decide.

Usually they recall the following values:

First, our responsibility towards refugees and the need *to show them Christian hospitality and neighbourly love*. This amounts to an implicit voting advice, against anti-immigration parties.

Second, religious freedom. It is pointed out that Christians should *grant to others the religious freedom they want for themselves*, also when it comes to expressing religious convictions in the public sphere (clothing, manifestations, etc.). This means, at least implicitly, that Christians should beware of the anti-Muslim rhetoric of populist parties.

Thirdly, the calling of Christians *to work for the common good* and therefore the need for dialogue. Clearly, the implication is that one shouldn't vote for parties that create opposition and enmity between groups of people within society. Movements based on a simple reduction of all problems to a question of 'us' versus 'them'.

Finally, the *European project of unity and collaboration* between the peoples of the continent. Solidarity between richer and poorer countries in Europe, unity in diversity, richness of meeting and working with others across borders. The implication of emphasising such values is that a Christian should not vote for anti-European parties.

As for the Evangelicals, it is well known that many of them are now joining the ranks of those voting for the FN. Their pastors and representative bodies, however, usually do not take an official position with regards to any political movement.

The Conseil National des Evangeliques de France (CNEF) actively en

courages Evangelicals to become politically active, but the CNEF as such does not take position. It has published a document to point out the issues that Evangelicals need to take into account when they vote, quoting extensively from the Cape Town Engagement of the Lausanne Movement (2010). A bit like the bishops do when they recall the social doctrine of the Church.

Lack of room for discussion in the Churches

Given the fact that the FN finds support among practicing Christians, also among practicing believers, church leaders are hesitant to take sides. On a local parish or congregational level, they prefer not to raise the question whether or not voting FN is compatible with being a Christian. There is not much occasion for an open discussion about the underlying questions such as migration, EU, open or closed borders, national identity. In evangelical churches in particular, these issues are usually avoided, because of their 'divisive' character.

Open letter and book

Recently, one representative body has broken with this tradition. In 2015, the Evangelical Protestant Committee of Ethics published an open letter, addressing those evangelicals that had voted for the FN during the regional elections. The main thrust of the letter was: we understand your perception with regards to the politicians that govern our country, and we share your anxiety when it comes to the way in which our society develops, but this should not lead us into the arms of a political party that in fact has not changed its real ideological stance.

I have been involved in editing a book that is a follow up on this open letter, in which the authors take up the reactions to the open letter and deal with the issues in a more elaborate manner.

Conclusion

We have shown that the French presidential elections have placed the questions related to the construction of Europe in the centre of the political debate. They also brought out that the FN now attracts a substantial part of the electorate, not in the least because of its shift away from a right-wing racist ideology. We have further brought to light that the ideas put forward by populist parties in France and other countries, are shared by many people who do not vote for a populist party. This means that we should take the issues raised by these parties very seriously. Churches and their leaders, except for some, have shown to be reluctant in taking a clear position against the Front National. Instead they recall basic Christian

values that should inform our electoral decisions. We think that as churches, Christian organisations and individual believers we not only need to think about our values, but also discernment as to their political implications today, and the courage to stand for our convictions. Finally, we have the privilege to bring these matters in prayer, and let our minds and hearts be guided by the Spirit of the Lord our God.

In saying this, we follow the lead given by Marjorie Legendre in the chapter about 'populism' in the book I just mentioned. We take over her three words, and slightly rephrase her conclusions:

Lucidity as to the springs to which populism appeals and its false solutions. Lucidity, also with respect to ourselves, our feelings of fear and anger, the desire for things to be taken in hand. They are understandable but our salvation is not in populism nor in the political and economic system, but in expressing our feelings to the Lord and ask Him to help our countries.

Courage to resist the populist temptation and to convince others also to stand firm. The courage to discuss the issue as brothers and sisters instead of silencing them. Courage to denounce the idols and selfishness of our time, and to act out our Christian values in the public space, defending the freedom of expression for all other religions.

Prayer in which we commit our fears and our exasperations as well as those of our fellow citizens to God. In prayer, we also repent from apathy and lack of involvement in the issues that disturb our societies. We pray the Lord to give us discernment and wisdom how to act for the common good. Finally, we pray for politicians and civil authorities so that they might promote what is good and take position against what is wrong. Such prayer will help us encourage good governance for the sake of the whole of society.

5. Building hospitable communities

i. Jonathan Tame - through Relational Thinking

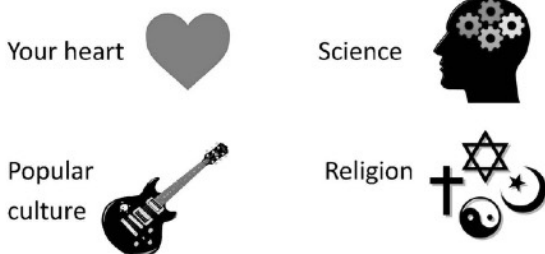
Relational Thinking (RT) was founded by Dr Michael Schluter out of his experience in East Africa in the late 70s. Is there an alternative to Capitalism, Socialism and Marxism for national development and organising the economy? The key indicator he discovered was from Matthew 22: ‘...on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets’.

For those that want a working definition: *Relational Thinking is a social philosophy based on Jewish and Christian values which seeks just and close relationships for social harmony and personal wellbeing.*

(Seek the ‘shalom’ and prosperity of the city - Jeremiah 29:7)

Relational Thinking starts with a simple affirmation: *that the most important things in life are relationships.*

Life is all about relationships...



You can reach that conclusion from at least four paths:

Yourself: look into your own heart – where do your ultimate hopes and longings lie?

The sciences: research pointing out the positive impact of stable marriages, families and friendships on health and wellbeing

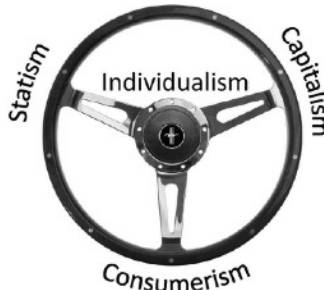
Popular culture: ‘All you need is Love!’ Now it’s more nuanced– but it’s an enduring theme

Religion: the monotheistic religions affirm it, and Christianity above all is a relational religion

RT takes this affirmation further, first by making the observation that most

people don't live as though R were the most important things to build, cherish, protect and maintain. Instead we tend to put two other things in the driving seat of our lives: money and me, and expect that relationships will serve those ends*. And when they don't they can often end up as collateral damage. We are emphasising that relationships have intrinsic value, not just instrumental value.

The steering wheel



It was not always so; our thinking and values are formed by our culture, which over the past fifty years in the West has come to be driven by four dominant philosophies or ideologies, all of which are fundamentally anti-relational: *individualism, consumerism, capitalism and statism*.

[The Jubilee Centre is currently researching into the linkages between these four streams, and will explore how a commitment to relational goals could help reverse some of the anti-relational impacts of the four -isms.]

So Relational Thinking calls for a radical change in priorities, not just personally but also in organisations and public policy, to promote stronger relationships in families, workplaces, neighbourhoods and institutions. We might call this a **Copernican revolution** – deliberately placing relationships at the centre of our personal and social universe, and orientating the other activities in our lives to support and protect those relationships.

Another way of stating this goal is *building social capital* – and more social capital will help create a more hospitable society.

How can RT promote a more hospitable society?

Relational Thinking works out in practice through three main avenues:

1. The Relational Lens:

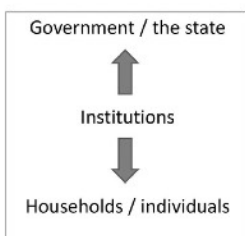
This involves a change in our worldview – and specifically what comes at the bottom line of our decision-making. For most people it is financial (will

I be better off?), personal advancement (will this bring me more fulfilment?), or the environment (how will this affect my carbon footprint?). These are important, but they are penultimate; the Relational lens teaches us to make our decisions according to their impact on what is ultimately the most important thing – our relationships. So, when choosing a job, or the technology we use, or when dealing with conflict, we first think relationally.

2. The yeast strategy:



The Yeast Strategy



Jesus told the parable of how the Kingdom of God is like a woman who mixed a small quantity of yeast through a large batch of dough – transforming it. The strategy for disseminating Relational Thinking is through institutions: by this we mean everything between the state and the household.

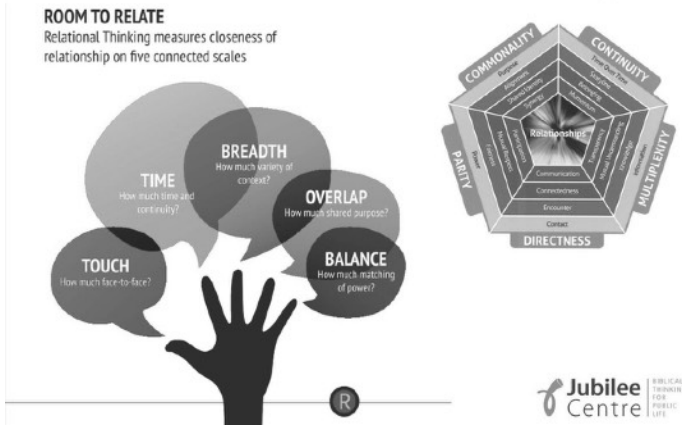
Why this approach? Because although we also seek to influence public policy (top down) and the Church's approach to social engagement (bottom up), the most effective strategy is to influence the institutions where people work. If we can demonstrate that organisations are better at achieving their goals and purpose by investing in relationships, we think that those ideas will permeate down to the family level and up to the governmental level.

So we are seeking to develop the idea of relational schools, relational companies, relational healthcare, relational justice in prisons, relational approach to poverty and development.

See the website www.relationalthinking.net for examples.

3. The Relational Proximity Framework

Relational Proximity™



A major hindrance to implementing some of the ideas of Relational Thinking is that people think relationships are intangible, too subjective and can't be measured. Management has to do with measurable outcomes – not only in the corporate world, but increasingly now in the delivery of public services. In UK at least we are driven by a target culture (Health: A&E times, waiting list lengths etc. e.g. Henry being signed off then back on WL for hip op. Education: league tables for % getting 5 GCSEs at C and above, means teaching resources concentrated on getting pupils from D to C).

In fact, all these outcomes in hospitals and schools would be enhanced through better R – but you can't manage what you can't measure.

Consequently, our colleagues have developed over 15 years a set of management tools based on the RPF, which through regular interviews can develop a relational dashboard that will allow managers and directors to direct resources into areas where relationships most need attention.

(See www.relational-analytics.com)

5. Building hospitable communities

ii. Florica Chereches - the family, society's first 'school of learning'

We are soon closing our full day and I want us to remember the three words of this forum: Hope, Healing, Hospitality.

We have **hope** in Jesus and we should encourage others to believe in Him and have hope for themselves and for their nations.

We were **healed** by God's power and He still can heal those who believe in this power and ask for forgiveness and healing.

And then, we should be **hospitable**, opening our homes and our churches, welcoming people, believers and non believers, to show them God's love and care.

Where can we experience all these elements? First, in the family and, of course, in the church. Family is the place intended by God to provide us a sense of security, love and care. This is the place where we learn to give and receive, to sacrifice and be vulnerable, to learn to share and help, but mostly, to love each other and experience God's love for us.

For me, family was always a nice dream, a wish since I was a child. It was a wish because my family was not a happy and safe place in my childhood. However, God gave me a happy and balanced family and I'd like you to imagine a Christmas photo taken in 1990: mother, father, two children, boy and girl. He is a cello player, a musician, she is an engineer, children are 8 and 6.

And then, imagine the next year's Christmas photo: mother, unemployed, 7 months pregnant, children 9 and 7, no father.

What happened to the father, why is he missing from the picture? In September 1991, driving home from concerts abroad, he fell asleep and was hit by a truck where he died instantly at the age of 35.

The deepest valley of my life started, but it also became a school where

I learned valuable life long lessons and where our faith was tested many times. We learned to be faithful to God and to believe that He is faithful to us. We learned that God provides. We learned that God satisfies needs and wishes. We learned that we can have hope regardless the circumstances. We learned that we are strong if we connect to His power. We learned how important faith is in our daily life. We learned that attitude is very important and keeping your optimism and hope in Jesus helps you from being desperate and to feel like a victim.

Six times I started over in a new profession, going from engineer, to recorder teacher, to English translator, to founder and director of a microfinance institution, to city council member and deputy mayor and then, to Member of Parliament, including two sessions of unemployment, all valuable learning experiences. Through all these, I learned that nothing is impossible with Him! You only need faith in God, trust in yourself and to work hard. You need to be open minded and fight the discouragement when unexpected things happen.

And remember, in the family you can't fake. You can't say to your children to do something you don't do yourself. You can't teach them to speak the truth if you lie occasionally. Children follow your example and then listen to your words and advices. They act as you act!

I didn't allow myself to be paralysed by fear but forced myself to believe in God's love and care for us. I had to fight the temptation to underestimate my potential, but with faith in God I seized all the opportunities God sent and worked hard to not dissappoint the confidence others put in me. My children were watching and learning....

I continued to go to church and to sing in the choir, to worship God and bring Him glory, even when it was hard at the beginning. Ps.34 was my favourite passage from the Bible though it was most difficult for me to say aloud that I will worship Him at any time and that His praise will always be on my lips. It was hard to believe that the righteous cry out

and then the Lord will hear them; and that He delivers them from all their troubles..

In those times, when I was most vulnerable, I learned to be sensitive to others' needs, which was very helpful for me when I was the President of the Social Committee in the City Council and also now when I see lots of needs presented by the people who come to me for advice and help. Also, it helped me realise that our situation can very easily change, if God allows, to test our faith in Him. We have to believe in Him, regardless the circumstances!

Two weeks ago, my son Titus, my third child, who never met his biological father, got married. He is 25. I remember how I was looking at him, when he was born, thinking and asking myself what he will become and how God should take care of him. And I watched him grow and become a man, accepting responsibilities, including the one of a family, to raise children and teach them from the Bible. What more could a mother wish for?

In conclusion, family is the first place where people learn about love in a practical way, where the Christian faith and values are put in the mind of children, where hope is built through different experiences, where hospitality is learned, when family opens its home for guests.

5. Building hospitable communities

iii. Hector Scerri - following the Church Fathers

THE FELLOWSHIP AMONG HUMAN BEINGS: THE EXPLOSIVE VITALITY AND ENDURING VITALITY OF SOME EARLY CHRISTIAN TEXTS. SOME PATRISTIC AND LITURGICAL TEXTS WHICH TALK ABOUT UNITY, FELLOWSHIP AND FRATERNITY AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE TO THE EUROPEAN PROJECT.

Human beings are called to live in communion, solidarity and fraternity. Early Christian literature from the first centuries provides us with a whole spectrum of patristic and liturgical texts which remain relevant and inspiring.

When we read the writings of the Church Fathers and explore early texts describing the celebration of the Christian liturgy, one immediately observes the centrality of the themes of unity and peace. The ancient adage, 'the rule of prayer is the rule of faith' (*lex orandi, lex credendi*) is often extended to *lex orandi, lex credendi, lex vivendi*, namely the rule of life, the putting into practice of what we believe and celebrate into an ethical lifestyle.

In situations where division was rife, Augustine of Hippo (354-430) interpreted the Pauline text of 1 Corinthians 12 in this way: "*Understand and rejoice: unity, truth, piety, charity. One bread – what is this 'one bread'? Recall that bread is not made from one grain but from many*" (Sermon 272). In this striking homily, Augustine draws a concrete lesson for a life based on charity, union, and peace in the fusion of hearts. Augustine affirms that one of the intrinsic properties of the divine nourishment of which Christians partake in the Eucharist is *une force d'union* which binds the faithful to Christ and among them selves.

I reiterate the emphasis made by Augustine on unity, truth, piety, charity. Fast-forward the centuries and note the convergence of these principles to the striking affirmation made by one of the founding fathers of Europe, Alcide de Gasperi, on 10 December 1951 to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg: "*for it is thus that the wars of Europe must be regarded from the standpoint of world*

history: that alternation of aggression and revenge, of thirst for supremacy, of avid grasping after wealth and territory, of anarchy and tyranny, which have been handed down to us by our common history, so glorious in other respects. It is, therefore, against these factors of potential disintegration and decline, of mutual suspicion and moral decay, that we have to fight with all our strength”.

A highly evocative prayer is that found in a very early Christian text, the Didaché (end of 1st century). This prayer is characterized by an emphasis on a collective rather than an individualistic vision of the Christian community: *“We give you thanks, Father [...]. As the elements of this broken bread, once scattered over the mountains, were gathered together and made one, so may your Church be built up from the ends of the earth and gathered into your kingdom”* (9,3-4).

A similar early prayer, probably based on it, is the prayer over the offerings in the Euchologion of Serapion (4th century). This prayer makes an analogy between the grains, which are brought together from far and wide to form one bread, and the members of the Church who are called to unity. The celebration of the Lord’s Supper is understood in early texts as an indispensable rite in which prayers for unity are addressed to God. Moreover, the analogy between the one bread of the Eucharist and the united community highlights that all the members are to be fused together in mutual love.

A prayer from the early 3rd century text called The Apostolic Tradition (*Traditio Apostolica*) underlines the profound expression of the unity which emerges from the Eucharist during the *epiclesis*: *“And we pray that you would send your Holy Spirit upon the offerings of your holy Church; that, gathering them into one, you would grant to all your saints who partake to be filled with the Holy Spirit”* (TA4).

The image of multiplicity and unity conveyed by the many grains of wheat which together form the one Eucharistic bread was used in several ancient liturgical texts, and echoed by significant writers of the patristic period, such as Cyprian of Carthage and Augustine, as well as a number of apocryphal texts attributed to Jerome, Caesarius of Arles and Isidore of Seville. The same symbol was used later on by Bede, Alcuin, Amalarius of Metz, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure and others.

Cyprian (200-258) mentions the countless grains and grapes which are harvested and then processed so as to form the bread and the wine used during the celebration of the Eucharist. Since Cyprian was constrained to regard the unity of the Church as one of his constant preoccupations, he presented the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist as indispensable to it. One of the major pivots of the theology of Cyprian is his quest for unity. He affirms that this unity is expressed through Baptism by receiving the one Spirit, and through the Eucharist by sharing of the one bread and the one cup. In his Letter 69 to Magnus, Cyprian affirms: "When the Lord calls bread made from the union of many granules his Body, he points out our people [...]; and when he calls wine, which is pressed from many grapes and clusters and reduced to a whole, his Blood, again he signifies our flock, joined together by the blending of a multitude into one"

This reminds me of one of the guiding principles of Jean Monnet. Throughout his life, he had one objective: "Make men work together and show them that beyond their differences and geographical boundaries there lies a common interest."

The tradition mentioned earlier of the wheat grains and the grapes is carried on in the 7th century compilation of 76 homilies of varying provenance and bearing the name *'Eusebius Gallicanus'*. In Sermon 17, composed for Easter, it is stated that once the wheat is crushed by the millstones, it becomes white. The use of water causes the flour to form one mass of dough, and the baking with fire produces one bread. In a similar way various peoples and nations who profess the same faith are joined together to form the one body of Christ.

In a spirit of communion, the different communities show mutual solicitude for each other's needs through a double movement of systole and diastole (The systole is the regular contraction of the heart that drives the blood through the arteries to all the parts of the body. On the other hand, the diastole is the regular expansion or relaxation of the heart, and rhythmically alternates with systole.) This image, based on the physiological functioning of the heart, illuminates two aspects of Christian charity: sacrifice so that the contracted self may aid other Christian communities, and the relaxed self meet its own needs.

'Eusebius Gallicanus' dwells on the permanent nature which characterizes the bond of unity among the members of the Church when he explains how it is impossible to separate the grains of wheat once they have been crushed, moistened and baked so as to form one bread. The koinonia initiated at Baptism is furthered when the members of the community partake of the one Eucharistic bread. This is well illustrated by John Chrysostom (347-407):

"For as the bread consisting of many grains is made one, so that the grains nowhere appear, they exist indeed, but their difference is not seen by reason of their conjunction; so are we conjoined both with each other and with Christ: there not being one body for you, and another for your neighbor to be nourished by, but the very same for all. Wherefore also he [Paul] adds, For we all partake of one bread. Now if we are all nourished of the same and all become the same, why do we not also show forth the same love, and become also in this respect one?" (Homily on 1 Corinthians, 24).

The few texts I have presented demonstrate, what the renowned French Catholic theologian Henri de Lubac called "*une vitalité explosive*". Although proclaimed and written down centuries ago, they possess a powerful message to the nations of Europe and their peoples, a message on authentic unity, spontaneous sharing and disinterested solidarity. One can easily observe a striking similarity between what the ancient Christian texts affirmed and the strong Christian principles guiding men like Jean Monnet, Konrad Adenauer, Robert Schuman and Alcide de Gasperi. It is our duty to recall these principles, proclaim them, reiterate them, put them into practice, and pass them to future generations.

6. Economics and artificial intelligence: *threat or promise?*

Lyndon Drake - Towards Christian hope

1. My story

Some of the challenges encountered on my personal journey as an investment bank trader in government bonds and interest-rate derivatives in London include questions about:

- the ethical challenges in dealing well with clients, colleagues, and my employer;
- the morality of banking and whether or not there is such a thing as Christian bond trading.

I believe that it's important for Christians to be involved in the work of work: to be creators, not merely critics, influencers living out a godly life within the city. I have come to see work as a vocation God has given us, which at its best contributes to the social, cultural, and spiritual renewal of society.

My experience of the church's attitude towards my work was primarily one of alienation and distrust, seeing work merely as a source of income. Research shows that this is a common experience for Christians in professional workplaces: the church doesn't always have a well-developed theology of work. The church gave me limited theological equipping to help me understand how my work was part of my Christian life. In the years after leaving the banking industry, this has led me to search for a theology of work and develop an interest in public theology, eventually leading to my role with the Business Coalition of the World Evangelical Alliance, and graduate study in Oxford on a biblical theology of economic capital.

2. Hope

People long for an ideal of hope they can follow and belong to. Robert Schuman appealed to this longing for hope when he said in Strasbourg, *"We are carrying out a great experiment, the fulfilment of the same recurrent dream that for ten centuries has revisited the peoples of Europe: creating between them an organization putting an end to war and guaranteeing an*

eternal peace." (16 May 1949)

Our hope needs to be distinctively Christian, compelling (true) and differentiated (prophetic). It must be constructive not reactionary.

Revelation 21:22–6: *I did not see a temple in the city, because the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are its temple. The city does not need the sun or the moon to shine on it, for the glory of God gives it light, and the Lamb is its lamp. The nations will walk by its light, and the kings of the earth will bring their splendour into it. On no day will its gates ever be shut, for there will be no night there. The glory and honour of the nations will be brought into it.*

Hope is theologically grounded. Most Christian contributions to public theology are politically captured. One public theology book quotes Marx for one-and-a-half pages, owing more to Marx than scripture. Perhaps the book's argument is correct, but it doesn't come across as any different from other secular books; it doesn't seem to be distinctively Christian.

Hope sees clearly. It tells us the way the world really is, both the inconvenient and the ugly, and the true and beautiful (also sometimes inconvenient). Hope tells us how the story ends, and what our part is between the mixed now and the perfect not yet. Christian hope is the only kind of hope that I believe can give us this true clarity.

3. What economic state are we in?

The Schuman Declaration of May 9, 1950 (which we commemorate in this forum) read in part:

"It proposes that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe. e pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims."

"To achieve these objectives, starting from the very different conditions in which the production of member countries is at present situated, it is proposed that certain transitional measures should be instituted, such as the application

of a production and investment plan, the establishment of compensating machinery for equating prices, and the creation of a restructuring fund to facilitate the rationalization of production. The movement of coal and steel between member countries will immediately be freed from all customs duty, and will not be affected by differential transport rates. Conditions will gradually be created which will spontaneously provide for the more rational distribution of production at the highest level of productivity."

Where are we now 67 years later? What economic progress has been made? What inequality can we see? How big is the problem? What is the trajectory?

In the UK, the poorest 10% in 1975 earned £3.40/hour, and now earn £6.70. Only 2% of workers are on minimum wage today versus 45% of workers in 1975. Brian Griffiths states that "Gross inequality is typically associated with exploitation," but despite this truth being apparent in our societies, we are better off in real terms and we spend more on social insurance than we used to.

When I look at the scriptures, I see justice expressed in the words of God who cares about individual people and the issues they face, not merely about aggregate measures of economic wealth. This suggests that Indeed, God seems to care about our ability to flourish as human beings, with a measure of personal freedom that sometimes leads to poor outcomes (either through misadventure, or sometimes even foolish or sinful choices). Brian Griffiths also writes about "tension between equality and freedom". We need to be precise about in equality: are we talking about housing, education, youth unemployment, mobility or healthcare? Is "inclusion" a better term to use? E.g. what could be done to lower the cancer rate in Wales, where it is high? How could youth unemployment be altered in specific areas such as north-east England?

4. Europe's Christian foundations – how significant are they?

Christian ideals formed Europe's ideals, but can we say Christian theology was responsible for Europe's forms? There is dispute about this. For example, Samuel Moyn states that, "The truth is that Europe and therefore the modern world drew nearly everything from Christianity in the long term. . . Without Christianity, our commitment

to the moral equality of human beings is unlikely to have come about. . . [But by itself this] had no bearing on most forms of political equality – whether between Christians and Jews, whites and blacks, civilised or savage, or men and women.”

I agree with the first part of this statement, but do not agree that Christianity had “no bearing” on our forms of political equality. The relationship between Christian doctrine and the forms of society is more complex. As Nick Spencer puts it, “In other words, Christianity has played a big role in this show – indeed it has played the lead for much of the last 1,500 years – but the play has been no mere soliloquy, and the lead has had a somewhat ambiguous relationship with the overall plotline.”

This ambiguous relationship between Christian faith and social form means that we should neither blindly idolise our social systems, nor carelessly dispose of the systems that have grown over the last centuries. Instead, we should seek to affirm the Christian values that undoubtedly inform many of our political and economic structures, while attempting to be honest about the corruption of those values that the scriptures can critique and willing to amend even long-held patterns when they fall short of a biblical standard of justice.

5. Hope and finance

Finance is seen as the bogeyman of populist and progressive thought. We should ask, however, is it really the enemy of progress? Banking scandals, speculation and bonuses have given banking a bad name.

The Nobel Prize-winning economist Angus Deaton has accurately pointed out that, “There is widespread suspicion that some highly profitable financial activities are of little benefit to the population as a whole” (The Great Escape). This suspicion has a basis in reality but is sometimes exaggerated. For example, the journalist Elizabeth Parisian overstates the problem (albeit in a catchy phrase echoed many times since) when she says that capital markets are “...*giant casinos where thousands of ultra-wealthy traders and speculators go to place bets on the rise and fall of the price of commodities, including oil, gold, currencies, interest rates, and other exotic financial products.*” (Huffington Post)

In fact, while the western experiment with democratic forms of

capitalism has numerous faults, in my view these faults are far less serious than the faults which are endemic to other financial systems – judged merely on their impact on the poor, without even considering the loss of freedom which those systems typically involve. Contrast the 2013 Tweet from UK Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn praising the socialism of Hugo Chavez, with the picture from a Wall Street Journal story earlier this year on Venezuela:



Jeremy Corbyn
@jeremycorbyn

Follow

Thanks Hugo Chavez for showing that the poor matter and wealth can be shared. He made massive contributions to Venezuela & a very wide world

2:19 PM - 5 Mar 2013



“Venezuela Is Starving. Once Latin America’s richest country, Venezuela can no longer feed its people, hobbled by the nationalization of farms as well as price and currency controls”

History demonstrates clearly that moderate capitalism is empirically the best route to help the poor. Angus Deaton, who is himself a harsh critic of capitalism’s failures and corruptions, states definitively that as a result of the western systems of capital, “In spite of its inequalities and of the millions still left behind, it [the world] is a better place than at any time in history.”

Winston Churchill noted, “...it has been said that democracy is the worst form of Government, except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.” Similarly, the western financial system has many flaws, but is better than every other system that has been tried in the past or proposed in modern times.

“Many of our hopes for the future should be pinned on further development of the institutions representing financial capitalism... the key to achieving our goals and enhancing human values is to maintain and continually improve a democratic financial system that takes account of the diversity of human motives and drives.”

– Robert Schiller, *Finance & the Good Society*

So within the economic systems of the west, I would suggest that rather

than a wholesale revolution, we Christians should work for wholesale redemption. This will involve deep and at times painful surgery to remove the tumours in the financial and social system which often cause immense harm, but like any careful surgeon we need to avoid causing more harm ourselves than the disease we are trying to eradicate.

These choices are inherently ethical, and in a society which has abandoned any ethical foundations, Christian theologians have a unique opportunity to demonstrate the way the gospel of Jesus Christ provides hope in every area of life.

Two huge openings for Christian theological reflection in the present moment are the theology of finance, and the theology of human work in the light of Artificial Intelligence.

6. A Biblical theology of capital

- **Stewardship:** God owns everything. We are called to be stewards.

“The land is mine; with me you are but aliens and tenants” – Lev. 25:23

“The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, says the LORD of hosts.” – Hag 2:8

- **Trust:** The Old Testament is often misunderstood as urging “relational” or “family” enterprise. Rather, it promotes the extension of attitudes found within families to those outside families. Theologians call this ‘fictive kinship’.

- **Equality:** The Bible does not seem to idealise strict economic egalitarianism.

“The Bible’s law codes have a tendency toward curbing the capacity to accrue great private wealth on the one hand while they radically transform both the theological and social role of tribute on the other.”
– Joshua Berman, *Created Equal*

The Bible is egalitarian in its tendency when compared to the strict and highly unequal hierarchies of the rest of the ancient Near East, where temple and king dominated life for most people, and where the cycle of debt and impoverishment was the normal experience. Even benevolent aspects of life, such as the periodic edicts issued by kings to release people from debt and slavery, were also political tools used to reinforce the power and status of the king, and an attempt to earn divine favour.

By contrast, when the Bible's law codes prescribe a similar release for people from debt and slavery, they do so on the basis of universal human dignity as a theological principle, and act to limit the worst effects of sin and misfortune in a broken world. "Thus, the biblical law codes, in transforming release edicts theologically, neuter them as tools of political manipulation."

—Joshua Berman, *Created Equal*

7. Hope, work and AI (Artificial Intelligence)

The place of work is sometimes undervalued. Christian theology gives human beings personal dignity and dignifies work. It identifies work (not merely income or wealth) as a vital part of human experience and dignity. AI can destroy human dignity or lift it up. In summary we can say: things are not as bad as populists or progressives suggest. Skynet is probably not coming for you, but we should be concerned.

"The direction of technological change should be an explicit concern of policy-makers, encouraging innovation in a form that increases the employability of workers and emphasises the human dimension of service provision."

—Tony Atkinson - *Inequality*

Medieval understandings of work:

For Thomas Aquinas, work removes "idleness whence arise many evils" and "curbs concupiscence".

"The Christian life could only be lived fully in the cloister and a serious religious commitment meant becoming a monk."

— C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*

Work as calling:

Luther however taught that "God gives his gifts through the earthly vocations: food through farmers, fishermen and hunters; external peace through princes, judges, and orderly powers; knowledge and education through teachers and parents..."

"All human beings are called to the human vocation. Christians have heard the call of Christ and taken up their vocation of being fully human (life in the church being an outcropping of the Kingdom and a sign of the age to come), and their vocation of humanising the earth for God's glory."

—Paul Stevens, *The Other Six Days*, p102

Work as charism:

"...one and the same Spirit of God is active both in the Church and in the world of culture. As the first fruits of the new creation, the Spirit is active in the Church, redeeming and sanctifying the people of God. In the world of culture the Spirit is active sustaining and developing humanity. The difference in the activity of the Spirit in these two realms lies not so much in the different purposes of the Spirit with the two groups of human beings, as in the nature of the receptivity of human beings."

— Miroslav Volf, *Work in the Spirit*, 118–9

Degrading work:

In the Bible, Esther is an example. Miroslav Volf calls this kind of degrading work, "slave work".

Artificial Intelligence: what it can and can't do.

Professor Toby Walsh explains that AI is very unlikely to take over the world; it can't do most things that require active thought; it can do most things that we do unconsciously; it can deal with exceptionally large amounts of data; and it can be perfectly repeatable.

Many 'professional' jobs, esp. semi-skilled will be taken over by AI, for example in the financial world, the legal world where there is lots of routine drafting such as trust deeds, property conveyancing, and employment contracts. This will lead to a massive social disruption. New jobs will be created, and over time humans will be given greater dignity as they are freed from menial work into kinds of work which display God's creativity and allow flourishing lives. But the people who lose their jobs in the first place are unlikely to take up new jobs without a significant investment by society in retraining.

Alongside this, the most impressive AI systems developed today have substantial ethical challenges. Most of these systems use some form of machine learning, and in practice the only way to train these systems is by the use of massive quantities of personal information. Companies such as Google and Facebook gain this information from their users, and while they ostensibly have consent to do so, it is very unclear that their users really understand how their personal information is being used. For example, would Facebook users be comfortable knowing that the information they post has been used to train systems which then influence elections? And yet, this appears to have happened in recent

years.

Even worse, machine learning systems on the whole have no mechanism for explaining why they make a decision. Autonomous weapons systems might accurately decide to kill a terrorist, but with current technology would be quite unable to explain why they decided that a particular person was a terrorist. The level of trust this requires is extraordinary, and to my mind unjustified. And it has been demonstrated both that machine learning systems can be deliberately confused by a knowledgeable opponent, and that on the whole machine learning systems simply reproduce the worst of human biases – as so many people are racist, and machine learning simply replicates what it finds in human responses, there is no way to eradicate a racist response from a machine learning system trained on real-world data. These ethical challenges have received virtually no response from Christian theologians, not least because so few people understand what AI systems are technically capable of and the technical advantages and disadvantages of the various technologies involved.

Conclusions:

Christian hope looks forward to the glory and splendour of the nations, ready to be brought into the eternal city when the Lord returns – not merely “peace in our time”. This hope is theologically founded. It reflects the sovereignty of God. Our pattern of a week is derived from God’s revelation, not human experience or nature. We should reject pragmatism, or baptised pagan ideas as starting points.

We should describe the world as Christ enlightens us to see it, not the evils our politics make us want to see, nor the good our politics make us want to see. This gives us the intellectual space to develop a theology of finance, and public policy recommendations informed by the ethics of this theology, that encourage stewardship, trust, and a balance between equality and freedom in the economic systems of our societies. By doing so we can both be part of God’s work in redemption in the world, and demonstrate the unique ability of the Christian gospel to bring a glimpse of the promised hope into the present day.

Similarly, as we respond to the huge changes AI can reduce the

degradation of human work, yet poses a theological problem, so far unsolved, along with a number of ethical issues around the design, training, and use of AI systems. It leaves us with a problem of dignity for those whose jobs will be lost. We need thought leaders and theologically driven solutions to the practical problems that this huge change will bring.

MONDAY MAY 8, 2017

UNIVERSITY OF MALTA, VALLETTA CAMPUS

CLOSING SESSION

MALTA EU2017

FAITH
HOPE &
CHARITY:
STILL OUR BEST DEFENCE

THE
STATE OF EUROPE
FORUM
Valletta Malta, May 7 & 8, 2017

Building Europe's future together

Her Excellency Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca

Let me begin by thanking all the organizers, and in particular Mr. Jeff Fountain and Reverend Prof. Hector Scerri, for bringing together this distinguished international gathering.

It is my pleasure to bring to a close the State of Europe Forum.

I am informed that this Forum has been inspired by Malta's national history, to reflect on the themes of hope, of healing and of hospitality. I am convinced that your two-day Forum was a constructive experience for you and that the outcomes will be disseminated and put in to practice in your respective communities.

It is encouraging to note that representatives from the diverse Christian communities in Malta have been included to join in an ecumenical display of solidarity.

I believe that we must work together, alongside people of other faith traditions, to ensure that we include and engage with all the members of our societies in Europe, and beyond.

At this time of great global uncertainty, we must reassert the fundamental values of peace and holistic wellbeing, which are the cornerstone of our European aspirations.

I believe that we need a global and regional social solidarity approach, which safeguards the holistic wellbeing of each and every member of our human family. We need to work in synergy, in a spirit of trust, to achieve the common good. We need to take action, courageously and efficiently, on behalf of the vulnerable, the excluded and the oppressed.

Furthermore, I believe that above all we need to build a culture of positive peace, which takes proactive steps to nurture respect and dignity in our communities, in our societies and in our nations.

We no longer can afford to think of peace as the mere absence of warfare. Positive peace is the commitment to strive together in pursuit of a common goal for an inclusive society. We must be guided by fundamental human rights and freedoms in order to ensure that everybody is included. in many



ways, Europe has been built on these values of solidarity, of peace and of holistic wellbeing. These values are present in our different faith traditions and are a powerful component in the heritage of Christianity.

It is this heritage, which had such a significant role in the history of our European Union. In particular, let us remember the contribution of the architects of the Union, Robert Schuman, whose vision is relevant to the Forum.

Therefore, allow me to quote from his declaration of May 9, 1950, which many people consider to be the genesis of the European project. Schuman believed that the rebuilding of the European Community only would be possible if it was, and I quote, "deeply rooted in basic Christian values".

The values of solidarity, of peace and of holistic wellbeing are firmly embedded within the traditions of Christianity; however, they are not unique to it. These values are shared by all individuals and groups of goodwill. They unite us all in one universal sense of solidarity and one united desire to build a long-lasting, and sustainable, peace.

Let us recognize that it are these values of solidarity, of peace and of holistic wellbeing that had such a profound impact during the establishment of the European Union. Moreover, these values have lost none of their importance, as we move forward today.

The primary message derived from these values is a commitment to profound respect towards other cultures and groups, even those that seem to be very different from our own. This sense of respect is now more important than ever before. Putting real respect into practice means taking steps to achieve reconciliation and to take every opportunity to be effective peace builders.

Forgiveness, reconciliation and healing must underpin all our efforts to build positive peace within our communities, our societies and across our nations. To sustain long-lasting positive peace, we need to include everybody. We cannot allow discrimination to go unchallenged, whether on the basis of gender, of sexual orientation, of ethnicity or race, of social background or culture. We cannot allow prejudice and hatred to disrupt the circles of respect and trust. It is only by nurturing respect and trust that we we can move forward and be effective activists for peace and focused champions of wellbeing.

Other essential Christian values are equality and equity which both underpin the European project and should continue to strengthen it today. In the holy texts of all Abrahamic faiths, the intrinsic dignity of every human being is essential. The human person is, we are told, created in the image of God. Thus, the human person should be filled with dignity, goodness and truth. No matter who we are, or where we are from, we should be united as one family, filled with one sense of purpose, to love and be loved. This sense of unity, which finds direct expression in a human rights-based approach, gave strong foundations the the European Union.

Not only should all individuals be equal, but also all nations should be equal. For this reason we must resist the rhetoric of fragmentation and division which is, I am sad to say, reappearing in Europe. We must be strong advocates for peace and unity, against the false populism of demagogues and the scaremongering of opportunists.

However, I am pleased to note the recent experiences (of the elections) in the Netherlands and France. These experiences showed that the majority of the people are strongly committed to the foundations of the European project.

The Universal Declaration of Human rights leads us to yet another

principle. this principle is prominent in all our faiths and in all philosophies that aim to secure peace and holistic wellbeing. The essential truth is that we must love our neighbours as we love ourselves.

Let me encourage you to never stop striving to ensure that the message be effective in our lives and in the lives of our communities and nations.

Let me encourage you to spread the knowledge that globalization brings our communities and nations closer together. Globalisation also brings new opportunities for our shared prosperity. We are stronger and more stable in our European Union when we combine the potential of our nations to work for a common purpose with partners and collaborators from across the world.

The love we must show to our neighbours should transcend our differences.

The love we must show to our neighbours should celebrate our diversity.

The love we must show to our neighbours should always promote dialogue and understanding.

Europe has come a long way since its visionary beginning, proposed by people like Robert Schuman and his contemporaries. However, there is much we still can learn from the legacy that they have handed down to us.

Let me conclude my remarks by asserting, once again, that we must continue promoting a culture of positive peace, a culture of encounter and processed of dialogue with others. We must work in synergy to create real reconciliation and lasting unity. In this way we shall build positive peace among our nations and strive together for the holistic wellbeing and lasting prosperity of both present and future generations.

Thank you.

Following this talk, Jeff Fountain read and presented a copy of the MALTA MANIFESTO, signed by the assembled participants, to Her Excellency, President Coleiro Preca.

A Malta Manifesto for a Europe of HOPE, HEALING & HOSPITALITY

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, GATHERED IN VALLETTA FROM A VARIETY OF FAITH COMMUNITIES ACROSS EUROPE IN COMMEMORATION OF EUROPE DAY, AND ON THE OCCASION OF MALTA'S PRESIDENCY OF THE EU, RESPECTFULLY URGE OUR EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL LEADERS TO REMEMBER AND REAFFIRM THE VALUES AND VISION OF ROBERT SCHUMAN AND OTHER FOUNDING FATHERS OF THE EUROPEAN PROJECT, AS FIRST PRESENTED ON MAY 9, 1950.

IN THEIR UNDERSTANDING, this vision for a community of peoples seeking the common good of Europe and humanity in general, had to be deeply rooted in the basic Christian values of human dignity, solidarity, equality and freedom.

SOUL & SPIRIT

RECALLING THAT THESE VALUES originate from faith in the Triune God, the ultimate Unity-in-diversity, the foundations of our common house are strengthened against the external and internal threats facing us today. Lacking these roots, the dream of unity-in-diversity could become again a nightmare of self-seeking and competing nations, or of the powerful dominating the less powerful.

WE IGNORE TO OUR OWN PERIL the warnings of Robert Schuman and Jacques Delors that without a soul the 'game would be over'. Without spirituality and meaning, the 'European values' are too often sacrificed for economic or political gain, at the cost of social inclusion and mutual flourishing.

WE MUST RESPOND to the founding fathers' exhortation to embrace the 'spirit of Europe', which is the acknowledgement of our common spiritual heritage and a consequent commitment to seek the common good.

JUSTICE & COMPASSION

WHEN WE MAKE PROFITS AND TECHNOLOGY ends in themselves, instead of tools for human flourishing, the gap between the haves and the have-nots widens and many feel discarded by the system.

SOCIAL DISCONTENT feeds a negative populism and the re-emergence of those nationalistic forces which led to conflict in Europe's troubled past. We ask you therefore to govern in justice and compassion on behalf of the children, the young, the unemployed, the vulnerable and the weak.

WE REMIND THOSE citing our Christian heritage to exclude 'the other' that the Christian faith is an invitation to all, based on grace. We entreat you as our leaders to recognise the dignity of all humans, not just Europeans, as made in the image of God; to pursue migration policies consistent with the values of solidarity, equality and freedom; to seek safe and legal pathways for migrants, and integration policies of dignity. We must recognise both the benefits and costs migration brings to receiving nations, especially when facing a demographic winter.

WE URGE A FAIRER SHARING of the burden of migration across Europe, and also in the Middle East, whose share dwarfs that of our continent. We also recognise that this migration is both a symptom of dysfunction in the communities they have left behind and also in itself further impoverishes them. We therefore encourage all means to be used (including fairer trade) to promote freer and more prosperous societies and nations in the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa.

WE IMPLORE YOU as lawmakers to safeguard the family as the first school of learning in values and relationships, recognising the crippling costs to society of family breakdown and divorce, emotionally and economically.

WE ENCOURAGE THE EUROPEAN UNION to continue its global leadership on climate change and the stewardship of our planet's resources, safeguarding the heritage of future generations.

SALT & LIGHT

WE RECOGNISE HOWEVER that the future of Europe is too important to leave to politicians alone. To expect politicians to restore a soul for Europe is unrealistic. We affirm a key role for civil society and faith communities in this task. We acknowledge that we in our faith communities have not always risen to this challenge. Often we were told we had no place in the public square. Too often we were content to remain in our comfort zones, disengaged from the responsibility to be ‘salt and light’ which Jesus of Nazareth gave his followers.

WE ASK YOU AS OUR POLITICAL LEADERS to recognise the legitimate contribution of faith communities to European life and culture; that separation of church and state does not exclude faith communities from public life; and that the faith-informed worldview has been crucial in the very development of democracy and politics in Europe’s past.

WE HAVE COME TO MALTA to explore the meaning of this ‘salt and light’ commission today in a Europe seeking the way forward amidst the challenges of climate change, war and terrorism, migration and integration, human trafficking, populism and prejudice, unemployment and poverty.

WE INVITE YOU TO REFLECT with us on lessons Malta’s past may offer for Europe’s future, recognising that:

- crises can lead to blessing in God’s providence, as in the case of Paul’s shipwreck on this island;
- unity in diversity can prevail against overwhelming odds, as knights and peasants demonstrated during the Great Siege of 1565;
- and that faith, hope and charity are still our greatest defence against despair, cynicism and selfishness, as during the brave Maltese resistance of World War II.

WE WISH TO PARTNER with you as our political leaders in the task of promoting a Europe of hope, healing and hospitality, for the common good of all Europeans and of all humanity.

Signed: The STATE OF EUROPE FORUM participants, Valletta, Malta

St Patrick's Prayer for Europe

Mats Tunehag led the participants in the following prayer to close:

Every year on March 17, many people around the globe celebrate St. Patrick. He was a human trafficking victim in the 5th century, who he came a missionary to the people and land (Ireland) where he was a slave. Here's a well-known prayer by St. Patrick, slightly revised and customized to be a prayer for Europe:

Christ with us, as we pray and work for Europe

Christ before us, our hope is in Him

Christ behind us, for history is His story

Christ in us; a guiding light for the nations

Christ beneath us; He is the foundation

Christ above us, as we seek justice and mercy

Christ on our right, Christ on our left,

Christ is Lord of the market place and the public square

Christ when we lie down, and rest from our work

Christ when we sit down, and do our work

Christ when we arise, enthusiastic or weary

Christ in the heart of every person who thinks of us, and our vision

Christ in the mouth of everyone who speaks of us, and our work

Christ in every eye that sees us, young and old,

rich and poor, countrymen and foreigners

Christ in every ear that hears us, speak about hope for Europe

Glory be to God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit,

forever and ever.

Amen!

Speaker profiles



Cappella Sanctae Catharinae, Malta's only male chamber choir, was set up in 2009 by a small group of musicians sharing a common passion for polyphonic music. The choir's repertory concentrates mostly on late Renaissance and early Baroque polyphony.



Maria Voce, president of the Focolare Movement is the first Focolarina to succeed the founder, Chiara Lubich. Since 1964 she has served in Focolare Centres in Sicily, Rome and Istanbul. She was co-responsible for the international commission, "Communion and Law," a network of academics and professionals involved in law. Pope Benedict XVI appointed her as a Consultor for the Pontifical Council for the Laity.



Her Excellency Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca, President of Malta . The youngest serving President of Malta and only the second woman to hold the post of Head of State. A special project of her Presidency has the creation of The President's Foundation for the Wellbeing of Society, to cultivate hope, particularly through engaging with minority and marginalized groups within Maltese society.



Mari Blaj , Iasi (RO). Mari holds a degree in Linguistics from the Faculty of Letters and a masters in Mediterranean Culture and Civilization at the Faculty of History, State Univ. of Iasi. She studied Christian Worldview at the College of Humanities and Intl Studies, Univ. of the Nations, and teaches in this college on causes of poverty and introduction to biblical worldview. She served in humanitarian projects in Mali and Tanzania.



Dr Ahmed Bugre (MT) is founder and director of Foundation for Shelter and Support to Migrants (FSM) and also the initiator of the Third country national Support Network in Malta (TSN Malta) working for the welfare and integration of third country nationals. Originally from Ghana, Dr Bugre came to Malta 26 years ago. He is also pastor of the New Life Christian Centre. He studied law at the University of Malta.



Dr Katrine Camilleri (MT) is director of Jesuit Refugee Services, and lectures on Refugee Law and Policy Issues at the University of Malta. JRS became the first organization to offer professional legal services on a regular basis to detainees in Malta. In 2007, she was awarded the Nansen Refugee Award (United Nations Refugee Award) for her work for the rights of boat people fleeing across the Mediterranean Sea.



Rosemary Caudwell (UK) is from London, and worked as a lawyer in the UK Government Legal Service and in the European Commission, Brussels. Her first degree is in Philosophy, Politics and Economics. She has just completed a Masters in Contemporary Missiology (Europe).



Florica Chereches , (RO) is a current Member of Parliament of Romania. Originally an engineer, then translator and now serving as a politician. Following her election as a local councillor, she stood for the Romanian Parliament and was elected in December 2012. Since 2008 she has been a member of the National Liberal Party and between 2008 – 2012 she was President of the labor, health, family welfare and child protection. In January-June 2012, she served as deputy mayor of Oradea.



Julia Doxat-Purser (UK), is the European Evangelical Alliance's socio-political & religious liberty representative. She co-convenes the European Religious Liberty Forum with Ad ocatos Europe, developing the European Freedom Network, linking agencies working on human trafficking. Julia also works with the World Evangelical Alliance on religious liberty, human trafficking and political engagement training. Married to Alistair, she lives in Bournemouth, England.



Dr. Lyndon Drake (NZ/UK) is a research student at the University of Oxford, working on a biblical theology of capital. He chairs the Council for Business and Theology (of the Business Coalition of the World Evangelical Alliance). Until 2010, Lyndon was a VP at Barclays Capital, trading government bonds and interest-rate derivatives. Lyndon pastored for four years at a city centre church in Auckland, NZ, and teaches the theology of work at seminaries.



Pyt Farrugia (MT) read BA Hons. Theology at the University of Malta, graduating summa cum laude in 2013, and graduated M.Phil Theology and Religious Studies from the University of Cambridge in 2014. His M.Phil dissertation focused on themes of gender and abuses of power in monastic communities. He works in the office of the President of Malta and volunteers with the President's Foundation for the Wellbeing of Society.



David Fieldsend (UK) is chairman of the CPFE and is assistant to the Brussels representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was previously manager of CARE for Europe. He is married to Anne; they have three adult children and one grandson. He is a licensed Reader in the Church of England and member of the diocesan synod for Europe.



Jeff Fountain (NL), director of the Schuman Centre for European Studies. Originally from New Zealand, he has lived with his Dutch wife Romkje for over 40 years in the Netherlands. A journalist with a degree in history, Jeff has travelled extensively across Europe, speaking in almost every European nation. He was for 20 years director of Youth With A Mission in Europe, and chairman of the Hope for Europe Round Table for over a decade until 2015.



Noemi Mena Montes (ES), Spanish radio journalist with a PhD in Political Communication by the Universidad Rey Juan Carlos (Madrid). She is a media lecturer and researcher, and expert on immigration and refugees. She has had several research grants for international projects and won an award for migration studies in Spain. In 2012 she authored *Immigration in Spain (2000-2008): Agenda Setting and frame building; Media hypes during crisis; African immigration; the EU and the drama-control frame.*



Vilver Oras (EE), holds the portfolio of Crisis Management at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia. He was 14 years old when his homeland became independent from the Soviet Union. He has studied both law and theology, working as a lawyer for 11 years before engaging in both church leadership and politics. Next to his political role, he is also associate pastor of the first Baptist church in Tallinn, promoting church cooperation with the local communities.



Prof Hector Scerri (MT) is Head of the Department of Fundamental and Dogmatic Theology (since 2001) and Senior Lecturer at the University of Malta. He also serves as President of the Malta Theological Commission, President of the Diocesan Ecumenical Commission and censor theologus of the Archdiocese of Malta. Besides his lecturing duties (since 1998), he also lectures in dogmatic theology at the Gozo Major Seminary and the Institute of Biblical Culture, Malta.



Monsignor Charles Scicluna (MT) is a prelate of the Catholic Church and the fourth Metropolitan Archbishop of Malta. He was previously the Promoter of Justice in the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith under the then-Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger. On February 25, 2015, the Vatican announced his appointment as Archbishop of Malta.



Branislav Škripek (SK) is a theologian and politician, and a Member of the European Parliament. After graduating from high school he worked as a tutor for young people with disabilities. He then studied Catholic theology, and was engaged in religious youth meetings for youth, magazine publishing industry, initiating a campaign. In 2012, he was elected a Member of the National Council on behalf of the group Ordinary People.



Professor Henrik Syse, (NO) is a philosopher, author, and lecturer. He is a Research Professor at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), and a part-time Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at Bjørknes College in Oslo. He has been a member of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, which awards the Nobel Peace Prize, since 2015. He is also an author of several books on topics such as war, the virtue of moderation, and the relationship between faith and philosophy.



Jennifer Roemhildt Tunehag (SE) is a founder of the European Freedom Network. Over 200 EFN partner organizations now work across 41 countries in Europe to build a bridge to freedom for those who are exploited. Jennifer is a board member of the Freedom Business Alliance (FBA), a trade association helping freedom businesses to become profitable, scalable, and transformational. She also serves on the Human Trafficking Task Force of the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA).



Dr Sue Vella (MT) lectures in Social Policy at the University of Malta. She was a member of the European Employment Committee for a number of years, and served as chairperson of the EEC technical group. As a member of various public boards and committees, Dr Vella has worked in welfare reform, and on issues of family, housing, migration management and vocational education.



General Arie Vermeij (NL), served in the Dutch Army for 37 years, including in Lebanon, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq and several African countries. Married with three children, he also served in senior functions in the Dutch Ministry of Defense and then with NATO where he was responsible for all NATO-missions. He became familiar with such subjects as Syria, ISIS, Russia, Ukraine and the North Pole, and speaks frequently about the need for long-term strategic thinking in an increasingly uncertain world.



Prof George Weigel (US) is American author and political and social activist. He currently serves as a Distinguished Senior Fellow of the Ethics and Public Policy Center. Founding President of the James Madison Foundation, he is the author of numerous books including the best-selling biography of Pope John Paul II, *Witness to Hope*, *The Cube and the Cathedral* and *The Final Revolution*.



Dr. Vanni Xuereb (MT) is the Head of Malta EU Steering & Action Committee. Between 1999 and 2007, as President of the Commission for the Church in Malta and Europe, Dr. Xuereb was advisor to the bishops of Malta and Gozo on European Affairs and also headed the EU Office within the Maltese Episcopal Conference. On May 12, 2015, Dr Xuereb was created *Chevalier de l'Ordre National du Mérite* of the French Republic in recognition of his role in bringing Malta closer to the European Union.

Sallux Report:

Towards a Europe of Hope, Healing and Hospitality

The STATE OF EUROPE FORUM 2017 started on Sunday May 7 with a public celebration of song, prayer and scripture reading in St Paul's Anglican Pro-Cathedral hosted by the chancellor, the Reverend *Canon Simon Godfrey*, and featuring the Maltese men's choir *Cappella Sanctae Catarinae*.

The first of three themes of the forum, highlighting three scenarios from Malta's past, was **Hope**: i. Paul's shipwreck, ii. the Great Siege of 1565 and, iii. the heroic resistance of the Maltese during World War Two. Forum convenor *Jeff Fountain* opened with brief reflections about the need for such a forum, the significance of Europe Day, May 9, and how lessons from Malta's past could shed light on Europe's future

The gathering moved in procession to the impressive environment of the St. John's Co Cathedral, which was built as the conventual church for the Knights of St John. The Grand Masters and several knights donated gifts to enrich it with the best works of art. This celebration focused on the second theme: **Healing**, addressed by *Maria Voce*, international president of Focolare movement, and *Archbishop Scicluna* of Malta. Participants were invited between the addresses to visit various prayer stations in the side chapels to pray and reflect individually on themes related to healing: personal, the environment, between peoples and nations.

A last procession ended in the beautiful Upper Barrakka Gardens with a short insight on the third theme: **Hospitality**, for which the Maltese have been famous ever since Paul's shipwreck. With the emphasis on 'hospitality' towards immigrants and refugees, a music group of Ethiopian and Eritrean migrants sang and Norwegian *Professor Henrik Syse* spoke about Christian responsibility for being hospitable to the outside world.

The forum for registered participants on Monday the 8th started with a plenary program with speakers including: *General Arie Vermeij*, *Dr Henrik Syse*, *Dr Katrine Camilleri* and *Reverend Vilver Oras*, *Archbishop Scicluna*, *Jonathan Tame*, *Florica Chereches MP*, *Branislav Skripsek MEP* and *Dr. Vanni Xuereb*. After the break there were seminar sessions on the topics "Faith, Hope and NA O" and "Do Hope and Hospitality have limits?"

The theme **Hope, Healing and Hospitality** came back throughout the programme. Several speakers argued that not only should the European countries (and the EU

institutions) organize a fair and hospitable treatment of people in search of freedom and dignity and the means to live accordingly, but that the EU and other important world players need to work on a 'grand strategy' to create solutions for people living in the Middle-East and Africa to stay there in peace and freedom. This should include investment in anti-desertification, to stop farmlands from becoming desert, and a fairer distribution of wealth instead of the crude policies of 'birth control'.

Dr. Ahmed Bugre, director of the Foundation for Shelter and Support to Migrants (FSM) gave an impressive speech and workshop on these lines. He argued that giving immigrants temporary permits and education would be the best way to develop Africa instead of making people dependent on Social Benefits (in Europe) and development aid (in Africa and elsewhere). Grants to corrupt countries (or their rulers) like Libya or South Sudan will not be spent for the people, so they will find other ways to come to Europe.

Europe sees an ever increasing threat around its borders (e.g. Russia, Turkey on refugees and aggression to Cyprus and Greece, almost whole Mediterranean sea coast line) and even in its heart land. Should European countries work on symptom control (e.g. fighting against terrorism, controlling flow of refugees and migrants) or should they address the causes of the problems (including Western over-consumption, unfair distribution of wealth)?

Sallux aims to present solutions by organising events and distributing relevant publications concerning global and environmental topics. Sallux wishes to thank the Schuman Centre for European Studies, our local Maltese partners, the staff of the Valletta Campus of the University of Malta, and *Her Excellency Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca, President of Malta* who delivered the closing address.