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EUROPE, DARE TO BE YOURSELF!
FOUNDING PRINCIPLES AS GUIDELINES FOR EU TODAY AND TOMORROW:
SCHUMAN'S FRAME OF REFERENCE

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Abstract: *We know some of the new challenges that divide this family of nations, but what once brought them together? Given today's rumblings of discontent, it is worthwhile to reflect on the founding principles of the European Union, for they are still capable of uniting Europe and bringing it to prosperity. The European unification project started in 1950 with the objective of achieving peace and security on a devastated continent. A flourishing economy was seen as a means to an end. Implementing this political integration project would lead to peace, make states interdependent and thereby war impossible. The main architect of this project, Robert Schuman, highlighted four key principles to guide unification: a) reconciliation b) effective solidarity, c) subsidiarity, and d) supra-nationality. Schuman hoped to see the unification of Western, Central, and Eastern Europe realised as soon as possible. Borders should become lines of communication rather than rigid lines of separation. Above all, Europe needed a soul. Today's crises can be partly explained by Schuman's frame of reference in which the person is at the heart of the economy, technology, and politics and not the other way around. Schuman's key principles can contribute in a crucial way to solve crises and strengthen the ties between the European countries and beyond.*

Keywords: Schuman, frame of reference, heritage, common good.

Introduction

The objective of this article is twofold. The first is to contribute to a better understanding of the causes of today's unrest to facilitate the efforts to work towards sustainable solutions not only

in Europe but also at its borders and beyond. The second is to reflect on and highlight the topicality and applicability of the original guiding principles on European integration to achieve those enduring solutions and provide a source of hope.

The objectives are consistent with Schuman's frame of reference. Schuman is chosen because he is one of the main Founding Fathers of the European unification project and the only one who is unanimously acclaimed "Father of Europe" by the first Common Assembly (1961). In addition, Schuman's personality and background and his thoughts about European integration have been the subject of a thorough doctoral research study by the present author. This will serve also as a valuable source of (insight) information on the four main original guiding principles for European unification: reconciliation, effective solidarity, subsidiarity, and supra-nationality where needed while having the human being and his or her social and spiritual dimension at the heart of all. The article can therefore also be regarded as a continuation of this doctoral research on *Schuman's Europe. His frame of reference* (Krijtenburg, 2012).

The methodology departs from Schuman's frame of reference and observations on European integration, while including and comparing comments from other people such as Nazi death camp survivor, Elie Wiesel and his call for memory transfusion by refreshing the initial thoughts on European integration and Pope Francis's Europe-related speeches. Documents of the Social Doctrine of the Church, that Schuman followed closely, as well as academic and journalistic articles on the EU today provide also valuable insights on the topic discussed. Besides this desk research that includes contemporary and current sources both directly related to Schuman's way of thinking and not linked to his thoughts, exists the information obtained at national and international conferences, congresses, discussions among colleagues, in interviews and through a large amount of literature that is obtained intuitively and has helped to sharpen the thoughts.

Regarding the first objective of gaining a better understanding of today's problems, this article aims to show that these problems can be considered, to a certain extent, to be an outcome of the deviation in the direction of the political, economic, and social structures from the initial guiding principles for European unification. Besides, or because of that, they may be a result of individualistic behaviour and decision making that is not in line with the common good, and of fear, anger or attraction based on historical evidence. History will not repeat itself, but by knowing the past we can put the current situation into perspective (Wijdeven, 2017), and this is very much needed to know how to apply the original guiding principles and contribute to the solution of

today's unrest and see the points that unite beneath the differences while never losing sight of the human being. This article will also take into account generically—for time and word-bound constraints, —the current situation of Europe from a global perspective as no continent is standing on its own in today's globalized world in which everything and everyone is interconnected.

The article shows the reasons why and how those guidelines came about and shed light on ways through which the original guiding principles can be applied and contribute to the solution of current issues such as populism, the different attitudes of states within the European Union towards migration and other matters, economic crises, separatist movements within countries and unrest at EU borders and beyond. It also provides a link between the EU living up to its guiding principles and personal, “virtuous leadership” (Havard, 2014, p. xx).

The first part of the article will focus on Europe, Schuman, memory transfusion of the original guiding principles for European integration and on the Founding Fathers' thinking “outside the box”. It will start with an impression of the situation of the EU at its borders and relate this to the tense situation after the Second World War. This will be followed by an introduction to Robert Schuman's life and thoughts about European unification¹ to shed light on how the historical, religious, and geographical context contributed to the launch of the Schuman Declaration in 1950 with which the European unification process began. Schuman's frame of reference will be surprising for its topicality regarding the way to build bridges and dissolve current polarization between peoples, states, and continents. The integrity and coherence of his personal and professional life reflect the key principles of his thoughts on European unification. Hereafter follows Nazi concentration camp survivor Elie Wiesel's call for memory transfusion and application of the Founding Fathers' core guiding principles of integration in Europe today. The

¹A lot of information is based on Margriet Krijtenburg's dissertation, *Schuman's Europe. His frame of reference* (2012), translated into French, *L'Europe de Schuman. Ses Racines* (2013). Many references are retrieved from the Schuman Archives (Maison de Robert Schuman, Scy-Chazelles) and the Archives of the Département de la Moselle (Metz). Articles of which ideas have been used are: KRIJTENBURG, M. (2015) “Robert Schuman's Commitment to European Unification: The Inspiring Role of his Roman Catholic faith.” KRIJTENBURG, M. (2015) Robert Schuman, Principal Architect of the European Union. KRIJTENBURG, M. (2016) *Schuman hier et aujourd'hui*. KRIJTENBURG, M. (2016) “Schuman in times of Upheaval”. PhD converted essence into children's book: KRIJTENBURG, M; WIT, de A. (2018) *The Father of Europe, Le Père de l'Europe, De Vader van Europa, Der Vater Europas, El Padre de Europa, Il Padre dell'Europa*.

first part finishes with the illustration of the topicality and relevance of the appropriation of the Founding Fathers' "thinking outside the box" and the importance of considering the European heritage, which is the European soul, and the common good.

The second part deals with the application of the original guiding principles on current European and global issues when using documents of the Social Doctrine of the Church and others. This will be followed by Schuman's observations and an interpretation of his line of thought on those current issues and show how his ideas can be shaped in the European and globalized world of today and how they can help to derive solutions to the current crises and divisions.

Worldwide topics such as climate change will be linked to ecology, also "human ecology", poverty and social justice, and the responsibility for the betterment of all, also because of its pre-emptive peacebuilding effect. The speed of economic and technological development is another issue that will be pointed at as a development that can be very effective and beneficial, but also extremely detrimental and dangerous when the key principles as those for European unification are not taken into account. The remainder of the article finishes with the observation that there also exists a surprising link between the key principles for integration and the person living up to his or her social and spiritual dimension. This means that each person has the challenge to become the best version of him or herself while contributing to the common good. This "virtuous leadership" will progressively contribute to the solution of today's problems assuring Europe to be herself also for the benefit of others.

EU at its borders and beyond

Migrants keep coming to European shores. Other migrants fail in crossing the Mediterranean, they drown or succumb on the hazardous way from their country of origin towards the African or Asian coast. A great many are the so-called economic and environmental migrants from Asia and Africa who hope for a better life in Europe. While fences are put up in some EU Member States to protect them from these migrants, the EU borders seem to have extended to halfway the Northern Sahara now that people want to cross the Mediterranean Sea out of Libya using Niger as a transit country. These and other African countries have received and will receive substantial amounts of money to foster, especially, education and employment for the youth to keep their people within their borders and occupy the migrants who are sent back from Europe. The migrants that stay in Europe, for their part, should give heed to their responsibility to adapt to the culture

and traditions of the country that welcomes them. This and more were decided upon during the 5th African Union-European Union Summit on the future direction for cooperation that took place in Abidjan, Ivory Coast on 29-30 November 2017. The main topic was “Youth”, as this has become a key priority for Europe as well as for Africa because of the major challenges for young people in terms of migration, security, and employment. The proposed alleviations nevertheless do not solve the causes of the backward situation in Africa which go much deeper. These issues will be referred to later in this article. The EU Summit on Migration of June 2018 only strengthened the methods to keep migrants away from the European continent and adapted the way to spread them among the Member States (*The Guardian*, 30 June 2018).

Furthermore, the EU has its EU-Turkey deal through which migrants are kept on Asian territory and do not enter Europe unless through legal migration. The legal basis for this agreement is questioned severely because of the inhumane situation of the people stuck in the asylum seekers’ camps in Greece.

Moreover, in the northern part of Europe, the EU has its sanctions with Russia primarily because of the Russian annexation of the Crimea, its invasion in parts of Ukraine and its role in the war in Syrian. Meanwhile, the suspicion that Russia is trying to influence European and international politics and fosters anti-EU campaigns increases the tensions. Another different kind of source of unrest and fear among European citizens are the threats of terrorist attacks on the European continent in the name of the Islamic State.

Together with all these complex situations are the tensions within Europe such as the lack of trust in the institutions of the European Union; the Brexit, the East-West and North-South tensions; and the increase of left- and right-wing populism (Mudde, 2017), which burns bridges and puts up walls within the European Union Member States. We may wonder if this situation, being surrounded by threats and dangers at its borders and the unrest within the EU, is not comparable to the circumstances of post-World War II with the threat of communism invading Europe; the possibility of a third World War; the loss of colonies; and the ruins, chaos and corruption, misery and unemployment inside Europe. A solution “outside the box” was then needed to provoke change and give hope to the people. Schuman and the other Founding Fathers gave heed to this need.

Robert Schuman (1886-1963)

I often think of 9 May 1950 and of your essential role [...] Your name is forever attached to the construction of the future of Europe and of the free world.

Jean Monnet in a telegram to Schuman from Roquebrune-Cap-Martin

For a proper insight into Schuman's thoughts, this introduction to his life and thoughts provides clarification. In 1871, after the Franco-German War, Alsace-Lorraine, the region in the northeast of France, was annexed by the German Empire. Robert Schuman was born several years later in Luxembourg in 1886. He was born a German because his father was from Lorraine and all citizens of this region were given German nationality, rather than French, after Alsace-Lorraine became part of the German state. Schuman was educated in the Catholic faith and excelled in his educational career from young boy onwards. He studied law and constantly searched for ways in which to obtain a stable peace on the European continent which constantly suffered from wars. He obtained his Ph.D. at the University of Strasbourg and became a successful lawyer in Metz, the capital city of Lorraine. He never forgot his wish to contribute to achieving peace—at least between the archenemies Germany and France. Since the Treaty of Verdun (843), there had been constant wars between France and what is now called Germany precisely because of this conflicting border region of Alsace-Lorraine, rich in coal and steel, and therefore of primary importance for the production of arms. Schuman's geographical background partially explains why he looked for a solution to this endless Franco-German conflict and why he discovered the potential of coal and steel as a means to obtain this peace. (Krijtenburg, 2012, pp. 17-24).

His mother's death had a great impact on him and made him even stronger in his desire to take to heart the advice of a friend and put into practice the teaching that "the saints of the future, will be saints in suit" in that he would carry out what God wanted from him as a secular person in the middle of the world. Years later, in 1942, when he was caught by the Gestapo and put on house arrest, he expressed this in a letter to his friend, colleague, and later biographer, Robert Rochefort with the words *'We are all instruments, however imperfect, of a Providence who uses them to accomplish grand designs which surpass us. This certainty obliges us to a great deal of modesty but also confers on us a serenity that our own personal experiences would not justify if we consider them from a purely human point of view'* (Roth, 2008, p. 562). He applied this both to himself and

to any other person and believed that this concept of the person needs to be at the heart of all political, economic, technological, social, and juridical structures, policies and undertakings.

This reasoning implied to him personally after the First World War (1914-1918), in which he did not fight and after which his nationality changed from German to French as Alsace- Lorraine returned to France, that he took on the task assigned to him by the people of his region, *Departement de la Moselle*, to represent them in the French government even though he never aspired to become a politician. He would be so, however, from 1919 onwards. His first “break-through” was the *lex Schuman* through which he knew how to appease both the central government in Paris, characterized by the *laïceté*, and his region in Alsace-Lorraine, where religion at public schools and the existing social laws were much appreciated. He succeeded to adopt only the laws that were necessary to comply with the national laws and to leave untouched the regional laws that were specific to his region. He, therewith, put the subsidiarity principle congruent with the Social Doctrine of the Church into practice in an exemplary way, while showing the solidarity needed with the French central government. It may be observed in this context that the Roman Catholic Church is the oldest and biggest international organization for social development in the world. The Papacy’s opposition to ideologies and situations that endanger human dignity is acknowledged by many irrespective of their faith.

Two of the main principles of European unification, subsidiarity and solidarity where needed, were thus made visible already in his way of thinking right after the First World War.

He became Under Secretary of State for Refugees a few months before the Germans invaded France in 1940 and was caught as first Member of Parliament by the Gestapo. He was put into prison for several months and afterward on house-arrest, but he escaped in 1942 to France. He continued his speeches on the need for reconciliation as the only way to achieve peace, convinced as he was, even at the time when Hitler’s rise to power was most evident, that the allies would win in the end. This conduct already evidenced his belief in a reconciliatory attitude, which he regarded the first and main principle for peace on the European continent.

When holding ministerial posts following the Second World War, his focus on reconciliation became even more concrete and well-known, also because of his reputation among friend and foe as a highly-esteemed politician. Between 1947 and 1950 came the Marshall Plan; the United Nations; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); the Council of Europe; and the Schuman Declaration with its supra-national and unique character that he considered essential to making

states interdependent and war impossible. These were crucial Treaties and organisations in which his role as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of France were fundamental (Krijtenburg, 2012, pp. 125-174).

One needs to be reminded that Jean Monnet, Head of the French Planning Committee, is often mistakenly regarded as the intellectual father of the Schuman Declaration of 1950. Monnet is one of the main Founding Fathers, together with Konrad Adenauer, first Chancellor of West Germany, and Alcide De Gasperi, Prime-Minister of Italy. Monnet did, however, not ‘invent’ the European unification project, but acknowledged Schuman’s ideas, made them more specific, and put them on paper in a few days (Krijtenburg, 2012, pp. 117-125; Reuter, 1980; Gerbet, 1962). This would become the Schuman Declaration that Schuman, Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time, launched on 9 May 1950. It has brought more than 68 years of peace among the Member States of the EU, the longest period of peace ever among these states. This method of integrating states is unique in world history. Never had states freely surrendered part of their sovereignty to a supra-national institution that took charge of their common interests and supported them with their newly created interdependence to make war among those states “not only unthinkable but materially impossible” which Schuman mentioned in the Schuman Declaration. He referred to the impossibility of war between the archenemies Germany and France as that was the main issue to be dealt with for centuries already but the interdependence applies to all states concerned. The Schuman Declaration can be considered the cornerstone that, in times of poverty, the threat of war, and the perceived danger of communism (Gerbet, 1962), brought about the first peaceful revolution in Europe.

The best evidence of Schuman not having utopian or idealistic ideas that could not be put into practice is the existence of the European Union itself. The European Union is the result of the Schuman Declaration and the best example of how a war-torn society, suffering from severe threats at its borders, has succeeded in achieving the longest period of peace ever among its member states and in becoming one of the world’s biggest economies.

In 1961 Schuman was unanimously and officially acclaimed the “Father of Europe” by the European Parliament, then called Common Assembly. Schuman died in Scy-Chazelles (Metz) in 1963. His principles, however, are not outdated and “memory transfusion” will evidence their relevance.

Memory transfusion

“World peace cannot be safeguarded without making the creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it”

(Schuman Declaration)

Schuman’s personal and historical background and his thoughts on European integration explain to a large extent not only the birth, key principles, and the structure of the European Union, but also Europe’s current situation, precisely for having deviated from the initial frame of reference in which the person plays the pivotal role, not the economy as seems to be currently the case. Pope Francis referred to this in his speech to the Commission of the Bishops’ Conferences of the European Community in Rome on 28 October 2017. The situation these days seems to be to objectify the person ever more, and to personify the structures, from economy to technology and even the values so that these become instruments to be imposed on others instead of serving and caring about others as is their intrinsic aim; as in regarding the values, their need to be open to dialogue and to fostering relationships. Depersonalizing migrants is done by reducing them to percentages, quotas, and matters of agreement, which are without a soul so that they do not need to be “looked in the eyes.” The fact that Europe is “walking on ice” and in danger of possible collapse if it does not take corrective action in time, as Polish Minister Radek Sikorski (Alting von Geusau, 2012) warned them in 2011, invites a memory transfusion of the initial guiding principles for European integration to react in time and accurately.

The understanding of Europe today from the historical perspective of Eastern, Central, and Western Europe separately and combined, will explain many of the current frictions and is enriching and necessary to have useful dialogues, but is not enough to solve today’s problems. The revival of the thriving strength of the key guidelines for European unification together with their centrality of the human being in economic, political, social, and juridical structures will be paramount. This article supports, therefore, the conviction of the Nazi death camp survivor, Elie Wiesel, that for the solution to today’s crises to happen, “memory transfusion” contributes greatly.

Wiesel stresses the importance of remembering not only to prevent repeating past mistakes, but also to re-appropriate those experiences that enabled our peoples to overcome the crises of the past (quoted by Pope Francis, Charlemagne Prize, 6 May 2016).

This observation and recommendation imply that the EU needs to re-appropriate the key principles for European integration. This re-appropriation of the Founding Fathers' deep insights in times of severe crises will help to shed light on ways to repair the current upheavals in Europe, at its borders and beyond. Schuman's caveat that 'World peace cannot be safeguarded without making the creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it,' as mentioned in the Schuman Declaration of May 9, 1950 could not be more accurate and the way he practiced this, more insightful.

Schuman's own creative efforts translated themselves into starting a new kind of politics to achieve this desired peace. He greatly acknowledged that politics is meant to serve and protect the common good and to foster the sense of an inclusive community and not to impose its own national interests on others beyond the national borders. This new kind of politics in which the supra-national level was introduced for the common interests in coal and steel and effective solidarity between the former archenemies France and Germany, opened the way to rebuild the affected territories, to remove the threats of communism, a third world war, and the miserable state of post-war Europe as such. The Marshall Aid from the United States to revive the western economies came at the right time to facilitate this to happen as well as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. Schuman thus began a supra-national kind of politics in which the person with his social and spiritual dimension plays the pivotal role in political, economic, judicial, and social affairs. He thought 'outside the box' for those days and possibly still. Adenauer and De Gasperi, the two others very first Founding Fathers of the EU—even before Monnet—were on the same wavelength. The revolutionary idea was to put a political project into practice that went beyond the immediate national political, economic, and social interests, for having the focus on the common good, even beyond national borders. This had never happened before in the history of the world. As mentioned before, the EU is still unique in its structure.

Schuman is convinced that starting a supranational integration project, a project that focuses on the common European interests that do not go against universal interests leads to less national egoism, a cause of friction, discontent, and unrest. He foresees that the Member States surrender part of their sovereignty voluntarily to a common supranational entity because it will benefit them immediately or in the shorter or longer run and strengthen the common interests while simultaneously creating an interdependence among the Member States that excludes the possibility of war. Schuman thus gave heed to his conviction of the need for '*The inauguration of a new kind*

of politics that will probably be the strongest effort to protect our continent and to preserve the world from suicide' (Schuman, 16 May 1949; Price, 2003, p. 52; Krijtenburg, 2012, p. 140). With this insight, Schuman became the main architect of the Schuman Declaration (1950). It is worth noting that Schuman, a politician, is in the process of beatification since 2004.

Schuman did not limit himself to the expression “to protect our continent”, but added, “and to preserve the world from suicide”. His thoughts went well beyond European borders.

Extending his frame of reference for European integration to the rest of the world from outside of Europe, would imply that the person and his spiritual and social dimension in connection with the common good, needs to be at the heart of all EU undertakings in every realm. This again would mean that the key guiding principles of reconciliation, subsidiarity, effective solidarity, and supranationality, the latter only where needed, would need to be observed and actively practiced within and beyond European borders. Therefore, no economic, technological, political, social interest should obstruct or instrumentalize the pivotal role of the human being at the heart of EU decisions, policies, laws, and undertakings. This key role of the human being would need always to be connected with the common good so that no individualistic interests endanger the social cohesion and the tendency to see oneself or one's group or nation in isolation from others is avoided. When putting this into practice, political, economic, technological, social, and judicial structures would change. The impact would be enormous.

This statement regarding the pivotal role of the person is currently backed by interpretations like those of Luuk van Middelaar, former speechwriter of the first EU President Herman van Rompuy. Van Middelaar states that the “Brussels’ rule-factory” that the EU now seems to be (Middelaar, 2017), is no longer accepted by the European citizens; they want to have a voice and be part of the decision-making process as is manifested by the growing populism and the diminishing political impact the EU seems to have. However, a correct definition needs to be given of this so-called “right of the citizen” to be actively involved in the decision-making process because “the common good” which goes beyond the interests of the individual or the group, should always be considered. This article aims to show, without going into detail, that the deviation from this perspective of the “right of the person” connected to the common good together with the initial principles, precisely explains the polarization in today's society and the “bubbles” people live in. The latter are like not-communicating vessels, in a large variety of domains. The deviation explains

to a large extent the increasing unrest from which the EU suffers within and beyond European borders and noticeably since the economic crisis of 2008.

Thinking outside the box to get Europe and even the world back on track seems to find an adequate source of inspiration in the “memory transfusion” of Schuman’s thoughts and those of the other Founding Fathers regarding European unification. The source concerns Europe’s own identity, its spiritual and cultural heritage which cannot be seen in isolation from the rest of the world.

Thinking outside the box

Thinking outside the box, walking innovative paths, is needed again as Europe can no longer stand by itself now that we live in a global world and Europe has become part of the multi-lateral and multipolar world. Federica Mogherini, current High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission, often refers to the inspiration of the Founding Fathers’ heritage and the need to take advantage of this heritage. She quoted Pope Francis in 2016 when he wondered “where is the Schuman or the Adenauer of today”. Schuman’s main guidelines for integration are as previously explained, reconciliation and effective solidarity, together with subsidiarity and supra-nationality where needed. This requires a search for common interests and common problems, obstacles or points of conflict that need to be solved to open up the possibility of reconciliation and create the common ground on which to practice effective solidarity, changing obstacles into opportunities for mutual benefit in the short or in the long run. The problem of a lack of solidarity could in this way, for instance, become an opportunity to practice solidarity and be a means for dialogue and profound cultural integration. (Pope Francis, European Parliament Strasbourg, 25 November 2015; New Year speech to Corps of Diplomats, 2018) And this idea need not be limited to Europe, but be worldwide, as it characterizes the European soul to look for unity in diversity and to focus on the common interests of communities of peoples also beyond cultures and (non) religions. This can be explained precisely for Europe having its roots in the European spiritual and cultural heritage.

European soul yesterday, today and tomorrow

Pope Francis comments on ‘problems as opportunities’ in the European Parliament in 2014 saying ‘Europe will be able to confront the problems associated with immigration only if it is capable of clearly asserting its own cultural identity and enacting adequate legislation to protect

the rights of European citizens and to ensure the acceptance of immigrants. Only if it is capable of adopting fair, courageous and realistic policies which can assist the countries of origin in their own social and political development and in their efforts to resolve internal conflicts – the principal cause of this phenomenon – rather than adopting policies motivated by self-interest, which increase and feed such conflicts [a solution to those problems can become a reality]. We need to take action against the causes and not only [against] the effects’ (Pope Francis, European Parliament, 2014).

The time to just putting a plaster on wounds is over, as the consequences of not or badly healed wounds are evident. The deepest cause of the wounds needs to be tracked down and healed. The Pope sees, like Schuman, the cause of all crises in the lack of acknowledging the European cultural identity or soul. He regards the discovery of this cause however also as a great opportunity to heal the problems and to revive the European spirit. Schuman reminded all of the need of the common European spirit that imbues all undertakings saying ‘*Such a spirit is thus needed, which means that we need to be aware of our specifically European common patrimony and we need to have the will to safeguard and develop it*’ (Schuman, The European Yearbook 1955, p. 19).

The Pope regards, like Schuman, the awareness of one’s own identity as fundamental for positive dialogue not only with countries that wish to become part of the Union, such as those of the Balkan, but also with countries beyond the EU especially with those of the Mediterranean with which the EU is constantly in touch because of the migrants. He remarks that ‘the roots of our peoples, the roots of Europe, were consolidated down the centuries by the constant need to integrate into new syntheses the most varied and discrete cultures. The identity of Europe is, and always has been a dynamic and multicultural identity’ (Pope Francis, Charlemagne Prize 2016; see also: New Year Address Corps of diplomats 9 January 2017).

He points out during the same speech that legislators have in this regard the main task to protect and nurture Europe’s identity so that its citizens can experience renewed confidence in the institutions of the Union and in its underlying project of peace and friendship.

Those words about the “linking power” of the European cultural heritage are, as previously mentioned, backed by Schuman several decades earlier, when he mentioned that all countries belonging to European civilization have the calling to join the European community whenever they want, unless they lack an authentic democratic regime, product of the European cultural heritage. Schuman was at that time already convinced that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, which in those days were deprived of freedom by a totalitarian system that seemed very

much established, would no doubt join the European Community as soon as they could. (Lejeune, 2000, p. 172) He regarded the wish to stick exclusively to national interests as outdated and absurd. *'It is in Europe's interest to remain the master of its fate. Splitting Europe up has become an absurd anachronism'* (Schuman in *For Europe*, 2010, p. 25). Schuman stressed the need to always keep in mind the common good also beyond national and continental borders. *'What Europe wants is to uplift the rigidity of its borders. They should become the lines of contact where the material and cultural exchanges take place. They define the particular tasks, responsibilities, and innovations proper to each country taking into account as well the problems all countries together - and even the continents - face and thus foster solidarity'* (Schuman in *For Europe*, pp. 26-27; Krijtenburg, 2012, p. 173).

But this did not imply that he did not recognize the need to take care of one's loyalties towards one's homeland. Well known are his words *'serving humanity is a duty equal to the one dictated by our loyalty to the nation'* (Schuman in *For Europe*, p. 131).

Schuman always emphasized the strength of the common European heritage as the pre-eminently binding element. He, however, also acknowledged the danger that people did not want to recognize the importance of this common heritage that bound people together when he said *'Europe is searching for an identity; it is aware that it has its own future in hand. It has never been so close to the goal. May God not let Europe miss the hour of its destiny, its final chance of salvation'* (Schuman in *For Europe*, pp. 143-144). That Schuman had high expectations for Europe as a global player and is hopeful speaks out of the following words: *"We have to, we want to give Europe its radiance back, its strength, its independence, in other words, its secular mission of guide and arbitrator"* (Roth, 2008, p. 513).

What might seem impossible today, may be possible tomorrow. The seemingly impossible reconciliation between France and Germany because of the more than a thousand years enmity and the two world wars initiated by Germany became a reality on 9 May 1950. The Pope comments that Schuman and the other Founding Fathers proved, with the launch of the Schuman Declaration, that *'our problems can become powerful forces for unity'* (Pope Francis, European Parliament, 2014). The current global problems of ecology and poverty are examples of matters of common interests to be tackled. It is in favour of everyone and everything that the earth and the (poor) people are taken care of in a proper way. Natural disasters imply human disasters. They become

even worse if the negative consequences of climate change are not addressed properly on a worldwide scale.

Poverty is an issue of global concern. It implies the neglect of human dignity and is a source of inequality, illness, exploitation, and all the consequences these have on the people's physical and mental health, varying from lack of educational and physical growth to migration, crime or other negative outlets. Uprooting poverty can therefore also easily be distinguished as an example of a matter of common interests for all peoples across the world on which Schuman's frame of reference can be practiced. This will not only serve those people and their communities but will also serve the people and communities that get the chance to serve. Acting on behalf of the universal common good is fully in line with Schuman's frame of reference and implies the practice of the four key principles.

Social Doctrine of the Church on the current unrest

“[needed is] a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good. That is to say to the good of all and of each individual because we are all really responsible for all. Solidarity rises to the rank of fundamental social virtue since it places itself in the sphere of justice. [this change of attitude leads to] ‘serve him’ instead of oppressing him for one's own advantage” (Social Doctrine of the Church, Part I, Ch. 4).

Frans Timmermans, vice-president of the European Commission, pointed out the necessity that this teaching needed to be put into practice and showed at the same time the great challenge this implies as ‘[it] means that if somebody suffers and I feel optimistic about my future, I will reach out and help the person who suffers, because I want them to come to my level and beyond. It will help both of us. But if I see somebody suffer and I believe I might suffer too, I will stay away from them like they're lepers because they might infect me. And I think this is what is happening in the European Union today, also between nations. [...]

The caricatures we've seen over the last ten years – in the north about the south, in the south about the north, in the east about the west and vice-versa – are undermining the very idea of European solidarity. We need to fix that’ (Timmermans, Bishops' Conferences European Community, Rome, 2017).

Timmerman's statement recalls Schuman's vision and his stress on the need of the person at the heart of all and therewith on an attitude of reconciliation, solidarity and subsidiarity backed by

policies in those realms which equally have a pre-emptive peacebuilding effect because of their focus on what unites and not on what separates and polarizes. This was then the way to achieve peace and security and to maintain this peace and security until the day of today, and it will always be the way to build bridges.

Schuman himself showed in a practical way how this line of thought of having the person and common good at the heart of all undertakings, also proper to the Social Doctrine of the Church, could be embodied. He dared to think along the lines of reconciliation and to focus on common interests, changing instruments of war – coal and steel – into instruments of peace so as to attain enduring peace and security, the most profound common interest of peoples in which persons and economy can flourish.

The Founding Fathers dared to start a peace project implementing structural change in European – and world! – politics. They used the economy as a means to get the integration across borders going that on the deepest level was meant to serve man and his profound dignity. As Pope Francis mentioned in his Charlemagne Award Speech in May 2016, effective solidarity was encouraged by EU policies and funds and fostered the mutual development of states and their inhabitants. This integration through solidarity increased dialogue among the different cultures and generated ever-increasing understanding, welfare and well-being of the peoples.

Borders became ever more lines of contact and gave ever more heed to Schuman's conviction that they need to be lines of communication and exchange, and foster solidarity.

The unrest today is precisely because the person no longer occupies the pivotal role. Pope Francis recalled this conviction in the European Parliament when he said *“The time has come to work together in building a Europe which revolves not around the economy, but around the sacredness of the human person, around inalienable values [...]”*

The unstable situation of EU today is especially visible since the financial crisis of 2008 that started in the United States due to the fact that virtual money was dealt with as real currency, a moral dilemma in the end. This (in)directly caused the possible Grexit of Greece, the unstable economies in southern Europe and the increase of social unrest and populism all over Europe and therewith also to a large extent the Brexit. Populism and polarization between groups also within societies was of course also fostered by the fear because of the large influx of migrants and by the fear of terrorism. People fled and flee more into their own “bubbles”.

The previously mentioned African Union-European Union Summit in Abidjan showed mutual interest in trying to alleviate the economic migration pressure with more financial aid from the EU to improve the situation of the young people and decrease their arrival at European shores. However, when following the “Schuman approach” and also the social teachings of the Church, this way of acting is no more than a temporary contribution to soothe the urgency of the deeply engraved fundamental problem of lack of focus on human dignity within the realm of the (universal) common good in economic, political, social and even judicial structures.

This situation of huge influx of economic and environmental migrants from out of Africa could have been avoided to a large extent if the European Union had taken to heart Schuman’s words written in the Schuman Declaration about the prosperity the European integration would bring about and the responsibility this would imply for Europe towards the rest of the world and especially towards Africa: *‘This [solidarity of] production will be offered to the world as a whole without distinction or exception, with the aim of contributing to raising living standards and to promoting peaceful achievements. With increased resources, Europe will be able to pursue the achievement of one of its essential tasks, namely, the development of the African continent.’*

Schuman’s line of thought is clearly reflected in the social teachings of the Church that stress the need for ethical, social solidarity for relationships between persons and peoples. This teaching sees solidarity as a fundamental virtue for belonging to the field of justice as it is connected to the common good, to the universal destination of goods, to equality among peoples, and to peace.

“The new relationships of interdependence between individuals and peoples, which are de facto forms of solidarity, have to be transformed into relationships tending towards genuine ethical–social solidarity. [For this reason] The structures [...] must be purified and transformed into structures of solidarity through the creation or appropriate modification of laws, market regulations, and juridical systems. [...]

[In short], there exists an intimate bond between solidarity and the common good, between solidarity and the universal destination of goods, between solidarity and equality among men and peoples, between solidarity and peace in the world. The term “solidarity,” [...] translates [itself] into the willingness to give oneself for the good of one’s neighbour, beyond any individual or particular interest” (Social Doctrine of the Church, 2005, Part I, Ch. IV).

What would Schuman say about Europe today?

With the thoughts of the social teachings of the Church in mind, the memory transfusion concept and Schuman's personal history and thoughts about European unification, Schuman would certainly remind the EU primarily of the four key principles led by the concept of the person with his social and spiritual dimension and related to the common good in all realms of life, from institutional to structural, from politics to economics, technology and ecology. He would primarily acknowledge, with even greater impetus, the fact that we live in a globalized world, and that all and everything influences all and everything, and that, therefore, all countries and even continents are fully interconnected. When putting his frame of reference on this insight, he would surely regard the economy and technology as means to foster political unification or cooperation within and across European boundaries to serve the citizen(s) and the common good not only within the European Union but also beyond European borders. The economy and technology would be limited by ethical restrictions in that they cannot go against human dignity and the interests of the common good. Schuman would recall the importance of a correct interpretation and effectuation of the social market economy and technology as a proper way to individual growth within the boundaries of the common good also beyond borders. He again would warn against creating a social market economy and technology that ultimately would result in the pursuit of egocentric interests or economic and technological goals at the cost of the common European patrimony that takes into account the universal common good and human dignity, the soul of all policies and undertakings. *"This whole cannot and must not remain an economic and technical enterprise: it needs a soul, the conscience of its historical affinities and of its responsibilities, in the present and in the future, and a political will at the service of the same human ideal"* (Schuman in *For Europe*, 2010, p. 58).

The Schuman Centre says the following regarding the social market economy to which technology can be added:

"The social market economy [and technology] aims to combine, on the basis of a competitive economy [and technology], private initiative and social progress. [...] The social market economy [and technology] is not a completed system, but an evolving concept which remains an important factor in the political and social cohesion of the European Union. [...] The personality is the basic idea of the social economic [and technological] market; man is not considered as a purely economic [and technological] agent here, but as

a social actor as well (everyone has to assume the responsibility for themselves and for others). The state provides assistance only if a man cannot help himself (principle of subsidiarity). The concept of the social market economy [and technology] links the principle of free markets and the one of social compensation. Thus, the advantages of the market economy [and technology], such as economic freedom and technological progress, are combined with social objectives such as a high employment rate” (Reperes, 2011, module n. 7).

These economic, technological, and social policies, however, should never be at the cost of others, also not beyond European borders. Furthermore, economic freedom and technological progress would require their “humane” limits and must take into account global issues such as climate change and the consequences these bring about for the entire world.

The technology, however, can contribute considerably to making the world more human(e) when it helps to fertilize infertile grounds in Africa for instance. But, exploitation of natural resources for economic or technological interests (like iPhone minerals for chips in Africa), can often be regarded as contributing to both the economic and social well-being and welfare of a large group of people, but not be a proper outcome of a social market economy and technology because of the detrimental effects this has on the people who deliver those natural resources and on humanity as a whole.

The way the social market economy and technology works when used properly, i.e., when taking the broader, universal common good into account, is very much in line with Schuman’s thoughts and is equally consistent with the social teachings of the Church and Schuman’s guiding principles for his politics, economics, and justice. Important to add is that Schuman never created a kind of Integration Plan for European unification, but let time and circumstances tell what needed to be done when and where, while always taking into the account that the integration affected people and could, therefore, never go too fast and never go against the common good also not beyond borders. *‘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’* (Schuman, in *For Europe*, 2010, p. 12).

The social market economy can contribute greatly to fight the consequences of climate change such as lack of drinking water and lack of biodiversity. It acknowledges that the ecological crisis to a large extent is the result of the superfluous needs of the western world and that a mentality

change is needed whereby the people of the West need to restrain their superfluous needs. Therefore, ecology and social justice have a direct link. This implies the need for respectful, authentic dialogue and the practice of social justice (Pope Francis, 2015, *Laudato Si*; Van Geest, 2017, CDA-blad, vol .3, pp. 12-14) and taking responsibility for the betterment of all also because of its pre-emptive peacebuilding effect. When people are happy, they don't want war. All this needs to be addressed by an authentic social market economy.

The observations above are, therefore, in line with Schuman's thinking if the European and universal common good are considered during the process, while the human being with his or her transcendence is at the heart of all undertakings. Theory and practice need to be coherent and integer. And that is precisely what is often lacking today and what causes the gap that needs to be filled to put these thoughts into practice consistent with Schuman's key principles for integration of not only European countries, but also beyond European boundaries. This means that a paradigm shift is needed. This paradigm shift , following the social teachings of the Church *'(...) propose[s] to all men and women (...) an integral and solidary humanism capable of creating a new social, economic, and political order, founded on the dignity and freedom of every human person, to be brought about in peace, justice, and solidarity.'*

This implies that the person together with the common good will be at the heart of economic, political, social, and cultural structures and practices, while reconciliation, solidarity, subsidiarity, supra-nationality with regard to the common good are the key guidelines in practice.

This humanized economy, technology, and politics can become a reality *"if individual men and women and their communities are able to cultivate moral and social virtues [like those connected to reconciliation] in themselves and to spread them in society"*. There is, therefore, a direct link between the key principles for integration and the person living up to his or her deeply rooted social and spiritual dimension. This implies that each person is challenged to become the best version of him- or herself, living in harmony with whomever he or she is while taking into account the common good. This means fostering the wish and the discipline to live up to these principles for one's own happiness and for the happiness of others. This "virtuous leadership" will progressively lead to the solution to today's problems assuring Europe to be herself also to her own benefit and to the benefit of others.

“Europe needs a living faith, enthusiasm, abnegation, and magnanimity. She will be created, and her viability will need to be maintained by the young people, and because of them, that is, with the active help of those that tomorrow will carry the heavy burden of assuring a future that is more or less threatened. [...] it is absolutely necessary that the continuity and the cooperation of the best people of all sorts of ages and categories be assured” (Schuman, ‘Pour l’Unité de l’Europe’ in *Du Pater Europae* [...], 2010, p. 58).

Europe dare to be yourself!

Therefore, Schuman’s way of thinking can still be considered as highly relevant and for this reason Paul de Groote, Commissioner of The European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), commented, rightly, in 1963 that Schuman is *the leader for our European conscience and the man who for us will be always the one who showed us the way from which we should never part*” (De Groote, 1963).

Europe, dare to be yourself! is the heartfelt advice to be given to Europe and to the world, as the entire globe will benefit greatly from Europe’s correspondence to its authentic being.

Federica Mogherini and her question *“Where is a Schuman or an Adenauer today?”* will surely support Schuman’s call for respect and dialogue when he says *“Europe has led to the fulfilment of humanity. It must now show a new way, diametrically opposed to subjection, by accepting a plurality of civilizations that respect each other”* (Schuman in *For Europe*, 2010, p. 135).

And possibly as well Pope Francis’s call to action when he reminded the Members of Parliament of the Founding Fathers’ vision:

“Today more than ever, their vision inspires us to build bridges and tear down walls. That vision urges us not to be content with cosmetic retouches or convoluted compromises aimed at correcting this or that treaty, but courageously to lay new and solid foundations.” As De Gasperi stated, *“equally inspired by concern for the common good of our European homeland,”* all are called to embark fearlessly on a *“construction project that demands our full quota of patience and our ongoing cooperation.”*

Conclusion

“This Europe which is still split up and torn continues to be ever more aware of its calling to form the heart of a pacific cooperation of all peoples and of all races at the service of a humanity that embraces all continents” (Schuman, “Pour l’unité de l’Europe” in *Du Pater Europae*, 2010, p. 30).

The current crises can be considered to a large extent an outcome of the deviation in direction of political, economic, technological, and social structures from the initial guiding principles of European unification that put the human being at the heart of those structures and all undertakings, while practicing the four key principles of reconciliation, solidarity, subsidiarity and supra-nationality only where needed for common interests. Schuman's first words in the Schuman Declaration, "*World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it*" could not have been more accurate. Today they call for a similar daring initiative which is to re-structure the EU having all geared around human dignity in connection with the common good also beyond European borders. The Founding Fathers started a new kind of politics that is still unique in world history and provided the longest period of peace ever among the current Member States of the European Union. The EU can similarly apply Schuman's frame of reference to the states beyond Europe.

Europe today must be seen from a global perspective where "all is" and "all are" interconnected. Schuman's life and the appropriation of his thoughts together with the other Founding Fathers' perspective might shed light on how to deal with this. Then by knowing the past and the initial drive and insights of the unification project, we can put the current situation not only into perspective but also acquire the knowledge of the way to contribute to the solution of today's unrest. Memory transfusion, re-appropriating the drive and insights of the Founding Fathers with a focus on Robert Schuman, right after the Second World War, helps to give a clear insight into the most essential needs for the acquisition of sustainable peace and security. The social teachings of the Church that Schuman followed cautiously also provide enlightening insights that underline Schuman's line of thought in that they also put the human being with his or her transcendence at the heart of all structures and undertakings and call for solidarity as a social virtue while linking this to social justice within and beyond borders.

In practice this means that politicians must consider the pivotal role of the person, with his or her spiritual and cultural dimensions, and practice an attitude of reconciliation having constructive dialogues and building bridges, an attitude that leads to effective solidarity, respect, and support of subsidiarity and interest in supra-nationality; the latter only when needed because of common interest in line with universal common interests. This also implies that politicians design the guidelines for a social market economy and technology that has the human being at the heart of all policies and undertakings and focusses on uprooting the causes of negative common crises that

affect the entire world such as poverty and climate change with all their devastating effects for all peoples and countries around the world.

Following Schuman's line of thought, we need to think more from the perspective of the universal good because of the effects of global issues such as climate change and poverty. All are interrelated, and all that is done or not done to reduce the negative effects of climate change and poverty is to the benefit or detriment of society. An authentic social market economy as Schuman would encourage would be fully in line with social justice and the common good as the economy would provide the means for personal development and the benefit of the common good.

Schuman's frame of reference is a source of hope for the EU and beyond, a cornerstone to rebuild upon and revive not only for itself but also for the peace and stability of the entire world! Let's start within the EU, taking the tensions as opportunities for constructive dialogue and more solidarity.

Ending with Pope Francis's and Schuman's concluding recommendations:

"It is a message of encouragement to return to the firm conviction of the founders of the European Union, who envisioned a future based on the capacity to work together in bridging divisions and in fostering peace and fellowship between all the peoples of this continent. At the heart of this ambitious political project was confidence in man, not so much as a citizen or an economic agent, but in man, in men and women as persons endowed with transcendent dignity" (European Parliament, 2014).

"We shall have to replace all the tendencies inherited from the past with the notion of solidarity, that is to say, the conviction that the real interest of all lies in acknowledging and accepting the interdependency of all. Egoism does not pay any more" (Schuman in *For Europe*, 2010, p. 35).

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