

THE EUROPEAN UNION LAW AND CHRISTIAN VALUES¹

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Summary. The Author explained the term of the law and the term of the values, especially Christian values. In the article, the Author distinguished two categories of the Christian values: 1) peculiar Christian values based on the theological grounds singling out religion and Christian ethic. The Church regulates the means of the achievement of these values with the assistance of the canon law; 2) universal ethical principles, which are basic human values, such as respect for the hierarchy of values, recognition that human being is in the first place in that hierarchy and recognition that the natural human dignity is a source of the fundamental rights and freedoms. The law of the European Union refers to the values. Politicians of the European Union have made the project of building the community called „European civil society”. Christians as the citizens of the European Union, should not be just passive observers while basic universal Christian values are disregarded. They should demand from politicians to respect the principle of the common good.

Key words: European Union, Christian values, law, human dignity, common good

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

It is a commonly known fact, that the European Union currently undergoes economic and financial crisis, caused by recession and large scale debts of some of the Eurozone members, drawn in independent bank institutions. The leaders of the Union strain to save it from „collapsing” by means of entering fiscal pact. There are some doubts though, that such a reform closely resembles efforts to cure a very sick patient with just pain relief medication. There is a need for identification of the real cause of the crisis and setting of proper diagnosis. Critical observers of this phenomena do indicate, that the real cause for the economic crisis of the Union lies in its wrong axiology of the law, manifested through the lack of respect for the cultural identity of Europe. It is owing to that fact, that some of the politicians and lawyers begin to ask: Is European Union really European, if it ignores an essential element of cultural identity of Europe, namely the Christian values².

¹ A lecture given on May 16th, 2012 during the ceremony in which the Author received the Idzi Radziszewski prize for his scientific achievements in spirit of Christian humanism.

² J. Isensee, *Europejskość Unii Europejskiej [The European in the European Union]*, in: *Kultura i prawo*, vol. V, *Tożsamość kulturowa Unii Europejskiej a pluralizm religijny [Cultural identity of the EU and the religious pluralism]*, Lublin 2007, pp. 149–150.

The subject of my lecture encompasses two elements. The first one is the „law of the European Union”, the other – „Christian values”.

The first element is the „law of the European Union” as the Union is a federation of democratic states of Europe, functioning on the basis of norms of positive law. The federation was initiated after World War II in form of economic and political communities aiming at assuring the prosperity, peace and safety of the humanity in face of danger posed by the states of the communist bloc. After the collapse of the communist bloc this community was transformed into a superstate called the European Union, that has opened to allow the former communist states of the Middle and Eastern Europe to join, provided their legislation was adapted to the law of the union.

The other element of my lecture are the „Christian values”. The notion of values is conjoined with religion and culture. Europe, in strictly geographic sense, is just a subcontinent of Asia, owing its identity to the original culture of the nations inhabiting it. It is also true that the Christian religion is an universal one, but the birth and development of European nations was closely tied with Christian religion. That is why a question may arise: is the ignorance of the Christian foundations of the culture of European nations in the law of the European Union connected with the economic and financial crisis thereof, and if so – how? In this lecture I do suggest turning just to the main elements of this question: what is law? What are the Christian values and what are their kinds? How are the foundations of the European Union related to the Christian values?

WHAT IS LAW

In beginning with that we must observe, that the law can be perceived in its subject and object meaning. The law treated as an object is a norm, a rule for proceeding, or a set of such rules, imposed over a community by its sovereign power in order to direct the members of this community towards achievement of certain goals. The aims of law are highly controversial in such a definition. The classical definition of law sets the common good as the aim of law. Such an understanding of the aim of law assumes that there is a connection between law and morality. But in strictly object meaning of the law such a connection is hard to explain. This explanation becomes possible if we understand law in its subject meaning. By describing law in its subject meaning we turn our attention directly to the participants of social relations, and indirectly also on the basis of moral and law order. It is such a category of this order, that has human being, as a person, subject of the rights and obligations towards achieving the common good, as its main participant. We have to see that there are different construc-

tions of subject rights. There are substantial differences between the positivist and axiological construction³.

The positivist constructions assume, that the subject rights are a sort of creation by the lawmaker. The civic rights form a special form of these rights, being justified just by the will of the state lawmaker. The supporters of positivism assume, that there is no relation between the stated law and the world of the objective ethical values. Such a conception of subject rights is praised by supporters of both totalitarianism and liberalism. The first ones assume, that what is good is chosen by the will of the lawmaker; the latter ones – that it is the will of the people, ascertained by public polls, or the will of the presumably „better” minority. In praxis it becomes pure ethical relativism.

Supporters of the axiological justification of law do assume, that the source of subject rights is an objective value of each human being, its nature and personal structure, as well as its ability to respond to values. The rights and freedoms of a human being, with their source in inborn dignity of a human person, form a special category of subject rights. Supporters of this conception reject the rule of neutrality of law and try to set: within which borders the lawmaker shall take into account the moral values, that are in place regardless of his will; and which values and moral norms are universal and bounding, regardless of the will of the lawmaker, that is that there are norms higher than the state constitution.

In setting the catalogue of legal norms of universal dimension, within the democratic society, their justification plays a crucial role. For the people who do accept the existence of religious values, the justification is, before all, the God, as the supreme existence of timeless and perfect nature, Creator of all natural order, including the norms creating the moral order. This justification is a metaphysical one. And for all the people – both the ones who believe in existence of God and those who do not (within a democratic and a secular state) the justification of superconstitutional norms lies in cultural values, that are typical for people of this particular cultural circle. Those who believe in God also find that these two types of justification, mentioned above, are complementary. For the law of the European Union this justification should be drawn from the system of humane values rooted in the Christian heritage of European nations, that is in a certain system of values⁴.

³ P. Dutkiewicz, *Problem aksjologicznych podstaw prawa we współczesnej polskiej filozofii i teorii prawa*, Kraków 1966, p. 5; R. Tokarczyk: *Zasady etyki prawniczej. Próba opisu porównawczego*, in: *Ecclesia et status. Księga jubileuszowa z okazji 40-lecia pracy naukowej Profesora Józefa Krukowskiego*, A. Dębiński, K. Orzeszyna, M. Sitarz (eds), Lublin 2004, pp. 243–270.

⁴ A. Zoll, *Czy demokracja pomaga w stanowieniu prawa?*, in: *Sacrum i Kultura. Chrześcijańskie korzenie przyszłości*, Lublin 2004, pp. 59–72.

WHAT ARE THE VALUES?

The value of each being is set in the categories of its relation to other beings existing in the real world and having their reflection upon human consciousness. The development of human in the field of earthly values, takes place through culture. Culture means the full development of real humanity, in relationships between people belonging to different social groups, such as family, nation, state and also religious communities.

The cultural notion of values is connected with religion. Religion and culture interact, but can not be identified with each other. Culture intervenes in earthly development of a human being, while religion in the transcendental dimension of its life⁵.

WHAT ARE THE CHRISTIAN VALUES?

In order to describe values that form the basis for the European culture, shaped to a large extent by Christians, we commonly use the name „Christian values”. Christians, as citizens of the European Union, are confronted with the supporters of the neo-liberal conception of values, negating the respect for Christian values in public life.

The total negation of Christian values in law order, initiated in France in age of the liberal revolution, was transferred to other countries. Radically secular (laic) states, under the banner of neutrality towards religious beliefs, aim at the total uproot of Christian values from their legal orders – including the ban on public manifestation of those values. The source of such policy is the assumption, that respect for Christian values does necessarily imply the religious character of the state, which will give the privileged position to just one of the religions. Such an assumption is a wrong one. In order to explain its groundlessness we have to distinguish two subsets of values within the Christian values. They are actually two layers of these values. The first one are the values specific for Christians, the latter one the universal values, with their character of basic humane values, existing in the cultural layer, brought forward and made public by the Christian religion⁶. What is essential here is the differentiation in the way they are respected within the system of stated law.

The basis for the selection of those two subsets are ontology and philosophic grounds. We call both of those subsets Christian, as we were directed

⁵ S. Mückl, *Religia jako składnik i czynnik tożsamości narodowej*, in: *Kultura i prawo*, vol. V, pp. 139–144; G. Concetti, *Negacja prawdy historycznej i tożsamości kontynentu*, „L'Osservatore Romano” (Polish editio), no. 9 (266) 2004, p. 58.

⁶ J. Życiński, *Wartości chrześcijańskie a państwo demokratyczne*, in: *Kultura i prawo. Materiały I Międzynarodowej Konferencji na temat „Podstawy jedności europejskiej”*, Lublin, September 23–25, 1998, vol. 1, Ed. J Krukowski, O. Thiesen, Lublin 1999, pp. 13–20.

towards them by Jesus Christ. Those values form the foundation of Christian humanism, characterized by the fact, that it does not make the respect for the objective humane values dependant on the state legislator or the will of the majority of the society, but accepts them as reality determining the ontological structure of the human being⁷. What is also different is the way of respecting values forming each of those two subsets.

Specifically Christian values

These values concern the truth about the reality and human activity, which are discovered by the human being in the light of Revelation and accepted by act of faith, together with the rules of conduct connected therewith. The subset of the specifically Christian values includes the sacred truth about the divine dignity of human being, as earned by Jesus Christ with his sacrifice on the cross. A person becomes part of this dignity by the spiritual rebirth, as brought upon it in baptism. This category also includes ethical rules, concerned with respect for every human and brotherly love of every other human, also encompassing its enemies. Such a model of behavior was set by Christ in his Sermon on the Mount, in which he showed us the model to be followed by humans, „who are persecuted for the righteousness sake”, and still are faithful to their accepted ideals (Matthew 5, 1–12, 43–48). This catalogue of Christian values can never be imposed on anyone, as we can not order a person to love or to be heroic⁸. The Church regulates the achievement of these values by means of norms of canon law, that is the law of the Roman Catholic Church. But it does not demand the imposition of those rules by in stated law of the State, transferring them through its teachings. The Church requires everybody to respect the specifically Christian values in social life, by public manifestation of honoring of those rules, and the state authorities to grant Christians the right of their display in public life, equal to the rights granted to other fellow citizens.

Universal ethical rules

The second subset of Christian values includes universal ethical values, forming the basis for humane social order. These are basic human values, that shall be respected in every legal system pretending to be a law system of a democratic state. These are:

1. respect for the hierarchy of values, including the marking out of spiritual and material values;
2. the acceptance of fact, that the human being takes the most important place in those values;

⁷ John Paul II, Enc. *Redemptor Hominis*, no. 14; adhortacja apost. *Evangelium Vitae*, no. 2.

⁸ J. Życiński, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

3. the acceptance, that the inborn human dignity is the source of basic rights and freedoms, that are due to every person⁹.

The truth about the exceptional value of a human person, that we discover in light of Revelation and by virtue of natural intellect, played a crucial role in shaping the rule, in European culture, stating that the human dignity is the source of basic human rights and freedoms¹⁰.

The good of human person – the rights of every human. The Church, in its teachings about the human values, places the social dimension of the human person, being the source of rights and freedoms of every human, on the pedestal. Among the human rights – the right to live, from the conception till natural death; among freedoms – the freedom of religion and thought. There is also a large emphasis placed by the Church on the human right to work and the right to just pay for the work¹¹.

The good of family. Apart from the good of the human person the essential component of the common good is the good of family¹². A family based upon a marriage, that is a lasting relationship between a man and a woman, forms the basic community, required by every person for its development no less, than the political community¹³. The family is subject to basic rights and obligations within the order of natural law, analogous to those of a human person. The catalogue includes the family's right to exist and possess proper means of its own support; the right to have its own discretion above conceiving new life and educating children; the right of intimacy of married and family life; the right of stability of relation and the institution of marriage; the right to worship and defend the family's own religion; the right to educate children pursuant to own traditions, religious and cultural values, with the aid of necessary means, tools and institutions¹⁴.

The good of the nation. The third component of common good is the good of the nation, that is the natural community of humans, that, in most cases, originated (at least at the starting point) from their common provenance, sort of „family of families” tied together by common spiritual values, that is: language, tradition, culture and religion. These values form the common good in which all members of a nation participate. The nation is thus an existence analogous to a human being in that sense, that every nation has its own dignity, drawn from the dignity of the persons creating it. That is why a nation is subject to unalien-

⁹ J. Krukowski, *Prawo a wartości chrześcijańskie*, in: *Prawnik katolicki a wartości prawa*, Kraków 1999, pp. 85–87.

¹⁰ B. Kempen, *Godność człowieka jako idea przewodnia konstytucji w Europie*, in: *Kultura i prawo*, vol. I, Lublin 1999, pp. 203–235, foremost p. 213.

¹¹ John Paul II, Enc. *Laborem exercens*.

¹² J. Krukowski, *Kościół i państwo. Podstawy relacji prawnych*, Lublin 2000, pp. 129–131.

¹³ Vaticanum II, *Konstytucja duszpasterska o Kościele Gaudium et spes*, nos 24, 42.

¹⁴ John Paul II, *Familiaris consortio*, no. 46.

able rights, especially the right of self-determination of whether it wishes to create its own state, or create it together with other nations¹⁵.

Basic social rules

The dignity of a human being forms the basic rule of social order, which with the basic social rules are connected. This order has to serve the protection of freedom and intellect of every human person, as the subject of social life. The basic social rules set: how to shape this order in such a way, that it will correspond with basic ethical values. Among those rules are: the common good rule, the subsidiarity rule, the rule of solidarity and the rule of justice.

The rule of respecting the common good takes the first place. What is the common good? In the object aspect it is the „sum of those conditions of social life, that do enable both groups and their members, a fuller and swifter pursuit of their own perfection [...] that is also the rights and obligations applicable to the whole human kind”¹⁶. This rule is the construction of such a moral order and law system of the whole statewide, or European community, that would guarantee and fulfill the rights and freedoms of every human being, every family and every nation.

The subsidiarity rule in its vertical plane is basically „what an individual is capable of on its own initiative should never be taken from it and given to the benefit of the community”. This rule is understood in two broad aspects: the negative and the positive one. The negative aspect concentrates on setting the limits on state, and larger social structures intervention on the smaller structures and individuals. The positive aspect concentrates on the need to provide aid to the smaller entities by the larger ones, if, for some reason, they are incapable of performing their tasks properly¹⁷. Understood in that way, the rule sets the balance for social order, which sees constant regulation of intervention and independent activity.

Solidarity also belongs to the basic rules of social life. This rule forms the basis of order in communal life¹⁸. This rule became interpreted by pope John Paul II as „the strong and lasting will to engage for the common good, the good of all and everyone”¹⁹. The legal aspect thereof becomes visible if we treat it as the basis of the state order and acts of justice. John Paul II shows how fulfill-

¹⁵ H. Skorowski, *Naród i państwo w nauczaniu społecznym Kościoła*, Warszawa 1999; J. Krukowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–133

¹⁶ Vaticanum II, Konstytucja duszpasterska o Kościele *Gaudium et spes*, Nos 26, 74.

¹⁷ A.F. Utz, *Die geistesgeschichten Grundlagen des Subsidiaritätsprinzips*, in: *Das Subsidiaritätsprinzip*, Heidelberg 1953, p. 8 ns.

¹⁸ O. von Nell-Breuning, *Baugesetze der Gesellschaft. Solidarität und Subsidiarität*, Freiburg–Basel–Wien 1990.

¹⁹ John Paul II, Enc. *Sollicitudo rei socialis*, no. 38.

ment of this rule gives us a chance to solve state and international problems, such as the world hunger, debt, neo-colonialism as well as the ecological issues²⁰.

The most important rules humanizing the social life, and especially inspiring for the economic processes, certainly include the rule of justice. To concretize this we must enumerate: the commutable and division justice and the social justice.

CONFRONTATION OF THE VALUES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION WITH THE CHRISTIAN VALUES

A question arises, whether basic for legal order – also concerning the economy and finances of the European Union – is the respect for values, or the political will of organs of power?

In answering this we must observe, that the law of the European Union recalls to the values. In the preamble to the „Treaty of Lisbon” we read: „Drawing inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of a human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law”. The Union thus proclaims the will to fulfill the universal values – respect of human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, rule of law, and respect for human rights. These values are „laic derivatives of Christianity”²¹.

The politicians of the European Union undertook a project of constructing a super-state, super-national community, called the „European citizens community”, consisting of regional communities, formed in order to realize the plan for peace and reconciliation between the nations, based on the common economic and political goals. The creators of this project rejected the notion of nation in its cultural sense, adopting the notion of a political nation. However – when, as a result of collapse of the communist bloc in Middle- and Eastern Europe, new sovereign and democratic states emerged, and accepted the Christian cultural heritage in their constitutions – the leaders of the Western Europe decided, through the Treaty of Amsterdam, to open the Union for new countries, and, as if encouraging, offered the respect for national cultures. The European Union Treaty (in its version modified by the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam) included the amendment that „Union respects the national identities of its member states” [section 6(F)]. It formed the basis for stipulation, that the project of “civic society” of Europe should include the common cultural foundation of Europe. An assumption was made, that with gradual formation of civic society a regrouping

²⁰ John Paul II, Address during the 68th session of International Labor Organization, June 15th, 1982, no. 10.

²¹ J. Isensee, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

of nations and regions of Europe will take place – into a new cooperative whole, joined together by common, superior system of European values.

A question arises – What forms the common foundation of the European culture, that forms the basis for this superior system of European values? In answering we must observe, that two different conceptions of values are present in Europe.

The supporters of the first one claim, that the common foundation of European culture is the Christianity, which although divided into Eastern and Western, and although there are different national cultures and different ideological pressures, remains the longest lasting stream of the cultural development of European nations.

The supporters of the neo-liberal conception define the common foundation of the European culture with ideological criteria, based upon the assumptions of the rationalist philosophy of the Age of Enlightenment and ideals of the French Revolution. In this context a tendency is visible to omit, within the law of the European Union, the influence of Christianity, although it had a large impact on the development of the European culture and its spreading all around the world.

It was the influence of the neo-liberal ideology that created the „Charter of Fundamental Rights” and following it „The Constitutional Treaty for Europe” later developed into the „European Union Reform Treaty”, commonly known as „The Treaty of Lisbon”. The postulate of John Paul II to accept the Christian roots of European culture was rejected²².

Christian values, which we included to the first subset, are left by European Union, as a secular structure, to the own choice of its citizens, within the guarantee of freedom of thought and religion. Those guarantees were first proclaimed in the European Convention on Human Rights and later incorporated to the system of the Union law by virtue of the Treaty of Amsterdam. The catalogue of rights and freedoms incorporated in the Charter of Fundamental Rights arises some questions due to its lack of respect for the hierarchy of values. This is why the executive branches of the Union, through „soft law” that is directives and instructions, try to introduce, to the legal systems of the member states, regulations that are radically liberal, such as the legalization of homosexual marriages or civil partnerships, abortion on demand of the woman etc.

In connection with the problematic, as set in the beginning, that is what is the real source of economic and financial crisis of the European Union we have to decide: does the Union respect the basic rules of social order, as included in the second subset of the Christian values, that is: the rule of common good, the subsidiarity rule, the solidarity rule and the rule of justice?

In this case we must stress that there is some verbal similarity between the rules of social order, as propagated by the Church, and the rules declared in

²² John Paul II, Adh. Ap. *Ecclesia in Europa*, nos 114–116; *Address of pope John Paul II in the forum of the European Parliament* (11.10.1988), in: *Mysł społeczno-polityczna Jana Pawła II. Wskazania dla polityków. Konferencja zorganizowana przez Komisję Kultury i Środków Przekazu Senatu RP, 15 kwietnia 2011 r.*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 19–25.

treaty law of the European Union. But there are also some striking differences. Foremost the lack of common good rule in the law of the European Union. The freedom of economic competition, based upon the assumption of market economy, which in turn, assumes the existence of „economic human (*homo oeconomicus*)”, a product of capitalist society, comes first in the economic and financial policy of the European Union. One of the publications, that preserved the belief in *homo oeconomicus* in the mentalities of the Union politicians, is the 1967 work by American economist, Garret Hardin. He tried to prove, that there is no effective way of managing „common good” in economic life, as the humans, through their natural egoisms, always aim at robbing the largest possible part of common good for themselves, thus leading to its destruction. He gave the example of village common pasture, in which every inhabitant of the commune had its own interest in putting there as many pieces of own cattle as possible, which resulted in excessive exploitation of the pasture. This metaphor – according to the author – finds its use in public management. This theory assumes existence of only the egoistic inclinations in a human being. Therefore – instead of fighting those inclinations – we should, according to Hardin, privatize the common good. Private owners, within their egoistic interests, will make sure that their property will not be destroyed. This publication became one of the intellectual founding stones of neo-liberal revolution of „common privatization”, which found use after communism was abolished in Middle and Eastern Europe. This theory in turn, became criticized by a new generation of economists, who do not agree with such a tragic view of human nature. It is particularly Elinor Ostrom, who based upon years of research, proved that the inclination towards cooperation and disinterested exchange of goods is as strong a feature of human nature, as the egoism is. This indicates, that the modern economy should find a place for the rule of common good²³.

The guidelines of the total privatization program also found their application in privatization of domestic banks and turning them independent from state authorities, although this is contrary to the rule of national sovereignty. An attempt to question this policy in order to prevent economic crisis was undertaken by the Hungarian parliament. Unfortunately this became the source of sharp conflict of Hungarian government with the European Commission. That is why it was justified for cardinal Sarah, the head of the *Cor Unum* Papal Council, during the May 10th, 2012 seating of the „Caritas Europa” organization, to state: „That it is clear, that the lasting state of crisis, in which we now live, has no exclusive nor foremost financial and economic grounds, but mostly concerns the spheres of culture and anthropology”²⁴.

²³ E. Bandyk, *Śmierć człowieka ekonomicznego*, In: *Polityka, wydanie specjalne*, 1/2012. *Trzęsienie kapitalizmu czyli jak zaczął się kryzys i czym się skończy*, in: *Polityka, wydanie specjalne*, 1/2012, pp. 98–100.

²⁴ 11.05.2012 press release of the Katolicka Agencja Informacyjna.

WHAT POSITIONS SHALL THE CHRISTIANS ASSUME
IN THE CRISIS SITUATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION?

In answering the above question I do believe, that one shall take the words of John Paul II, directed to the politicians, regardless of their religious or philosophical background, into account²⁵. Among other things, he stated: „In order to build Europe on solid foundations it necessarily has to be based upon authentic values, rooted in the common moral law, as inscribed in heart of every human”²⁶. And he continues: „the Christian inspiration may turn a political, cultural and economic gathering into a community in which every European would feel at home and create a family of nations, that could be a fruitful impulse for other regions of the world”²⁷.

In order for this to become reality, the Christians – citizens of the European Union can not be passive observers of neglect of basic ethical rules and universal Christian values of social life, but have to demand, from the politicians, a proper revision of Union law, and foremost, that in solving the problems in regard of the financial crisis – they do stop to guide themselves by just the rule of free competition of various groups of interest, and do respect the elementary requirements of common good and social justice.

PRAWO UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ A WARTOŚCI CHRZEŚCIJAŃSKIE

Streszczenie. Autor wyjaśnił pojęcie prawa i wartości, zwłaszcza wartości chrześcijańskich. Rozróżnił dwie kategorie wartości chrześcijańskich: 1) wartości specyficzne chrześcijańskie oparte na przesłankach teologicznych, wyróżniających religię i etykę chrześcijańską; 2) uniwersalne zasady etyczne, które są podstawowymi wartościami ludzkimi, takimi jak poszanowanie hierarchii wartości, uznanie, że człowiek w tej hierarchii zajmuje pierwsze miejsce oraz uznanie, że przyrodzona godność ludzka jest źródłem podstawowych praw i wolności. Prawo Unii Europejskiej odnosi się do tych wartości. Politycy Unii Europejskiej podjęli projekt budowania wspólnoty zwanej „europejskim społeczeństwem obywatelskim”. Chrześcijanie, jako obywatele UE, nie mogą być biernymi obserwatorami, gdy nie są przestrzegane podstawowe zasady uniwersalne. Powinni domagać się od polityków poszanowania zasady dobra wspólnego.

Słowa kluczowe: Unia Europejska, wartości chrześcijańskie, prawo, godność człowieka, dobro wspólne

Translated by Agnieszka Romanko

²⁵ J. Krukowski, *Wskazania dla polityków w nauczaniu społecznym Jana Pawła II*, in: *Mysł społeczno-polityczna Jana Pawła II*, pp. 147–155.

²⁶ John Paul II, Adh. Ap. *Ecclesia in Europa*, no. 116.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 121.