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**Wanda Musialik**

## **The identity: "global", "European" and "local" perspective. Anthology**



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## IN SEARCH FOR THE BOND OF THE UNITED EUROPE. THE STUDY OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

This sketch of political philosophy is an attempt to reflect on one of the most important aspects of European identity. Namely, to reflect on what is tentatively called a bond of a particular community and what in the following discussion refers to the united Europe. The concept of *bond* used here is understood as a “reality” which binds people into a certain type of a stable socio-political community and at the same time stimulates their civil life *par excellence* manifested in the will of the citizens to use powers which they are entitled to and to fulfil their duties<sup>1</sup>.

### 1. Selected definitions of bonds of the political community present in the European philosophical thought

In the centuries-old European philosophical reflection many solutions have been suggested to the issue discussed here. These solutions were formulated according to the current philosophical notion depending on the actual concepts of man, society and state. They aimed to identify the essence of the unification principle of individuals, finally articulated as the collective “we”, within the framework constructed by the philosophical concept of socio-political communities. Some of these solutions will be presented below.

According to the late-Platonian *Laws* dialogue, reasonable friendship was the bond that tied citizens together<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Researchers often provide different names for the reality of the “bond of the social and political society”. For example, Tadeusz Ślipko defines it as an “internal node” of community in this sense (Compare: T. Ślipko, *Zarys etyki szczegółowej*, vol. 2 – *Etyka społeczna*, Second edition extended, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2005, p. 228). Adam Chmielewski when discussing this issue, uses the term “the idea of unity” (Compare: A. Chmielewski, *Dwie koncepcje jedności. Interwencje filozoficzno-polityczne*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Branta, Bydgoszcz–Wrocław 2006). Tomáš Halík when asking about the binding factor of contemporary individuals and groups in the political community uses the term *religio* (Compare: T. Halík, *Wzywany czy nie wzywany, Bóg się tutaj zjawia. Europejskie wykłady z filozofii i socjologii dziejów chrześcijaństwa*, transl. A. Babuchowski, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2006, pp. 34–36).

<sup>2</sup> Compare: Platon, *Prawa*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1960, Book Three, 693 B.

Aristotle expressed a similar view by defining this bond as a form of friendship that exists due to the general welfare of all<sup>3</sup>. Also, St. Thomas Aquinas contributed to the above tradition by referring to the civil friendship as the principle of unity of the political community<sup>4</sup>.

For Cicero, who was familiar with the views of Plato and Aristotle, but at the same time supported the “Roman” approach, the bond was the law applied equally to all. He presented this view in the *De re publica* dialogue<sup>5</sup>. Immanuel Kant also indicated the common rights as the result of the legislative will of citizens, which unite them in one state body in his concept of “state of goals”, introduced in *The Metaphysics of Morals*<sup>6</sup>.

On the other hand, according to John Locke, who in his *Two Treatises of Government*<sup>7</sup> provided the foundations for the liberal concept of civil society, this type of principle was based on a social contract and the universal need for fair protection of “property” of every human being, namely the protection of people, activities and assets to avoid the state of war<sup>8</sup>. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, who in his *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* developed the theory of civil society, state and citizen<sup>9</sup>, saw this connection in the Spirit and its dialectical historic transformation from his subjective form to the absolute.

Among modern thinkers who addressed this issue two of the researchers present interesting views: Czech philosopher, theologian and sociologist Tomáš Halík and German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas.

Tomáš Halík, wondered about *the power which integrates society*, which is here defined as the *bond*, and by Halík defined as *religio* – the view that “what integrates the society, is its religion” in his deliberations indicates the simultaneous stability and variability of this *power*. Namely, Halík points out at the continuous presence of this power in the history of Europe, as well as the changes of its historical forms of expression.

According to Halík, Christianity was the main socio-political *power* of this kind from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>10</sup>. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century science became the

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<sup>3</sup> Compare: Aristotles, *Etyka nikomachejska*, translated by D. Gromska [in:] Aristotle, *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. 5, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2000, Book VIII, chapter 9, 1160 a.

<sup>4</sup> Compare: Thomas Aquinas, *Sententiae Octavi Libri Ethicorum*, let. 1: ed. Leon. 47, 443.

<sup>5</sup> Compare: M. T. Cicero, *O państwie*, polonized by I. Żółtowska, Wydawnictwo “Antyk”, Kęty 1999, book I, chapter XXXII, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> I. Kant, *Uzasadnienie metafizyki moralności*, Wydawnictwo “Antyk”, Kęty 2001, [433], p. 50. According to Kant, the state generally understood, is “the systematic connection of different rational beings by common law”. Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> J. Locke, *Dwa traktaty o rządzie*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1992.

<sup>8</sup> Compare: J. Locke, *Dwa traktaty o rządzie..*, Treatise II, §§ 123 – 124.

<sup>9</sup> Compare: G. W. F. Hegel, *Zasady filozofii prawa*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1969, § 33.

<sup>10</sup> Compare: T. Halík, *Wzywany czy nie wzywany...*, p. 24.

“dominant ‘religio’ of the West” in modern times<sup>11</sup>. With increasing European industrialization and the development of *science, capitalist economy* and free market mechanisms became such a “cohesive force (*religio*)”<sup>12</sup>. However, nowadays – in the opinion of the Czech philosopher and sociologist – this role has been taken over by media. “The media of all kinds – claims Halík – are the nervous system of the era of information society. *They cover and virtually connect all sectors of life.* Media create a space where culture, sports, politics, economy, science and religion unite and enter the consciousness of millions of people provided in one box; without media influence no phenomenon or idea makes a social impact. Media integrate an absolute majority of today’s Western societies more successfully than information about events in the world does – *above all they communicate and shape a holistic view of the world*”<sup>13</sup>.

The second of the above mentioned contemporary thinkers, Jürgen Habermas, in his reflections on the future of Europe, presented in the essay *Citizenship and national identity*<sup>14</sup>, seems to recognize the European bond especially in common political culture, developed on the level of transnational economic integration<sup>15</sup> and transnationally understood as the “democratic citizenship”. According to Habermas this type of citizenship “does not have to [...] be rooted in the national identity of a nation; however with respect to the multiplicity of cultural forms of life, it requires socialization of all citizens in the common political culture”<sup>16</sup>.

In the context of European unification process, the interesting form of this democratic citizenship is the “European citizenship”. Under this concept Habermas understands the idea of “not so much creating opportunities for going beyond the limits of collective political action, but rather the awareness of the “commitment to the European common good”<sup>17</sup>. Similarly, when it comes to the “common political culture” introduced by Habermas it may be identified from different national cultures as some general European political culture, the essence of common European political and cultural awareness<sup>18</sup>.

Among Polish thinkers, who over the centuries have discussed the idea of the bond in a socio-political community, some deserve special attention: Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Piotr Skarga Maurycy Mochnacki, Hugon Kołłątaj, Aleksander Świętochowski, Feliks Koneczny, Leszek Kołakowski, Józef Tischner and Tadeusz Ślipka.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, pp. 34–35.

<sup>14</sup> J. Habermas, *Obywatelstwo a tożsamość narodowa. Rozważania nad przyszłością Europy*, Wydawnictwo. IFiS PAN, Warszawa 1993.

<sup>15</sup> Compare: J. Habermas, *Obywatelstwo a tożsamość narodowa...*, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, p. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, p. 19.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, p. 26.

Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, one of the most influential Polish philosophers of the Renaissance, who was inspired by the ancient Greek and Roman social, political and philosophical thought claimed in his treatise *On the Improvement of the Commonwealth*, that a mutual civil thoughtfulness is such a bond<sup>19</sup> and Piotr Skarga in his theological and philosophical treatise entitled *Sejm Sermons*<sup>20</sup> identified the bond with Christian love.

Maurycy Mochnacki – the leading representative of political romanticism – reflected on the bond's *proprium* from the perspective of statehood lost due to the partitions, attributed the function of bond to “literature” (in his own understanding of the term), which would express the moral essence of the nation. According to Hugo Kołłątaj, who belonged to the group of Enlightenment and pre-Positivist thinkers, claimed that this type of bond lies in education and ideas shared with each other<sup>21</sup>. Aleksander Świętochowski, a prominent representative of Polish Positivism identified the bond in “progress”<sup>22</sup>.

Feliks Koneczny, who addressed this issue after regaining the independence in the work *Polish Logos and Ethos. Ditherning over the meaning and purpose of Poland* (1921) perceived bond as the “national culture”. According to the philosopher, Polish identity was its core<sup>23</sup>. In the radically changed political situation after the Polish World War II Leszek Kołakowski, in his essay *The Polish Case* (1973)<sup>24</sup> linked the bond with the imperative of “life with dignity” and Józef Tischner in *The Ethics of Solidarity* (1981) with the “awakened conscience”<sup>25</sup>.

Nowadays, such thinkers as Władysław Stóżewski and Tadeusz Ślipko identify the bond with the culture. What they mean by this is not so much about the culture “as such”, but the culture of the nation, which, according to Ślipko, is an “internal node” that integrates the members of the national community<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> Compare: A. Frycz Modrzewski, O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej, [in:] A. Frycz Modrzewski, Dzieła wszystkie, vol. 1, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1953, book I: O obyczajach, chapter I, p. 97.

<sup>20</sup> Compare: P. Skarga, Kazania sejmowe, Compiled by J. Tazbir, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 2003.

<sup>21</sup> H. Kołłątaj, Zasady wychowania publicznego, [in:] H. Kołłątaj, Stan oświecenia w Polsce w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III (1750–1764), Compiled by J. Hulewicz, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 2003, § 3, point 1b, pp. 287–288.

<sup>22</sup> Compare: A. Świętochowski, Tradycja i historia wobec postępu, Przegląd Tygodniowy 1872, Issue 19.

<sup>23</sup> Compare: F. Koneczny, Polskie Logos a Ethos, vol. 2, Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, Poznań – Warszawa 1921, pp. 144–145.

<sup>24</sup> Compare: L. Kołakowski, Sprawa polska, [in:] L. Kołakowski, Kłopoty z Polską, Wydawnictwo Przedświt '83.

<sup>25</sup> Compare: J. Tischner, Etyka solidarności, [in:] J. Tischner, Etyka solidarności oraz Homo sovieticus, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2005, pp. 104–105.

<sup>26</sup> Compare: T. Ślipko, Zarys etyki szczegółowej, vol. 2 – Etyka społeczna, qtd., Wydaw. Apostolstwa Modlitwy, Kraków 1982, p. 228. For more details see: T. Homa, Obywatelskość. Wybrane europejskie ujęcia filozoficzne i kulturowe. Studium historyczno-hermeneutyczne, Kraków 2013.



## 2. Selected definitions of the *bond* which unites Europe present in the European political projects

Raising a question of what now is, or might be the bond uniting Europe as a transnational and supranational formation in the modern sense, and thus an important factor in shaping European identity requires some additional information about the Europe's political project within which answers will be searched for. Such a clarification seems to be methodologically and substantively necessary because the current debate does not refer to a single vision of Europe, shared by everyone, but rather to many ideas, at least partially articulated differently.

The following attempt to find bonds will be mainly focused on the two selected European projects. These are the concepts of Europe proposed by the President of France Jacques Chirac (2005) and the German Chancellor Angela Merkel (2006).

### 2.1. *The Europe of Jacques Chirac – the successor of the French Revolution*

The main subject of the following analysis, related to the theme of this paper, will be the speech delivered by Jacques Chirac at the University of Paris, La Sorbonne, on 25 April 2005 to celebrate fifty years of the German-French Chamber of Commerce and Industry<sup>27</sup>.

In his speech Chirac not only presented the main goals of the French vision of the united Europe, but he also interpreted this concept referring to the political project of Europe included in the *Constitutional Treaty* of the European Union.

The vision of Europe introduced by Jacques Chirac, is the concept of a strong, operative and condescendingly<sup>28</sup> oriented political entity, which globally may become a kind of “pole of power, security, stability and social progress”<sup>29</sup>. The *Constitutional Treaty* would serve for the implementation of this type of socio-economic formation. The Treaty was signed on 29 October 2004 in Rome by twenty five Member States of the European Union. Chirac perceives The Treaty as an expression of the European unity interpreted functionally, due to the need for the development of European economic and social strength and ability to act<sup>30</sup>,

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<sup>27</sup> Rede von Herrn Jacques Chirac Präsident der Republik anlässlich des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Deutsch-Französischen Industrie- und Handelskammer, Paris, 26. April 2005. Further quoted as: Rede von Herrn Jacques Chirac....

<sup>28</sup> This kind of Eurocentric condescension may be found in the concept of the “Mighty Europe” and as such “needed to the world to be able to defend the ideals of peace, stability, justice and dialogue between our citizens and cultures”. In original: „Ein mächtiges Europa, das die Welt braucht, um die Ideale von Frieden, Stabilität, Gerechtigkeit und des Dialogs zwischen unseren Menschen und unseren Kulturen verteidigen zu können”. Rede von Herrn Jacques Chirac....

<sup>29</sup> In original: “Die nächste Etappe wird für die Schaffung eines politischen Europas entscheidend sein; eines Europas, das weltweit einen Pol der Macht, der Sicherheit, der Stabilität und des sozialen Fortschritts darstellt”. Rede von Herrn Jacques Chirac....

<sup>30</sup> Literally: “weil Einigkeit, Frieden und Demokratie, Handlungsfähigkeit und Stärke bedeutet”. Rede von Herrn Jacques Chirac....

which would provide the desired unity, security, peace and democracy, as essential conditions and guarantors of these values.

The foundation of such economically and socially defined Europe indicated by Chirac as the cause of the European prosperity, which would enable Europe to compete with all economic powers of the modern world, should have both an economic and axiomatic dimensions. Acknowledging both of these dimensions is determined by the already mentioned *Constitutional Treaty*.

In the economic sense these assumptions are nothing else but what the Treaty calls the “social market economy” interpreted by Chirac as “a model based on the belief that without social security, guarantees for the environment, equal opportunities and public services available for all long lasting progress is not possible; and that without economic growth and entrepreneurial spirit no social progress can be achieved”<sup>31</sup>.

However, in the axiological dimension, these are the values confirmed by the *Treaty* namely “democracy, human rights, freedom, equality and solidarity, tolerance, gender equality, respect for otherness, the rejection of the death penalty, the right to a healthy environment, the primacy of international law as well as recognition of the authority of the UN – the values finally proclaimed by the reunited Europe”<sup>32</sup>.

Europe perceived as the political project clarified by the *Constitutional Treaty* and the vision – as emphasized by Jacques Chirac – continuously promoted by France is the ideal civilization as a child of the French Revolution. Therefore, the French President does not hesitate to define Europe as “a descendant of the year 1789 and the guardian of the ideals of the French Revolution” as well as a “child of the year 1989 – the fall of the Berlin Wall and the unity, democracy and freedom of our reconciled Continent”<sup>33</sup>. At the same time he defines Europe, as the increase of France’s position to enable it “to pursue the traditional ideals of justice and brotherhood”<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> In original: “Ein Modell basierend auf der Überzeugung, dass es ohne soziale Sicherheiten und Umweltgarantien, ohne Chancengleichheit, ohne starke und allen zugängliche Leistungen der Daseinsvorsorge keinen dauerhaften wirtschaftlichen Fortschritt geben kann; und dass es ohne wirtschaftliche Dynamik und ohne Unternehmensgeist auch keinen sozialen Fortschritt geben kann. Dies nennt der Verfassungsvertrag [...] soziale Marktwirtschaft”. Rede von Herrn Jacques Chirac....

<sup>32</sup> In original: “Dieses endlich wiedervereinigte Europa proklamiert erstmals seine Werte: Demokratie, Menschenrechte, Freiheit, Gleichheit und Solidarität, aber auch Toleranz, Gleichstellung der Geschlechter, Achtung des anderen, Ablehnung der Todesstrafe, Recht auf eine intakte Umwelt, Primat des Völkerrechts sowie Anerkennung der Autorität der Vereinten Nationen”. Rede von Herrn Jacques Chirac....

<sup>33</sup> In original: “Das Europa des Verfassungsvertrags steht für ein Zivilisationsideal. Es ist der Nachkomme von 1789, der Hüter der Ideale der Französischen Revolution. Es ist auch der Nachkomme von 1989, des Falls der Berliner Mauer und der Einheit unseres in Demokratie und Freiheit endlich ausgesöhnten Kontinents”. Rede von Herrn Jacques Chirac....

<sup>34</sup> In original: “Der Verfassungsvertrag deckt sich mit der Vision von Europa, die Frankreich

This combination of recalled heritage of the French Revolution and industrial traditions of Europe emphasized in the speech seems – according to Chirac – to co-create the *bond* of his political project for Europe. Europe will be – in Chirac’s understanding of the subject – built both on this kind of economic-axiological foundation and the *identity common to all Europeans*, which will go beyond all contrasts of Europe.

This view was expressed by the French President, when he said: “With the extension [of the European Union] all Europeans realized that despite long lasting divisions, they also share common identity which is the basis of their unity and economic and social development. This is also a condition of their power”<sup>35</sup>. However, it is important not to perceive this identity as a synonym for the *individual identity* of every European, which was also mentioned in the analysed speech, and which, as emphasized by Chirac, is protected by the European democracy.

On 29 May, 2005 the majority of 54% of French people rejected the *Constitutional Treaty*, at the same time indirectly rejecting Chirac’s economic and social model of Europe – Europe’s power, social well-being and “shared destiny”. Does this mean that the French also rejected Chirac’s understanding of the bond, which units Europe? It seems that a partial answer to these questions was provided by the interpretation of this event, presented by the German Chancellor Angela Merkel.

## 2.2. *The Europe of Angela Merkel – the heritage in the service of the present*

The German Chancellor Angela Merkel presented her concept of Europe in the *Speech* entitled *The Future of the European Union* delivered on 22 September, 2006 during the opening of the International Bertelsmann Forum<sup>36</sup>. Merkel’s political project describes the EU in terms of broadly understood heritage, expectations of the citizens and the challenges of the present. The project emphasizes the need for preserving the historical roots of Europe, without any caesura, but by providing some “complementary information” which would include the current aspects of the social, cultural, ideological, political and economic reality. At the same time this vision indicates the need for justifying the value of Europe “without denying its historical justifications, but with complementing them”<sup>37</sup>.

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jahrzehntelang stets befürwortet und verteidigt hat. Er krönt die Bemühungen, mit denen wir uns unablässig für das Konzept eines politischen Europas eingesetzt haben. Eines Europas der Völker, eines Europas der Nationen, in dem Frankreich über ein größeres Gewicht verfügt, um seine traditionellen Ideale von Gerechtigkeit und Brüderlichkeit zur Geltung zu bringen”. Rede von Herrn Jacques Chirac....

<sup>35</sup> In original: “Dank der Erweiterung sind sich alle Europäer über die sie so lange trennenden Gegensätze hinaus einer gemeinsamen Identität bewusst geworden, die die Grundlage ihrer Einheit und ihrer wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Entwicklung bildet und Voraussetzung für ihre Macht ist”. Rede von Herrn Jacques Chirac....

<sup>36</sup> Rede von Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel anlässlich der Eröffnung des Internationalen Bertelsmann Forums “Die Zukunft der Europäischen Union”, 22. September 2006. Further quoted as: Rede von Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel....

<sup>37</sup> In original: “Wir müssen den Menschen von heute, gerade auch der jungen Generation,

This “complement” (*Ergänzung*), mentioned in the *Speech* of the German Chancellor, is a creative approach to heritage, which takes into account contemporary challenges. Among the challenges of the European Union, Merkel indicated five, which she considered as crucial in the context of re-justification of reasons weighted in favour of Europe. These were the issues of Europe’s value, borders, economy, prosperity, globalization, security and the *Constitutional Treaty*.

As an example of this specific “complement”, let’s consider the first one, which is as follows: “Europe has to clearly realize what values are essential to it”<sup>38</sup>. A challenge articulated in this way indicates the dilemma of this fundamental issue. Contrary to earlier, optimistic declarations of Jacques Chirac, on the one hand the challenge refers to the historically defined European heritage, namely the commonly shared values. On the other hand, challenge refers to the noticeable need for addressing and including this type of heritage into Europe’s political life, seeking appropriate solutions in this area, also through a difficult but necessary intercultural and interreligious dialogue and critical self-reflection. The meeting of cultural and religious heritage and modern challenges seems to resemble expected “complement” in the form of values (*Wertegebundenheit*) included in politics today. Merkel expressed this idea in a clear statement: “Not only do we share common spiritual experience, but we also support the values that we all share: freedom, democracy, the rule of law, respect for human dignity. Therefore, our policy must be based on values. Values must be reflected in our relationships with non-members of the European Union, it must be discussed”<sup>39</sup>.

According to Merkel the economic development of Europe should be perceived in the same way. Economic development became the core of the third challenge and the third topic included into above mentioned *Speech*.

Merkel emphasized the need for economic development of the Union as a *conditio sine qua non* for the ability to integrate Europe and to build the successful future. This would allow to increase the welfare of the UE members. Similarly to Chirac Merkel rejects the dominant role of economics in this kind of endeavour. The German Chancellor opts for the development of Europe, measured not only in an increase of material well-being (although it is the fundamental element of the *Union’s integrating force*, which is the *bond*) but also a culture of responsibility

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Europa neu begründen, ohne die historische Begründung wegzulegen. Aber sie muss ergänzt werden”. Rede von Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel....

<sup>38</sup> In original: “Europa muss sich klar werden, was seine Werte sind”. Rede von Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel....

<sup>39</sup> In original: “Das sind ja nicht nur gemeinsame geschichtliche Erfahrungen, die wir haben, sondern wir gründen auf gemeinsamen Werten, die wir alle teilen: Freiheit, Demokratie, Rechtsstaatlichkeit, Achtung der Menschenrechte. Deshalb muss unsere Politik auch wertegebunden sein. In unserem Verhältnis zu anderen Staaten, die nicht Mitglieder der Europäischen Union sind, muss das diskutiert werden; das muss sich widerspiegeln. Ich glaube, gerade diese Wertegebundenheit mit heutiger Begründung muss ein wichtiges Thema [...] sein”. Rede von Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel....

for this aspect of European general welfare reflected in cooperation in creating the internal market of the Union and the change in mentality in this regard.

The concept of the European Union presented in the analysed *Speech* of Angela Merkel, is therefore the concept of the community built on a foundation of shared values and common standards of living. It is the concept of Europe which reflects critically on its common heritage, is open to other cultures and religions, ready to exchange views and offers higher standards of living than individual countries do.

According to Merkel, the *bond* become a complex reality co-created on the one hand by the common and still vital cultural codes, namely “common spiritual experience” and the “values shared by all” and on the other hand “more prosperity” desired by all. This “prosperity” is – according to Merkel – clearly a major factor of the integration forces in the European Union. The German Chancellor claims that “if we will not be able to show people that Europe is more for them than the welfare of the individual countries, people will not accept the European Union”<sup>40</sup>.

The cultural and political aspect of the bond characterized by Merkel, at some point seems to be convergent with Habermasian vision of European political culture. According to Habermas European political culture is one of the key factors of integration of Europe. Indeed, the European cultural codes invoked by the German Chancellor, as shared by all and playing the normative role emphasized in public life as well as the need for critical self-reflection by the UE in terms of political activity seem to resonate with the need for developing a “common European political and cultural consciousness”, which would result in “a common European political culture”.

## Instead of the conclusion

The author of this paper is aware that the attempt made to describe the issue of supranational bond of political body of the European Union and takes into account – in a very limited extent – only a few issues. This reflection does not include many elements, such as the essence of the European general welfare or European citizenship. The author believes that these issues will be discussed in other publications.

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<sup>40</sup> In original: “Wenn wir den einzelnen Menschen nicht zeigen können, dass Europa für sie mehr Wohlstand als ein einzelner Nationalstaat bedeutet, dann werden die Menschen diese Europäische Union nicht akzeptieren”. Rede von Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel....

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### Streszczenie

#### W POSZUKIWANIU SPOIWA JEDNOCZĄCEJ SIĘ EUROPY

Prezentowany tekst, zatytułowany „W poszukiwaniu *spoiwa* jednoczącej się Europy. Studium z filozofii politycznej”, podejmuje refleksję nad zagadnieniem filozoficznie i politycznie wielorako artykułowanych czynników stanowiących składowe siły integrujących wspólnoty polityczne.

W niniejszym esej pod pojęciem „*spoiwa* jednoczącej się Europy” rozumiemy pewną „rzeczywistość” więziotwórczo spajającą wielość ludzi w ponadpaństwową, trwałą zbiorowość społeczno-polityczną Unii Europejskiej, a zarazem stymulującą obywatelską żywotność członków tejże Unii, wyrażającą się *par excellence* w woli wcielania w życie przynależnych im obywatelskich uprawnień i powinności.

W celu przybliżenia tego złożonego zagadnienia, w pierwszym rozdziale kreślimy panoramę prób jego rozwiązań, podejmowanych przez europejskich i polskich myślicieli na przestrzeni wieków. Natomiast w rozdziale drugim, stanowiącym swego rodzaju studium przypadku z zakresu współczesnej europejskiej myśli politycznej, poszukujemy owego *spoiwa* w wybranych, politycznych projektach Europy. Są to projekty proponowane przez Jacques’a Chiraca i Angelę Merkel, które zakładają aksjologiczno-ekonomiczną dominantę tego rodzaju *spoiwa*. Obserwacja trwającego kryzysu gospodarczego oraz reakcji nań krajów członkowskich Unii Europejskiej zdaje się potwierdzać trafność stanowiska przypisującego aspektowi ekonomicznemu rolę wiodącego czynnika sprzyjającego procesowi integracji Europy.

Jesteśmy świadomi faktu fragmentaryczności podjętych przez nas refleksji, które traktujemy jako zaproszenie do debaty na ten temat.

**Keywords (selection):** Welfare, European political and cultural awareness, European integration, cultural codes, national culture, civic friendship, economic development, social progress, *religio*, the bond of the political community, the social market economy, European identity, the *Constitutional Treaty*, the European Union, a common European political culture.