POPE FRANCIS, REFUGEES AND RECOVERING EUROPE’S SOUL

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AT THE BEGINNING, it did not seem that Pope Francis and Europe had much to say to each other. That night when his pontificate began, 13 March 2013, he had presented himself as coming from ‘the ends of the earth’.¹ in other words, he was not European—a point that commentators were regularly underscoring at the time of his election. And six months later, Federico Lombardi, then director of the Holy See’s press office, authoritatively confirmed that the arrival of the first pope from the global South had marked the end of the Church’s ‘eurocentrism’.²

Europe today accounts for less than a quarter of the world’s Roman Catholics. Francis became Pope at a time when the Holy See was disappointed at its failure to get any mention of Europe’s ‘Christian roots’ included in the European Union’s 2004 draft constitution, or in the 2007 Treaty of Lisbon which was the final result of that exercise. Benedict XVI regarded the EU with some disquiet, or even pessimism, rather like a father lamenting the errors of a prodigal son. All this was a long way from the repeated papal enthusiasm and encouragement at the beginnings of the European project, under Pius XII and Paul VI especially. The Vatican was becoming less European, and Europe was becoming less Catholic, than ever.

But the fact that the Church is no longer centred on Europe certainly does not mean that the Church has lost interest in Europe in general,
or in the project of European integration in particular. In May 2016, the presidents of the EU’s three principal institutions—Martin Schulz for the European Parliament, Jean-Claude Juncker for the European Commission and Donald Tusk for the European Council—all came to Rome. The occasion was the award of the Charlemagne Prize to Pope Francis. The award to the Argentinian pope of an honour acknowledging ‘outstanding work toward European unity or cooperation between its states’ was significant, as was the fact that he accepted it. Pope Francis was showing support for a project that is now short of inspiration, and indeed threatened in its very existence, as the British referendum vote to leave the EU has made only too clear.

Migration: The Key to Europe’s Identity

Nevertheless, Francis’s approach to European questions is quite distinctive. He has not taken up directly the crisis of meaning in Europe. Just as he himself has come to the papacy from Argentina, so he has approached the question of Europe through a concern for migrants. For him there are close connections between the future of Europe and the refugee crisis.

For Pope Francis it is what happens at the margins, the peripheries, that is central. His one-day trip to Lesbos on 20 April 2016 strikingly illustrated this conviction. Earlier, his first visit within the EU outside Rome had been another lightning excursion to an island, Lampedusa—a visit highlighted by the jury for the Charlemagne prize in its citation. Since that visit, Pope Francis has never stopped challenging Europeans about the ever more urgent needs of migrants. ‘We cannot allow the Mediterranean to become a vast cemetery!’, he exclaimed in the most noted part of his discourse to the European Parliament at Strasbourg on 25 November 2014. ‘The boats landing daily on the shores of Europe are filled with men and women who need to be welcomed and helped.’

At Lampedusa, Jorge Bergoglio’s concern was, of course, not with European integration, but with the forced migrants themselves. But his particular contribution to the European project consists precisely in the distinctive way in which he links the two. Behind the political process

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running out of steam, he sees a Europe that is ‘tired’, to use his own word in a spontaneous talk to the Community of Sant'Egidio in Rome on 15 June 2014. ‘Europe is tired. It doesn’t know what to do.’ By way of antidote, Francis is encouraging Europe to take in what he calls the ‘new Europeans, migrants who have arrived after painful and dangerous journeys’. And, he adds, ‘this rejuvenates us’. He put the point in carefully balanced terms in his New Year greetings to the Vatican diplomatic corps of 11 January 2016—a speech largely given over to Europe and the forced migration crisis:

The reception of migrants can … prove a good opportunity for new understanding and broader horizons, both on the part of those accepted, who have the responsibility to respect the values, traditions and laws of the community which takes them in, and on the part of the latter, who are called to acknowledge the beneficial contribution which each immigrant can make to the whole community.

Previously, in a message published in September 2015 for the World Day of Migrants and Refugees, Francis—himself the son of Italian immigrants to Argentina—was already stressing how migrants, … can contribute to the well-being and progress of all, particularly when they take on the responsibility of their obligations to those welcoming them, respecting gratefully the material and spiritual heritage of the host country, obeying its laws, and helping shoulder its burdens.

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As he put it elsewhere in the speech, more briefly, ‘those who migrate are compelled to change some of their most distinctive characteristics’. Moreover, ‘whether they want to or not, they force change on those who receive them’. 7

Change is involved, yes, but not the loss of identity. ‘Dialogue is only possible on the basis of one’s own identity. I can’t, for the sake of dialogue, pretend to be someone else’, he explained to the Sant’Egidio community. 8 In the European Parliament, he made the same point in the context of the EU’s enlargement. ‘Awareness of one’s own identity is necessary if one is to enter into exploratory dialogue with the states that have asked to join the European Union’. 9 He reminded the MEPs in Strasbourg that it was incumbent upon them ‘to protect and nurture Europe’s identity, so that its citizens can experience renewed confidence in the institutions of the Union’. Again, upon arriving in Poland in August 2016, alluding to John Paul II’s fondness for evoking history, Pope Francis stressed the importance of a nation being aware of its identity in a way free from ‘superiority complexes’ as the indispensable basis for a common life ‘faithful to tradition and at the same time open to renewal and to the future’. 10

If this kind of awareness is not fostered, then Europe, and indeed the West as a whole, risks becoming ‘an empty space’—a point that Francis has made several times. In his New Year message to the diplomatic corps, he spoke of,

… the vacuum of ideals and the loss of identity—including religious identity—which dramatically marks what is called the West. From this kind of vacuum arises the fear that leads us to see the other person as a danger and an enemy, to turn in on ourselves, and to fall back on preconceived positions. 11

‘The idea that we must defend our values and keep our society closed will perhaps do us more harm than if we open our doors and our hearts to take in these people in their difficulties’, is how Mgr Paul Gallagher,
Europe has always been able to go beyond itself.

Europe should recover confidence in its capacity for hospitality—and to this end the Pope is inviting it to remember that its own identity has been forged by waves of migration in the course of its history. ‘Europe has always been able to go beyond itself, to forge ahead so as to find itself enriched by the interchange of cultures’, as he put it to a delegation led by French socialists received at the Vatican on 1 March 2016. One of those present, Jérôme Vignon, a noted French exponent of Catholic social thought, reported that Pope Francis regarded Europe as unique ‘in its way of doing justice to diversity while seeking for unity, in its way of moving forward in the quest for this unity’. In this context, Pope Francis’s two journeys to the Balkans—to Tirana in Albania on 21 September 2014 and then to Sarajevo in Bosnia on 6 June 2015—have been important. They have helped Francis show the rest of Europe how the scars of the past in these places have given way to young and diverse communities coexisting, affirming and helping each other. When a journalist asked Pope Francis why he had chosen to go to Albania, which is predominantly Muslim, he corrected the question: ‘It’s not a Muslim country. It’s a European country … properly European because of its culture, a culture of living together.’ Explaining his option to go to a country on the periphery of Europe and outside the EU, Pope Francis declared, ‘it’s a message, this journey of mine, a signal—a signal I want to send out.’ It is no doubt in the light of these journeys and this message that we should understand the invitation he addressed to the European Parliament about ‘building a Europe which revolves not around the economy, but around the sacredness of the human person’—a sacredness to be acknowledged in every human being who knocks at the EU’s door.

Pope Francis’s direct message for Europe, then, as it faces a major crisis of forced migration, is to show how a generous welcome can, at one and

13 Jean-Pierre Denis, ‘Conversation avec le pape’, La Vie (10 March 2016), 21.
16 Pope Francis, address to the European Parliament.
the same time, shake Europe out of its sense of fatigue and of obsolescence, enabling it to reaffirm its pluralistic identity and providing a model of reconciled diversity. As a retired journalist has put it, Pope Francis’s basic message is, ‘Refugees from the world over, give Europe back its soul!’ Frère Alois, the prior of the ecumenical community of Taizé, which is passed through by tens of thousands of young people from all over the continent, has made the point more broadly. For a whole younger generation ‘the building up of Europe finds its true meaning only if it shows solidarity with other continents, and with the poorest peoples’.

**The Catholic Church in the Front Line**

The Catholic Church’s task is to show this way forward. Pope Francis would like to see the Church in the front line of resolving the refugee crisis in Europe. After the Angelus on 6 September 2015, he sprang a surprise by asking each parish and each monastery on the continent to take in at least one refugee family, following the lead of the two parishes in the Vatican. On 13 November 2015 he said to members of the Romano Guardini foundation (Guardini was a German theologian of Italian extraction dear to Francis), ‘God has sent us, in rich Europe, the hungry so that we can give them to eat, the thirsty so that we can give them to drink, the stranger so that we can take them in, the naked so that we can

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give them clothing’. He went on to remark that history will be a witness: ‘if we are a people’ – a term which for him is a ‘mystical concept’—‘then of course we will welcome them as brothers and sisters. But if we are just a group of more or less well organized individuals, we will be tempted to save our own skin first.’

One can hardly say that the Catholic Church in Europe is united behind Pope Francis on questions of forced migration. The European bishops, both in the East and in the West, are divided on the subject. In one example of these tensions, in February 2016, the Polish and then the Hungarian bishops had two articles cut from the monthly newsletter Europe Infos, produced jointly by the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the EU and the Jesuit European Office. These articles were criticizing the right-wing political policies of those two countries.

The division in the Church reflects a division among national leaders more broadly. Pope Francis has no hesitation about reprimanding these latter and challenging public opinion. ‘It’s shameful, shameful’, he complained in public on 3 October 2013, the day of a shipwreck that brought 368 dead bodies to Lampedusa. More recently, after the Angelus on 28 February 2016, he reminded us of the need for collective action in relieving ‘Greece and the other countries which are at the forefront’ in providing generous care to refugees.

‘The Europe that Points the Way’

Over and above the urgent needs that must be answered, Pope Francis recognises that the moral and spiritual crisis of the European Union provoked by the forced migration question requires leaders who are Europeans by conviction. The idea of constructing Europe in terms of forced migrants may seem inconceivable to public opinion today—but it is no more so than the idea of founding a European project, back in 1950, on reconciliation between France and Germany. Expressing his confidence in the younger generation, the Pope is hoping for the emergence of new

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founding figures: ‘today, where is there a Schuman or an Adenauer? These
great men who in the aftermath of the war founded the European Union’,
he wondered aloud in front of the press as he returned from Mexico on
17 February 2016. In the same breath he spoke of his enthusiasm for the
idea of a ‘refoundation’ of the European Union. ‘We must do everything
so that the European Union can have the strength and also the inspiration
to move us forward.’ The speech he delivered on 6 May 2016 when
he received the Charlemagne Prize developed the point more fully.

The Pope from Argentina thus has major expectations of Europe,
matching and even surpassing those of his predecessors. John Paul II and
Benedict XVI were concerned that secularised Europe not simply airbrush
away its Christian history, but rather take it up as a heritage to be made
fruitful, a root on which to draw. Pope Francis very rarely uses the expression
‘Christian roots’ as such, and has reservations about the way it
can be misused, as he explained in his interview with La Croix on 17 May. He has never referred to the patron saints of Europe,
to whose number John Paul II added, nor to figures evoking the
European Christianity of the first millennium. His perspective is
from outside Europe; he insists above all on what Europe means for the
rest of the world. ‘The only continent which might be able to bring a certain
unity to the world is Europe’, he told the French delegation visiting him in
March 2016: ‘China may have an older and deeper culture, but it is Europe
alone which has a vocation to universality and service’.

His speech to the European Parliament ended with a vigorous peroration to this effect.

The time has come to abandon the idea of a Europe that is fearful
and self-absorbed, and to put forward a Europe of leadership and
initiative, bringing to bear its knowledge, art, music, humane values,
and also its faith … a precious point for all humanity to refer to.

In an interview with a Portuguese radio station on 8 September
2015, he repeated the point: ‘Europe must become once again the Europe

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content/francesco/en/speeches/2016/february/documents/papa-francesco_20160217_messico-conferenza-
stampa.html.
25 See Pope Francis, address at the conferral of the Charlemagne Prize, 6 May 2016, available at
http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2016/may/documents/papa-francesco_20160506_
premio-carlo-magno.html.
26 Guillaume Goubert and Sébastien Maillard, ‘Interview: Pope Francis’, La Croix (17 May 2016),
27 ‘Conversation avec le pape’, 19.
28 Pope Francis, address to the European Parliament.
that points the way. It has the culture that enables it to do that.’ To use a distinction he often makes, it must become once again a mother, and stop being a grandmother.\textsuperscript{29}

**Four Principles for Moving Forward**

In the short term ‘Europe is a worry’, Pope Francis told the press accompanying him on his flight back from Strasbourg.\textsuperscript{30} But Jorge Bergoglio has no past in European institutional culture, no ready methods for proposing *entente* between countries faced with the forced migration crisis and, more broadly, no means of refounding the European Union. If he tries, he risks overstepping his role, and he is well aware of the need to avoid the trap. Talking to the press the day after the May 2014 European elections, he was clear on this point: ‘Europe—should we be confident or wary? And the Euro—some people want to go back on it …. I don’t understand all these things very well.’\textsuperscript{31}

Nevertheless, what he wrote in *Evangelii gaudium* in November 2013, about principles enabling ‘progress in building a people in peace, justice and fraternity … where differences are brought together in harmony within a shared pursuit’—these ideas may also help today’s decision-makers in Europe.\textsuperscript{32} They are not particularly religious principles: they affirm that ‘unity prevails over conflict’, ‘time is greater than space’, ‘the whole is greater than the part’ and ‘realities are superior to ideas’. It is clear that Jorge Bergoglio was not thinking about Europe when he formulated these principles; they go back to the 1970s and 1980s. But they can certainly be applied to the European project. They can be read as an indirect contribution by Pope Francis that might help us understand the issues at stake.

\textsuperscript{29} ‘Full Text of Pope Francis’ Interview with Portuguese Radio Station’, available at http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/full-text-of-pope-francis-interview-with-portuguese-radio-station-44460/. Readers troubled by this Bergoglian trope might like to note the immense importance attributed by Pope Francis to his own grandmother for his faith development—see Austen Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer* (London: Allen and Unwin, 2014), 24–26—and his spontaneous exhortation to the volunteers for the Kraków World Youth Day, where he stressed the importance of memory, and how young people need to talk to their grandparents. ‘Will you promise me that to prepare Panama, you’ll talk more to your grandparents?’


\textsuperscript{32} *Evangelii gaudium*, n. 221. The four principles are subtitles placed between subsequent paragraphs of *Evangelii gaudium*; this article treats them in a different order.
The point is particularly applicable to the first principle: unity prevails over conflict. A small step resolving a conflict can become the basis for further processes of peace. The point is well illustrated by a common project launched by Robert Schuman with the other founding fathers of Europe. The raw materials that had been used to make weapons became in 1950 the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community. Later, the end of the Cold War was the historical basis for the enlargement of the EU, in 2004 and 2007, by twelve members, most of which had come from the former communist bloc in the East. If we observe this principle today, then the conflicts which are feeding the refugee crisis must not be allowed to divide the EU and undermine the Schengen agreement, but should rather lead to closer collaboration among the member states and promote a new process of integration.

The sharing of sovereignty inherent in the European project requires leaders to cede specific powers, inevitably with some reluctance. In such a context Jorge Bergoglio can be read as inviting European leaders to remember that time is greater than space. ‘Space’ here is not meant in a literal or geographical sense. The point is that immediate questions about who controls which space are less important than processes that operate over a longue durée. Seen in this light, the European Union is not simply a new supranational authority replacing national governments functioning at a lower level; rather, one needs to see the EU as part of a long process through which Europeans are coming to claim their identity as Europeans. Looking at the process this way round might help European leaders, and public opinion at large, to think about ‘Brussels’ rather differently.

But this requires that we not forget a third Bergoglian principle: realities are more important than ideas. Nothing annoys Jorge Bergoglio more than ideologies: the cold implementation of abstract theories without thinking about the realities on the ground, decision-making that is blind and doctrinaire. ‘We have politicians—and also religious leaders—who wonder, given that their proposals are so clear and logical, why the people do not understand them and do not follow them.’ He might be speaking of some advocates of a united Europe. In their eyes, integration seems more than ever what is needed in order to respond to the crises confronting us. Yet they run into increasing Euroscepticism.

The principle that reality prevails over ideas is inviting them to make sure that the idea of a united Europe does not become too detached
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from national political realities. The two must be kept constantly in mutual touch. This Bergoglian principle also requires the EU institutions not to be in thrall to any ideology, but rather to stay closely in touch with lived reality, and to be listening to the various populations in all their diversity. Responding in December 2015 to reservations expressed by different countries of the EU about taking in refugees, Mgr Gallagher acknowledged this reality: ‘Countries’ capacity for taking in refugees differs. There are different traditions. We must take that into consideration.’

Conversely, the various peoples need to have the workings of Europe and its various manifestations—the single market, the Euro, the Schengen treaty—properly communicated to them. This involves getting beyond the kind of exaggeration and distortion that has been all too frequent in the press of countries such as the UK. It also requires a sensitivity to considerations that go over and above mere pragmatic utility.

The Polyhedron

And this leads us to the final central Bergoglian principle: the whole is greater than the part. ‘We must always be broadening our horizons to recognise the greater good that will be of benefit to us all. But this has to be done without trying to escape from ourselves, or abandoning our roots’, writes Pope Francis, concerned as always not to avoid realities. The prospect of Britain leaving the EU, the temptation of governments to slough the refugee problem off on to their neighbours, the stresses and strains on European solidarity provoked by the crisis in Greece—amid these situations, all concerned should remember this principle of the whole being greater than the part.

We thus need to hold firm to the far from evident truth that Europe forms one single whole. This draws us back to Pope Francis’s appeals not to leave Europe as an ‘an empty space’, but rather to cherish its identity. One of Pope Francis’ favourite images may be helpful here: that of the polyhedron. Unlike a sphere, which is smooth and even all over, a polyhedron incorporates differences and pluralities. In his May 2016 speech accepting the Charlemagne Prize, Pope Francis underlined that Europe’s ‘capacity to integrate’ had nothing to do with spreading ‘one-sided models’ or ‘ideological colonization’. It rather emerged from

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35 Pope Francis, Evangelii gaudium, n. 235.
36 Pope Francis, Evangelii gaudium, n. 236.
‘the breadth of the European soul, born of the encounter of civilizations and peoples, extending beyond the present borders of the EU, and called to be a model of new syntheses and of dialogue’.37

By the same token the EU should not seek to impose uniformity, but should respect the principle of subsidiarity, which itself comes directly from the Church’s social teaching. At least in intention, EU directives are primarily an expression of common objectives, and allow freedom as regards the means used. The EU motto, ‘unity in diversity’, corresponds to the vision lying behind Pope Francis’s image of the polyhedron. Talking to the press on the way back from Armenia, a few days after the British referendum, Pope Francis even suggested that the EU must, precisely in order ‘to recover the strength it had at its origins’, allow a ““healthy dis-union” … in other words … give more freedom, more independence’ to the individual countries.38

One cannot construct a whole programme of European integration from these Bergoglian principles. But they can nevertheless be of some guidance as we try to move forward. We need to face the full reality of the forced migration crisis, and to respond energetically and generously in just the way that Pope Francis is challenging Europeans to do. One of the reasons he is issuing this challenge is that he regards hospitality to migrants as a means by the EU can reappropriate its own founding inspiration: a vision of identity in diversity.

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37 Pope Francis, address at the conferral of the Charlemagne Prize.