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ŽYGIMANTAS PAVILIONIS
METAPOLITICS FOR EUROPE: HOLY SEE AND LITHUANIA

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation
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VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS

ŽYGIMANTAS PAVILIONIS

**ŠVENTOJO SOSTO IR
LIETUVOS EUROPOS METAPOLITIKA**

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Summary of Doctoral Thesis

Research Problem

Eight years after Lithuania's accession to the European Union (EU) there is still no consensus on the strategic vision of Lithuania's membership in EU: what is the strategic goal, what is the mission of Lithuania membership in the EU? After the EU accession Lithuania has identified number of technocratic goals in different sectors of the EU acquis, but still is unable to formulate the vertical, strategic, metapolitical vision of its membership. So-called "pragmatic" approach, based on interest-grounded secular politics is pushing Lithuania to the margins of the European politics, turning Lithuania from the subject into the object of foreign policies of more powerful or more strategic EU member-states. On the other hand, so-called a "value-based" approach that has dominated Lithuanian foreign policy until recently is void of metapolitical content, because it is detached from the Christian tradition and therefore unable to compete with similarly secular narratives of the neo-liberal politics. If we accept Europe as a cultural and historic (but not as a purely geographical or legal concept) then the introduction of the metapolitical level into Lithuania's European policy would contribute to the consolidation of Lithuania's statehood and its role in the region and Europe.

Research Question and Objectives

The main objective of this dissertation is to analyse one of the possible visions of European politics of Lithuania based on the Christian tradition. The main question posed in the work is what could be Lithuania's European metapolitics like? In order to answer the aforementioned question, the two main tasks are exercised:

1. The European metapolitics of the Holy See¹ (analysed in the first part of the thesis).
2. To what extent the European metapolitics of Lithuania could comply with the principles of the European metapolitics? (explored in the second part of the work).

¹ Only two latest Pontificates (periods of John Paul II, 1978-2005, and of the current Pope Benedict XVI) are being taken into consideration in this dissertation

Problematics of Methodology and Theoretical Context of the Research

The method applied is interdisciplinary because the analysis of metapolitics of the Holy See and Lithuania requires the knowledge of different methods and disciplines, such as European integration, political sciences, social sciences, religious philosophy, theology. Metapolitics embraces ontological foundations of European continent and its direction, metapolitical, strategic dimension of European politics. Therefore the isolated secular methods can reveal only the part of the truth as it is understood in Christian tradition.

Analytical method is being used in this research for the analysis of the official documents of the Holy See, writings of John Paul II and Benedict XVI (Cardinal Ratzinger) and other documents on the European metapolitics of the Holy See and Lithuania.

The term “metapolitics” in the thesis is used as a method and a term in order to reintroduce moral, ontological heritage of Christianity, transcendental nature of human being, his integrity and transcendental values like human dignity, common good, subsidiarity and solidarity into secular modern functionality of European integration. Metapolitics is considered to be above secular politics, it formulates metapolitical values that transcend and guide political activity². Metapolitics answers the difficult question “why” instead of easy “how” that is currently so popular in Brussels. According to Carl Schmitt metapolitics is natural to the Catholic tradition, whereas rationality, religion, nature, human being as well as his creation forms unity in harmony. In opposite protestant tradition, represented by M.Weber, politics is detached from transcendental reality, nature, psychology, morality and individuality of human person³. Metapolitics is representing and targeting Logos, “common good of humanity”⁴ as opposed to partial, chaotic, hedonistic, consumer-oriented, individual or “pragmatic” interest. According to

² Van Luyn A.H. *L'Unione europea e la dottrina sociale della chiesa*, Cita del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2009, p. 59

³ Schmitt, Carl, *The Idea of Representation*, Washington DC: Plutarch Press, 1988, žr. psl.34-35

⁴ Dupuy, Andre, *Pope John Paul II and the Challenges of Papal Diplomacy: Antology (1978-2003)*, Vatican City: The Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, p.24

Alain Badiou, metapolitics is “the truth procedures”⁵ in this way the truths are both the source and the target of metapolitics.

Metapolitics is also the way to challenge triviality, relativity and subjectivity of modern politics. Modern European politics is losing its metapolitical wisdom, its ontology, oversimplifies and mythologizes the real values, which (like progress, science, freedom) appear credible because they are anchored to authentic values, but for this very reason they are also dangerous, because in fact they are masks and disguises of power. Metapolitics can not guarantee the salvation of all the problems of modern politics, but “it must make men capable of taking those ultimate decisions in which the whole of man and of the world is always at stake”⁶. Metapolitics is “no longer looking at the trees and unable to see the wood, but now able to view the whole”. In its turn, politics without metapolitics is representing a self-limiting reason.

Only Christian tradition is representing metapolitics, because only this tradition reflects the basic metapolitical principles – e.g. human dignity, personal integrity or individuality as distinctive Christian value. Accordingly solidarity or subsidiarity is most effectively implemented in Christian societies. In other religions human dignity is being sacrificed for the sake of community, state or unlimited deity. Christian personalism is a distinctive feature of Christian metapolitics. Metapolitics can not be relativist or pluralist, because fundamental differences exist among major world religions. Major theistic religions (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) profess positive and objective ontology. Asian mysticism eliminates personal identity, rationality, underlines its absorption into multiplicity, “totality” or unity as a confusion of thinking or divinity without personal and responsible contact with God. In this situation (of the unity of everything) the distinction between good and evil is necessarily relativized⁷. Finally, orthopractic religions put an emphasis on correct activity, prescribed rites or rituals that do not entail questioning the ontology⁸. Consequently, existence of different metapolitics, based on different religions, would be a contradiction to meta-criterion, as it proclaims relativism and denies ontology. Christianity in unique way is capable to promote ecumenism and

⁵ Badiou, Alain, *Metapolitics*, London, New York: Verso, 2005, p.XXXI-XXXII

⁶ Ratzinger. Joseph, *Truth and Tolerance: Christian Belief and World Religions*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2004, p.142

⁷ Ibid., p.48

⁸ Ratzinger, Joseph, *Many Religions – One Covenant: Israel, the Church and the World*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, p.95

breach the gap between different religions, enriches and renews the understanding of its ontology using the wisdom of other cultures and religions, at the same time preserving the core of its belief⁹. Secular or state metapolitics is also a contradiction to meta-criterion, because it denies the ontology that is above the state, and in a long-term becomes partial, relative and subjective (or radical as we see in the case of different secular totalitarian or oversimplified radical religious ideologies).

Scientific Novelty

The selected object of the dissertation (European metapolitics of the Holy See and Lithuania) is new, because no research has been done in this area. Church's metapolitics towards modern EU is new - the Holy See has initiated its coherent multilateral policy towards the European Communities only several decades ago (after the first trip to Poland on March 3 and upon establishment of separate institution of European Bishops - COMECE¹⁰). The peak of analysis on the Catholic Church metapolitics towards European Union was reached a decade ago during the drafting of the European Constitution (or Lisbon Treaty) decade ago. There are only a limited number of studies on Lithuania's strategic role inside the European Union – we have a lot of research on historic achievements of Lithuania before accession to the EU, however, the post-accession and the post-Lisbon period has not been essentially analyzed, especially its strategic dimension. A number of historical studies on the state of relations between the Holy See and Lithuania exist, but most of them do not reflect the metapolitical aspects of European integration.

Main Premises

Historic Role of Pope John Paul II. John Paul II has played crucial role in consolidating Western nations against communist regimes and unifying the European continent - by empowering the Catholic laity after the Second Vatican Council, inspiring oppressed Catholic nations, uniting main Western democracies (including the United States) to act decisively against all totalitarian regimes.

⁹ Ratzinger, J., p. 110

¹⁰ "Commissione degli Episcopati della Comunita Europea" (COMECE)

Historic Influence of Christianity. According to the official statistics of the Holy See¹¹ Catholic community is the largest religious denomination inside the European Union (46,47 %) and this number is growing¹². Christian communities and Christianity like a synthesis of Greek rationalism and humanism with Jewish monotheism has shaped the history of most of current EU member states. Renaissance has created a shift (metaphysics was declared dead) but calamities of totalitarian regimes soon has demonstrated the limits of secular ideologies. Christian metapolitics is currently back in European politics and struggling with relativism, skepticism, neo-liberalism, and other forms of postmodern xenophilia¹³ that are opening the doors for different forms of radicalism and gradually deconstructs the European Union.

Christian Metapolitics and Patriotism. John Paul II and Benedict XVI have made different emphasis on relations between patriotism and Christian belief, reflecting in their writings different historical periods. John Paul II was underlining organic link between patriotism and Christian metapolitics. However, Cardinal Ratzinger (and later Pope Benedict XVI) spoke about patriotism in terms of the past – as secular substitute for religion, so much popular in previous centuries, but out-fashioned in globalized world where traditional parochial, local, national or regional identities are disappearing and people are uniting more on the basis of postmodern interests or religious identities, when the borders of “objective” and “subjective” gradually evaporate and individual becomes more and more isolated. Pope Benedict XVI by taking the name of Benedict is preparing small, but strong Christian societies for resistance and survival in possible future world of “post-identity” - like Benedict of Nursia and his monastic communities did for another world in transition with motto to preserve what is best of the world’s civilizational accomplishment¹⁴.

¹¹ Annuario Statisticum Ecclesiae 2009, Secretaria Status Rationarium Generale Ecclesiae, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2009

¹² before last EU accession (in 2003) was 41%, new Catholic member Croatia in 2013 will improve these numbers even more

¹³ Degutis, Algirdas, *Deconstructing Postmodern Xenophilia*, the Journal of Aya Rand Studies 8, no. 1 (Fall 2006): 49-62

¹⁴ Žr. Weigel, George, *God’s Choice: Pope Benedict XVI and the Future of Catholic Church*, New York: Harper Perennial, 2006, 216

Economic and Social Aspects of Metapolitics of the Holy See. According to the Catholic Church's social doctrine every economic decision has a moral consequence, therefore Catholic Church rejects typical split-mindedness of neo-liberal economies, where morally neutral economic interest is detached from fundamental Christian values like solidarity or common good. Economy needs ethics to function correctly. Economy needs to take into account human dignity and integrity, the whole man and every man, because every economic activity is initiated by human and makes an impact on human beings. Human being is not just a consumer or producer, he is rational, social, moral and spiritual entity. Unfortunately, the EU was created like moral project, but gradually the main focus was moved towards quantitative, not qualitative progress, consumer interests and utilitarianism taking the central part of the EU agenda, self-restraint and clear rules of Maastricht criteria have been sacrificed for over-spending and over-consuming. Development requires a transcendent vision of human being. By rejecting any formal reference to this reality in Lisbon Treaty, the EU is leaning towards dehumanized form of development. The last economic and financial crisis is the consequence of shielding economy from "influences" of moral character that "led man to abuse the economic process in a thoroughly destructive way"¹⁵. Demise of metapolitical reality in the EU negatively impacts its social policy – the Catholic Church is criticizing economy of 24/7 that gradually isolates individual from its social environment, disrupts his relationship with the family, social and cultural entities, its local Church. Church's COMECE is advocating for robust EU social harmonization with clear solidarity towards poor and marginalized, though this line is being rejected by different more liberal EU member states, including new countries like Lithuania which is more afraid to lose competitiveness than social cohesion within the society. The EU has not yet developed any kind of family policy and as a consequence, according to George Weigel, the EU is currently undertaking one of the biggest demographic suicides (about 28 mln. abortions since 1990)¹⁶ and the current drop of population in Europe equals only plague black death in XIV century¹⁷.

¹⁵ Benedict XVI, *Ibid.*, 2009, par 35

¹⁶ Weigel G., *The Cube and the Cathedral: Europe, America, and Politics Without God*, Basic Books, New York, 2005, p.5-6

¹⁷ Ferguson, Niall, *Eurabia?*, New York Times Magazine, 2004 balandžio 4 d.

External Aspects of Church's Metapolitics. Both John Paul II and Benedict XVI have been encouraging the EU to be as active as possible on international arena. John Paul II was particularly active on the “moral imperative” for the EU to reunite with its Central Europe, including its Baltic part. After the EU enlargement was finally accomplished, the Catholic Church was urging the EU to be even more active on global stage – to shape the international order on the basis of solidarity and common good. It is important to note that Benedict XVI has a clear position also on the EU enlargement – Islam has never been part of Europe like cultural phenomenon (on the opposite, Europe has been partially created as an opposition towards Islam). In case the EU is seriously trying to take care of its internal cohesion and metapolitical unity, then the EU enlargement has to be limited to Christian states (Balkan and with some possible fallbacks also its Slavic Orthodox parts). Technocratic and post-identity EU is particular incapable of integrating more distant cultures, because by losing metapolitical dimension the EU has also lost its ability to grasp possible metapolitical unity with other cultures and religions (“Christianity has more in common with the other ancient cultures of mankind than with the relativistic and rationalistic world”¹⁸). The only natural consequence of such technocratic, legal, secular, “external” integration is further (religious and nationalistic) radicalization spreading currently quite dramatically inside the EU. Accordingly, Cardinal Ratzinger underlines that the current tension between Islam and Christianity in reality is the clash between two “pathologies of religion”¹⁹ – religious fundamentalism and radical Western secular rationality. Regarding common foreign and security policy matters both Popes have expressed very clear opposition to the Iraq war because “war is always a defeat for humanity”²⁰. Preventive war was also firmly rejected by Paul John II. He saw these actions as counterproductive, directly damaging ecumenical dialogue with Islam, also in contradiction with the doctrine of “just war”. Benedict XVI was less critical on Libya campaign, but even in this case he

¹⁸ Benedict XVI, *Day by Day with Pope Benedict XVI*, Edited by Rev. Peter John Cameron, Younkers, NY: Editor Magnificat, 2006, p.308

¹⁹ Ratzinger, Joseph, *Europe: Today and Tomorrow*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2007, p.80

²⁰ Nicholson J. *The United States and the Holy See: the Long Road*. Rome: Trenta Giorni Societa Cooperativa, 2004, p.70

was against divisive violence and hate, in favor of dialogue and diplomacy²¹, because any foreign policy action should contribute to human dignity, common good, solidarity and subsidiarity. The EU should also be even more active and open on development assistance and international trade, avoid contagious protectionism and egoism when two thirds of the world is still living in poverty that is in itself a proof of deficit of humanity²². EU development assistance should be more linked with “political criterion” (e.g. human rights, religious freedoms, democracy, rule of law), but in reality in 1996-2006 only 0,7% of the EU external budget has been devoted to human rights and democracy²³. The EU should show more solidarity with immigrants, though it should not be done at the expense of Christian values and beliefs.

What's the Added Value of Metapolitics to Lithuania? If the European Union is cultural phenomenon, then Christian metapolitics is contributing to the cohesion of the European Union, therefore Lithuania should be interested to maintain this metapolitical unity. The metapolitical dimension is important to keep EU external policies in line – this dimension was important during the latest EU enlargement to the Central European and Baltic States. Accordingly, Turkish membership is pending from 1963, and Catholic Croatia is acceding to the Union on 1 July 2013 (accession talks of both countries have started at the same time). Weakening of this metapolitical dimension is slowing down the enlargement process and well as the EU's strategic outreach and is strengthening tactical pragmatism of the EU external policy. When secular (or “pagan”) economic interests of different EU actors starts to dominate even on strategic level, including its alliances with third countries, more and more often running against common EU interest or common cultural identity of the EU.

Metapolitical dimension, on the opposite, is strengthening internal motivation and eagerness of the EU to enter into long-term relationship with those neighbouring countries which share the same cultural identity and play according to the same strategic

²¹ *Messagio Urbi et Orbi* del Santo Padre Benedetto XVI, Pasqua 2011, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/messages/urbi/documents/hf_ben-xvi_mes_20110424_urbi-easter_it.html

²² Dupuy A. *Pope John Paul II and the Challenges of Papal Diplomacy: Anthology (1978-2003)*, Vatican City: The Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, 2003, p.32

²³ *Getting Acquainted: Setting the Stage for Democracy Assistance: Democracy Support in the EU External Relations*, Brussels: Office for Promotion of Parliamentary Democracy, 2010, p.20

rules that are well known for Lithuania, even if tactical interests naturally differs. Christian metapolitics gives the EU global ambition and strategic direction that is also important for Lithuania as Western world is currently receiving a head wind from emerging autocracies competing for global influence and squeezing the number of democracies on a global scale for the 6th consequent year. The metapolitical EU with clear enlargement agenda and clear geopolitics and active transatlantic agenda could become an important global actor again. Christian metapolitics is also important to maintain EU's internal cohesion – common values create common political, legal, economic framework for common practical activity where Lithuania and its people can safely and freely exercise their will. The weakening of metapolitical dimension is opening the way for relativism and negative freedom inside the EU that in the longer run can threaten Lithuanian identity and statehood inside the EU, because negative freedom has no positive vision of human person or society²⁴; on the other hand, metapolitical dimension gives Lithuania positive metapolitical agenda that could consolidate Lithuania inside, regionally and in the framework of the EU. Christian metapolitics would also be beneficial in social and economic area as it would diminish social differentiation, alienation, corruption, strengthen social cohesion, improve demographic indicators, increase sense of personal responsibility, moderation, honesty; even current national priority – energy security – would be a difficult sell if only neoliberal and utilitarian arguments would be taken into account.

What could be Lithuania's European metapolitics like and to what extent the European metapolitics of Lithuania could comply with the principles of the European metapolitics? Modern Lithuania has no metapolitical tradition in European affairs. Lithuania's strategic attention, its current capacity to analyze strategically its involvement in European affairs is gradually diminishing as it turns to become more and more technocratic, process-driven and Brussels-oriented.

Metapolitical Dimension of Patriotism. Christian metapolitics has never been consistently implemented in Lithuania. In interwar Lithuania Christian Democrat rule

²⁴ Degutis, Algirdas, *Kaip galima liberalizmo tironija*, <http://www.versijos.com/2011/01/13/kaip-galima-liberalizmo-tironija-2/>, 2011. 01.13

was very short and quickly interrupted by autocratic regime in 1926, when Catholic political and social movements have been isolated and had to resist in underground. After the Soviet occupation the Church's outreach was still mostly limited within institutional framework of the Church, for example it is still not effectively active in education, health care, media and other areas of social or political life. Totalitarian regimes and secularism has limited an impact of the Catholic Church in Lithuania to strictly internal, personal sphere, detached from social or political reality. Soviet authorities have invested a lot into "pure" soviet patriotism having no links to Christian metapolitics, because Catholic communities in Lithuania have traditionally been the backbone of opposition to Soviet domination. The Church²⁵ was the only institution to resist the occupation on the ground through its entire duration. Popular distinction between "cosmopolitan" and "patriotic" narrative²⁶ also dismissed internal links between two concepts so much underlined by John Paul II. Initiative of "regional leadership" in post-accession Lithuania was launched in metapolitical vacuum, detached from old first of all Catholic Jagellonian tradition that was, according to John Paul II, also linked to the specific role of Vilnius in the region. Geopolitical tensions between Lithuania and Poland reflect the deficit of Christian metapolitics within patriotic identities of two nations once united into powerful empire. Accordingly, in a long term perspective it serves Russia's geopolitical ambitions in the region and threatens sovereignty and stability of both states. Lithuania's European metapolitics has to revive its old Jagellonian identity that would be instrumental in harmonizing Christian and patriotic identities currently divided by post-totalitarian split-mindedness and deliberate activities of neighbors of Lithuania. American model of double-helix (religion and religious freedom as the basis of modern liberal society where the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God – as opposed to the European model of zero sum game between religion and the state)²⁷ could be a guiding model for Lithuania.

Ecumenism is one of the most important aspects of Jagellonian identity. Secular neo-liberal identity professes complete "openness", but in reality can't be ecumenical

²⁵ with exception of Lithuanian diplomacy as the only state institution that has maintained its continuity abroad through entire period of Soviet occupation as well

²⁶ Bumblauskas, Alfredas, *Lietuvos etninės įtampos kaip didžiųjų istorinių naratyvų priešpriešos išdava*, p.4

²⁷ Howard, Thomas Albert. *The Dialectic and the Double Helix*. First Things, March 2011, p.25

because it denies its own identity as well as ontology and communicates with other cultures or religions only on secular, empirical level, therefore is incapable to transcend into the realm of metapolitical truth that can unite. Religious fundamentalism and secular nationalism are typical deviations of neo-liberal society as an oversimplifications or reactions to something unknown. Grand Duchy of Lithuania from its very founding was multicultural and ecumenical: Orthodox, Protestant, Jewish communities were allowed to comparatively peacefully co-exist with Catholic Church. Relicts of pagan religion were visible in local communities until the XIX century, and religious tolerance was guaranteed by law already in 1593. The main achievement of the first Republic in this area was the Union of Brest (1595) as it created the precedent of successful Christian integration, the unique and guiding example for any further ecumenical attempt. Russian Empire massively converted this ecumenical community (4800 parishes and 8 million believers converted until 1795)²⁸ back to Orthodox belief, helped by local nationalists protesting against the unity of the Church. Russia was also supporting autocratic nationalist regime (1926-1940) in Lithuania (as anti-Polish and anti-clerical, naturally anti-ecumenical). In the same context pagan, ethnical traditions have also been promoted by Soviets in occupied Lithuania. Ecumenism could again become an important principle of Lithuania's European metapolitics in the XXI century in the framework of the European integration, Europe's eastward enlargement and the EU – Russia relations. It could also have a positive impact on Lithuania's relations with its old partner - Jewish Community. The role of Vilnius and Lithuania as a birth place of ecumenical tradition could regain its metapolitical and geopolitical importance.

Human Dignity. Metapolitics of the Church is tightly linked with theological anthropology of the human being, his transcendental human dignity, deconstructed by neo-liberal tradition. Human personality without transcendental dignity loses its uniqueness, because then human being becomes absorbed by the anonymity of the secular collective. Human rights in Lithuania is based on purely legal foundations with no reference to ontology, accordingly, human rights are subjected to the abuse by relativism, populism, radicalism, economic pragmatism. There is no reference to human

²⁸ *Krikščionybės Lietuvoje istorija*, sud. Vytautas Ališauskas, Vilnius: Aidai, 2006, p.333

dignity in the main European policy documents of the Lithuanian government in the latest period of 2008-2013. The denial of transcendental human dignity in modern Lithuania's legal, political context is a result of secular materialism preached by Soviet regime for decades. Conservative political actors in Lithuania are also guided by secular political narratives open for easy and frequent deviation to neo-liberalism or even socialism²⁹. Politics in Lithuania is losing its humanity, because it is generally understood in technocratic, economic, instrumentalist terms. Human being is still more an instrument than a final goal of any political activity. Reduction of the notion of human dignity in society has contributed to low popularity of political elite in Lithuania. It has provoked tensions with social groups and minorities as well as neighboring states, increased emigration from the country. During his visit to Lithuania John Paul II has indicated repeatedly that the most important task today is to rebuild human personality, its humanity, its dignity and in this way to consolidate the foundations of society³⁰. Most "human" areas of government activity (e.g., culture, education, health care, social policy) have never been considered priority areas by local political elite.

Communitarianism is an interaction of common good as one of the main principles of Church's social doctrine as well as consequent metapolitical principles of solidarity and subsidiarity. Lithuania and majority of other Central European and Baltic States have created normative or elitist democracies³¹, but societies remain atomized, relativist, neo-liberal, having no clear metapolitical objectives. Accordingly citizens and their associations, communities are not taking an active part in politics. The state maintains its domination in areas where the involvement of communities would be more effective like education, health and social care, local governance. The state is constantly abusing principles of subsidiarity and solidarity. The distance between civil society and political elite is growing, participation in political parties and non-governmental organizations is diminishing. Conservative and Christian Democratic political leaders in their political programs have been declaring the restitution of strong community, but in reality families, communities have been the first victims of their neo-liberal politics,

²⁹ Žr. Jokubaitis, Alvydas, *Konservatizmo fenomenas*, rinkinys *Libertas & pietas: lietuviškas konservatizmas, antologija 1993-2010*, sud. Demokratinės politikos institutas, Vilnius 2010, p.106

³⁰ Ibid., Šventojo Tėvo kalba jaunimui Kaune, Dariaus ir Girėno stadione (Kaunas, 1993 m. kovo 6 d.)

³¹ *Demokratija Lietuvoje: pilietiškumas ir totalitarizmas XX amžiaus istorijos lūžiuose*, 2011, p.51

especially in the aftermath of economic and financial crisis. Organic Catholic communities (as the main source of “illogical humanity”³²) in Lithuania have been most active to resist authoritarian tendencies in Lithuania as well as fascist or soviet totalitarian regimes³³, but autocratic tendencies in interwar Lithuania, occupation period as well as neo-liberal period after the reestablishment of independence has weakened the civil society. Passive and alienated citizens have created atomized bystanders’ society with a strong elitist central authority, where values of communitarianism, solidarity and subsidiarity are not among most popular. Budget cuts in education, culture, social sphere will have long-term negative effects on communitarianism in Lithuania. The Catholic Church in Lithuania should also transcend its institutional framework and actively engage into social life in Lithuania. Private Catholic schools, hospitals, different Christian lay organizations, media, cultural activities should be in Church’s focus in modern Lithuanian society as it has to compete with more powerful and attractive neoliberal narratives. Lithuania has no credible and long-term family policy. Institution of marriage has even been challenged by the Constitutional Court, family is not a priority in Lithuania³⁴, fertility rate in Lithuania is dropping, number of divorces constantly growing. The role of local governance in Lithuania is also very limited and being further diminished. The effect of EU funds was limited in most “human” areas in Lithuania. The charity level in Lithuania is among the lowest in the EU. The overall level of development assistance has decreased dramatically after economic and financial crisis. Lithuania’s policy on the EU external trade has been mostly qualified as protectionist. Similar is the attitude on migration. Lithuania’s international military participation is quite active, but has no links to metapolitical principles.

³² *Nerimas: svarbiausių humanitarinių ir socialinių grėsmių bei jų pasekmių Lietuvai išvalgos*, Vilnius: Tyto alba, 2012, p.54

³³ *Demokratija Lietuvoje: pilietiškumas ir totalitarizmas XX amžiaus istorijos lūžiuose*, 2011, p.157

³⁴ <http://www.scribd.com/doc/22418149/Report-Evolution-on-the-Family-in-Europe-2009>

Main Conclusions

1. Both Popes – John Paul II and Benedict XVI – have been trying to revive the ability of Europe to perceive itself *ontologically*, not only as a geographical, but first of all as a *cultural and historic concept*, taking into account fundamental religious and moral principles that have shaped the European continent through centuries. Because of inherent harmony between ratio and fides the Christian tradition rewards the European politics and rationality with metapolitical or moral dimension that directs the politics towards fundamental religious and moral values, common good as opposed to partial, material, sectorial, hedonistic, consumer-oriented, individualistic, pragmatic interests.
2. The most important principles of Christian metapolitics are *human dignity, common good, solidarity, subsidiarity*. Guided by these principles the Catholic Church is not trying to prescribe concrete political action, but rather provide metapolitical direction.
3. The Catholic Church has made the *biggest impact* on Europe's development as it is the only institution in Europe that is functioning without interruption more than 2000 years. Any other institution or organization cannot even compare with Catholic Church by the continuity and its contribution to the European culture. On the other hand, modern technocratic European Union is losing its Christian identity, denies most organic element of its identity, and ignores the role of Christianity in creating and unifying Europe. The European Union has become essentially Christophobic, accordingly its ability to project its internal and external policy strategically or metapolitically is deteriorating.
4. The European Union and Lithuania without Christian metapolitics is losing its strategic integrity, sense of direction. "Pragmatism" or "accommodation" in Lithuania's European policy reflects the main focus of Lithuanian political elite on tactics rather than long-term strategy in the region and EU. Lithuania today enjoys in full its *negative freedom* inside the EU, when proper functionality, status, its external evaluation, the process itself is becoming more important than the content of the

choice. Technocratic decisions are being taken on behalf of Lithuania without deep strategic streamlining and with no regard to positive metapolitical principles “in which the whole of man and of the world is always at stake”. In a long term it might threaten the sovereignty of Lithuania, because internal and external interests, powerful regional players that are using the EU as their own instrument will exploit Lithuania as one more object of their policies. Acting only on tactical, managerial or technocratic level Lithuania is losing its subjectivity as an active actor of European or regional metapolitics. Management makes things better, leadership makes good things.

5. European metapolitics provides an opportunity for Lithuania to *use its freedom positively* inside the EU – it would allow Lithuania to preserve its political and cultural identity, its strategic role in the region and the EU. In social and economic context Christian metapolitics would consolidate integrity and solidarity of Lithuanian society, individual and social responsibility, empower communities, reduce social differentiation and exclusion.
6. The main principles of Lithuania’s European metapolitics are: *metapolitical dimension of patriotism, ecumenism, human dignity, communitarianism*.
7. Lithuania has to *restore metapolitical dimension of patriotism*. Secular totalitarian regimes of the XX century detached patriotism from its metapolitical dimension, promoting distorted image of nationalism (fascist, social or ethnic) by annihilating human dignity, absorbing individual into allegedly higher and holier secular collective organism. John Paul II has introduced the notion of patriotism as devotion, metapolitical mission that each nation is performing in solidarity with other nations in the context of global salvation.
8. John Paul II underlines the role of Vilnius as an example of harmonious co-existence of different nations and religions, as well as specific regional Jagiellonian identity

that is most defined like multiplicity and pluralism, multiculturalism³⁵ and tolerance, and most importantly – *ecumenism* – as a religious tradition invented inside Grand Duchy of Lithuania and then transmitted to the whole territory of first Republic. During his pontificate John Paul II promoted this old regional tradition to the global scene. Declined ecumenism and growing secular nationalism created deep rivalries inside the Republic that were finally used by external enemies to destroy the common state.

9. *Human dignity* is another fundamental principal of Lithuania's European metapolitics. Integral, patriotic, strong and spiritual personality must be a priority objective of Lithuanian authorities. Investments into education, culture, strong family and grassroots community, associations, local municipalities, non-governmental organizations, social policy and health care have to become finally a reality. Unfortunately, areas that are most related to the development of human dignity in Lithuania have been always treated as secondary and non-important. Continuous disrespect to human dignity in Lithuania has contributed to the low levels of support to parliamentary democracy, political parties, rule of law, human rights. It has created a favorable context for radicalism and populism, unnecessary tensions with minorities in Lithuania and with neighboring countries, it has also contributed to dramatic emigration numbers.

10. *Communitarianism* – one of the most important principles of Lithuania's European metapolitics. As the member of the community human being shares the responsibility for his neighbor, community, state, region and the world. Human dignity and integrity is most exposed through relation with the other. Communitarianism is also closely related with subsidiarity and solidarity – two other main metapolitical principles of Catholic Church. Communitarianism is being expressed through the respect of marriage and family, as a basic cell in the formation of larger communities, promotion of local communities, associations, strengthening of civil society, education and culture, charity, development and international solidarity. Since

³⁵ Provided that it exists with clear points of reference based on one's own values and heritage

independence Lithuania as many other Central European states has managed to create formal, normative, elitist democracies, without active participation of its citizens and communities. Atomized mob, created by the soviet occupation, was traumatized again by liberalism and negative freedom promoted by post-Christian EU and neo-liberal reforms of more or less all Lithuanian governments. Metapolitical principles of human dignity and communitarianism would contribute to the re-establishment of the sense of positive responsibility and action.

Reziუმė lietuvių kalba

Šioje disertacijoje gilinasi į Šventojo Sosto Europos metapolitiką kaip ją suprato du paskutiniai Bažnyčios Popiežiai bei kritiškai įvertinamas strateginis Lietuvos Europos politikos lygmuo. Disertacijoje siūloma viena iš galimų Lietuvos buvimo Europoje strateginių vizijų – Lietuvos Europos metapolitika.

Iki įstojimo pati narystė Europos Sąjungoje buvo tapusi savaiminiu tikslu, dėl kurio sutarė visos pagrindinės Lietuvos politinės jėgos, tačiau po įstojimo sutarimas dėl strateginių buvimo Europos Sąjungoje tikslų iš esmės taip ir nebuvo rastas. Deklaruojamas Lietuvos tolesnis įsitvirtinimas Europos Sąjungoje šiuo metu suvokiamas kaip sektorinis, technokratinis, funkcionalistinis tikslas, tačiau iki šiol Lietuva nėra susifomavusi savo strateginės buvimo Europoje vizijos, dabartinis Lietuvos veikimas Europos Sąjungoje neturi strateginio vientisumo, dažnai grindžiamas vienadieniais taktiniais sprendimais. Lietuva naudojasi visais technokratiniais buvimo Europos Sąjungoje privalumais, skęsta materialiose horizontalaus buvimo Europos Sąjungoje detalėse, tačiau iki šiol nėra bandžiusi savo veiklą Europos Sąjungoje įvertinti vertikaliu pjūviu, metafiziškai, kaip jau kelis tūkstančius metų Europą ir pasaulį vertina Katalikų Bažnyčia - vienintelė institucija Europoje, kuri nepertraukiamai veikia ištisisus kelis tūkstančių metų, ir kuriai jokia kita institucija ar organizacija Europoje savo tęstinumu bei indėliu į Europos kūrimą prilygti negali.

Šios disertacijos **tyrimo objektas** – Šventojo Sosto bei Lietuvos Europos metapolitika.

Pagrindinė disertacijoje **nagrinėjama problema** yra Lietuvos Europos metapolitikos ir visos Lietuvos užsienio politikos vertybinės orientacijos neapibrėžtumas. Kelis metus po įstojimo į Europos Sąjungą Lietuva garsėjo savo „vertybine“ politika, tačiau jos vertybinis turinys nebuvo aiškus tiek Lietuvos Europos politikos kritikams, tiek patiems vykdytojams. Remiantis katalikiška tradicija vertybės, kuriomis vadovujamasi veikiant užsienio ar Europos politikoje, turi būti racionaliai suvoktos bei susietos su krikščioniška metapolitika, kadangi katalikiškoje tradicijoje protas, tikėjimas ir meilė sudaro vientisą pasaulėžiūrą. Darbe bandoma suprasti kodėl Lietuvai svarbu sukurti savo metapolitiką, kokią naudą Lietuvai, jos sekuliariems

piliečiams duotų metapolitika, besiremianti krikščioniška tradicija, kokia galėtų būti Lietuvos Europos metapolitika.

Pagrindinis šios disertacijos **tikslas** yra atsakyti į klausimą „kokia galėtų būti Lietuvos Europos metapolitika?“. Siekiant atsakyti į šį pagrindinį klausimą darbe bandoma atsakyti į du klausimus, kurie kartu yra šio darbo **uždaviniai**: kokia yra Šventojo Sosto³⁶ Europos metapolitika? Koku mastu Lietuvos Europos metapolitika galėtų atitikti Šventojo Sosto Europos metapolitikos principus?

Darbai pasirinkta tema yra **nauja**. Šventojo Sosto požiūris į Europos Sąjungą kaip tema yra savaime nauja, kadangi Bažnyčia, nepaisant to, jog jos poveikis Europai ilgalaikis ir unikalus, pradėjo sąmoningai, tiesioginiai ir sistemingi analizuoti, vertinti Europą kaip Europos Bendriją (o vėliau ir Europos Sąjungą) tik prieš kelis dešimtmečius. Lietuvos autorių darbuose daugiausiai tyrinėjami istoriniai Šventojo Sosto – Lietuvos santykių aspektai, taip pat sektorinės Lietuvos narystės Europos Sąjungoje problemos, bet ne strateginė ar metapolitinė Europos politikos visuma.

Šio tyrimo negalima išsprasti į griežtus vienos ar kitos akademinės disciplinos **metodologinius** rėmus. Aptariant Šventojo Sosto požiūrį į Europos Sąjungą bei Lietuvos Europos metapolitiką būtinos Europos integracijos, religijos filosofijos, teologijos, socialinių mokslų, politikos mokslų žinios. Savo ruožtu, metafizinė Bažnyčios veikimo prigimtis neleidžia jos poveikio, požiūrio į Europos Sąjungą tirti tik per vieną iš pasaulietinių metodologijų - jos poveikis yra platus, siekiant jį tinkamai įvertinti reikia bandyti išvelgti šio poveikio visumą. Tyrimo metu naudojamas analitinis metodas, tiriami Katalikų Bažnyčios, paskutinių Popiežių darbai, analitiniai darbai apie jų veiklą bei pozicijas, kurių pagrindu bandoma įvertinti Bažnyčios požiūrio į Europos Sąjungą visumą bei Lietuvos Europos metapolitiką. Metapolitika šiame darbe nėra suprantama kaip metalingvistinė politinių tyrimų normatyvinės kalbos, pačios politikos ar politinių ideologijų³⁷ analizė ar metalingvistinis kalbėjimas apie postmodernias individo³⁸ ir valstybės santykio studijas, arba fundamentalūs pačios valstybės ir politikos

³⁶ Apsiribojant paskutiniųjų dviejų pontifikų (Jono Paulius II ir Benedikto XVI) laikotarpiu

³⁷ P.vz. Viereck, Peter, *Metapolitics From Wagner to and the German Romantics to Hitler*, New Edition, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2004, ar kitos studijos apie fašizmą, komunizmą, kapitalizmą ir pan.

³⁸ P.vz. Foucault darbai apie subjektą kaip socialinį konstrukta, kuriam atvėrė kelius tiek Marksas, tiek Froidas, kvestionuodami subjekto autonomiškumą, integralumą, metafiziškumą, tokiu būdu palengva dekonstruodami subjektą

reikalingumo tyrimai³⁹. Popiežiai metapolitiką supranta ne kaip polilogą apie mūsų kalbėjimą apie politiką ar tuo labiau ne kaip postmodernų būdą dekonstruoti subjektą kaip kertinį metafizikos konceptą ir paaiškinti jį kaip įvairių politinių ar socialinių santykių rezultata, bet atvirkščiai – kaip būdą įtvirtinti ontologinę realybę politikoje, kaip būdą sugrąžinti į politiką transcendentinę prigimtį turintį žmogų, integralų politiką, atstovaujantį dievišką žmogiškumą kasdieninėje politikoje. Metapolitika - tai pasipriešinimas kasdienybei, subjektyvumui, plačiai paplitusiam konsensusui dėl „nemąstymo politikos kaip vienintelio mąstymo būdo“ [la non-pensée comme pensée unique“]⁴⁰, politinės visuomenės reliatyvizmui ar pliuralizmui, kuomet objektyvi tiesa išjuokiamą kaip „banalybė“, „dogma“, „abstrakcija“⁴¹. Badiou metapolitiką kildina iš platonizmo, kuriame politika buvo tiesiogiai susijusi su tiesa ir dvasine realybe, tuo tarpu dabartinė „parlamentinės demokratijos“ politika yra kilusi iš sofizmo, kuomet bet kokia nuomonė yra laikoma lygiavertė, nesvarbu, ar ji yra tiesa ar ne. Kaip taikliai pastebėjo Badiou, dabartiniai politikai tampa tik pasyvūs einamųjų reikalų komentatoriai, o pati politika - „kolektyviniu laikraščių skaitymu“⁴², politika praranda savo intelektualumą, metafizinę išmintį.

Esminės išvados

Abu Popiežiai siekė atkurti Europos gebėjimą save matyti *ontologiškai* - atkurti Europos kūrėjų gebėjimą pažvelgti į Europos Sąjungą ne tik proto, bet ir tikėjimo akimis. Popiežių teigimu, krikščioniškas tikėjimas apdovanoja politinį protą ar politiką metapolitine arba moraline dimensija: esminėmis vertybėmis, kuriomis turi vadovautis Europos Sąjunga. Katalikų Bažnyčios nuomone, metapolitika – tai politika, sutelkta į būties esmę, pamatinių vertybių realizavimą, bendrąjį gėrį, o ne į dalinius, materialius, sektorinius, hedonistinius, vartotojiškus, individualius, pragmatinius interesus.

Vieni svarbiausių krikščioniškos metapolitikos principų yra transcendentinis *žmogaus orumas, bendrasis gėris, solidarumas, subsidiarumas*. Vadovaudamasi šiais

³⁹ Nozick, Robert. 1968. *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. New York: Basic Book, kurioje autorius kelia klausimus apie pačios valstybės reikalingumą, iš esmės priešpastatydamas šį metapolitinį klausimą politinei filosofijai, kuri pagrindžia valstybės reikalingumą, žr. Leo Zaibert, *Toward Meta-politics*, The quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics vol.7, No.4 (Winter 2004): 113–12

⁴⁰ Badiou, Alain, *Metapolitics*, London, New York: Verso, 2005, p.8

⁴¹ Badiou, A., 2005, p.14

⁴² Ibid., p.15

principais Bažnyčia nesistengia nurodyti konkrečių visuomenės vystymosi kelių, tačiau šie metapolitiniai principai gali lemti programinę politikos kryptį.

Katalikų Bažnyčia padarė didžiausią įtaką Europos formavimuisi, tai vienintelė institucija Europoje, kuri nepertraukiamai veikia ištisus du tūkstančių metų, ir kuriai jokia kita institucija ar organizacija Europoje savo tęstinumu bei indėliu į Europos kultūrą prilygti negali⁴³. Savo ruožtu, dabartinė technokratinė Europos Sąjunga praranda savo krikščionišką tapatumą, neigia labiausiai jos identitetą įtakojusį konstitutyvų krikščionišką elementą, ignoruoja krikščionybės vaidmenį kuriant ir vienijant Europą. *Europos Sąjunga tapo iš esmės kristofobinė*, atitinkamai ji prarado ir gebėjimą strategiškai, metapolitiškai vertinti ir projektuoti tiek Europos Sąjungos vidaus, tiek išorinį veikimą.

Dabartinės Europos negebėjimas metapolitinę realybę „atstovauti“, ją suprasti, perteikti, susieti su kasdienine politika ir verčia Europą „nulipti nuo scenos“, nes Europa buvo sukurta remiantis metafiziniu krikščionišku paveldu. Popiežių manymu, palengva atsisakius šios metafizinės realybės po Prancūzijos revoliucijos Europa atsisakė ir savo pačios esmės, be kurios Europa kaip Europa neturi ateities, gyvybingumo. Ratzingerio nuomone, šiuolaikinė sekuliari politika – tai sugrįžimas į „graikišką“, „ikikrikščionišką“ pasaulį, nes šiuolaikinėje politikoje nepripažįstamas ryšys tarp proto ir tikėjimo, yra atmetamas „klasikinio krikščioniškas moralinis mąstymas“, atsiduodama „moksliniam, techniniam, matematiniam“ mąstymui, tokiu būdu „mitologizuojamas pažangos, mokslo, laisvės ar išsilaisvinimo supratimas“⁴⁴. Krikščionis – integralus žmogus, dvasinė būtybė, pasižymintis moraline išmintimi, ir galintis veikti metapolitiškai, nes tokiu būdu veikiant susivienija protas, tikėjimas, jausmai, valia; žmogus protas „randa atsakymus apie gyvenimą ir mirtį, visuomenę ir patį save, dabartį ir ateitį“⁴⁵. Tuo tarpu dabartinis Vakarų žmogus mato pasaulį vienpusiškai - „protas specifinėse siaurose srityse išvysto nenormalią jėgą bei galimybes <...> šio vystymosi rezultatas – nesveikas pernelyg didelis techninių ir pragmatinių žinių vystymasis šalia paraleliai nykstančios esminės, fundamentalios išminties, ir balansas tarp jų pažeistas tokiu būdu, kad gali būti fatališkas

⁴³ Katalikų Bažnyčia dabartinėje Europos Sąjungoje yra didžiausia religinė bendruomenė, visose Europos Sąjungos šalyse krikščionys sudaro daugumą

⁴⁴ Ratzinger, Joseph, *Europe: Today and Tomorrow*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2007, p.61

⁴⁵ Ratzinger, Joseph. *Truth and Tolerance: Christian Belief and World Religions*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2004, p.142

žmogaus žmogiškumui“⁴⁶. Tokį save apribojantį dabartinį Vakarų žmogaus protą Ratzingeris vadina „amputuotu protu“⁴⁷ arba siela, kuri žiūrėdama į mišką „mato medžius ar medieną, bet nebemato visumos“⁴⁸.

Materializmas ir ateizmas pagimdė totalitarines ideologijas, greitai įrodžiusias Europos be krikščioniškos metapolitikos ribotumą. Tiek komunizmas, tiek fašizmas ar nacizmas – yra tik radikaliausios šio išplitusio mąstymo apraiškos, kurių valstybines formas pavyko nugalėti XX amžiuje, tačiau „žmogus be Dievo“ ir toliau išlieka esminė europietį apibrėžianti kategorija. Komunizmo žlugimas XX amžiuje nėra pabaiga – ateityje atsiras naujos marksizmo formos, nes šiuolaikinis žmogus vis dar negali susitaikyti, jog šio pasaulio nepavyko sutvarkyti pagal „griežtai mokslinius metodus“, atsisakius metapolitikos. Nors tokie autoriai kaip A.Pagden, Jacques Derrida iškelia reliatyvizmą bei pliuralizmą kaip išskirtinį Europos bruožą⁴⁹, įtvirtinantį Europos hegemoniją pasaulyje, tačiau abu Popiežiai laiko tai Europos kultūros saulėlydžiu. Ratzingeris pastebi, kad dabartinis Vakarų postmetafizinis reliatyvizmas stebėtinaai sutampa ne tik su pagonybe⁵⁰, bet ir su Azijos negatyviaja teologija⁵¹, t.y. net ir filosofiniame – teologiniame lygyje Europa pamažu atsiveria Rytams būdingai pasaulėžiūrai, kuri, savo ruožtu, dažniausiai būna tiesiogiai susijusi su totalitarinėmis ideologijomis⁵². Madingas susižavėjimas kitomis kultūromis ir religijomis Europoje, savosios – krikščioniškos - kultūros savotiškas neigimas panašiai kaip Romos Imperijos žlugimo išvakarėse atveria kelius barbarų įsiveržimui.

Ratzingerio teigimu, nors Europos integracijos tėvai-kūrėjai bendrą krikščionišką paveldą naudojo kaip esminį branduolį vienijant tautines valstybes į bendrą darinį, nors europietiškas gyvenimo ir net mąstymo būdas užkariavo Afriką ir Aziją, visą pasaulį, tačiau šiandien „atrodo, jog Europos vertybių pasaulis, jos kultūra bei jos tikėjimas, kuriuo remiasi Europos identitetas, priėjo liepto galą ir pasitraukė nuo scenos“⁵³.

⁴⁶Ratzinger, J., 2004, p.142

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.158

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 161

⁴⁹ *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. by Anthony Pagden, Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center, 2002, p.12

⁵⁰ Šiuolaikinis žmogus linkęs pasikliauti magija, destrukcija bei anarchija kuriančiais ryšiais su užslėptomis jėgomis, kadangi nyksta riba tarp realybės ir individo sąmonės ar pasąmonės

⁵¹ Ratzinger, J., 2004, p. 121

⁵² kadangi čia ištirpsta ne tik objektyvi realybė, bet ir pagal Kristaus atvaizdą sukurta individuali ir nepakartojama asmenybė

⁵³ Ratzinger J., 2004, p.19

Šiandien Europos kultūra galima vadinti nebent jos ekonomiką, prekybą ar techninę pažangą, tačiau dvasinio matmens ji jau nebeturi. Europa neturi ir gyvenimo energijos, neturi ateities, Europa prarado savo dvasinį pasaulimą, kuris ją vedė ištisus amžius. Net ir vertinant geopolitiškai – dėl savo dvasinio skurdo, dėl koncentravimosi tik į ekonominių, bet ne į politinių, moralinių ar dvasinių atgimimą, Ratzingerio nuomone, Europa po II pasaulinio karo iš esmės „pralaimėjo“ tiek JAV, tiek Sovietų Sąjungai, kurios ėmė dominuoti pasaulyje⁵⁴.

Atsakant į klausimą ar įmanoma universali (nebūtinai krikščioniška) metapolitika reikia pažymėti, kad visų religijų sintezė ar integracija⁵⁵ nėra įmanoma. Lygiai taip negali būti įvairių religijų metapolitikų, nes tokių atvejų paneigiamas pats meta-kriterijus. Kiekviena valstybė ar tauta gali ir turi turėti savo metapolitiką⁵⁶, tačiau jie neturi paneigti universalios krikščioniškos ontologijos ir, atitinkamai, globalinių krikščionybės principų, nes tokiu atveju metapolitika praras savo ontologiškumą. Taigi, kokia galėtų būti **Lietuvos Europos metapolitika** ? Koku mastu Lietuvos Europos metapolitika galėtų atitikti Šventojo Sosto Europos metapolitikos principus? Kodėl Lietuvai svarbu sukurti savo metapolitiką ?

Be krikščioniškos metapolitikos tiek Europos Sąjunga, tiek Lietuva praranda savo strateginį vientisumą, integralumą, vidaus ir išorės politikų strateginį kryptingumą. Akomoduojanti ar „pragmatinė“ Lietuvos politika yra negebėjimas kovoti už pačios Lietuvos metapolitinius interesus Europos Sąjungoje bei regione. Lietuva šiuo metu Europos Sąjungoje naudoja *negatyviają laisvę*, kurios esmė – pats pasirinkimo procesas iškeliamas aukščiau pasirinkimo turinio. Technokratiniai sprendimai Lietuvos Europos politikos rėmuose daromi neatsižvelgiant į metapolitinius Lietuvos Europos politikos principus, jų visumą. Tai sukelia grėsmę Lietuvos suverenitetui, kadangi vidinės išcentrinės bei išorinės jėgos bei interesai, galingi regioniniai geopolitiniai žaidėjai, besinaudojantys Europos Sąjunga kaip instrumentu savo tikslams pasiekti, tokiu atveju Lietuvą naudoja kaip savo politikos objektą ar instrumentą, Lietuva praranda savo Europos bei visos užsienio politikos subjektiškumą.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 32

⁵⁵ ypač, jeigu ji vyksta aukojant esminius krikščioniškos ontologijos principus

⁵⁶ kadangi kiekviena tauta, anot Jono Pauliaus II, turi savo pasaulimą, prigimtį, ontologinį paveldą - atitinkamai ir „savus“ metapolitikos bruožus

Europos metapolitika suteikia Lietuvai galimybę sąmoningai pasirinkti pozityvią, o ne negatyvią laisvę. *Pozityvi laisvė* Europos Sąjungoje leistų Lietuvai išsaugoti savo politinį ir kultūrinį identitetą, suteiktų svarų vaidmenį regione ir Europos Sąjungoje. Savo ruožtu, socialinėje bei ekonominėje plotmėje krikščioniška metapolitika sustiprintų visuomenės integralumą, solidarumą, asmeninę ir bendruomeninę atsakomybę, sumažintų socialinę diferenciaciją.

Pagrindiniai Lietuvos Europos metapolitikos principai yra šie: katalikiškumo ir tautiškumo sintezė, ekumeniškumas, žmogaus orumas ir bendruomeniškumas.

Lietuva turėtų *atstatyti metapolitinę patriotizmo dimensiją*. Giliau suvokti jungtį tarp katalikiškumo bei tautiškumo trukdo abiejų XX amžiaus sekuliarių totalitarinių režimų pėdsakai tautos atmintyje, kuomet buvo bandoma sukurti iškreiptą patriotizmo versiją, anihiliuoti metafizinį žmogaus orumą, absorbuoti individą į tariamai aukštesnį bei šventesnį sekuliarų kolektyvinį darinį, bandant visapusiškai ištrinti sąsajas tarp patriotizmo bei religinio pašaukimo. Bažnyčios tradicijoje, kurią nuosekliai plėtojo Jonas Paulius II, patriotizmas yra suvokiamas kaip pašaukimas, misija, kurią kiekviena tauta vykdo bendrame pasaulio išganymo kontekste.

Jonas Paulius II pabrėžia ypatingą Vilniaus kaip įvairių tautų bei religijų harmoningo sugyvenimo pavyzdį bei išskiria „jogailaitišką“ šio regiono identitetą, kurio esminės savybės yra „daugialypiškumas ir pliuralizmas, o ne apsiribojimas ir užsidarymas“. Vienas iš svarbiausių „jogailaitiško“ identiteto aspektų bei Lietuvos Europos metapolitikos politikos principų – tai *ekumeniškumas*, kuris iki pat XVIII amžiaus pabaigos buvo viena svarbiausių LDK, visos Abiejų tautų respublikos tradicijų. Jonas Paulius II savo pontifikato metu šį jogailaitišką principą išaukštino visos universalios Bažnyčios mastu. Sumažėjus ekumenizmo dvasiai senojoje respublikoje buvo sukurtos galimybės giliems geopolitiniams prieštaravimams, kuriais iš karto pasinaudojo išorės priešai, ilgainiui sunaikinę ir pačią Lietuvos ir Lenkijos valstybę.

Žmogaus orumas yra taip pat esminis Lietuvos Europos metapolitikos principas. Integuota, patriotiška, stipri ir dvasinga asmenybė turi tapti svarbiausiu, o ne paskutiniu Lietuvos politinės valdžios tikslu. Investicijos į švietimą, moralinį auklėjimą, stiprią šeimą, stiprią bendruomenę, asociacijas, nevyriausybinės organizacijas, vietinę savivalda, socialinę bei sveikatos politiką turi tapti realia, o ne deklaruojama politika. Žmogaus orumo sunykimas Lietuvos politikoje prisidėjo prie Lietuvos piliečių

nusivylimo parlamentine demokratija, nepasitikėjimo partijomis, teisėtvara, valdžia, radikalumo ir populizmo didėjimo, kas natūraliai padidino įtampą ir su mažumomis, kaimyninėmis valstybėmis, susilpnino Lietuvos užsienio politikos ekumenišką matmenį, prisidėjo ir prie didėjančios emigracijos iš šalies. Iš esmės sritys, kurios yra arčiausiai žmogaus, Lietuvoje yra dar vis nereformuotos arba nepakankamai reformuotos.

Bendruomeniškumas – vienas svarbiausių Lietuvos Europos metapolitikos politikos principų. Būdamas bendruomenės narys žmogus dalijasi atsakomybe už savo artimą, bendruomenę ir pasaulį. Būtent santykiyje su kitu asmeniu, bendruomene, atsikleidžia žmogaus orumas, jo integralumas. Iš bendruomeniškumo kyla ir kiti svarbūs metapolitiniai principai – kaip solidarumas bei subsidiarumas. Atitinkamai - ir pagarba šeimai kaip pagrindinei bendruomenės ląstelei, vietinėms bendruomenėms, asociacijoms, sudarančioms pilietinės visuomenės pamatą, stipresnei savivaldai, švietimui, kultūrai, labdarai bei tarptautinio solidarumo plėtrai. Lietuvoje per dvidešimt nepriklausomybės metų sukurtas tik išorinis normatyvinis demokratijos statinys – demokratija vis dar yra elitinis projektas, kuriame aktyviai nedalyvauja nei Lietuvos piliečiai, nei bendruomenės. Vieniųjų minia, sukurta sovietinio režimo, atsidūrusi liberalių reformų sukuryje patiria visus negatyvios laisvės privalumus bei trūkumus, bet neprisiima pozityvios atsakomybės.

Curriculum vitae

Žygimantas Pavilionis was born in Vilnius, Lithuania on July 22, 1971. He is married, has four sons. In 1989 he entered Vilnius University, Faculty of Philosophy, and accomplished these studies in 1993 by receiving Bachelor Degree and in 1995 - Master's Degree in Philosophy. In 1992-1994 he has also studied at the Institute of International Relations and Political Sciences (IIRPS) at Vilnius University and received Postgraduate Diploma in International Relations and Political Sciences.

In 1996-1999 he has started his PhD studies at IIRPS, interrupted by diplomatic posting in Brussels and later diplomatic activities at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lithuania. He has renewed these studies in 2010. During this period Ž.Pavilionis had numerous vocational studies: in Università per stranieri (Perugia, Italia, 1993, Diploma in Italian Language and Culture), Clingendael Institute of International Relations (the Hague, the Netherlands, 1994, Diploma in International Relations, Security and European Integration), Centre de linguistique applique, Universite de Franche-Comte (Besancon, France, 1997, Diploma in French Language and Culture), Free University of Brussels (Brussels, Belgium, 2000, Diploma in German Language), Ecole national d'administration / ENA (Paris, France, 2004, Diploma in Role and Functions of Chief of Mission), Lithuania's Institute of Public Administration / LIVADIS (2005, Diploma in Leadership Training). During this period he has also published several academic publications (see the list attached).

Ž.Pavilionis has an uninterrupted diplomatic career of twenty years at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania since 1993: Third Secretary of West European Division (1993-1994), Assistant of Political Director (1994-1995), First Secretary, European Correspondent and Acting Head of Political Cooperation Division, European Integration Department (1995-1999), Counselor and Co-Secretary of EU-Lithuania Association Council at the Permanent Mission to the European Communities (1999-2001), Co-Secretary of the EU-Lithuania Accession Conference (2000-2002), Deputy Chief

Negotiator of Lithuania for the EU accession and Director of European Integration Department (2002-2003), Director of European Union Department (2004-2005), Political Director (2004-2008), Deputy Head, Commission for Security of Energy Supply after 2009 (2008), Deputy Head, Working Group for Evaluation of Totalitarian Crimes at the EU Level (2008-2009), Undersecretary for European and Security policies, Energy Security (2006-2009), Ambassador-at-Large, Chief Coordinator for Lithuania's Presidency of the Community of Democracies and Transatlantic Relations (2009-2010), since 2010 and currently - Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America and Mexico (since 2011).

Ž.Pavilionis is a founder of several non-governmental organizations: Lithuanian Association of Atlantic Treaty, European Movement of Lithuania, Lithuanian German Forum. He was an active member of Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party (Leader of Young Christian Democrats, 1993-1997), currently he is a member of Homeland Union Christian Democrats of Lithuania. He is fluent in English, Russian, French, Italian, learning Spanish, German, his hobby - Tae Kwon Do martial arts.

Decorations: Knight's Cross of the Order of Merits to Lithuania, Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland, Knight's Cross of the Order of Oranje-Nassau by Kingdom of the Netherlands, Commander's Cross of the Order of Leopold II by Kingdom of Belgium, The Mark Palmer Prize.

Gyvenimo, kūrybinės ir mokslinės veiklos aprašymas

Žygimantas Pavilionis gimė 1971 m. liepos 22 d. Vilniuje, vedęs turi keturis vaikus. 1989–1995 m.m. studijavo Vilniaus Universiteto (VU) Filosofijos fakultete, įgijo filosofijos bakalauro ir magistro laipsnius. 1992–1994 studijavo VU Tarptautinių santykių ir politikos mokslų institute (TSPMI), kur įgijo tarptautinių santykių ir politikos mokslų specialisto diplomą. 1996 - 1999 iniciavo VU TSPMI doktorantūros studijas, kurias laikinai atidėjo dėl paskyrimo diplomatiniam darbui į Briuselį koordinuoti derybas dėl narystės ES. Doktorantūros studijos buvo atnaujintos 2010 m.

Ž.Pavilionis be pagrindinių studijų taip pat tobulinosi Perudžos Užsieniečių universitete (Italija, 1993, Italijos kalbos ir kultūros diplomas), Klingendaelio Tarptautinių santykių institute (Nyderlandai, 1994, Tarptautinių santykių, saugumo ir Europos integracijos diplomas), Prancūzijos Franche-Comte Universiteto Taikomosios lingvistikos centre (1997, Prancūzų kalkbos ir kultūros diplomas), Laisvajame Briuselio universitete (Belgija, 2000, Vokiečių kalbos diplomas), Prancūzijos Nacionalinėje administracijos mokykloje / ENA (2004, Diplomatinės atstovybės vadovo vaidmuo ir funkcijos, diplomas), Millefeuille Provence centre (Prancūzija, 2005, intensyvaus prancūzų kalbos kurso diplomas), Lietuvos viešojo administravimo institute / LIVADIS (2004-2005, organizacijos lyderių mokymo programa, diplomas). Šiame laikotarpyje jis paskelbė keletą akademinų straipsnių (žr priedą).

Ž.Pavilionis 20 metų dirba Lietuvos Užsienio reikalų ministerijoje. Pradėjo kaip URM Vakarų Europos šalių skyriaus trečiasis sekretorius (1993-1994), Politikos direktoriaus padėjėjas (1994-1995), Europos integracijos departamento (EID) Politinio bendradarbiavimo skyriaus (PBS) pirmasis sekretorius, Europos korespondentas (1995-1998), l.e.p. EID PBS vedėjas (1998-1999), Nuolatinės misijos prie Europos Sąjungos patarėjas, ES-Lietuvos Asociacijos tarybos ko-sekretorius, Briuselis (1999-2001), Nuolatinės misijos prie Europos Sąjungos ministras-patarėjas, Briuselis (2001-2002),

ES-Lietuvos Derybų konferencijos ko-sekretorius (2000-2002), Europos integracijos departamento direktorius, LR Vyriausiojo derybininko su ES pavaduotojas (2002-2004), Europos Sąjungos departamento direktorius (2004-2005), Politikos direktorius (2004-2008), Komisijos energijos tiekimo saugumo po 2009 nagrinėti pirmininko pavaduotojas (2008), Darbo grupės dėl totalitarinių režimų įvykdytų nusikaltimų įvertinimo ES lygiu pirmininko pavaduotojas (2008-2009), URM Sekretorius (2006-2009), Ambasadorius ypatingiems pavedimams Transatlantiems santykiams bei Lietuvos pirmininkavimui Demokratijų Bendrijoje (2009-2010), Nepaprastasis ir įgaliotasis ambasadorius JAV (nuo 2010 ir šiuo metu) ir Meksikai (nuo 2011 ir šiuo metu).

Ž.Pavilionis yra kelių nevyriausybių organizacijų steigėjas (Europos Judėjimas Lietuvoje, Lietuvos Atlanto Sutarties Organizacija (LATA), Lietuvos Vokietijos Forumas), 1993-1995 Vilniaus Jaunųjų krikščionių demokratų pirmininkas, 1995-1997 Lietuvos Jaunųjų krikščionių demokratų vice-pirmininkas, Europos integracijos studijų centro Priežiūros tarybos narys, Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės klubo narys, Tėvynės Sąjungoje – Lietuvos Krikščionių Demokratų narys. Moka anglų, rusų, prancūzų, italų, vokiečių bei ispanų kalbas (pastarųjų - pradinis lygis). Hobis - Tae Kwon Do (mėlynas diržas).

Apdovanojimai: atminimo ženklelis už asmeninį indėlį plėtojant Lietuvos transatlantiškus ryšius bei Lietuvos Respublikos pakvietimo į NATO progą, ordinas „Už nuopelnus Lietuvai“, Riterio kryžius, URM medalis už indėlį Lietuvos įstojimui į ES ir NATO, Valstybės sienos apsaugos tarnybos atminimo ženklelis už aktyvų bendradarbiavimą ir pagalbą stiprinant valstybės sienos apsaugą, Belgijos Karalystės ordinas „Commandeur de L'Ordre de Leopold II“, Valstybės sienos apsaugos tarnybos atminimo ženklas „Už nuopelnus Lietuvai stojant į Šengeno erdvę“, Nyderlandų Karalystės ordinas „Grootofficier in de Orde Van Oranje-Nassau“, Lenkijos Respublikos ordinas „Komandoro kryžius už nuopelnus Lenkijos Respublikai“, Mark Parmler demokratijos prizas.

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