



Institute of Schuman's Thought

Schuman's Debates on Renewing the European Union

These Debates contribute to the Debate on **the Future of Europe** and are synchronized with **V European Schuman Festival**, over which Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic of Poland **Mateusz Morawiecki** took **Honorary Patronage**.

The Debates are run on-line with MS Teams Internet platform

Details are available on website: www.SchumansGroup.org

Let us create a real platform for pan-European dialogue,
without being closed in narrow circles.

Such formula of pan-European debate allows to create a climate and style of dialogue, similar-to that one,
which was implemented by Robert Schuman,
in the spirit of the Community of European Nations.

“The European problem cannot be solved by a drastic process of economic and political reorganization which would create a federal unity - the United States of Europe [...] Europe owes its unique character to the fact that it is and has always been a society of nations, each intensely conscious of its own social personality and its own political institutions and laws, but all united by a common spiritual tradition, a common intellectual culture and common moral values [...] It is only by the recovery of these common traditions and values and in the strengthening of them that Europe can be saved” [Robert Schuman]

“My idea is not to merge States to create a Super State. Our European States are a historical reality. From a psychological point of view, it would be impossible to do away with them. Their diversity is a good thing and we do not intend to level them down or equalize them” [Robert Schuman]

“To our mind, European policy is certainly not in contradiction with the patriotic ideal. It encourages the particular-nature and characteristics of each of its states and fosters the sound love for one's own country which is a love that does not go in detriment of other countries. It wants to attain a unity in the fullness of its diversity” [Robert Schuman]

Odzyskajmy Europę Schumana

Riprenditi l'Europa di Schuman; Верните Европу Шумана назад; Retire a Europa de Schuman; Recuperar la Europa de Schuman; Vezměte si Schumanovu Evropu zpět; Vezmite si Schumanovu Európu späť; Szerezzük vissza Schuman Európáját; Paimkite Schumano Europą atgal; Atgriezieties Šūmana Eiropā; Vzemite Schumanovo Evropo nazaj; Върнете Европа на Шуман обратно; Ia Europa lui Schuman înapoi; Vрати Schumanovu Evropu natrag; Поверніть Європу Шумана назад; Ta Schumans Europa tilbake; Ta tillbaka Schumans Europa; Врати Шуманову Европу назад; Reprenez l'Europe de Schuman; Neem Schuman's Europa terug; Huelt dem Schuman säin Europa zrécck; Tag Schumans Europa tilbage; Võtke Schumani Euroopa tagasi

Nimm Schumans Europa zurück

Agenda of the Debate

February - December 2021

Detailed information you may find on website: www.SchumansGroup.org

Issues to be discussed and implement in regaining Schuman's Europe.

1. **Superstate-Federal EU or United in Diversity Schuman's Community of European Nations** - which model is closest to the spiritual, cultural, and historical character of Europe? **[20 February 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
2. **Is the European Union based on solidarity** or on a fierce economic competition between nation states? **[20 March 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
3. **Lisbon Treaty in the 12th year of its functioning:** What adjustments are needed? Does the EU need broader unification, keeping status quo, adjust to reflect Schuman's model and/or changed by partly utilizing Danish model? **[24 April 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
4. **Establishing Schuman's Fraction at the European Parliament** involving political groups from all European Countries having in favor Schuman's concept of Community of European Nations **[9 May 2021, Sunday, 10am-12pm]**
5. **Lack of equal representation by country at the European Commission** **[15 May 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
6. **Establishing Schuman's Fraction at the European Parliament** involving political groups from all European Countries having in favor Schuman's concept of Community of European Nations **[16 May 2021, Sunday, 10am-12pm]**
7. **How much President Macron's Doctrine for Renew Europe ties back to the concept of Schuman's Community of European Nations?** Is it a Real Chance to Renew Europe? Is there anything in Macron's Doctrine common with Schuman's approach? **[22 May 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
8. **Establishing Schuman's Fraction at the European Parliament** involving political groups from all European Countries having in favor Schuman's concept of Community of European Nations **[23 May 2021, Sunday, 10am-12pm]**

9. **Innovative economic and fiscal instruments in a solidary state and Community of European Nations [29 May 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
10. **Establishing Schuman's Fraction at the European Parliament** involving political groups from all European Countries having in favor Schuman's concept of Community of European Nations **[30 May 2021, Sunday, 10am-12pm]**
11. **What responsibility European Community should take for social and economic development of Africa? [5 June 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
12. **Establishing Schuman's Fraction at the European Parliament** involving political groups from all European Countries having in favor Schuman's concept of Community of European Nations **[6 June 2021, Sunday, 10am-12pm]**
13. **Whether and what lessons have we learned from Covid-19 pandemic in Europe? What changes are needed in the functionality of EU in-the-area of regulations and institutions? [19 June 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
14. **Acceptance of chaotic migrations or real cooperation with poor regions neighboring with Europe? What responsibility European Community should take for social and economic development of Africa? [10 July 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
15. **Lack of equal representation by country at the European Commission. [31 July 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
16. **How to support and to promote Christian culture and tradition within the frame of European Union? [21 August 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
17. **Integration of Schuman followers across Europe [11 September 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
18. **Establishing Schuman's Fraction at the European Parliament** involving political groups from all European Countries having in favor Schuman's concept of Community of European Nations **[16 October 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
19. **Establishing pan-European Schuman's social-media for Europe** under the Stars from Strasbourg **[13 November 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**
20. **Demography and values in Europe – Supporting family development and protecting every human life [11 December 2021, Saturday, 4pm-8pm]**

How are these debates organized?

- Over the entire Year 2021 will take place debate-meetings on MS Teams internet platform. Our MS Teams Help Desk team will assist you connecting debate platform.
- First debate meeting will take place on 20 February 2021 and last one on 11 December 2021.
- Each meeting will last 2 or 4 hours and will be conducted in English.
- For each topic of the meeting are dedicated about 8 detailed questions.
- Each question will be hesitated by one speaker and one disputant.
- For each question to be answered are allocated 30 minutes.
- Speaker will talk over 15 minutes then 10 minutes will be taken by disputant and 5 minutes for additional questions from audience.
- The proposed method of conducting the debate is to ensure the presentation of many opinions, thus maintaining the character of dialogue and discussion instead of individual statements or lectures.
- Over one meeting there will be chance to speak for people from about 16 European countries.
- By giving the floor to representatives of sixteen countries during one debate, we create a real platform for pan-European dialogue without being closed in narrow circles.
- Such formula of pan-European dialogue allows to create a climate and style similar to that one, which was implemented by Schuman in the spirit of the Community of European Nations.
- You can register yourself as a speaker, disputant, participant, or journalist on the website <https://schumansgroup.org/> in the folder **“Debate Renewing EU”**.
- You do not need to register but you can call direct organizers to be assumed as the speaker.
- On that website, we call as well for the papers, which may be delivered by speakers, disputants, or participants.
- The papers will go through reviewing process, which will be finish by rejecting or accepting the paper for publishing on the website <https://schumansgroup.org/>
- The content of the papers can then be used to publish a report or book containing the main theses and directives as well as proposals for detailed solutions regarding the necessary changes in the EU.

February 2021

I. “Superstate-Federal EU” or “United in Diversity Schuman’s Community of European Nations”- which model is closest to the spiritual, cultural and historical character of Europe? What should be the proportions of business interests and community character in relations between nations in future EU?

“My idea is not to merge States to create a superstate. Our European States are a historical reality. From a psychological point of view, it would be impossible to do away with them. Their diversity is a good thing and we do not intend to level them down or equalize them”

[Robert Schuman]

- European Institutions and instruments should be limited in time until their role is exhausted (in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity and subsidiarity).
- European Institutions cannot replace national institutions, and European law cannot be placed above the constitution and the law of individual countries.
- A federation or confederation is a form of a superstate because it presupposes the existence of central authorities to a greater or lesser extent, and therefore such a model is not compatible with Schuman's idea.
 - ✓ 1. Why Schuman did not want the superstate?
 - ✓ 2. What are the pros and cons of superstate?
 - ✓ What would be the function/role of a single European country within a European Union superstate?
 - ✓ 4. Will the European national states lose their sovereignty within the EU superstate?
 - ✓ 5. What national institutions will become obsolete in an EU superstate?
 - ✓ 6. Will the member states in superstate still be free in their economic and social decisions?
 - ✓ 7. Will the national government have still the power or it will take only the administrator role? Is the idea of a ‘Lead candidate’ procedure for the president for the EC a quasi-democratic utopia aiming at establishment of a single ‘European government’ or a real desire of Europeans to abolish their governments?
 - ✓ 8. Will the democratic procedures still work in superstate? What should be the proportions of business interests and community character in relations between nations in future EU?

Proposals for action and conclusions: The participants of the debate want to establish an international task force, which will define areas where the cooperation of national states is desirable and signal federalization attempts aimed at destroying the idea of the EU and monitor the violation or circumvention of the principle of subsidiarity by EU institutions. It would also be necessary to analyze and signal the impact of various types of European funds on the European economy and society to draw the appropriate conclusions on rearranging the functionality of funds to stimulate equal development of all members of the European

Community. This task force will publish periodically a report and take the responsibility for spreading out the knowledge and educate about the dangers, which creates superstate, so that to ensure the stability, unity, solidarity and peace of European Community.

20 March 2021

II. Is the European Union based on solidarity or on a fierce economic competition between nation states?

“The European spirit signifies being conscious of belonging to a Christian cultural family and to have a willingness to serve that community in the spirit of total mutuality, without any hidden motives of hegemony or the selfish exploitation of others” [Robert Schuman]

- Economic solidarity must be the basis for building economic relations between the peoples of Europe. Within the scope of the economic solidarity special care should be taken so that to preserve SMEs (Small and Medium-sized Enterprises] as the fundament for keeping workforce and workplaces in Europe [see: https://ec.europa.eu/growth/smes/sme-definition_en] and not moving these workplaces around Europe or around the world [out-sourcing]
- Notification functions should be allocated in all EU countries based on a common procedure. Currently, notifications of the European Commission on economic investments for a given country creates a space for moral hazard. The domination of certain countries' representatives in such notification committees leads to discrimination against small countries and countries from Central and Eastern and Southern Europe, which leads to unequal conditions of competition.
 - ✓ 1.What is the economic solidarity and its importance for European Community?
 - ✓ 2.What are the examples for a lack of the economic solidarity? Are we dealing with a kind of internal neocolonialism?
 - ✓ 3.What systemic measures should be implemented to mitigate the lack of the economic solidarity in the European Community?
 - ✓ 4.What works wrong at the EU institutions resulting in deficit of the economic solidarity?
 - ✓ 5. Is the NordStream2 a case, which proves that some EU countries act against the interest of the others in favor of not democratic Russia and destroying the economic solidarity?
 - ✓ 6.Why some of the member states of the EU are tolerated as tax havens?
[Examples:<https://nomoretax.eu/netherlands-tax-haven>;
<https://www.brusselstimes.com/news/belgium-all-news/54053>]

- ✓ 7. What are the barriers put by EU to decline the development of small countries?
- ✓ Why EU does not implement a common actions and systemic instruments for European countries to fight out the VAT mafias? (annual losses for EU budget resulting from activity of VAT mafias amounts to around 200 billion Euro)
- ✓ 8. Does the declining competitiveness of the EU economy prove the lack of the economic solidarity within the European Community?

Proposals for action and conclusions: The participants of the debate want to establish an international task force, which will deal with the identification of the deficit in the economic solidarity and communicate with national governments and different institutions of interest to work out some remedies and measures for mitigating the lack of economics solidarity. This task force will publish periodically report, prepare analysis, and take the responsibility for spreading out the knowledge and educate about the issues related to the lack of economic solidarity in EU.

24 April 2021

III. Lisbon Treaty in the 12th year of its functioning: What adjustments are needed? Does the EU need broader unification, keeping status quo, adjust to reflect Schuman's model and/or changed by partly utilizing Danish model?

"To our mind, European policy is certainly not in contradiction with the patriotic ideal. It encourages the particular-nature and characteristics of each of its states and fosters the sound love for one's own country which is a love that does not go in detriment of other countries. It wants to attain a unity in the fullness of its diversity" **[Robert Schuman]**

- What can we say about the functioning of the Lisbon Treaty in its 12th year? Has this Treaty supported the cooperation between member states of the EU, or it has been a source of conflicts or domination of the biggest EU players over the small countries?
- The Kingdom of Denmark signed the Treaty of Lisbon only after opting out from European Union policies in relation to security, defence, citizenship, police and justice, and the adoption of the euro. How can we value the experience of Denmark in the 12th year of functioning of the Lisbon Treaty?
 - ✓ 1. What is the position of Denmark within the current European Union? Is Denmark satisfied with having a very broad autonomy and what are the benefits for the citizens and economy of Denmark?
 - ✓ 2. What could EU look like, when respecting all its principles of the current Treaties? Do EU leaders and institutions not apply treaties and to what extent? What are some examples of the non-application of treaties by EU leaders and institutions?
 - ✓ 3. What do we expect from the European Commission (EC): To be a managerial and professional team of technocrats executing the Treaties and decisions

and resolutions of the European Council or to become a quasi-federal government? If we need a technocratic EC, who should keep the right to propose legislation within EU framework and how a veto-right could be used within such an EU power frame?

- ✓ 4. How will Europe look like/ behave as a Superstate-Federation?
- ✓ 5. How could Europe look like/ behave as a Confederation?
- ✓ 6. How could Europe of Homelands according to Charles de Gaulle look like?
- ✓ 7. How could Community of European Nations according to Robert Schuman look like?
- ✓ 8. Which from the above-mentioned systems most closely resembles the present European Union? Is the current system optimal for the European states and their citizens? In which direction shall we move?

22 May 2021

IV. How much President Macron's Doctrine for Renew Europe ties back to the concept of Schuman's Community of European Nations?

Is It a Real Chance to Renew Europe? Is there anything in Macron's Doctrine common with Schuman's approach?

"Europe will not be built overnight, neither without obstacles on its way. Its construction will follow the way of the spirit. Nothing that lasts happens easily. Europe is already on its way. And beyond the existing institutions, the European idea, its spirit of solidarity as a community have taken root" **[Robert Schuman]**

- The purpose of this topic is to discuss and analyze the proposal of the French president made in November 2019 from the point of view of Schuman's Europe. What opportunities arise from this initiative and what threats. Whether and which EU countries, to some extent, can or want to support this initiative of the President of France directed primarily against the further federalization of the EU promoted by Berlin and the forces supporting the German vision of the EU in this matter?
- One of the main issues raised in the French President's doctrine is to oppose the ultra-liberal Washington Consensus, which has been in force for several decades so far, with the new order he calls the Paris Consensus, and which is still based on the free market, but with a greater role of the state with practical approach to Social and Economic Solidarity than in the ultra-liberal order, especially towards the process of globalization and global players, to reduce their strength in relation to their capital violence, to develop strategies that serve the citizens of their own countries in a sustainable way.
- A strategy for getting down to the roots of Europe and European spirit, meaning preserving a diversity of European states and nations/societies, shall be considered,

having in mind both: Schuman's idea of the Community of European Nations, as well as useful elements of the Macron Doctrine for EU.

Proposals for action and conclusions: The participants of the debate want to establish an **international task force**, which will deal with EU reform, so that to bring the shape of EU so close as possible to the Schuman's concept of **Community of European Nations**. This task force will publish books and reports on deviations of the current state of the EU from the Schuman's concept and take the responsibility for spreading out the knowledge all over the Europe cooperating with national governments and different institutions of interest to remove these discrepancies as much as possible.

19 June 2021

V. Whether and what lessons have we learned from Covid-19 pandemic in Europe? What changes are needed in the functionality of EU in-the-area of regulations and institutions? What deficits were revealed in the functioning of the EU in-the-area of solidarity, efficiency and effectiveness in reducing the negative social and economic effects of Covid-19?

- The topic to be discussed is whether the EU shall extend its activities to new areas [this is the federal way: to take out the power from the national governments to the upper level] or we shall strictly define in what areas EU is needed and in which areas EU has failed.
- Do lessons from covid-19 really justify transfer of any competences on health from national level upwards? Are there lessons that national countries (UK, Norway, Switzerland, Taiwan, Israel) able to deliver better solutions and much faster? Have European-level actions were mostly hype?
- It seems that the EU has failed in-the-area of energy security – as an example the activity of the German government when building the NordStream1 and NordStream2 can serve as an example. Moreover, EU is forcing its Green Deal Agenda upon countries like Poland that are unable to cover the costs of transition without undermining the social and economic safety for its citizens and enterprises.
- Based on the special status of Denmark with its opt-outs it can be discussed, whether any kind of joint social European policies are feasible and realistic?
- Further to the above it can be discussed, whether EU shall be allowed to formulate foreign agendas like the Gender Action Plan III to bolster LGBTQI rights [example: www.politico.eu/article/eus-gender-equality-push-for-external-relations-faces-trouble-from-the-inside]
- The current president of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen wants to ratify the very problematic, because very ideological Istanbul Convention on the level of the European Union, because few member states of the EU have not done it yet.

Can the member states agree with such a force coming from the European Commission? Is this federal way of proceedings already valid in the European Union?

10 July 2021

VI. Acceptance of chaotic migrations or real cooperation with poor regions neighboring with Europe?

- ✓ 1. What responsibility European Community should take for social and economic development of Africa?
- ✓ 2. May Europe come back to Schuman's plan for social and economic development of Africa based on Christian values?
- ✓ 3. Do Member States have to pursue the same migration policy?
- ✓ 4. How to pursue an aid policy and should it be fortified with ideological elements, i.e. de facto resulting from political beliefs supported by some Member States?

31 July 2021

VII. Lack of equal representation by country at the European Commission.

Does the European Commission work in the democratic and community mode? What changes are needed in the organizational model of the European Commission so that all EU countries have an equal influence on the legislation and decisions made?

"We are still at the start of Community of European Nations project. We would do well to bridle our impatience. If not, we are likely to make the doubters more distrustful and what is more serious, endanger not only the experiment but also the whole idea of a united Europe"

[Robert Schuman]

"The consequence of this interdependence is that it is impossible to remain indifferent to the fortunate or unfortunate lot of a people. For a European with the capacity to think it is no longer possible to rejoice spitefully over his neighbour's misfortune; everyone is united for better or for worse in a common destiny" **[Robert Schuman]**

- The management structure of the European Commission should be changed.
- The number of people in managerial positions in the European Commission should be the same for each country and this should result from the principle that applies to the European Council, which takes decisions unanimously. An equal number of directors in the EC will create the right balance without the domination of Germany and France.

- The current domination of Germany and France at European Commission creates an undemocratic system and a moral hazard, as well as a power-decision asymmetry in favor of the greatest.
 - ✓ 1.What are the reasons for domination of big countries on the managerial positions at European Commission? Does the European Commission in its current formula represent the interests of all Member States?
 - ✓ 2.What are the proposals and possible ways to adjust the structure of the managerial positions and the procedure of selecting the candidates, so that each country has equal number of places at the managerial posts at EC? What procedures, methods and instruments should be implemented to improve supervision and control over the activities of the Commission and its officials at management levels, so that to keep balanced influence of all UE members on activity of EC?
 - ✓ 3.How can be prepared the application regarding that issue and delivered to the European Council with a request to change this situation?
 - ✓ 4. How to implement the idea, which assumes that the directors at the EC serve as a remote representative of the national governments?
 - ✓ 5.What are the other proposal to create more transparent EC?
 - ✓ 6.What external body, a kind of the watchdog or social committee, and how may be established to control EC and report independently to national governments?
 - ✓ 7.What procedure and how may be developed, which give power for national governments to delegate officials to exercise the role of directors and clerks at the EC?
 - ✓ 8.What other reforms of the EC are needed to create such functionality, which serves for the citizens of each European nation?

Proposals for action and conclusions: The participants of the debate want to establish an international task force, which will deal with adjustment of the EC model to bring its closer to the democratic outlook. This task force will publish books, prepare analysis, reports and take the responsibility for cooperating with national governments and different institutions of interest to remove the deficiencies and increase the quality of services and performance of EC activity.

21 August 2021

VIII. How to support and to promote Christian culture and tradition within the frame of European Union?

“Schuman regarded the unification of Europe as a necessity not only because of the threats of Communism, the East-West conflict, and a possible third world war because of or led by Germany once it had recovered. He saw it as a necessary condition for the survival of Europe. The continent needed to become strong and healthy again so as-to-avoid disasters

such as the many wars, especially the world wars, it had experienced in the past. Franco-German reconciliation was not enough. In-order to achieve successful unification this reconciliation should be accompanied by effective solidarity and a moral order based on Christianity, products of the European spiritual and cultural heritage” [Krijtenburg Margriet, Schuman’s Europe: his frame of reference, Leiden University, 2012, str. 67.]

Proposals for action and conclusions: The participants of the debate want to establish a task force, which will deal with the creation of early-warning signals in prevention against the establishing and developing the European Union in the direction of superstate. This task force will publish a book and take the responsibility for spreading out the knowledge and education about the dangers, which creates superstate for stability, unity, solidarity and peace of European Community.

11 September 2021

IX. Integration of Schuman followers across Europe

“Beware those who charm you to sleep. Beware those who would lull you into a false sense of security. Beware the purveyors of empty reassurances on these measures. They try to introduce step by step what the healthy spirit of the nation rejects and opposes. The final-end is clear. They want to extinguish the religious life in the country and in the people. For the love of our children, we would prevent what will follow. It is not from a spirit of contradiction that we take the position we do today, but because we cannot betray the soul of our people and nation” [Robert Schuman]

- We need to integrate Schuman supporters across Europe by creating the Schuman Group as a counterweight to the Spinelli Group. For this purpose, was build the website <https://schumansgroup.org/> by Institute of Schuman’s Thought.

Proposals for action and conclusions: The participants of the debate want to establish a task force, which will deal with the creation of early-warning signals in prevention against the establishing and developing the European Union in the direction of superstate. This task force will publish a book and take the responsibility for spreading out the knowledge and education about the dangers, which creates superstate for stability, unity, solidarity and peace of European Community.

16 October 2021

X. Establishing Schuman’s Fraction at the European Parliament involving political groups from all European Countries having in favor Schuman's concept of Community of European Nations.

“Few men in our Parliament are so much esteemed as Robert Schuman. Even those that do not agree with his ideas or even oppose them, respect him for his nobility of character, his

working capacity and the power of his faith” [Krijtenburg Margriet, Schuman’s Europe: his frame of reference, Leiden University, 2012, str. 50.]

13 November 2021

XI. Establishing Pan-European Schuman’s media for Europe in Strasbourg.

„Only from reconciliation will a community of peoples emerge in solidarity, freedom, justice and peace [...] Let us reach out hands to our yesterday's enemies, not only to reconcile with them, but to build tomorrow's Europe together” [Robert Schuman]

- The Eastern European countries belonging to the Three Seas project and the Pan-European Schuman Group should create a Pan-European Schuman media (TV-Schuman), which will effectively conduct an information and educational campaign across Europe to promote Schuman’s model of Community of European Nations to implement the reform of European Union and build tomorrow's Europe together based on the Christian values.

Proposals for action and conclusions: The participants of the debate want to establish a task force, which will deal with the creation of early-warning signals in prevention against the establishing and developing the European Union in the direction of superstate. This task force will publish a book and take the responsibility for spreading out the knowledge and education about the dangers, which creates superstate for stability, unity, solidarity and peace of European Community.

11 December 2021

XII. Demography and values in Europe – Supporting family development and protecting every human life.

“It is worthwhile to emphasize in this context as well that Christianity and therefore also the thoughts of the Catholic Church cannot be identified with an ideology and that European integration is not a matter of faith. The Christian social doctrine and other teachings of the Church, however, do offer guidelines for the Christians” [Robert Schuman]

- The community should strive to guarantee to every human being the inalienable, natural right to life from conception to natural death.
- The family as a man and woman and children should be given special care in-order to create a good social model, reduce the risk of depopulation and thus build a strong foundation for economic development.

Proposals for action and conclusions: The participants of the debate want to establish a task force, which will deal with the creation of early-warning signals in prevention against the establishing and developing the European Union in the direction of superstate. This task force will publish a book and take the responsibility for spreading out the knowledge and education about the dangers, which creates superstate for stability, unity, solidarity and peace of European Community.