

# Europe: a Patient

To: **the President of the European Parliament David Sassoli**  
**the President of the European Council Charles Michel**  
**the President of the European Commission Ursula van der Leyen**  
**and all politicians of good will**

Due to the sheer magnitude of the crisis brought about by COVID-19, the solutions adopted to combat it will determine the future of liberal democracy, the economy and European integration.

Therefore, we call on you to take political responsibility and to take the initiative. This is what was patently lacking in the EU response to the 2008 financial crisis—a mistake whose grave consequences we are still suffering.

We call on you to allocate financial resources which will provide:

1. workers: with a real possibility to earn their own living during the quarantine and the crisis,
2. enterprises: with a chance to survive the economic crisis,
3. public services (healthcare in particular): with precipitous funding,
4. all of us: with effective research on COVID-19 medication and on a SARS-CoV-2 vaccine.

It is not only thousands of Europeans infected with the coronavirus that need to be saved today. There is another patient at risk of death—European values, such as the recognition of the intrinsic value of human life, of democracy, of solidarity, of community, of the dignity of work and of the worker.

These values must now manifest in practical terms, in the concrete decisions we now face. Europe must show that:

- The life of every single person, including the elderly, is an absolute value in itself and not a burden on the State Budget or the economy. To consider the death of a substantial part of society an external cost—to deliberately sacrifice human life for the sake of a rapid return to the path of GDP—is nothing but barbaric (as well as additionally being economically ineffective).
- One of the great achievements of European civilization is the introduction of universal pension plans—a move which made the state responsible for the solidarity of the whole society towards the elderly. We must not leave in solitude those people who devoted their whole lives to work for our common welfare—they deserve our gratitude and have the right to care as well as the right to have their lives protected.
- There is no free market without the freedom of the people who participate in it—in any situation of extreme imbalance, such narrowly understood freedom cannot but turn out to have been a mere delusion. When workers become hostages forced to put their own lives and health at risk in order to earn their livings, the system of the free exchange of goods and services transforms into a ruthless economic regime.

Therefore, we propose:

### **1. Unconditional support for all**

Unconditional basic income should be paid out for at least three months both to those who are currently employed and the unemployed, directly into their bank accounts. We must remember that bureaucracy is the enemy of the vulnerable. If financial support is dependent on long and complex procedures, it will fail to promptly reach those who are in imminent danger of falling into spiraling debt and poverty. We have no time for income verification—it may be a standard labour market procedure at times of peace, but not when we are at war. Appropriate verification and taxation of additional basic income paid into the accounts of the wealthiest should be carried out at the end of the tax year.

The economy cannot wait for demand stimulus and boost in consumption. We urgently need to buy ourselves the time required to undergo the necessary quarantine. We cannot wait for bail-out money transferred to the big players to trickle down to the market, consumers and citizens. This did not happen during times of peace and will not happen during a period of crisis or war. We must not irresponsibly force employees who have lost financial stability to discontinue the necessary quarantine. For that reason, we need the immediate, direct and universal transfer of funds from the European Union to its citizens, funded directly from the EU budget. We also require the issuance of money by the European Central Bank.

### **2. Subsidising enterprises for employment retention and income socialisation**

It is of the utmost importance to provide European enterprises, especially SMEs, with the means to maintain their production potential and a stable economic environment through the provision of

liquidity, as well as tax deferrals. Monetary policy must go hand in hand with fiscal policy in this matter, as the previous crisis in the European Union was extremely long and acutely impactful on the poorest, because the governments were afraid to admit that quantitative easing did not boost economic growth. This is why we hereby request the subsidizing of the anti-crisis efforts by the European Investment Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The advantage of Europe over authoritarian systems must come from the power of its institutions and the ability to react to critical situations.

At the same time, the structure of subsidized enterprises' key ownership has to be changed. Resources devoted to retaining jobs should serve employees, not company boards or financial markets. A continued surge of disparity and increase in the privatization of public services cannot be the aftermath of the crisis. Europe must save jobs, not the incomes of boards of directors. For this reason, the aid for enterprises should be combined with responsibility for European taxpayers and their support. We call for the public aid for companies to be subsidized by European funds and for the European Central Bank to acquire shares in the supported enterprises. This solution, implemented during the financial crisis of 2008, will guarantee control over wages and dividends, as well as the unified participation of European communities in the future income of the companies.

### **3. Public service subsidisation through an appropriate form of European bonds valid throughout the European Union**

The crisis we are facing concerns public health. It shows that a society is as safe and as strong as its weakest members. As a result, societies and the economy cannot afford to be deprived of access to high-quality universal healthcare. In fact, it was the wrong response to the financial crisis of 2008

that led to the degradation of public services in the name of an alleged economic rationality, which is now generating additional costs and making it more difficult to effectively combat the pandemic.

Today, by releasing additional financial aid for the member states allowing them radically increase their healthcare expenditure, especially the ones most impacted by the pandemic, through the use of an adequate type of European bonds valid throughout the EU, the Union would show that the life and death of European citizens are the highest priorities, and that European solidarity is a real and not illusive ideal. It would also allow for the implementation of the controlled mobilization of production resources in Europe for the common good: healthcare.

#### **4. European research on medicine and the vaccine**

It is necessary to fund research on medicine for COVID-19 and a vaccine for SARS-CoV-2 from European public resources. The medicine and vaccine discovered thanks to these funds should be patent-free, according to the principles of universal solidarity.

\*\*\*

United Europe emerged as an answer to the spiritual and material devastation of World War II rooted in the crisis and unemployment of the 1930s. Crisis is a time for making choices. On the one hand, it may lead us to the fall of the European Union and slipping into chaos and authoritarianism. On the other, however, it can be a chance to renew the social agreement between Europe and its citizens. It can be an opportunity to change the management model to one that is more solidary and balanced.

The belief that European nations which have found themselves in a difficult economic situation will cope with the pandemic on their own is deceptive. If we want to both defeat the pandemic and ward off the shadow of the upcoming severe economic crisis, to save Europe from

descending into chaos that will last for decades, we need to act according to the rule: *United we stand, divided we fall*.

We address our letter to the leaders of EU institutions, the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission and the President of the European Parliament and the MEPs of all the political groups of the European Parliament. We represent different ideological backgrounds. We are convinced that today, liberals, who acknowledge the inherent value of each individual, conservatives, who believe in intergenerational solidarity, and people of the left, who call for us to respect the dignity of labour, need to act together.

The real division line does not run between the liberals, the left and the conservatives. The demarcation line emerges between those who are ready to sacrifice their co-citizens for short-term profits, supposedly protecting the GDP, and those who oppose such logic.

**Authors:** Mateusz Piotrowski, ecological activist; Maciej Grodzicki, economist, Jagiellonian University; Marta Olesik, philosopher, Polish Academy of Sciences; Aleksander Temkin, philosopher, activist, Komitet Kryzysowy Humanistyki Polskiej; Zofia Sajdek, editor, social activist; Filip Konopczynski, lawyer, Kalecki Foundation; Jan Zygmuntowski, economist, chairman at Instrat Foundation; Adam Ostolski, sociologist, journalist, translator, University of Warsaw

## Signatories

1. **Olga Tokarczuk**, Polish writer, Nobel Prize Winner in Literature for 2019
2. **Luigino Bruni**, economist, Scientific Director of Economy of Francesco Papal Program
3. **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**, former President of Poland
4. **Jan Zielonka**, political scientist, Professor of Oxford University
5. **Agnieszka Holland**, director and screenwriter
6. **Ladislau Dowbor**, chief economic advisor to former President of Brasil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva
7. **Carlo Ginzburg**, Italian historian
8. **Ulrike Guerot**, German political thinker and founder and director of the European Democracy Lab

9. **Alessandra Smerilli**, State Councilor of Vatican City
10. **Slavoj Žižek**, Slovenian philosopher, hegelianist
11. **Fernando Savater**, Spanish philosopher, essayist
12. **Mieke Bal**, Dutch artist, cultural theorist
13. **Rocco Buttiglione**, Italian Union of Christian and Centre Democrats politician and an academic
14. **Dorota Gardias**, president of Forum Związków Zawodowych, one of three major Polish trade unions
15. **Rowan Williams**, 104th archbishop of Canterbury.
16. **Aleksander Smolar**, Polish political adviser, president of the Stefan Batory Foundation
17. **Stefano Zamagni**, president of Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences
18. **Vera Zamagni**, professor of economic history, University of Bologna
19. **Agnieszka Dziemianowicz-Bąk**, Polish politician and MP
20. **Krzysztof Pomian**, Polish philosopher, historian and essayist
21. **John Milbank**, English Anglican theologian
22. **Alenka Zupančič**, Slovenian psychoanalytic theorist and philosopher
23. **Axel Honneth**, philosopher and sociologist, director of the Institut für Sozialforschung at Frankfurt University since 2001
24. **Reinhard Bütikofer**, one of the Co-Chairs of EGP, and MEP for the German Green party Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen. Chair of the European Parliament Delegation for Relations with China.
25. **Małgorzata Omilanowska**, former Minister of Culture and National Heritage in Polish government
26. **Michał Boni**, Polish politician, former Minister of Digitalisation
27. **Michał Kołodziejczak**, Polish agrarian activist, president of Agrounia movement.
28. **Robert Biedroń**, Polish politician, group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament
29. **Claus Offe**, German political sociologist, Political Sociology at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin.
30. **Stefano Quintarelli**, member of the: Leadership Council of the Sustainable Development Solutions Network for the United Nations and High-Level Expert Group on Artificial Intelligence of the European Commission
31. **Mladen Dolar**, Slovene philosopher, psychoanalyst, cultural theorist and film critic
32. **Tomaso Montanari**, art historian and opinion maker, professor of University of Siena
33. **Claus Leggewie**, German professor of Political Science and director of the Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut (KWI) in Essen

34. **Kira Peter-Hansen**, Danish politician, Socialist People's Party Member of the European Parliament
35. **Gianfranco Poggi**, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of Virginia and European University Institute
36. **Michael Schudrich**, historian, chief rabbi of Poland
37. **Lluís Torrens Mèlich**, Director of Social Innovacion of Barcelona City Council, member of Basic Income Network / Red Renta Básica
38. **Andrzej Leder**, Polish philosopher, professor in Polish Academy of Sciences
39. **Sergi Raventós**, sociologist and social worker, member of Basic Income Network / Red Renta Básica
40. **Andrzej Nowak**, Polish historian
41. **Jayati Ghosh**, economist, Jawaharlal Nehru University
42. **Adrian Zandberg**, Polish politician an MP, member of the Board of the Razem party
43. **Jan Śpiewak**, Polish social activist and politician
44. **Tomasz Terlikowski**, Polish journalist
45. **Bogdan Zdrojewski**, Polish politician, the Mayor of Wrocław, former Minister of Culture and National Heritage,
46. **Paweł Szypulski**, Program Director of Greenpeace Poland
47. **Gérard Rabinovitch**, French philosopher and sociologist. Researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), member of the Center for Research on Sense, Ethic, Society (CERSES)
48. **Dominik Zgódka**, Program Director of Greenpeace Poland
49. **Jutta Paulus**, German pharmacist and politician, MEP for Alliance 90/The Greens
50. **Monika Vana**, Austrian politician of The Greens-The Green Alternative, part of the European Green Party, MEP
51. **Manfred Frank**, German philosopher, emeritus professor of philosophy at the University of Tübingen
52. **Benoît Biteau**, French politician, Member of the European Parliament, Group of the Greens, European Free Alliance
53. **Katarzyna Batko-Tołuć**, Vice President and Program Director of the Civic Network Watchdog Poland
54. **Marta Petrusiewicz**, Professor of Economic History, City University of New York, teaches modern history on Università della Calabria.
55. **Damien Carême**, French politician, MEP serving on the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs
56. **David Cormand**, French politician, MEP
57. **Mounir Satouri**, French politician, MEP for Group of the Greens, European Free Alliance



58. **Tilly Metz**, Luxembourgish teacher and politician, Member of the European Parliament, Group of the Greens, European Free Alliance
59. **Krzysztof Garbaczewski**, theatre director
60. **Mareike Dittmer**, director of The Art Stations Foundations CH, Museum Susch
61. **Monika Kostera**, Polish economist, professor of management and organization theorist
62. **Srećko Horvat**, philosopher and co-founder of DiEM25
63. **Piotr Graczyk**, Polish philosopher
64. **Kacper Pobłocki**, Polish social anthropologist
65. **Przemysław Czapliński**, Polish historian of literature, essayist, literary critic
66. **Andrzej Friszke**, Polish historian
67. **Ryszard Nycz**, Polish historian of literature
68. **Maciej Szlinder**, President of the Polish Basic Income Network
69. **Anda Rottenberg**, Polish art historian, art critic, writer, former director of the Zachęta National Gallery of Art in Warsaw and member of the International Association of Art Critics (AICA).
70. **Karol Tarnowski**, Professor of humanities, phenomenologist,
71. **Adam Leszczyński**, historian, sociologist, journalist and publicist, member of the Krytyka Polityczna team and co-founder of OKO.press
72. **Marcin Wicha**, graphic artist, draftsman (creator of satirical drawings), columnist, author of books for adults and children
73. **Adam Chmielewski**, professor of humanities, philosopher of science and politics, editor-in-chief of the magazine "Studia Philosophica Wratislaviensia", head of the Wrocław office for the European Capital of Culture
74. **Emanuele Ferragina**, sociologist, interested in exclusion from the labor market
75. **Aleksandra Przegalińska**, Polish philosopher, futurologist, publicist
76. **Remigiusz Okraska**, Polish sociologist, social activist, publicist of ecological and socio-political press
77. **Sławomir Sierakowski**, the head of Krytyka Polityczna (Political Critique, a movement of left-wing intellectuals, artists and activists), director of Institute for Advanced Study in Warsaw
78. **Dariusz Stola**, professor of history at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences
79. **Przemysław Sadura**, sociologist and publicist, academic teacher at The University of Warsaw
80. **Sławomir Wittkowitz**, member of the Presidium of The Trade Union Forum (leader of the Science, Education and Culture)
81. **Michał Łuczewski**, Polish sociologist specializing in sociology of the nation and memory, assistant professor at the Institute of Sociology at the University of Warsaw

82. **Bogusław Liberadzki**, Polish politician, economist, MEP
83. **Rafał Woś**, Polish publicist and economic journalist
84. **Bartosz Bartosik**, member of the editorial board of "Więź", secretary of the think tank Laboratorium "Więź" and member of the Social Dialogue Committee Team at the Polish National Chamber of Commerce
85. **Anna Dziewit Meller**, writer, columnist and journalist
86. **Zygmunt Miłoszewski**, award-winning Polish writer, previously a journalist and editor for the Polish edition of Newsweek, an author of novels, features and short stories
87. **Marta Miłoszewska**, Polish director, academic teacher, social activist
88. **Miłosława Stępień**, member of The Polish Green Party
89. **Joanna Mytkowska**, art critic, curator, director of the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw
90. **Mateusz Szymanówka**, Tanztage and Sophiensæle director
91. **Piotr Bernatowicz**, art critic, director of the Ujazdowski Castle Center for Contemporary Art in Warsaw
92. **Karol Radziszewski**, Polish artist, painter, performer, publicist, author of installations, actions, photographs and video films
93. **Agata Urbanik**, facilitator, trainer and social researcher, one of the founders of the Pole Dialogu Foundation
94. **Dariusz Piórkowski SJ**, publicist, pastor, spiritual director
95. **Jędrzej Malko**, journalist, researcher of the history of economic discourses, analyst at the Kalecki Foundation
96. **Weronika Paszewska**, co-founder and director of AkcjaDemokracja, trainer, psychologist, activist
97. **Joanna Kos-Krauze**, Polish film director and screenwriter
98. **Krystyna Zachwatowicz-Wajda**, Polish scenographer, costume designer and actress, member of the Polish Film Academy, co-founder (with A. Wajda) of Centre of Japanese Art and Technology "Manggha" in Kraków
99. **Henryk Wujec**, Polish politician, physicist, opposition activist in the times of the Polish People's Republic
100. **Mateusz Wojcieszak**, member of the board at Fundacja Pole Dialogu
101. **Jacek Kucharczyk**, President of the Institute of Public Affairs, author of books, articles, reports and policy papers on democracy, good governance, and European integration
102. **Łukasz Domagała**, Chairman of National Federation of Polish NGOs, president of board of Fundacja dla Polski
103. **Michał Pałasz**, Academic Teacher at the Jagiellonian University, Arts, Culture & Social Media Manager, and Social Activist

104. **Andrzej Mencwel**, Polish literary historian and critic of Polish literature and culture, cultural anthropologist, essayist, publicist, professor of humanities
105. **Bogdan de Barbaro**, Polish psychiatrist and therapist, professor of medical sciences, professor at the Jagiellonian University
106. **Bartosz Rydliński**, PhD of political science, co-founder of DaszynskiCentre, assistant professor at The Institute of Political Science of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University
107. **Jean-Yves Potel**, French historian, political scientist, writer, university teacher, diplomat, a specialist in the political history of Central Europe, especially Poland
108. **Jarema Piekutowski**, Polish sociologist, journalist, commentator ("Więź", "Tygodnik Powszechny"), le Ad vu HB expert on social issues in "Nowa Konfederacja" Thinkzine, collaborator of Fundacja Pole Dialogu and Social Challenges Unit of University of Warsaw
109. **Jean-François Chanlat**, affiliated professor of management at HEC Universite de Montreal, sociologist of organizations
110. **Mateusz Bednarkiewicz**, film and theatre artist, director and screenwriter
111. **Paweł Krupa OP**, PhD in theology, historian of ideas, medievalist, preacher, writer
112. **Marek Naczyk**, Professor of Comparative Social Policy, Oxford University
113. **Jurgen De Wispelaere**, political theorist and policy scholar, University of Bath
114. **Evamaria Langer-Dombrady** - Feltétel Nélküli Alapjövedelem (Hungarian Basic Income Association)
115. **Paola Guglielmotti**, Professor of Medieval History, University of Genova
116. **Luca Meldolesi**, Italian economist, professor of Economics and Financial Policy, University of Naples
117. **Lina Scalisi**, Professor of Modern History, University of Catania
118. **Marcelina Zawisza**, Polish social activist and politician
119. **Maria Teresa Iannelli**, Director of National Archaeological Museum "Vito Capialdi", Director of the Monasterace Archeological Museum, Councilor for Culture and to the Cultural Heritage of the Municipality of Locri.
120. **Battista Sangineto**, Italian archaeologist, educator
121. **Tomasz Karoń**, Polish political strategist
122. **Tamar Pitch**, Professor of Legal Philosophy and Sociology of Law, University of Perugia
123. **Paulina Matysiak**, Polish political activist
124. **Romano Luperini**, Italian literary critic, writer and politician.
125. **Claudia Stancatti**, Professor of Philosophy of Language, University of Calabria
126. **Paul Corner**, Professor of European History, University of Siena
127. **Piero Bevilacqua**, Italian historian, writer and essayist
128. **Lucyna Gebert**, Professor, Department of European, American, and Intercultural Studies, Sapienza University of Rome

129. **Maria Adele Teti**, Italian professor of urban planning, Mediterranea University of Reggio Calabria
130. **Giuseppe Buondonno**, regional secretary of The Italian Left (Sinistra Italiana)
131. **Massimo Veltri**, Italian politician
132. **Renate Siebert**, sociologist, University of Calabria
133. **Rudi Assuntino**, Italian musicologist, singer, songwriter, tv director and script writer
134. **Salvatore Adorno**, Italian professor of contemporary history, University of Catania
135. **Wojciech Kubalewski**, Polish politician, IT specialist and entrepreneur, co-chairman of The Polish Green Party
136. **Marek Kossakowski**, Polish journalist and politician, democratic opposition activist in the People's Republic of Poland, one of the two presidents of The Polish Green Party (2016–2020)
137. **Ida Dominjanni**, Italian philosopher, political theorist, essayist and journalist, Genoa School of Humanities
138. **Marie Toussaint**, French jurist, social activist and politician, Member of the European Parliament, Group of the Greens, European Free Alliance
139. **Salima Yenbou**, French school administration, teacher and politician, MEP, Group of the Greens, European Free Alliance
140. **Tonino Perna**, Italian economist and sociologist, professor of Economic Sociology at the University of Messina
141. **Michał Rusinek**, Polish literature theorist, Jagiellonian University
142. **Dorota Kozicka**, Polish historian and literature theorist, Jagiellonian University
143. **Tomasz Majewski**, president Polish Cultural Studies Association, Jagiellonian University
144. **Oxana Pachlovská**, researcher, European, American and International Studies, Sapienza University of Rome
145. **Eva Catizone**, Italian politician
146. **Filippo Veltri**, Italian journalist
147. **Tomasz Anisko**, Polish politician, landscape architect and university teacher,
148. **Hanna Gil-Piątek**, Polish politician and urban activist
149. **Nicoletta Stame**, sociologist, Sapienza University of Rome
150. **Enzo Scandurra**, cultural anthropologist, environmental scientist, Sapienza University of Rome
151. **Luziana Polliotti**, journalist, cultural historian
152. **Alfonso Gianni**, Italian politician
153. **Giulia Mafai**, costumography designer
154. **Alberto Ziparo**, urban studies, University of Florence
155. **Gwendoline Delbos-Corfield**, French politician Europe Ecology Les Verts, MEP

156. **Karima Delli**, French politician and MOP Parliament elected in the 2009 European election, 2014 European elections and in the 2019 European elections for the Île-de-France constituency.
157. **Maria Rosaria Stabili**, political scientist, Roma TRE University
158. **Maria Luisa Boccia**, Italian politician, writer
159. **Laura Guidi**, gender historian, University of Naples
160. **Carmelo Caravella**, historian of labor
161. **Chiara Giunti**, educational technology, University of Florence
162. **Vittorio Cappelli**, historian, University of Calabria
163. **Daria Gosek-Popiołek**, Polish social activist and MP
164. **Mikołaj Ratajczak**, philosopher, editor, translator
165. **Anna Foa**, historian, Sapienza University of Rome
166. **Amalia Collisani**, philosopher of music, University of Palermo
167. **Ignacy Dudkiewicz**, philosopher, bioethicist, publicist and journalist, member of board of Warsaw's chapter of Club of Catholic Intelligentsia, editor in chief of "Magazyn Kontakt"
168. **Leszek Koczanowicz**, Professor of Philosophy and Political Science, SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities
169. **Krzysztof Podemski**, Polish sociologist, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań
170. **Piotr Trzaskowski**, activist, political scientist
171. **Claude Gruffat**, French entrepreneur and politician, MEP Group of the Greens, European Free Alliance
172. **Yannick Jadot**, French environmentalist and Member of the European Parliament elected in the 2009 European election for the West France constituency. Jadot coordinated Greenpeace actions in France between 2002 and 2008.
173. **Andrzej Gniazdowski**, Polish philosopher, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences
174. **Ryszard Szarfenberg**, Polish politologist, Professor of University of Warsaw, Institute of Social Policy
175. **Małgorzata Kowalska**, professor of humanities, philosopher, translator
176. **Zbigniew Mikołajko**, professor of humanities, philosopher and religion historian, essayist
177. **Marcin Miłkowski**, analytical philosopher
178. **Anna Cieplak**, culture animator, urban activist, writer, winner of Conrad Award
179. **Grzegorz Uzdański**, philosopher, writer, poet
180. **Jakub Majmurek**, film critic, publicist
181. **Marta Dziewańska**, curator, Museum of Fine Arts Bern
182. **Aleksandra Andrzejewska**, activist, "Rozkwit" Association
183. **Franciszek Sterczewski**, MP in the Sejm of the 9th term, urban activist

184. **Tomasz Stawiszyński**, philosopher, publicist, essayist, editor of Radio TOK FM
185. **Mikołaj Grynberg**, photographer, writer, reporter
186. **Lucinia Speciale**, History of Medieval Art Professor, University of Salento
187. **Magdalena Kicińska**, journalist, writer, poet
188. **Elżbieta Korolczuk**, sociologist, cultural expert, activist for women's rights
189. **Bolesław Rok**, CSR expert
190. **Mikołaj Trzaska**, saxophonist, bass clarinetist, film music composer
191. **Wiesław Łukaszewski**, professor of humanities, psychologist
192. **Miguel Pina e Cunha**, professor of organization studies
193. **Katrin Langensiepen**, German politician, Member of the European Parliament, Group of the Greens, European Free Alliance
194. **Tineke Strik**, Dutch civil servant, academic teacher and politician, Member of the European Parliament, Group of the Greens, European Free Alliance
195. **Alexia Panayiotou**, scientist, specialist in management and organization studies
196. **Marianna Fotaki**, Professor of Business Ethics
197. **Michał Sutowski**, political scientist, publicist, translator
198. **Maciej Wereszczyński**, climate activist
199. **Zoi Michailova**, performer artist and DJ
200. **Olga Stefan**, Independent researcher and curator based in Zurich
201. **Mihai Burcea**, doctor of history, Historic Advisory Center, Romania
202. **Yegór Osipov-Gipsh**, Dutch journalist and researcher
203. **Paul Zawadzki**, anthropologist, political scientist, L'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris Sciences et Lettres University
204. **Emanuele Trevi**, writer
205. **Anita Prażmowska**, Professor of International History, The London School of Economics and Political Science
206. **Mohinder Singh**, Jawaharlal Nehru University, social scientist
207. **Jan Toporowski**, Professor of Economics and Finance, SOAS University of London
208. **Ferdinando Laghi**, Specialist in Internal Medicine and Hematology, President of the International Society of Doctors for the Environment (ISDE)
209. **Paweł Dobrosielski**, cultural theorist and philosopher, Institute of Polish Culture, University of Warsaw
210. **Anna Konieczńska-Dobrosielska**, journalist
211. **Michał Koniecznyński**, lawyer
212. **Agata Szczęśniak**, Polish journalist, editor, sociologist
213. **Ignacy Niemczycki**, president of Fundacja Centrum im. prof. Bronisława Geremka
214. **Ludwika Wujec**, polish politician, physicist, member of the anticommunist opposition in Poland

215. **Bartłomiej E. Nowak**, PhD in economics, president of the Vistula Group of Universities
216. **Bartosz Lech**, founder of Polish Green Party and an expert off an OBWE and The Carter Center
217. **Małgorzata Jacyno**, sociologist, University of Warsaw
218. **Maciej Konieczny**, Polish MP
219. **Małgorzata Tracz**, Polish MP, co-chairperson of Polish Green Party
220. **Magdalena Biejat**, Polish MP
221. **Klaudia Waryszak-Lubaś**, entrepreneur
222. **Jacek Grzeszak**, economist, activist
223. **Mihaela Kelemen**, professor, management specialist, Nottingham University
224. **Alicja Zdziechiewicz**, writer and ecological activist
225. **Agata Araszkievicz**, literature historian, art critic
226. **Jarosław Charchuła SJ**, sociologist, academic teacher
227. **Rafaël Lewandowski**, French-Polish film director, screenwriter, movie producer
228. **Luba Jurgenson**, French writer, professor of Russian studies, Sorbonne Université
229. **Malgorzata Smorag-Goldberg**, professor of Polish studies, Sorbonne Université
230. **Agnieszka Grudzinska**, professor of Polish studies, Sorbonne Université
231. **Anna Saignes**, docent of comparative literary studies, Université Grenoble-Alpes
232. **Mateusz Chmurski**, docent of Polish studies, Sorbonne Université
233. **Iwona H. Pugacewicz**, historian, president of Centre de civilisation polonaise, Sorbonne Université
234. **Marek Tomaszewski**, professor of Polish studies, INALCO (Paris)
235. **Paul Gradwohl**, docent of modern history, Université de Lorraine (Nancy), former director of the Center for French Culture and French Studies at Warsaw University
236. **Beata Zwierzyńska**, education activist
237. **Marek Zaleski**, literary critic and historian, essayist, Polish Academy of Sciences, University of Warsaw
238. **Jacek Migasiński**, philosopher, University of Warsaw
239. **Tomasz Swoboda**, literary scholar, translator, University of Gdańsk
240. **Joanna Jurewicz**, orientalist, University of Warsaw
241. **Jagna Brudzińska**, sociologist of economics, Polish Academy of Sciences
242. **Katarzyna Bojarska**, literary and art critic, translator, SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities
243. **Monika Murawska**, philosopher, art historian, Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw
244. **Iwona Lorenc**, esthetician, philosopher of art, University of Warsaw
245. **Ruta Śpiewak**, village sociologist, Polish Academy of Sciences
246. **Hanna Gosk**, literary scholar, University of Warsaw

247. **Justyna Kowalska-Leder**, historian of Polish literature and culture, culture expert, University of Warsaw
248. **Catherine Klein Gousseff**, historian, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS)
249. **Jean-Michel Salanskis**, philosopher, mathematician, Université Paris X-Nanterre
250. **Ziemowit Szczerek**, writer, journalist
251. **Luigi Marinelli**, philologist, director of the Department of European, American and Intercultural Studies - Sapienza University of Rome
252. **Krzysztof Nawrotek**, architect, University of Sheffield
253. **Roch Dunin-Wąsowicz**, sociologist
254. **László Andor**, Hungarian economist. From 2010-2014 he was Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion
255. **Konstanty Gebert**, "Dawid Warszawski", translator, journalist, academic teacher
256. **Nikolay Aretov**, Institute for Literature, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
257. **Katya Mihaylova**, Bulgarian cultural anthropologist and folklorist, associate professor of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
258. **Nikolay Papuchiev**, D.Sc, an Associated professor in anthropology, Sofia University, Bulgaria
259. **Ana Stoykova**, Professor in Medieval Literature Bulgarian Academy of Science
260. **Ireneusz Kania**, translator
261. **Agnieszka Ścigaj**, Polish sociologist, social entrepreneur, MP
262. **Łukasz Kobeszko**, Polish journalist and philosopher
263. **Anna Engelking**, cultural anthropologist, Polish Academy of Sciences
264. **Paweł Maciejko**, Professor, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Johns Hopkins University

**\* Signatories support the letter as individual citizens, not as representatives of institutions**