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**«ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЕ ПРОСТРАНСТВО  
И СОЦИАЛЬНОЕ ВРЕМЯ:  
ДИАЛЕКТИКА ЦЕЛЕЙ И ЦЕННОСТЕЙ»**

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## **ПОИСК БАЛАНСА: МИГРАЦИИ, МОРАЛЬНАЯ ОТВЕТСТВЕННОСТЬ И СОЛИДАРНОСТЬ В ГОСУДАРСТВАХ ВСЕОБЩЕГО БЛАГОСОСТОЯНИЯ**

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***Аннотация.** Солидарность и моральная ответственность играют ключевую роль в контексте миграции в государствах*

всеобщего благосостояния, особенно во времена крупных социальных изменений, вызванных войнами, нестабильностью и кризисами. Солидарность подразумевает поддержку и принятие мигрантов, уважая их различия как часть сообщества. Моральная ответственность, с другой стороны, имплицитно подразумевает обязательства государства и отдельных лиц по отношению к мигрантам в части обеспечения справедливых условий приема мигрантов и уважения их человеческих, социальных и других прав. Кроме того, миграции несут с собой определенные риски и давление на ресурсы и социальные услуги, что может привести к негативным последствиям для принимающей страны. Этот деликатный баланс требует взвешивающего подхода к миграционной политике для достижения инклюзивного и устойчивого государства всеобщего благосостояния. Поэтому достижение гармоничного баланса между солидарностью и моральной ответственностью при эффективном управлении миграциями имеет решающее значение для государств всеобщего благосостояния в улучшении своих социальных и экономических систем. Цель данной статьи — изучить возможные масштабы солидарности и моральной ответственности в государствах всеобщего благосостояния.

**Ключевые слова:** Миграция, солидарность, моральная ответственность, государство всеобщего благосостояния, интеграция, риск.

## SEEKING EQUILIBRIUM: MIGRATION, MORAL RESPONSIBILITY AND SOLIDARITY IN WELFARE STATES

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**Abstract.** *Solidarity and moral responsibility play a key role in the context of migration in welfare states, especially in times of major social change resulting from wars, instability and crises. Solidarity means supporting and accepting migrants while respecting their differences as part of the community. Moral responsibility, on the other hand, implies the obligation of the state and individuals towards migrants in terms of ensuring fair conditions for the reception of migrants and respecting their human, social and other rights. In addition, migration carries with it certain risks and pressures on resources and social services, which can lead to negative effects on the host country. This delicate balance requires a thoughtful*

*approach to migration policy in order to achieve an inclusive and sustainable welfare state. Therefore, achieving a harmonious balance between solidarity and moral responsibility is a crucial thing for welfare states in order for them to improve their social and economic systems. The aim of this paper is to explore the possible scope of solidarity and moral responsibility in welfare states.*

**Key words:** *migration, solidarity, moral responsibility, welfare state, integration, risk.*

Our present is tainted by insecurities, wars, energy, economic and social crises. The covid-19 virus pandemic and wars have resulted in ever-increasing inflation, which reached 72.43% in Argentina, 72.31% in Turkey, and 19.71% in Lithuania in 2022 [1]. This situation is certainly not a suitable ground for expressing either individual or collective (state) solidarity or moral responsibility towards "others". In addition, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine produces new problems, and one of the most significant is certainly the influx of new migrants from Russia and Ukraine to different parts of Europe [2 p. 66]. Given that there is more and more talk about the welfare state in crisis, the question arises whether and in what way the welfare state can respond to the increasingly complex needs and problems that population faces? In other words, the question arises whether values such as solidarity and moral responsibility are attainable in the world we live in today, where income and the market largely determine the lives of all of us and where Smith's thought that "it is not the charity of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that from whom we expect our dinner, but from their attachment to their own interest" [3] has been increasingly confirmed. Contrary to this attitude of Smith, who was a liberal and advocated the freedom of individuals in relation to the state and its interference in the economic life of citizens, today we have widely developed normative frameworks, both national and international, which guarantee a series of rights, measures and services to citizens, with special attention to vulnerable groups of citizens. Citizens are offered broad rights in order to ensure or protect their well-being, so today citizens all over the world have the right to work, the right to education, asylum, etc., but these rights often do not correspond to their purpose because the right to work implies an offer of jobs, the right to education that it is available to those with lower incomes, the right to asylum and that there are adequate housing conditions for asylum seekers, which is often not the case. Although citizens are offered broad rights, it is clear that they are exactly what Bentham warned against, "nonsense on crutches" [4] because they are abstract guarantees that citizens only partially realize.

Welfare states are those states in which there is a wide range of rights and services available to different groups, however, in times when market

competition plays a significant role, the weaknesses of these states to respond to the specific needs of different groups are observed. In the literature, the welfare state is defined in different ways, and usually the authors define the welfare state in a narrower and broader sense. In the narrower sense, the welfare state is defined as a traditional area of social improvement that refers to income transfer and social services, to which we can maybe add also the problem of housing [5, p. 6]. In the broader sense, the welfare state is considered through the economy and state intervention in the economy [6]. In other words, the welfare state implements those state activities aimed at improving citizens' standards through the modification of market forces, when citizens are unable to do so [7, p. 41]. Thus, the welfare state stands in contrast to the liberal and neoliberal ideas of a completely free market and minimal state interference in the economic life of society, and can be considered an ideal that would provide citizens with comprehensive well-being. Nevertheless, a welfare state suffers enormous criticism, especially from neoliberal theorists who believe that the state should not have a monopoly in financing the needs of the population. They start from the fact that the market is the best institution for ensuring well-being and that through it well-being can be ensured without sacrificing freedom [8]. Such a liberal point of view is too broad and almost unapplicable, because the market is not able to ensure the satisfaction of the basic social needs of all citizens, especially of vulnerable categories (unemployed, disabled people, migrants, etc.), and the provision of social services and the guarantee of their rights is necessary in order to ensure the achievement of at least a minimum level of justice in society. The liberal point of view, which, although it indicates that excessive state interference in the economic life of citizens can lead to an increase in state power and a weakening of economic growth [9], does not take into account that society is exposed to various crises, both individual and collective, and that in such situations, the intervention of the state through the provision of social services and the redistribution of a certain part of the social income is necessary in order to provide social security to the citizens.

During the 20th and 21st centuries, a significant progress of the national and international normative framework regarding the development of social rights was noticeable, which represents a major historical breakthrough. Nevertheless, a good normative framework cannot be sufficient for the fight against social injustices faced by different groups of citizens, especially the most vulnerable ones, although it is certainly necessary to start from developing them in particular. In this sense, it is necessary to develop different models that will guarantee the provision of rights in an adequate way, which is indicated by Spoto [9] when he states that the traditional welfare state, which was directed towards cash benefits, is not sustainable

because, on the one hand, he perceives with such an approach the beneficiaries from the social welfare system as "moral patients", i.e. as passive recipients without the expectation that users of services or rights are obliged to contribute to the general good of society. On the other hand, the traditional welfare state is focused on means but not on the results it wants to achieve with services [9]. From this attitude, we can conclude that if the rights and services provided to certain groups of citizens do not produce some changes but maintain the status quo, they are not adequate. In the long term, they cannot contribute to the improvement of society. Herewith, a question that needs to be answered necessarily arises, and that is why the state and individuals choose to help someone? Do we owe anything at all to our neighbors and "others"?

At the very essence of human existence and multi-layered human nature is precisely the need for community, interdependence and solidarity. In this sense, Miličić [10] perceives solidarity as the basic assumption of the welfare state, noting that it is precisely in the principle of tolerance (redistribution of state, i.e., material power and goods) that it is possible to guarantee social security. Solidarity in the welfare state represents its basic concept and main value, because the most important services (health, education, social, housing services, etc.) are provided from the budget of the welfare state, and the very concept of the welfare state rests on the solidarity and consent of citizens (tacit or not) to this type of distribution. Such an attitude would imply that solidarity within the welfare state is guaranteed to support nationalist ideas and that it relies on the commonality or common norms of members of communities, that is, states. That is why the question here is whether solidarity in the welfare state is guaranteed to those who are not citizens of a certain state? The issue of identity is extremely important in all countries, especially when it is necessary to justify the legitimacy of the use or demand of various social services and rights.

A certain number of theoreticians believe that when considering the classic concept of the welfare state, the relationship between the legality of seeking and using social services, i.e. the rights that guarantee them, must be taken into account and that they must be limited within the defined field of the idea of citizenship (citizenship) [11]. It follows from this that the willingness of the state to allocate funds for the provision of certain services is closely related to citizenship and that certain rights are provided only to citizens and not to "others". Nevertheless, with the development of the normative framework, especially social rights and their international character in terms of the acceptance of various agreements and the ratification of various conventions (e.g. the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights), rights are also guaranteed to persons who are not citizens of

a certain state, i.e. those who are foreigners - "others". From the above it stems that social rights are part of the universal dimension, because with their guarantees they go beyond the concept of national belonging. Given that social rights are a universal category and that a certain part of them is guaranteed to migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, the question arises whether migrants will decide to immigrate to a country that offers broad social rights and services and therefore a high level of solidarity within state system or a state based on the principles of free market competition and minimal state interference in the social and economic life of individuals? Katanić and Lukšić [12] point out that the choice of the country of destination of an individual who wants to emigrate depends on their abilities and expectations, and that the more capable and braver will choose a place where they will be freer in terms of earnings, labor market and spending, while those who are characterized by less favorable (geographical, security, social, social, climatic...) living conditions choose welfare states [12]. Another author who spoke about the attractiveness of the welfare state for migrants is Borjas [13], who believed that migrants would rather choose to live in a welfare state than in one that does not have a significantly developed welfare system, and he proved the positive correlation through representations of various social programs and comparing them using the US state as an example.

We are witnessing the increasing and freer movement of goods, capital and people around the world, which brings with it positive effects but also new problems. Those problems are different in nature and at the beginning of the mentioned crisis, people were forced to think about migration or they saw migration as a salvation from unsafe and often dangerous situations in their countries, caused by various conflicts. According to Eurostat data [14] from 2022, Luxembourg, Cyprus and Malta have the highest number of immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants. In addition to them there are Austria, Belgium and Germany as well as non-EU countries such as Switzerland and Norway which show a large number of immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants. Having in mind that EU countries offer relatively adequate economic prosperity and political stability, a large number of immigrants decide to move to one of the EU countries or European countries. The reasons for the decision to immigrate can be of a political, economic, social and environmental nature or a combination of some or all of these factors, whether they are factors in the country of destination or in the country of origin.

In addition, the problems related to the countries of destination should be considered, and this is reflected in the risk that may arise in the welfare states if they continue to implement the policy of "open borders" that can lead to an unlimited flow of migrants. In other words, the question arises, where

is the limit of solidarity towards the "other" in a welfare state? Wouldn't all those who are poor, weak and sick, if they could freely move to a country that can provide them with adequate and quality social security and social and health care as well as free education? Or as Crnjanski puts it vividly: "Everybody would move if they could." Who wouldn't go, if they knew that something more beautiful was waiting for us somewhere" [15, p. 342]. Such an influx of a large number of migrants would certainly have both positive and negative effects on the welfare state. On the one hand, migrants can bring with them knowledge and skills that the domicile population does not have, or they can choose to do less paid jobs, which in the end can have positive effects on the country to which the migrants have moved, while on the other hand, they can cause big problems, especially in regarding the greater need to provide social services and benefits. That is, if uneducated, poor and unqualified migrants move to a certain country, it is not realistic to expect that they will integrate into the economic life and that they will contribute to the progress of the economy in that country. It is much more likely that they will be beneficiaries of social benefits, which will only further burden the already burdened welfare state.

The next question that necessarily arises, and is closely related to solidarity within the welfare state, stems from the fact that Europe is one of the richest regions and that in 2013 it reached a wealth of 56 trillion euros, and yet inequality remained at an extremely high level because 10% of Europeans own over half of the total wealth [16 p. 6]. Therefore, the question arises whether the welfare state in Europe is in crisis or we can no longer talk about it as an existing concept? In other words, can we talk about solidarity in a world of so much material inequality in which wealth has gone to a small number of people who are not necessarily smarter or more capable than others who are deprived of that wealth? One gets the impression that in today's world solidarity has been replaced by individualism, and individualism has been very quickly mixed with egoism. Also, the thought of Thomas Aquinas that man is a friend to man was replaced by Hobbes's thought that man is a wolf to man. In this sense, Spiker does not see solidarity through the phrase "all for one, one for all" but warns that it is not "all" but "almost all" because the network of solidarity is both exclusive and inclusive [17]. That is, these networks determine to whom help is available by giving priority to a certain group of people. They also decide to whom help is not available by taking away that same advantage from vulnerable groups such as immigrants, people with mental disorders or prisoners. Nevertheless, we should not lose sight of the more optimistic view of things, as reminded by Čekerevac [18] when he rightly warns that people in their increasing individualism have mastered the resources and opportunities to be freer in choosing their life models [18].

Therefore, individualism does not necessarily mean renouncing the desire to help one's neighbors and even someone "other", but to choose a different way of life without the need for social services.

Although solidarity, as previously emphasized, is a prerequisite for a welfare state and is necessary in society if we want to ensure justice in it, care should be taken that "too much" solidarity in the sense of accepting a large number of migrants brings with it problems that the state will not be able to resolve. As previously indicated, the positive benefits of accepting migrants are reflected in the maintenance of work potential, given that the demographic factors in the EU countries are not favorable due to the "white plague" which will reduce the number of able-bodied members of society in the long run [19]. Nevertheless, a large influx of migrants can bring with it a large number of problems, in the long term, when the economic appetites of those countries that now show great solidarity are satisfied in terms of ensuring an adequate work process through a sufficient number of workers, there may be disagreement between the resident population and immigrants, difficulties in preservation of the national identity of the resident population, greater allocation for social services, etc.

Here, the question of moral responsibility arises, that is, the question arises of the responsibility of the state towards migrants. In the literature, many authors start from the position that only a person can be morally responsible. Opposite to that position is Kant's position that the state is also a morally responsible entity [20], and this could be especially applied to the welfare state as we know it today. In this sense, the state, through constitutions and various laws, especially those related to social rights, offers guarantees that it will be morally responsible in relation to citizens as well as foreigners. Therefore, the state (which is composed of individuals) as well as individuals has the freedom to choose to be morally responsible both in relation to its citizens and in relation to foreigners. Provided that the freedom of choice of the state is limited because the state or people in power can be punished (removed from power) if they are not morally responsible, that is, if they do not ensure justice in society and community. We have stated above that the welfare state tries to provide an adequate standard of living to citizens when they are unable to achieve it themselves through participation in the market competition, however, most states do not provide an adequate standard of living to all citizens with broadly guaranteed rights and services, but citizens are offered charity with which they can hardly meet the basic needs of life.

If we place moral responsibility in the context of the state, then we must also consider it in relation to politics. In this sense, Telebaković separates the political request, which he states begins with "you must" from the moral

request that begins with "you should" and arises from the conscience of the person to whom the request is made [21]. Many authors state that there apart from autonomous there is also heteronomous morality, when a person feels moral responsibility and imposes it on himself. When it is not imposed from the outside, it is autonomous morality; on the other hand, if morality is imposed from the outside, it is heteronomous morality [22; 21]. In a welfare state, both types of morality can contribute to the expression of greater moral responsibility towards "others", because if we have a developed conscience and know what is good and what is not, we will try to always show towards "others" what we want others to show towards us. On the other hand, if a certain behavior is regulated by law, custom or some other norm, which is also moral and good, it can be ensured that those who do not have a developed autonomous morality will avoid doing bad things to others or, if a limitation in the form of law does not prevent them from doing so, they will bear the sanction.

Another difference that Telebaković [21] warns about, and which must be made, is the difference between real and realistic politics. The former is inseparable from morality, while the latter is far from it, because in realistic politics no means are chosen to achieve the goal and it is very often confirmed that "power is not for honor but for benefits". In this sense, it is the responsibility of each individual to give up the power that does not see honor and morality, and therefore responsibility towards fellow human beings and "others" as a key principle in conducting politics. That is, it is the duty of every individual to request moral responsibility from the government that does not ensure respect for universal values such as justice, freedom and solidarity in society. Here the question arises, is the welfare state only declaratively morally responsible towards its citizens and "others", does it offer them rights that do not fit the purpose? That is, is the existence of laws and rights equal to ensuring the well-being of citizens and "others"? Additionally, apart from the state, other actors who can express moral responsibility should be considered. We have already mentioned above that certain theorists believe that only individuals are morally responsible, and the question arises whether we are not all responsible to improve our community and the state with our political and other types of participation? Isn't the individual who does not agree to injustices and speaks about them clearly and loudly morally responsible? Don't we all have an obligation to help those who are vulnerable? Each of us has the freedom to choose to be morally responsible, by first helping those in his vicinity and then "others".

A welfare state as such is a state in which solidarity and moral responsibility towards the "other" are ranked high on the scale of values and principles. It is a state that is open and ready to provide a wide range of social

services and rights not only to its citizens but also to "others" (foreigners, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers). However, the question arises whether these broadly defined rights and services fulfill their purpose? There is no doubt that a welfare state rather than those in which market forces and market competition determine the economic life of citizens can provide a minimum of security and well-being, but can it provide an adequate standard of living for citizens and foreigners, especially bearing in mind that we live in a world of increasing economic and social crisis? The answer to this question is not simple because it depends on several factors, starting with the question what group of citizens we are talking about, what are the needs of the person for services or rights in the specific case, etc. Therefore, rights and services are indeed guaranteed, but it is necessary to find an adequate way of implementing, evaluating and improving them. In other words, the welfare state must change its often rigid definitions and adapt to citizens and "others" and their needs, which necessarily change, and at the same time it must leave enough space for the free choice of citizens, i.e. it must allow the person to choose the way to solve personal problems.

The notion of solidarity is extremely complex and can be determined both axiologically and through the theory of politics, primarily social politics, in the core of which is this notion which essentially determines its content. In the context of the welfare state as we know it today, solidarity is institutionalized and determined by legal provisions because the majority of citizens in the welfare state give up part of their income so that it can be distributed to those who cannot provide themselves and their neighbors with an adequate standard of living at a certain time, either because they are unable to find a job or due to other life circumstances, but also in order to help "others", i.e. migrants. As stated earlier, legal provisions and guaranteed rights are not a sufficient condition for solidarity in the welfare state because it cannot essentially exist without self-aware individuals who express their free will to suffer and accept differences in their community. Without such individuals who make up the family, then different groups, then the community and finally the state, there can be neither a welfare state nor solidarity in it. However, we should not lose sight of the warnings that "too much" solidarity towards "others" can cause major problems in the welfare state in the form of an uncontrolled influx of migrants that can additionally burden social security systems.

And finally, in order for moral responsibility "toward others" to be possible, it must first be developed on an individual level through the development of conscientious individuals who will impose morality on themselves as an ideal, but also through laws that will protect the most vulnerable members of society from those who do not care about morality.

The welfare state in the context of moral responsibility must always choose values such as solidarity, justice and equality over capital and exploitation. In the current time, which is permeated with crises and conflicts, it seems that the welfare state has given primacy to capital and individuality, and that the feeling of solidarity is slowly being lost, and the desire for competitiveness is developing. Very few attempts are made regarding the morality of the individual and society in general, because it is not a prerequisite for the success of individuals and countries, but very often it is seen as an obstacle. Neighbours or "others" are not seen as qualities, but as numbers from which the country can or cannot prosper.

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## **БОРЬБА ПРОТИВ ФАШИЗМА. К 50-ЛЕТИЮ СО ДНЯ ГИБЕЛИ ПАБЛО НЕРУДЫ**

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***Аннотация.** В статье показано влияние фашизма и неофашизма на развитие общества и государства в современных условиях, отмечена роль поэзии в борьбе с фашизмом на примере известного чилийского поэта и политика Пабло Неруды. В год 50-летия со дня его гибели по-новому звучат поэтические строки нобелевского лауреата, яркого антифашиста и коммуниста, посвятившего свою жизнь тому, во что он верил и что казалось ему справедливым.*

***Ключевые слова:** фашизм, Сальвадор Альенде, Аугусто Пиночет, Пабло Неруда, Песнь любви Сталинграду, Ялта.*

## **FIGHTING AGAINST FASCISM. ON THE 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF PABLO NERUDA DEATH**

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