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THE HOLY SEE'S EFFORTS TOWARDS RECONCILIATION

Reconciliation, as the basic condition for true peace between people and nations, has been included in the mission of the Catholic Church since its beginnings. The Holy See, which should be regarded as an emanation of the Church in international politics, carries the baggage of two thousand years of history. As with any religion, also in Christianity spiritual matters are interwoven with temporal affairs. The teaching of the Gospel, interpreted by popes, councils and important figures in the history of the Church, has intertwined with the history of the Mediterranean region, Europe and the whole world. One cannot analyse the activities of this entity in international relations without considering its historical baggage and spiritual-temporal specificity. It should be remembered that although the Vatican City State (established under an international agreement of 11 February 1929) remains in close relation with the Holy See and the Catholic Church, however, its dominion over this small territory is not the basis of the international and legal personality of the Holy See. This personality was also recognised in the period 1870–1929, when the Pope did not have sovereignty over any territory. It should be assumed that the basis for the action of the Holy See in international relations on an equal footing with other states is rather the spiritual dominion (spiritual sovereignty) of the Pope over the faithful gathered in the Catholic Church¹. As Józef Krukowski rightly observes, in fact it concerns the spiritual sovereignty of the Catholic Church over its members, the supreme authority of which the Holy See is².

¹ Cf. Bierzanek, R., Symonides, J. 2005. *Prawo międzynarodowe publiczne*. [Public international law.] Warszawa, p. 137.

² Józef Krukowski claims that 'in international relations the Catholic Church is an entity of spiritual sovereignty. This sovereignty should not be equated with secular – territo-

Analyzing the behaviour of states in international relations we consider the interests that guide their foreign policy. Due to the specificity of the Holy See the only 'interest' of this entity is to provide the Church with the widest possible opportunities to operate. It concerns therefore the realisation of the right to religious freedom, which – as the Church and the international community recognise – is a universal right of every human being, no matter which religion they profess. This means that the diplomatic activity of the Holy See also serves other religions and denominations which do not have such tools to act in international relations. First of all, for the realisation of the right to religious freedom, the Holy See establishes bilateral diplomatic relations with states and also participates in conference diplomacy and acts in international organisations. Its primary objective is reconciliation and peace between people and nations, which correlates with the Catholic Church's parallel bottom-up activity of evangelisation on all continents. Only the perception of this broad perspective allows us to understand and explain the activity of the Holy See in international relations.

The undertaken considerations are part of the current research on the cultural context of foreign policy of modern states and international relations. It seems to be a burning issue in the face of challenges faced by the international community in the twenty-first century. Culturally conditioned ideas and values incorporated in national interests, or culturally conditioned behaviour of countries and other actors in the international arena, increasingly become the subject of discussion, but still there is no common conviction about the need to prepare appropriate theoretical tools for such an analysis. In this context, it is important to study the activity of the Holy See in international relations, especially its commitment to reconciliation, which is one of the most important goals of faith-based diplomacy (FBD, religiously motivated diplomacy)³. It connects it with non-state actors which often use informal diplomacy to achieve their objectives in international relations. The Holy See

rial sovereignty which states have'. State sovereignty is limited to a specific territory (in a specific case according to a custom or under an international agreement it may be specified otherwise). The sovereignty of the Church involves people in many different countries. This entity operates in international relations through its supreme authority, i.e. The Holy See. Cf. Krukowski, J. 1993. *Kościół i państwo. Podstawy relacji prawnych*. [Church and State. Fundamentals of legal relations]. Lublin, p. 136.

³ Cf. Kulska, J. 2014. Faith-based diplomacy i transnarodowi aktorzy religijni. [Faith-based diplomacy and transnational religious actors.] In: Burgoński, P., Gierycz, M. eds. *Religia i polityka. Zarys problematyki*. [Religion and politics. An outline of the problem.] Warszawa, p. 581.

remains a quasi-state entity using also the classical form of diplomacy, which makes it an even better subject for the analysis of the presence and influence of the cultural factor on the international reality.

1. FAITH-BASED DIPLOMACY (FBD), RECONCILIATION AND THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Since the end of the Cold War many scholars of international relations have emphasised the importance of the cultural factor, including the religious one, in the development of relations crossing state borders. The role of religious actors (such as the Catholic Church – its various institutions, especially popes) and actors motivated by religion (especially so-called religious non-governmental organisations or RNGOs and others) is noticed in resolving disputes and conflicts, in preparing the ground for truly peaceful relations between states and other actors on the international scene. It very often pertains also to internal conflicts and tensions, the duration of which becomes a pretext for external intervention or simply weakens the country on the international forum. The aim is not only the resolution of the dispute or conflict, but much deeper, broad reconciliation. FBD is a form of informal diplomacy ('track two' diplomacy⁴), which is based on religious faith⁵ and uses methods unusual for policy (i.e. acts of love of God and neighbour, for example, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, forgiveness, repentance, etc.)⁶. It is assumed that the appeasement of the dispute, which at any moment could explode with renewed force, does not, in fact, constitute its solution – only a change in thinking ensures this. It concerns not only politicians and soldiers

⁴ 'Track two' diplomacy is diplomacy practiced by non-state actors, NGO activists, religious leaders and individuals. What makes it different is its rootedness in religions – their sacred texts, beliefs, traditions and practices. According to Brian Cox and Daniel Philpott, this type of diplomacy is characterised by two-vector, spiritual orientation on which all actions are based, namely, first, the 'proper orientation' of politicians to transcendence, and secondly – 'the active role of the divine in human affairs'. For practitioners of FBD, even though they operate on the basis of their secular knowledge and experience, faith remains a basic compass. Cf. Cox, B., Philpott, D. 2012. Faith-based diplomacy. An ancient idea newly emergent. In: Hoover, D.R., Johnston, D.M. eds. *Religion and foreign affairs. Essential readings*. Waco, p. 251.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 252.

⁶ Kulska, J. Faith-based diplomacy i transnarodowi... [Faith-based diplomacy and transnational...] op. cit.

fighting with each other – this change must be connected with *metanoia* experienced by whole conflicting groups, communities, and nations⁷.

From the purely human perspective, this matter seems to be unachievable. In this case, religion comes to the aid, which – honestly professed by many people – could be a sufficient motivation to change hearts and minds. As we know, Mahatma Gandhi was a practitioner of FBD, who with his method of ‘holding onto truth’ (*satyagraha*) without the use of force led to the liberation of India from British colonisation. To this day, these countries have been in good relations with each other.

Joanna Kulska is one of the main Polish researchers of FBD. In her numerous articles devoted to this issue she systematises, promotes and develops existing knowledge on the subject⁸. It is worth noting that it has been difficult for Western scholars of international relations to take up the issue of the influence of religion on reconciliation and consequently peace between nations because of the belief about only a divisive nature of religion in relations between nations, which has been deeply rooted in the mentality of these people, but also politicians, diplomats and many other international

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 581.

⁸ Cf. especially *ibidem*. Cf. also by this author: 2012. Faith-based diplomacy. Religia jako czynnik funkcjonalny w stosunkach międzynarodowych. [Faith-based diplomacy. Religion as a functional factor in international relations.] In: Solarz, A.M., Schreiber, H. eds. Religia w stosunkach międzynarodowych. [*Religion in international relations.*] Warszawa, pp. 137–154; 2013. Faith-based diplomacy jako instrument rozwiązywania sporów i konfliktów międzynarodowych. [Faith-based diplomacy as an instrument for resolving international disputes and conflicts.] *Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politycznohistoryczne*, no. 38, pp. 9–25; 2013. Ambiwalencja świętości jako przejaw czynnika religijnego w stosunkach międzynarodowych. [The ambivalence of holiness as a manifestation of the religious factor in international relations.] *Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations*, no. 48, pp. 85–100; 2013. Organizacje religijne i motywowane religijnie wobec problemów rozwoju i pomocy humanitarnej. [Religious organizations and religiously motivated ones and the problems of development and humanitarian aid.] In: Dobrowolska-Polak, J. ed. *Polityka budowy pokoju. Pomoc humanitarna i rozwojowa.* [Peace-building policy. Humanitarian and development aid.] WSNHiD – Instytut Zachodni, pp. 147–174; 2013. Wspólnota Świętego Idziego jako przykład organizacji pozarządowej motywowanej religijnie. [The Community of St. Egidio as an example of a religiously motivated NGO.] In: Gizicki, W. ed. *Religia w polityce światowej. Dylematy narodowe i międzynarodowe.* [Religion in world politics. National and international dilemmas.] Instytut Sądecko-Lubelski, pp. 79–95; 2015. A balanced perception of religion in international relations. 9 July 2015. Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2015/07/09/a-balanced-perception-of-religion-in-international-relations>, pp. 85–100.

practitioners⁹. Meanwhile, the lack of references to religion in the analysis of international reality has not eliminated the real meaning of this sphere in social relations. A consequence of this approach has been, however, depriving the West of efficient tools to explain and predict the development of events, the best proof of which was the question of the collapse of the Eastern bloc or the development of international terrorism associated with religious fundamentalism¹⁰.

The book entitled 'Religion, the missing dimension of statecraft' by Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson published in 1994 by the Center for Strategic and International Studies was a groundbreaking work of Western scholars, which noticed a positive and profound impact of the religious factor on building peaceful international relations. The authors analyse in it, among others, practical examples of the impact of the religious and spiritual factor on overcoming mistrust and reconciliation between different social groups and nations¹¹. In 2003 another book edited by D. Johnston entitled 'Faith-based diplomacy. Trumping realpolitik'¹² was published, which emphasises the need to replace power politics with the culture approach, especially based on religion¹³.

FBD has been considered by many other Western scholars. We should in particular remember about publications by Scott Appleby, Brian Cox and Daniel Philpott¹⁴. From the position of the practitioner of diplomacy, also

⁹ It was, as it seems, the result of the generalisation of the Eurocentric analysis of international reality, which since the mid-seventeenth century (Peace of Westphalia in 1648) has eliminated the religious factor from this sphere in the name of ending religious wars. Theoretical assumptions, however, do not affect the practice of social life, which, especially in the non-European world, is greatly influenced by religion.

¹⁰ These conclusions lead to even greater generalization. E.g. a report of the Transatlantic Academy of April 2015 says explicitly that the high degree of secularization in Europe weakens its 'soft power', especially in relation to its neighbors – i.e. Russia, Turkey and the Arab world, which in turn translates into transatlantic relations. Cf. *Faith, freedom, and foreign policy. Challenges for the transatlantic community*. Available at: http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TA%202015%20report_Apr15_web.pdf [Accessed: 5 June 2015]. Cf. also Johnson, D. ed. 2003. *Faith-based diplomacy*. New York, p. XI.

¹¹ The book discusses examples, among others, of Philippines, East Germany, Nicaragua, Rhodesia, South Africa, South Sudan, and the post-war Franco-German relations. Cf. Johnston, D., Sampson, C. 1995. eds. *Religion, the missing dimension of statecraft*. New York.

¹² Johnston, D. ed. *Faith-based diplomacy*, op. cit.

¹³ Cf. Kulska, J. op. cit., p. 579.

¹⁴ Cf. Cox, B., Philpott, D. *Faith-based diplomacy*, op. cit.

former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright draws attention in her works to the need to refer to the religious factor¹⁵. The book entitled 'Faith-based diplomacy. The challenge to development' by John Chikago, Mali ambassador in Japan, is an exceptional study in which the author coming from the non-Western circle attempts to introduce a new optics to analyse international reality as wanted and created by God, referring to specific passages of the Scripture¹⁶.

The activity of the Catholic Church, especially popes and institutions connected with the Church, is part of the circle of activities associated with FBD. On the other hand, diplomacy of the Holy See also uses traditional methods, appropriate for governments, because of its quasi-state character. Due to all this, this entity has a very wide range of means and methods of 'soft' influence in international relations (though, what needs to be emphasised exclusively on the principle of 'soft power'), and therefore its responsibility for the maintenance of peace in the world is enormous. Popes and church representatives themselves emphasise that this institution derives from its special 'experience in humanity'¹⁷ and becomes a kind of 'conscience of humanity'¹⁸. All activities of the Holy See and representatives of the Church towards the world are based on the Gospel and the ensuing social teaching, therefore it is worthwhile to devote some attention to it.

2. RECONCILIATION IN CHURCH TEACHING

As I emphasise in the introduction, reconciliation has been related to the mission of the Catholic Church since its beginnings, as it is related to the mission of Jesus Christ. Through truth, repentance and forgiveness mankind is to achieve reconciliation, which is a prerequisite for true peace. The logic of these actions often has little in common with the so-called purely human

¹⁵ Cf. inter alia, Albright, M. 2006. Faith and diplomacy. *The Review of Faith and International Affairs*, vol. 4, issue 2.

¹⁶ Chikago, J. 2005. *Faith-based diplomacy. The challenge to development*. Bloomington.

¹⁷ Cf. Paul VI. 1996. Encyclical letter *Populorum progressio*. No. 13. In: *Dokumenty nauki społecznej Kościoła*. [Documents of Church's social teaching.], vol. II. Rome-Lublin, p. 13. Cf. also: <https://zenit.org/articles/church-is-an-expert-in-humanity-says-pope/> [Accessed: 10 April 2016].

¹⁸ Casaroli, A. 1987. The unique role of the Holy See in international community. No. 045. In: *Path to peace. A Contribution. Documents of the Holy See to the international community*. New York, p. xxxi.

logic. In chapter 10 of the Gospel of St. Matthew Christ's words are quoted: 'Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth: it is not peace I have come to bring, but a sword'¹⁹. This statement may seem surprising, because otherwise we know that the teaching of Christ concerns just this true peace achieved through reconciliation between man and God and between people. These words indicate, however, that we often misunderstand the word 'peace' – most commonly understood as the 'absence of war'. In fact, evangelical peace is not identical with 'apparent peace', which prevails 'in peaceful times' in the live of people and nations. Evangelical peace is primarily 'peace of heart' – the internal order in the soul of every man which is contrasted with the 'moral disorder' or sin. What then is the relationship between 'peace of heart' and wars in the world? The teaching of the Church, from the Gospel through the Apostles, the Fathers and writers of the Church and the whole theological and historical tradition widely develops this idea, which is also the basic theme of the presence of the Holy See in international relations. The Church emphasises that only true 'peace of heart' (conditioned by truth, justice, forgiveness and reconciliation) resulting from selfless love for God and another human being (which is a consequence of selfless and God's perfect love for man) can be the basis for lasting peace between people and nations²⁰.

In the 'Compendium of social doctrine of the Church' we read that '(...) true peace is made possible only through forgiveness and reconciliation. (...) Mutual forgiveness must not eliminate the need for justice and still less does it block the path that leads to truth: justice and truth represent the concrete requisites for reconciliation'²¹. In the message for the celebration of the World Day of Peace on 1 January 1997, which started the three-year direct period of preparation for the Great Jubilee of the Year 2000, St. John Paul II emphasises that 'no process of peace can ever begin unless an attitude of sincere forgiveness takes root in human hearts'²². In this document the Pope appeals to people to 'seek peace along the paths of forgiveness' thought

¹⁹ Mt 10, 34.

²⁰ 'Building true peace is an expression of Christian faith in God's love for every human being'. Cf. Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. 2005. *Kompedium nauki społecznej Kościoła*. [Compendium of social doctrine of the Church.] Kielce, no. 516, p. 339.

²¹ *Ibidem*. No. 517–518, pp. 339–340.

²² John Paul II. 2003. *Przebacz, a zaznasz pokoju. Orędzie na Światowy Dzień Pokoju, 1 stycznia 1997 r.* [Offer forgiveness and receive peace. Message for the celebration of the World Day of Peace, 1 January 1997.] In: John Paul II, *Świat nie jest zamęt...* [The world is no chaos...] Warszawa, no. 1, p. 248.

at the same time he stresses 'that forgiveness can seem contrary to human logic, which often yields to the dynamics of conflict and revenge'. Forgiveness however is inspired by this special 'the logic of love', which 'God has for every man and woman, for every people and nation, and for the whole human family'. Later in the document he emphasises that 'God is rich in mercy and full of forgiveness for those who come back to him'²³. This merciful love of God for man should be the basis for brotherhood among human beings, including their mutual forgiveness and reconciliation as a consequence. This does not diminish the importance of truth and justice, but puts them in a different light.

It is worthwhile to note the commitment of the Holy See to building peaceful international relations after the Cold War. The Vatican's 'strategy of reconciliation', which the Catholic Church proposes to the world in the utterances of popes and other representatives, is a part of this. This is the basis of Catholic 'faith-based diplomacy', but it is also the foundation of traditional Vatican diplomacy. It seems that, among other things, due to the positive reception of this 'strategy' by the international community, in the twenty-first century the Holy See has strengthened its position in the international arena, despite fierce opposition from liberal-leftist circles.

3. THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE ACTIVITY OF THE HOLY SEE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AFTER THE COLD WAR

The end of the Cold War rivalry in the late eighties and early nineties of the twentieth century is an important turning point in international relations, as well as in the pontificate of Polish Pope John Paul II covering the period 1978–2005. It seems that after the collapse of the Eastern bloc the Pope together with all the diplomacy of the Holy See got particularly intensely involved in co-creating 'ethical foundations of the new world community'²⁴. Due to deep reflection of the Church on totalitarian regimes, the still emerging conflicts and wars in the world, based on its 'experience in humanity' –

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 248–249.

²⁴ *Osservatore Romano – Polish Edition*, no. 3. 2002. Wystąpienie abpa Martina na konferencji w Durbanie. [Speech by Archbishop Martin at the conference in Durban.], pp. 35–37. Cf. Solarz, A.M. 2003. „Strategia pojednania” – propozycja Stolicy Apostolskiej dla stosunków Północ-Południe w XXI wieku. [‘The strategy of reconciliation’ – a proposal of the Holy See for North-South relations in the twenty-first century.] *Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations*, no. 1–2, p. 159.

a long tradition of moral teaching and the conviction and beliefs of the Pope himself (former professor of ethics at the Catholic University of Lublin), the Holy See felt compelled to increase its activity on the international forum on an unprecedented scale²⁵. This manifested itself in various ways, among others, by establishing diplomatic relations with many countries, further intense apostolic trips, involvement in resolution of disputes and conflicts in various parts of the world. But in a special way it was connected with the presence in the UN system, which – as the church believed – will play a special role in building of ethics for the united world at the time of accelerated globalisation processes²⁶.

Among other things, the Holy See had a significant share in the preparation, conduct and implementation of so-called global conferences, which were devoted to important international issues (such as the environment, demography, women, nourishment, housing, the development of the poorest regions, diseases and others)²⁷. Moral solutions proposed by the Church met with acceptance of the international community (especially those related to aid for the poorest countries of the world or the environment), but also with opposition (it concerned primarily opposition to the concept of so-called reproductive health and methods of preventing HIV/AIDS, and in a broader sense – the redefinition of the whole concept of human rights in a spirit contrary to natural law). In many issues the attitude of the Holy See, entering into temporary alliances with countries of different cultures, not only Catholic ones, turned out to be an important factor blocking international consensus, which was to be the basis of this ‘new ethics’. The Catholic Church became the target of attacks in the UN and elsewhere, and their most famous example was the international campaign ‘See Change’ initiated by the organisation ‘Catholics for a Free Choice’, not recognised by Vatican.

²⁵ The second period of the pontificate in terms of commitment to peace is analysed, among others, by Christiansen, D. Catholic peacemaking, 1991–2005. The Legacy of Pope John Paul II. In: Hoover, D.R., Johnston D.M. eds., op. cit., pp. 281–287.

²⁶ Cf. Solarz, A.M. 2003. *Stolica Apostolska wobec problemów globalizacji*. [The Holy See in the face of globalization problems.] In: Haliżak, E., Kuźniar, R., Symonides, J. eds. *Globalizacja a stosunki międzynarodowe*. [*Globalization and international relations*.] Bydgoszcz-Warszawa, pp. 316–333.

²⁷ *Serving the human family. The Holy See at the major United Nations conferences*. 1997. New York City. Cf. also Solarz, A.M. 2009. Jan Paweł II i dyplomacja watykańska wobec globalnych konferencji ONZ. [John Paul II and Vatican diplomacy towards global UN conferences.] In: Wilk, M., Donaj, Ł. eds. *Jan Paweł II – w kręgu myśli politycznej i dyplomacji*. [*John Paul II in the circle of political thought and diplomacy*.] Łódź, pp. 110–123.

The aim of the campaign was to change the status of the Holy See in the UN system from an observer state to an NGO, which in turn was supposed to stop it from blocking changes in the issues of abortion, contraception and sex education. This plan, however, failed because there appeared a Catholic movement defending the current position of the Church, led the organisation C-Fam (Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute) and which received broad support from institutions associated with other religions, as well as many neutral ones in this respect. Consequently, this led to the extension of the privileges of the Holy See in the UN in the General Assembly resolution of 1 July 2004 and strengthening of the position of the entity in the international community²⁸.

4. JOHN PAUL II AND THE 'PURIFICATION OF MEMORY'

As can be expected, the strengthening of the Church's presence in the UN system was a consequence of, among others, its contribution to breaking the stalemate that occurred during the first global conference in the twenty-first century dedicated to racism, which took place in August and September 2001 in Durban. While the range of issues that were to be discussed at the meeting was wide, the debate was dominated by two topics. The first concerned the settlement of colonialism and slavery – the states affected by such actions expected an apology, which would be followed by high financial compensation, especially from rich European countries. The other issue was the conflict in Palestine, where since September 2000 the Second Intifada had lasted after the collapse of the peace process, a part of which was the propaganda struggle in the international arena and an attempt to introduce anti-Israeli rhetoric to the final documents of the Durban conference (it concerned, among others, the recognition of Zionism as a form of racism and omission of the problem of anti-Semitism). As a consequence of this latter topic Israel and the United States supporting it withdrew from the proceedings, which significantly reduced the importance of the meeting in Durban. A compromise was achieved in the first issue, to which the Holy See and its 'strategy of reconciliation' ('purification of memory') contributed.

Pope John Paul II for the first time used the term 'purification of memory' on 31 May 1980 at the ecumenical meeting in Paris. As observers emphasise

²⁸ See more on this topic, among others, in Kulska, J. Faith-based diplomacy i transnarodowi... [Faith-based diplomacy and transnational...], op. cit., p. 589.

over time it became the ‘central motto’ of this pontificate²⁹. It concerns the confession and mutual forgiveness, which is aimed at genuine reconciliation and peaceful cooperation not burdened with the past³⁰. Forerunners of this way of thinking in contemporary international relations were Protestants who already in the twenties of the twentieth century expressed regret and remorse because of divisions in Christianity³¹. The Catholic Church joined these activities during the Second Vatican Council – during the opening of the second session the newly elected Pope, Paul VI, addressed the representatives of other Christian denominations, asking for forgiveness for the sins of Catholics, and ensuring forgiveness from his church (*veniam damus petimusque vicissim* – ‘we forgive and ask for forgiveness’). The consequences of this gesture were significant, as can be seen in the conciliar documents, as well as in the practice of international life. As we know, Polish bishops used the same phrase in the letter to German bishops of 18 November 1965. A defender of this letter, in the face of fierce anti-Church Communist propaganda in reaction to this event, was, among others, Karol Wojtyła³².

Even as Pope, John Paul II often used this kind of strategy of ‘purification of memory’. It was ascertained that in the years 1978–1996 he expressed sorrow for sins committed by Catholics in as many as 94 different ways, including he used the words ‘I ask for forgiveness’ and similar ones 25 times³³. In the above mentioned message for the celebration of the 1997 World Day of Peace John Paul II explained the need to take this type of action in every aspect of human life: ‘one cannot remain a prisoner of the past, for individuals and peoples need a sort of “healing of memories”, so that past evils will not come back again. This does not mean forgetting past events; it means re-examining them with a new attitude and learning precisely from the experience of suffering that only love can build up, whereas hatred produces devastation and

²⁹ Accatoli, L. 1999. *Kiedy papież prosi o przebaczenie. Wszystkie „mea culpa” Jana Pawła II. [When a pope asks forgiveness. The mea culpa’s of John Paul II.]* Kraków, p. 100.

³⁰ Cf. Solarz, A.M. „Strategia pojednania”... [‘The strategy of reconciliation...’], op. cit., p. 160.

³¹ Cf. Accatoli, L., op. cit., pp. 23–84. Cf. Solarz, A.M. „Strategia pojednania”... [‘The strategy of reconciliation...’], op. cit., p. 161.

³² 50 rocznica orędzia biskupów polskich do biskupów niemieckich. [50th anniversary of the address of Polish bishops to German bishops.] Available at: http://ekai.pl/wydarzenia/temat_dnia/x94260/rocznica-oredzia-biskupow-polskich-do-biskupow-niemieckich/ [Accessed: 5 April 2016].

³³ Accatoli, L., op. cit. Cf. Solarz, A.M. „Strategia pojednania”... [‘The strategy of reconciliation ...’], op. cit., p. 162.

ruin. The deadly cycle of revenge must be replaced by the new-found liberty of forgiveness³⁴.

The specificity of 'purification of memory' is exemplified in the subsequent sentences of the Message in which the Pope calls for 'learning to read the history of other peoples without facile and partisan bias, making an effort to understand their point of view'³⁵. At the same time he clearly states that 'this is a challenge for civilisation' but 'if we agree to set out on this journey, we shall come to see that mistakes are not all on one side; we shall see how history has sometimes been presented in a distorted and even manipulated way, with tragic results. A correct reading of history will make it easier to accept and appreciate the social, cultural and religious differences between individuals, groups and peoples'³⁶. It is these actions that lead to genuine reconciliation and consequently build 'lasting peace'. Truth and justice become the prerequisites of forgiveness³⁷.

The papal proposal contains also specific mechanisms of reconciliation suggested to the international community. It primarily concerns building strong 'desire for peace' to which religions can specifically contribute. According to the Pope, also the activities of governments and the international community are of key importance; they should establish 'solid structures capable of withstanding the uncertainties of politics' – ensuring 'to everyone freedom and security in every circumstance'. The Pope points in particular to the United Nations – as one of such structures – although in the present condition requiring 'strengthening' and similar institutions at the continental, regional and local level³⁸. Moreover, John Paul II stresses that 'lasting peace is not just a matter of structures and mechanisms'. It concerns primarily a fundamental change in 'a style of human coexistence' which should be 'marked by mutual acceptance and a capacity to forgive from the heart'. Everyone needs forgiveness and thus 'asking and granting forgiveness is something profoundly worthy of man'³⁹.

The Pope's own initiative was the proposal of confession of all the sins of the Church committed in the past millennium, associated with the Great Jubilee of the Year 2000. 'The examination of conscience at the end of the

³⁴ *Przebacz, a zaznasz pokoju...* [Offer forgiveness and receive peace....], op. cit., no. 3, p. 250.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, no. 4–5, pp. 251–253.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, no. 4, pp. 251–252.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, no. 4, p. 252.

second millennium' was also announced in the Apostolic Letter *Tertio Millennio Adveniente*, although not all cardinals were in favour of this idea⁴⁰. The initiative was implemented, however, and its particular expression was the document 'Memory and reconciliation: the Church and the faults of the past', which was presented in the Vatican City on 7 March 2000. Several days later (12 March) expiatory Sunday was held – during the solemn liturgy the representatives of the various dicasteries of the Roman Curia under the leadership of the pope confessed faults of the Church concerning particular issues and asked for forgiveness. Local churches, sometimes with the participation of the state, took similar actions⁴¹.

5. THE VATICAN'S 'STRATEGY OF RECONCILIATION' DURING THE CONFERENCE IN DURBAN

The Holy See therefore joined the conference in Durban armed with the 'strategy of reconciliation' and its own experience with its use. The Vatican's diplomacy turned out to be very active during the preparations of the Conference and its duration. A particularly important expression of the participation of the Holy See became a document of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace presented just before the opening of the meeting of 29 August 2001 entitled 'The contribution of the Holy See to the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance'⁴². The problem of Zionism as a form of racism is not included in the document at all. It seems that for the Holy See this issue had a purely political and propaganda character and should not be included in the final provisions from Durban. At the same time representatives of the Church noticed the need to include the Palestinian problem to the agenda of the conference, but in a way that was compatible with the spirit of the meeting⁴³.

⁴⁰ John Paul II. 1994. *Tertio millennio adveniente*. Wrocław, no. 33 ff. Cf. Solarz, A.M. „Strategia pojednania”... [‘The strategy of reconciliation...’], op. cit., p. 161.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 163.

⁴² Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. *Contribution to World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance*. Available at: http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/justpeace/documents/rc_pc_justpeace_doc_20010829_comunicato-razzismo_en.html [Accessed 11 April 2016]. More detailed discussion of the document cf.: Solarz, A.M. „Strategia pojednania”... [‘The strategy of reconciliation...’], op. cit., pp. 167–173.

⁴³ Cf. Solarz, A.M. „Strategia pojednania”... [‘The strategy of reconciliation...’], op. cit., p. 167.

Particular importance of the Vatican document is associated with a proposal to break the deadlock in North and South relations. The Holy See stresses the role of religion in leading to 'purification of hearts' from the spirit of domination and fear, and opening people to brotherhood and solidarity. If evil through its consequences lives longer than the perpetrator, becoming a burden which pushes apart the next generations, 'purification of memory' becomes necessary, that is 'the elimination from personal and collective conscience of all forms of resentment or violence left by the inheritance of the past'⁴⁴. This 'purification of memory', which is an external expression of 'purification of hearts' is a prerequisite for forgiveness which will stop the desire for revenge. The Church proposes to re-read history in the spirit of a 'culture of peace' (without resorting to war to resolve problems), which should be reflected in the education proposed by governments with the participation of churches and religion. At the international level it assigns the United Nations and regional structures a large role in the dissemination of such an approach and taking practical mediation actions in favour of peace. The Holy See stresses, however, that the basis for peace – mutual forgiveness – has its own requirements: committed evil must be recognised and, if practicable, repaired. Everything should be done in the spirit of 'respect for truth', that is why procedures approximating it are so important. All activities must be accompanied by justice and respect for fundamental human dignity. This is not about revenge or retaliation⁴⁵.

The Vatican's proposal to address the issue of compensation demanded by the post-colonial countries proved to be crucial for the conference in Durban. The document of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace mentions restitution for 'moral injuries', because the calculation of actual losses associated with the history is basically impossible. From the ethical point of view it is important that the victim feels 'satisfied' with the granted compensation. The Holy See did not support exorbitant claims made especially by the environment connected with the black population, which made attempts, among others, to calculate the costs of slavery. It stressed, however, that the states which in the past violated human rights had a moral obligation to take responsibility for those actions. In its opinion, this should take the form of an apology and specific development aid, which will be gratuitously granted by the country that benefited from colonialism and slavery, in order to help postcolonial coun-

⁴⁴ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *op. cit.*, no. 6. Cf. also Solarz, A.M. „Strategia pojednania”... [‘The strategy of reconciliation...’], *op. cit.*, pp. 167–168.

⁴⁵ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *op. cit.*, no. 11. Cf. also Solarz, A.M. „Strategia pojednania”... [‘The strategy of reconciliation...’], *op. cit.*, p. 169.

tries break the barrier and enter onto the path of sustainable development⁴⁶. Strong emphasis should be placed on aid in the development of education since 'illiteracy is a kind of daily slavery in a world that presupposes education'. The education should in the first place lead to the development of humanity and should not be exclusively targeted to achieve temporary success⁴⁷.

The analysis of the documents adopted at the first global conference of twenty-first century in Durban leads to the conclusion that the recommendations of the Holy See were reflected in them. A lot of attention is devoted to the role of religion and the need to eradicate manifestations of evil in the world and the situation of developing countries in the face of intensified globalisation. In point 100 it is stressed that some countries have taken the initiative to apologise and have paid reparation, where appropriate, for grave and massive violations committed⁴⁸. It is also known that representatives of European states expressed their apologies during the conference⁴⁹.

What was however lacking from the point of view of the Vatican's 'strategy of reconciliation' was the absence of loudly expressed forgiveness by the victims, which should be one of the conditions of 'purification of memory' within the international community. A few days after the meeting in Durban, the world was shaken by September 11 attacks on New York and Washington DC. In the Message for the World Day of Peace 2002 Pope John Paul II emphasised that 'there is no peace without justice' and also 'there is no justice without forgiveness'⁵⁰. These seemingly alternative values, according to the Pope, are in fact inextricably linked: 'Forgiveness is in no way opposed to justice, as if to forgive meant to overlook the need to right the wrong done. It is rather the fullness of justice, leading to that tranquillity of order which is much more than a fragile and temporary cessation of hostilities, involving as it does the deepest healing of the wounds which fester in human hearts. Justice and forgiveness are both essential to such healing'⁵¹. In his message, John Paul II observes that international terrorism attacks peace based on

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 170.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 171.

⁴⁸ The analysis of the final document: *ibidem*, pp. 174–175.

⁴⁹ Among others the Germany's representative apologized for slavery and colonial exploitation. Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 167.

⁵⁰ John Paul II. 2002. Nie ma pokoju bez sprawiedliwości, nie ma sprawiedliwości bez przebaczenia. Ośrodek na Światowy Dzień Pokoju, 1 stycznia 2002 r. [There is no peace without justice, no justice without forgiveness. Message for the World Day of Peace, 1 January 2002.] In: John Paul II. *Świat nie jest zamęt...* [*The world is no chaos...*], op. cit., pp. 305–312.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, no. 3, p. 306.

justice and forgiveness, and because it is 'built on contempt for human life' it leads not only to crime but is 'itself a true crime against humanity'. In no case can the injustices existing in the world be used to justify terrorist attacks, and the terrorist claim to act on behalf of the poor is, according to the Pope 'a patent falsehood'⁵².

6. THE HOLY SEE IN THE SERVICE OF RECONCILIATION BETWEEN RELIGIONS AND CIVILISATIONS

As follows from the above quoted message, the events of 11 September 2001 that took place immediately after the meeting in Durban, and in addition in the year which was declared by the United Nations the 'Year of Dialogue Among Civilisations', were alarming for the Holy See also because they constituted 'a profanation of religion'⁵³. The teaching of the Church stresses that 'forgiveness has a divine source and criterion' although 'its significance can also be grasped in the light of human reasoning'⁵⁴. In his reflection on the attacks in the US, justice and forgiveness, John Paul II also turned towards the conflict in the Holy Land and stressed the urgent need to solve it: 'The continuous recourse to acts of terror and war, which aggravate the situation and diminish hope on all sides, must finally give way to a negotiated solution. The rights and demands of each party can be taken into proper account and balanced in an equitable way, if and when there is a will to let justice and reconciliation prevail'⁵⁵.

Special responsibility, however, lies on prominent religious figures. In his message, John Paul II urged 'Jewish, Christian and Islamic religious leaders' to start from 'the public condemnation of terrorism' and deny 'terrorists any form of religious or moral legitimacy'. The effort on the part of religion would be conducive to 'the pursue of the path of forgiveness'. The pope stressed that 'the help that religions can give to peace and against terrorism consists precisely in their teaching forgiveness, for those who forgive and seek forgiveness know that there is a higher Truth, and that by accepting that Truth they can transcend themselves'⁵⁶.

⁵² *Ibidem*, no. 4–5, pp. 307–308.

⁵³ Nie ma pokoju bez sprawiedliwości... [There is no peace without justice...], op. cit., no. 6, p. 308.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, no. 11, p. 311.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, no. 12–13, p. 311.

Even before 11 September 2001 the Holy See undertook a number of ecumenical and interreligious initiatives aimed at forgiveness, reconciliation and peace between religions and civilisations. On 27 October 1986 at the invitation of Pope John Paul II more than 130 representatives of different Christian traditions, and 13 other religions gathered in Assisi during the World Day of Prayer for Peace. It was an unprecedented event, supported by almost all the most important religious leaders, as well as various international organisations and world public opinion. Certain representatives of the Church were, however, quite reserved, e.g., Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger who stressed the danger of blurring the differences between religions⁵⁷.

John Paul II also used this particular message of peace, serving reconciliation between people and nations after 11 September, announcing in the above quoted Message for the World Day of Peace, that it will be held on 24 January 2002. It is worth stressing that Cardinal Ratzinger did not have any objections then – he personally took part in it, recognizing it as important and constructive, and as Pope Benedict XVI he himself convened a similar prayer meeting in 2011, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the first one⁵⁸.

The ‘spirit of Assisi’ also accompanies the pontificate of Francis, who has frequently met with representatives of other Christian denominations and religions. His meeting with the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, Kirill I, on 12 February 2016 in Cuba is memorable. The joint declaration signed then says a lot about the common roots, understanding and reconciliation in the face of challenges of the modern world, but it does not mention the word ‘forgiveness’, which may indicate that it is more inspired by the Orthodox side than by Catholic ‘purification of memory’. A very important event of the pontificate of Francis was also the organised at his request prayer meeting in the Vatican gardens attended by Israeli President Shimon Peres, leader of the Palestinians Muhammad Abbas and the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Bartholomew. Among the prayers separately said by Jews, Christians and Muslims there was also a request for forgiveness. Pope Francis drew

⁵⁷ Cf. Michałek A, SVD, 2014. Spotkanie międzyreligijne w Asyżu (1986) – szczególne orędzie pokoju. [The interreligious meeting in Assisi (1986) – a special message of peace.] In: Lizak, W., Solarz, A.M. eds. *Z problematyki pokoju w stosunkach międzynarodowych*. [On the issue of peace in international relations.] Warszawa, p. 95.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 95.

attention in a special way to the need for forgiveness in his speech, calling for 'the courage of peace'⁵⁹.

7. SUMMARY

For traditional Vatican diplomacy as well as diplomacy of representatives of the Church defined in science as 'faith-based diplomacy' the most important task is service for peace. However, its establishment and maintenance in the world requires *metanoia* in the current approach to interpersonal and international relations and this needs to be done by overcoming limitations in people's hearts. That is why, the Holy See pays so much attention to reconciliation, which in the Catholic tradition is based on truth, justice and forgiveness. Disregarding any of these conditions means building peace on sand and not on rock and explains why interpersonal wars and conflicts are so persistent in international relations. This can be an important clue for states and their foreign policy. It turns out that culture and religion, underestimated by scholars of international relations, can provide an important inspiration in this regard.

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⁵⁹ Górzyński, O. Abbas, Peres i Franciszek modlili się o pokój. [Abbas, Peres and Francis prayed for peace.] <http://www.rp.pl/artukul/1116323-Abbas--Peres-i-Franciszek-modlili-sie-o-pokoj.html#ap-2> [Accessed: 11 April 2016].

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THE HOLY SEE’S EFFORTS TOWARDS RECONCILIATION

Summary

The Holy See uses two kinds of diplomacy in international relations – classical (similar to that used by each state) and so-called ‘track two’ diplomacy (specific for non-state actors). In both cases the most important ‘interest’ of Catholic Church remains ensuring its followers the freedom of practice of religion, which at the same time serves to disseminate the religious freedom all over the world. Reconciliation is a part of the Vatican strategy of the ‘purification of memory’ that was proposed to the international community by John Paul II. But only by keeping its own basic principles, which are truth, justice, forgiveness and reconciliation, the strategy can give real and sustainable peace in the world.

STOLICA APOSTOLSKA W SŁUŻBIE POJEDNANIA

Streszczenie

Stolica Apostolska działa w stosunkach międzynarodowych posługując się zarówno klasyczną dyplomacją, jak i tzw. dyplomacją drugiego toru. W obu przypadkach najważniejszym „interesem” Kościoła pozostaje zapewnienie swoim wiernym możliwości nieskrępowanego praktykowania swojego kultu, co służy upowszechnianiu wolności religijnej w świecie. Pojednanie stanowi element watykańskiej strategii „oczyszczenia pamięci”, którą zaproponował światu Jan Paweł II po zakończeniu zimnej wojny. Tylko zachowanie jej podstawowych warunków, którymi są prawda, sprawiedliwość, przebaczenie i pojednanie może zapewnić w świecie trwałą i prawdziwą pokój.

ВАТИКАН НА СЛУЖБЕ ПРИМИРЕНИЯ

Резюме

Святейший престол (Ватикан) ведёт свою деятельность на международной арене, опираясь и на классическую дипломатию, и на так называемую дипломатию второго пути. В обоих случаях самым важным «интересом» Католической церкви остаётся обеспечение своим мирянам возможности свободно практиковать вероисповедание, что служит распространению религиозной свободы в мире. Примирение представляет собой элемент Ватиканской стратегии «очищения памяти», которую предложил миру Иоанн Павел II после завершения холодной войны. И только соблюдение её основных принципов, к которым относятся правда, справедливость, прощение и примирение, может гарантировать человечеству устойчивый и настоящий мир.