

TOWARD A NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSAL OF POPE FRANCIS

Abstract

In a sign of continuity with his predecessors, the first Latin American Pope pays attention to diplomacy and representative democracy. Thus, although he is sometimes not perceived in this way, Francis has not neglected traditional level of interaction that the Church has managed to maintain in its long history, generally alternating moments of conflict and cooperation, and not without taking it into account when defining their own models of authority: the link with states. If attention to the community of states, it is not in itself something new for the Vatican, it certainly is the approach and the agenda emphasis that every pontiff has made of international relations. Thus, the article seeks to answer a series of questions: What newness does Pope Bergoglio contribute to “diplomacy”? Is the Pontiff’s proposal for international governance comparable to a world state? Moreover, how does Francisco’s position on the international system articulate with the “reform of the papacy”? More concretely, how does the Pope conceive the mission of the central government of the Church and of papal diplomacy? Finally, what role does Latin America play in the planetary scheme of the Bishop of Rome? The article points out that Francisco proposes a new international political institution, and he understands that in the current critical world situation, diplomacy has a particular relevance. It is also stressed that for the Pope the central government of the Church and diplomacy must be at the service of building bridges for the promotion of justice and peace. In addition, the article says that the peoples and cultures of Latin America and the Caribbean have a potential that the Pontiff values positively.

Keywords: diplomacy, community of states, Holy See, Pope Francis, justice, peace

Introduction

Of the different facts that Francisco has been leading in relation to international issues, his address to the 70th Assembly of the United Nations (UN) in 2015 can be considered not only a globalized version of the political theological chair

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that he held in his years of archbishop of Buenos Aires, but also the presentation of his proposal of governance of the international system to the world community of states. Such position of the pontiff combined realism in denunciation, confidence in the high politics for the necessary reforms and hope for the “common house” of humanity.

In a sign of continuity with his predecessors, the Latin American Pope pays attention to diplomacy and representative democracy. Thus, although he is sometimes not perceived in this way, Francis has not neglected at all the most traditional level of interaction that the Church has maintained in its long history, generally alternating moments of conflict and cooperation, and not without taking it into account when defining their own models of authority: the link with states.

We must bear in mind that this level of relationship is not exhaustive in itself but is integrated with two others: ecumenical and interreligious dialogue, the foundations of which were set by the Second Vatican Council, and the dialogue with the “popular movements”, that Francisco has been driving.

If attention to the community of states is not in itself something new for the Vatican, it certainly is the approach and the agenda emphasis that every pontiff has made of international relations. In this sense, we can ask ourselves: what is the novelty that Francisco brings in this area? What does he mean by diplomacy? How does the Pope conceive of the reason of State? Is your proposal for international governance comparable to a world state? Moreover, how does Francisco’s position on the international system articulate with the reform of the papacy? More concretely, how do you conceive the role of the central government of the Church and of papal diplomacy? Finally, what role does Latin America play in the planetary scheme of the pontiff?

Here we can advance what we will develop throughout this article trying to answer such questions: Francisco, going from effects to causes,² notes that the “planetary inequity” and “ecological crisis” that he denounces in his encyclical social *Laudato si’* (LS) from taking into account the scientific evidence, are caused, among other factors, by the logic of power according to the primacy of “reason of state”.³ In the analysis of global asymmetries and socio-environmental degradation, he warns that “social ecology” deteriorates when transnational finances are imposed on politics. In this way, the sovereignty of states and their own administrative structures is damaged, thereby degrading not only political culture but the life of peoples (LS 142 and 175). As we know, this situation - similar to other regions of the world - is suffered by Latin America and the Caribbean. However, the peoples and cultures of this region have a potential that the Pontiff highly values.

Along with proposing a new international political institutions, the Pope understands that in the current world situation diplomacy not only “acquires

2 Cf. Cuda, Emilce, *Para leer a Francisco. Teología, ética y política*, Buenos Aires, Manantial, 2016.

3 Francisco, “Desafío para el futuro”, en: *L’Osservatore Romano*, 11/15/2013.

unprecedented importance” (LS 175), but must be driven by the “utopia of the good” and promote the “ethics of solidarity”.⁴ According to the Pontiff, in line with the post-Vatican II reforms, the central government of the Church and diplomacy must be at the service of building bridges for the promotion of justice and peace. Francis understands that in order to fulfill these objectives structural changes must be made within the Church, among which the “conversion of the papacy” stands out (*Evangelii Gaudium*, 32).

Before proceeding, it is important to point out that at the methodological level we rely mainly on the interventions of Pope Francis where he can be perceived not only in his role of pastor of the Catholic Church, but also - and above all - in his role as sovereign of the Vatican State. If the first aspect is the most emphasized by the press, according to our object of study it seems to us that it is necessary to take into account the second feature, especially when considering the observation that the political studies have strikingly neglected the Vatican State as such.⁵ In this sense, we prefer to take the words of the Pope addressed to other rulers, the staff of the Roman Curia, the pontifical representatives, journalists, etc., whether expressed in speeches themselves, in magisterial documents or in interviews with the media communication.

In what follows from this article, first we will dwell on some background of the formulation of the proposal of international governance of the pontiff. So the previous considerations will divide them between historical and conceptual aspects of the diplomacy of the Holy See and the imprint that has given him Francisco since his arrival in the Papacy. Then we will focus on the indications on global governance as proposed by the Pontiff, particularly those contained in *Laudato si'*. We will then explain how the Pope himself put the proposal into action. Our tour will conclude by pointing out some aspects that allow us to visualize the role of Latin America and the Caribbean in the planetary agenda carried out by the Bishop of Rome.

Diplomacy of the Holy See

Whoever you are (...) when you approach Michelangelo’s immense basilica of San Pietro and the solemn buildings that surround it, you can not help but ask yourself an urgent question: what interest does the Vatican have for us today? (...) Observe and define: here is perhaps the psychological difference of the visit to the Vatican City with a visit to any other great monument of antiquity, the Roman Forum, the Pyramids, the Parthenon, the remains of Nineveh, or the civilization of the Incas. For these it is enough to observe; here it is also necessary to define. Here there is something that has survived, something present, that deserves a

4 *Ibidem*.

5 Cf. Fernández Vega, José, *Francisco y Benedicto. El Vaticano ante la crisis global*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016.

judgment, which demands an encounter, which imposes a reflection, an inner effort, a spiritual synthesis.⁶

It would be difficult to explain the presence of the Papacy in the international context only by the missionary work. Along with this, throughout the centuries the Holy See has deployed an active diplomacy, that has managed to gain a relevant institutional presence, particularly in the West. It does not even seem accidental that the term was coined by the famous cardinal Richelieu.⁷ Without going beyond modernity, certainly one of the moments of consolidation of the "diplomacy of the Holy See" was the Congress of Vienna where, at the urging of the ability of Cardinal Ercole Consalvi, codified the customary rule by which each apostolic nuncio is the dean of the diplomatic corps accredited to each government, especially in countries of the West.⁸ Nevertheless, towards the pontificate of Leo XIII, only four nations had diplomatic representatives before the Bishop of Rome. In a context where European states exercised the "right of veto" in each conclave to elect the new Pope, Pius X's secretary of state, Cardinal Rafael Merry del Val, explained that "the policy of the Church" was "not to do politics", in the sense of cutting once and for all the interference of the governments on the Headquarters of Rome, gaining the Papacy greater autonomy, as was proven in the actions of Benedict XV in World War I.⁹

From the point of view of the relations of the Papacy with the community of states, the Second Vatican Council produced relevant reorientations, establishing that the link with them would be established on the basis of autonomy and cooperation (*Gaudium et Spes*, 76), accepted the secularism of the State and religious freedom (*Dignitatis Humanae*). At such a juncture, in which the Church entered its "world stage" (as the theologian Karl Rahner put it), Paul VI spoke of the existence of a "papal politics", understood as "vigilant initiative always for the good of others".¹⁰ By reorganizing the Roman Curia in 1967 - fulfilling the mandate of the Council Fathers - Pope Montini ranked the State Secretariat to the point of establishing it as the area of closest collaboration with the Petrine ministry. Paul VI also reoriented the role of the apostolic nuncios, emphasizing that they should give their work a pastoral imprint (1969), and his historic visit to the UN (1965) would be an unavoidable point in the agenda of his successors. But it would certainly correspond to John Paul II, within the framework of the guidelines given by his predecessor, to strengthen the link between the Vatican and the community of states. If by 1978, the year of Wojtyła's election, only 84 nations had ambassadors to the Holy See, at the end of his pontificate in 2005, that number rose to

6 Montini, Giovanni B., 1946, in: "Quando la fe genera cultura", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 04/14/2012.

7 Cf. Abril y Castelló, Santos, "Diplomacia de la Santa Sede, una diplomacia para la paz", 2000. http://aica.org/aica/documentos_files/Nunciatura_Apostolica/2000_11_16_Diplomacia.htm (Accessed date June-2017).

8 *Ibidem*.

9 Romanato, Giampaolo, "La política del camino recto", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 03/07/2010.

10 Pablo VI, 1963, en: Vian, Giovanni, "En el signo de la ternura", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 03/22/2013.

178, which meant some important achievements, such as the establishment of diplomatic relations with Mexico and Israel, also highlighting the successful mediation between Argentina and Chile.¹¹ Similar characteristics had, already with Benedict XVI, the opening of the Russian Embassy before the Holy See (2007). In addition, Pope Ratzinger pointed out that the Church should maintain three levels of dialogue: with states, with society - "including [...] dialogue with cultures and science" - and with religions.¹²

In a general characterization of the diplomacy of the Holy See and its presence on the international scene, it is worth mentioning, on the one hand, that it integrates an "immense hierarchical administrative apparatus", a sign of the "power of Catholicism".¹³ On the other hand, the specific means he employs are the so-called "ecclesial diplomatic structures", concordats and agreements, ecumenical and interreligious dialogue, presence in international organizations, and involvement in mediations.¹⁴ For its part, because it has no military "divisions" (according to Stalin's famous phrase), such diplomacy is, along with politics, the distinctive instrument of the Vatican State.¹⁵

Thus, as an example of the multidimensionality of the international action of the Holy See, it has been pointed out that someone there can look inside the offices where ambassadors discuss UN documents, where theologians expect to be examined, where millions of dollars are transferred from the first to the third world, where the appointment of a new American archbishop is decided, where the ethics of arms sales.¹⁶

Francisco and diplomacy

At the time of Francisco's election in March 2013, the Holy See had relations with 180 states, in addition to the link with international organizations. Certainly the interaction with the rulers is nothing new for Pope Bergoglio. In this sense, it should be remembered that in his years of archbishop of Buenos Aires, himself took charge of pronouncing the homily in each Te Deum, which presided in the Cathedral, on the occasion of the national holiday of May 25. As we have already pointed out,¹⁷ he spoke there before four Argentine presidents and his nine mes-

11 Cf. Giaquinta, Carmelo, *El tratado de paz y amistad con Chile*, Buenos Aires, Ágape, 2009.

12 Benedicto XVI, "La lucha por lo que significa ser persona", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 12/23/2012.

13 Schmitt Carl, *Catolicismo romano y forma política*, Buenos Aires, Areté Grupo Editor, 2009 [1923], p. 48.

14 Abril y Castelló, Santos, "Diplomacia de la Santa Sede, una diplomacia para la paz", 2000. http://aica.org/aica/documentos_files/Nunciatura_Apostolica/2000_11_16_Diplomacia.htm (Accessed date June-2017).

15 Cf. Fernández Vega, José, *Francisco y Benedicto. El Vaticano ante la crisis global*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016.

16 Reese, 1998, in Schickendantz, Carlos, *Cambio estructural en la Iglesia como tarea y oportunidad*, Córdoba, EDUCC, 2005, p. 19.

17 Cf. Torres, Anibal, "La ética social del cardenal Bergoglio antes de ser el papa Francisco. Análisis de sus homilias en las celebraciones del Te Deum patrio", trabajo presentado en la 1ª Conferencia de América Latina de Eticistas Teológicos Católicos, Bogotá, 26-29 de mayo de 2016.

sages in the period 1999–2012, not only that they constitute a corpus of political theory but also allow to say that Bergoglio exerted a political theological chair, three currents of thought: on the one hand, the “theology of the people” (present above all in the Archbishop’s statements on the people and the nation), on the other hand, those sermons pronounced by great orators of the century, with the Franciscan Mamerto Esquiú among its most prominent names (which in Bergoglio appeared with allusions to the subject of the law), and, on the other hand, the one belonging to the Jesuit tradition itself (with the reflections of the then Cardinal on power and popular participation). The Pope’s interest in diplomatic action is not new, as can be seen in his recollection of papal mediation between Argentina and Chile, when he was Archbishop.¹⁸

As Bishop of Rome, his messages became *urbi et orbi*. From the outset of his ministry, Francisco left behind his position on diplomacy. In this sense, the text that he wrote as a preface to the book of his then secretary of state, Cardinal Tarcisio Bertone (*Pontifical Diplomacy in a Globalized World*, 2013) is profound in content about the role of diplomacy in general and of the pontifical in particular. For the Pope, on the one hand, the renewal of the first supposes new diplomats [...] capable of giving international life a sense of community by breaking the logic of individualism, [...] promoting rather an ethic of solidarity capable of replacing that of power. [...] It is not by prevailing the reason of state or individualism as we eliminate conflicts or give the rights of the person the right location. [...] It is not enough to avoid injustice if justice is not promoted.¹⁹

On the other hand, the Pontiff understands that the diplomacy of the Holy See specifically corresponds to contribute to the rebirth of “the moral dimension in international relations”.²⁰

This view of the international system has been complemented in other interventions by the Pope. In one of them, before the European Parliament, he spoke specifically about the political regime. Thus in Strasbourg the Pope pointed out to the MEPs the need to respect the secularism of the state and the plurality of representative democratic institutional configurations, urging to speak of “democracies”, to assess the contribution of political parties and the duty of states in protecting and promoting human rights.²¹ But since this must take into account the diversity of contexts, when visiting the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy Francis expressed his vision synthetically about each region of the world map, pointing to the aspirants to serve as nuncios:

The mission that one day will be called to perform will take them to all parts of this world. To Europe, which needs to wake up; to Africa, thirsting for reconciliation; Latin America, hungry for food and interiority; to North America, de-

18 Cf. Bergoglio, 2009, in Giaquinta, Carmelo, *El tratado de paz y amistad con Chile*, Buenos Aires, Ágape, 2009.

19 Francisco, “Desafío para el futuro”, *L’Osservatore Romano*, 11/15/2013.

20 *Ibidem*.

21 Francisco, “Entre dignidad y trascendencia”, *L’Osservatore Romano*, 11/28/2014.

terminated to rediscover the roots of an identity that is not defined by exclusion; to Asia and Oceania, challenged by the ability to ferment in the diaspora and dialogue with the vastness of ancestral cultures.²²

While recognizing and valuing diversity, it is worth noting that Francisco has opted for the pastoral of the geographical and existential peripheries, which in the international work of the Papacy applies it as a way of correcting the inequities that he denounces in various interventions. In defining his travels, the Pope has shown that he does not prioritize the central countries (not even those where the presence of the Church dates back centuries), as witnessed at the opening of the Jubilee of Mercy from Bangui, Central African Republic. Also, he has chosen to appoint Pietro Parolin as Secretary of State, who has experience in Latin America, since he served as a nuncio in Venezuela.

This pastoral option has led some to point out positively that Francisco positions the Church in a sort of “Socialist International” as an alternative to capitalist globalization.²³ However, such a counter-empire role for Schmitt was not the right path. This author said: “The Church would have forgotten itself if it lent itself to being simply the polarity full of soul versus the soulless. It would have become the desired complement to capitalism”²⁴

A proposal for global governance

This interest of Francis by the situation of the international system and the diplomatic action was included in his social encyclical *Laudato si'*. On the one hand, when he denounces “planetary inequity” (LS 48 et seq.), The Pontiff calls for an ethics of international relations, with terms similar to those used in his preface to Bertone’s book (LS 51). On the other hand, it is worth noting that within the notion of “integral ecology”, the Pope incorporated “social ecology” as one of its dimensions, understanding that “the health of the institutions of a society has consequences in the environment and the quality of human life” (LS 142). For that reason, said social ecology, says Francisco, is “necessarily institutional”, ranging from “the primary social group” to “international life” (LS 142). So it is understandable that we return to a consideration of international institutions in the section that the encyclical dedicates to “some lines of direction and action” (chapter v). And this is where we find the institutional proposal for international governance contained in the document. Certainly, although it was foreseen by Pius XII towards the Second Post-War, it was John XXIII in 1963 who proposed the necessity of a “world public authority”, truly representative of nations (that is, not

22 Francisco, “Hombres puente”, *L' Osservatore Romano*, 07/03/2015.

23 Vattimo, Gianni, “Francisco puede ser el punto de referencia de una visión alternativa al capitalismo”, 2014. <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1745729-gianni-vattimo-francisco-puede-ser-el-punto-de-referencia-de-una-vision-alternativa-al-capitalismo> (Accessed date June-2017).

24 Schmitt, Carl, *Catolicismo romano y forma política*, Buenos Aires, Areté Grupo Editor, 2009 [1923], p. 58.

directed by a few and not at the service of the powerful), with the aim of “leading the universal common good” through the “protection of the rights of man” (*Pacem in Terris*, 136-139). These statements were extended in 2009 by Benedict XVI, who designated the world authority as “policy” and placed it on the horizon of “the urgency of reforming both the United Nations Organization and the international economic and financial architecture”. Pope Ratzinger pointed out that the “governance of globalization” requires a new institutional framework, which, adhering “in a concrete way to the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity”, should intervene in a wide range of policy areas (economy and finance, disarmament, peace, food security, safeguarding the environment and migration) to contribute to the “comprehensive development of peoples and international collaboration” (*Caritas in Veritate*, 67).

In *Laudato si'*, Francis returns to the path traveled by his two predecessors, alluding to these contributions as part of “the line already developed by the Social Doctrine of the Church” (LS 175). Thus, it expressly recovers the proposal to establish a “world political authority” (with attributions of sanction and prevention in public matters already mentioned by Benedict XVI) (LS 175). However, perhaps thinking of a global scheme of balance of power, the Pope emphasizes more than his predecessors the need for a plural framework, composed of “stronger and more effectively organized international institutions.” This is understood from the critical view of Francisco regarding globalization, even judging that the global “system of governance” has become obsolete, especially in what prevents the economic-financial from being above politics, weakening the “power of national states “. Hence his proposal gives a prominent role to diplomacy, to the point of saying that it has “an unprecedented importance in order to promote international strategies that anticipate the most serious problems that end up affecting all” (LS 175). This call of the Pope is evidently also related to his preoccupation with the unfolding of what he calls a “Third World War in bits”.²⁵

It should be noted that this new international governance proposed by the Pontiff can not be confused with the search for a kind of world state, nor is it the aspiration of the Vatican to be the representation of it. Far from these misrepresentations, the Pope understands the polyhedral character of the “common house” (as opposed to the unifying “sphere” of “inequality” and “discard”), and also claims that each state can exercise its sovereignty, LS 173). The latter allows us to point out, as Cuda maintains, that in Francisco there is a concern for the political theological foundations of the state. According to the notion of God that has a political community, from there will derive a particular vision about man, about culture and about the ways of interpreting the principles of freedom and

25 Francisco, “El peligro en tiempos de crisis es buscar un salvador que nos devuelva la identidad y nos defienda con muros”, 2017. http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2017/01/21/actualidad/1485022162_846725.html (Accessed date June-2017).

equality.²⁶ For this reason, the Pope's criticism of "reason of state" can be understood as a criticism of an incorrect way in which he is grounded, which in no way means lessening his sovereignty, rather the opposite. However, from the point of view of the Pontiff, states should avoid self-referentiality, committing themselves to finding "agreed ways to avoid local catastrophes that would end up affecting all" (LS 173).

Thus, after a long period of time in which the Papacy used - certainly in its own way - models of secular authority to realize its representative function and give itself its own structures of government,²⁷ something even criticized within Church,²⁸ some authors have emphasized that both the courageous resignation of Benedict XVI,²⁹ and the legitimacy of exercise in the position that has been achieved Francisco,³⁰ have some example for the current democracies. It would seem that from Rome, with some facts, it would be well to remind the powerful that the contemporary attempts at "august peace" are - in the path marked by St. Augustine and recovered by Peterson - a "questionable peace", avoiding otherwise texts such as the Gospel degenerates into "an instrument of justification of a determined political situation".³¹

As we understand it, to label Francisco's proposal for the government of the international system as "utopian", in the sense of unreal, is to erroneously associate (and lower) utopia with a chimera. That said, we can certainly think of the parallels between *Utopia*, the celebrated work of Thomas More,³² and the encyclical of Pope Francis, published almost exactly 500 years after the work of the former Chancellor of England. In general terms, we can say that the features common to both texts would consist of the impetus they give to solidarity among peoples, the positive valuation of the bond of faith and reason, openness to other religions, valuation of work, and criticism neglecting the structural causes of poverty and crime. In this sense, in both works there is a strong call to correct inequities through institutional means, favoring, as the Pope says, "distributive justice" (LS 157).

In order to make it possible, from different points of view, to advance the proposal made in *Laudato si'* if, on the political side, Francis insists on deepening in society the "honest and transparent debate" (LS 188); support the use of "legitimate mechanisms of pressure" of the citizens on the authorities (LS 46). In addition, using a terminology of partisan politics and academic studies that are

26 Cf. Cuda, Emilce, *Para leer a Francisco. Teología, ética y política*, Buenos Aires, Manantial, 2016.

27 Cf. Schmitt, Carl, *Catolicismo romano y forma política*, Buenos Aires, Areté Grupo Editor, 2009 [1923].

28 Cf. Schickendantz, Carlos, *Cambio estructural en la Iglesia como tarea y oportunidad*, Córdoba, EDUCC, 2005.

29 Cf. Agamben, Giorgio, *El misterio del mal. Benedicto XVI y el fin de los tiempos*, Buenos Aires, Adriana Hidalgo Editora, 2013.

30 Cf. Fernández Vega, José, *Francisco y Benedicto. El Vaticano ante la crisis global*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016.

31 Peterson, Erik, *El monoteísmo como problema político*, Madrid, Trotta, 1999 [1935], p. 93 and p. 95.

32 Cf. Moro, Tomás, *Utopía*, Buenos Aires, Hyspamérica, 1984 [1516].

dedicated to his study, the Pontiff proposes “to create cultural, [...] educational, philosophical and religious coalitions”.³³

On the side of religion, Francis urges mercy, without doubt one of the distinctive components of the theological pastoral of the present pontificate. In view of the seriousness of the international situation, the Pope points out that this virtue has a “social value” that prompts “to restore dignity to millions” (*Misericordia et misera*, 18). Now, we note that this connection between mercy (inspired by St. Augustine, as Francis expressly points out at the beginning of *Misericordia et misera*) and the international situation, ultimately boosts commitment to politics, taking this in a broad sense. Here we have the condition - at least for Christians - to move to form such global “coalitions”. As we have seen, these groupings of individual and collective actors on the sociopolitical level would correspond - without forgetting historical mediations - on the theological plane to the “heavenly city” of which “mystically” spoke Augustine. As the so-called “Doctor of Grace” pointed out, this city is based on “love of God”, and in his pilgrimage “it is not solitary but social and political.”³⁴

A proposal “in action”

From the publication of *Laudato si'* on May 24, 2015, the Pontiff himself was at the forefront of the dissemination and implementation of the proposal for international governance contained in the document, both outwardly and inwardly within the Church. With regard to the first, it should be noted that the encyclical itself gained a place in some of the means of international action of the Pontificate, namely the Pope’s pastoral travels, his messages to international organizations and ecumenical and interreligious dialogue. Thus, in his trip to Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay, Francisco made some mentions of the document before the rulers and in the encounter with the “popular movements”.³⁵ However, his trip to the United States, given the international relevance of the capitalist power, had outstanding characteristics for this diffusion and “putting into action” of the proposal referred to in the pontifical text. The Pope alluded to the content of the encyclical in his speech at the White House and his resonant intervention before the Capitol. But it was his visit to the UN that can be considered as the presentation of the proposal of governability of the international system to the community of states. There Francis not only asked for the democratization of the UN (in particular the Security Council), but also expressed the Church’s commitment to the “2030 agenda” and emphasized that the “three T’s” (land, roof and work) and religious freedom.³⁶

33 Francisco, “¿Qué te ha sucedido Europa?”, *L’Osservatore Romano*, 05/13/2016.

34 San Agustín, *La Ciudad de Dios*, Libro 14, Capítulo XXVIII, Libro 15, Capítulo I y Libro 19, Capítulo XVII.

35 Francisco, “Derechos sagrados”, *L’Osservatore Romano*, 07/17/2015.

36 *Ibidem*.

We also find the reference to the Pope's global proposal in the new modalities with which he has been assuming the link with the states, since he does not interact only with ambassadors and rulers. In this sense, we can mention the summits convened by Francis in the Vatican, one with the mayors and mayors of seventy cities (7/21/2015) and another with more than one hundred judges and magistrates from different countries. Here the Pope's call to the Church's duty to "get into big politics", linked to what we mentioned above on coalition building³⁷ was particularly resonant. Also in various interventions the Pontiff has spoken about the peace and unity of large spaces and worldwide. Signs of this position are his words when receiving the "Charlemagne" award,³⁸ reminding together with European leaders the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome³⁹ and its message for the 50th World Day of Peace. There the Pope advocated "non-violence" as a "style of politics for peace".⁴⁰

Beyond the fact that Francis had important meetings with religious leaders - such as those in Jerusalem, Lesbos, Istanbul, Havana, Assisi and Lund - we must point out that the active involvement of ecumenical and interreligious dialogue in the care of the "common house" humanity is being considered in this type of summit. An example of this is the call of the Vatican to Patriarch Bartholomew I for the official presentation of *Laudato si'*.

We find pertinent to realize these considerations since we are before a Pope in whom the political theology would appear redefined like theology of the town or of the culture, current arisen in Argentina with some conceptual and practical relation with the Peronist movement.⁴¹ So under the leadership of Francis, the Vatican has been directly involved in different issues of the complex global situation and of regional and local situations that affect people and their cultures. Just as the Holy See has been supporting the unity of Europe (and Francis himself pronounced himself in opposition to the "Brexit"), he has also been intervening in the face of the Middle East conflict, namely the search for understanding between Palestinians and Israelis. Here the Pope gives renewed support to the solution of "the two states", which led to the opening of the Palestinian Embassy to the Holy See. The dramatic situation in Syria has demanded the personal attention of Francisco himself, to the point of summoning the day of prayer in which, according to some, the direct intervention proposed by the United States was avoided.⁴² In this matter we can notice that the military posture of President Donald Trump will demand greater efforts on the part of the papal diplomacy.

37 Francisco, "Crímenes de lesa humanidad", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 06/10/2016.

38 Francisco, "¿Qué te ha sucedido Europa?", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 05/13/2016.

39 Cf. Verdú, Daniel, "El Papa alerta del riesgo de muerte de la UE", 2017. http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2017/03/24/actualidad/1490378484_132471.html (Accessed date June-2017).

40 Francisco, "La no violencia, un estilo de política para la paz", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 12/23/2016.

41 Cf. Cuda, Emilce, *Para leer a Francisco. Teología, ética y política*, Buenos Aires, Manantial, 2016.

42 Cf. Fernández Vega, José, *Francisco y Benedicto. El Vaticano ante la crisis global*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016.

As for Asia, the Pontificate has been working on the difficult quest for peace on the Korean peninsula. Although China remains a difficult area for the Church's pastoral work, diplomatic steps have been taken towards greater understanding, especially through cultural cooperation.⁴³ With this approach, the Jesuit Pope surpasses the question posed by Pascal; moreover, it claims the famous missionary and scientist Mateo Ricci, who says he learned "that it is necessary to enter into dialogue with China, since it is a cluster of wisdom and history".⁴⁴

The pontifical involvement also consisted of following the political dynamics of some countries, such as the last presidential campaign in the United States, where the candidate for the Democratic Party nomination, Sanders, was received in the Vatican, while Francisco gave signs of opposition to Trump's xenophobic proposals. As noted, between the Catholic leader and the head of the White House there appears to be essentially a contraposition of cultural conceptions.⁴⁵

Along with all of the above, it should not be forgotten that the scheme of the new international governance proposed by Francisco demands concrete actions within the Church itself. As he points out at the beginning of *Laudato si'*, "the process of missionary reform" in *Evangelii Gaudium* (LS 3) is still "pending". Thus, although the social encyclical once again emphasizes the necessity of making changes in the ecclesial sphere. Certainly some steps have been taken in that direction. If we specifically focus on the changes promoted as a contribution (at least in part) to concretizing the Pope's proposal for the international system, we can mention the "ambitious project" of the reform of the papacy⁴⁶ that Francis has decided to expressly adopt the guidelines of John Paul II in *Ut Unum Sint* in this regard (EG 32). This implies, among other things, the modification of the Roman Curia, which progresses not without facing internal resistance.⁴⁷ Here the pope pointed out bluntly:

Reform is not an end in itself, but a means to give a strong Christian witness, to promote a more effective evangelization, to promote a more fruitful ecumenical spirit and to encourage a more constructive dialogue with all.⁴⁸

Among the measures that have been taken with respect to the structures of government of the Church, is the fusion of organisms and the creation of new

43 Francisco, "El peligro en tiempos de crisis es buscar un salvador que nos devuelva la identidad y nos defienda con muros", 2017. http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2017/01/21/actualidad/1485022162_846725.html (Accessed date June-2017).

44 Cf. Francisco, "Encuentro a través del diálogo", *L' Osservatore Romano*, 02/05/2016; Cf. Vecerrica, Giancarlo, "Matteo Ricci es el modelo de Francisco para China", 2017. <http://www.lastampa.it/2015/03/07/vaticaniinsider/es/reportajes-y-entrevistas/matteo-ricci-es-el-modelo-de-francisco-para-china-pq55p4SC5q0PWHcXDArgKJ/pagina.html> (Accessed date June-2017).

45 Cf. Villas Boas, Alex, "Francisco e a Teologia da Cultura", *Pistis Praxis*, V. 8, Nº 3, set./dez, 2016.

46 Schickendantz, Carlos, *Cambio estructural en la Iglesia como tarea y oportunidad*, Córdoba, EDUCC, 2005, p. 70.

47 Schickendantz, Carlos, "En este momento le toca a la Iglesia latinoamericana ofrecer su estilo, sus acentos", 2017. <http://www.periodistadigital.com/religion/america/2017/03/18/schickendantz.shtml> (Accessed date June-2017); Francisco, "La lógica de la reforma", *L' Osservatore Romano*, 12/30/2016.

48 Francisco, "Comunión y colegialidad", *L' Osservatore Romano*, 02/20/2015.

areas. This was how the Dicastery for Integral Human Development (08/17/2016) emerged. With an emphasis on the coordination role of the strategic Secretariat of State, a redefinition of the profile of the Nuncios is added, which is consistent with the relevance that Francisco grants to diplomacy in *Laudato si'*. To his diplomatic representatives the Pope told them:

Remember that they represent Peter, a rock that survives the overflow of ideologies, the reduction of the Word to mere convenience, to submission to the powers of this passing world. [...] Pontifical diplomacy can not be alien to the urgency of making mercy palpable in this wounded and broken world. Mercy must be the code of the diplomatic mission of an apostolic nuncio ... This radical newness of perception of the diplomatic mission frees the pontifical representative of immediate geopolitical, economic or military interests, calling him to discern in his first governmental, political and social and public institutions, the desire to serve the common good [...].⁴⁹

Also part of the reform of the papacy is the promotion of collegiality, an aspect that is also articulated with the Pontiff's proposal for the international system. In this sense, Francis understands that advancing "cum Peter et sub Peter" towards the building of a "synodal Church" favors the cause of ecumenism, gives "greater light" to the "exercise of Petrine primacy" and allows the world to re-encounter "The inviolable dignity of the people and the service function of authority".⁵⁰ These provisions in favor of a decentralization of power in the Church are accompanied by the adoption by the Pope of a criterion according to which it is sought to give relevance to the south-south in the creation of cardinals. With this he seeks to reflect the "universality" of the Church, which means reducing the weight of Europe in the electoral college that will appoint his successor.⁵¹ Such was the imprint of the three consistories called by the Pope, which have received particular attention when creating cardinals in the "peripheries" of the Church (for example, Haiti and the Antilles in 2014, Burma in 2015, Bangui in 2016 and Mali in 2017). With the decision to create a cardinal to Mario Zenari, a nuncio in Syria, Francisco emphasized the importance of diplomacy, breaking a tradition of more than a hundred years that excluded from the cardinalate the pontifical representatives.

The contribution of Latin America: the strength and the protagonism of the peoples

As a conclusion of this article, we consider it interesting to consider the role of Latin America and the Caribbean in the proposal of global governance pro-

49 Francisco, "La historia busca la unidad y no el conflicto", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 09/23/2016.

50 Francisco, "Movimientos de espíritus", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 10/24/2014; Francisco, "Iglesia y Sínodo son sinónimos", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 10/23/2015.

51 Francisco, "Único camino", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 10/07/2016.

moted by Francisco. As we can see, the region appears as the strong point of the Church in the Western Hemisphere - in demographic and historical cultural terms - and the diplomacy of the Holy See uses all its means there. It is an area that seeks to curb the decline of the Christian faith in Europe, strengthen humanitarian aid to Africa and defend Hispanics in the United States against the outbreaks of xenophobia and racism, now condensed into the presidency of Trump. From there emerges the relevance of Cuba, the only country visited by the pontiff twice, recognizing some achievements of the revolution, recomposing the continental community of states to close the long conflict between the American neighbor and the island, relaunching there communion with the Russian Orthodoxy aimed at closing the Great Schism of East and West of 1054, and supporting that it be framework of the agreements of peace for Colombia.

In the Latin American pope, concern for regional unity is central and hence its call for "popular movements" to help governments "care for" and "enhance" the autonomy and identity of the "great homeland".⁵² In this sense, on the one hand, he has been closely following the situation of each country. Due to its proximity to the processes of the last years in Ecuador and Bolivia, we can add its mediation attempts in the Venezuelan crises, and its concern for the political turn in Brazil and Argentina from 2015 and the weakened cultural identity of Mexico and Central America. On the other hand, when perceiving that the states of the region have problems in the exercise of their sovereignty (as they are crossed by transnational financial economic logics, including drug trafficking), Francisco has encouraged the active participation of "popular movements" of the region, in order to build full democratic regimes, that is, truly representative and participatory.⁵³

In a Latin American context of baroque modernity, where the political-religious relationship does not have the rigid separation of some European countries, such positions were officially reciprocated with a renewed interest of the states of the region by their ties with the Papacy, to the point that practically all changed their ambassadors when Bergoglio arrived in Rome. Among the fruits of this relaunch of contacts at official level, we can mention the decision of the Pontiff to make available the Vatican Archive to collaborate with the Judiciary of Argentina and Uruguay in clarifying the crimes of the dictatorships they suffered both countries.⁵⁴ Of course, this type of gesture does not imply a translation in public policies of the teaching of Francis (which, misunderstood, can give rise to problems of duality of sovereignty), since *realpolitik* is also present and, of

52 Francisco, "Derechos sagrados", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 07/17/2015.

53 *Ibidem*.

54 Cf. Rubín, Sergio, "Por orden del Papa, avanza la apertura del archivo del Vaticano sobre la dictadura militar", 2015. https://www.darin.com/politica/papa-vaticano-archivo-dictadura_0_HJ41jYYPQL.html (Accessed date June-2017); Cf. El Observador, "Papa Francisco con 'total disponibilidad' para abrir archivos de dictadura uruguaya", 2016. <http://www.elobservador.com.uy/papa-francisco-total-disponibilidad-abrir-archivos-dictadura-uruguay-n1006789> (Accessed date June-2017).

course, not all rulers conceive legitimacy of exercise in the manner of the Pope. Even so, he bets on “formations of politicians who really give Latin America the strength of the people”. Moreover, the Pontiff claims “the protagonism of the peoples”, disagreeing with criticism without nuance to populism.⁵⁵

In short, the contribution of Latin America and the Caribbean to the pontifical proposal for the governance of the international system seems to consist in the positive appreciation of peoples and their cultures. Thus, the Pope would shape his theological pastoral work worldwide with what has been identified as the continuing concern of the Latin American Church for more than 500 years: the promotion of peace and justice.⁵⁶

55 Francisco, “El peligro en tiempos de crisis es buscar un salvador que nos devuelva la identidad y nos defienda con muros”, 2017. http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2017/01/21/actualidad/1485022162_846725.html (Accessed date June-2017).

56 Cf. Lynch, John, *Dios en el nuevo mundo. Una historia religiosa de América Latina*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2012.

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Анибал Торес

ПРЕМА НОВОМ СИСТЕМУ УПРАВЉАЊА У МЕЂУНАРОДНОМ СИСТЕМУ: АНАЛИЗА ПРЕДЛОГА ПАПЕ ФРАЊЕ

Сажетак

Као знак континуитета са својим претходницима, први латиноамерички папа се такође посветио дипломатији и представничкој демократији. Иако понекада није довољно убедљив у овом правцу, Фрања не занемарује традиционални ниво интеракције који је Црква успела да задржи тако дуго, генерално у моментима конфликта и сарадње, и то не без узимања везу са државом када дефинише своје моделе власти. Њена пажња према заједници држава није ништа ново за Ватикан, то је приступ и агенда који је користио сваки понтифекс у међународним односима. У складу са тим, овај чланак намерава да одговори на неколико питања: Који је допринос папе Фрање дипломатији? Да ли је папин предлог о међународном управљању у складу са светским државама? Како се позиција Фрање у међународном систему усклађује са „реформом папства“? Конкретније, како папа разуме мисију централистичког управљања у Цркви и папској дипломатији? И на крају, коју улога игра Латинска Америка у светској шеми папе? Овај чланак истиче да Фрања предлаже једну нову међународну политичку институцију, и да он разуме да је дипломатија од посебне важности у савременом свету. Такође се истиче да папа сматра да централно управљање Цркве и дипломатија морају бити у служби стварања мостова за промоцију правде и мира. У додатку, сматра да људи и култура Латинске Америке и Кариба имају потенцијал који папа оцењује позитивно.

Кључне речи: дипломатија, заједница држава, Света столица, папа Фрања, правда, мир

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