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La Compañía de Jesús en las Relaciones Internacionales

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Nota del coordinador del número 29

Desde muy pronto en su vida, Ignacio de Loyola (1491-1556) debió de estar expuesto a la complejidad de las relaciones entre los diferentes reinos cristianos de su época y entorno. Su abuelo Juan Pérez de Loyola había sido condenado por el rey Enrique IV en 1456 al destierro en Jimena de la Frontera como consecuencia de su participación en las luchas entre las villas y los Parientes Mayores de Guipúzcoa. Hermanos de san Ignacio participaron en las guerras con los Reyes Católicos. Dos de ellos murieron en Nápoles y otros viajaron a Flandes y Hungría sirviendo a la monarquía. San Ignacio, el pequeño, debió de oír en su familia las historias de la guerra de los Reyes Católicos contra el último reino musulmán en la península ibérica, el reino nazarí de Granada, de las guerras de Italia y de Flandes y Hungría. Su estancia en Arévalo, en la casa de Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, contador mayor de los Reyes Católicos, le expondría a escuchar comentarios sobre la política matrimonial de Isabel y Fernando, acción diplomática de gran importancia si consideramos que los Reyes Católicos forjaron su política antifrancesa casando a sus hijas con los futuros reyes de Inglaterra y Portugal y con príncipes de la Casa de Habsburgo que además de ser hijos del Emperador Germánico eran herederos de los territorios (sobre todo de Flandes) de la Casa de Borgoña. Por último, la herida de Pamplona, que le llevaría a cambiar radicalmente de vida, se produjo por su participación en una guerra en la que se disputaba el control del reino de Navarra entre el reino de Francia y la naciente monarquía hispánica.

El cambio de vida acontecido como consecuencia de la herida de Pamplona y de la larga convalecencia para recuperarse de ella, no alejó a Ignacio de Loyola del campo de las relaciones internacionales. Una vez recuperado, Ignacio de Loyola viajó a Roma para conseguir el permiso papal necesario para peregrinar a Tierra Santa, peregrinación, que en aquellos siglos se hacía partiendo desde Venecia, la potencia comercial y marítima que controlaba el comercio con el Mediterráneo oriental. A su vuelta de Tierra Santa, Ignacio de Loyola pasó un tiempo en España (Barcelona, Alcalá y Salamanca) estudiando, pero acabó dirigiéndose a París para concluir sus estudios. En la Sorbona, Ignacio reunió un grupo de estudiantes que acabaría siendo el grupo fundacional de la Compañía de Jesús. Una de las características notables de este grupo era su internacionalidad.

Después de mucho peregrinar, Ignacio acabó pasando los 18 últimos años de su vida en Roma desde donde, elegido prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, dirigió su difusión y expansión. Pero, aunque no se alejara de Roma, los intereses de Ignacio abarcaban el mundo entero y las relaciones entre los diferentes pueblos que habitaban “la redondez de la tierra”. Ignacio fue el que mandó a Francisco Javier a las Indias. El primer artículo de este volumen, de José María Guibert, “San Francisco Javier, actor de relaciones internaciones en el siglo XVI: diplomacia y valores”, presenta la actividad de Francisco Javier como actividad diplomática. Mucho se ha escrito de la actividad misionera de Francisco Javier, pero en general se ha pasado muy deprisa por su condición de nuncio, embajador del papa, condición que recibió del papa en Lisboa en 1541, antes de partir para Oriente. Además de estar al tanto de la actividad misionera y diplomática de Javier, Ignacio de Loyola también ejerció actividad que hoy llamaríamos de “relaciones internacionales”. Seguramente su correspondencia para favorecer la guerra contra el Turco es la más importante. Aunque no llegó a verla, su correspondencia muestra la búsqueda de una coalición naval similar a la Santa Alianza que triunfó en la batalla de Lepanto.

Los inmediatos sucesores de san Ignacio como prepósitos generales de la Compañía de Jesús Diego Laínez y Francisco de Borja ejercieron labores diplomáticas. El primero acompañó al cardenal Hipólito de Este a la dieta de Poissy, asamblea en la que se discutió con los representantes de la religión reformada, reunión a la vez de naturaleza religiosa y política. Francisco de Borja, que antes de ser jesuita había sido persona importante de la corte de Carlos V, acompañó por orden de Pío V al cardenal Miguel Bonelli en su viaje a España, Portugal, Francia e Italia. Al cardenal se le había encomendado coordinar los esfuerzos de las potencias católicas en la lucha contra los turcos.

No es por tanto sorprendente que encontremos en este monográfico las famosas Reducciones del Paraguay. El artículo de Wenceslao Soto “Las misiones con guaraníes: relaciones respetuosas entre los pueblos” aborda en clave de relaciones

internacionales alternativas, es decir, de relaciones entre los pueblos de la época que quieren ser relaciones diferentes de las habituales y más comunes relaciones internacionales del tiempo. Seguramente fue este carácter alternativo el que hizo que el experimento de las reducciones acabara siendo destruido, porque cuestionaba el *statu quo* del tiempo.

Siguiendo el ejemplo de Francisco Javier, numerosos jesuitas ejercieron tareas diplomáticas. El artículo de Claudia von Collani, “Jesuits as Diplomats in the Service of Chinese Emperors in Early Modern Times”, detalla como durante el reinado del emperador Kangxi comenzaron los primeros intentos reales de mantener relaciones de China con Europa y de Europa con China. Maillard de Tournon, enviado por la Santa Sede, intentó establecer relaciones diplomáticas con la corte china durante su legación. Sin embargo, estos planes fracasaron porque el emperador Kangxi entendía de otra manera la relación con Roma y no quería el tipo de diplomacia habitual en Europa en aquella época. Por otra parte, el emperador intentó cinco veces comunicar su idea sobre la convivencia del confucianismo y el cristianismo en China mediante legados, pero estos intentos no fueron aceptados por parte de la Santa Sede. El emperador no quería tener relaciones a la europea, sino a la china. Por ello, eligió a algunos jesuitas como traductores que firmaban sus declaraciones sobre los Ritos y a los que utilizaba para sus embajadas a Europa, porque los conocía desde su juventud, confiaba en ellos y conocían las leyes, costumbres y convenciones, y los idiomas tanto de Europa como de China. Las relaciones previstas fracasaron más o menos en ambos sentidos.

Aunque no aparecen en este volumen, también hay recientes estudios de casos notables de jesuitas que desarrollaron labores diplomáticas en Japón como ilustra Alessandro Tripepi en su artículo “Jesuit diplomacy towards Japan: the Tensho Embassy, the dialogue with Hideyoshi and the emergence of a global model (1582-90)” publicado en *Diplomatica* 3 (2021) o el libro *Jesuit and English experiences at the Mughal Court, c. 1580–1615* de João Vicente Melo de 2022. No están estudiados en su labor diplomática jesuitas como Pedro Paez, que trabajó Etiopía, o Hipolito Desideri, que lo hizo en Tibet.

Curiosamente, algunas de las actividades que más contribuyeron a la supresión de la orden en 1773 pertenecían al campo de las relaciones internacionales. Las reducciones y la cuestión de los ritos chinos y malabares fueron las cuestiones más citadas por los que deseaban la supresión de la Compañía de Jesús. Las numerosas teorías conspiratorias antijesuíticas, muchas veces referentes a las relaciones internacionales, dan fe de la implicación de los jesuitas en este ámbito, aunque ciertamente no con el poder que los enemigos de la Compañía le atribuyen.

Este monográfico pasa de la historia de la Compañía de Jesús antes de su supresión en 1773 a hoy. Como ejemplo de la participación de la Compañía de Jesús y de singulares jesuitas en nuestros tiempos aportamos cuatro casos. Tim Byrnes en “The Politics of Religious Brotherhood” presenta un caso de lo que se llama diplomacia paralela (Track II diplomacy) en el que detalla la acción en diversos planos de los jesuitas de Estados Unidos después del asesinato de Ignacio Ellacuría, otros cinco jesuitas y dos mujeres el 16 de noviembre de 1989. Los jesuitas asesinados en la Universidad Centroamericana lo fueron porque su dedicación a la misión propia de la Compañía de Jesús de “servicio de la fe y promoción de la justicia” fue vista por los dirigentes salvadoreños como una amenaza directa. Estos fueron asesinados por un ejército salvadoreño que recibía del gobierno de Estados Unidos más de un millón de dólares al día para apoyar la guerra contra una fuerza guerrillera insurgente. Utilizando los importantes recursos institucionales de que disponían, los jesuitas de Estados Unidos presionaron para exigir responsabilidades a “los autores del crimen” dentro del alto mando militar y a la vez se esforzaron por presionar al gobierno y congreso estadounidense para que cortaran la ayuda militar que se había utilizado para asesinar a sus compañeros jesuitas.

El segundo artículo presenta un caso de multilateralismo. “Unorthodox and historic: The Ottawa Process and the Mine Ban Treaty. 25 years of a success story of multilateralism” de Amaya Valcárcel explica el proceso de Ottawa, desde el

punto de vista de los supervivientes, algunos jesuitas y algunas valientes religiosas que participaron desde las primeras etapas de la ICBL a través de su trabajo para el Servicio de los Jesuitas para los Refugiados (JRS por sus siglas en inglés). La Convención de 1997 para la prohibición de las minas terrestres fue el resultado del Proceso de Ottawa, un proceso autónomo de negociación de tratados al margen de un foro facilitado por las Naciones Unidas con el objetivo de prohibir las minas antipersonas. También fue el resultado de una asociación inusualmente cohesionada y estratégica entre gobiernos, organizaciones internacionales como el Comité Internacional de la Cruz Roja (CICR), organismos de la ONU y la sociedad civil, representada por la Campaña Internacional para la Prohibición de las Minas Terrestres (ICBL por sus siglas en inglés).

La participación que narra el artículo anterior es parte de la labor más amplia realizada por el JRS que detalla Julia McPherson en “Jesuit Refugee Service’s Influence on International Refugee Policy”. El JRS es una organización transnacional comprometida en trabajar con y junto a quienes se han visto desplazados por la fuerza de sus hogares. La incidencia política es, por ello, un elemento central del trabajo del JRS en todo el mundo. Ante autoridades, gobiernos donantes y comunidades de acogida, el JRS aboga por y con quienes buscan seguridad y la oportunidad de reconstruir una vida para ellos y sus familias. A través de una red de personal en todo el mundo el JRS identifica los retos a los que se enfrentan los refugiados para satisfacer las necesidades básicas de aquellos a quienes servimos y qué políticas pueden mejorar sus circunstancias.

El último artículo de Peter Walpole “Ecojesuit learning through Networking and International Relations” narra la participación de los jesuitas en la COP28 de Dubai. Esta participación se vehicula a través de Ecojesuit, red global que ayuda a explorar nuevas formas de colaboración entre instituciones y personas comprometidas vinculadas de diversas maneras con la Compañía de Jesús, para una mejor participación en los procesos globales de respeto del medio ambiente. Ecojesuit es una voz diminuta al margen de las reuniones de las Naciones Unidas (ONU) sobre el clima y la sostenibilidad que suma esfuerzos al compromiso social más amplio a favor de la acción global. Esta participación en las relaciones internacionales profundiza en las Preferencias Apostólicas Universales (PAU) de los jesuitas aprobadas en 2019. Se trata de un caso de trabajo en red, una red amplia de colaboración a lo largo y ancho del mundo y en los diversos modos en los que los jesuitas ejercen su apostolado.

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SAN FRANCISCO JAVIER, ACTOR DE RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES EN EL SIGLO XVI: DIPLOMACIA Y VALORES

Saint Francis Xavier, Actor of International Relations in the 16th Century: Diplomacy and Values

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Autor

San Francisco Javier fue testigo y actor de las relaciones internacionales en el siglo XVI. Fue uno de los fundadores de la Compañía de Jesús y protagonizó la expansión de esta y del conjunto de la Iglesia católica hacia Oriente. Su misión estaba centrada en la evangelización y promoción de valores. Actuó en lo que hoy en día conocemos como India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Japón y la costa de China. Generó una red de colaboraciones en distintos ámbitos: eclesial, cultural, político o económico. Era nuncio, luego era diplomático enviado por el papa a aquellos lugares. Mantuvo también relación diplomática directa con el rey Juan III de Portugal a cuyo cargo estaban aquellas tierras de misión. Tuvo que buscar recursos económicos y por ello se relacionó con distintos agentes que le podían ayudar. Entendía y cuidaba la diplomacia internacional como un medio para sus fines relacionados con la misión evangelizadora y el bien común.



Resumen

Saint Francis Xavier was a witness and an actor in the international relations of the 16th century. He was one of the founders of the Society of Jesus and led its expansion, and that of the Catholic Church as a whole, towards the East. His mission was focused on evangelization and promotion of values. He performed in what we know today as India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Japan and coastal China. He generated a network of collaborations in different areas: ecclesial, cultural, political or economic. He was a nuncio, so he was a diplomat sent by the pope to those places. He also had direct diplomatic relations with King John III of Portugal, in charge of those mission lands. He had to look for financial resources and therefore interacted with different agents who could help him. He understood and cared for international diplomacy as a means to his ends related to the evangelizing mission and the common good.



Abstract

San Francisco Javier; Compañía de Jesús; rey Juan III de Portugal; diplomacia eclesial; diplomacia cultural; diplomacia política; diplomacia económica; India.



Key words

Saint Francis Xavier; Society of Jesus; King John III of Portugal; ecclesial diplomacy; cultural diplomacy; political diplomacy; economic diplomacy; India.

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Fechas

1. Introducción

La vida de san Francisco Javier (Javier, Navarra, 1506 - Shangchuan, China, 1552) es un buen signo de la actividad internacional de la entonces naciente Compañía de Jesús. Esta fue fundada en Roma en 1540 y desde el comienzo adquirió una dimensión, podemos decir hoy, global.

En este artículo recogemos elementos que hoy en día podemos calificar de diplomáticos en sus distintas concepciones. Lo iniciamos con un breve recorrido por la vida del santo navarro como introducción, y posteriormente nos fijamos de modo especial en lo que en su actividad hubo de relaciones entre naciones o reinos¹.

Comencemos con su recorrido geográfico. Su vida transcurrió entre Europa y Asia. En el primer continente, cuatro territorios marcaron su vida: Navarra, Francia, Italia y Portugal. Nació en Navarra. Ni España ni Italia existían como las conocemos hoy.

España estaba creándose. Los Reyes Católicos habían conquistado el Reino de Granada unos años antes, en 1492. La unión entre Castilla y León había sido anterior, en 1230. Castilla y Aragón estaban unidos. Solo les quedaba Navarra, que fue conquistada en 1512, terminando con un reino que había durado siete siglos, y que fue proclamada provincia de España en 1515.

Javier fue enviado por su familia a estudiar a París en 1525. Estuvo allí once años, hasta 1536. Tras obtener los grados de bachiller y maestro en Artes, se convirtió en profesor universitario. Gracias a un grupo de estudiantes portugueses que llegaron al colegio de Santa Bárbara en 1527, Javier oyó hablar, ya en París, del imperio portugués y de las Indias Orientales.

Conoció entonces a otro estudiante, Íñigo de Loyola, posteriormente san Ignacio de Loyola, que fue creando un movimiento religioso, embrión de lo que llegaría a ser la Compañía de Jesús. Javier se unió a este nuevo grupo, con quienes estuvo también en Italia y Portugal, hasta que partió hacia India en abril de 1541.

Llegó un año después a Goa (India). Desde allí, como base, realizó varios viajes al sur de India y Ceilán (actual Sri Lanka). Es de destacar que llevó a cabo varias expediciones a la parte este de Asia, comenzando con lo que posteriormente sería Indonesia (1545-1547), continuando con Japón (1549-1551) y terminando en la costa de China (1552), que es donde falleció.

Además de los países señalados, tuvo estancias más cortas, sobre todo de paso, en otros lugares. En Europa: en Alemania, Suiza y España (Castilla). En África: en Mozambique, Kenia y la actual Yemen. Y en Asia: en Malasia, Singapur y Vietnam.

Fue un recorrido vital de más de cien mil kilómetros. Además de la descripción puramente geográfica y viajera, este escrito se centra en algunos rasgos que pueden concluirse sobre la naturaleza o modelo de relaciones internacionales que fueron gestando san Francisco Javier y la primera Compañía de Jesús.

La vida de san Francisco Javier es un buen signo de la actividad internacional de la entonces naciente Compañía de Jesús

¹ Algunos datos históricos de lo que aquí se narra están recogidos en las siguientes fuentes: Guibert (2021); Schurhammer (1992); Zubillaga (1979).

2. Diplomacia eclesial

El primer ámbito a considerar al pensar en la dimensión internacional de Javier y los primeros jesuitas es precisamente el eclesial. Los primeros jesuitas crearon una organización religiosa que iba más allá de reinos y naciones locales, aunque se encarnaba y atendía necesidades concretas de estos.

2.1. Los primeros jesuitas, un grupo internacional

En agosto de 1534 tuvieron un momento significativo de inicio. Siete amigos de varios países realizaron unos votos religiosos en París. Eran estudiantes de la universidad. Formalizaron un compromiso mutuo prometiendo, en una eucaristía que presidía uno de ellos, unos votos especiales: pobreza, castidad y peregrinar a Tierra Santa.

Entonces no sabían que iban a crear una orden religiosa. Eran seguidores de Íñigo de Loyola. Optaron por cambiar su planteamiento vital a la hora de formarse en la mejor universidad del mundo: de estudiar para lograr un puesto para luego ascender socialmente en la vida (como Javier que aspiraba a una canonjía en su tierra natal y luego pretender aspirar a ser obispo, para subir en la escala social) a utilizar los estudios para servir mejor, además en pobreza, a las personas en sus necesidades espirituales y materiales, renunciado cada uno a sus familias y a sus derechos.

Antes de terminar el año 1536 marchan hacia el Véneto, a través de Alemania y Suiza. La capital de la entonces República de Venecia era el centro mercantil de intercambio entre esta parte de Europa y Levante (Oriente Próximo). De aquí salían los barcos con peregrinos hacia Palestina.

Ya eran trece los compañeros. Antes de embarcar con los peregrinos, viajan a Roma para solicitar al papa la concesión de las sagradas órdenes (sacerdocio, etc.) y el permiso para ir a Tierra Santa. Querían viajar, pero la peregrinación se frustró. Había guerra contra los turcos y no hubo barcos con peregrinos ni en 1537 ni en 1538.

Se asientan en Roma. En primavera de 1539, dedican un tiempo largo a reflexionar y orar sobre su futuro. Deciden seguir juntos y además vincularse entre ellos con un voto de obediencia. Redactan un documento (posteriormente conocido como “Deliberación de los Primeros Padres”) en el que recogen el proceso seguido, su deliberación. Entre otras cosas se dice:

Habiéndolo hecho ya muchas veces, y como unos de nosotros fuesen franceses, otros españoles, otros saboyanos, otros cántabros, estábamos divididos en varias sentencias y opiniones sobre este estado nuestro, si bien todos teníamos una misma mente y voluntad común, a saber, buscar la voluntad de Dios que fuera perfectamente de su agrado, conforme al objeto de nuestra vocación; sin embargo, en los medios más acertados y de mayor fruto tanto para nosotros como para nuestros demás prójimos, había alguna pluralidad de sentencias. (*Monumenta Ignatiana*, vol. 1, p. 2)

Como puede observarse en el grupo de “maestros de París” distinguen cuatro naciones o perfiles locales. Los “cántabros” eran probablemente Ignacio de Loyola y Francisco Javier. Faltaría por asignar ahí en algún perfil, o crear uno nuevo, al portugués Simón Rodrigues, también miembro del grupo desde el inicio.

Los primeros jesuitas crearon una organización religiosa que iba más allá de reinos y naciones locales, aunque se encarnaba y atendía necesidades concretas de estos

Queda ahí plasmado el carácter internacional de este grupo de maestros. Al poco tiempo se suman personas de muchos más países.

En septiembre de 1540 la Compañía de Jesús es aprobada por la Santa Sede por medio de la Bula *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*. En abril de 1541 los compañeros eligen a Ignacio, a su pesar, como Superior General de la Orden. Ese mes, los que están en Roma hacen la profesión solemne. Pronto son muchos enviados a diócesis italianas o a países europeos. Generarían pronto un impacto eclesial y social grandes en distintos contextos (Bertrand, 2003).

2.2. Un encargo eclesial intercontinental

Estamos en una época en la que Europa se expande por Oriente y Occidente. Tiempos de descubrimientos, por nuestra parte, y de conquistas. España y Portugal se “reparten” las nuevas tierras que se van explorando.

A los recientemente constituidos jesuitas se les pide asumir responsabilidades en esas nuevas misiones. El rey Juan III de Portugal pidió al papa Paulo III evangelizadores para Oriente. Recibió, provenientes de París, informes positivos sobre este nuevo grupo de sacerdotes:

Ciertos clérigos letrados y hombres de buena vida, los cuales por servicio de Dios tenían prometida pobreza, y solamente vivir por las limosnas de los fieles cristianos, y que andan predicando por donde quiera que van y hacen mucho fruto. (Schurhammer, vol.1, 1992, p. 710)

Este párrafo es un fragmento de una carta de Diogo de Gouveia, desde París, a su rey Juan III. Era un diplomático portugués, director del colegio Santa Bárbara, donde se aposentaron algunos de los que luego serían jesuitas. Tuvo muy buena impresión de ellos y posteriormente les siguió la pista.

Solicitó que los “maestros de París” se dedicaran a hacer crecer la Iglesia católica por las Indias Orientales. En agosto de 1539 el rey escribe al papa siguiendo esa recomendación que viene de París:

Si su propósito es ese de acrecentar y aprovechar la fe, y servir a Dios predicando y con el ejemplo de sus vidas, no puede haber parte donde les esté más aparejado para poder hacer y cumplir sus deseos, que, en mis conquistas, donde serán siempre tratados de manera, que aún les sea doblada ayuda y ocasión para mejor servir a Dios. (Schurhammer, 1992, p. 711)

El papa confiaba a los reyes de España y Portugal la promoción y protección de la evangelización de los nuevos territorios descubiertos. En el caso portugués, el rey confiaba las responsabilidades de promover la evangelización de sus posesiones a dos obispos residenciales:

- » Obispo de Goa (India): territorios del Este, del cabo de Buena Esperanza al lejano oriente. Había un solo obispo en toda Asia.
- » Obispo de Funchal (Isla de Madeira): territorios occidentales del océano Atlántico, desde el Norte de África hasta el cabo de Buena Esperanza (incluía islas del Atlántico y Brasil)

La protección civil estaba en manos de los gobernadores de esas regiones o colonias.

A los recientemente constituidos jesuitas se les pide asumir responsabilidades en esas nuevas misiones. El rey Juan III de Portugal pidió al papa Paulo III evangelizadores para Oriente

2.3. Las responsabilidades de Javier en distintas naciones

Javier es elegido para dirigir la evangelización de Oriente. Le hacen nuncio apostólico. Es por ello una persona con rango de embajador, representante diplomático de la Santa Sede. Hoy en día lo sería ante la Iglesia local y ante estados y organizaciones internacionales. Ya existían en Oriente un obispo y sacerdotes diocesanos y franciscanos. Pero quieren impulsar la fe en todos los territorios que Portugal iba conquistando.

Javier tuvo tres cargos eclesiales: nuncio, superior y provincial. Trabajaba para el rey, pero también para la Santa Sede y para la Compañía de Jesús.

Fue en 1540 cuando Javier fue nombrado por el papa nuncio apostólico. Estaba en Lisboa cuando recibió ese nombramiento, en 1541. Con ese cargo viajó a Asia ese mismo año. Era el representante diplomático del papa ante otras naciones, con mucha autoridad para resolver asuntos legales. Podía fundar iglesias y hospitales para pobres, excomulgar y absolver de excomunión, legitimar hijos ilegítimos para cobrar herencias, dispensar de impedimentos matrimoniales, administrar sacramentos, enseñar, prohibir libros, etc.

A los meses de llegar a India, en 1542, Javier atendió un encargo explícito que venía por parte del rey y del gobernador de India: servir en el extremo sur de India, “tierra de gentiles y moros”. Allí habían sido bautizados 20 000 nativos entre 1535 y 1537. Posteriormente, quedaron pastoralmente desatendidos. Eran paravas, una casta tamil de pescadores.

En 1542 Ignacio de Loyola escribe a Javier: le hace superior de la región de Oriente. Javier recibe este nombramiento en 1543, cuando vuelve de un viaje. Se alegra porque la Compañía ya está legalizada. Javier hace su profesión solemne ante el obispo local y envía sus votos a Roma.

Hay que recordar que no fue Ignacio de Loyola quien envió a Javier a Oriente en marzo de 1540. No lo hizo porque la Compañía todavía no existía legalmente. Javier fue enviado por el papa. Aunque éste dejó que los jesuitas eligieran qué dos compañeros iban a ir a India. Al final solo fue, en primera instancia, Javier. Posteriormente, cuando ya existía la Compañía, Ignacio era legítimamente superior de Javier, y de todos los jesuitas.

Tras unos años en India, sobre todo al sur, Javier se plantea qué hacer. Iba siendo consciente de las necesidades apostólicas de Asia y de peticiones por parte de las autoridades. En 1545 delibera sobre dónde ir. Tiene en mente zonas de África (desde Mozambique a los actuales Kenia, Eritrea y Etiopía), ciudades y regiones de India, zonas de Ceilán (como Kotte o Jaffna) e incluso lugares de la actual Indonesia (como Molucas o Macasar). Era el nuncio de todo Asia y debía velar por muchos sitios. Algunos lugares tenían sacerdotes, otros estaban bloqueados. Hizo un largo discernimiento y se planteó ir hacia el Este, a territorio para él desconocido. Navegó hacia Malaca, Amboino, Macasar, Ternate y Morotai. Esta última isla estaba ya cerca de Filipinas.

Con los años, en 1547, se crea la provincia jesuítica de Portugal. Simón Rodrigues es nombrado provincial. La misión de Oriente depende de la provincia de Portugal. Por ello Simón es superior de Javier.

Unos pocos años después, Ignacio crea la provincia de Oriente. Esto quiere decir que se independiza de Portugal, con misiones desde el Cabo de Buena Esperanza (al sur de África) hasta Japón, incluyendo China. Javier es nombrado provincial, con todos los poderes. Javier no tiene ya que depender de Simón, aunque le informa de lo que hace. Javier creará comunidades

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jesuitas y repartirá por Asia los jesuitas que van enviando desde Europa. El nuevo nombramiento como provincial está fechado en 1549. Pero Javier recibe la comunicación en diciembre de 1551, cuando volvía de Japón hacia India.

En sus relaciones eclesiales, Javier es muy diplomático con el obispo de Goa. Mantiene buenas relaciones con los franciscanos y sacerdotes diocesanos de la misma ciudad y de otras sedes. A más alto nivel, Javier mantiene buena relación con el rey y atiende las necesidades pastorales de los terrenos que dependen del rey. Con la figura de un “patronato real”, una figura colonial por medio de la cual el papa delega en el rey algunas facultades en temas eclesiales y también le concede beneficios, El papa delega los derechos de organizar la Iglesia en Asia y también los deberes de financiarla. Javier es fiel en hacer seguimiento de las obligaciones y derechos que el rey tiene.

Es de destacar, como último comentario de esta sección, que con Javier y otros comienza una época en la Iglesia de “deseos de las Indias” por parte de muchos religiosos europeos. Franciscanos, dominicos y sobre todo jesuitas abren muchas fronteras. La temática misional y martirial con narraciones que venían de lejos tuvo peso en Europa y fueron utilizadas por la Iglesia y las autoridades para fomentar el catolicismo ante el protestantismo o el islam y para expandir el colonialismo en otros continentes (Cañeque, 2020; Rodríguez-Rodríguez, 2022).

La misión de Javier en Asia puede enmarcarse como una actividad de diplomacia cultural, entendida en sentido amplio

3. Diplomacia cultural

La misión de Javier en Asia puede enmarcarse como una actividad de diplomacia cultural, entendida en sentido amplio.

3.1. Evangelización en contextos culturales nuevos

Evangelizar puede entenderse como actividad cultural si concebimos como contenido cultural la actividad de propagar una religión y sus valores en nuevos contextos. Es verdad que lo religioso y la evangelización se autoentienden como una actividad que va más allá de lo cultural, por sus rasgos propios y su apelación a la experiencia trascendente. Además, en el lenguaje común distinguimos las actividades religiosas de las culturales. Pero, en sentido amplio, lo religioso puede incluirse en lo cultural, como distinto, por ejemplo, de lo científico, que tiene más vocación de ser algo universal. Para los asiáticos, bautizarse y convertirse al cristianismo era visto como tornar a “la religión de los portugueses”, algo extraño a la cultura y religión locales.

Por otro lado, llevar la religión católica a Asia, hacer que la Iglesia creciera en esa parte del mundo, incluía también transportar o trasplantar elementos culturales europeos más allá de los estrictamente religiosos. La religión católica se ha encarnado con éxito en distintas culturas a lo largo de su historia. En Europa, han surgido muchas y preciosas concreciones culturales y sociales como encarnación de lo religioso (liturgia, arte, etc.), pero, al evangelizar, se corre el riesgo de trasladar elementos de la cultura del país “evangelizador” al país “evangelizado” más allá de la experiencia religiosa estricta o genuina. Hoy en día todos los países se sienten en misión, con necesidad de ser evangelizados. Y la conciencia de superioridad colonial en principio ha remitido, aunque cuesta que las Iglesias locales manifiesten su ser o su particularidad más allá del mensaje no inculturado que pueda venir de Europa².

² Esta cuestión está todavía pendiente, como afirman algunos teólogos (Amalados, 2005).

Hay que añadir también que, ya desde el comienzo, Javier vivía y transmitía valores contraculturales de humildad, servicio y cercanía a los pobres. Son valores más bien universales, más que solo nacionales o locales. Por ejemplo, cuando en 1540 partió de Roma a Lisboa en la expedición del embajador portugués ante la Santa Sede, el que se dedicó a cuidar, alimentar y limpiar a los caballos, fue él personalmente. Cuando estaba invitado por las autoridades portuguesas ya fuera en Lisboa o en Mozambique, o en el mismo barco que le llevaba, en vez de utilizar aposentos cómodos, a los que tenía “derecho”, prefirió dormir humildemente con los enfermos para acompañar a los más sufrientes. Su cercanía a los pobres y presos, para quienes pedía dinero, fue una característica suya también en Goa, Malaca y otras ciudades. Esto era parte de “su cultura”.

3.2. Contacto con otras religiones

Ya en el viaje de Lisboa a Goa pudo Javier comenzar los diálogos con personas de otras religiones. En la breve parada en Melinde (la actual Kenia), en 1542, dialogó con autoridades musulmanas, con las que la Iglesia local tenía buena relación. Le decían que estaban preocupados por la pérdida de fe en el mundo musulmán, pues de diecisiete mezquitas solo tres tenían culto. En la siguiente parada, en Socotora (actual Yemen) las relaciones entre cristianos y musulmanes no eran buenas. Aunque él quería quedarse un tiempo a evangelizar, el gobernador le hizo viajar pronto a Goa por miedo a que Javier fuera apresado por los musulmanes si se quedaba allí.

A los pocos meses de llegar a India, cuando fue hacia el sur, Javier tuvo un contacto serio con el mundo hindú.

Pronto se encontró con problemas comunes a todas las religiones establecidas. Es difícil cambiar de religión. Los brahmanes nobles obstaculizaban, con procesos judiciales y trámites interminables, a los que dejaban su religión. Los nuevos cristianos sufrían tiranías e injusticias.

Algo parecido pueden testimoniar otros sobre la religión católica en otros contextos. Es más, Javier observa que para que se expanda el catolicismo había dos problemas principales: el mal ejemplo de los cristianos y la codicia de los funcionarios portugueses. Los musulmanes, que habían convertido hacía unos siglos a parte de la población asiática, tiranizaban a su gente. Los portugueses católicos, en vez de suavizar esto, a veces hicieron más duras dichas tiranías, por ejemplo, pagando poco por algunos productos locales y aprovechándose así del trabajo de otros.

Pronto se vio Javier envuelto en situaciones en las que las autoridades locales dudaban entre convertirse o no al catolicismo. Hubo un caso en 1544 en Colombo en que el rey de Ceilán se había comprometido a convertirse, por unas ventajas que le había hecho anteriormente el rey Juan III. Javier tuvo el encargo de hacer que se bautizara, tal y como había prometido. Para favorecer el proceso, organizaron, con los franciscanos, una sesión de debate sobre religiones. Fue una disputa pública entre budistas, hindúes, franciscanos y algunos sabios del reino. Tenían que debatir sobre siete temas: Dios, el paraíso, la santidad, los ángeles, el diablo, la virtud y el vicio y el pecado.

El debate duró dos semanas y no lograron nada más que tensionarse. A pesar de las promesas y el compromiso con el rey de Portugal, el rey Bhuvaneka Bâhu renunció a bautizarse. En una carta señaló:

Ni por el presente rey de Portugal ni por otros dos como él, abandonaré yo la ley en que nací, fui alimentado y criado; y os aseguro que jamás abrazaré la ley de los cristianos ni

A los pocos meses de llegar a India, cuando fue hacia el sur, Javier tuvo un contacto serio con el mundo hindú y de la idolatría de la India

haré profesión de ella. Y si quieren forzarme, prefiero dejar el reino y la patria que recibir el Bautismo. Con todo, vos y vuestros frailes podéis proponer a mis súbditos vuestra ley. Si ellos quieren abrazarla, permito que lo hagan y a nadie impediré que se os junte. Pero si ellos no lo quieren, no se me podrá echar a mí la culpa. (Schurhammer, 1992, p. 538).

Aunque lo anterior lo dejó por escrito, no permitió posteriormente que budistas o hindúes se convirtieran al catolicismo. A los que se bautizaban les expropiaban sus bienes. Lo mismo ocurría con otros rajás, como el de Cochín. No querían que sus súbditos se convirtieran a la religión de los portugueses.

En 1545 Javier decide ir hacia Indonesia. En el camino, se encuentra en Malaca (Malasia) una diversidad cultural mayor de la que encontraba en los lugares que había visitado en India. Aprecia el valor de ciudades como esa como espacio de encuentro entre culturas. Ve un fuerte sentido de misión el establecer misiones en lugares así.

Como hacía en todas partes, se fija en las religiones del lugar. Ve el influjo del islam, implantado en muchos sitios. En su análisis Javier observa que la relación entre el paganismo y las religiones no es muy buena:

Se quieren mal los gentiles y los moros. Los moros quieren que los gentiles o se hagan moros o sean sus cautivos, y los gentiles no quieren ni ser moros ni menos ser sus cautivos. (Zubillaga, 1979: Carta 55, párrafo 8 [1546])

Y se ve que es optimista con su religión:

Si hubiese quien les predicase la verdad, todos se harían cristianos, porque más quieren los gentiles ser cristianos que no moros. De 70 años a esta parte se hicieron moros, que primero todos eran gentiles. (Zubillaga, 1979: Carta 55, párrafo 8 [1546])

El siguiente encuentro cultural importante para Javier fue Japón. Un joven nipón se ofreció a traducir la doctrina cristiana y elementos de historia. Utilizaron los caracteres japoneses y pronto descubrieron que comparten mucho con los chinos. Al llegar allí utilizaron técnicas locales y grabaron imágenes en planchas de madera. Dice en 1949:

Me parece que este invierno nos ocuparemos en hacer una declaración sobre los artículos de la fe en lengua del Japón, algún tanto copiosa para hacerla imprimir, pues toda la gente principal sabe leer y escribir, para que se extienda nuestra fe por muchas partes, pues a todas no podemos acudir. (Zubillaga, 1979: Carta 92, párrafo 58 [1549])

Todavía se conserva, en distintas ediciones, un manual que redactaron ese año de preguntas y respuestas sobre la fe.

3.3. Adaptación a nuevas culturas

Javier ha sido muy reconocido en su adaptación y respeto a las costumbres y culturas locales, en especial el idioma. Su mentalidad era occidental y no destacó como otros jesuitas posteriores (por ejemplo, Matteo Ricci, en China) en adaptar o inculturar la fe. Pero destaca su trabajo misionero, como organizador, como pionero y como artífice del desarrollo de métodos misionales jesuitas.

Si juzgamos su mentalidad y teología con criterios actuales hay temas que hoy no podemos compartir, sobre el sentido de la salvación, el rol de la mujer, de la esclavitud o del gobierno; o el

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hecho de que los conversos tuvieran que adquirir costumbres portuguesas. Pero su acercamiento y ayuda a enfermos y presos, a personas de color, a esclavos, niños y mujeres, sectores que pueden considerarse más discriminados o vulnerables, fue intenso y ejemplar.

Por un lado, hizo esfuerzos meritorios y pioneros. Además de acercarse personalmente a las distintas religiones, tradujo materiales a varios idiomas, ya fuera en India, en Indonesia o en Japón.

Por otro lado, dedicó un colegio en Goa, quizá la institución jesuita o eclesial más importante en Asia esos años, a formar jóvenes de distintos países de toda Asia (indígenas, de más de diez idiomas, incluidos japoneses o chinos, muchas veces escogidos por el propio Javier), para que aprendieran filosofía y teología y pudieran ser catequistas y sacerdotes en sus iglesias. Tradujo textos a lenguas locales y proponía la catequización directa. De modo pionero impulsó las vocaciones indígenas al sacerdocio y fomentó así el clero nativo ilustrado. Fue una iniciativa que posteriormente otros no secundaron.

3.4. Cultura más allá de la religión

En algunos lugares, Javier dialogó y debatió sobre temas más allá de lo estrictamente religioso. Destacan los debates que tuvo en Japón sobre temas científicos. Recibían visitantes y personas que atendían sus predicaciones preguntando de todo, también sobre ciencia. En el grado y máster en Artes que Javier había estudiado unos lustros antes en París se incluía formación en lo que ahora llamamos ciencias: Física, Matemáticas, Astronomía, Meteorología, etc., aunque fuera con el nivel científico de entonces. La tierra y su esfericidad, el sol, la luna y los eclipses, los fenómenos de los rayos o la nieve eran motivo de debate y erudición. Esto puso a los predicadores extranjeros en posición de prestigio.

Algo parecido realizó en otros contextos. Por ejemplo, en su último año. Se encontraba en la isla de Shangchuan (a diez kilómetros de la costa china). En aquel lugar había mercaderes tanto portugueses como chinos y de otros sitios. Javier hablaba con ellos también de temas científicos, además de filosóficos. Le tenían como hombre de vida santa y sabio. Sus explicaciones sobre el universo, la naturaleza o el cielo dejaban satisfecha a la gente.

Por otro lado, Javier llevaba regalos bastante exquisitos, encargados desde Europa, y que reservaba para la máxima autoridad local que visitaba como embajador o enviado de Portugal. Eran obsequios lujosos: relojes con engranajes modernos, escopetas artísticamente decoradas, catalejos y anteojos, paños, tejidos, libros, cuadros, cristales...

Muchas veces eran objetos no conocidos localmente y causaban gran admiración. Por su parte, Javier no acostumbraba a aceptar los regalos que le ofrecían a cambio. Solo quería permiso para predicar, para construir un templo y para que los nativos pudieran bautizarse si querían.

Otro elemento a destacar en este apartado es señalar que Javier planteaba relaciones entre universidades asiáticas y europeas. Estimaba que el pueblo japonés era muy culto y que sus universidades podrían tener relación con las de París u otros lugares. Creía que ahí había trabajo, no solo para los jesuitas, sino para otros grupos religiosos como eran los franciscanos, los dominicos o los diocesanos. El plan no salió, no lo pudo ver en vida, porque en su primer y único viaje a Japón su estancia en la capital Meaco (la actual Kyoto), en 1550, no fue afortunada. La ciudad estaba en crisis, además en situación de preguerra, el *daimyo* no tenía poder y el entorno no estaba como para llegar a realizar muchos acuerdos de este tipo.

Javier ha sido muy reconocido en su adaptación y respeto a las costumbres y culturas locales, en especial el idioma

Con la información que tenía, creía que había una universidad o centro de estudios que es el origen del modo de vivir o costumbre o leyes tanto de China o de Japón. En 1549, antes de ir hacia Japón escribe:

Y por tiempos placera a Dios que muchos de la Compañía irán a China, y de China a aquellos sus grandes estudios que están allende de China y Tartao, que se llama Chingico, según la información de Paulo, que dice que en todo Tartao, China y Japón tienen la ley que enseñan en Chingico; y por cuanto él no entiende la lengua en que tienen escrita la ley, que tienen los de su tierra escrita en libros, que es como latín entre nos, por eso no me sabe dar entera información de la ley que tienen escrita en sus libros de impresión. (Zubillaga, 1979: Carta 73, párrafo 4 [1549])

Porque en toda la China y en Tartao, que es una tierra muy grandísima entre la China y Chengico, según dice Paulo, no tienen otra doctrina sino la que enseñan en Chengico. (Zubillaga, 1979: Carta 70, párrafo 9 [1549])

Javier piensa que hay una universidad o centro de enseñanzas que es el origen de las costumbres y leyes de las culturas china y japonesa. Javier no lo sabía entonces, pero se trata del budismo. Y el lugar al que se refiere no es China, sino el noreste de India donde nació el budismo. Usa el nombre de *Chengico/Chingico*. Con él se refiere al término que empleaban los japoneses, *Tenjiku*. *Tenjiku* es el modo japonés de pronunciar *Tianzhu*. *Tianzhu* es el nombre histórico con que los chinos denominaban a India. Tartao o Tartaria es el nombre antiguo para Asia Central.

En resumen, si miramos desde Japón, más allá de China y Asia Central está India. El budismo nació en India, pasó a China, y de aquí a Korea y a Japón. Javier se da cuenta de que es una mentalidad que domina en Japón. Quiere explorarla y conocerla para intervenir en Japón, y en China.

En algunos lugares, Javier dialogó y debatió sobre temas más allá de lo estrictamente religioso. Destacan los debates que tuvo en Japón sobre temas científicos

4. Diplomacia política

La expansión de la Iglesia católica por Asia estuvo directamente relacionada con el imperio portugués. Javier y la primera Compañía de Jesús tuvieron ahí un papel destacado.

La praxis de Javier puede verse muy vinculada a la actividad política. Es interesante analizar este hecho. En esta sección muestro varios ejemplos en su recorrido en los que tuvo que emplear habilidades diplomáticas con distintas autoridades, fueran imperiales o locales, para intentar llevar adelante sus difíciles iniciativas.

Combinaba varios roles. Era enviado por el papa con responsabilidades en esa parte del mundo. Era jesuita y actuaba, cuando se creó la Compañía de Jesús, por obediencia, y tenía autoridad ante los otros jesuitas. Y era también parte de la órbita del imperio portugués, entidad que asumía como propia la tarea de evangelizar. Además, el rey Juan III fue quien financió buena parte de sus actividades.

4.1. El imperio portugués

Cuando Javier partió de Lisboa a Goa lo hizo en la nave real "Santiago". Iba con la máxima autoridad portuguesa en Asia, el recién nombrado gobernador de la colonia, Martín Alfonso de Sousa. Cada año, cerca del mes de abril, salía de Portugal una expedición con unos pocos

barcos hacia India. Esta vez, el año 1541, fueron cinco barcos. Cuatro de ellos eran de navieros y empresas particulares. El otro era la mencionada embarcación real, donde iba Javier por su autoridad y cargo.

El imperio portugués fue una potencia poderosa. Ha sido considerado entre los diez imperios más grandes de la humanidad. Se extendió del siglo XV al XX. A principios del XVI tenía ejércitos en los cinco continentes. Portugal fue el primer país europeo en contactar con Japón y con China.

Comenzó con la captura de Ceuta en 1415, continuó con la costa oeste africana, y llegaron al cabo de Buena Esperanza en 1487 (Bartolomé Días) y a India en 1498 (Vasco da Gama). Los turcos y los musulmanes tuvieron fuerte presencia en Asia antes que los europeos.

Es de destacar que en 1541 había catorce fortalezas portuguesas en Oriente. Algunas estaban en la costa oriental africana (Sofala y Mozambique), otra en la entrada al golfo Pérsico (Ormuz), varias en India (Diu, Basain, Chaul, Goa, Cananor, Chale, Cranganor, Cochin, Quilón), una en la región malaya (Malaca, actual Malasia) y otra en las Molucas (Ternate, en la actual Indonesia).

Los portugueses habían conquistado Goa en 1510. Ese año ya no quedaba ni rastro de los anteriores cristianos. En otros lugares de India sí había unos pocos cristianos que se decían provenientes de la tradición de Santo Tomás, del siglo I. En Goa, en cambio, solo había musulmanes y paganos, tras la invasión de los primeros unos siglos antes. La situación cambió con la conquista portuguesa. Cuando llegó Javier, en 1542, había más de quince mil cristianos. Aunque también muchísimos gentiles. Las mezquitas y templos paganos estaban destruidos.

Hay que reconocer que Javier tuvo desde el comienzo tensiones con las autoridades portuguesas en Goa. El que luego sería santo cuestionaba el mal uso de poder y la avaricia desmedida de dinero y propiedades. El recién nombrado nuncio perjudicaba a los intereses crematísticos de algunos. Javier se sentía libre. Lo veían como independiente e indomable. No lo podían corromper con dinero, aunque fuera para las causas sociales que Javier apoyaba, por ejemplo, dar de comer a personas pobres. Javier servía a la corona solo si encajaba con sus intereses apostólicos. Con él delante se les hacía difícil utilizar la religión para defender la política o los intereses terrenales de los ciudadanos portugueses.

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4.2. La relación con el rey Juan III de Portugal

La principal actividad diplomática de Javier fue probablemente su relación con el rey Juan III de Portugal. Tuvo contacto estrecho con él durante su estancia en Lisboa (de junio de 1540 a abril de 1541), antes de su partida a India. Después fue epistolar y por medio de personas intermedias que viajaban entre Portugal y Asia.

Como señalaba arriba, el rey se implicó, y muy personalmente, en la expansión de la Iglesia en sus dominios, por medio del Patronato que dirigía. Javier y Juan III se comunicaban por escrito con llamativo afecto. Al rey le preocupaba que la fe se expandiera, se interesaba por la conversión de las ánimas y preguntaba por el fruto que Javier lograba.

La corrupción en el imperio era muy grande. Comerciantes, autoridades públicas y responsables religiosos escribían al rey, cada uno con sus intereses. Dicha corrupción no ayudaba a la evangelización. Si los portugueses aplastan militarmente a los nuevos cristianos, o los dejan a su suerte o los empobrecen o los exprimen con impuestos excesivos, es muy difícil hacerse cristiano. Sobre esto se carteara Javier con el rey.

Javier recibe muchas ayudas del imperio, pero esto no quita que a veces se atreva a apelar a la conciencia del rey exigiendo buen comportamiento de sus súbditos en Oriente. A Javier le pesaba el entorno en el que se movía. La evangelización y su justicia tenían menos peso que el comercio de las especies o el amor avaricioso al dinero, más allá de la tentación misma de corrupción. La influencia efectiva del rey y la administración no daba de sí como para ordenar estos hechos que sucedían a miles de kilómetros de Portugal.

Hay un relato sobre Javier en el que se describe su opción por la vida humilde y denuncia el alto nivel de vida de las autoridades, también eclesiales, de entonces. Justifica en estas líneas no aceptar una oferta que le hacían de servirse de criados:

Señor conde, el adquirir crédito y autoridad por ese medio que usted dice [tener sirvientes], ha traído a la Iglesia de Dios al estado en que ahora ella está y a sus preladados; y el medio por donde se ha de adquirir es, lavando esas ropillas y guisando la olla, sin tener necesidad de nadie, y con todo eso procurando emplearse en el servicio de las almas de los próximos. (Teixeira, vol. 2, 1912, p. 837)

Su opción por la pobreza, y por no vivir con un alto nivel a costa de otros, no es solo por solidaridad humana sino por testimonio, y a la vez denuncia, ante autoridades de la Iglesia y de la vida civil. Fue una opción de los primeros jesuitas desde sus primeros años en Francia e Italia. La ejemplaridad es a veces el mejor mensaje.

4.3. Reacción al ataque de los bagadas (1544)

Javier tuvo que intervenir en situaciones concretas con autoridades políticas locales. Un ejemplo es el ataque de los bagadas a los paravas. Como he señalado arriba, Javier sirvió pastoralmente en zonas del sur de India, la región de los paravas. Pasó muchos meses allí, con un idioma complejo (el malabar, actual tamil) y con muchos pueblos que atender.

En 1544 hubo una gran crisis. Pueblos bagadas, que provenían de más al norte, invadieron el lugar de los paravas. Una treintena de pueblos paravas fue asaltada, con lo que lamentablemente conlleva de violencia gratuita: violaciones, torturas, quemas de casas, robos, prisioneros, desplazados forzados, huidos, etc.

Javier quiso intervenir personalmente y entró en las zonas afectadas. Se internó en terreno hostil enfrentándose a la soldadesca. Pudo haber muerto. Su choza, donde dormía, fue prendida con fuego varias veces. Quiso defender a los cristianos de la tiranía que sufrían. Quizá hizo algo temerario. Se enfrentó al que probablemente fue el mayor peligro de su vida.

Se trataba de una guerra entre reyes locales rivales. Los reyes de Quilón y Travancor guerreaban contra el de Tuticorín. Los pescadores cristianos fueron víctimas inocentes. Javier logró llegar a las cortes de los distintos reyes. Logró un acuerdo que incluía que los invasores bagadas se retiraran.

Unos meses más tarde los cristianos tuvieron también otra tragedia. En una zona cercana a Ceilán, el rajá local mandó matar a seiscientos cristianos porque no querían abjurar de su religión y volver a la idolatría. Se trataba de la isla de Mannar.

Javier recibe muchas ayudas del imperio, pero esto no quita que a veces se atreva a apelar a la conciencia del rey exigiendo buen comportamiento de sus súbditos en Oriente

4.4. Conflicto entre soldados españoles y portugueses (1546)

Durante su tiempo de estancia en la actual Indonesia, a la vuelta de una de sus visitas a una de las islas, en primavera de 1546, Javier se encontró con una situación delicada en la que tuvo que poner en juego sus habilidades diplomáticas.

Hubo un conflicto complejo. Aparecieron ocho naves con supervivientes de una malograda expedición española. Venían de Filipinas, habiendo salido de México. Una playa se convirtió en campamento militar. Querían viajar a España bordeando India y África. Los portugueses no lo admitían: eso era “su” terreno. Querían que los españoles volvieran por donde habían venido, por el Pacífico y bordeando América.

Este desencuentro tenía que ver con el Tratado de Tordesillas de 1494, un acuerdo entre el rey de Portugal y los reyes de Castilla y Aragón. Dividió buena parte del mundo en dos imperios: español y portugués. La cuestión delicada era dónde estaban los límites, cómo precisar la línea de demarcación que indicaba dónde terminaba el imperio portugués y dónde comenzaban los derechos de los españoles. El hecho es que la teórica línea de separación dividía en dos partes la actual Indonesia. Cada parte pretendía más terreno para sí.

Javier fue sin pretenderlo testigo de esta querrela entre Portugal y España sobre las Molucas. Dos armadas, dañadas y en debilidad, se encontraban en una isla. Javier estaba con los portugueses. Pero pronto se hizo amigo de la otra parte, en especial de los cuatro capellanes españoles, entre ellos dos agustinos. Ayudó a los enfermos de ambos lados e hizo pastoral con todos, pues se acercaba la semana santa.

Según el sentido diplomático de Javier importaban más las personas, su bienestar y conversión que la naturaleza de la “propiedad” de aquel trozo del mundo. El 17 de mayo salieron las naves españolas por territorio “portugués” y se hizo la calma.

Según el sentido diplomático de Javier importaban más las personas, su bienestar y conversión que la naturaleza de la “propiedad” de aquel trozo del mundo

4.5. Triunfo diplomático en Japón: primer nipón en Europa

Javier entró en Japón en 1549. Fue muy relevante y simbólico para su actividad. Sin embargo, era algo no previsto, ni en 1540 cuando dejó Europa, ni en 1545 cuando fue hacia Indonesia.

A la vuelta de ese mencionado viaje a Indonesia, en 1547, es cuando Javier comienza a conocer cosas de Japón. Un año más tarde escribe a Europa ensalzando lo que oía sobre Japón. Los distintos mercaderes alababan el país y la cultura. Javier entró en el país tan solo seis años después de que lo hiciera el primer mercante portugués.

Hasta entonces para los europeos Japón no fue solo lejano o inexplorado, secreto o escondido, sino simplemente inexistente. Javier comenzó a informarse de una cultura que parecía extraña y nueva, pero potencialmente muy apta para sus intereses de evangelización. El nivel cultural era previsiblemente mayor que el que Javier experimentó en los paganos o indígenas de India o las Molucas. Idealizaron a los japoneses como con afán de saber, abiertos a argumentos racionales y potencialmente sensibles a la “verdad” del cristianismo.

Planteó una estrategia bastante completa para este país que le decían era clave en Oriente. Quería convertir al cristianismo al rey de Japón. Llevaría por esta vía la fe a China. Admitiría en Goa a estudiantes japoneses y chinos para preparar materiales y catequizar posteriormente en su cultura. Tendría relaciones con universidades japonesas. Facilitaría a los portugueses una factoría en la principal ciudad portuaria. Enviaría una delegación japonesa a India y a Europa.

Todo lo previsto se cumplió parcialmente. A pesar de las inclemencias del mar y de los peligros de los piratas chinos, llegó a territorio nipón. En algunos lugares fue bien acogido. Preparó textos en japonés. No tuvo éxito en la capital, pues el *shogun* estaba en crisis y desautorizado, la capital del reino en preguerra y la situación no permitió acercarse a las universidades. Sí tuvo éxito con algunos *daimyos* poderosos, por ejemplo, los de Yamaguchi y Bungo, que tenían de hecho más fuerza e influencia que el *shogun*. Allí pudo establecer relaciones diplomáticas, entregar regalos y lograr permisos para evangelizar.

Iba como enviado del embajador portugués para India. El tono positivo de su tarea allí se concretó en establecer relaciones diplomáticas. Un *daimyo* con poder quiso hacer un tratado de amistad con el rey de Portugal.

Al dejar el país, en el viaje de vuelta llevó consigo a un emisario del *daimyo* de Bungo, que presentó al virrey en Cochín. Fue bien recibido y aceptó la alianza de mutua amistad. De nombre cristiano Bernardo, después zarpó para occidente. Fue el primer japonés en Europa. En 1553, en Lisboa, entró en la Compañía de Jesús.

Sus buenas formas diplomáticas no terminaban con este representante japonés que llevó a India. Posteriormente quiso llevar un emisario portugués a China, en una apuesta que no fructificó³.

4.6. Fracaso diplomático en Malaca camino a China

En 1551 Javier salió de Japón, tras dos años allí, de vuelta hacia India. Les prometió a los nipones que volvería al año siguiente con algunos jesuitas más.

Sin embargo, antes de llegar a Goa cambió de opinión. En Shangchuan, en su travesía hacia India, un hecho le hizo pensar. Se enteró que unas semanas antes unos navegantes portugueses fueron apresados en Cantón (China) acusados de comercio ilícito. Le enseñaron una carta de uno de ellos, Gaspar López. Afirmaba que podría ser liberado si alguien iba a China como embajador del rey de Portugal.

Esto hizo razonar a Javier. Ideó una nueva estrategia. Pediría al embajador de Portugal que enviara a alguien a China a hacer las paces y liberar a los cautivos. Además, si pagan derechos de aduana, pueden hacer negocios. Javier pensó que él también podría ir y así se presentaba legalmente ante las autoridades chinas. Por eso cambió de planes: en 1552 no iría a Japón sino a China, y lograría permiso para evangelizar, como nuncio pontificio que era, siendo parte de la embajada de los portugueses.

Con esto en mente llegó hasta Goa. Allí organizó la expedición y se encaminó a su nueva travesía. Pero semanas más tarde, ya en su navegación hacia China, sufrió un gran contratiempo. El capitán mayor de Malaca (Malasia) impidió que Javier lograra llevar a cabo lo que habían planificado con esmero. No permitió que saliera esa embajada hacia China.

Javier se quedó sin embajada, pero no aceptó la nueva situación. Fue por su cuenta hacia China, sin el documento oficial. Llegó hasta Shangchuan, cerca de Macao, y allí esperó a que

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³ Analizando tiempos posteriores, Alessandro Tripepi (2021) ve una estrategia “global” en la diplomacia jesuita cuando consiguen combinar relaciones diplomáticas de *daimyos* japoneses con autoridades europeas. Señala un hito especial cuando una delegación de cuatro jóvenes príncipes japoneses fue presentada en Roma en 1585.

alguien le introdujera en el país. Pronto vio que no era posible. Comenzó a resignarse y se planteó evangelizar otra región que entonces se llamaba Siam, la actual Tailandia:

Porque, si acaso Dios no lo quiera, no sé lo que haré, si irme a India o a Siam, para de allí juntarme a la embajada que el rey de Siam manda al rey de China. (Zubillaga, 1979: Carta 132, párrafo 10 [1552])

Y, por cuanto este viaje de ir de este puerto a China es trabajoso y peligroso, no sé yo qué sucederá, aunque tengo grande esperanza que sucederá bien. Si acaso este año no entrare en Cantón, iré, como arriba dije, a Siam. Y si de Siam para el año próximo no fuere para China, iré a India, aunque mucha esperanza tengo de ir a China. (Zubillaga, 1979: Carta 137, párrafo 6 [1552])

De Siam pensaba quizá entrar en China. La segunda de estas dos citas es de la última carta firmada por Javier en su vida, el 13 de noviembre de 1552. Una semana después cae enfermo y el 3 de diciembre de ese año fallece.

Se puede decir que fue quizá muy impetuoso querer entrar de esos modos, sin embajada, en China y quedar en consecuencia semiabandonado en la isla de Shangchuan. Si hubiera esperado unos meses o un año, lo que dudara la tramitación, podía haber logrado la excomunión del capitán Ataide, podía haber puesto un capitán que le favoreciera, y así haber entrado con una embajada del virrey de Portugal. Pero, como sabemos, la salud no se lo permitió, y su vida terminó en una pequeña choza de paja en Shangchuan.

Posteriormente, 1555 pudo entrar el primer jesuita en China. En 1562 lograron fundar la primera casa, en Macao.

5. Diplomacia económica

La dimensión económica está presente en las actividades de Javier y de la primera Compañía de Jesús, tanto en su trabajo local como internacional. No es la finalidad inmediata pues los intereses de los jesuitas estaban y están lejos de ser crematísticos. Pero aparece y surge porque la economía hace sostenible el trabajo apostólico. Gestionar esta dimensión con inteligencia y diplomacia puede ayudar a los distintos fines que se tengan.

5.1. La cuestión económica en el imperio portugués

Como todos los imperios y Estados exitosos, la dimensión económica estaba presente en la estructura misma del imperio portugués y en su trabajo de expansión hacia otros continentes en sus colonias. Desde tiempo atrás los países, también asiáticos, habían aprendido a comerciar y así lograr beneficios de las mercancías que pueden importar o exportar. El negocio económico y sus necesidades hicieron que se desarrollara la navegación, e incluso las armas de combate.

La ruta marítima para unir India y Europa fue toda una apuesta comercial. Esto fue posible gracias a la tecnología marina que pasó, en unos años, de permitirles solo viajar entre ríos portugueses y cerca de la costa lusa, a atravesar océanos y mover carga entre continentes. Comenzaron así a luchar contra el monopolio comercial musulmán.

Los musulmanes llegaron a esas zonas de Asia unos siglos antes que los portugueses. Conquistaron partes de India a los hindúes y fueron poseedores de otras superficies y naciones

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en zonas como Ceilán, Malaca, o Sumatra, Borneo y las Molucas, en la actual Indonesia. El comercio de Oriente estaba en sus manos. Desde las capitales islámicas se hacían las transacciones importantes.

Los portugueses, en cambio, tuvieron otra estrategia. Más que buscar dominar países enteros, apostaron por enclaves concretos para apoyar a sus factorías y comerciantes.

El imperio portugués estableció puertos comerciales en muchas partes de Asia: Ormuz (actual Irán) y Mascate (actual Omán) en las cercanías del Golfo Pérsico; Diu, Goa (actual Panaji), Basain (actual Mumbai), en India; Ceilán (actual Sri Lanka), Malaca (en Malasia) y Molucas (actual Indonesia); incluso llegaron a Macao (costa de China) y Nagasaki (Japón). Javier visitó personalmente la mayoría de estas ciudades que mencionamos.

Lo que es ahora Indonesia era un importante centro de comercio del clavo y Portugal había conseguido del Vaticano los derechos sobre el comercio de esta especia.

Como hemos contado al escribir antes sobre el Imperio portugués, crearon ciudades fortificadas que se consideraban portuguesas para controlar el comercio, por ejemplo, Goa. En algunos casos eran edificios para el comercio en ciudades no portuguesas. En otros, comerciaban desde las propias cargas de los barcos. A comienzos del siglo XVI el océano Índico era “un lago portugués”. Con esto el Imperio protegía las actividades mercantiles ante competidores asiáticos y europeos.

Mantener el imperio y el comercio exterior no era una cuestión sencilla. El poderío turco y musulmán, según en qué zonas de África o Asia, demandaba cada vez más energía a Portugal para defender sus plazas. Las guerras generaban gastos muy elevados. India portuguesa estaba frecuentemente amenazada de peligro. Los piratas franceses también causaban pérdidas. Estos hechos arruinaban las arcas del imperio. El comercio quedaba deteriorado. Más gasto y menos gravámenes hacían que disminuyera el tamaño de las arcas públicas. Los conflictos eran continuos.

Como estamos señalando, el éxito de un imperio está unido a la dimensión económica de su estructura. Pero las dificultades no vienen solo del exterior. Entre los problemas interiores podemos destacar el de la moral de la actividad humana y social, en concreto lo que afecta a la corrupción. Si hubiera más moral en el reino de Portugal habría más crecimiento económico. Lograrían más ingresos por gravámenes. Si el comercio crece, hay más impuestos. Los puertos dependían de lo que cargaban a cada barco que entraba o salía (fletes, impuestos, aranceles...). Financiar la administración y los ejércitos tiene su complejidad. Si no hay recursos para más ejército no hay medios para defenderse o conquistar más territorios. El poder necesita al ejército y a la economía. Van unidos. La corrupción desfavorece a todo lo anterior.

5.2. La búsqueda de recursos para la misión

Tener presente la dimensión económica es clave para la vida y para cualquier misión, también la que consiste en actividades apostólicas. Todo cuesta. La economía, junto con los recursos humanos o los permisos legales, es algo a analizar y cuidar continuamente, pues permite que un proyecto pueda realizarse.

Javier cuidaba de modo diplomático sus relaciones para conseguir ayudas para las necesidades apostólicas. Es sabido que mientras otros buscaban dinero y regalos de las autoridades de distintos países, las gestiones de Javier tenían otros fines. Buscaba licencias para construir

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templos y permisos para evangelizar. Unido a esto solicitaba que el que quisiera pudiera bautizarse y pasarse a la religión cristiana.

El centro administrativo del imperio portugués se encontraba en la parte occidental de India. La sede del obispo estaba en Goa. También la de los franciscanos y pronto estaría la de los jesuitas. A 600 kilómetros al norte se encontraba la sede principal del gobernador, Basain. Allí había de acudir periódicamente Javier a informar y lograr permisos y recursos. Además, a otros 600 km de Goa, pero esta vez al sur, se encontraba otra ciudad importante: Cochín. Era la capital mercantil y un buen número de marinos y mercantes tenía allí su sede. Javier también se detenía en esta ciudad, en sus viajes al sur o en la ida o vuelta de sus largas expediciones al este. Podemos decir que Cochín (asuntos económicos), Goa (asuntos eclesiales) y Basain (asuntos políticos) fueron los lugares donde Javier explicaba a las distintas partes interesadas lo que iba haciendo. Buscaba apoyos para asentar y hacer crecer la misión que iba organizando.

5.3. Mediaciones para una posibilidad de negocio en Japón

Un ejemplo concreto de la actividad de Javier fue el conjunto de propuestas en su gestión con el *shogun* de Japón, a quien al final no pudo visitar como he señalado antes. Tenía varias iniciativas. Buscaba licencias para poder predicar el evangelio y permitir conversiones. Unido a esto, pretendía asentarse en Sakai, un puerto cerca de la capital. Para ello quería permiso y ayuda para edificar en esa ciudad una iglesia (Oka, 2021).

También sabía poner el foco en lo económico. Aunque su interés primario fuera religioso, entendía de dinero y de comercio. Usó sus teclas diplomáticas entre japoneses y portugueses para proponer que en Sakai se construyera una factoría y una base comercial portuguesas. Él no quería el beneficio económico, pero proponía posibilidades de comercio y riquezas tanto a portugueses y japoneses. Él también necesitaba dinero para sus misiones.

Otro ejemplo es la propuesta de compra de tejidos en Bassein (India), para venderlos en otros lugares a un precio cinco veces superior y así financiar las misiones en las Molucas. A veces los jesuitas abandonaban los centros que Portugal controlaba, por medio del Patronato, e iban a predicar a zonas desprotegidas, por ejemplo, la población indígena. Para ello tenían que buscar financiación por su cuenta, haciendo negocios como los otros mercantes (vendiendo especias, etc.) (Oberholzer, 2019).

Volvamos a la expedición a Japón. Una carta de 1549 muestra que, aunque actuaba con motivaciones espirituales elevadas, también entendía de negocios terrenales:

En Sacay, que es el principal puerto de Japón, dos jornadas por tierra de Meaco, placiendo a Dios, se hará una factoría de mucho provecho temporal; porque este puerto de Sacay es el más rico de Japón, donde acude más y mayor suma de plata y oro del reino. Yo tendré buen cuidado de trabajar con el rey de Japón, para que mande un embajador a India, para ver la grandeza de ella y las cosas de allá, de las cuales ellos carecen; para que, por esta vía, se trate entre el gobernador y el rey de Japón, cómo se haga la dicha factoría. (Zubillaga, 1979: Carta 94, párrafo 6 [1549])

Javier, además de apóstol de la fe, aparece como estrategia económico. Javier negociaba a veces directamente con los comerciantes, buscando convencerlos para que lo llevaran de un sitio a otro. Estos no se movían necesariamente por el amor de Dios, sino que debían ver una oportunidad

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económica en lo que hacían. Compaginaba el discurso económico, haciendo que los mercaderes pudieran lucrarse, con el apostólico, pues él mantenía sus objetivos de evangelización. Era capaz de unir en su mente la apertura de nuevos mercados, para que se expandiera el impero comercial portugués, con su labor evangelizadora explícita (Oberholzer, 2019).

Hay que hacer notar también que, además de negociar como señalo, Javier causaba cierto escándalo entre los mercaderes ricos, por su actuación a favor de esclavos, pobres e indígenas. Y por su denuncia de usura, injusticias, comercios ilícitos, querellas y demás vicios.

Cuenta la historia que, en el caso del viaje a Japón, Javier confeccionó una lista de productos que se pagaban caro. El que se atreviera a enfrentarse al peligroso mar y al riesgo de los piratas chinos, además de llevar a Javier y a los otros jesuitas, podría hacer negocios en el puerto de Sakai. Lamentablemente, no conservamos esa lista (Schurhammer, vol. 4, 1992, p. 131).

Se relacionó con los comerciantes chinos que venían de Cantón. Traían porcelana, esmaltes y tejidos de seda. Los portugueses lo intercambian por pimienta y especias. Javier hablaba con los mercaderes también de asuntos científicos, del universo, la naturaleza, el cielo o sobre temas filosóficos. Sus explicaciones satisfacían a la gente y se quedaron con la impresión de que estaban ante un hombre de ciencia. Algunos pensaban que podría ser llevado al país, China, por ser un hombre sabio y de vida santa.

6. Conclusiones

El ejemplo de san Francisco Javier da pistas sobre cómo se entendía y se entienden las relaciones internacionales en la naciente y actual Compañía de Jesús.

En primer lugar, se da el dato mismo de que esta Compañía es internacional. Sus miembros, desde su origen, fueron de distintos países, lenguas y mentalidades. Incluso enemigos en guerras locales (como el caso de la familia de Javier con lo que representaba Ignacio de Loyola), pero capaces de trascender diferencias y buscar objetivos compartidos para el bien común. Su misión y los lugares de envío y destino son también transnacionales. En este artículo hemos analizado viajes y tareas de Javier en distintos lugares de Asia. Lo cual es muestra de ese carácter internacional.

Por otro lado, esa internacionalización, para la que en lenguaje jesuita se utilizaba desde el comienzo el término “universal”, no está en contra de la inculturación o encarnación en distintos idiomas y mentalidades. El empeño de Javier en aprender varios idiomas (tamil, malayo o japonés) y de traducir textos a distintas lenguas es síntoma de la opción por encarnarse en distintas culturas. Han sido cientos los diccionarios y gramáticas que los jesuitas han escrito a lo largo de la historia.

En tercer lugar, la tarea de Javier y de la Compañía se entiende desde la misión de la Iglesia en su conjunto. Javier es ejemplo de ser diplomático y respetuoso con la autoridad eclesial y con otros miembros de la Iglesia (por ejemplo, obispos, sacerdotes diocesanos o franciscanos, asociaciones laicales con objetivos sociales, etc.). La visión internacional de la Iglesia es la que se despliega de modo especial en ese siglo de los descubrimientos para los europeos. Y Javier y los jesuitas atienden desde el comienzo a su relación con agentes eclesiales.

En cuarto lugar, observamos que la diplomacia jesuita y de Javier atienden también la realidad política de cada sitio. Por un lado, por la necesidad de permisos y requerimientos legales. Por otro lado, por compartir la búsqueda del bien común en los distintos lugares. Eso hace que se

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relacione directamente tanto con el emperador Juan III de Portugal como con muchos líderes y autoridades locales.

Por último, Javier es responsable de los aspectos económicos en sus temas misionales. Es consciente de la dimensión económica que posibilita la actividad que lleva a cabo. E incluso favorece el rédito económico a quienes le ayudan en la misión o fomenta su generosidad. Aquí hay también una dimensión internacional. Sabe solicitar recursos. Su mentor Íñigo de Loyola sabía en París buscar recursos, tanto para beneficiar a los pobres como para sus intenciones apostólicas, por ejemplo, ayudar a estudiantes en dificultades. El mismo Javier, cuando estuvo en París con apuros económicos que le impedirían seguir estudiando, fue beneficiado por las ayudas económicas que lograba Íñigo.

Javier recibe críticas por combinar tres hechos aparentemente irreconciliables como son (1) predicar la fe, (2) hacer comercio y negocio para financiar viajes y misiones e (3) integrarse en el imperio colonial portugués. Quizá haya ambigüedades, quizá se haya pecado a veces por dar visiones muy hagiográficas de su vida, quizá se peque de lo contrario, de críticas muy sesgadas y descalificadoras. Como aprendizaje, quizá lo mejor es también ver lo positivo que ha habido en estas enormes habilidades diplomáticas que Javier mostró en distintos ámbitos y que todavía podrían estudiarse más. Ciertamente, mucho se salva por su entrega y ejemplo personal.

Todo esto se entiende desde unos valores que se quieren promover. San Francisco Javier ha sido uno de los principales místicos de la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. Fue místico y llamativamente tuvo un impacto social brutal. Sin profundizar en su experiencia y motivaciones espirituales no podemos conocerlo bien. No era este artículo el lugar para desarrollar esto último. Las relaciones internacionales y la diplomacia no son fines en sí mismos, sino medios para facilitar esa misión evangelizadora y por el bien común. El empeño y compromiso por esos valores últimos es tal que Javier resulta ser un ejemplo de cuidado con esmero y profesionalidad de las relaciones internacionales y diplomacia en sus distintos ámbitos.

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LAS MISIONES CON GUARANÍ: RELACIÓN RESPECTUOSA ENTRE PUEBLOS

The Guarani Missions: Respectful Relations Between Peoples

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Las misiones (reducciones) jesuitas con los guaraní resultaron ser un tipo de relación alternativa entre el colectivo español y el nativo, una relación respetuosa con las personas y su cultura. Este artículo estudia el concepto de reducción y el contexto en el que surgieron, cómo la Compañía tuvo que hacer cambios en su legislación para asumirlas, lo que se hizo como una excepción temporal que se perpetuó. Así llegó a desarrollar una red de 30 pueblos, cuyo final fue el Tratado de Límites (1750) entre España y Portugal. Finaliza con algunas reflexiones sobre la valoración de esta experiencia misionera y sus ruinas. Se ha utilizado una selección bibliográfica de la mucha existente.



Resumen

The Jesuit missions (reducciones) with the Guarani turned out to be a kind of alternative relationship between the Spanish collective and the native, a relationship respectful of the people and their culture. This article studies the concept of reductions and the context in which they arose, how the Society had to make changes in its legislation to take them on, which was done as a temporary exception that was perpetuated. This led to the development of a network of 30 villages, the end of which was the Treaty of Limits (1750) between Spain and Portugal. It ends with some reflections on the valuation of this missionary experience and its ruins. A bibliographical selection of the existing literature has been used.



Abstract

Evangelización; misión; reducciones; Paraguay; jesuitas.

Evangelisation; mission; reducciones; Paraguay; Jesuits.



Key words

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Fechas

1. Introducción

Las reducciones jesuitas entre los guaraníes pueden ser consideradas como la joya de la corona, el fruto máspreciado y reconocido de las misiones entre no creyentes. Representa un modelo alternativo de relación, una convivencia respetuosa, pacífica y constructiva entre pueblos, considerados estos en su sentido más amplio, como un conjunto de personas de un lugar, región o país. Se les puede considerar, pues, como unas relaciones internacionales alternativas, en el sentido de Marcelo Gullo (2018): “el estudio de las relaciones internacionales consiste en el estudio del pensamiento y las acciones posibles para pasar de la confrontación a la solidaridad”.

Dentro de las mismas reducciones se establecieron relaciones internacionales en el sentido de relaciones entre naciones. Todos eran de la misma nación según la primera acepción de la RAE, “conjunto de los habitantes de un país regido por el mismo Gobierno”, pero era una nación conformada por diversas naciones, según la tercera acepción de la RAE: “conjunto de personas de un mismo origen y que generalmente hablan un mismo idioma y tienen una tradición común”. Lo peculiar de las reducciones es la relación de esos dos conjuntos de personas, o naciones, uno que era representante minúsculo, menos numeroso, del grupo más “poderoso”, los españoles, que supo respetar y ayudar a preservar la identidad del otro grupo más “débil”, aunque mucho más numeroso, el pueblo originario.

Además, las reducciones eran una red internacional. Primero, en su origen, pues fue una empresa desarrollada por jesuitas de toda Europa. Agustín Galán García (1995, p. 355) confirma el paso a las Indias Occidentales y a Filipinas, a lo largo de la Edad Moderna, de un total de 4011 jesuitas en 200 expediciones; de ellos, unos 849 eran de otras naciones europeas. Manuel Pacheco Albalade en comunicación personal da un total de 4035 misioneros, de los cuales 3229 embarcaron para América (719 no eran españoles), y 806 para Filipinas (183 no eran españoles), con un total de 902 no españoles embarcados para las colonias españolas. Es decir, más de 700 jesuitas europeos no españoles embarcaron para la América española y la mayor parte iría al trabajo directo con los nativos. Finalmente, es una red internacional en su final, como consecuencia de las tensiones fronterizas entre España y Portugal.

En este trabajo vamos a referirnos a la peculiaridad y “alternatividad” de estas relaciones internacionales, apuntando solo algunos de los posibles temas: concepto de reducción; cómo se forzó la adopción de estas estructuras como campo apostólico de los jesuitas en las regiones de Perú y Paraguay; cómo se desarrolló la red de reducciones, con descripción de su tipo de vida; y cuál fue su final. Finalizaremos con unas reflexiones sobre la valoración histórica y la pervivencia actual¹.

2. La evangelización y las reducciones/doctrinas

Los primeros conquistadores cometieron injusticias y abusos, por lo que, desde 1493 se decidió que las mismas leyes que se debían aplicar en el Nuevo Mundo eran las mismas de Castilla y las Leyes de Burgos (1512), reconocían a los indios como hombres libres. No se discutía la licitud de la ocupación primera, en tanto era necesaria para la implantación y consolidación de la fe

Representa un modelo alternativo de relación, una convivencia respetuosa, pacífica y constructiva entre pueblos

¹ Hay una abundante bibliografía sobre las reducciones, y de ella indicamos solo algunas obras genéricas: Fernández Ramos, 1929; Lugon, 1970; Armani, 1982; Bareiro Saguier y Duviols, 1991; Haubert, 1991; Maeder y Gutiérrez, 2009; Gálvez, 2013; Maeder, 2013; Pineda, 2016; Duviols, 2018; Melai, 2020; Romanato, 2021; Vega, 2023.

(títulos otorgados por las bulas de Alejandro VI (1431-1503) de 1493) y, hasta que los pueblos indios fueran capaces de autogobernarse. Por el contrario, la justicia de las guerras de expansión fue discutida por el dominico Francisco de Vitoria (1492-1546) y la Escuela de Salamanca: se requería la aceptación voluntaria de los indios, por pacto explícito o tácito, de ser vasallos de la Corona de Castilla, e incluso para la evangelización.

Estamos acostumbrados a oír la palabra reducción aplicada a las misiones, especialmente entre guaraníes, pero parece que este término no le hace justicia, pues sugiere algo negativo, que los nativos fueron disminuidos, según la primera acepción del Diccionario de la RAE: “acción y efecto de reducir o reducirse”; o violentados como un policía reduce por la fuerza a un delincuente. La segunda acepción remite ya a la realidad de la que estamos tratando: “en la América colonial, núcleo de población en el que se agrupaban a indígenas dispersos, con fines evangelizadores y de asimilación cultural”.

Etimológicamente contiene el prefijo re- (hacia atrás) y el verbo ducere (conducir): “reconducir” o “volver a guiar”. Tenía como finalidad la vuelta a la foresta, pero en comunidad, procurando la sedentarización en un lugar preservado, para la educación y la evangelización. Así, los nativos eran “reducidos” a la vida civil y eclesiástica.

Normalmente el término “reducción” designaba al pueblo de indios en su primera fase de constitución, cuando era una “misión”. A continuación, se denominaba “doctrina”, durante el tiempo en que se impartía la catequesis o la doctrina, tras la cual se esperaba que los nativos pidiesen el bautismo. Una vez bautizados, y que la organización de la comunidad llegaba a su madurez, por lo general pasados los diez primeros años, en los que normalmente sus miembros eran exonerados del tributo, la reducción/doctrina daba paso al pueblo de indios, y se constituía la respectiva parroquia de indios. La institución reducción/doctrina/pueblo de indios era “contradistinta” de una encomienda, donde abundaban los abusos (DHCJ, 2001, América Hispánica, III. Métodos Misionales. 3. Reducciones).

La realidad de las reducciones aparece ya en las Instrucciones de Isabel y Fernando al gobernador de La Española, Nicolás de Ovando, el 16 septiembre 1501, así como en las instrucciones a Diego Colón (1509) y leyes de Burgos (1512) y tuvieron un gran desarrollo en Perú, sobre todo con el virrey Francisco de Toledo (1515-1582). Fueron iniciadas en la región de Paraguay por los franciscanos, con fray Luis de Bolaños (1550-1659), que fundó en 1580 en Los Altos, al Norte de Asunción, una misión que reunió unos 300 indios, en un modo de vida sedentario, en un entorno urbano, donde era posible socializarlos, convertirlos al cristianismo e integrarlos en las sociedades hispanocriollas (Egaña, 1966, vol. I, p. 190; Triviño, 2021, pp. 465-490).

3. Problemática de las doctrinas y reducciones

No fue fácil para los jesuitas asumir las doctrinas en Perú y las reducciones en Paraguay, en cuanto parroquias, pues no cabían en la letra de su legislación, y para acogerlas necesitaron una excepcional autorización de los superiores generales. En este sentido, las reducciones del Paraguay rentabilizaban la experiencia previa de los jesuitas en Perú con doctrinas como la de Juli (Málaga, 1975; Medina, 1999; Medina, 2000).

Después de la fallida misión de la Florida (1566/1572), la empresa de Perú fue la primera de los jesuitas en la América hispana, lo que le concede una función de modelo para las misiones occidentales de la Compañía, que hacía la función de laboratorio de la acomodación. Francisco

La realidad de las reducciones aparece ya en las Instrucciones de Isabel y Fernando al gobernador de La Española, Nicolás de Ovando, el 16 septiembre 1501

Mateos fue el primero en plantear que las primeras doctrinas peruanas fueron el modelo de las reducciones del Paraguay, tanto en el régimen de vida, como en las estancias de comunidad y en el excluir por completo a los españoles del pueblo de indios. Lo mismo afirman, por ejemplo, Nieto Vélez y Echenove (Fechner, 2018: 75; Nieto, 1994; Echánove, 1955; Echánove, 1956; Soto [en prensa]).

El virrey D. Francisco de Toledo, que emprendió la reducción de los indios como una de sus políticas principales, quería encargar a los jesuitas algunas de ellas, pero ellos se resistían a asumirlas (Egaña, 1956; Ravi, 2016; Glave, 2016). Las razones eran que este ministerio dificultaba la movilidad y disponibilidad más propia del jesuita; además, habrían de someterse a la jurisdicción del obispo como “ordinario del lugar”, de lo que estaban exentos en cuanto religiosos pues dependían de sus propios “ordinarios” o superiores provinciales y generales; y por otra parte, habrían de cobrar las rentas y emolumentos propios de párrocos, con los estipendios y camaricos (ofrendas de indios), lo que contravenía la pobreza prescrita en sus Constituciones, de no vivir de rentas o similares (Morales, 1998).

Ante esta negativa de los jesuitas, el virrey hizo depender su permanencia en el virreinato, de la aceptación o no de doctrinas. Por ello, Francisco de Borja (1510-1572) autorizó provisionalmente el oficio de cura de indios, el 3 de octubre de 1568, pero con algunas condiciones: que se destinase gente de probada virtud; que no se alejasen mucho de la residencia principal para que fácilmente se les pudiera visitar y cambiar el destino; que no se admitiesen las doctrinas con obligación de residir en ellas por un tiempo determinado; y que no se admitiese estipendio alguno, sino solo lo que fuere necesario para el sustento (Vargas, 1963, vol. I, p. 61). Esto permitió asumir temporalmente la primera doctrina creada por el virrey, la de Huarochiri (1569-1573) (Carcelén, 1998; Carcelén, 2003) y la del distrito indio de Santiago del Cercado en Lima (desde 1570) (Rodríguez, 2005; Coello de la Rosa, 2006).

La congregación provincial primera de la provincia jesuita de Perú (Lima, 16-17 enero 1576) que tuvo su continuidad en la segunda, en Cusco, del 8 al 16 de octubre del mismo año 1576, aprobó también aceptar las doctrinas aymaras de Juli (Meiklejohn, 1979; Meiklejohn, 1986; Coello de la Rosa, 2007). A pesar de que el visitador Juan de la Plaza (1527-1602) no era favorable, la Compañía se hizo cargo de ella, con el apoyo decidido del segundo provincial de Perú José de Acosta (1540-1600) (Paniagua, 1989; Leuridan, 1997; Burgaleta, 1999) y Diego de Torres Bollo (1551-1638) (Díaz Risco, 2015), *ad experimentum*, mientras llegaba la autorización del padre general Everardo Mercuriano (1514-1580).

El padre general respondía en 1578, aceptando, provisionalmente la doctrina de Juli, más otras dos, a criterio del provincial, para lo que ofrecía las siguientes razones: la “inopia sacerdotum et indigenarum necessitas pene extrema”; porque era menos dificultoso aceptar doctrinas que realizar largas misiones, además eran las parroquias las únicas capaces de garantizar un fruto duradero. En tercer lugar, las doctrinas eran una oportunidad para que los jesuitas aprendiesen la lengua de los indios. Por último, aceptando las parroquias de indios se satisfacía la voluntad de la corona y del mismo virrey. Permitted también aceptar los sueldos que el rey les ofrecía en compensación por sus servicios, pero a título de limosnas, y con la obligación de utilizarlos con parquedad y entregar el sobrante a sus feligreses. El mismo destino, debían dar a las limosnas procedentes de los parroquianos y al estipendio de las misas. También ordenó abandonar El Cercado por estar muy cerca de una ciudad de españoles, lo que por diversos motivos no se llegó a ejecutar. El 5 de junio de 1585, coincidiendo con el nombramiento oficial de Juan de

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Atienza (1544-1592), como provincial del Perú, Acquaviva autorizó asumir la doctrina de Juli a perpetuidad.

Esta misión adquirió una importancia especial, pues era donde los jesuitas aprendían las lenguas nativas junto con el sistema dual, que extendieron al resto del continente: comunidad social-religiosa, dirigida por las autoridades locales y, en último término, por el misionero como jerarca eclesiástico y cívico (Echánove, 1956). Al mismo tiempo, los jesuitas mantenían muchos elementos de la cultura indígena, además de las lenguas, como cantos y danzas a las que daban un significado cristiano (Marzal, 1980, pp. 30ss.; Marzal, 1992-1994).

El padre Acquaviva (1543-1615) creó la provincia jesuita de Paraguay el 9 de febrero de 1604, designando como superior al que lo era de la doctrina de Juli: Diego de Torres Bollo. Los jesuitas se vieron abocados a aceptar las reducciones, sobre todo, por la pobreza de clero. La 1.^a congregación provincial de Paraguay, celebrada en Santiago de Chile en 1608, decidió pedir al general que permitiese la asunción de parroquias de indios:

[...] porque sucedía frecuentemente, que después de aver empleado grandes fatigas en convertirlos de la infidelidad al Christianismo [...] caían por falta de Sacerdotes idóneos en tales manos, que hechos de pastores lobos carniceros, eran los primeros à despedazar estas ovejas, y por consiguiente eran muy omisos en defenderlos, y aun permitían se les hiciese todo género de vexaciones, y privasse de la libertad, como si fueran esclavos: de lo qual, abochornada esta gente, abandonaban muchos lastimosamente sus Pueblos, y se retiraban à lugares fragosos, como aylo de su libertad, donde olvidaban lo aprendido, vivían como infieles, sino apostataban, y se malograba el fruto, que à costa de imponderables fatigas, se avia hecho en sus almas. (Lozano, 1754-1755, vol. I, p. 745)

Pero al general no le pareció conveniente dar esta dispensa para ser párrocos, en su respuesta de abril de 1609 (Lozano, 1754-1755, vol. I, pp. 745-746). No obstante, entregó al P. Juan Romero (1560-1630), procurador de Paraguay, un memorial en el que permitía que, dada la situación excepcional, podían erigirse residencias temporales en pueblos de indios y desde ellas organizar el trabajo apostólico y, una vez que la misión hubiese tomado cuerpo, se debía dejar la doctrina en manos del ordinario².

La experiencia de Torres Bollo en Juli lo había convencido de la necesidad de librarse del régimen de la encomienda, propio de territorios en régimen de conquista, como lo era el territorio guaraní, por lo que el gobernador Hernandarias (Hernando Arias de Saavedra, 1561-1634) pidió instrucciones a Felipe III, cuya respuesta, firmada en Lerma, 5 de julio de 1608, enfatiza que los indios no deben ser conquistados, sino evangelizados:

Y à cerca de esto ha parecido advertiros, y ordenaros, que [aún] quando huviere fuerzas bastantes, para conquistar dichos Indios, no se ha de hacer, sino con sola la Doctrina, y predicacion del Santo Evangelio, valiendos de los Religiosos, que han ido para este efecto. (Morales, 1998, pp. 63-64; Lozano, 1754-1755, vol. II, p. 131)

Este respeto a los indios era algo previsto en las “Ordenanzas de los Nuevos Descubrimientos y Poblaciones” de Felipe II (1573), que concedía también la exención temporal de impuestos y otros privilegios:

Esta misión adquirió una importancia especial, pues era donde los jesuitas aprendían las lenguas nativas junto con el sistema dual, que extendieron al resto del continente: comunidad social-religiosa, dirigida por las autoridades locales y, en último término, por el misionero como jerarca eclesiástico y cívico

2 Instrucción de cómo se han de haber los nuestros en tomar y regir doctrinas de indios, Roma, 10 de junio de 1608. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [ARSI] Novi Regni et Quit. 1-2 6r-6v. Cfr. Astrain, 1902-25, IV, 595-596.

[146] Si para que mejor se paçifiquen los naturales fueren menester conçederles ynmunidad de que no paguen tributos por algùn tiempo, se les conçeda y otros preuilegios y exenciones [...]. En las partes que vastaren los predicadores del evangelio para paçificar los indios y conbertirlos y traerlos de paz, no se consienta que entren otras personas que puedan estoruar la conbersión y pacificación³.

Además de la actitud paçífica, la tolerancia y la concesión de privilegios, también fue utilizado el recurso jurídico de la casuística, característica esencial del derecho indiano, y muy necesaria, dada la enormidad y diversidad del territorio y sus circunstancias. La adaptación a personas, tiempos y lugares, tan querida por san Ignacio, fue conocida como disimulación, una especie de epiqueya contraria al rigorismo. También se practicó el “asimilismo”, que consistía en aplicar normas establecidas para ciertos casos a circunstancias nuevas (Morales, 1998, p. 72ss.).

4. Inicio de las reducciones del Paraguay

En 1610, el gobernador Hernandarias dispuso que los jesuitas italianos Giuseppe Cataldini (1571-1653) y Simone Mascetta (1577-1658) fueran al Guayrá, entonces en la gobernación de Paraguay y actualmente en Brasil, lugar apartado, refugio de los guaraníes huyendo de los encomenderos, por sus densos bosques (Parellada, 2018). Navegaron acompañados de soldados desde Asunción hasta Mbaracayù, donde quedó la escolta, pues la Compañía de Jesús procuró que, en cuanto era posible, sus misioneros no se apoyaran en las armas (DHCJ, 2001, América Hispana, 3. Conquista espiritual). Ya sin militares, continuaron por tierra hasta Mbiazá en los márgenes del río Paraná y recorrieron los ríos Paranapané, Itanguá y Tibaxiva. Una vez convencidos los indios dispersos para concentrarse en una “reducción”, fundaron la primera en el río Pirapó, y le pusieron por titular Nuestra Señora de Loreto, santuario muy familiar a Cataldini (Levinton, 2018; Soto, 2023, p. 24).

El provincial Diego de Torres había redactado unas emblemáticas primeras Instrucciones para el Guayrá, que se completan con otras segundas, de 1610, ahora para todos los misioneros Guayrá, Paraná y Guaycurús (Hernández, 1913, vol.I, pp. 580-584 y 585-589; Lozano, 1755, vol. II, pp. 136-141 y 248-252). Incluyen recomendaciones de orden interno o espiritual, pero son especialmente interesantes las estratégicas, con una serie de prescripciones y consejos que apuntan a crear un nuevo espacio cultural y religioso, autónomo aun dentro del marco legislativo español y en relativa continuidad con el modo de ser guaraní (Meliá, 2018, p. 27).

Dichas Instrucciones incluyen el estudio previo y elección más adecuada del emplazamiento de la misión, seleccionando la mejor tierra (fértil, sana, con agua y con posibilidad de pesca y caza) que permita su previsible ampliación, y las gentes más adecuadas y bien predispuestas. Para la construcción, siguiendo la experiencia de Juli, se recomienda un trazado cuadrado, dando un cuadrado a cada cuatro indios, con una casa y huerta para cada uno. En el centro se colocarían las instalaciones comunes como la iglesia (al principio, provisional) con la casa anexa de los jesuitas, el cementerio, talleres y otras dependencias [Ilustración 1⁴]. La casa de los caciques debía estar cerca. La iglesia definitiva se hará después de las casas de los indios, y al gusto

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3 Ordenanzas del Bosque de Segovia de los Nuevos Descubrimientos y Poblaciones, 13 de julio de 1573, 146-147: <https://personal.us.es/ijimenez5/uploads/Docencia/Ordenanzas%20del%20Bosque%20de%20Segovia,%2013%20de%20julio%20de%201573.pdf>

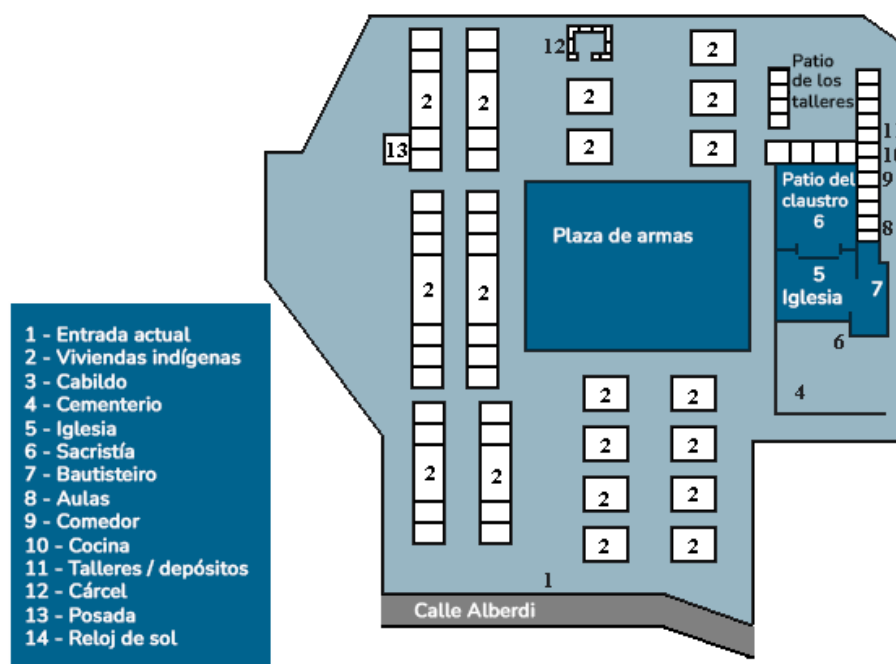
4 Di Loco085 - Opera propria, CC-BY-SA 3.0 <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=1365397>

de estos, y con una capilla dedicada a la Virgen de Loreto (Hernández, 1613, I, p. 581). La devoción a la advocación de Loreto era muy apreciada por los jesuitas, pues dicho santuario fue una de las primeras misiones pontificias confiadas a la Compañía, lo que facilitó la extensión de esta devoción (Massimi, 2022).

Para el gobierno de la misión, se mantendrá la estructura social y de poder de los caciques, si bien, supervisados por los jesuitas. Nombrarán sacristán y fiscales, “enseñándoles las obligaciones de sus oficios” (Hernández, 1913, vol. I, p. 583). Se prevé la posibilidad de que se acerquen caciques ajenos queriéndose hacer cristianos, para lo cual deben exigirle que se “reduzcan” junto a este primer pueblo, razón por la que había que prever un terreno capaz de ampliarse.

Todos han de responder a sus obligaciones fiscales una vez que acabe el periodo de exención, y deben cuidar los servicios comunes (Hernández, 1913, vol. I, p. 588).

Ilustración 1. Plano de la reducción de San Ignacio Miní en su emplazamiento definitivo



Los misioneros “en todo los defiendan [a los indios], como verdaderos Padres y protectores” (Hernández, 1913, vol. I, p. 584). Con la intención de proteger a los indios de las encomiendas y otros vicios de los españoles había que procurar que estos no entrasen en la misión, y si lo hacían, aunque debían ser amables con ellos y acogerlos fraternalmente, no debían permitir que perjudicasen ni agraviasen a los indios, y había que procurar que se marchasen rápidamente (Hernández, 1913, vol. I, p. 588).

Respecto al proceso de socialización y evangelización, recomienda ir prudentemente poco a poco, respetando el ritmo de asimilación de los indios, y sin ser una carga económica para ellos. Ir introduciendo poco a poco las prácticas pastorales: “En lo que toca á doctrinar los indios, quitarles los pecados públicos y ponerles en policía, vayan muy poco á poco hasta tenellos muy ganados. Y ni en esto ni en el sustento de VV. RR. les sean pesados ni cargosos” (Hernández, 1913, vol. I, p. 582).

Sin embargo, con los chamanes y hechiceros debían estar más precavidos y estar alertas, pues eran los grandes enemigos: “corrijan y castiguen, especialmente a los hechiceros, de los cuales procuren tener noticias: y no se enmendando, los destierren del pueblo, porque son muy perjudiciales” (Hernández, 1913, vol. I, p. 584).

5. Desarrollo de las reducciones

La misión en el Guayrá arraigó felizmente con la primera reducción de Loreto, que ya pudo contar con un cierto número de indios bautizados antes por los primeros misioneros jesuitas en la zona, Manuel Ortega (1560-1622) y Thomas Fields (1549-1625). Crearon una segunda misión en 1611 para acoger a más indios, que llamaron San Ignacio Miní (menor), para distinguirlo de San Ignacio Guazú (mayor). Les concedieron ciertos privilegios por ser guardianes de fronteras, y ya, desde el principio, tuvieron que realizar una suerte de adaptación cultural, pues, en palabras de Cataldini de 1610:

Para enseñarles sus obligaciones, tenemos algunas dificultades, y vamos contemporizando con ellos, y en muchas cosas nos hacemos sordos para no oír, y ciegos para no ver, y mudos para no bablar, por lo qual vamos con mucho tiento en las pláticas que les hacemos, para que no se irriten, hasta que den lugar à que Nuestro Señor entre en sus corazones. (Ruiz, 2004, p. 144)

La misión en el Paraná, había sido encomendada a los padres Marcial Lorenzana (1565-1632) y Francisco San Martín (1581 - jesuita hasta 1616), a los que se unió Roque González de Santa Cruz (1576-1628); tuvo gran éxito, con la primera reducción, San Ignacio Guazú, iniciada oficialmente en 1610. Siguió las de Itapúa, Santa Ana, Yaguapá y Yuti. Roque González fundó nuevas reducciones entre los ríos Paraná y Uruguay, como la de Concepción, en 1619, con unas 500 familias. Después se crearon las de San Nicolás de Piratini, Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de Ibicuy, San Francisco Javier de Céspedes, Nuestra Señora de los Reyes de Ypecú, Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de Ivahí, Asunción, y Santos Mártires del Japón de Caaró, donde fueron martirizados Roque González, Juan del Castillo (1595-1628) y Alfonso Rodríguez Olmedo (1599-1628), como efecto de la rebelión del cacique y chamán Ñezú, en 1628 (Oliveira, 2011).

El provincial destinó a la misión de los *guaycurúes*, cerca de Asunción, a Vicente Griffi (1575, jesuita hasta 1621) y Roque González de Santa Cruz, en mayo de 1610, si bien, dado el carácter nómada de este pueblo, la dificultad de la lengua, y su espíritu guerrero, hubo que abandonarla en 1626, y otros intentos posteriores fueron inútiles (Morales, 1998, pp. 63-64).

Las reducciones se multiplicaron con suma rapidez, sobre todo después de la llegada de Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (1585-1652), que de 1620 a 1637 les dio un gran impulso. Él mismo compuso un léxico *Tesoro de la lengua guaraní* (Madrid 1639) (Fernandez Rojo, 2020), perfeccionando el vocabulario de Bolaños, y escribió la crónica de la *Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús en las provincias de Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay y Tape* (Madrid, 1639) (Martins, 2007; Pezzuto, 2017; Dejo, 2018).

Las misiones quedaron alejadas de los españoles, pero al alcance de los bandeirantes, mercenarios de São Paulo que realizaban incursiones para cazar esclavos entre los indios dispersos en la selva, que acabaron atacando también a las reducciones (Rabuske, 1983; Rosas, 1990; Avellaneda, 2016; Nazzari, 2021). Por ello, todas estas misiones del Guayrá tuvieron

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que trasladarse hacia 1631 a unos 700 km al Sur, a la región entre los ríos Paraná y Uruguay, en la actual provincia de Misiones (Argentina). Incluso allí los persiguieron los bandeirantes, que fueron derrotados por las milicias nativas organizadas y entrenadas por los jesuitas (Svriz, 2019), en la batalla de Mbororé, el 11 de marzo de 1641.

A partir de entonces pudieron tener un periodo de desarrollo progresivo y pacífico. No llegó el fin de aquella transitoriedad que preveía el P. Acquaviva y el número de parroquias asumidas por los jesuitas fue en aumento, a pesar de los enormes problemas de jurisdicción con los obispos y de los intentos de los superiores generales por reducirlas. Llegaron a configurar una red de 30 pueblos, como se puede ver en la ilustración 2⁵, cada uno con unas 1000 familias, lo que nos permite hablar de más de 120 000 personas⁶. Las reducciones estaban bien comunicadas entre sí, pero tenían bastante autonomía, y estaban aislados de otras influencias del mundo hispano americano, lo que resultó ser una de las claves más decisivas, que libró a los indios de vicios y tentaciones, escándalos y abusos, al tiempo que posibilitaba tomar conciencia de la propia identidad.

Ilustración 2. Mapa de las reducciones



6. La vida en las reducciones

Son muy conocidos bastantes de sus pormenores, sobre todo, por las descripciones de José Cardiel (1704-1782) en sus obras, *Declaración de la Verdad* (1758), *Breve relación de las misiones del Paraguay* (1771) y *Compendio de la Historia del Paraguay* (1780). Daremos unas pinceladas de la vida diaria, de modo sintético (DHCJ, América Hispánica, III; Rípodas, 2000; Iraburu, 2007).

5 CC-BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=1314324>

6 Ver el estudio estadístico basado en los padrones: Gómez-i-Aznar, 2022.

El sistema de gobierno respetaba las estructuras propias, siempre supervisadas por una especie de teocracia ejercida por los pocos jesuitas que había en cada misión, de donde se deduce que esta supervisión no debió parecer ni abusiva ni dura para mantenerse sin fuerzas coercitivas ajenas. Los caciques tuvieron al comienzo bastantes atribuciones. Había un cabildo o consejo elegido, compuesto de alcaldes, fiscales y otros ministros de duración anual, excepto el corregidor que duraba 5 años. El cura párroco, jesuita, asistía a sus reuniones, donde se le reconocía autoridad moral, pudiendo ejercer el veto en determinados temas (Sarreal, 2021).

La economía estaba centrada en la agricultura y la ganadería, propios de la vida sedentaria, lo que les permitió perfeccionar la agricultura con el uso de arados y animales de tracción, y la diversificación de cultivos, entre los cuales sobresalió la yerba mate, cuyo excedente se vendía en los mercados de Buenos Aires y Santa Fe podía llegar a 12 000 arrobas de yerba al año (Nogueira y Ninmo, 2018; Ferlan, 2021). La jornada de trabajo comenzaba con la misa para todo el pueblo y después del desayuno partían para las faenas del campo. A la vuelta del trabajo recibían la doctrina, que normalmente terminaba con el rezo del rosario.

El régimen económico era mixto, privado y comunal, pues tenía una orientación comunitaria con trabajos para instituciones comunes para atender a los más necesitados, como las viudas y los huérfanos, además de las escuelas⁷.

La lucha que emprendieron los jesuitas para liberar al indio del servicio personal estuvo ligada desde sus comienzos a la concesión de poder comprar esclavos para el trabajo en las estancias. La población de esclavos africanos quedó así más desprotegida, como el reverso de la misma moneda de la protección de los indios (Baravalle, 2018; Troisi-Melean, 2019; Tardieu, 2020; Rothman, 2021). No obstante, algunos jesuitas se ocuparon de ampararlos, como Francisco de Castillo (1615-1673) y Pedro Claver (1580-1654) (Lovay, 2012; Santana, 2021).

Se instalaron molinos de viento o de agua, fábricas de azúcar y de aceite, de ladrillos y de tejidos, naves para el secado y preparación de la yerba mate. Había herrerías y fundiciones pequeñas, e incluso se fabricaron armas y municiones, cuando hubo autorización para armar a los indios. Disponían de relojes curiosos, órganos y todo tipo de instrumentos musicales o esferas astronómicas, fabricados por los indios. Se instalaron astilleros, e imprentas donde se publicaron muchos textos, también en lengua guaraní, así como mapas de América muy exactos.

El cultivo del lenguaje guaraní, ya iniciado por el franciscano Bolaños, fue decisivo para que la lengua haya podido conservarse viva hasta nuestros días (Rona, 2012; Fornasier y Tondo, 2017).

Los indios estaban especialmente dotados para la música, por la que se sentían fascinados, especialmente con instrumentos desconocidos para ellos, como las campanas, el violín o el órgano. La música tuvo una extraordinaria importancia, gracias en buena parte a los jesuitas europeos no españoles. Entre otros, el hermano Louis Berger (1589-1639) enseñó a los guaraníes la música vocal e instrumental, Anton Sepp (1655-1733) que fue, quizás, el mejor maestro de música que hubo en las reducciones. Escuelas de danza, de canto y de música instrumental existían en todas ellas, y los indios formaban verdaderas orquestas, a un nivel europeo, que ejecutaban obras compuestas por autores como Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726). Los jesuitas organizaban mucho tiempo de ocio en torno a danzas, desfiles militares, exhibiciones de jinetes y sesiones de teatro. Las celebraciones religiosas eran frecuentes, muy variadas y coloristas,

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⁷ Ver un estudio sobre la economía de las reducciones, desde un enfoque foucaultiano-agambeniano: Zavala (2021)

donde el toque de las campanas constituía un marco de vida permanente, lo mismo al levantarse que al finalizar el día, al ir al trabajo o al regresar de él, en los cantos y danzas (Szarán, 2007; Aguerre, 2019; Martins, 2019; Page, 2023).

El derecho penal y sus castigos eran muy benignos, y la pena de muerte estaba excluida. Normalmente juzgaba el cura párroco.

Había escuelas de leer y escribir, de música y de danzas, con maestros indios. Especial cuidado se ponía en la formación cristiana de los niños, en guaraní. Realizaron producciones artísticas desconocidas en aquellas latitudes, como las construcciones urbanas, iglesias, esculturas, pinturas, música... Baste recordar a algunos arquitectos jesuitas como como Giuseppe Bressanelli (1658-1728), Giovanni B. Primoli (1673-1747) y José Grimau (1718-1776) (Alcalá, 2010).

7. Fin de las reducciones

Se produjeron también recelos y tensiones importantes, por las que se ordenó una investigación a fondo, cuyo resultado, completamente elogioso, fue la Cédula grande de Felipe V (1743) (Rivarola, 1986). No obstante, el golpe mortal vino como consecuencia del Tratado de Límites (1750), por el que Portugal y España querían solucionar los problemas fronterizos, pues ambos países habían traspasado las demarcaciones del tratado de Tordesillas (1494). Portugal entregaría a España la Colonia Sacramento (actual Uruguay) y vastas zonas del Amazonas, pero despobladas, de poco valor e infectadas de paludismo, y España entregaría a Portugal la banda oriental del río Uruguay, bien poblada y fértil, dos veces mayor que Portugal, donde había 7 pueblos o reducciones jesuitas, con casi 30 000 habitantes, ofreciendo la posibilidad de trasladar a los indios a otros lugares⁸. Los jesuitas se opusieron a este tratado por considerarlo contrario a los intereses de estas poblaciones y, especialmente, los indios, lo que desencadenó la desigual Guerra Guaranítica (1754-1756) entre los ejércitos guaraní y los de Portugal y España (Quarleri, 2008; Mellado, 2020; Fontella, 2020). Esto motivó al marqués de Pombal (1699-1782), que acabó expulsando a los jesuitas de Brasil y Portugal en 1759, acusándolos de haber intervenido en un fallido atentado contra el rey José I. Aunque el Tratado de Límites fue anulado en 1760, Pombal inició una campaña de difamación de la Compañía por toda Europa, siguiendo el principio que usará después el ministro nazi Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945) de que una mentira repetida mil veces acaba siendo creíble, con fábulas como la del rey Nicolás I, del reino jesuítico del Paraguay. En Europa a pesar de la ilustración de aquel siglo, lo creyeron, lo que, junto con otras motivaciones, acabó en la mayor oleada de persecuciones contra los jesuitas, en un plan tan secuenciado como injusto que solo se puede comprender con algún tipo de planificación previa (Kratz, 1954; Molina, 1995).

Los jesuitas fueron especialmente acosados por el católico rey español, el fidelísimo portugués y el cristianísimo francés, según los títulos que ostentaban, que consiguieron del papa Clemente XIV (1705-1774) la supresión de la orden religiosa en 1773. No obstante, fueron protegidos por la zarina ortodoxa Catalina II de Rusia (1729-1796) y el rey protestante Federico II de Prusia (1712-1786), ambos de dudosa reputación en su vida privada. Esta supervivencia permitió que la supresión tuviera un final, también pontificio, con Pío VII (1742-1823), que restableció la Compañía de Jesús en 1814.

Aunque el Tratado de Límites fue anulado en 1760, Pombal inició una campaña de difamación de la Compañía por toda Europa

⁸ Para el “después” de los jesuitas, ver: Wilde, 2001; Wilde, 2018; Fontella, 2018.

No obstante, aquel esplendor de las reducciones ya se había perdido, pues los sucesores de los jesuitas no consiguieron mantenerlas todas, muchas de ellas fueron abandonadas, y, por diversas razones, los religiosos ignacianos tardaron en volver a los territorios de sus queridas misiones. Pero perviven el “jesuita” en la mitología popular transmutados en el *Ketchuita*, tan asimilados en la cultura popular, que una anciana mbyá guaraní, exclamaba entusiasta ante las ruinas de las reducciones, que todo aquello que tenía ante los ojos era obra de sus antepasados guaraníes, los *ketchuitas*, “hombres blancos de bigote” a quienes identificaba no tanto con los jesuitas reales, sino con chamanes auténticamente guaraníes (Melià, 2008, p. 46).

8. Valoración y actualidad

Los enciclopedistas e ilustrados, aunque no comprendían la inspiración fundamental de las reducciones jesuitas, las elogiaron. Montesquieu (1689-1755) comparó el sistema misionero con la “Utopía de Platón”; Voltaire (1694-1778) calificó a las reducciones como triunfo de la Humanidad; era un ejemplo de la bondad natural original del hombre, de Rousseau (1712-1778) (Hüttner y Mongelos, 2016, p. 25). También las han relacionado con la Utopía de Tomás Moro (1478-1535) (Cro, 2005).

Guillaume Thomas Raynal (1713-1796), exjesuita que sumó su pluma a la de los enemigos de la Iglesia, tan numerosos en el XVIII, escribía poco después de la expulsión de los jesuitas:

Cuando en 1768 salieron de manos de los jesuitas las Misiones del Paraguay habían alcanzado éstas un grado de civilización que es, quizás, el máximo a donde pueden ser conducidas las nuevas naciones y que era, seguramente, muy superior a todo lo que existía en el resto del nuevo hemisferio. (Iraburu, 2007)

José María Iraburu (1935-) dice “Las reducciones guaraníes han sido las comunidades utópicas más perfectas y durables de la historia” (1998). El cine posibilitó el conocimiento y aplauso universales de las reducciones con la película *La Misión* dirigida en 1986 por Roland Joffé (1945-) e interpretada por Robert de Niro (1943-) y Jeremy Irons (1948-).

Además, de aquella grandeza queda la memoria ancestral inserta en la identidad de muchos pueblos. Las reducciones nos orientan la mirada a la naturaleza del entorno, magníficamente encuadrada entre ríos caudalosos con bellas cataratas como las de Iguazú:

La vida colectiva entre los guaraníes y los jesuitas en Río de la Plata tuvo una gran influencia sobre la cultura guaraní. Con el objetivo de expandir el catolicismo, se comenzó la difusión de idioma guaraní como lengua general y la introducción de instituciones políticas y económicas totalmente desconocidas para los guaraníes. También se incorporaron algunas ceremonias tales como la misa y la comunión, que fueron costumbres religiosas novedosas para los guaraníes. (Takeda, 2016, p. 600)

También perviven unas magníficas ruinas, algunas de las cuales han sido declaradas Patrimonio de la Humanidad por la Unesco. En 1983 y 1984 las ruinas brasileñas de la misión de San Miguel, las de San Ignacio Miní, Santa Ana, Santa María la Mayor y Nuestra Señora de Loreto (Argentina), y en 1993 las ruinas de Itapúa (Paraguay): Jesús del Tavarangüé y Santísima Trinidad del Paraná⁹.

También perviven unas magníficas ruinas, algunas de las cuales han sido declaradas Patrimonio de la Humanidad por la Unesco

⁹ Véase: <https://whc.unesco.org/es/list/275> y <https://whc.unesco.org/es/list/648>. En noviembre de 2023 se ha celebrado con una gran fiesta el 30 aniversario de este acontecimiento: <https://www.abc.com.py/espectaculos/2023/11/24/fiesta-cultural-por-los-30-anos-de-la-declaracion-de-las-misiones-jesuiticas-como-patrimonio-mundial-por-la-unesco/>

Con esos reconocimientos, las ruinas de todas las reducciones, y, sobre todo, la realidad histórica que las produjo, se convierten, de alguna manera, en patrimonio de la Humanidad y, como tales, dignas de ser visitadas, admiradas, reconocidas y veneradas como homenaje no solo a aquellos jesuitas que las lideraron, sino, especialmente, a aquellos guaraníes que las hicieron posibles, cuya sangre corre por el pueblo paraguayo (Page, 2012). Son el recuerdo de aquella realidad utópica, alternativa, que nos recuerda que es posible, porque lo fue. El U-topos, puede ser un Topos. Su significación se pone de manifiesto en muchas publicaciones (Deckmann Fleck, 2005; Guardiani, 2008; Meira y Durán, 2018; Cansanello, 2018; Roca, 2019; Thüngen, 2021).

Las ruinas, testimonio del legado jesuita, hoy suponen parte del atractivo turístico de la zona, en general, del cono Sur (Walter y Bernasconi, 2020). En concreto, el gobierno de Paraguay ha puesto en marcha en 2023 un proyecto para “promover la ruta de los jesuitas en Paraguay, el experimento más grande de conquista espiritual del Nuevo Mundo, como meta turística, religiosa y cultural”, que no solo acapara el interés político, sino también el científico¹⁰. Hay un proyecto más general que compromete a Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Paraguay y Uruguay que abarca los 30 pueblos¹¹.

9. Conclusiones

Las reducciones fueron asumidas por los jesuitas después de vencer las dificultades de su propia legislación y llegaron a ser su gran aportación al movimiento misional, al establecer un sistema de convivencia respetuoso con la cultura de los guaraníes, al tiempo que le aportaron elementos necesarios europeos, que supieron incorporar. De aquella realidad permanece la memoria de una práctica que ayudó a preservar la identidad de los pueblos originarios, así como restos arqueológicos que son un polo de atracción turística en la actualidad.

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10 Carta de la embajadora del Paraguay ante la Santa Sede, al director académico del ARSI, EP/SS/5/N.05/2023, pidiendo colaboración para este proyecto: <https://www.operaromanapellegrinaggi.org/it/pellegrinaggi/proposte-2024/paraguay>.

11 Sobre el proyecto de los 30 pueblos, ver, por ejemplo: <https://revistacodigos.com/realizaron-encuentro-en-foz-de-iguazu-para-impulsar-el-camino-de-los-pueblos-jesuitas-de-la-region/>

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JESUITS AS DIPLOMATS IN THE SERVICE OF CHINESE EMPERORS IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

Jesuitas como diplomáticos en la Corte de los emperadores chinos en la época moderna temprana

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In East Asia, China played a special role spreading its superior culture to other nations. The relations between Europe and China, however, were besides trade destined by the attempts to spread Catholicism and later also Protestantism in China. Especially during the 17th and 18th centuries some of the Western missionaries bringing Western religion to China also tried to interpret traditional Chinese rituals like the veneration of Confucius and the ancestors in a pejorative way declaring these rites to be superstitious and to forbid them for Chinese Christians. The legation of the papal delegate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710) to China brought the latent quarrel between the adherents and the adversaries of the Rites to an outbreak. The Kangxi Emperor (1662-1722) tried to explain his attitude to the Holy See in Rome. Therefore, after several more general delegations of Jesuits to Europe Kangxi sent special embassies to Rome concerning the Chinese Rites. His efforts, however, to solve the problems and to protect Christianity and missionaries respecting the Chinese culture failed and the Rites were condemned.



Jesuits; Early Modern China; Imperial China; Mateo Ricci; Ming Dynasty; Qing Dynasty; Kangxi.

Jesuitas; China moderna temprana; China imperial; Mateo Ricci; Dinastía Ming; Dinastía Qing; Kangxi.



En Asia Oriental, China jugó un rol especial como difusora de su superior cultura a otras naciones. Las relaciones entre Europa y China, sin embargo, fueron, aparte de las comerciales, dictadas por los intentos de expansión del catolicismo y más tarde el protestantismo en China. En particular, durante los siglos XVIII y XIX, algunos misioneros occidentales intentaron interpretar los rituales tradicionales chinos como la veneración a Confucio y a los ancestros de forma peyorativa, declarando dichos ritos como supersticiones y prohibiéndolos a los cristianos chinos. La legación del delegado papal Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710) a China dio lugar a la explosión de las tensiones latentes entre los adherentes y los adversarios de los ritos. Esto dio lugar a que, el Emperador Kangxi (1654-1722) enviara varias embajadas especiales a Roma en relación a la cuestión de los ritos chinos. Sus esfuerzos, sin embargo, para solventar la crisis y proteger al cristianismo, a través del fomento del respeto de los misioneros a la cultura china fueron en vano.



1. Introduction

Within international diplomatic relations China played quite a special role. The Chinese Empire considered itself to be the centre of the world with universal importance. The Chinese emperor was as the son of Heaven in the middle of China and in this way mediator between Heaven and Earth, responsible to bring the cosmic order. This was especially valid for the whole Far East. The emperor distributed the Chinese culture, whereas the other nations delivered tribute to the Chinese emperor. This claim was demonstrated in the East Asia by the rituals and ceremonies of tribute bearing. The emperor then showed his paternal favour for the other nations by giving gifts and license for trading (Collani, 2014, p. 186f). Therefore, diplomatic relations on a same level as they were known in Europe in modern times did not exist for China. The Papal legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710) had to make this experience but did not grasp this different understanding during his stay at the imperial court in Peking (Stumpf, vol. I, 2015).

Already during the Middle Ages direct relations started between West and East. Several times members of the Franciscan order were sent as legates from the Popes or the French king to the Mongol Khans and to the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) when Mongols ruled over China. Some of them were then sent back to Europe by the Mongol Khans as their legates with the message to submit to their rule. Since early modern times, however, direct contact between Europe and China was interrupted, because of several reasons, as the pestilence (Standaert, 2001, pp. 173-178).

Whereas during the Middle Ages most travelers passed the continent of Eurasia this changed in early modern times. Portuguese ships now travelled around Africa to the East, but the journey was dangerous and took mostly two years. Only at the end of the 17th century this changed when the Kangxi Emperor (reigned 1662-1722) opened Guangzhou (Canton) as port for the external trade with European ships, mostly from France or Great Britain. Another possibility was the Spanish route via Manila and Mexico, or via Batavia (today Jakarta) and the Netherlands to Europe, or part of the way on Portuguese ships via Brazil. Nevertheless, the missionaries looked for a possibility to travel through the Eurasian continent, which was, however, forbidden for Jesuits from the side of the Russian Tsars (Collani, 2022, p. 179f).

After having expelled the Mongols of the Yuan dynasty, the new Ming dynasty (1368-1644) closed the empire against foreigners. Several legations from Europe failed. Only under the rule of the Wanli Emperor (reign 1572-1620) the first Jesuits Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) could enter China proper in 1582. Finally, Matteo Ricci reached Peking in 1601 and managed to have first contacts to the Imperial court (Sebes, 1988, p. 295f). The Jesuits gained access to the Chinese empire and succeeded to make converts by using the method of accommodation including the learning of the language, indirect mission by European science and art, and conversion from top down, namely, from the emperor or the scholars (Standaert, 2001, p. 310f). In 1588 Michele Ruggieri left China to organize a Papal legation to the Wanli Emperor, which idea, however, failed because four popes died a short time one after the other (Collani, 2012).

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2. The Emperors of China

Attacks from Manchu tribes from the north together with several peasant rebellions shook China during the last decades of the Ming dynasty whereas the suicide of the last Ming emperor, Chongzhen, (reign 1629-1644) meant the end of the Ming dynasty in 1644. Attempts were made to establish a new dynasty in China (Chan, 1982). Finally, the Manchus were successful founding the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) with Peking as capital, whereas the last Ming pretenders were driven to the South defending their place from there. After eighteen years of war the Manchus at the end defeated them. Members of the Society of Jesus stayed in the service of both sides, at the court in Peking, and with the Ming pretenders in the South (Collani, 2019, p. 115f). All of them set their hope in converting the emperor, and it was not clear which side would be successful (Collani, 2019, p. 112f).

The fourth emperor of the Southern Ming was the Yongli Emperor (reign 1646-1663), grandson of the Wanli Emperor. He was a friendly young man but lacking courage and responsibility. Several very selfless and noble men in his service, some of them Christians, helped him to survive until he was finally beaten by the Manchus. At his court the Austrian Jesuit Andreas Koffler (1603/1612-1652) stayed and managed to baptize important members of the imperial family, namely the Empress Dowager (Xiao Zheng, 1594?-1651) under the name Helena (Wang Liena), the biological mother of the Yongli Emperor, Empress Ma (Huangtaihou), baptised Anna, and the legitimate wife of the Yongli Emperor, Empress Wang, who became Maria (Maliya); also many other women of the seraglio desired fiercely to be baptized, about 50 concubines and 40 officials (Pfister, 1932-1934, p. 267; Standaert, 2001, p. 440f). Finally, Koffler managed to baptize the little son of the Yongli emperor under the name Constantine, in Chinese “Tam Tym” (= Dang Ding, “he is the one who determines”) as a name of hope for the future (Standaert, 2001, p. 440f; Pfister, 1932-1934, p. 267; Collani, 2019, p. 119f).

Other Jesuits joined the Qing dynasty. After the dynastical change from the Ming dynasty to the Qing dynasty the German Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666) became director of the Astronomical Bureau *Qintian jian* and kept good relations to the young Shunzhi Emperor (Reign 1644-1661), but despite his friendly relations with Schall Shunzhi never embraced Christianity and died as Buddhist of smallpox only aged 21 (Standaert, 2001, p. 495f). His son and successor, the Kangxi Emperor (Reign 1662-1722), seemed to be close to Christianity—at least in the description of Joachim Bouvet’s SJ (1656-1730) booklet *Portrait historique de l’empereur de la Chine* (Paris 1697), but despite issuing the Edict of Tolerance in favour of

Christianity in China in 1692 and his good relations to the Court Jesuits he never embraced Christianity (Bouvet, 2005, p. 50f).

3. Legate of the Southern Ming: Michał Boym – Hope for a Second Constantine

Besides Andreas Koffler the second important Jesuit at the Court of the Southern Ming was the Pole Michał Boym (1612-1659). Boym joined the Jesuits in 1631 and finally, following his desire, received the permission to travel to the East as missionary. He departed from Lisbon for China 30 March 1643 and reached Tonkin in 1645. In 1650 Boym was sent to Court of the Southern Ming to support Koffler (Pfister, 1932-1934, pp. 265-269; Dehergne, 1973, p. 137). Soon after his arrival Boym was entrusted with a special legation to Rome. The Empress Dowager Helena, the Christian princesses Maria and Anna, and the chancellor Achilles Pang sent him as ambassador back to Europe at the beginning of 1651 (Dehergne, 1973, p. 34f). He should contact Pope Innocent X (1644-1655) and European rulers for spiritual help in their battle against the Manchus. On Boym's suggestion Empress Helena and Achilles Pang wrote letters to Pope Innocent X, and to the Jesuits' General Superior dated 1 and 4 of November 1650.¹ In these letters they begged to pray for their souls, for their fight against the Manchu and for Ming restoration; they also asked to send more priests to the court. Military help from Europe, however, seemed impossible because it was too far away (Standaert, 2001, p. 441).

Boym's travel stood under a bad star for several reasons. The King of Portugal had already abandoned the cause of the Ming emperors and joined the side of the new Qing dynasty because the Portuguese enclave Macau was dependent onto the court in Peking (Collani, 2019, p. 125). Therefore, he had to take roundabout ways to Europe partly travelling on foot and on the land route via Persia, Smyrna, Venice. The next hindrance was that at the same time as Boym started for Europe, the Jesuit Martino Martini (1614-1661) was sent as procurator by the Vice-Province of the Jesuits in China concerning the Chinese Rites Controversy and other tasks. He reached Rome at the end of 1654 (Dehergne, 1973, p. 166).² This gave Boym the bad reputation to be an impostor (Collani, 2019, p. 125).

Boym arrived in Venice in 1652 where he met the Doge, then continued his way to Rome. There he had to wait with his Chinese companion Andreas (Zheng Andelei) for three whole years because Pope Innocent X did not receive him; there were even rumours that the letters from the Ming Court were fake letters, whereas the Jesuit general superior thought that Boym's mission could be dangerous for the other Jesuits in China (Rule, 2011, p. 252). Finally, the new Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667) received Boym in an audience on 7 December 1655, then answered the letters on 18 December 1655. These letters, however, were only "spiritually uplifting but political noncommittal" (Standaert, 2001, p. 441).

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1 The letters of the Empress Dowager and of Achilles Pan were published in Latin translation in: Kircher, 1667, pp. 100-102.

2 There were several kinds of procurators for the China mission. In Europe, they were responsible for the mission overseas, others were appointed procurators in Guangzhou (Canton), as for example from the *Propaganda Fide* providing material needs for the mission; a procurator could also be a Jesuit or missionary elected to represent a special region and sent to Europe (Witek, 1999, p. 318f).

Boym started his way back as superior of a small group of Jesuits from Lisbon to Goa on the ship “Bom Jesus do Carmo” on 30 March 1656. On his way back to the court of the Yongli Emperor Boym got to know that Portugal had joined the Qing court in Peking. Therefore, he continued his way via Ayutthaya in Siam, then travelled on a pirate ship to Tonkin (today Northern Vietnam) where they arrived on 10 August 1658. From Tonkin Boym had still to travel two months to reach the Ming Court in the South. Finally, Boym and Andreas got their passports and were permitted to leave Tonkin on February 16, 1659. Boym then continued his dangerous travel with his Chinese companion to the province of Guangxi, where he died of exhaustion on 22 June 1659 (Collani, 2019, p. 126).

4. Legates of the Kangxi Emperor

The second ruler of the Qing dynasty, Kangxi, was the emperor to whom the Jesuits had the closest relations and into whom they set their hope that he would convert to Christianity. Kangxi, enlightened and curious in all kinds of knowledge had established a kind of academy for science and arts at his court, where Jesuits worked together with Chinese and Manchus. Taught by the Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) in his youth, Kangxi considered the Jesuits as loyal men whom he could entrust with special tasks. The Jesuits on their side considered their service as important part of their missionary activities and tried to fulfill Kangxi’s tasks as good as possible always hoping for his conversion (perhaps), or at least help to consolidate the situation of Christianity in China.

4.1. Claudio Filippo Grimaldi

The Italian Jesuit Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1638-1712) arrived in Canton in 1669 and in Peking in 1671. He belonged to those versatile Jesuits who worked in different offices and could perform many tasks, he was mathematician, astronomer and engineer. During the years 1683 and 1685 he accompanied the Kangxi Emperor several times to Manchuria (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. xxvf). In 1686, Grimaldi got the double appointment as procurator of the China mission and as legate of the Emperor. He should bring more Jesuits to China, deliver a message to Tsar Peter the Great (Tsar 1682-1721, Emperor 1721-1725), and he should open the way through Eurasia to China for Jesuits to avoid the dangerous way on ship (Collani, 2022, p. 187). Besides, he had a secret mission to Lisbon, namely, to defend the right of the Portuguese Padroado in China (Rodrigues, 2013; Witek, 1999, p. 321f).

Grimaldi could fulfill his tasks in Europe, but the way back caused problems. With the help of letters of recommendation written by Kangxi, and the Polish King and Grand Duke of Lithuania Jan III Sobieski (reign 1674-1696) Grimaldi tried to take the way through the continent starting from Rome, via Bologna, Munich, Vienna, Cracow and Russia. In Europe, Grimaldi started contact with many scholars, among them with the German philosopher and polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) hoping that this would be helpful because the Russian Tsar was a great admirer of Leibniz. But at the border between Poland and Russia the Moscowites denied the transit despite all efforts of the German Emperor Leopold I (reign 1658-1705) (Collani, 2022, p. 187f; Carhart, 2019). Grimaldi had to take the way from Venice and Genova to Marseille, then by ship to Istanbul, Syria and Persia (February 1692) via Erzerum and Isfahan. To take a short-cut he continued his travel by sea from Hormus to Portuguese Goa, from there

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to China. Only in 1694, Grimaldi was back in Peking eagerly expected by the Kangxi Emperor. In absentia, in 1688, he had been elected Director of the Astronomical Bureau *Qintian jian* and Mandarin (Collani, 2022, p. 120).³

4.2. Jesuits as Negotiators: The Treaty of Nerchinsk

The Treaty of Nerchinsk between the Russian Tsar and the Qing Empire was the first treaty between China and a European state, and it is not considered to be an unequal treaty like those of the 19th century. Since the middle of the 16th century, Russia had made important conquests expanded its influence towards the Far East. In 1649, Ochotsk became the first Russian harbor at the Pacific coast (Hildermeier, 2013, p. 549f). This was followed by armed quarrels between Russian Cossacks, Mongols, troops of the Qing Empire and Zungars over decades (Collani, 2022, p. 188).

From the Chinese side Manchuria, the homeland of the Qing dynasty, bordered on Russia but the pathway of the border was not exactly defined, therefore boundary disputes and quarrels occurred. There were always accidents with rambling Cossacks crossing to China, or with Mongol tribes who were part of the Qing empire (Standaert, 2001, p. 367f; Perdue, 2010). Therefore, the Kangxi emperor and the Chinese were afraid of an alliance between the Zungars with Russia. Russian Cossacks several times founded fortifications in China, as Albazin (Yacsa), renegades from Russia came to China. Therefore, both nations were interested in fixing the way of the border and to sign a peace treaty. Already in 1687 Eberhard Isbrand Ides (1657-1708) was sent from the court of Peter the Great as special envoy to Peking for negotiations about the border and trade between the two empires, but in vain (Collani, 2022, p. 188). Only the Treaty of Nerchinsk (also Nibcu, Nibichu) of 1689 solved the problems.⁴ The language of the negotiations was Latin, the treaty at the end in the four languages Latin, Chinese, Russian, and Manchu. It finished the territorial quarrels at the Amur River and it was the first mutual agreement of a Chinese government with a European power on the same level. The treaty verified the territorial dominance of China and fixed the border between the Transbaikalian regions of Russia and Manchuria. In return Russia got trade rights in China (Perdue, 2010, pp. 161-173; Carhart, 2019, pp. 210-225). The negotiations were held by the Russian prince Feodor Alekseyevich Golovin (1650-1706) and the Manchu prince Songgotu († 1703) who both arrived with a huge entourage of soldiers. An important role for the signing of the agreement played two Jesuits from the Imperial court in Peking, namely the Portuguese Jesuit Tomás Pereira (1644-1708) and the French Jesuit Jean-François Gerbillon (1656-1707), who served as interpreters using Latin as diplomatic language (Collani, 2022, p. 189).

Tomás Pereira was an important Jesuit of the imperial household, but mostly acting in the background. He was in favour at the Kangxi Emperor not only because his technical and artistic skills (he introduced European music at the court), but also because his ability to accommodate to moral and social values of both the Manchu and Chinese cultures. After his death he was bestowed with high honors by Kangxi (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. xxxviii). Pereira's companion Jean-François Gerbillon belonged to the group of the famous five *mathématiciens du Roy* who

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³ Later, Grimaldi became Vice-Provincial of the Chinese Jesuit province, and rector of the College in Peking and Visitor of the Far East 1703-1706 (Dehergne, 1973, p. 120).

⁴ On the Jesuits and their role for the treaty of Nerchinsk, especially on Pereira, see Sebes, 1961.

had been sent to China by Louis XIV as scientists and artists in 1685, but also as missionaries. They should exchange scientific data with the Académie des Sciences in Paris. In this way as scientists, they should avoid problems with the Portuguese Padroado claiming that the mission in the Far East only belonged to the Portuguese Padroado. Starting from Brest in March 1685 they reached Ningbo in July 1687 after a stay in Siam. The group arrived at the imperial court in Peking in February 1688. Two of them remained, namely Joachim Bouvet and Gerbillon, and appointed as teachers for the Kangxi Emperor in European mathematics besides the team Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas (1643-1709). These lectures lasted from the years 1689 till 1692. After the separation of the French mission from the Portuguese Vice-Province of China (30 November 1700), Gerbillon became the first Superior of the French Residence (Beitang) and General Superior of the French Jesuits in China. He accompanied the Emperor several times on expeditions outside the Great Wall and wrote accounts of these journeys. Gerbillon worked at the court as mathematician, anatomist and geographer at the court (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. XLIV).

4.3. Joachim Bouvet, the Beginning of the French Mission in China

As already mentioned, Joachim Bouvet belonged to the group of the famous five *mathématiciens du Roy*. But since the beginning of their stay, there were permanent tensions between French Jesuits and other Jesuits (German, Italian, Flemish) who being sent by the Portuguese Padroado considered China as “their” mission. This situation strengthened the wish in the French to become independent from their brethren. An important step in this context was the Edict of Toleration issued by the Kangxi Emperor in 1692 giving Christianity the same rights as Buddhism and Daoism. In 1693, the French Jesuits Jean de Fontaney (1643-1710) and Claude de Visdelou (1656-1737) succeeded to heal the Kangxi emperor with quinine from a long-lasting fever. As a recompense the French were given an area for their own residence with church on July 4, 1693, which became the later Beitang, the North Church of the French in Peking (Bouvet, 2005, p. 17f). In 1700, the general superior of the Jesuits gave them their independence from the Portuguese Vice-Province of China with an own superior only dependent on the Visitor of the Far East; the first one was Gerbillon (Standaert, 2001, p. 315).

Some days after the imperial gift of the house, Bouvet was sent back to Europe as *Qinchai*, legate of the emperor. He should bring new Jesuits to China for a kind of Imperial Academy for science and arts, comparable to the Académie des Sciences in Paris. After a long odyssey Bouvet arrived in France in 1697.⁵

In Paris Bouvet published two books which became very important for the image of China in Europe, namely the *Portrait historique de l'empereur de la Chine présenté au roi* (Paris 1697), which was translated in many European languages and presented the Chinese Kangxi emperor as a nearly Christian ruler. The second book was *L'estat present de la Chine, en figures dédié à Monseigneur le duc et à Madame la duchesse de Bourgogne* (Paris 1697). Advised by the French superior Antoine Verjus (1632-1706), procurator of the French mission in China (Dehergne, 1973, p. 317), he started a correspondence with Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (2006), a great

In Paris Bouvet published two books which became very important for the image of China in Europe

⁵ His report is published in: Bouvet, 2005.

admirer of China, which belongs to the most interesting correspondences between China and Europe.

After his audience at Louis XIV in Versailles on April 3, 1697, and Bouvet returned to China from La Rochelle on the ship “Amphitrite” on 6 of March 1698 with the eight French Jesuits and the Italian painter and lay person Giovanni Gherardini (1654-1723?).⁶ Bouvet reached Canton on November 2, 1698, whereas the first meeting of the emperor with the group happened on 10 of April 1699 (Bouvet, 2005, pp. 47-49).

4.4. Jean de Fontaney

Jean de Fontaney was the superior of the five French *mathématiciens du Roy* who were sent to China by the Sun king Louis XIV in 1685. When he started for the East, he was already a renowned scientist and had taught mathematics and astronomy at the Collège Louis-le-Grand (Pfister, 1932-1934, p. 421f). When after a stay in Siam the group finally arrived in China in 1688, not Fontaney was chosen for service at the imperial Court but Jean-François Gerbillon and Joachim Bouvet. The reasons were quite probably not qualification but the fact that the Portuguese at court who eagerly watched their privileges chose the two because they seemed to be easier to handle with (Bouvet, 2005, p. 10).

After working in the South of China Fontaney returned to Peking. He together with Claude de Visdelou he helped to heal the Kangxi emperor from a lost lasting fever in 1693. From 1692 to 1699 he was superior of the French Jesuits (Dehergne, 1973, p. 97). When Bouvet returned from France on the “Amphitrite” the Kangxi Emperor was so pleased with the scientific and other gifts sent from Louis XIV that he decided to send Bouvet again to France to thank for the presents. Bouvet, however, felt so exhausted that Fontaney was chosen to be the imperial legate to Europe. Fontaney left China on the “Amphitrite” in 1699, which had brought Bouvet and his companions to China. In Paris where Fontaney arrived in springtime 1700 he received presents from Louis XIV for the Chinese emperor. Together with eight Jesuits he travelled again on the “Amphitrite” back to China. In March 1703, Fontaney left China again sent to Europe as procurator of the French mission. This time, he did not return to China but stayed in France as superior until his death in 1710 (Witek, 1999, p. 326-328).

Jean de Fontaney was the superior of the five French mathématiciens du Roy who were sent to China by the Sun king Louis XIV in 1685. When he started for the East, he was already a renowned scientist and had taught mathematics and astronomy at the Collège Louis-le-Grand

5. Legates of the Kangxi Emperor to the Holy See on Behalf of the Chinese Rites

5.1. Joachim Bouvet and Sabino Mariani, the failed legation

Under the rule of the Kangxi emperor the situation for Christianity was auspicious. After Kangxi had issued the Edict of Toleration in 1692, many new missionaries from different orders came to China: Jesuits under the Portuguese Padroado, French Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, missionaries sent by the Propaganda Fide, among other members of the “Missions étrangères de Paris”, Lazarists. Only one year after Kangxi’s Edict, however, the Vicar Apostolic of Fujian,

⁶ For the ship “Amphitrite” and its travels to China, see Pelliot, 1930.

Charles Maigrot MEP (1652-1730) issued his “Mandatum seu Edictum” for his province on March 19, 1693. Therein he forbade all classical Chinese names for God as *Shangdi* (Supreme Emperor), *Tian* (Heaven), and *Taiji* (Supreme Ultimate) only permitting *Tianzhu* (Lord of Heaven) and the use of the tablets *jing tian* (revere Heaven) in churches; further he prohibited that Chinese Christians took part in the official veneration of Confucius and of the ancestors. To make his Mandate valid for the whole of China Maigrot his confrere Nicolas Charmot (1645-1714) to Rome, where Charmot submitted the Mandate with a petition and a covering letter to the Holy Office in 1697 (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. LVI).

The Jesuits at once started to defend their method of accommodation attacked by Maigrot. The defenders of both sides published masses of books and pamphlets. One counter measure from the side of the Jesuits was a petition to the Kangxi Emperor about the meaning of the Rites and of the term *Tian*, on 30 of November 1700. Kangxi answered with the *Declaratio Rituum* that the Jesuits were right with their representation. The whole was sent to the Holy Office in Rome and printed as *Brevis relatio eorum quae spectant ad declarationem Imperatoris...* (A short Account about the declaration of the emperor) (Peking 1701) but did not have the wished result because the opinion of a “pagan” emperor had no theological value (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, pp. LXXXI-LXXXIV). When Bouvet got to know about Charmot’s procedure in Rome, he started counterattacks especially on two topics of Maigrot’s Mandate, namely Maigrot’s prohibition for the Chinese Christians to use the name *taiji* for the Christian God and to deal with the “superstitious” book *Yijing* (Bouvet, 2005, pp. 42-44). The result was Bouvet’s so-called theology of Figurism (Collani, 2023, pp. 27-36).

A possibility to solve the problems before decisions were made was to send legates between the Chinese court and the pontiff in Rome. On November 20, 1704, Maigrot’s Mandate was more or less confirmed with the decree “Cum Deus optimus”, but the decision should be published in China first. Still during the debates about the Rites in Rome a papal legate, Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710), was sent to China as Legatus a latere (5 December 1701) and Patriarch of Antioch (21 December 1701). (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. LVII)

After his travel via India and Manila Tournon arrived in Canton on April 8, 1705. Helped by the Jesuits Tournon received an invitation to the Imperial court and then stayed in Peking from 4 of December 1705 until 28 August 1706. Tournon had three audiences with the Kangxi Emperor, on 31 December 1705, and 29 and 30 June 1706 (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. LIII).

During the first audience on December 31, 1705, Tournon was received by Kangxi with great honors, and Tournon had the impression that it would be possible to start a kind of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Imperial Court. Therefore, Kangxi and Tournon wanted to send a legation to Rome with gifts for the Pope and an official letter describing the good news of the successful audience. Tournon chose the auditor of his legation, Sabino Mariani (1665-1721), as his envoy whom the Manchu Mandarin Purgai (Bursai) should accompany to Canton. But as Mariani could not speak Chinese, Kangxi ordered that one of the court Jesuits should join him, namely Joachim Bouvet as Imperial legate (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, pp. 101-104). The key for the boxes with the gifts for the pontiff were entrusted to Bouvet as official Imperial legate. But even before the start in Peking, Tournon gave the keys to his legate Mariani. The two legates started their way together in company with the Purgai and their entourage on January 4 (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. 111). There were, however, no credentials, which Kangxi

Tournon had the impression that it would be possible to start a kind of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Imperial Court

considered to be unnecessary (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. 108). During the whole way, the two of them were discordant. When they arrived in Amoy and then in Canton, the ships bound to Europe had already left. During the whole time, Tournon and Mariani denied that Bouvet was the first Imperial legate. When Tournon in Peking made open accusations against Bouvet's role in the legation, Kangxi ordered that both should return and the legation failed (Collani, 1995; Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, pp. 101-118).

5.2. Antonio de Barros and Antoine de Beauvillier

The next attempt to send a legation was started by Kangxi in October 1706 when Tournon had left Peking. After the legation Bouvet-Mariani had been recalled to Peking, the Kangxi Emperor became more and more suspicious about the intentions of the Holy See concerning the Chinese Rites. Out reverence for the pontiff, however, he blamed the papal Legate Tournon for the situation between China and Rome. But Tournon also behaved in a very imprudent way against Chinese Christians and against the Jesuits. He also caused that Charles Maigrot as a great expert concerning Confucianism was ordered to Peking. During Maigrot's stay in Peking and Manchuria from July 1706 until in December 1706 Kangxi noticed that Maigrot refused the compatibility of Christianity and Confucianism, which attitude was followed by Tournon. Therefore, the Emperor decided to expel Maigrot and two other missionaries from China on December 17, 1706 (Stumpf, 2019, vol. II, p. 256; Standaert, 2001, p. 359). As a result of the situation he sent a delegation to Rome to get information, if Tournon had really acted within the intention of the pontiff and how his own Declaration concerning the Rites had been received. The chosen legates, the Jesuits António de Barros (1664-1708) and Antoine de Beauvillier (1657-1708), were armed with documents from the Palace Archives. They should inform the Holy See about Tournon's scandalous behavior and if the Chinese Rites were really prohibited; as representatives of the Emperor they should start discussions on controversial subjects with the Pope (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. XXXIX; Witek, 1999, p. 329).

When Tournon on his way to the South arrived in Nanking he issued the "Decree of Nanking" in January 1707 forbidding the participation at the Rites under punishment of excommunication (Rosso, 1948, p. 172f; Stumpf, 2019, vol. II, pp. 305-308). When Kangxi got to know this, he expelled Tournon to the Portuguese enclave Macau, where he should stay and wait until Kangxi's delegates would return from Rome with a positive answer from Clement XI concerning the Chinese Rites and Tournon (Rosso, 1948, pp. 178-181; Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, pp. LI-LIII). The two legates started on 17 October 1706 with the documents concerning the Tournon legation. The emperor and his eldest son, Prince Yinti, chose 50 documents from the Palace Archives, which were translated by the court Jesuits from Chinese and Manchu into Latin, sealed by Yinti and two Mandarins to be send to the Pope (Stumpf, 2019, vol. II, p. 186). At the same time Barros and Beauvillier were also sent as procurators by their brethren in China, by Chinese Vice-Province and by the French Jesuits with documents. The Jesuits wanted to get free from the suspicion that they were responsible for the failure of Tournon's legation (Witek, 1999, pp. 328-330).

The Portuguese Jesuit António de Barros had joined the Society of Jesus in 1681 and arrived in Peking in October 1697. After some time as a missionary in Xi'an he returned to Peking in 1701. He accompanied the Emperor several times on his travels. Antoine de Beauvillier had joined the Jesuits in 1672 and was one of those Jesuits who tried to reach China via Central

In December 1706 Kangxi noticed that Maigrot refused the compatibility of Christianity and Confucianism

Asia and Mongolia in 1688 but failed at the Russian border. So, he travelled via Armenia, Surat and Madras in India and arrived finally in China on an English vessel in November 1699. He was appointed as procurator for the French mission and then met Tournon in Canton. There a debate on the Chinese Rites took place where he defended the Jesuits' attitude concerning the Rites against Claude de Visdelou SJ, who had sided the adversaries of the Rites. Beauvillier returned to Peking and was sent from there together with Barros (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. XXXIX).

Barros and Beauvillier started their travel on sea on an English ship from Canton on 4 January 1707. Their journey brought them to Brazil, from there they set out for Portugal on two different ships to avoid that both of them could die on the same ship. Both, however, were shipwrecked and drowned at the Portuguese coast in the same storm. Some of the documents of their luggage survived, among them Stumpf's *Compendium Actorum Pekinensium*,⁷ whereas the lost documents probably also included the early part of the *Acta Pekinensia*.⁸ When the emperor in 1710 learned that his two legates had drowned, he did not really accept this information. Their names were still included in the Red Manifesto of 1716 where Kangxi asked Rome about the fate of his envoys and the attitude towards the Chinese Rites (Witek, 1999, p. 330).

5.3. Another legation to Rome: António Provana, Ramón Arxó and François Noël

Nearly at the same time when the first delegation drowned, but without knowing, a second delegation started from Peking in October 1707 towards Canton, from there on ship to Europe on 14 of January 1708 (Witek, 1999, p. 330-332). Besides the Decree of Nanking, new important events took place in the time between autumn 1706 and autumn 1707. After Charles Maigrot together with two more missionaries had been expelled on December 17, 1706, the Emperor wanted to have control over the missionaries working in his empire. Since then, the oldest son of the emperor Yinti (1672-1734), who was responsible for the foreigners, demanded in the name of his father the so-called *piao* from all missionaries who wanted to preach the Gospel in China. During the examination to obtain it they had to promise to observe the Chinese laws, to follow the method of accommodation of Matteo Ricci in China and to stay in China for the rest of their life. Otherwise, they would be expelled (Stumpf, 2019, vol. II, p 273; Witek, 1999, p. 330f). Therefore, nineteen new documents from the Imperial Archives were translated from Chinese and Manchu into Latin and added to the already existing 50 documents (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. 5). During all the time of Tournon's legation and afterwards, Kangxi was convinced that the Pope was not sufficiently informed about Tournon's behavior at court. Therefore, a new team of Jesuits was chosen for a legation, namely Antonio Provana (1662-1720), who should also act as procurator of the Jesuit mission in China, the Spaniard Ramón Arxó SJ (1663-1711) und the Belgian François Noël SJ (1651-1729). In their company was the Chinese neophyte Louis Fan Shouyi (1682-1753), who later joined the Jesuits (Meynard, 2017, pp. 21-31).

It they had to promise to observe the Chinese laws, to follow the method of accommodation of Matteo Ricci in China and to stay in China for the rest of their life. Otherwise, they would be expelled

⁷ For the English translation of the *Compendium*, see Stumpf, 2019, vol. II, pp. 34-104.

⁸ The *Acta Pekinensia* are Kilian Stumpf's SJ (1655–1720) masterpiece with ca. 1450 folios. Stumpf stayed with different offices at the Imperial court in Peking since 1696 until his death in 1720. Among others he was procurator and visitor of the Jesuits, director of the Astronomical Bureau *Qintian jian* and builder of the first modern glass workshop in China. The first two volumes were published in 2015 and 2019 in the English translation, two more are to be expected.

The group travelled to São Salvador de Bahia (Brazil), then to Lisbon where they arrived on 7 September 1708. They had an audience with king João V (reign 1706-1750) of Portugal. He decided to send an extraordinary ambassador to Rome to deal about the Chinese Rites (Menegon, 2023). Provana, Arjó, Fan and Noël reached Rome on 20 February 1709. The Chinese documents were presented to Clement XI in presence of the Jesuits general superior Michelangelo Tamburini (from 1706-1730). Clement XI made the documents be translated into Latin and convoked the Congregation of the Holy Office to debate about the material. But in Rome also started a calumniate campaign against Provana that he did not have diplomatic credentials from the emperor (Meynard, 2017, p. 24). To defend his legation and the attitude of the Jesuits concerning the Chinese Rites he presented five Memorials to the Pope in 1709 to defend his legation and the Jesuit method. The procurator of Tournon, Giovanni Jacopo Fatinelli (1653-1736), confuted the memorials on August 8, 1709. He was answered by the Jesuit Luigi Vincenzo Mamiani della Rovere (1652-1730).⁹

Among others, Provana brought to Rome the first section of the *Acta Pekinensia* and the Latin translation of 59 documents from the imperial archives relating to the Tournon-legation (Stumpf, 2015, vol. I, p. xl). This set of documents brought to Europe was printed under the title *Atti imperiali autentici di varj Trattati, passati nella regia Corte di Pekino tra l'Imperatore della Cina, e M. Patriarca Antiocheni al presente Sig. Cardinale di Tournon. Negli Anni 1705., et 1706* (s.l., s.a., probably in 1710 or 1711), and printed a second time in vol. II of *Memorie storiche dell'Eminentissimo Monsignor Cardinale Di Tournon esposte con munumenti [sic] rari ed autentici non più dati alla luce*, vol. III (Venezia, 1761).¹⁰ Clement XI gave Kangxi an answer in form of a Brief dated 2 of March 1709. He thanked him for his original benevolence against Tournon and the missionaries but at the same time asks Kangxi to tolerate the prohibition of the Chinese Rites because they were not compatible with Christianity (Standaert, 2001, p. 361). There is, however, the question if this brief ever reached Kangxi.

For ten years Provana was denied to return to China. Only in 1719 he could start again after the Kangxi Emperor had issued the so-called "Red Manifesto" of 1716 which confirmed that Provana was an Imperial ambassador; it arrived in Rome in 1718. Only then Provana could no longer be retained in Europe and received the permission to travel to China (Rosso, 1948, p. 203). He was not entrusted with any mission from Clement XI to Kangxi, but the Pope was to send a second legate to China, Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba (1685-1741) (Meynard, 2017, p. 25). Provana, however, died on sea off the Cape of Good Hope in March 1720 and was buried in Canton in September with exceptional funeral honours given by the Kangxi Emperor to his legate. Provana's Chinese companion, now an ordained Jesuit, Louis Fan Shouyi, brought the news and Provana's papers to Peking and to the Emperor (Witek, 1999, p. 332f). Besides, Fan Shouyi also wrote a report about his impressions in Europe (Bertuccioli, 1999).

Among others, Provana brought to Rome the first section of the "Acta Pekinensia" and the Latin translation of 59 documents from the imperial archives relating to the Tournon-legation

5.4. Another failed Legation Concerning the Rites of 1712

For a long time, the Jesuits could prevent that the news about the prohibition of the Chinese Rites reached the Imperial court, because they were afraid that this would enrage the Emperor. A short time before Chinese New Year of 1712, however, the Jesuits got to know that the

9 Namely, *La verità, e l'innocenza de' missionarj della Compagnia di Giesù nella Cina...* (s.l., ca. 1710).

10 The preface of the *Atti imperiali* is translated into English in: Rosso, 1948, pp. 179-181.

Emperor had not given up his plans for a legation to Rome and that he wanted to send a new legation of Jesuits to Europe. This time, the Jesuits should travel via Moscow. After long discussions, because French Jesuits would not be welcome by Peter the Great, the Jesuits hoped that perhaps one of the missionaries sent by the *Propaganda Fide* could join the delegation. After long discussions of several days, the Jesuits proposed to send the Austrian Jesuit, Xavier Ehrenbert Fridelli (1673-1743), and the Portuguese Jesuit João Mourão (1681-1726). At first, Kangxi confirmed them as his delegates, but then stopped out of political motives because of the attitude of Moscow (Reil, 1978, p. 147-153; Standaert, 2001, p. 361).

5.5. The Hong Piao (Manifest Rouge) 1716

During the next years, the Kangxi Emperor still waited for the return of his delegates. In 1716 he made another attempt to get information from Rome. In 1715 Clement XI issued the Apostolic Constitution *Ex illa die* reinforcing all decrees concerning the prohibitions of the Chinese Rites until then. So, in the end of 1716, the Jesuits could no longer prevent that the prohibitions became known by the Emperor, for on October 29, 1716, the Emperor had received a letter from the Jesuits' Procurator in Lisbon who informed him about the intervention of the King of Portugal against the prohibition of the Rites. Kangxi who still waited for the return of his envoy António Provana from Europe with a direct answer from the Pontiff decided to send a public demand to Clement XI, a so-called *pragmatica*. He admonished Rome not to act in secrecy but openly deal with him. The document was not sent in the Emperor's name, who had written the Manchu text, but in the name of Mandarins and Europeans at court who translated it and signed the letter.¹¹ This document, the famous *Hong Piao*, "Red Manifesto", a "pragmatica", i.e. an official document of the State, also called "Litterae patentes", was printed in Manchu, Chinese and Latin (Rosso, 1948, p. 192).

This document, the famous Hong Piao, "Red Manifesto", a "pragmatica", i.e. an official document of the State, also called "Litterae patentes", was printed in Manchu, Chinese and Latin

In compliance with His Majesty's Imperial Order, We, the Intendants of the Imperial Press at the Wuyingdian, Ytouri (Yi Duli), Voamtaohoa (Wang Daohua), Tchaotcham (Zhao Chang), respectfully announce to all who have come from West the following manifesto:

In the 45th year of the Kangxi reign the Westerners Fr António de Barros, S.J. [Long Anguo] and Fr Antoine de Beauvillier, S.J. [Bo Xianshi] were appointed Imperial envoys. During the 47th year of the Kangxi reign the Westerners Fr Giuseppe Provana, S.J. [Ai Ruose], and Fr José Raimundo de Arxo, S.J. [Lu Ruose], were likewise appointed envoys, received their Imperial orders, and departed for the West.

For these many years until the present, there has not only been no written contact from them, but other missives difficult to interpret or validate have been received. For this reason, another letter [to Rome] was sent via the Russians which we hope reached its destination.

Certainly, until the men we dispatched have returned and these matters settled no credence can be placed in other explanations. If our envoys fail to return, we will have no positive evidence for whatever other letters may be had, and thus we cannot place our trust in them.

¹¹ The translation was started on November 3rd and finished the 5th.

Therefore, fearing that our [most recent] letter will fail to reach its destination, this manifesto, with Western language text appended, has been printed and given the seal of the Provincial Governor of Guangdong Province. It is an open-letter to be copied and distributed among all Westerners who arrive that they may carry back for distribution.

[Dated] 17th day of the 9th month of the 55th year of Kangxi [October 31, 1716].¹²

The “Red Manifesto” was signed by all missionaries at court and distributed in 300 copies to ships in Canton in November 1716. 500 more copies were sent via the continent with a Russian delegation.¹³

5.6. The delegation of Niccolò Gianpriamo

Only one single Jesuit succeeded to travel through the whole countryside between China and Europe as envoy of the Kangxi Emperor, namely Niccolò Gianpriamo (1686-1759). He was born nearby Naples and reached the court in Peking as a mathematician in 1717. Therefore, he was present when in 1721 a second papal legation arrived at the Imperial court, that of Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba (1685-1741). He had several audiences with the Emperor, but his hands were bound by the orders he had received in Rome from the Holy See. During the last audience the Emperor and Mezzabarba came to an agreement, namely that the status of the Rites should be maintained until he would return from Rome with new instructions from the Pontiff (Rosso, 1948, pp. 207-211). Kangxi asked Mezzabarba to bring letters, gifts and imperial decrees to Clement XI together with the so-called “Mandarins’ Diary”, a protocol about the delegation from the side of the Manchu Mandarins of the Imperial Household.¹⁴ Some days after Mezzabarba had left Peking for Canton, Niccolò Gianpriamo joined a returning Russian delegation. Kangxi had asked the Russian legate count Lev Vasilevich Izmailov (1685-1738) to allow Gianpriamo to join the Russian delegation. The delegation started in Peking on 13 of March 1721. In this case it was possible for Gianpriamo to travel with the official permission of Tsar Peter the Great through Russia and to return to Italy. Despite all hindrances through the Tsar, he reached Rome in October 1722. Gianpriamo delivered the documents concerning the negotiations between the Kangxi Emperor and Mezzabarba to Innocent XIII. The legate wished to revise several documents, which was not conceded. In Rome, Gianpriamo swore a statement that his report was true. But again, it was decided against the Jesuits’ attitude in the Rites Controversy (Witek, 1999, pp. 333-336).

In Rome, Gianpriamo swore a statement that his report was true. But again, it was decided against the Jesuits’ attitude in the Rites Controversy

6. Résumé

During the reign of the Kangxi Emperor the first real attempts started to have relations from China to Europe, and from Europe to China. Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon sent by the Holy See tried to establish diplomatic relations with the Chinese court during his legation. These plans, however, failed because Kangxi had another understanding of exchange with Rome and did not want the kind of diplomacy common in Europe at that time. On the

12 Chinese text and English translation in Rosso, 1948, p. 308f.

13 See Stumpf, K. Letter, 25th of June, 1717, and Letter, 18th of November, 1717, ARSJ, JS 177, ff. 329v and 471r.

14 For a translation of the Mandarins’ Diary, signed by the court Jesuits, see Rosso, 1948, pp. 343-374.

other hand, the Emperor tried to communicate five times his idea about the living together of Confucianism and Christianity in China by legates, and two times by statements (*Declaratio Imperatoris*, Hong Piao), but these attempts were not accepted from the side of the Holy See. That means that the planned relations failed more or less in both directions. The Emperor did not want to have relations in the European way but in the Chinese way with people whom he trusted and were loyal servants fulfilling special tasks. Therefore, he chose Jesuits as translators who signed his statements about the Rites and whom he used for his embassies to Europe, because he knew them since his youth, he trusted them, they knew the laws, customs and conventions, and languages of both Europe and China. But besides their official imperial mission to Rome, the Jesuits also worked for the exchange of culture and knowledge between the two ends of the continent. At least in this function they were more successful than in their mission of religious dialogue

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THE POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS BROTHERHOOD

La política de la hermandad religiosa

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Abstract

When six members of the transnational brotherhood of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) were murdered in cold blood in El Salvador in November 1989, the Jesuit community in the United States responded with a powerful combination of outrage and embarrassment bordering on guilt. The Jesuits assassinated at the Universidad Centroamericana were killed because their devotion to the Jesuit mission of “the service of faith and pursuit of justice” was seen by the leadership of the Salvadoran military as a direct threat. And they were killed by a Salvadoran military that was receiving in support of its war against an insurgent guerilla force over \$1 million per day from the United States government. Using all of the substantial institutional resources at their disposal, Jesuits in the U.S. worked to pressure the Salvadoran government to hold accountable “the authors of the crime” within the military’s high command, while at the same time they worked to pressure the U.S. government to shut off the military aid that had been used to murder their fellow Jesuits. “Their” government was killing “their” brothers, and the Jesuits in the U.S. mobilized a complex, transnational political response out of both communal solidarity and national responsibility.

Cuando seis miembros de la hermandad transnacional de la Compañía de Jesús (jesuitas) fueron asesinados a sangre fría en El Salvador en noviembre de 1989, la comunidad jesuita de EE. UU. respondió con una combinación poderosa de furia y vergüenza, bordeando la culpa. Los jesuitas asesinados en la Universidad Centroamericana murieron porque su devoción a la misión jesuita al “servicio de la fe y la búsqueda de la justicia” fue vista como una amenaza directa por parte del liderazgo del ejército salvadoreño. Y fueron asesinados por un ejército salvadoreño que estaba recibiendo, como apoyo a su guerra contra una guerrilla insurgente, más de un millón de dólares al día por parte del Gobierno de los EE. UU. Haciendo uso de los importantes recursos institucionales a su disposición, los jesuitas en EE. UU. trabajaron para presionar al Gobierno salvadoreño para que juzgara a los “autores del crimen” dentro del alto mando militar, mientras que, al mismo tiempo, presionaron al Gobierno de EE. UU. para que suspendiese la ayuda militar que había contribuido al asesinato de sus compañeros jesuitas. “Su” Gobierno había matado a “sus” hermanos y los jesuitas estadounidenses movilizaron una respuesta política compleja y transnacional nacida de la solidaridad comunitaria y la responsabilidad nacional.



Resumen

Transnational Relations; Jesuits; El Salvador; Civil war; Ignacio Ellacuría; Universidad Centroamericana (UCA); U.S. foreign policy; military aid; martyrs.



Key words

Relaciones transnacionales; jesuitas; El Salvador; guerra civil; Ignacio Ellacuría; Universidad Centroamericana (UCA); política exterior de EE. UU.; ayuda militar; mártires.

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Fechas

The academic field of Transnational Relations (TR) concerns itself with what Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, first, formally defined a half century ago as “the movement of tangible or intangible items across state boundaries when at least one actor is not an agent of a government or an intergovernmental organization” (Keohane & Nye, 1973, p. XII). Conceived of as a corrective to the over-reliance on the role of territorial states in traditional International Relations—or as I would prefer, Global Politics—, TR usefully draws our attention to a host of non-state actors who participate meaningfully in world affairs. Multinational corporations, international non-governmental organizations, social movements, ethnic diasporas, and religious communities and institutions of all kinds are just a few examples of these previously under-emphasized actors on the world stage.

Some of these transnational actors and communities live their lives in liminal space. Effectively (and affectively), they live in two places at one time, manifesting a profound “simultaneity”, or occupying what Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) have called “transnational social fields” (p. 1002). As a result, they can be deeply involved in two wholly separate political systems, and at times they can use their privileged position in one political context to work at influencing conditions in another. This dynamic duality is generally associated with ethnic diasporas or migrant communities whose fundamentally transnational positioning can at times allow them to advocate in their new “host lands” on behalf of the interests of their co-nationalists left behind in the shared “homeland.” (Faist et al., 2013, p. 12).

What I want to explore here, however, is a group whose transnational ties are religious, institutional, and intentional rather than ethnic, demographic, and primordial. Members of the Society of Jesus are deeply tied to each other across international borders by transnational linkages that are explicit, purposeful, and central to the very definition of their Society’s life (Byrnes, 2011). Usually, these linkages manifest themselves in relatively quotidian forms of institutional solidarity, shared religious commitment, and varying levels of communal coherence. But sometimes these ties turn the transnational Jesuit social field (to coin a phrase) into an arena of cross-border interactions with real, concrete political import. This is true when Jesuit residents and citizens of one country are driven to act in the defense of fellow Jesuits who are residents and citizens of another. And this is especially true when Jesuits in one country are motivated by the conviction that dangers faced by their fellow Jesuits abroad are being perpetrated by the first group’s national government.

This was precisely the transnational political dynamic that was set in motion on the night of November 15-16, 1989 in San Salvador, when a group of soldiers from the Atlacatl Battalion of the Salvadoran Army roused six Jesuit priests from their beds at the Universidad Centroamericana José Siméon Cañas (UCA), gathered them on the lawn outside their residence, and pumped a bullet into the back of the head of each Jesuit (Doggett, 1993). The priests, under the leadership of the university’s Rector, Ignacio Ellacuría, S.J., had become prominent proponents of a negotiated settlement of the brutal Salvadoran civil war that had then been raging for years. And the Army decided to silence them, and the cause of reconciliation, in the most brutal way possible.

Outrage over the murder of the Jesuit “martyrs” (as they immediately came to be known) was immediate and widespread (Mulligan, 1994). But nowhere was it felt more viscerally or personally than within the Catholic order of priests to which the men had belonged, the Society of Jesus. The priests of the UCA were members of a religious community of twenty thousand men, approximately four thousand of whom were U.S. citizens. While these U.S.-based Jesuits

Members of the Society of Jesus are deeply tied to each other across international borders by transnational linkages that are explicit, purposeful, and central to the very definition of their Society’s life

shared the grief and anger that Jesuits the world over felt in response to the killing of their fellow brothers, the Americans felt something else as well: a level of embarrassment bordering on guilt. To the Americans, the Jesuits in El Salvador had not only been murdered in cold blood; they had been murdered in cold blood by a Salvadoran Army that was receiving the lion share of its funding and support from the U.S. government. In a very concrete way, in other words, the American Jesuits were faced with the horrifying reality that their government was deeply implicated in the murder of their brothers.

Some American Jesuits knew Ellacuría and his colleagues personally. Many more of them knew them by reputation, as academic administrators and professors who were known internationally for embodying with particular clarity the presumed responsibility of Jesuit educators everywhere to apply the institutional resources at their disposal to the “service of faith and the pursuit of justice”.¹ But virtually all of them were shocked into anger, mobilization, and action by the deeply disturbing fact that six of “ours” had been martyred to the cause of opposing a Salvadoran government and a Salvadoran military that were direct agents of U.S. foreign policy.² Many Jesuits in the U.S., therefore, immediately resolved to pursue two related goals: the identification and prosecution of not only the individual soldiers who had pulled the triggers, but also “the intellectual authors of the crime” in the High Command of the Salvadoran Army;³ and a change in U.S. foreign policy towards El Salvador, most specifically a halt to the direct U.S. funding of the military that had committed such a despicable act.

The overwhelming sense of solidarity that U.S. based Jesuits felt towards their brothers in El Salvador—including those killed at the UCA and those living under the fear of further violent reprisals by the Army—was based in three basic dynamics. The first is the shared “formation” that all Jesuits undergo on their way to professed membership in “the Society,” and for most of them ordination to the priesthood. The Society of Jesus was founded in the 16th century by Saint Ignatius Loyola as a self-consciously transnational band of brothers who would be particularly open to the “discernment” of God’s will in their lives, individually and collectively, and who would remain “mobile” and open to residence and assignment anywhere that their superiors might deem it appropriate to send them (Ganss, 1991). What this means today in practical terms is that every Jesuit goes through a similar path of formation that includes an introductory stint in a novitiate, many years of formal study in philosophy and theology, and several years of work in a preparatory period known as “regency” before an individual Jesuit embarks upon a particular life’s work or what they would usually prefer to call an “apostolate.” Along the way, each and every Jesuit experiences “the long retreat,” a 30-day immersion in Loyola’s “Spiritual Exercises” which sets the foundation for their formation in “Ignatian Spirituality,” and sets the framework for discernment of how each Jesuit can individually pursue the Society’s mission of “bringing all things to God” (Decloux, 1991).

Jesuits in the U.S., therefore, immediately resolved to pursue two related goals: the identification and prosecution of not only the individual soldiers who had pulled the triggers, but also “the intellectual authors of the crime” in the High Command of the Salvadoran Army; and a change in U.S. foreign policy towards El Salvador

1 The quote is from the legendary Chapter Four of the report of the Society of Jesus’ 32nd General Congregation. This document, promulgated in 1975, explicitly committed Jesuits all over the world, in all of their apostolates, to the pursuit of social justice.

2 “Ours” is a term of identification used among Jesuits themselves. It refers not only concretely to each individual Jesuit’s membership in the Society as one of “ours,” but also symbolically to the powerful sense of collective responsibility that Jesuits feel for the Society as a whole.

3 The quote is from Rev. Jose Maria Tojeira, SJ, who was at the time the religious leader of the Jesuit community in El Salvador.

I have asked many Jesuits what it is that most powerfully holds the Society together transnationally, and every single one of them has immediately offered the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola as the glue that binds them to one another. It has been described to me as a “shared mystical experience,” a “mystical tie,” a shared “way of proceeding,” and a “very particular way of understanding the Gospels.” The shared experience itself obviously holds deep spiritual meaning for individual Jesuits. But the consistency with which they cite its unifying power also attests to the Exercises’ symbolic weight as a source of powerful connection and shared experience across an otherwise diffuse transnational community.

The second glue holding the community together and sparking the kind of solidarity that animated the U.S. Jesuits’ response to the murders at the UCA is the commitment to “mobility.” Many Catholic orders and congregations organize themselves in exactly the opposite way through devotion to the concept of “stability.” Benedictine monks, for example, commit themselves not merely to the Benedictine Confederation as a worldwide entity or brotherhood, but also to a particular monastery, in a particular place, usually as a lifetime commitment. Jesuits, who define themselves as “contemplatives in action,” are supposed to be committed not to one individual Jesuit community or “house” but rather to “the Society” as a global body. One former Jesuit Superior sardonically noted to me that the Jesuits he oversaw in New York demonstrated an “unshakable commitment to move anywhere the provincial asks him to; anywhere, that is, on the Island of Manhattan” (interview with author). Despite whatever truth this humorous caveat might convey, the principle of mobility remains a prominent element of the Society’s ethos, and powerfully reinforces any particular Jesuit’s understanding of himself as a member of a larger, transnational whole.

Finally, and crucially, the martyrs in El Salvador were not just fellow Jesuits to their brothers in the U.S. As I alluded to briefly above, Ellacuría and his colleagues were also a living, breathing challenge to every Jesuit in the United States who was spending his life—his apostolate—as a professor or administrator at a Jesuit college or university. It is one thing, after all, to “serve faith in the pursuit of justice” if one is manning a soup kitchen in Los Angeles or leading a parish in Detroit. But what if one is a professor of Philosophy at Santa Clara University in California’s Silicon Valley, or a Professor of Management at Georgetown University in Washington DC, or indeed President of Fordham University in New York City? In those settings, the Jesuit mission is not as clear, and the potential contradictions between the pursuit of justice and service to a higher slot in U.S. News and World Report’s annual rankings of universities and colleges might be quite problematic. Education had been the central communal commitment of Jesuits in the U.S. ever since John Carroll founded Georgetown in the 18th century. But as Catholics assimilated into the American mainstream, and as Catholic institutions of higher learning struggled to retain a distinctively Catholic character, Jesuits in the U.S. were being explicitly prodded in the 1980s by Ellacuría and others to use their social position and institutional clout to serve the underserved, educate the undereducated, and advance the interests of the marginalized.

Santa Clara University awarded Ignacio Ellacuría an honorary degree in 1982, and his speech on that occasion put the matter of institutional responsibility plainly and plaintively in equal measure. A Jesuit university, declared the Rector of the UCA, “must transform and enlighten the society in which it lives... It must do everything possible so that liberty is victorious over oppression, justice over injustice, love over hate.” And in a direct challenge to Jesuits in the U.S., Ellacuría added:

American universities [...] have an important part to play in order to ensure that the unavoidable presence of the United States in Central America be sensitive and just,

I have asked many Jesuits what it is that most powerfully holds the Society together transnationally, and every single one of them has immediately offered the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola

especially those universities—like Santa Clara—which are inspired by the desire to make present among us all the Kingdom of God. (Santa Clara Today, October, 1982)

Is it any wonder that Jesuits in the U.S. reacted with such horror and resolve to the murders at the UCA? The Ignacio Ellacuría who had issued this direct challenge at Santa Clara was one of the Jesuits executed with a bullet to the back of the head by an army that at the time was receiving over a million dollars a day from the U.S. government. And he was killed precisely because he was applying the resources of his university in efforts to “transform and enlighten the society in which it lives.” Ellacuría and his colleagues were not just martyrs to the cause of peace in El Salvador; they were also martyrs to the cause of authentically Jesuit education everywhere. The leaders of the UCA had been killed for devoting themselves fully to the Jesuit mission that Presidents of Jesuit colleges and universities in the U.S. were struggling to define and embody. As Joseph O’Hare S.J., who was then president of Fordham, put it: there was a “special kinship between people who were struggling with the whole idea of what is the mission of a Catholic university and, in fact, a Jesuit university that had the mandate of faith and justice” (interview with author).

As perhaps the most prominent Jesuit priest in New York City, Father O’Hare was tapped by his superiors to deliver the homily at a memorial Mass held at St Ignatius Loyola Church in Manhattan immediately after the murders in San Salvador. Speaking from the heart and in evident personal pain, O’Hare laid out in that homily the central motivations that drove the actions that he and his brother Jesuits took over the ensuing months and years: “For the Jesuits working at the twenty-eight Jesuit college and universities [in the US],” he noted, “there is an added sense of solidarity with the martyrs.” But tying that solidarity immediately to political imperatives, O’Hare declared that: “after ten years of evasions and equivocation [...] the assassinations of November 16 pose, with brutal clarity, the question that continues to haunt the policy of the United States towards El Salvador: can we hand weapons to butchers and remain unstained by the blood of their innocent victims” (*America*, 12/16/89).

The first level of response to this butchery and to the powerful sense of responsibility the American Jesuits felt in response to it was to provide direct support to the surviving Jesuits in El Salvador and to the university whose leadership had been decimated. The murders at the UCA, after all, were not an isolated incident. Other Jesuits, as well as non-Jesuit priests and nuns, had been killed previously in El Salvador, and the remaining Jesuits in San Salvador—many of whom lived literally around the corner from where the assassinations had been carried out—had every reason to fear that they might be next.⁴ As a sign of moral support, then, but also has a tangible act of physical protection, five Presidents of Jesuit universities in the U.S. travelled to El Salvador in February 1990 to stay with their fellow Jesuits in San Salvador, and to begin the process of pressuring the Salvadoran government to seriously investigate and prosecute the crimes that had been committed at the UCA two months before.

Moreover, an international group of Jesuits was formulated by the Society’s leadership in Rome to go to San Salvador, not as a short-term show of support, but rather as a long-term replacement team for the administrators and faculty who had been murdered. Arriving on the scene while “the blood was still on the walls,” this team included two U.S. citizens: Dean Brackley S.J, who

The murders at the UCA, after all, were not an isolated incident. Other Jesuits, as well as non-Jesuit priests and nuns, had been killed previously in El Salvador

⁴ Rutilio Grande, SJ, had been assassinated in 1977 for organizing landless peasants in defense of their rights. And following Grande’s brazen murder, the *Unión Guerrera Blanca* death squad had ordered all Jesuits to leave the country within thirty days, and had papered the country with pamphlets that read “Be a Patriot: Kill a Priest.”

was then teaching theology at Fordham in New York, and Charles Beirne, S.J., Academic Vice President of Santa Clara in California (interviews with author). Chosen largely because of their familiarity with Central America, their fluency in Spanish, and their enthusiastic willingness to go, Beirne and Brackley were living out a kind of dual loyalty that drove their personal choices and their political commitments. They were members of the Society of Jesus, devoted to their transnational brotherhood, and particularly committed to the principle of mobility and service. But at the very same time they were also citizens of the United States of America. For them, and for many of their fellow Jesuits whose involvement was not as personal or dramatic, these two loyalties did not contradict each other in 1989 and 1990; they complemented each other. Being a Jesuit didn't compete with being an American citizen. Instead, being a Jesuit and an American citizen meant that they felt powerfully responsible to leverage their citizenship to do everything they could to bring about change in policies they considered to be murderously harmful to their fellow Jesuits. Their government was responsible for the murder of their brothers, and that was simply, and profoundly, unacceptable. Brackley, who died in 2011 while still serving at the UCA in San Salvador, described his own role and response in starkly personal terms: "There is no question," he told me, "that I came [to El Salvador] as an act of civic responsibility or even patriotism, paying my dues as an American citizen, or paying reparations you might say" (interview with author). Not all Jesuits, obviously, felt this strongly or made this powerful a commitment. But a great many of them did all that they could with the resources they had at their disposal.

In a number of cases, these resources were derived from the leadership of very prominent institutions of higher learning in U.S. cities. The two most immediate tasks at hand were: (a) to debunk the absurd claim of the Salvadoran government that the murders had been carried out by the leftist rebels fighting the Army, and (b) to pressure the Salvadoran government to identify and prosecute the members of the military's high command who had ordered the killings to take place. Leo O'Donovan, S.J., for example, was at the time the President of Georgetown, in his words the "most powerful university in Washington." Having cried on the morning of November 16th because of the powerful connection he felt to Ellacuría and the other martyrs, President O'Donovan's first act was to publish an op-ed in the *Washington Post* three days later. Referring to the UCA as one of Georgetown's "sister schools" and to the murdered Jesuits as his "brothers," O'Donovan echoed Ellacuría's plea for an immediate cease fire in the Salvadoran civil war, and called for the Salvadoran government—and its patrons in Washington—to investigate the crime aggressively so that they could bring the perpetrators to justice (*Washington Post*, 11/19/89).

Moreover, in a stunning coincidence that spoke loudly of the reach of Jesuit educational institutions, O'Donovan was also scheduled to meet that week with Salvadoran President Alfredo Christiani, who himself happened to be a graduate of Georgetown. "I am not a firebrand", O'Donovan recalled in an interview, "and not much for demonstrativeness. But I was horrified and I told [Christiani] that I didn't know the facts, but you have to find them, and the extent to which you don't you are going to lose support in the US" (interview with author). Charles Beirne, who died in 2010 after serving as President of LeMoyne College in New York State, actually was a bit of a firebrand. He phrased the matter a bit more colorfully in a meeting with U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador William Walker shortly after Beirne arrived from California to take up his leadership position at the UCA. If Walker didn't know the murders had been ordered by the High Command of the Salvadoran Army, Father Beirne charged, then Walker

O'Donovan echoed Ellacuría's plea for an immediate cease fire in the Salvadoran civil war, and called for the Salvadoran government—and its patrons in Washington—to investigate the crime

was incompetent. But if Walker did know and did nothing about it, then the U.S. Ambassador was something much worse—an accomplice (interview with author).

Similar questions and charges were articulated by the group of five Jesuit Presidents who traveled to El Salvador together in early 1990. O'Hare of Fordham recalled that “it was an ominous atmosphere. The U.S. Embassy was like an armed camp. In retrospect, we felt like they gave us a bunch of baloney and hogwash” (interview with author). Donald Monan, S.J., President of Boston College at the time and a member of the delegation, stressed that the Jesuits from the U.S. wanted to “use our presence as Presidents of Jesuit universities to put some pressure on the [Salvadoran] government to really get at the truth” (interview with author). As Monan and his colleagues would learn to their frustration, the Salvadorans were willing to go to great lengths to resist that pressure. “Christiani was polite [to us],” Father Monan recalled of a meeting with the Salvadoran President. “They were all seemingly cooperative. But we hit the same stone wall that the Jesuits in El Salvador had hit” (interview with author).⁵

The Jesuits in the U.S. were not only committed to bringing the “intellectual authors of the crime” to justice, however. They were also intent on changing the U.S. foreign policy that funneled money to the murderous Salvadoran Army without, apparently, imposing any controls on its behavior and without, apparently, expecting any accountability when things went horribly, disastrously wrong. In terms of this element of the case, the American citizens who led Jesuit universities were not just trying to influence judicial proceedings in a foreign setting where their brothers had lived and died. They were also trying to influence executive decisions and (especially) legislative appropriations in their own home country. In that context, they were able to effectively marshal their institutional resources, apply them to the full gamut of “lobbying” activities, and achieve considerable success at advancing their objectives.

One of the most telling aspects of the Jesuit responses to the murders at the UCA were how deeply they could be defined as being actualized *universitariamente* (Beirne, 1996, p. 228), or grounded in the educational institutional resources controlled by the Society of Jesus in the United States of America.⁶ Universities like Georgetown, Fordham, Boston College, Santa Clara, and twenty-four others were leading members of the American higher education system, and their Presidents were often local figures of considerable renown and prestige. We have already seen how those Presidents sought to leverage their influence through public statements designed to draw attention to the murders and focus energy—in San Salvador and Washington—to prosecuting the perpetrators of them. We have also seen how five of these Presidents interjected themselves directly in the aftermath: traveling to San Salvador to act as human shields of the most impenetrable sort while also personally challenging Salvadoran officials and U.S. diplomats to react more aggressively to the execution of the Jesuit martyrs.

They were able to effectively marshal their institutional resources, apply them to the full gamut of “lobbying” activities, and achieve considerable success at advancing their objectives

5 Donald Monan, S.J. was particularly committed to the tasks of supporting the Salvadoran Jesuits and pressing the Salvadoran government to prosecute the crime. A trial was ultimately held in San Salvador, but only of the foot soldiers who actually pulled the triggers, and only for their murder of the Jesuits' housekeeper and her daughter (who the soldiers also gunned down in order to eliminate any witnesses to the killing of the Jesuits). This travesty of justice was personally witnessed by Fr Monan, the president of Boston College, who silently attended every day of the trial.

6 The term *universitariamente* can be awkwardly translated as “university-ly,” or “in a university fashion.” Beirne, in attributing the term to Ellacuría, was referring to the Salvadoran's commitment to using the academic resources at his disposal as the grounding on which to articulate his demand for social justice and his opposition to civil war. But the term can just as usefully be used to describe the response that Jesuits in the U.S. had to Ellacuría's martyrdom at the UCA.

But when it came to efforts to change U.S. foreign policy and cut off funds to the Salvadoran military, the Jesuit Presidents relied on local contacts and relationships with political officials that had been cultivated over long periods of time. The examples are numerous: Leo O'Donovan, S.J. of Georgetown had a particularly prominent platform, of course, and he took advantage of it with relish. In addition to his very public statements and his warnings to the Salvadoran President, O'Donovan also requested and was granted a session with Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger where the Jesuit priest pressed the case for a change in U.S. policy. Paul Locatelli, S.J., President of Santa Clara University had a long-standing relationship with Santa Clara alumnus Leon Panetta, who at that time happened to be Chairman of the Budget Committee in the House of Representatives. Locatelli met with Panetta in the wake of the murders and like so many of his fellow Jesuits made the case that U.S. military aid to El Salvador was not only bad for the people of that country, but was now also directly responsible for the death of six of Locatelli's brothers.

Conversations such as these were held all across the country as Jesuits engaged with their representatives and "lobbied" them from a position of institutional weight and local prominence. But several very influential members of Congress did not really need to be lobbied in any traditional sense. These members had been greatly affected by their own personal experiences in various Jesuit institutions, and they played the insider's role often played when members of an ethnic population or interest group actually gain seats in the legislature. Senator Patrick Leahy of Vermont, for example, was a graduate of Georgetown Law School who had been trying for years to get his colleagues to join him in cutting off aid to the Salvadoran military. "If now is not the time," he said in anger after the assassinations at the UCA, "what in Heaven's name has to happen in that country before it is time?" (135 *Cong. Rec.* 30,430 1989). Chris Dodd, a long-term Senator from Connecticut and a graduate of Georgetown Prep in DC, publicly endorsed Leahy's position after the murders, and became an outspoken opponent of any further aid to El Salvador.

Finally, members of Congress were also subject after the murders to a more "grassroots" form of lobbying as well (Berry & Wilcox, 2018). Congresswoman (and future Speaker) Nancy Pelosi, for example, represented a district in California that included the Jesuit University of San Francisco, and she defined the role and influence of the Jesuits in a particularly broad way. "Many of us in this body," she stated on the floor of the House of Representatives, "belong to the Jesuit family; either we have brothers, sisters, or children who have been educated by the Jesuits, and we know the close ties that bind... We have been hearing from those of the Jesuit family to call for a cease fire, for a negotiated settlement, for an investigation into the slayings and a second look again at our policy in El Salvador which has not diminished the violence and which we have an opportunity to do" (135 *Cong. Rec.* 30,097, 1989).

Given the complexity of policy-making and the many influences that are brought to bear on policy makers, specifying and isolating influence on legislation can be as hard as identifying a black cat in a garbage can at night. But there is good reason to be confident that these various forms of "Jesuit lobbying" did, in fact, have an effect on U.S. policy toward El Salvador. Numerous members of Congress clearly and publicly stated, after all, that their position on Salvadoran funding was deeply influenced by the murders at the UCA and by the firestorm of activity that followed. Representative Don Edwards of California, for example, cited "Father Ellacuría's strong ties" to Edwards' district through the UCA Rector's "association with Santa Clara University." Edwards also entered into the *Congressional Record* an article from the *San*

Senator Patrick Leahy of Vermont, for example, was a graduate of Georgetown Law School who had been trying for years to get his colleagues to join him in cutting off aid to the Salvadoran military

Jose Mercury News by Jesuits at Santa Clara mourning their brothers in San Salvador, and calling for an immediate end to funding of the murderous Salvadoran Army (135 *Cong. Rec.* 31,763 1989). New York's Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, for his part, recalled a personal meeting he had had with Ellacuría years before, placed Leo O'Donovan's op-ed into the *Congressional Record*, and dramatically reminded his colleagues that he was talking about a "murder which most likely was carried out with American weapons. May I say that again?," he intoned, "A massacre which was most likely carried out with American supplied weapons" (135 *Cong. Rec.* 30,419 1989).

Perhaps most significant was the effect that the murders and subsequent lobbying had on Representative Joseph Moakley of Massachusetts. Moakley was appointed by Speaker Tom Foley to impanel a commission and investigate in the name of the House of Representatives what had happened in El Salvador in November 1989, and just as importantly what should be done about it. Key staff members of the Moakley Commission had encountered the delegation of Jesuit college Presidents on their first exploratory visit to El Salvador in February 1990, and those staff members stayed in very close touch with Jesuits in both San Salvador and Washington as they conducted their Congressional investigation. Moakley was by his own admission a fairly traditional Congressman, more interested in delivering "pork" to his district than in launching moral crusades related to U.S. foreign policy. But that district in Massachusetts included Boston College, and Moakley knew President Monan and other local Jesuits well. The idea that an Army funded by his votes in Congress was assassinating members of the Society of Jesus in cold blood was simply unacceptable to Representative Moakley. It was the kind of stark outrage that could turn a patronage pol into a tireless advocate for a shift in U.S. foreign policy.

Moakley had no doubt, by the way, that the murders and the efforts by Jesuits to call attention to them had a significant effect on policy. Referring to the growing opposition to military aid, Moakley said in 1990 that: "the Jesuit murders were the thing that did it... Had not the killings happened... had not the Jesuits themselves and a lot of upset Americans stuck with this issue, then the aid would still be flowing like mother's milk" (*Boston Globe*, 11/16/90). The cold-blooded murder of six priests revealed for Members of Congress what sort of regime the U.S. was actually supporting in El Salvador in the 1980s. That crucial realization was encouraged by Jesuits in the U.S. by their direct interactions with legislatures, by the leadership provided by Members of Congress who were themselves products of Jesuit institutions, and by the grassroots lobbying carried out by the many Americans who considered themselves members of the "Jesuit family."

The influence of all this Jesuit lobbying was significant, if perhaps a bit indirect. It is a fact that U.S. aid to the Salvadoran Army was cut by half in the year following the killing of the Jesuit martyrs, and it is reasonable to conclude that the dynamics I have been detailing here played an important role in that result. It is also a fact, however, that the funding was restored in 1991, albeit as part of an effort by President George H. W. Bush to keep his Salvadoran allies at the negotiating table. And, of course, everything changed in 1992 with the signing of the long-awaited peace accord between the Salvadoran government and the FMLN rebel force. My own view is that the deaths at the UCA and the outrage that followed actually advanced in a sad and perverse way Ellacuría's goal of a negotiated settlement to the Salvadoran civil war. Indeed, if the Salvadoran Army's intention was to silence that voice by killing Ellacuría and his brother Jesuits in November 1989, then their actions turned out to be starkly counterproductive. In assassinating the Jesuits at the UCA, the Salvadoran Army

The idea that an Army funded by his votes in Congress was assassinating members of the Society of Jesus in cold blood was simply unacceptable to Representative Moakley

had decided to kill the six people in El Salvador who had the deepest, longest standing, and most meaningful transnational ties to influential citizens of the United States of America of any people living in El Salvador at the time. The martyrs were members of the Society of Jesus, a transnational brotherhood explicitly and aggressively devoted to the notion of trans-border solidarity, and almost uniquely well-positioned to putting that solidarity to the service of policy changes that would alter the circumstances that had led to the murders. It is a tragic irony that even some leaders of the Salvadoran Army agreed with me on this point. Colonel Roberto Pineda Guerra, chagrined to find his colleagues openly celebrating Ellacuría's death the morning after the murders at the UCA, plaintively shouted: "Idiots. Don't you realize we have just lost the war" (Whitfield, 1995, p. 74).

That said, I wouldn't go so far as to argue that the Jesuits in the U.S. changed American foreign policy towards El Salvador single-handedly. What I definitely would argue, however, is that widespread outrage in response to the martyrdom at the UCA, and the political mobilization that followed of Jesuits who were simultaneously the Salvadoran martyrs' religious brothers and American citizens provided a graphic justification and an easily explained hook on which to hang growing reservations about the political wisdom and moral acceptability of funding the treacherous government and murderous army of El Salvador. Or as one close observer of the developing U.S. policy on El Salvador put it: "and then came the Jesuits" (Whitfield, 1995, p. 83).

I began this article by noting the deeply transnational nature of the Society of Jesus, and analytically placing the U.S. Jesuits' political mobilization in response to the murders in El Salvador within a Jesuit "transnational social field" defined by solidarity and simultaneity. Charles Beirne, SJ and Dean Brackley, SJ most clearly manifested this particular dynamic as they lived in a sense in two places at once: San Salvador as Jesuit officials of the Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas; and the United States as U.S. citizens working to prod their government to take action in response to a travesty that had been perpetrated with tacit U.S. support and tangible U.S. resources. But the whole of U.S. Jesuit response to the murders at the UCA was conceived of and implemented out of a transnational simultaneity that challenged U.S. based members of the Society of Jesus to be Jesuits and U.S. citizens at one and the same time.

In this particular case, the connections and the imperatives for U.S. Jesuits were fairly straightforward and wholly compelling. Their government really was complicit in the killing of their brothers, and it is perhaps not surprising that so many of them discerned that they had to do something about it. However, the kinds of questions and challenges posed to U.S. Jesuits by the martyrdom at the UCA in 1989 continue to reside at the heart of Jesuit identity and mission in a deeper and broader sense as well. Transnational religious brotherhood and U.S. citizenship can never be confidently expected to reinforce each other. After all, "the service of faith and the pursuit of justice" can hardly be seen as a driving motivation of U.S. foreign policy in any era. The divergence between the Jesuit social mission and U.S. geo-political interests will (thankfully) not always be as clear or devastating as it was in November 1989. But the challenge of how best to marshal Jesuit resources and influence, *universitariamente*—both within the domestic political context of the United States, and in support of embattled fellow Jesuits abroad—remains as real today as it was thirty-five years ago, and it promises to grow only more pointed in the future.

Transnational religious brotherhood and U.S. citizenship can never be confidently expected to reinforce each other. After all, "the service of faith and the pursuit of justice" can hardly be seen as a driving motivation of U.S. foreign policy in any era

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UNORTHODOX AND HISTORIC: THE OTTAWA PROCESS AND THE MINE BAN TREATY. 25 YEARS OF A SUCCESS STORY OF MULTILATERALISM

Heterodoxo e histórico: el Proceso de Ottawa y la Convención sobre la prohibición de las minas antipersonales. 25 años de una historia de éxito del multilateralismo

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Autora

The 1997 Ottawa Convention to Ban Landmines entered into force 25 years ago, on 1 March 1999 and was the result of the Ottawa Process, a freestanding process of treaty negotiation outside a United Nations-facilitated forum with the aim of outlawing anti-personnel mines. It was also a product of an unusually cohesive and strategic partnership between governments, international organizations like the ICRC, UN agencies, and civil society, represented by the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL). This article explains the Ottawa process, from the lens of the survivors, Jesuits and courageous religious sisters who were involved since the early stages of ICBL. Echoing Pope Francis in his recent Apostolic Exhortation *Laudate Deum*, the article sets this process as an example for reconfiguring multilateralism. It also aims to be a renewed call for the banning of landmines worldwide and its clearance in places like Myanmar, Ukraine or Iraq, so that displaced people can go back safely to their lands one day.



Abstract

Landmines; cluster munitions; Ottawa Convention; Ottawa Process; multilateralism; Cambodia; refugees; ICBL; JRS.

Minas antipersonales; bombas de racimo; Convención de Ottawa; Proceso de Ottawa; multilateralismo; Camboya; refugiados; ICBL; SJR.



Key words

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Fechas

*La Convención de Ottawa sobre la prohibición de las minas antipersonales de 1997 entró en vigor hace 25 años, el 1 de marzo de 1999, y fue el resultado del Proceso de Ottawa, un proceso independiente de negociación fuera de los foros facilitados por las Naciones Unidas y cuyo objetivo era la ilegalización de las minas antipersonales. Fue también el resultado de una asociación cohesiva y estratégica inusual entre gobiernos, organizaciones internacionales, como el ICRC, las agencias de la ONU y la sociedad civil, representada por la Campaña Internacional para Prohibir las Minas Antipersonales (ICBL). Este artículo explica el Proceso de Ottawa, desde la perspectiva de los supervivientes, jesuitas y hermanas religiosas que se involucraron desde sus inicios en la ICBL. Recordando al papa Francisco en su reciente exhortación apostólica *Laudate Deum*, el artículo presenta este proceso como un ejemplo para reconfigurar el multilateralismo. También busca ser una nueva apelación a la prohibición de las minas antipersonales a nivel global y su desactivación en lugares como Myanmar, Ucrania o Irak, para que así las personas desplazadas puedan, algún día, volver a sus hogares de manera segura.*



Resumen

1. Introduction

The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and Their Destruction, also known as the “Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention” is an instrument of international law that prohibits the development, production, stockpiling, transfer, and use of anti-personnel mines. The Convention entered into force 25 years ago, on 1st March 1999. It was the result of the Ottawa Process, a freestanding process of treaty negotiation outside a United Nations-facilitated forum with the aim of outlawing anti-personnel mines. The process was so called because it was launched in Ottawa by the minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada in October 1996.

The treaty was the product of an unusually cohesive and strategic partnership between governments, international organizations, like the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), UN agencies, and civil society, represented by the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL).

The experience and resilience of Cambodian landmine survivors and a growing network of local communities and organisations made possible that Jesuits and friends joined the ICBL back in 1994. Strategic partnerships and most especially the voice of the survivors themselves were key to success, giving birth to a unique, historic and unorthodox multilateral achievement: The 1997 Ottawa Treaty to ban Landmines. ICBL was later awarded the Nobel Peace prize that same year.

This article explains the Ottawa process from the lenses of the survivors, Jesuits and friends. Echoing Pope Francis in his 2023 Apostolic Exhortation *Laudate Deum*, this process can be an example for reconfiguring multilateralism. It is also a reminder of how these evil arms harm innocent people even years after wars are over. The article aims to be a call to stop the production, use, transfer and stockpiling of landmines and cluster munitions, used these days in countries like Myanmar, Ukraine or Iraq. We hope refugees and displaced persons can go back safely to their lands one day.

The article is dedicated to Sr. Denise Coghlan RSM and to Fr Kike Figaredo SJ, for their love and faithfulness to the cause of the landmine survivors.

The Ottawa Process was a freestanding process of treaty negotiation outside a United Nations-facilitated forum with the aim of outlawing anti-personnel mines

2. The vision of Fr Pedro Arrupe S.J.: The creation of the Jesuit Refugee Service as a “switchboard” connecting identified needs with offers of assistance

The Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) was founded on 14 November 1980 by Fr Pedro Arrupe, at the time Superior General of the Jesuits. Pedro Arrupe remained General from 1965 until incapacitated by a cerebral stroke in August 1981.

Arrupe’s vision remains inspiring: It is the close contact with refugees that time and again provides JRS workers with new strength and motivation. This was in fact Arrupe’s vision. He knew that the refugees themselves would be a gift to the Jesuits and their companions. He knew that to work with refugees would be good for them but for the Society too. Later on, on the Thai-Cambodia border, the first Jesuits confirmed this vision:

There is a formidable lesson of courage and dignity to learn from refugees. I remember all the people who had stepped on landmines and had lost an arm or a leg. I went to visit them and many said: “Father, there is no problem.” John Bingham and I were the only ones authorised to stay in the camp, as priests. What a crazy show to take the road towards the place where everything was going to be bombed, and watch the civilian and military cars driving fast the other way. (Ceyrac, 1998)

Coming to appreciate refugees as a gift may surprise some, since the stories concerning refugees are often overwhelming and depressing: Ukraine, Palestine, Myanmar, Venezuela, just to name a few. To the distant observer, the history of refugees is a succession of desperately similar crises likely to inspire compassion but often defying understanding. New crises may seem beyond our reach or leave us feeling there is little we can do. In actual fact each new crisis provokes new initiatives. New organisations are born out of concern and devise practical ways to offer assistance.

JRS was created in precisely this fashion. Fr Pedro Arrupe, who had himself lived in Asia, was deeply moved by the image of Vietnamese people seeking to escape their homeland by boat. When he voiced his concern to others, he discovered that they were similarly moved by these dramatic scenes. And when concerned individuals responded with diverse, creative and substantial offers of help, he realised that the Society of Jesus was well placed to coordinate coherent international action. Arrupe saw congruence between the Vietnamese refugees’ plight and specific characteristics of the community he headed. Moreover, he quickly perceived that the Society could help not only the Vietnamese, but also the refugees then in flight from Somalia and Ethiopia, and also those escaping Cambodia and Laos. Fr Arrupe established JRS as a unit within the Society designed to communicate the plight of refugees and to act as a “switchboard” connecting identified needs with offers of assistance:

I soon found that I was one of a number of Jesuits recruited from various provinces to serve in the Thai refugee camps as part of the Society’s response to minister to refugees. In Thailand it meant not only ministering to the Vietnamese boat people but also to those fleeing Cambodia and Laos as well. We were sponsored by Catholic Relief Services (CRS) which in turn was serving as part of COERR, the Thai Catholic Relief and Refugee Agency’s response to the refugee crisis. In the following months I was happy to get to know fellow Jesuits from the various camps with whom we had periodic meetings to share experiences. Later I was also joined in Ban Vinai by several Jesuit companions. (Brady, 2005)

Arrupe’s vision remains inspiring: It is the close contact with refugees that time and again provides JRS workers with new strength and motivation

Fr Arrupe was sure that the Society could rely not only on the cooperation of its own members and communities, and not only on the parishes, schools and other institutions under its care, but also on the generosity of our many friends, especially religious congregations and lay movements. Arrupe has been proved right. Many JRS projects involve only a tiny contribution by Jesuits, but make possible the collaborative efforts of hundreds of volunteers, lay and religious. This, in a way, was the seed of a small-scale form of multilateralism.

Although the threefold mission of JRS, namely “to serve, accompany and defend the rights of forcibly displaced people,” acquired this succinct formulation only in the late 1990s, the JRS vision was clear from Arrupe’s 1980 letter and in the earliest initiatives of JRS. In the otherwise quite diverse early projects one sees the term “refugee” interpreted broadly, to mean people forcibly uprooted from their homes and families and livelihoods. Later, more precise terminology would be developed in international law to distinguish internally displaced persons, stateless persons, urban refugees and asylum seekers. This legal terminology remains important in assigning responsibilities among governments and international organisations. For JRS, however, the human experience of forcibly displaced persons of any category is a summons, and Catholic social teaching has always endorsed this broad understanding of “refugee.”

In our days, the face of forced migration has changed, leading to new challenges. More people than ever are on the move today, yet fewer places exist in which a forced migrant can find safety. While modern society is distinguished by high numbers of migrants, many societies are nonetheless hostile to new arrivals. Harsh border restrictions confront asylum seekers, rational political debate is deliberately undermined, and difficulties are placed in the way of expanding migration even in countries that have traditionally opened their doors to newcomers. Meanwhile, tens of millions of people displaced by conflicts are unable to cross a frontier and so are left uprooted within their own countries. These are described as “internally displaced persons.” Victims of natural disasters are also numerous, though often human action, or inaction, must take some of the responsibility for their plight.

As populations increase, poorer people are pushed into unsafe areas such as denuded hillsides on the edge of cities, or overcrowded valleys in earthquake-prone regions, or to coastal shores of cyclone-vulnerable islands. Thus, they are made more vulnerable to natural disasters. The magnitude of climate crisis and its impact in forced displacement is already happening and it is the point of an iceberg still to come.

Many refugees struggle to find safe and permanent solutions due to limited pathways to safety. They face restrictions on work and education, making it difficult to build a secure future. JRS continues to accompany refugees and displaced people all over the world, learning from them on a daily basis, and learning to read the world events through their eyes:

Refugees rewrite the history of the world, from the point of view of the dispossessed and powerless. They enable people, like myself, to begin to re-configure our own lives. Refugees reveal the structural sin embedded in the world’s contemporary systems. They reveal a task still to be accomplished. So, my refugees friends, whom I deeply admire for your incredible courage, resilience, creativity and humanity, a huge ‘Thank You’. Your retention of your own humanity despite your often appalling treatment and experiences, is, for me, a mystery of the power of God’s tremendous loving compassion in your lives and is a challenge to a world so clearly in need of loving compassion. (Townsend, 2005)

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3. The contribution of the Society of Jesus in the elimination of landmines

The presence of the Jesuits in the Thai-Cambodia border camps goes back to the early 1980s, right after the foundation of JRS. Way before, Jesuits had arrived in Cambodia in the seventeenth century, due to persecutions in Japan. So, these Jesuits were refugees in Cambodia. The first presence of the Society of Jesus in this little Southeast Asian country lasted until the suppression. During those years, the Jesuits developed all kinds of mission apostolates.

Thanks to Fr Arrupe's call, the Jesuits returned to the area to serve the Khmer refugees who were fleeing from the Vietnamese invasion and from a violent civil war. The activities of JRS in the Asia region were dominated at first by the sequelae of the Indochina wars. Most initiatives were set against the background of Cold War ideology and rhetoric. JRS quickly established programs in every camp that housed Lao, Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees throughout the Southeast Asian region.

3.1. In the Thai-Cambodia border refugee camps: Fr Pierre Ceyrac SJ

Fr Pierre Ceyrac SJ, a French Jesuit, worked between 1980 and 1993 in the Thai-Cambodia border camps. He has devoted all his life to the service of the poor. For this reason, he received the *Legion d'Honneur* from the French Government. Fr Ceyrac explained the beginnings of this adventure:

We went to Rome to meet the Curia and Fr Arrupe together with all his assistants, and during two hours we spoke about the situation. In 1982 Fr Arrupe, gave us the authorisation to go to the Cambodian border. So, we finally went to Cambodia. We fell in love with the Cambodian and Vietnamese people who at times shared the same camps. First, we stayed in a camp inside Cambodia, called Anpil. After four years, we were chased out by the bombings which put us at great risk, so we went back to Thailand. It was like a film scene, under the bombs, in the middle of great chaos and in a state of emergency. But it was not cinema. People died. For me it was a deep experience: we touched what is deepest in human distress. I had met distress in the slums of Calcutta and Bombay. But I think there is nothing comparable to the distress of a refugee. They are uprooted people, cut off and thrown out like the trees that we transplant and uproot. Refugees think that they finally left behind hell but distress continues in the camps and sometimes it follows them in the western asylum countries where some of them arrive, which they call "third countries."

Advocacy towards a durable solution to refugees was a natural part of the work of the Jesuits since the beginning of their presence in the camps. It was not something programmed but rather, it flew from accompaniment of the people and service. In an unorthodox and unique way, Fr Ceyrac was the pioneer of JRS's advocacy work. The context of refugees worldwide was quite different, as was the openness of many Western countries to receiving refugees, as Fr Ceyrac recalls in this passage:

From time to time, I happened to visit a "third country." I went to France, the US, Canada to raise awareness about the situation we were living and to ask them to open their

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borders to refugees. I remember on one occasion a beautiful sentence of the archpriest of Montreal who was responsible for the services to refugees in French Canada: “For us it is not an obligation to receive refugees but a privilege!”

The service offered by JRS is always pastoral, but the meaning and manner of its pastoral presence changes depending on the beliefs of the refugees themselves. Pastoral care offered to Muslim, Buddhist or Christian people is distinctly different in each case. In the Thai-Cambodia border camps, from the beginning of its presence, JRS offered support to survivors of landmines and other remnants of war, who in their big majority were Buddhist:

The refugee population was 225.000 people, 200.000 of them were Buddhists, 20.000 Muslims and 5.000 Christians, Catholics or Protestant. I was very linked to the Buddhist monks. One of their abbots was called Monichenda. He quickly became an extraordinary friend with whom I worked a lot. Under his inspiration, the community of monks developed several humanitarian works. This is not frequent, since it is not in the tradition of Buddhist monks to be present in the world. We made big marches together. Monichenda became a brother and I was always welcomed in his place, in his little house or in the pagoda, with great sense of fraternity.

Many Church agencies, especially the Caritas federation, became firm and mutually supportive allies of JRS. JRS teams generally included a significant number of local workers as well as international personnel. Because of their closeness to survivors, JRS personnel and partners had credibility to speak with authority about the world-wide problem of landmines, as its field teams were so authentically engaged in listening to survivors:

Relationships among communities and between the different NGOs were generally excellent as well as our relationships with bigger organisations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and UNBRO, which represented the High Commissioner for Refugees. Working together for one cause helps developing deep friendship. With the mandate of the United Nations, we were responsible for the education of 110.000 children. I led a team of 40 people coming from 16 different countries, most of them young people with a humanitarian feeling. They spent between four and five years in the camp. Together we were able to establish an education system: schools, vocational training, and universities for engineers and lawyers. With little means but great effort we fought for human dignity. This experience was very strong for all these young people. All of them keep this “wound of the border”, which is a very deep expression we use among us. Three of us were the last ones to leave the bigger camp, Site Two, when it was closed. It was an endless cascade of ambulances driving handicapped people back to Battambang, in Cambodia.

Communication is at the heart of any advocacy success. Its elements include hearing the people affected, reflecting on experience, and developing effective communication within the organisation and a credible voice beyond it. Many initiatives by JRS are actually inspired by what is learnt from refugees themselves and in this case from landmine survivors. Looking back at those days in the Thai-Cambodia border camps, after many years, Fr Ceyrac recalled:

Meeting in Paris some years ago with some 20 young people who had worked with us in the border camps of Thailand, we were evoking some of the great figures we had met there and the joys and sorrows we had shared with them. And we realised, as we were talking, how these joys and sorrows were still deeply alive in us, as a sort of nostalgia in

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our subconscious, as a wound in our flesh—the wound of the border. I hope and pray that this wound will never close up fully, never completely heal.

3.2. Advocacy and action: Sr. Denise Coghlan RSM

A Sister of Mercy from the Brisbane congregation in Australia, Sister Denise Coghlan, RSM, helped found Jesuit Service Cambodia and now leads Jesuit Refugee Service Cambodia. She has worked in Cambodia since 1990 on reconciliation, peace, and justice, and the human development of people hurt by war, oppression, and exile.

Back in Cambodia when refugees repatriated in the early nineties, and knowing that independent mobility went far in ensuring the dignity of disabled peoples, JRS opened its own center to make wheelchairs for those living in rural homes. Sr. Denise recalled the early works of JRS in Cambodia:

We tried to work on and introduce the theme of peace and reconciliation through all of our projects. At the Center of the Dove, we brought together people from all four of the different factions of the Cambodian conflict, to train them and then have them serve as teachers to others in society. For instance, in one case former enemies had come together in our vocational training workshop. In our sculpture class, one man who was teaching looked down at one of his students and said, “You were probably the one that put down the mine that blew off my right leg.” This small example shows how reconciliation was at work in the Center. (Coghlan, 2010)

The legacy of the Khmer Rouge affects, still today, families and society in Cambodia. JRS, besides tangible and material support to people with disabilities, emphasizes projects that aim the rebuild of trust in Cambodia, trust for fellow citizens that was destroyed under the Khmer Rouge regime:

During the Khmer Rouge period, in order to survive you had to steal and tell on others. There still remains today an incredible lack of trust between one Cambodian and another. You actually see this mistrust in NGO staff, as people of that era find it difficult to be governed by other Cambodians. Cambodian NGO staff prefer foreign directors in many ways, because of this legacy of mistrust among Cambodians. It will, however, not be the same for the new generation, as they did not live through that difficult time in history. (Coghlan, 2010)

As Sr. Denise often says, faith-inspired organizations are an important link between the policy and community levels. She stresses that faith-inspired organizations must be experts in their field; faith alone is not always sufficient to make lasting contributions:

When they asked me why I wanted to go to the camps, I said that wherever suffering is present in the world, the cross of Christ is mysteriously present. That was my motivation. [...] I have a very strong belief that the consequence of mercy, charity, and love is justice. I think that the Christian faith is very strong on justice for the poor. If you are working on an issue such as helping the people that have been injured by landmines, justice demands that you also advocate that the cause of the suffering be stopped; that you ban the landmines and call the producers to account. Mercy calls that we serve the poor, the sick, and the ignorant. Some people think the ignorant are the children, but I think

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the ignorant are the people that make the weapons and don't know, or block from their minds, the consequences of what they are making money on. (Coghlan, 2010)

3.3. JRS operating principles: Sr. Virginia Hasson RSM

In the late 1980's many other partners joined JRS in the work with the Cambodian refugees in the Thai-Cambodia border. Amongst these, the Mercy Sisters, in particular Sr. Virginia Hasson, who later continued working with JRS in Africa. Sr. Virginia was a resource person on education and set up many of the expertise that JRS later on built upon her knowledge. But most importantly, people like Sr. Virginia helped set up in practice the *modus operandi* of JRS as envisioned by Fr Arrupe:

I had the privilege of working with JRS on the Thai-Cambodian Border. Here I learned more about the developing *modus operandi* of JRS. I say "developing" because JRS was just a fledgling organisation and those working in it were striving to be true to the vision of Father Pedro Arrupe and struggling to apply that vision in volatile and unpredictable circumstances. (Hasson, 2005)

Sr. Virginia proposed several operating principles that later on were instilled in JRS way of working, including the current humanitarian principle of "do no harm", expressed through the deep understanding of the political situation in all the complexity of refugee work as a must for any humanitarian worker:

Here I saw put into action the principle: Do your best to understand the political situation while endeavoring to serve all the refugees. Site Two was the barbed wire enclosed home of more than 140,000 men, women, and children associated with the Khmer People's Liberation Front (KPNLF). The KPNLF were one of the three factions resisting the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia. However, the KPNLF were themselves divided. In order to continue to work with the teachers as a whole, JRS arranged for a "neutral" piece of land where the Teacher Improvement Classes could meet. One incident demonstrated how much the teachers themselves wanted to overcome differences. A group of the teachers decided to apply a lesson they had learned in their Community Building Classes. So, they came early to class one day to rearrange the seating in the way that they had learned gives participants the sense of being equally involved. (Hasson, 2005)

A second operating principle stated by Sr. Virginia referred to the protection and safety of refugees themselves:

The Cambodia situation provides an instance of another operating principle: Refugees are vulnerable until they are safely home. As the Peace Accord was being shaped, JRS became involved in cross-border activity. In Cambodia a team was put in place to advocate for and to assist the returnees once repatriation began. (Hasson, 2005)

Thirdly, the experience and context of the Thai-Cambodia border also gave a key element of what JRS understood as means and not ends, as well as what is needed to envision the future of a JRS presence once the situation of refugees is solved. As the JRS work in Cambodia was clearly a work of development, JRS became the Jesuit Service Cambodia in 1995. JS Cambodia was, and still is, actively involved in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, while faithful to its commitment to serve refugees who arrive in Cambodia:

Put into action the principle: Do your best to understand the political situation while endeavoring to serve all the refugees

In the case of Cambodia, another principle was evidenced: Structure is the means not the end for service. Those working in Cambodia realized that the Jesuit presence would be needed long after resettlement had taken place. So, Jesuit Service Cambodia was initiated and is thriving there even today. (Hasson, 2005)

3.4. Landmine survivors and Kike Figaredo SJ

At a country directors meeting of JRS in Rome in 1994, convened by Fr Mark Raper SJ, Father General Kolvenbach urged that the Society of Jesus be active in eliminating landmines.

Kike Figaredo SJ, had been working from the 1980s until the early 1990s in the Thai-Cambodia border camps and later in Cambodia, when the refugees returned home in 1993. Programmes there were built on many years of experience gained in the camps, particularly with the landmine survivors.

Together with a group of religious sisters, lay people, Jesuit fellows, and especially with the participation of landmine survivors themselves, Fr Kike Figaredo SJ, today Apostolic Prefect of Battambang, in Northwest Cambodia, was actively involved in the birth of the campaign against landmines. Fr Kike shares:

Our presence and work in the Thai-Cambodia border refugee camps consolidated our knowledge of the Khmer culture and strengthened our friendship with the Khmer people. So, in the early nineties, when the security situation improved in Cambodia, we decided, as JRS, to accompany the refugees back home. The country and its people were broken by war and violence. Once in Cambodia, and after some assessment, we started our work there, hand-in-hand with the Khmer people, the handicapped, the orphans, the widows. This closeness to the people has given light and creativity to the apostolic services provided by the Society of Jesus, the style of life and even the type of communities. This, in many ways, is subtly different to the presence of the Society in other places where Jesuits have been present for decades. (Figaredo, 2005)

With the Cambodian survivors, the Jesuits were engaged in the formation and awareness of the risk, mobilizing awareness on these evil arms not only in Cambodia but elsewhere in the world. Fr Kike recalls:

Together with the refugees we have learnt to understand the lives of those who lack everything. We have learnt to accompany them, listen to them and structure services so that hope comes to their lives, their dignity is built and their voices are heard. (Figaredo, 2005)

Anti-personnel mines were banned because many individuals witnessed these evil arms and their consequences in the lives of innocent people, men, women and thousands of children, maimed by this weapon. They were so disgusted that they shouted out, demanding action be taken. They were joined by other individuals, and quickly a movement was born. At that time, it was said that it would take 1,000 years to eradicate landmines. Today, 164 nations have signed up to the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, hundreds of millions of mines have been destroyed or their fabrication halted. Multilateral cooperation, is what made this possible.

The immense number of landmines in Cambodia affected the repatriation of refugees to their lands, and still today, after 30 years of the repatriation, Cambodians still suffer landmine

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accidents. As Apostolic Prefect of the Diocese of Battambang, in Northwest Cambodia, Fr Kike reflects:

In Battambang, northern Cambodia, we have now a small center to welcome people with disabilities. These people have suffered years of war. Many of them are landmine survivors. This place is called the Arrupe Center. It reminds us of the person who has inspired us to open our institutions to the little ones and those in need. Srey Mau and Tang are two little girls who had a landmine accident in March 2005. Thanks to the inspiration of Fr Arrupe, who made our presence possible in Cambodia through the creation of JRS, these two girls have a place where they restructure their lives and look ahead with joy and hope. We are very grateful to JRS in this corner of Cambodia. (Figaredo, 2005)

The best advocacy experience is the one offered in the following pages. JRS was an early entrant in the world-wide campaign against the production and use of landmines. Later on, JRS strongly supported—until today—access to education of refugee and displaced girls worldwide, and after assisting victims in so many conflicts, helped start a campaign against the recruitment of children into both rebel and official armies.

4. The context of landmines worldwide

Despite widespread use of anti-personnel mines in the Second World War, the 1949 Geneva Conventions only addressed issues of mine clearance, prohibiting expressly the forcible use of prisoners of war for such purposes. In the mid-1970s, a series of three meetings convened by the ICRC to discuss a variety of conventional weapons identified landmines (in general) as a means of warfare deserving particular legal regulation.

It had been hoped that the use of certain conventional weapons would be specifically restricted by the 1977 Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions, but final agreement remained elusive and, as a consequence, a separate conference was convened under the auspices of the United Nations to negotiate a distinct legal instrument. The result was the adoption in 1980 of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, as amended on 21 December 2001 (Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons), one protocol of which (Protocol II) governed “mines, booby-traps and other devices”.

During the Cold War, numerous internal armed conflicts and civil wars incited by the legacy of colonialism and as a result of the withdrawal of colonial regimes developed into “proxy wars.” Landmines were used extensively; they were a cheap, easy-to-deploy weapon that could terrorize populations. Besides Cambodia, the countries most affected by landmines throughout the 1990s were Angola, Mozambique and Somalia.

In Angola, the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) was established to facilitate the restoration of peace and the process of national reconciliation in the country. As part of UNAVEM’s mandate, demining schools were established to train and aid in the process of disarmament and arms control.

In 1991, the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation (VVAFA) and NGO Medico International (MI) launched an advocacy campaign to call for a global ban on anti-personnel mines. Within two years more than 350 supporting organizations had joined the campaign.

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In Cambodia, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) was the first large peacekeeping operation undertaken by the UN. Established in 1992-1993 following Security Council Resolution 745, UNTAC supervised and implemented the necessary procedures to support stability and peace in the country. Key activities included disarmament and mine clearance.

Sr. Denise Coghlan RSM recalls how JRS was involved in the repatriation and reintegration of Cambodians:

The Jesuit Refugee Service helped people to repatriate and reintegrate into society as they returned from the camps. This had two aspects. The first was the purely physical assistance—providing shelter and material items. The second was designed to build relationships in the villages, so that the people could work together and rebuild trust. At that time, you were a refugee or a non-refugee, a distinction that had grown out of a period when they were throwing bombs at each other. Families accepted returnees for the first year because they brought food rations, but after that time life became difficult for the returnees. (Coghlan, 2010)

Testimonies and detailed accounts on the landmine crisis appeared in medical journals thanks to the doctors and the surgeons of the ICRC. Doctors expert in emergency operations and prosthetic medicine saw the number of amputees growing at an alarming rate and were compelled to act. Indeed, the ICRC played a pivotal role in the lobbying arena, stressing the importance of upholding international humanitarian law. Cornelio Sommaruga, then President of ICRC, was a prominent figure in building momentum. He argued extensively on the humanitarian impact of landmines compared to their limited military utility, participating in diplomatic conferences in Geneva and providing abundant empirical medical evidence of the devastation caused by landmines. In 1994, he raised awareness alerting about the effects of landmines and the need for it to be widely known. It, would undoubtedly shock the conscience of mankind—the same public reaction that led to the banning of chemical and biological weapons. He highlighted the need for an international agreement on a total ban on the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of anti-personnel mines.

In 1993, as international concern escalated over the impact of anti-personnel mines on the civilian population in many conflict-affected areas, France called for a review conference of the Convention. After three years of difficult negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations, the States parties to the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons adopted an amended Protocol II, which placed tighter controls on the use and transfer of anti-personnel mines. The 1996 Amended Protocol II, however, fell short of the total prohibition that civil society, the United Nations Secretary-General, the ICRC, and an increasing number of governments were advocating. At the meeting that adopted the amended protocol, Canada announced that it would convene a meeting to discuss how to achieve an international ban on anti-personnel mines.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali was the first Secretary-General of the United Nations to address explicitly the humanitarian crisis of landmines. In his Agenda for Peace, submitted to the General Assembly in 1992 he stated:

Increasingly it is evident that peace building after civil or international strife must address the serious problem of landmines, many tens of millions of which remain scattered in present or former combat zones. (An Agenda for Peace, A/47/ 277 [1992])

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5. The unique Ottawa process and the history of negotiations

It is in the above context that the so-called Ottawa process began, leading to the signing of the Mine Ban Treaty. This has been described as unorthodox, historic, and unique multilateral process — which will be described in the following pages. The treaty was the product of an unusually cohesive and strategic partnership between governments, international organizations and civil society.

The founding organisations of the Campaign in Cambodia included Jesuit Refugee Service, ICRC, Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation (VVAFA), Handicap International (HI), and Mines Advisory Group (MAG), strongly supported by the NGO Forum and the Coalition for Peace and Reconciliation.

The JRS Country Directors meeting in Rome in 1994, convened by Fr Mark Raper SJ, JRS International Director at the time, was when Father Kolvenbach committed the Society of Jesus to support the landmine campaign. Sr. Denise Coghlan had asked Fr Raper to advocate for this.

Sr. Denise Coghlan, one of the strongest activists and advocate in ICBL, until today, recalls:

We became deeply involved in the landmine campaign in 1994. The three pillars of the landmine campaign are first, to ban the production use, export and stockpiling of landmines; second, to clear the mines; and third, to help the victims/survivors. (Coghlan, 2010)

Sister Patricia Pakpoy RSM of Australia, served with JRS from time to time and was the pioneer pusher for a ban.

JRS was involved in the ethical reflection around the impact of landmines. Besides Sr. Denise Coghlan, notable contributors were Jeff van Geerwen SJ, Eddy Jadot SJ, Andy Hamilton SJ, Frank Brennan SJ. JRS then outlined how its contribution would be in the International Campaign. Sr. Denise explains:

1. It would ensure the voice of those injured by landmines was heard. They would speak for themselves.
2. It would operate as part of national campaign networks.¹
3. It would engage Jesuit scholars to reflect on the ethical dimensions.
4. It would ensure assistance to vulnerable survivors as part of its programme. (Coghlan, 2023)

When states failed to achieve real progress on an antipersonnel mine ban at the Convention on Conventional Weapons Review Conference in 1996, Canada hosted a meeting of like-minded states in Ottawa to work towards a real ban. This conference was named “The International Strategy Conference: Towards a Global Ban on Anti-Personnel Mines” (the 1996 Ottawa Conference) and was held in the Canadian capital from 3 to 5 October 1996. At the closing session of the Conference, the then-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy, called for the negotiation and signature of a treaty outlawing anti-personnel mines by the end of 1997. He challenged states to negotiate the treaty within a record time of one year, launching the Ottawa Process that resulted in the adoption of the Mine Ban Treaty in September 1997 (Maslen, 2010).

It is in the above context that the so-called Ottawa process began, leading to the signing of the Mine Ban Treaty. This has been described as unorthodox, historic, and unique multilateral process

¹ JRS was a leading member of the national campaigns in Cambodia, Thailand, Indonesia, Kenya, Philippines, and worked actively in Europe and USA, Japan and where we worked in Africa and Eastern Europe.

Negotiations took place outside the UN system, and the treaty negotiation conference relied on voting, rather than consensus procedures. Governments were also required to “opt in” — meaning that governments attending the treaty negotiation conference in Oslo, for example, had to agree on the text beforehand. This, together with strong leadership at the negotiating conferences, ensured that the treaty remained focused and strong and prevented a few governments from watering down the treaty or slowing down the negotiations.

The Austrian delegation to the 1996 Ottawa Conference already had a first draft of an anti-personnel mine ban convention with them, but although they referred to it in their remarks, they did not circulate it formally. The draft, with only minor alterations but now entitled “the Austrian draft text”, was sent out worldwide in November 1996. To support what was now called the Ottawa Process, a “core group” of friendly States was assembled, bringing together, initially, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Ireland, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, the Philippines, South Africa and Switzerland.

For the first time, small and medium sized powers—most notably Canada and Norway, but ranging from Australia to Zimbabwe—came together and decided on a course of action to ban antipersonnel landmines rather than being held back by traditional powers that were not committed to banning landmines —such as China, Russia, and the US. Most former mine producers and many users, including Belgium, Cambodia, Italy, Mozambique, and South Africa, joined the process (Cameron, Lawson, & Tomlin, 1998).

By 1996, the United Nations General Assembly had already adopted a number of resolutions relating to anti-personnel mines. A call for a moratorium on the export of anti-personnel mines was contained in the first operative paragraph of resolution 48/75K, adopted without a vote on 16 December 1993. On 10 December 1996, resolution 51/45S, which attracted 115 co-sponsors, was adopted by 155 votes to none, with 10 abstentions. Its first operative paragraph urged states “to pursue vigorously an effective, legally binding international agreement to ban the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of anti-personnel landmines with a view to completing the negotiation as soon as possible” (Maslen, 2010).

The ICBL played a major role in the actual drafting of the treaty, from its earliest stages. They were given a formal seat at the table in all of the diplomatic meetings leading up to the negotiations, and then during the negotiations themselves.

The Expert Meeting on the Text of a Convention to Ban Anti-Personnel Mines, held in Vienna, Austria, from 12 to 14 February 1997 provided states with an initial opportunity to comment directly on Austria’s first draft of the Convention. Based on the comments received, Austria prepared a second “tentative” draft of its treaty text on 7 March 1997 and circulated it to the core group. The second Austrian draft was completed on 14 March 1997.

The International Expert Meeting on Possible Verification Measures to Ban Anti-Personnel Landmines, the second formal follow-up gathering to the 1996 Ottawa Conference, was held in Bonn from 24 to 25 April 1997. Views remained divided between States who believed that detailed verification was essential to ensure that any agreement was effective, and others that argued that the proposed agreement was essentially humanitarian in character and stressing the overriding importance of a clear norm prohibiting anti-personnel mines. Austria circulated its third draft on 28 April 1997 to the core group and then, after revision, especially concerning compliance issues, issued the text on 14 May 1997 (Cameron, Lawson, & Tomlin, 1998).

Negotiations took place outside the UN system, and the treaty negotiation conference relied on voting, rather than consensus procedures. Governments were also required to “opt in”

The treaty was negotiated within a year, which is unprecedented for an international agreement of this nature. Also, it took only nine months for 40 states to ratify the treaty, thus facilitating its entry into force. In contrast, the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) for example was adopted in 1980 and came into force in 1983 (Williams, Goose, & Wareham, 2008).

6. The Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention

The International Conference for a Global Ban on Anti-Personnel Mines, held in Brussels in June 1997—the Brussels Conference—provided a selection process for participation in the forthcoming diplomatic conference, and formally identified the third Austrian draft as the basis for its negotiations. Ninety-seven of the 156 states attending the Brussels Conference signed the Brussels Declaration, which affirmed that the essential elements of a treaty to ban anti-personnel mines were: 1) a comprehensive ban on the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of anti-personnel mines; 2) the destruction of all stockpiled and cleared anti-personnel mines; and 3) international cooperation and assistance in the area of mine clearance in affected countries. The Brussels Declaration also referred to the convening of the diplomatic conference to adopt the treaty and confirmed that the third Austrian draft would be the basis of negotiations at the conference.

The Diplomatic Conference on an International Total Ban on Anti-Personnel Land Mines—the Oslo Diplomatic Conference—convened by Norway, opened on 1 September 1997, and was chaired by Jacob Selebi, the South African Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. On 18 September 1997, after three weeks of negotiations, the Convention was formally adopted. The Mine Ban Treaty is sometimes referred to as the Ottawa Convention, but is officially titled: The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction. It was adopted in 1997 and it entered into force on 1 March 1999 (Williams, Goose, & Wareham, 2008).

As part of ICBL, Jesuit Service Cambodia, through the robust leadership of Sr. Denise Coghlan, was very involved in this process, as Sr. Denise recalls:

We have worked hard around the world, visiting popes and princes and emperors and governments (including Princess Diana and Desmond Tutu), and got the treaty ratified in 1997. (Coghlan, 2010)

From JRS's perspective, it should be noted, as Sr. Denise explains:

The huge support given by Fr Mark Raper SJ and the JRS international office in Rome regarding publications, awareness-raising and signature collection. JRS staff Anthea Webb, from Australia, even got Mother Teresa to sign on. Part of the campaign's success was due to its popular appeal through stories and message that small groups could influence governments and outwit military fear of losing prized weapons.

6.1. Universality and implementation of the Convention

A total of 122 States signed the Convention when it was opened for signature in Ottawa on 3 and 4 December 1997. It entered into force on 1 March 1999, after the requisite number of ratifications or accessions (40) were deposited with the United Nations Secretary-General. By 2009, 156 states—more than three-quarters of the world's nations—had become parties to it. Certain major

We have worked hard around the world, visiting popes and princes and emperors and governments and got the treaty ratified in 1997 (Coghlan, 2010)

military powers, however, including three of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—China, the Russian Federation, and the United States of America—have not joined the Convention, although they are *de facto* respecting many of its provisions.

On 2 December 2009, the United Nations General Assembly adopted resolution 64/56 on the Implementation of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel Mines and on Their Destruction. The resolution was adopted by a recorded vote of 160 in favour to none against, with 18 abstentions—including the Russian Federation and the United States. Among those voting in favour, 19 states, including China, were not parties to the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (see report of the First Committee, A/64/391).

Two major obligations under the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention are to destroy stockpiles of anti-personnel mines and to destroy anti-personnel mines in mined areas under the jurisdiction or control of a state party. At the 9th Meeting of States Parties to the Convention in November 2008, fifteen states parties requested and were granted an extension to their deadlines for destruction of anti-personnel mines in mined areas under article 5 of the Convention. At the Second Review Conference of the Convention, held in Cartagena, Colombia, from 30 November to 4 December 2009, a further four states parties requested and were granted an extension to their article 5 deadlines (Maslen, 2010).

As Sr. Denise Coghlan explains, the implementation and monitoring phase was really the key towards real success:

Now, it is very good that we have the treaty, but it needs to be monitored. We are involved in landmine monitoring in Cambodia. Every year, a book on the progress of 110 countries is issued, and every five years there is a review of the treaty. The first review was held in 2004 in Nairobi, and we finished the 2009 review in Cartagena, Colombia. From the review meetings, specific action plans are set forth. The 2004 action plan was to get governments to make a national plan on landmines. In 2009, the action plan is implementation, implementation, implementation! Get the mines cleared! Cambodia is in the middle of a ten-year mine clearing program, and it is working to ensure that the money earmarked for landmine survivors actually gets to the people, and is not just caught up in plans on how to get the money to the people. (Coghlan, 2010)

Two major obligations under the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention are to destroy stockpiles of anti-personnel mines and to destroy anti-personnel mines in mined areas under the jurisdiction or control of a state party

6.2. The 1997 Nobel Peace award

In 1997, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded jointly to ICBL and Jody Williams for their diplomatic achievement and commitment to a total ban on landmines.

Many in JRS still remember the iconic 1997 photos of Tun Channareth (Reth) in his wheelchair receiving the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of the ICBL and the Ottawa Treaty on behalf of Cambodian civil society.

Sister Denise Coghlan goes back to the early days reminding us of this success story:

Starting from our time in the refugee camps (because of the horrific cases that we saw), we became very interested in the campaign to ban landmines. The Cambodia anti-landmine movement has been very influential in the international campaign to ban landmines. It began with a letter from four soldiers in the Center of the Dove. The letter

said, “Before we were soldiers that laid the mines that blew off the arms, legs, and eyes of one another; now, we work together in the Center of the Dove and we beg the world to stop making mines, stop laying mines, begin clearing mines, and to work so that our communities and people with disabilities can live a full life once again.” One of these former soldiers, Reth, then went to the Pope and asked him if he would stand by the ban on landmines, which he did. In 1997, this same individual rode his wheelchair onto the stage in Oslo and received the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of the campaign. He is working with me in Siem Reap, continuing his crusade against landmines. We have the Nobel Prize on display in our office.

25 years later, in November 2022, Reth attended the 20th Meeting of States Parties in Geneva and campaigned as vigorously as he has over the last 25 years. Reth’s own experience as a landmine survivor has been key in making the campaign a meaningful movement. The Ottawa treaty continues to be of vital importance in addressing disability issues. It continues to be a model for a rights-based approach for other disarmament processes.

6.3. The influence of the Convention on subsequent legal developments

The Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention has served as an important point of reference for subsequent negotiations on weapons. In particular, many of the provisions included in the Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM), adopted in Dublin in May 2008, are drawn from, or inspired by, those set out in the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention.

The similarities between the so-called Oslo Process on cluster munitions and the Ottawa Process on anti-personnel mines are notable. Both were launched by a single state, supported by a core group of other states committed to a prohibition—i.e. a return to the traditional approach of elaborating new rules of international humanitarian law—and both resultant treaties were adopted by a diplomatic conference convened outside the United Nations (Borrie, 2009).

Sr. Denise Coghlan RMS refers to this positive influence:

In 2007, we also began another campaign to ban cluster bombs. This process was energized when the Israelis dropped bombs in Lebanon in 2006. The Cambodian government was one of the leaders in this campaign. The treaty was passed in December 2008 in Oslo. Cambodia did not sign, so we have a lot of work to do with them as well. Related to this is a new convention recently signed for the rights of people with disabilities. We are trying to connect the dots between the three treaties I am working on. (Coghlan, 2010)

The CCM entered into force on 1 August 2010, six months after it was ratified by 30 states. As of December 2023, a total of 123 states are committed to the goal of the convention, with 111 states that have ratified it, and 12 states that have signed the convention but not yet ratified it.

In December 2023, Peru completed the destruction of all of its remaining stockpile of cluster munitions. Following the completion of cluster munitions stocks destructions by Bulgaria, Slovakia and South Africa earlier in 2023, all cluster munitions stockpiled by CCM States Parties have been destroyed (ICBL, 2023).

The Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention has served as an important point of reference for subsequent negotiations on weapons

7. 25th year anniversary of the Ottawa Convention: what remains to be done?

The treaty did make a difference in the global landmine crisis. Today, over 80% of the world's states have joined the treaty. Its disarmament and humanitarian achievements are unique: vast tracts of land have been cleared and put back into productive use; over 53 million antipersonnel mines have been removed from arsenals and destroyed, meaning they can never destroy a life; and the international norm against use—where use anywhere by anyone is considered abhorrent—is very strong.

However, this is still a “success in progress” and much remains to be done. Although the annual rate of injuries and deaths caused by antipersonnel mines is diminishing, slow progress on mine clearance means the absolute number of mine survivors keeps growing each year, and many of their needs are still not being met.

Today, countries like Myanmar or Ukraine are experiencing the use of landmines and cluster munitions, which impact innocent people years after a peace agreement is signed. In JRS, we listen to many stories of people who suffer from this impact. For example, Chin refugees from Myanmar in India recently shared with JRS accounts on their stories, such as 23-year-old Zawthing, who lost both his hands and his right eye to an explosive during the military conflict on the Myanmar-Mizoram border in 2022.

Sr. Denise Coghlan MS, JRS country director in Cambodia, continues to work tirelessly to end the use of landmines and cluster munitions. Sister Denise, one of the strongest activists during the Ottawa process, explains how their collective work meets the needs of the mine survivors still today:

Jesuit Service has programs to restore and create a more dignified life for people living in rural communities. People with disabilities devised a 12 point plan that sets out what they think are the things the poorest Cambodians need most, and they cover all of the areas that we are working in: 1) a house that shields them from the weather 2) sufficient food 3) water within a short distance of their housing 4) prosthetics and wheel chairs 5) access to education 6) access to affordable health 7) jobs and income 8) roads to the village and to market 9) clearing of landmines 10) participation in decisions that affect their lives 11) participation in cultural and sporting events 12) land titles.

We also have a center to make wheelchairs, and in the villages, we have established 215 farmer solidarity groups. The solidarity groups address their own needs, as well as focusing on the needs of the poorest in their communities. On education, we work primarily in small village schools in grades one and two, and then provide students with access to scholarships so that they can attend government schools. We have a program for deaf people, making hearing aids and administering hearing tests. Also, we have six centers for disabled children that have not had access to schools, where they can stay and study, and then enroll in government schools.

Sr. Denise recently met with the prime minister of Canada with a group on Women Peace and Stability, where addressing the challenges of mines was an important topic. Jesuit Service staff like Mr. So Not and other survivors have been prominent advocates at a series of meetings with the government. Moreover, 88 campaigners, many with disability, run in the Marathon in Siem Reap on December 2023, led by Bishop Kike Figaredo SJ. Sr. Denise explains:

Recently, Cambodia celebrated 30 years of mine action and at the campaign booth Ms. Sok Eng was able to present Prime Minister Hun Sen with the 2022 Landmine Monitor.

Today, over 80% of the world's states have joined the treaty. Its disarmament and humanitarian achievements are unique: vast tracts of land have been cleared and put back into productive use; over 53 million antipersonnel mines have been removed from arsenals and destroyed

Later, during his speech, the Prime Minister said Cambodia and Thailand had agreed to remove all mines from the border even before addressing border demarcation issues. This is a huge progress and 2025 is looking more possible for the completion of mine clearance.

With regards to mine clearance, unfortunately there are no new technological developments to date which provide a solution. Clearance continues to rely on a tried-and-true “toolbox approach,” which includes survey, manual and mechanical demining, and the use of mine detection dogs or rats. Fencing and marking contaminated areas, and mine risk education, can also play an important role in preventing or minimizing casualties. Research and development are welcomed particularly where it improves the speed, safety, and efficiency of existing clearance methods. But it needs to be focused on real operational needs and working environments.

It is regrettable that countries like China, Russia or the US, as well as all other states not parties, remain outside of the treaty. However, this does not take away from the importance of the treaty, nor weaken its achievements as one of the few current success stories in International Humanitarian Law and multilateral diplomacy. 80% of the world's states have joined the treaty, and even without China, Russia, and the US, great progress is being made in implementing and promoting its provisions.

As part of its advocacy on Mine Ban Treaty universalization, the ICBL continues to urge all states not party to accede to or ratify the treaty, challenging the international community to reinvestigate its commitment to reaching a mine and cluster munitions-free world, and to recognize civil society as an indispensable partner and driving force behind these efforts.

Regarding the respect by states parties to their commitments, their record of compliance with the Mine Ban Treaty has been generally good. States parties are required to develop “national implementation measures,” such as domestic legislation implementing the treaty's prohibitions. Annual transparency reports are sent to the UN Secretary-General on the type and quantity of mines in stock, the progress of mine destruction programmes (stockpiles and clearance), details of all mined areas, and national implementation measures, among other issues. Meetings of states parties and the intersessional work programme are important occasions for reviewing and monitoring progress on the treaty.

The treaty aims to promote transparency and trust amongst states parties. NGOs like JRS therefore have an important role in monitoring and encouraging compliance. The ICBL's Landmine Monitor systematically reports on the implementation of the Mine Ban Treaty.

The Landmine Monitor is an innovative initiative by the ICBL to monitor implementation of and compliance with the treaty, and more generally to assess the efforts of the international community to resolve the landmines and explosive remnants of war problem. The Landmine Monitor report has become the *de facto* monitoring mechanism for the treaty and an essential tool in holding governments accountable to their legal obligations and political commitments.

Civil society, through their monitoring and advocacy activities, continues to play a crucial role in encouraging full implementation of the treaty. They help strengthen the international norm against any use or possession of antipersonnel mines by anyone, which is essential for the successful implementation of the treaty. The ICBL serves as the watchdog of the treaty by monitoring states' progress, highlighting general and state-specific challenges, and stigmatizing

Clearance continues to rely on a tried-and-true “toolbox approach,” which includes survey, manual and mechanical demining

and publicizing any breach of the treaty. This happens during Intersessional Meetings or annual Meetings of the States Parties.

Sr. Denise Coghlan continues to put in practice the operative principles which shaped JRS way of proceeding as explained above, namely, the advocacy work rooted in the experiences and voices of the survivors. An example is JRS's work in monitoring implementation of the both the Ottawa and the Cluster Munitions Convention, as well as the new international framework to protect and assist people with disabilities:

Monitoring, working with government on implementation, and direct service to the survivors is key to our work on all three treaties. Particularly, we have survivors and victims running seminars for others, including one recent seminar on women with disabilities. Next, we will be working with youth. (Coghlan, 2010)

2024 marks 25 years since the Mine Ban Treaty entered into force. In November, the treaty's 5th Review Conference will be held in Siem Reap, Cambodia, gathering campaign members from around the world. Until then, the plan of ICBL is to outreach at national and global level to push for further universalization and implementation of the treaty and its Oslo Action Plan, while feeding into the next Siem Reap Action Plan to ensure it provides a focused and strong basis for the following five years. The ICBL-CMC will be also undertaking strategic review to develop and adopt new ICBL-CMC Strategy for the next several years.

8. Pope Francis: The Ottawa process, an example of multilateralism

Besides the influence of the Ottawa Convention on subsequent legal developments, namely the Convention on Cluster Munitions, the Ottawa process is a good practice of multilateralism for our world today.

Pope Francis's recent exhortation *Laudate Deum* calls, with the utmost urgency, for a new and true multilateralism, that is, governance frameworks capable of managing our enormous environmental problems and implementing effective global rules for "global safeguarding."

In point 37 of his Apostolic Exhortation, when speaking about the need to reconfigure multilateralism, Pope Francis refers to the Ottawa process as an example to reconfigure multilateralism:

More than saving the old multilateralism, it appears that the current challenge is to reconfigure and recreate it, taking into account the new world situation. I invite you to recognize that "many groups and organizations within civil society help to compensate for the shortcomings of the international community, its lack of coordination in complex situations, and its lack of attention to fundamental human rights. For example, the Ottawa Process against the use, production and manufacture of antipersonnel mines is one example that shows how civil society with its organizations is capable of creating effective dynamics that the United Nations cannot. In this way, the principle of subsidiarity is applied also to the global-local relationship. (Pope Francis, 2023)

By quoting the example of the landmine campaign in his recent letter on the environment, Pope Francis talks about the power civil society has to change the world. Moreover, Pope Francis calls for inclusive and participatory spaces where all countries have a role to play; where the voices of civil society, especially the excluded, can be heard; and where the common good is

Pope Francis's recent exhortation Laudate Deum calls, with the utmost urgency, for a new and true multilateralism, that is, governance frameworks capable of managing our enormous environmental problems and implementing effective global rules for "global safeguarding"

the compass and not “a world authority concentrated in one person or in an elite with excessive power” (LD §35).

The Holy Father poses a challenge to governments in personal terms:

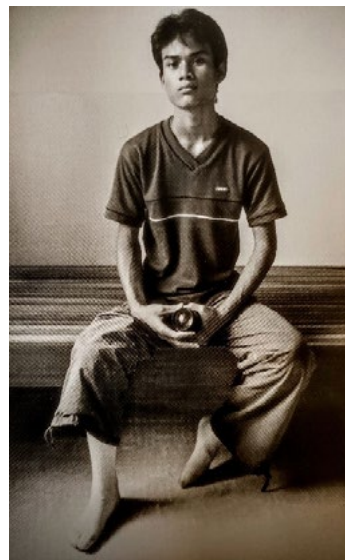
To be strategists capable of thinking of the common good and the future of their children, rather than the circumstantial interests of some countries or companies... To the powerful I dare to repeat this question: “Why do you want to preserve today a power that will be remembered for its inability to intervene when it was urgent and necessary to do so? (LD §60 quoting LS §57)

Jesuits and friends had the privilege to be part of this historic process. It is perhaps this lesson learnt which Kike Figaredo SJ explains:

The Ottawa process and the involvement of the Society of Jesus and many friends in the ICBL was an opportunity for us to learn how to work together with others. As Pope Francis says, it is only through this model of collaborative effort, where the voices of the excluded can be heard, when we can indeed offer a meaningful contribution for peace, justice and the common good.

Acknowledgment

This article is dedicated to Men, a young landmine survivor who died in a car accident in Siem Reap, Cambodia, on 12th March 2024. Men actively advocated for the cause of mine survivors, and worked as a peer counselor, also with left-behind migrant children.



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JESUIT REFUGEE SERVICE'S INFLUENCE ON INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE POLICY

La influencia del Servicio Jesuita a Refugiados en la política de refugio internacional

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Autora

As an organization committed to working with and standing alongside those who have been forcibly displaced from their homes, advocacy is a core element of Jesuit Refugee Service's work around the world. With policymakers, donor governments, and host communities, JRS advocates for, and with, those who seek safety and the opportunity to rebuild a life for themselves and their families. Through a network of staff across the globe implementing programs each and every day, JRS identifies the challenges faced in meeting the basic needs of those we serve, and which policies can improve those circumstances. In this article, we share examples of three areas where JRS has exerted influence and action on such policies. This includes access to refugee education, protecting the right to asylum, and placing a spotlight on one of the world's most forgotten crises, the conflict in Syria.



Abstract

Como organización comprometida a trabajar con y junto a quienes se han visto desplazados por la fuerza de sus hogares, la incidencia política es un elemento central del trabajo del Servicio Jesuita a Refugiados en todo el mundo. Ante los responsables políticos, los gobiernos cooperantes y las comunidades de acogida, el JRS aboga por y con quienes buscan seguridad y la oportunidad de reconstruir una vida para ellos y sus familias. A través de una red de personal en todo el mundo que implementa programas cada día, el JRS identifica los retos a los que se enfrentan para satisfacer las necesidades básicas de aquellos a quienes servimos, y qué políticas pueden mejorar esas circunstancias. En este artículo, compartimos ejemplos de tres áreas en las que el JRS ha ejercido influencia y acción sobre dichas políticas. Esto incluye el acceso a la educación de los refugiados, la protección del derecho de asilo, y poner el foco en una de las crisis más olvidadas del mundo, el conflicto en Siria.



Resumen

Refugee; advocacy; policy; education; asylum; Syria.

Refugiados; defensa; política; educación; asilo; Siria.



Key words

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Fechas

1. Introduction

Global displacement has reached record-high numbers, with more than 110 million people forced to leave their homes as a result of persecution, conflict, generalized violence, or human rights violations. This translates into one in every 73 people, 88 percent of them in low- and middle-income countries (UNHCR, 2023a).

Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) is working to address this challenge by meeting the educational, psychosocial, health and emergency needs of more than 1.5 million refugees and other forcibly displaced persons in 58 countries. Founded by Fr Pedro Arrupe, SJ in 1980, JRS works side by side with the displaced, providing assistance to refugees in camps and cities, individuals displaced within their own countries, asylum seekers in cities, and those held in detention centers.

The mission of JRS is to accompany, serve and advocate for the rights of refugees and other forcibly displaced persons. JRS is inspired by the compassion of Jesus, who made it his mission to reach the most marginalized people of his time. JRS is built on a faith in God who is present in human history, even in its most tragic moments. We are inspired by this faith and by core values that inform all the work we do.

In many countries and contexts, refugees are often the most marginalized, the most disenfranchised and the most vulnerable. Although refugees have inherent human rights, those rights are often overlooked as they are denied the ability to work, to go to school or to find permanent safety and security. Given this, advocacy is a vital element of the JRS mission and provides critical support to JRS's accompaniment and service programs.

Advocacy helps address the systemic challenges faced by those who have been forcibly displaced and places a spotlight on the political and global drivers that impact the lives of refugees. As an international organization operating in some of the most complex contexts in our world today, JRS is witness to the immense injustices faced by those who have been forcibly displaced and is in the position to advocate with and alongside them for policies that will address some of the most egregious challenges.

JRS is one of a few humanitarian organizations that has a widespread field presence working directly with refugees and displaced people. JRS also has a long-standing credibility built on the accurate information that it has collected from the field and an advocacy presence in centers of power with representatives in Geneva, Rome, Brussels, and Washington, DC. A commitment to advocacy work is a fundamental part of JRS's mandate.

The focus of JRS's advocacy work is to change policies that directly affect the lives of refugees and other forcibly displaced persons. As the 34th Congregation of the Society of Jesus stated: "The Jesuit Refugee Service accompanies many of these brothers and sisters of ours, serving them as companions, advocating their cause in an uncaring world" (The Jesuits, 1995).

Through a network of staff across the globe implementing programs each and every day, JRS identifies the challenges faced in meeting the basic needs of those we serve, and which policies can improve those circumstances. In this article, we will share examples of three areas where JRS has exerted influence and action on such policies. This includes access to refugee education, protecting the right to asylum, and placing a spotlight on one of the world's most forgotten crises: the conflict in Syria.

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2. Increasing access to refugee education

Today, 224 million school-aged children and adolescents have had their education directly affected by emergencies and protracted crises (Education cannot wait, 2023a). Of those identified as refugees or internally displaced persons by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), only 38 percent are enrolled in pre-primary, 65 percent in primary, 41 percent in secondary, and 6 percent in tertiary education (UNHCR, 2023b).

The severity of this education gap has garnered a new groundswell of support for investing in education in conflict and crisis settings. The magnitude of the need also calls for an opportunity to rethink the way that educational programs are developed and funded.

Given that the average length of displacement is five years (World Bank, 2019), it is impractical to consider emergency assistance and long-term development as separate endeavors. Rather, the longevity of these problems requires us to creatively approach new partnerships and new models of funding. Likewise, protracted conflicts are changing the long-term options for those who are displaced. They must be given the opportunity to forge a future for themselves and their families.

Since its founding, JRS has placed an emphasis on ensuring that the most vulnerable have access to an education, regardless of their circumstances. Working both in newer emergencies, like Ukraine, and in protracted displacement settings including Chad, Ethiopia, and Kenya, JRS is well-positioned to offer substantive, thoughtful insight on providing effective, quality education programs for the forcibly displaced.

Access to schools and quality education is an urgent priority for all refugee children and youth. It is a basic human right and is fundamental to a better future for their communities. For these reasons, JRS advocates for the basic right to emergency and long-term educational opportunities and urges better access to formal, informal, and skill-building and vocational training programs for refugee children, youth and adults.

To improve the quality of, and access to, education in emergencies and protracted crises, JRS recommends that the following policies be adapted by governments and practitioners:

- » Prioritization of access to education in all stages of humanitarian response and through development initiatives.
- » Adequate and sustainable funding for the education of all refugees and other forcibly displaced persons, both in emergency and protracted crisis settings.
- » Better coordination of education programs between host countries and humanitarian agencies and alignment of programs with country plans and systems.
- » Effective transition from humanitarian response programming to long-term education development, through coordinated planning between humanitarian and development actors.
- » Improved quality of education for the displaced, with a focus on special needs and equal access across genders and the prioritization of language training, long-term livelihoods development, and the use of technology.
- » Integration of refugees into host communities, as appropriate, including integration of children into local school systems, access to employment opportunities and equitable compensation for the displaced.

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- » Assurance that schools remain safe and secure places free from armed groups, forcible military conscription, sexual violence, and discrimination.
- » Academic institutions accept international certificates, diplomas and degrees and explore the possibility of mainstreaming the accreditation process across countries and school systems.
- » A diverse group of partners mobilize support for education in emergencies and protracted crises and support global efforts—including Education Cannot Wait: A Fund for Education in Emergencies—to address this critical issue.

Past investments in educational progress are in jeopardy as we face a record number of long-standing conflicts and resulting global displacement. Donors, governments, and the humanitarian and development communities must take action and seize an historic opportunity to grow, and leverage, the political will to address the lack of access to education for the forcibly displaced.

The world has been transfixed over the overwhelming images of refugees and their stories in the media today. Violent conflicts and other emergencies have motivated people to leave their homes and seek refuge elsewhere, exceeding all previous records for global forced displacement. As a result of the increasing movement of people worldwide, there is a greater need to provide basic necessities and services to affected communities.

The right to education is a fundamental right, and its importance has been outlined in multiple international covenants, beginning with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights signed in 1948. Article 26 of the Declaration states that everyone has a right to free and compulsory elementary education, and that technical training and higher education be equally accessible to all. Similarly, the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention focuses explicitly on the inherent right to primary education by stating that “elementary education is to be provided to refugees in the same manner as for nationals.”

Education is more than just a right and a response to an immediate need; education also engenders hope as it prepares refugees to meet future challenges. Education provides stability and a sense of normalcy, and acts as a form of vital psychosocial support to children whose lives have been affected by crisis. An education can also lessen a child’s vulnerability to child labor, sexual violence, recruitment into armed groups, or early marriage.

Education plays a critical role in preparing individuals and their communities to recover and rebuild after conflict or disaster. Education is an important tool to promote and ensure greater peace and rehabilitation following an emergency situation. With access to a quality education, individuals can better fulfill their own potential and fully contribute to the growth, strength and stability of their society.

Though the need for adequate and equitable education for all cannot be denied, current programming for education in crises faces many obstacles. These include lack of prioritization as part of emergency response, limited funding, and lack of coordination with development actors. Practical challenges include barriers to access, change in language or curriculum, and significant lapses in time spent in school.

Yet, while the global community faces unprecedented challenges, we are witnessing a never-before-seen opportunity. In 2015, the United Nations adopted the Sustainable Development Goals with Goal 4 focused on access to education; and Government ministers from more than

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100 countries adopted the Incheon Declaration for Education 2030, which contained a specific commitment to education for refugees and the internally displaced.

In July 2015, the Oslo Summit on Education for Development laid the groundwork for a new common platform for education in emergencies and protracted crises, set to be launched at the inaugural World Humanitarian Summit in May 2016. This platform—Education Cannot Wait: A Fund for Education in Emergencies—aims to adequately finance efforts to meet the educational needs of millions of children and young people affected by crisis, improve processes within the humanitarian and development spheres to better provide long-term educational services, and cultivate new political will to tackle this critical issue.

Amid this renewed commitment for education in crisis settings and as the global community seeks to operationalize the delivery of quality educational programs in new and long-standing crises, Jesuit Refugee Service offers insights, lessons learned, and recommendations gleaned from over 40 years of work in this sector.

2.1. Advocating for “Education Cannot Wait”

JRS has been at the forefront of a global effort to build the necessary political will and generate critical financial resources to fulfill the mission of Education Cannot Wait (ECW), an initiative launched in 2016.

Education Cannot Wait is the first global fund dedicated to education in emergencies. It was launched by international humanitarian and development aid actors, along with public and private donors, to address the urgent education needs of children and youth in conflict and crisis settings. ECW partners directly with program implementers to foster a more collaborative approach among actors on the ground, ensuring relief and development organizations join forces to achieve education outcomes.

JRS was present at the launch of ECW where then International Director Fr Thomas H. Smolich, SJ stated: “Education Cannot Wait is an important step forward in helping to ensure that the most vulnerable and disenfranchised have access to an education. JRS feels education is always part of any emergency situation.”

Since then, JRS’s advocacy team in the United States has engaged in a variety of advocacy activities to introduce U.S. policymakers to this new entity and to encourage the U.S. Government to sustain its support. In fact, the U.S. Government has been central to the success of ECW, as its third largest donor currently (Education Cannot Wait, 2023b), and its support will help ECW meet its 2023-2026 strategic plan goals.

Towards this end, JRS/USA-led efforts included bilateral meetings with members of the U.S. Congress and Administration; events with civil society and policymakers; statements of support at key moments including during the UN General Assembly and World Bank meetings. As a result, in 2019 for the first time, the U.S. House and Senate included funding for Education Cannot Wait in its annual funding package. The initial annual contribution by the U.S. totaled \$25 million in Fiscal Year 2020 and has now increased to \$30 million in Fiscal Year 2023.

ECW-supported programs span a wide spectrum of context-specific activities designed to meet education needs for crisis-affected children and youth aged 3-18 years old. Since its inception,

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ECW has invested approximately \$226 million in education programs that have benefited 2.1 million refugees since its inception (Education Cannot Wait, 2023c).

JRS partners with ECW in countries including Chad, Uganda and the Central African Republic. With this support, JRS has built schools, provided learning materials, trained teachers, and organized parent associations for refugees living in protracted and early-onset crisis settings.

3. Protecting access to asylum

Systems to provide protection to the forcibly displaced have been severely tested since the COVID-19 pandemic and reinforced the need for a renewed commitment to building stronger asylum mechanisms that can withstand public health emergencies. Though much of the world's mobility has recovered since then, COVID-19 restrictions will have long-term ramifications for global asylum systems.

By mid-2023, there were 5.4 million (UNHCR, 2023a) recorded asylum seekers across the globe who crossed a border seeking protection but whose claims have not yet been processed or approved in their host country. Not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every refugee was initially an asylum seeker.

The inadequacies of global asylum systems have been exposed over the past several years with 167 countries closing their borders after the initial outbreak of COVID-19. This included access to protection for asylum seekers. Almost four years later, the right to asylum is still under threat in a number of countries.

From the beginning of the global response to the pandemic, UNHCR made it clear that pandemic responses should not prevent people from seeking asylum. While governments may put in place public health measures, these should not deny people the opportunity to seek asylum or result in their deportation to places where they would be subject to danger, known as “refoulement.”

Enshrined in the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Refugee Protocol, the principle of “non-refoulement” has become international customary law. Asylum seekers are granted refugee status if they can prove that they were subject to persecution based on their race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.

The U.S. response to COVID-19 was particularly devastating for the forcibly displaced. Beginning in March 2020, the government implemented COVID-19 restrictions that prevented most asylum seekers from petitioning for protection. These restrictions violated forcibly displaced peoples' fundamental right to seek asylum and threaten to permanently alter the U.S. asylum landscape for the worse (McPherson, 2020).

However, this issue was not confined to the United States. JRS offices in countries including Australia, Colombia, Italy, Malta, and South Africa experienced disruptions in the right to seek protection from persecution and advocates for the reinstatement of these critical protections.

Even before COVID-19, in response to record levels of global displacement, the world's richest countries had established complex migration controls in what amounts to a global “deterrence paradigm” (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Tan, 2017). The result is an ever-growing number of refugees and asylum seekers concentrated in low- and middle- income countries—countries with fewer resources to bear the responsibility of protecting and assisting them. Those who do attempt to seek refuge in higher-income countries are often subject to exploitation and violence.

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The COVID-19 pandemic only exacerbated these challenges, providing a convenient justification for policies that betray the spirit of international refugee law and threaten the lives and well-being of thousands. These policies were accompanied by mounting xenophobia and discrimination against asylum seekers, who are often portrayed as public health threats and carriers of disease.

Some of the first global responses to the pandemic were tight travel restrictions with devastating consequences for asylum seekers who were prevented from entering and seeking protection in other countries. Restrictions that made no exception for asylum seekers were enacted in March 2020 by countries throughout the Middle East, North Africa, most of South America, and in other regions (UNHCR, n. d.).

As early as April 2020, reports emerged of illegal expulsions and pushbacks at international borders. For example, police violence against asylum seekers at the Croatian border was well-documented and appeared to have been tacitly supported by the European Union and the Croatian public (Amnesty International, 2020). Some countries, including Italy, Malta, and Malaysia, simply refused to allow those arriving by sea to disembark, sending them back into treacherous conditions with sometimes-deadly consequences.

Mobility restrictions also led to a number of secondary consequences for asylum seekers. They increased asylum seekers' reliance on human smugglers and irregular migration routes, as happened with people fleeing Venezuela and the Northern Triangle countries, exposing them to danger and exploitation (Ozy, 2020). Nicaraguan asylum seekers in Costa Rica who wanted to return home often resorted to illegal or dangerous routes, as borders are open only to those with a negative COVID-19 test, which can be difficult for migrants to secure (Dupraz-Dobias, 2020).

Additionally, already-crowded informal settlements housing asylum seekers became even more vulnerable to disease outbreaks as lockdowns impeded regular food deliveries and water supplies. Conditions in the Calais settlements in France, which housed 1,200 asylum seekers and migrants, deteriorated considerably as a result of these pressures (Louarn, 2020). One study found that the risk of COVID transmission increased by 17 percent for asylum seekers and refugees living in collective housing (OECD, 2020).

Social distancing regulations in some countries also led to a marked decrease in government and civil society's asylum capacities. The Colombian government, for example, ordered organizations working with displaced people from Venezuela to halve their capacities in March to slow the spread of the virus (Devex, 2020).

COVID-19 and related restrictions also amplified existing inequalities between displaced and host populations. In South Africa, for example, shutdowns disproportionately impacted asylum seekers and migrants, who lost their jobs, were evicted from their homes, and experienced food insecurity at higher rates than South African citizens (Mukumbang et al., 2020).

In some countries, migrants and asylum seekers became convenient scapegoats for host governments. In Italy, politicians falsely linked COVID-19 outbreaks to African asylum seekers. Far-right movements in Germany, France, and Spain exploited pandemic panic to advocate for border closures and tougher migration restrictions. Migrants, including asylum seekers, were also subjected to verbal harassment and violent attacks due to COVID-related stigma. In Cameroon, foreigners and visiting members of the diaspora were attacked after being blamed for spikes in infection rates.

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These long-term consequences include the precipitous decrease in international funding for refugee-hosting countries and widespread loss of employment for refugees and asylum seekers, which may further limit their self-reliance and trigger a vicious cycle of mutually-reinforcing vulnerabilities. The spread of xenophobic sentiments and COVID-related stigma may lead to further degradations in asylum seekers' treatment and quality of life in host communities. Perhaps most importantly, countries' decisions to prioritize public health at the expense of fundamental human rights at the outset of the pandemic undermine global asylum frameworks and may embolden governments to do the same in the future.

3.1. Protecting asylum in the United States

For decades, the United States has been a global leader in welcoming people seeking protection from violence in their home countries. Yet, during the COVID-19 pandemic, more than 500,000 asylum seekers (U.S. Customs & Border Protection, 2023), including unaccompanied children, were turned back at the U.S. southern border after the government implemented travel and asylum restrictions under a public health regulation known as Title 42.

Issued in March 2020 by the Centers for Disease Control along with the Department of Health and Human Services, Title 42 prohibited all non-essential travel from Canada or Mexico, including for asylum seekers. The rationale behind the implementation of this policy was "to protect the public health from an increase in the serious danger of the introduction of COVID-19" (HHS & CDC, 2020). As a result, the U.S. expelled asylum seekers rather than allowing them to present their petitions for asylum.

Public health experts repeatedly pointed out that these restrictions did little to prevent the actual spread of COVID-19 (Amon et al., 2021). Instead, the policy targeted asylum seekers while providing broad exemptions to U.S. citizens, permanent residents, and those traveling to the United States for education, trade, or commercial purposes.

The ban on asylum was one of the latest in a series of efforts by the government to limit long-held legal protections in the U.S. asylum system. In January 2019, the U.S. government announced the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP), also known as the "Remain in Mexico" program, which forced asylum seekers to wait in Mexico while waiting for their court date.

MPP returned more than 70,000 people to wait in Mexico to petition for safety in the United States. The return to Mexico forced asylum seekers to live in dangerous and uncertain circumstances. There were at least 1,314 public reports of murder, torture, rape, kidnapping, and other violent attacks against asylum seekers and migrants returned to Mexico under MPP. Stranded without resources, many faced prolonged homelessness with little means to manage their asylum claims.

As a result of Title 42, court hearings for MPP cases were suspended through most of 2020. Due to distance and the lack of resources, MPP also led to lower rates of representation and asylum approval, with fewer than 8 percent of MPP cases able to secure legal representation. With few exceptions, most individuals and families expelled during the implementation of Title 42 had no opportunity to petition for asylum at all. Title 42 expulsions allowed the government to circumvent the normal asylum process and prevented asylum seekers from being screened for credible fear before being turned back at the U.S. border.

Domestic law and treaties signed by the U.S. government protect individuals fleeing violence and arriving at U.S. borders. For decades, people seeking protection from violence in their

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home countries have been able to enter the U.S. and petition for asylum. The United States signed on to the 1951 Refugee Convention,¹ which required it under international law not to send asylum seekers back to dangerous conditions. Passage of the 1980 Refugee Act also aligned U.S. asylum and refugee policy with UNHCR standards. Respecting this fundamental obligation is critical to the U.S. maintaining its position in the global community.

Through research, statements, and direct advocacy with policymakers, Jesuit Refugee Service/USA and JRS Mexico made repeated calls to the U.S. Government to repeal this harmful policy. Finally, on May 11, 2023, the U.S. government ended the use of Title 42. Yet, JRS continued to raise concerns about new measures implemented by the Biden Administration that also had a negative impact on the safety and well-being of asylum seekers.

While JRS joined other immigration and refugee advocates in celebrating the end of Title 42, the Biden-Harris Administration has since put in its place an asylum rule, titled “Circumvention of Legal Pathways,” that significantly limits access to asylum. This rule requires individuals to seek asylum through “lawful pathways” that are narrow in scope, such as visas, country-specific parole programs, and appointments utilizing an online tool called the “CBP One app.”

Although the Biden-Harris Administration has focused on creating legal pathways for migrants and asylum seekers, many individuals and families have serious hurdles to overcome due to the restrictions and limited exceptions of these policies. Moreover, the current asylum rule fails to live up to the US’s legal obligations to refugees and asylum seekers and perpetuates a humanitarian crisis at the US-Mexico border where those seeking refuge and safety live in fear and uncertainty.

As an organization present at the border, JRS accompanies asylum seekers in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico; Las Cruces, New Mexico; and El Paso, Texas. In Ciudad Juárez, JRS Mexico addresses the protection, legal, mental health, psychosocial, and public health concerns of asylum seekers as they await their opportunity to apply for asylum in the US. In El Paso and Las Cruces, the JRS/USA team assists asylum seekers by preparing them for the next steps of their journey, providing legal orientations to understand their rights, and providing mental health and psychosocial support as they process what they have experienced along the way to the United States.

JRS continues to call on the U.S. government to protect the right to asylum by adhering to refugee law and eliminating barriers to seeking asylum at ports of entry. This includes increasing the availability of CBP One appointments and addressing CBP One’s language barriers and technological glitches to enable equitable access for individuals requesting an appointment through the app.

JRS also supports increased funding for humanitarian and community-based organizations that provide shelter and services to asylum seekers on both sides of the US-Mexico border. Overall, the U.S. must continue to pursue comprehensive immigration reform legislation that promotes and affirms the dignity of all those migrating to and seeking refuge in the U.S. and Mexico.

The lack of effective policies to guarantee access to regular, safe, and orderly migration has seriously affected people seeking asylum on both sides of the border. Despite the lawful pathways available to seek asylum in the US, JRS continues to observe that the limitations of these pathways place asylum seekers in dangerous and difficult situations. Protection and health concerns impact asylum seekers on both sides of the border as they wait for the opportunity to

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1 In 1968, the U.S. acceded to the 1967 Protocol, thereby taking on the Convention’s obligations as well.

present their request for asylum and if they're able to enter into the US. JRS will continue to call on the U.S. Government to reform its asylum process to ensure that it upholds refugee law and treats asylum seekers with dignity.

4. Remembering Syrian refugees

The Syrian conflict began almost 13 years ago and has displaced over 12 million Syrians (UNHCR, 2024a). Although far from the headlines, Syrians continue to struggle to meet their basic needs. Inside Syria, nearly 80 percent of people live in poverty and one out of three school-age Syrian refugee children in host countries are out of school.

JRS is on the frontlines, working with displaced Syrians by providing access to education, mental health care, livelihoods, and protection programs. JRS has maintained its focus on meeting the needs of Syrians and engaging in humanitarian and diplomatic efforts to champion their cause.

Since 2017, the United Nations and donor governments have hosted a global conference on "Supporting the Future of Syria and the Region." The conference is an opportunity for state delegations to continue to work to achieve a political solution in Syria and to pledge financial support for Syria and the countries in the region hosting large numbers of Syrian refugees.

For the past several years, JRS has regularly participated in preparations for the conference and advocated for a series of recommendations that highlight the priority needs of Syrians displaced by war. These recommendations have included:

- » Increased funding for humanitarian programs that address the daily needs of Syrian refugees. This includes a review of the impact that sanctions on the Syrian government have on civilians affected by the conflict.
- » Investments in income generating opportunities and innovative partnerships to improve social cohesion and resilience.
- » Safe and voluntary returns of Syrians to Syria and opposition to any effort by host country governments to enforce forcible returns.
- » Shared responsibility among the global community through the provision of opportunities for asylum, resettlement, and complementary pathways to legal status.

The needs of displaced Syrians and vulnerable host communities have not decreased with the duration of the crisis. An estimated 15.3 million people inside Syria require humanitarian assistance and more than 2 million Syrian children are out of school. The Syrian economy has reached a point of extreme crisis with 90 percent inflation and 12.1 million people estimated to be food insecure (OCHA, 2023).

Sanctions imposed by the international community have worsened the economic situation and a massive earthquake in February 2023 created unprecedented destruction on top of the economic and political turmoil already engulfing the country. Many of those affected by the earthquake had already been displaced from their homes due to the country's long-running crisis and underwent secondary displacement living in tents, shelters, and partially destroyed buildings after the quake. Not only has it been necessary to invest in the rebuilding of infrastructure that was destroyed, but to provide mental health and psychosocial support to address the lack of safety.

These recommendations have included: safe and voluntary returns of Syrians to Syria and opposition to any effort by host country governments to enforce forcible returns

Neighboring Lebanon faces its worst socioeconomic crisis in decades yet hosts the highest number of refugees per capita worldwide, most of them from Syria. The Lebanese Government estimates that it hosts 1.5 million Syrian refugees and 13,715 refugees of other nationalities. Ninety percent of Syrian refugees in Lebanon are living in extreme poverty (UNHCR, 2024b).

Now more than ever, Syrian refugees are unable to meet their basic needs and humanitarian assistance must be increased. Through its programs, JRS is witness to the critical needs of Syrian refugees particularly in terms of access to mental health and psychosocial assistance, protection, and education.

Children in Syria have been forced to drop out of school due to a myriad of issues including forced displacement, attacks on schools, child labor, COVID-19, overcrowding in schools and poverty. There are an estimated 4 million out-of-school children in Syria and host countries who are losing out on education. Of the countries hosting the majority of Syrian refugees, 41 percent of school-aged children were neither enrolled in formal or non-formal education in 2022, an increase from 36 percent in 2019 (No lost generation, 2023).

Education is a human right, an essential part of any humanitarian response effort, and is intricately linked to the protection of children. Achieving inclusive and quality education for all is one of the most powerful and proven drivers for sustainable development and is vital to rebuilding communities and achieving lasting peace.

As participants in most of the global conferences on “Supporting the Future of Syria and the Region,” JRS has joined coalition partners in calling on conference participants to commit to funding education programs. With programs serving Syrians in Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and within Syria itself, this conference is an important opportunity for JRS to give voice to the challenges we see displaced Syrians facing each day and recommend opportunities for continued and increased investment.

Through pre-Conference consultative processes, and by participating in “NGO Days of Dialogue,” JRS has been able to encourage donors to prioritize the right to education for displaced Syrians. This includes access to education, with a focus on limited opportunities for Syrians to access secondary and vocational training opportunities, and improved quality of education.

As a result, education has been prominently featured in both conference plenary sessions and side events. In advance of the Conference, JRS has also released stand alone and joint reports (JRS/USA, 2018) to draw attention to the important role education plays in healing communities affected by conflict and preparing them for their future.

Since the beginning of the crisis in 2011, the EU and its Member States have mobilized over €30 billion to support Syrians in Syria and in the region. In addition, international financial institutions and donors have announced €4 billion in loans, bringing a total of grants and loans to €9.6 billion (European Commission, 2023).

With the conflict in Syria clearly evolving into a protracted crisis, humanitarian response efforts must be accompanied by a longer-term approach. Syria and neighboring countries hosting Syrian refugees are currently facing multiple unprecedented crises. More funding should be provided to assist host communities through development projects that seek to build strong and innovative partnerships amongst both Syrians and nationals of host countries.

Investment in livelihoods opportunities is also a key part of resilience-building. Employment is scarce in many countries hosting refugees. Job creation for host communities will help

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maintain social cohesion and reduce tensions, and for refugees can create a life-saving source of income. It must be accompanied with an increase in access to legal documentation and permission to work, which is currently very restricted for Syrians in some states such as Jordan and Lebanon.

Despite the numerous political, social, economic and health challenges that Syrian refugees face in their host communities, many do not want to return to Syria. Amongst regional governments there have been attempts to return Syrian refugees, including the issuance of a statement by the Lebanese government in May 2019 that any Syrian entering the country irregularly from that date forward would be deported (Kheshen & Safi, 2023). JRS reiterates its support for the international principles of safe and voluntary return and to acknowledge that conditions for return to Syria are not yet met.

With economic and political turmoil engulfing the region, safe resettlement to a third country can be a vital lifeline to Syrian refugees. The international community can and must share responsibility by committing to increase refugee resettlement and complementary pathways to settlement and keep asylum processes open to Syrians.

5. Conclusion

With the needs of refugees only increasing each day, the important role that advocacy plays in calling for systemic change is more critical than ever before. As an organization committed to working with and standing alongside those who have been forcibly displaced from their homes, Jesuit Refugee Service will continue to raise issues of concern at the highest levels. With policymakers, donor governments, and host communities, JRS will advocate for, and with, those who seek safety and the opportunity to rebuild a life for themselves and their families.

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ECOJESUIT: COLLABORATING THROUGH NETWORKING AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Ecojesuit: colaborando a través de las redes de contacto y las relaciones internacionales

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Unpacking the experience of Ecojesuit as a global network helps in exploring new ways of collaborating across institutions and committed individuals for better participation in global processes. Ecojesuit, a tiny voice at the fringes of the United Nations (UN) meetings on climate and sustainability, adds effort to the broader social commitment for global action. It connects with other organizations sharing goodwill, capacities and voices caring for our common home and those struggling in the local context of climate disasters. While COP28 has been a great disappointment for those seeking fossil fuel phaseout, research of the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is increasingly upheld. Such participation in international relations deepens the Jesuit Universal Apostolic Preferences (UAPs) and Jesuit regional Conferences in apostolic planning. The process of growing a Jesuit network of broad collaboration takes decades; each revision involves greater participation and inclusion of present realities and meaning in life.



Abstract

Ecojesuit; UNFCCC; COP; SJES; UAPs; discernment; apostolic planning; universal good; climate justice; loss and damages; *Laudato si'*; *De Statu Societatis*.

Ecojesuit; UNFCCC; COP; SJES; UAPs; discernimiento; planificación apostólica; bienes universales; justicia climática; pérdidas y daños; Laudato si'; De Statu Societatis.



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Fechas

Desentrañar la experiencia de Ecojesuit como red global nos puede ayudar a explorar nuevas vías de colaboración entre instituciones e individuos comprometidos con una mejor participación en procesos globales. Ecojesuit, una pequeña voz en los márgenes de las reuniones de las Naciones Unidas sobre clima y sostenibilidad, contribuye al esfuerzo de un compromiso social más amplio en pos de la acción global. Conecta con otras organizaciones con las que comparte buena voluntad, capacidades y voces preocupadas por la casa común y en favor de aquellos que luchan en las realidades locales del desastre climático. A pesar de que la COP28 ha sido una gran decepción para aquellos que buscan la eliminación gradual de los combustibles fósiles, las investigaciones del Panel Internacional sobre Cambio Climático (IPCC) son cada vez menos cuestionadas. La participación en las relaciones internacionales profundiza las Preferencias Apostólicas Universales y las Conferencias regionales sobre planificación apostólica de los jesuitas. El proceso de expansión de una red colaborativa jesuita tarda décadas en llevarse a cabo; cada revisión implica una mayor participación e inclusión de las realidades y significado de la vida actuales.



1. Inspiration and history

Ecojesuit, as the Global Ignatian Advocacy Network (GIAN) of the Social Justice and Ecology Secretariat (SJES-Rome) on Ecology, promotes global cooperation, accompanies regional actions and supports local initiatives. This global vision has developed over the years from broadening social apostolate discussions including community programs, research and policy initiatives in different parts of the world. This slow growing attitude reflects an awareness and very diverse actions that need to come together for what might be seen today as seeking to overcome the increasing social and environmental vulnerabilities and crisis of the greater margins of the world.

The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) known broadly for their educational institutions also work in many marginal contexts throughout the world for social upliftment and for policy development in vulnerable locations and countries. Through their educational, social and pastoral institutions, they seek to collaborate with others and give strength to broader social action. Increasingly there is the acknowledgement that the institutional involvement and collaboration could have a more universal good (serve more people) if it sought to collaborate beyond the Jesuit lead institutions seeking what could be the further contribution and collaboration of the Jesuits with others. This discussion focuses on Jesuit networking in international relations, so that collectively with many others seeking social and environmental collaboration, there could be a greater contribution to the broader thrust for change and ecological justice.

Ecojesuit discernment and collaboration in the social apostolate is growing through exchanges and participation with the educational apostolates and in pastoral contexts. Social and environmental research, while engaging with national government commitments in some counties, is seeking a greater voice in the world including international relations. This gives rise to networking in many forms, for the work now envisioned cannot be done by institutions alone. The response to the social and environmental crisis is a defuse attitude and action across societies around the world seeking collective ways of caring for the mirid of life that in turn sustains human existence. National governments are the structure through the United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Chance (UNFCCC) for achieving this, and the

negotiations are understandably mired in politics and economics. Social engagement from below does contribute in making the critical shift happen.

In the General Congregation 34 of the Society of Jesus (GC34, 1995) it was recommended that regional and global networks be created. The ecological concerns were officially recognized and understood as integral to the poor and social vulnerabilities resulting in a study published by Michael Czerny SJ (1999), secretary of the Social Justice Secretariat (SJS). By GC35 (2008) the call for right relationships with God, one another and creation gave the basis for the emergence of the GIAN, one of these being an ecology network. In so doing, SJS took up this integral message and responsibility as the Social Justice and Ecology Secretariat (SJES) from the time of Fernando Franco SJ. A task force was formed with the early support of Adolfo Nicolas SJ (Superior General of the Society of Jesus from 2008 to 2016), to discern a plan of action for ecological justice in all areas of the Society, resulting in the publishing of "Healing a Broken World" (*Promotio Iustitiae*, 2011).

The report included regional assessments, strategies for integrated resource management and the role of science and technology. The global tendencies gave a tough picture of reality. The faith dimension was given further expression and the links between reconciliation and justice. Ten practical recommendations were presented for all apostolic areas, along with basic household and office suggestions for changing of life and mission. A change of heart was called for and "letting our hearts be touched by its wounded reality and making a strong personal and communal commitment to healing it." Patxi Alvarez SJ and Xavier Jeyaraj SJ as subsequent secretaries of SJES have sustained this dialogue and networking while engaging the social secretaries of the different Conferences (Jerayaj, 2020, p. 139).¹

Widescale appeal only emerged with the announcement of *Laudato si'* in 2015, just before the UNFCCC Conference of Parties for the 21st occasion in Paris, known as COP21. With the Universal Apostolic Preferences (2019) launched by Fr Arturo Sosa SJ, the present Superior General, care for creation, and an integral ecology of responsibility and spirituality is now budding throughout the Society of Jesus.

Ecojesuit at the international level has kept track of and participated through its members where possible in the UNFCCC under which the COP (national governments) meet to negotiate commitments generally every year since 1994. The United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs 2000-2015) committed world leaders to combat poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation, and discrimination against women. This was focused on the developing world, having open fora welcoming civil society participation. The MDGs are now superseded by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs 2015-2030) that are undergoing much revision since COVID-19 and seen as applicable in all countries. These goals have been a point of discussion in many continents and Jesuit institutions have been increasingly active in these efforts from the national level. The Oceans Conference and Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) are also UN processes that invite civil society participation and where Jesuit institutions are networking with governments as well as faith organizations.

The functioning of the initial network operated with the commitment of individuals from social apostolic institutes, a few university professors from Loyola University Chicago and later groups like Christian Life Community (CVX-CLC) shared their energies, inquiry and resources so

With the Universal Apostolic Preferences (2019) launched by Fr Arturo Sosa SJ, the present Superior General, care for creation, and an integral ecology of responsibility and spirituality is now budding throughout the Society of Jesus

¹ There are six Conferences that coordinate the different geographic regions globally.

groups could gather. José Ignacio García SJ facilitated the network for its first six years (2010-2016) achieving a broad awareness and collaboration. It was during these years that Ecojesuit set up its website and social media and was recognized as having a relevant communication platform on ecological concerns (Ecojesuit, 2013).

2. Other experiences in networking

Several other experiences have fed into working with Ecojesuit and learning to adapt to the context, circumstances and creativity, while spotting partnership possibilities. The International Panel on Climate Change had already started in 1988 and then the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992, during which the UNFCCC was established several years before the first Conference of Parties (COP) met in 1995 in Berlin. During the Earth Summit, six Jesuits and related people managed to meet up, including Mauricio Lopez and José Aguilar SJ, sharing local concerns, programs and experiences coming from different contexts and points of insertion. Peter Walpole was part of a Misereor team whose concerns were focused on water and indigenous peoples. The main effort was to understand a very complex process and to see what could be learned from the broader reality.

Engagements with Misereor continued in many forms, always providing that broader collaboration and gatherings with people of diverse experience. One memorable gathering was in Würzburg, Germany (Ecojesuit, 2017), fostering this kind of global networking and was occasion for exploring further the emergence of ecclesial networking with Cardinal Pedro R. Barreto SJ and what was growing in the Amazonian Ecclesial Network (REPAM).

These relations expanded with a meeting in Georgetown in 2019, where the River Above Asia Oceania Ecclesial Network (RAOEN) began. For Oceania and Asia such a large biome was considered for two main reasons. First, the weather pattern is formed in the Pacific Ocean affecting not only the people there, but also in Asia. Second, for the ease of learning together and sharing resources lessons and actions could contribute to better bridge-building between the different Bishops' Conferences (RAOEN, 2022). Other conference gatherings also help in sustaining the collaborations by pulling many of the same people together and grappling with some of the challenges, like in the Gregorian University in Rome (2022). Meetings with the Dicastery for Human Development strengthened the global Ecclesial Network Alliance (ENA) and established a working relationship by 2023 (Ecojesuit, 2023a).

Another important experience in networking from local to national and international was with the Asia Forest Network (AFN), set up in India by Mark Poffenberger in 1987. By 1992 the AFN was expanding further into Southeast Asia, looking into traditional community forest management (Poffenberger, 1994). A primary concern of the AFN was the promotion of the local communities' actual management knowledge within governmental policy (AFN, 1995). The familiarization and embedded engagement in communities over many years allowed for local stories and documentation of practices to emerge. These were the fundamental building blocks of a bottom-up approach for better management and greater inclusion of the cultures' contributions to local and national practices. The development of the "rubber sheeting" of community resource maps, to fit technical maps by stretching the former to overlap georeferenceable points that included tributary connections and road crossing, is an example of that kind of collaboration and allowed for community-designed management maps to be available to government departments (ESSC, 1998).

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The 1990s was also a period in which international organizations, such as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the UN, were seeking to work with Forestry Departments for better management of forests globally, so to avoid mass deforestation (IUCN, 1998-2001). Collaboration with local government and technical staff at national departments was considered essential in developing sound conservation programs (AFN, 1996). After 2000, the conservation network consolidated itself in Asia, growing into a collaboration of over 600 community foresters, at a time when indigenous rights and ancestral domain processes were being developed. In the region, RECOFTC emerged for a time as a regional platform for learning and engagement with governments (Apte, 2002). AFN formed an approach with many government programs across the region and gave strength to community initiatives not seen before (Poffenberger et al., 2006). The process was developed to bring professionals to the field and then bring the lessons learned back to policy discussions. This operated for many years in diverse contexts and in the Philippines, through what was known as the Philippine Working Group for Community-based Natural Resource Management.

3. Developments in growing networks in the Society

Two developments in the growth of networking are significant. First, the availability of internet tools and social media that allow for virtual gatherings and consistent communications in building a network from anywhere. The UN agencies are effective in sharing their information and data, in processing inquiries, access and applications for the multiple areas of international dialogue. Meanwhile, media and watchdog groups can also share their research and critique. Developing multiple strands of Jesuit communications and participation in these diverse meetings has been important in exploring international relationships while working more integrally within the Society of Jesus. Second, has been the strengthening of the Society of Jesus's own structures to adapt them to today's realities. The world has changed and Fr Adolfo Nicolás' response was the Society, too, must change: "St. Ignatius would be the first to speak of a change of structures, because reality has changed, because we have also changed, and because we know more and are more aware of what no longer works. The new structures will only work if we know how to collaborate and contribute" (Nicolás, 2014).

The challenge has been to understand that institutions can reach only so far, but in seeing the more universal mission there is a need for greater collaboration, giving time and resources to clear objectives that are not measured simply in terms of success rates. People still need to be rooted in their local and institutional work, while collaborating with the global objectives and enfolded into the institutional agenda. Institutions need to see there is something enriching for them in networking, always drawing them into the larger vision. Daniel Villanueva SJ noted that: "Flow (in a network) is when you have the right balance between challenges and skills. The objective has to be bold enough so that the network is not boring and does not produce reports no one reads." (Villanueva, 2023). Fr Pedro Arrupe, Superior General of the Society of Jesus between 1965-1981, sent a telegram to over 50 Provinces in 1979:

Continuing tragedy vietnamese boat people challenges to christian conscience, genuine commitment to GC32 and solidarity

People still need to be rooted in their local and institutional work, while collaborating with the global objectives and enfolded into the institutional agenda

I wish you mobilize as far as possible sustained effort of provibce to influence acclesial and civil community and government, even if already generaous, for extended right of asylum and financial aid

Arrupe

Daniel Villanueva (2023) references Arrupe's words to ask when setting up a network: "For your scope of action, with your vision, what telegram would you write? What needs are we called to answer that can only be answered collaboratively?" One of the most beautiful things about the Society of Jesus is that in the novitiate every novice learns that the superior's mere wish is to be taken as a command, so when Fr Arrupe turned to the whole Society to wish for a collective mobilization there was a response and the Jesuit Refugee Network (JRS) happened. JRS is an institutional network with global reach.

Networks have emerged in a diversity of ways over time, what has been critical has been the clarity of agreed relations, objectives and mandates. Some networks have been sustainable, some have faded out, yet every time there is much to be learned from the experience. Fe y Alegria (FyA), founded in Caracas in 1955, is an early form of a long existing educational network. These early shared experiences gave opportunity for others experimenting in networking to adopt or shift in their particular context, purpose and style of operating.

For example, visiting FyA, particularly in Bolivia, was very helpful for Jesuit initiatives identifying what could be done for indigenous education in the Philippines, where there was an initial identification of over one hundred schools in Mindanao.² While the effort failed, much was learned in forming the objectives and structuring the learning process and emphasis of cultural integrity. The Jesuit Commons: Higher Education in the Margins and later collaboration with Jesuit Worldwide Learning (JWL), helped understand how global collaboration makes education possible in circumstances otherwise unachievable (Balleis, 2016). Working with the Economic and Ecology Task Force of the International Association of Jesuit Universities was a further experience in strengthening collaboration with the Higher Educational Apostolate. All of the above experiences contributed to enrich the process of learning in Ecojesuit.

As Ecojesuit grew from a group of voluntary committed people coming from different institution closer coordination was sought. Authority over the networks and manner of accountability needed further clarification and documentation. Over time, with the appointment of Conference Presidents and of Social Secretaries, the GIANs gained acknowledgement. Formal recognition was given in 2022 through the GIAN Governance Document (2002). Fr Arturo Sosa affirmed this in his accompanying letter on 26 May stating that: "Collaboration and networking offer richness, solidarity and a challenging opportunity for our engagement in today's complex and changing socio-economic, political and religious situations" (Sosa, 2023a). The document clearly gives the mandate to these four networks and clarifies the relationships and manner of governance.

Ecojesuit coordinators are now appointed by each Conference and in turn seek to coordinate interests of Province-identified persons. The challenges to participation include how to allocate enough time—while dealing with other assignments and local social commitments—develop communication skills and share in the broader level of engagement while finding purpose in it. Essential is establishing or seeking to include commitment to care for our common home in

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² Mindanao map of indigenous learning centers and schools: <https://apupalanguwancenter.essc.org.ph/?p=4055>

aspects of the broader institutional, Provincial and Conference agendas. Without this commitment to an active participation there is limited possibility of a collaborative network beyond a newsletter. While Provinces and Conferences are establishing a foothold in caring for creation, and can be encouraged with the local and regional level engagement they are still challenged to share in the value of what can be discerned internationally; this requires a further commitment and takes time.

4. From process and structure, bringing all to prayer

This article documents a lot of process and structure experienced over the last 30 years. How can this genuinely grow and get tested in the Jesuit way of proceeding? Fundamental in this “checking” is to continue to bring all of these experiences along the way, to prayer, personal and communal as well as to the active discussion in the network.

Xavier Jeyaraj SJ highlights seven key steps in speaking of Jesuit characteristics for promoting ecological justice that are always worth reviewing at a time of updating or redesigning. They are: to establish personal friendship with the poor; to listen to the cry of the earth and creation; rigorous scientific research and analysis; to examine from personal, structural and inter-cultural perspectives; to work in collaboration with others; to share love, peace, joy and hope and to discern together and commit to live God’s mission of reconciliation (Jerayaj, 2020, pp. 140-143).

Care for the environment, for our common home, has a familiar starting point in the composition of place in the Spiritual Exercises. People have moved on from the fear of New Age and settle down anew to creation not being another dimension of mission, but the very start of the Bible and as the living “Book of Creation.” Creation was seen as an open and lived book in medieval times, not unfamiliar to St. Ignatius as he sat on the Roman rooftop at night. When considering the Trinity looking down upon the world, and then sending the Son, today the wonderful cosmic satellite images of the green, blue, sandy brown and white globe are already in everyone’s imagery and awe as a beautiful contemplation.

Similarly, composition of place, Bethlehem, where a child is born and the vulnerable reality of a family journeying is the context of so many people today. Human vulnerability and recognizing the face of Jesus in others is again occasion for a humbling and deep contemplation. During the Christmas season this need for a safe place is more easily recognized and less judged by most people. It is an occasion to contemplate within a faith context and act with compassion in the context of the poor around, from the local to the global. Understanding power in the world and not letting the peace of our heart be overtaken by this, but remaining open to share in the stories and aspirations of others is key in the leadership needed for networking.

People can experience locally the degradation and visualize our globe being damaged on a planetary scale. The “flight into Egypt” is made vivid in contemporary scenes of forced migration and wars around the world. The sense of relationship with our Creator and the coming of Christ into our midst, causes us to reimagine why and how each person is part of the discord and the need to respond to the call of the Holy Spirit. The defenselessness of the whole human family is laid bare and the need to defend human dignity before cultural and religious histories becomes evident. Similarly, the Earth is being degraded and billions of people are made marginal through techno-economic processes focused on wealth rather than wellbeing. In these contexts of both local and global, the call of reconciliation, of how people care for others and how every person is woven into the life of the planet holds the depth of meaning. This call for reconciliation can

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take the form of advocacy for change, of the need for greater processes of collaboration to build partnerships of trust and of engaging in international relations.

The GIAN networks of Ecology, Justice in Mining, Migration and Right to Quality Education (and previously one on Human Rights) are interwoven in their global realities and are not separate issues, but collectively seek to advocate an integral ecology and human dignity. GC36 helped in this with its emphasis on networking, collaboration and discernment as perspectives of the contemporary way of proceeding. Yet in the actual organizing the networks still need to develop the capacities and channels by which in the future these areas of advocacy can work more directly in support of each other. The UAPs give the Society the framework of the mission and out of this in the process of time grows the conditions of possibility.

The challenges of international relations are also very diverse and demand focus for small networks to be relevant. Advocacy network of the youth and groups like Magis and the Ignatian Solidarity Network (ISN) help create events where there is youth focus, but these have not got to a stage where actions are sustainable across networks while they can collaborate when drawn to participate in global events.

Returning to the process of advocacy, collaborations, partnerships and action at COP, this is best understood based on the experiences and learnings while participating. There are six general elements (not a step-by-step linear process) of how the networking proceeds that draw on a collaborative and communal engagement: scoping, narrative, diversity, ways of operating, planning, and communications.

5. Ecojesuit at COPS (I): scoping, narrative, and diversity

At the beginning of each year, the Ecojesuit Secretariat team sets up meetings with each of the six Conferences to listen to those involved and understand what is on their agenda for the year. Information is shared on what might be relevant in scoping of collaborative potentials. Other local works and positions are recognized while the network itself seeks to stay focused given the limited time for global action and geographical scope.

As climate change has become a conscious reality that needs a global focus, along with the interconnecting themes of disaster management, food security, indigenous rights, and now energy transitions, as well as the growth of ecclesial networks, the focus has gone to the COP process at the international level. The effort is to deepen commitment and awareness of our network partners on the complexities of the COP process, and the value of engaging in it as a vital part of our shared mission on climate justice. Following the Conference-level dialogues, five shared areas emerged and are kept in focus: a) agroecology (food and water vulnerability), b) youth engagement, c) ecclesial networking, d) policy advocacy, and e) just energy transition and divestment. These are followed through the COP process while also seeking to highlight the local stories and regional efforts. With fossil fuels are at the crux of COP discussions, divestment and just transition are gaining more attention for action and reinforce the need for a coherent South-North partnership.

Some countries may already have ongoing civil society engagements in preparation for COP and a few institutions may be following up more consistently at the national level, particularly now that Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) to cut emissions are established but

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not easily checked. This may include following the G7, G20, G77 and China, the European Union, the African Union and the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS). Policy engagement in both North America and the European Union is critical, given the lead action called for in their responsibilities to facilitate the energy transition.

Preparations for COP starts months before registration opens in July. Ecojesuit usually gathers online a team of people from the Jesuit Conferences or network partners including ISN, CVX-CLC and JRS, who are active and committed to participate in COP. People join other conversations with CIDSE and Caritas of many countries. Some organizations have UNFCCC accreditation, but many do not, so there is an effort to share the in-person and virtual access depending upon what agendas are prepared and what might be the greater focus. For COP26 in Glasgow, Ecojesuit shared slots with Jesuit Missions Britain. And for COP27, in Sharm el-Sheikh, shared slots with the Jesuit Conference of Africa and Madagascar, who were closely following key developments on agriculture and food systems.

Meanwhile, meetings with the core team (Conference appointed coordinators) are held to enable decision-making in identifying the network's focus that can be reviewed annually, yet hopefully run for at least three years. This preparation is essential for an annual core group meeting in one of the Conferences usually about mid-year. The Ecojesuit Secretariat team provides operational and coordination support.

Sharing an invitation to participate and forming the narrative for ecological justice needs sustained effort. One of the key actions of Ecojesuit in a year is to build the process of engagement in the annual COP meeting. Ecojesuit has operated for the last six year through the Institute of Environmental Science for Social Change (ESSC) that has observer status with the UNFCCC and give the access to Ecojesuit which does not have legal identity and cannot register. This enables Ecojesuit Secretariat and or particular team members to participate in official COP meetings for negotiations, plenaries, and side events as observers. After the core meeting discussions focused on putting together a commitment statement, organizing events and activities in the lead up to COP are explored, and what can be done on the ground for social participation and faith expression.

In the lead-up to COP, Ecojesuit with SJES on three occasions developed a commitment statement. This is an important element as it shapes our advocacy at COP drawing on local voices and concerns that are affected by global realities. It tackles the questions why Jesuits want to engage and how. A draft statement is circulated for feedback and acceptance, first to the Presidents of the Jesuit Conferences, Curia Apostolic Secretariats, then through them to Provincials and Social Secretariats, and social action centers, education institutions, and other GIANS. This helps us form a narrative where there is a broader interest to follow COP and understand what the statement means in terms of decisions in the policy context of this social and political gathering, and what is sought for the common good.

Producing the statements also helped consolidate accountability and commitment of the Conferences.³ It has focused the agenda at COP and how to network across apostolates,

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³ Some of the statements that Ecojesuit has released in past COPs: [United climate action for the common home: A statement from Ecojesuit in Bonn COP23](#); [Towards COP26: Advocating for Climate Justice, A Commitment from the Ignatian Family](#); [Ecojesuit towards COP28: Committing to a South-North climate justice advocacy](#)

Conferences, education institutions, and faith-based organizations that are committed to participate in the climate conference.

Along the way an experience in the local context threw light on the global and how collaboration flows both ways. Jörg Alt SJ has been disrupting traffic flows by joining people occupying road crossings in Bavaria for a brief period before the police come and haul them out. He has clear Province backing, but many do not see the point in such action that results more in irritation rather than reflection. He has called for global support at times, particularly from the South to highlight the excesses of a state heavily invested in the motor industry. Ecojesuit wrote a statement of support and Pedro Walpole had the opportunity to join him during one of the protests. Jörg Alt stresses the need for greater regulation given the environmental debt of the Global North and impact in the South. In September 2023, he supported a very peaceful gathering near the offices of the Bavarian Chancery and Ministry of Transport, focusing on the proposed removal of corporate accountability as required by the Supply Chain Due Diligence Act. In doing this, his statement highlighted the connection with the Global South and the call for greater vehicle regulation given the impacts of climate change.

Though most Jesuits do not join peaceful protests of this nature, there is a silent recognition that this is a sign of a healthy democracy. In recent COP events the restrictions on demonstrations have become a major outcry against the host country security systems (The Guardian, 2023). These actions question the political structures of our time and call for deeper reflection and processes for understanding participation in such engagements.

In reviewing the measure of a network, always experiencing some shifts, as was said earlier, success is in the accompaniment and the actual participation not simply the effectiveness of the advocacy. There is a *cura personalis*, the openness to a different agenda, and trying to find an easy and trusting way in the meetings, most often virtual, to follow as discernment of listening and speaking, calm enough to share a sense of this being God's will that is emerging beyond an individuals or reality.

The Provinces and Conferences already have their plans and agendas, so the alignment of network objectives is critical at each level and in the overall strategy. The team-actors generally come from institutions that are independent, but overall see the importance of cooperation and seek out collaboration to bring them beyond their area objectives. As these people identify with the network, and are not constantly changing, this allows things to work; the authority stems more from the shared commitment drawn from a sense of a collective mission. The facilitation and inspiration continues to align interests. Having drawn in the interests and objectives the challenge, then, is to understand how best to identify strategies that help cascade the actions through the network flows.

The resources are in the Provinces and Conferences, that already provide for the team members to implement the shared objectives at the appropriate levels and the effort is in part to leverage their participation at a more universal level for the greater good. If this gives a better understanding of the inner networks, then the recently shared and growing objective of participating in the COP process is more easily understood.

In reviewing the measure of a network, always experiencing some shifts, as was said earlier, success is in the accompaniment and the actual participation not simply the effectiveness of the advocacy

6. Ecojesuit at COPs (II): ways of operating, planning and communicating

There were memorable COPs along the way with growing social commitment: the Kyoto Protocol (COP3, 1997) calling for legally binding reductions in greenhouse gas emissions 6 to 8% below 1990 figures, this is much the same call today and yet no action agreement over 25 years later. The Montreal Protocol on Ozone (COP11, 2005) that was notably successful, and the Copenhagen breakdown (COP15, 2009) that led to Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) as a renewed approach to give countries the freedom to commit to action.

Ecojesuit usually has two to five “observer status” in-person slots to the COP and they have “badges” that enable them to be present in many official meetings and events. This area is called the “Blue Zone.” In-person team members usually keep track of COP negotiations and key developments, and communicate this back to the network.

Then, there are virtual slots, shared by the supporting team who provide communication and coordination assistance to the in-person participants. Virtual members keep track of key developments and discussions by joining livestreamed sessions and keep track of what is happening at home.

Forming the team while working within a diversity of approaches and opportunities is critical. In COP21 in Paris, there was occasion for several Jesuits and partners to collaborate; they were fortunate to be able to stay together in the Jesuit Francis Xavier community and with the help of Xavier de Bénazé SJ engage with the other Jesuit communities and events at the CERAS institute which was very enriching (Ecojesuit, 2021).

In the lead-up to COP26, Ecojesuit organized a simple virtual pilgrimage entitled “On the Way to Change”, visiting schools and youth groups globally. Ecojesuit accompanied a group of indigenous youth in Mindanao (Philippines) in a series of dialogues on their hopes and expectations for world leaders at COP26. They also exchanged insights on the indispensable role of youth at the forefront of climate action.

Occasionally, Ecojesuit co-organizes events at COP (either official or in parallel) with its partners in an effort to highlight the faith voice. These events included: i) *Laudato si'*: Environment as Relationship, a dialogue and fair organized with Aloisuiskolleg High School in Bonn at COP23 in 2017; ii) Local and indigenous knowledge to climate action, an event at the Capacity-building Hub, was co-organized with the Dedicated Grant Mechanism for Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities at COP25 in Madrid in 2019. The Ecojesuit COP26 team organized a virtual parallel event at the Ignatian Spirituality Centre in Glasgow, on “Faith at the Climate Frontiers: Consequences for Oceania and Asia.”

A few weeks before a COP, the Ecojesuit Secretariat compiles a list of official COP meetings and side events that can be accessed virtually. These are identified in relation to the themes of the statement, and are shared with the COP team. Event compilations were put together for COP26 and COP27.

Communications medium refers to how our message gets communicated and where, and how key developments from COP are shared with our partners. The medium used include, but were not limited to, microsites, social media, brochures and check-in virtual meetings. COP-specific microsites have been developed to highlight faith-based stories of action, reflections, editorials, resources and materials, and engagement updates, e.g., Ecojesuit@COP23, Ecojesuit@

Ecojesuit accompanied a group of indigenous youth in Mindanao (Philippines) in a series of dialogues on their hopes and expectations for world leaders at COP26. They also exchanged insights on the indispensable role of youth at the forefront of climate action

COP26.⁴ Brochures are prepared by the Ecojesuit communications team to highlight the message in the statement and faith-based engagement. This is a way to introduce to others what Ecojesuit is about and how to connect. Hard copies were handed out by COP in-person team members and shared online. The network has check-in online meetings during the two weeks of COP; the effort is to organize at least two such meetings with the virtual team to share updates and reflections on COP developments.

Depending on the context and location of COP, Ecojesuit tends to share its badges with partners who wish to lead an engagement. In COP27, partners from JCAM were actively able to keep track of discussions on loss and damage and agroecology. In the latest COPs the number of slots for observer organizations are becoming tighter. Partners are highly encouraged through their institutions to secure accreditation with the UNFCCC or find other institutions that may have extra badges.

During COP25 the daily schedule was discussed and the various events were divided up. Some people had a keen sense of some negotiations and points to be tracked by the different parties (country negotiators), and others found great value in the social networking and advocacy around the meetings in the “Green Zone” (a more widely accessible area for the public). Individuals would agree to write articles on a particular negotiation item or social event, and the sense of joint effort is strong. This is adapted to the shifting reality than many network members come by way of other organizations and have related writing commitments.

In COP28, people got access through other agencies, organizations, government delegations or research program and therefore already had a set focus in a particular negotiation or network and had to work with those commitments. The effort is to also highlight these events, to communicate, to share insights and learnings, and to find occasions to gather. Ecojesuit team focused on sharing the daily outcomes while Rigobert Minani SJ from JCAM accompanied the Church leaders from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Vatican News, 2023). Charles Chilufya SJ was both following negotiations and working with the Jesuit Justice and Ecology Network Africa (JENA) in several events on just transition and mining, and blue (aquatic) foods for greater awareness (JENA, 2023).

Post-COP wrap-up and continuity is an opportunity to join a week later a virtual meeting with partners and collaborators to share a rundown of what was achieved and what fell short in COP, learnings, experiences, and insights on how the network has engaged helps focus and establish a further reference for a shared global advocacy in the coming year. Ecojesuit also shares a post-COP editorial or reflection. Some of these include:

- » Stepping beyond Paris with hope in a better world (2016).
- » The closing of COP26 and the Gospel of Mark (2021b).
- » Struggling to build global governance through the COP process (2022).

The depth of the engagement in COP comes out clearly in the process, as a call for greater justice, recognizing that we operate from a point of service. It is very easy to see that the fundamental discussions are about justice between nations. This in turn has led in COP28 to a clearer acknowledgement of how our faith builds our sense of service and justice. Especially,

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4 See <https://cop23.ecojesuit.com> and <https://cop26.ecojesuit.com>

as lay people and the youth join in an intergenerational call for responsibility, this has gained importance. These principles of engagement give us greater leverage and credibility in the call for action and help us come home and continue to make this work part of the one apostolic body and helps raise thoughts about the apostolic map that together can be developed.

This message, faith that does justice, is the hallmark of GC32 and in subsequent discussions Pedro Arrupe SJ (1976) continued talking of interprovincial, inter-assistance collaboration and being at the service of the universal Church. Though he did not clearly identify the importance of engaging in the secular world, in the same edition of *Studies*, Michael Schultheis (1976) discusses the strategic importance of international conferences and special sessions of the UN concerning the world economy and structures of dependence. While discussing “major arenas for future negotiations,” he commends the participation of “congressional advisors, non-government organizations and concerned citizens” in these processes and the responsibility to listen when seeking to address “the root causes of world hunger and advance peace and justice in an interdependent global community.” Nearly 50 years later, negotiations at COP are dealing with these concerns in the current context of climate change. This creation of value around participation in international processes affirms the importance of the “social cloud of concern” and action around political processes, while generating greater accountability. The need is to continue to form a more strategic vision of these challenges to foster a greater international collaborative response.

7. Ecojesuit at COPs (III): working at COP28 in Dubai

During the Ecojesuit annual meeting in the Philippines last August, the Core Team discussed the value and significance of engaging in COP28, Takeaway n. 4 (Ecojesuit, 2023b). This particular COP is met with controversy and backlash from the onset, due to its location in an oil-rich nation, and the CEO of Adnoc, one of the world’s largest offshore oil companies, being elected as the President of the gathering. While there is a need for fossil fuel companies to be involved, it is crucial that they are transparent in their participation and agendas.

Despite its complexities, it remains critical to engage, as the UNFCCC COP is an important space for the Global South to confront the Global North for its inaction. Our effort to engage is also a way to further highlight the value of the faith voice as a valid participant in UN processes, as faith organizations come together in response to the moral and humble call for justice. Pope Francis’ exhortation *Laudate Deum* affirms this and brought about greater urgency during COP28.

To spur this forward, the Ecojesuit Core Team and SJES launched the statement: “Ecojesuit towards COP28: Committing to a South-North climate justice advocacy” (Ecojesuit, 2023c) that had gathered over 100 signatures from the Presidents of the Jesuit Conferences, Curia Apostolic Secretariats, Provincials and Social Secretaries, and social action centers, education institutions, and GIANS.

The statement lays out five calls in relation to key COP28 issues and five commitment points in seeking a coherent South-North climate justice advocacy. The statement affirms our commitment to *Laudato Si’*, *Laudate Deum*, and UAP 4: care for the Common Home by engaging locally, nationally, and globally with the COP process. This also helped focused the group’s agenda at COP28 and how to more broadly network across Conferences, apostolates,

Despite its complexities, it remains critical to engage, as the UNFCCC COP is an important space for the Global South to confront the Global North for its inaction

civil society, and faith organizations. The Secretariat designed a simple brochure that serves as the invitation to join Pope Francis' call of reconciliation with the common home.⁵ Ecojesuit also launched a microsite: "Ecojesuit for Climate Justice: Faith Action towards Inclusive COPs," to share climate stories and voices from a context of faith and hope.

COP28 also marked the inauguration of the first Faith Pavilion, that serves as a space for encounter, dialogue, and action with all groups of faith in our shared ecology mission. However, there are many operational difficulties in running the pavilion including the operational costs of at least 1m. USD, with reliance on donations and grants.

It is unfortunate that observer organizations were only given two slots to access the Blue Zone, and this may be due to the increasing number of organizations securing UNFCCC accreditation. With the limited number of slots, it was difficult for Ecojesuit to build and coordinate a team at COP, unlike in previous COPs, where we formed a team, stayed together in a Jesuit residence and kept track of key negotiations and developments as a collective.

Through ESSC, Peter Walpole and Criselle Mejillano, from Ecojesuit Secretariat, participated in the two weeks of COP28. Guided by the identified themes in the COP28 statement, they had a focused agenda that identified key negotiation items to track and report. One main effort was to write daily articles on COP developments for the climate justice website that highlighted yet made accessible the technical nature of the negotiation processes. It is important to reckon with such tediousness to understand the deep struggle of over 180 country delegations in keeping focus on climate change responses. The integrity and sincerity shown by many of the negotiators in establishing an agreed policy procedure and action is noteworthy.

At COP28 there was strong presence of partners, from JCAM, particularly Charles Chilufya SJ, and Leonard Chiti SJ, the Provincial of the South Africa Province (Ecojesuit, 2023d). Ngonidzashe Edward SJ, of the Jesuit Centre for Ecology and Development (JCED), also made several interventions in different events (Ecojesuit, 2023e). These interventions are highly valued, as they brought forward the local realities of climate vulnerable communities in Africa, and what is faith-based accompaniment. JENA sustained its communications on key COP developments and highlighting the African voice, and our partners from the Jesuit European Social Centre (JESC) also shared daily updates on COP along with spiritual reflections.

Hosting virtual meetings with the in-person team and the virtual team during COP28 helped deepen a sense of solidarity and mission while struggling to sustain engagement. The team wrote on the two occasions of virtual meetings during the COP and once after as a basis for summarizing key developments: Ecojesuit at COP28 Sharing Experiences, Ecojesuit sharing challenges, expectations, and hopes for COP28 and beyond, and then a final wrap up text as article? (Ecojesuit, 2023f).

The lengthy and complex process of negotiations at a COP posed a genuine challenge for the small Ecojesuit delegation, highlighting the need to be more strategic in planning and collaboration in the future. Amid the disruptions, dysfunctionality, and politics that dominate the COP process, these are the tensions that we hold as we experience more deeply a sense of mission. It is not about being effective or listing what is accomplished in each COP, but a humble accompaniment and primary responsibility to hold out with hope.

JENA sustained its communications on key COP developments and highlighting the African voice

5 See <https://climatejustice.ecojesuit.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/COP28-Brochure-merged.pdf>

Throughout our engagement at COP, we joined a team of Catholic actors comprising of members from CIDSE, Caritas Internationalis, CYNESA, and SCIAF, among others, who are committed to keep building the faith voice and presence in future COPs. The regular meetings with the Holy See delegation led by the Apostolic Nuncio Archbishop Christophe Zakhia El-Kassis, are significant in highlighting local concerns in the negotiations from a faith context.

8. Emergence of Catholic actors at COP

This is just the diversity of interactions involving Jesuit related people at COP and trying to make sense of what may be of value is a challenge. There is also the need to face the seemingly contradictory, if not bizarre, gathering at COP, its ecological footprint yet to be documented. Yet there is an immediate need to also understand further the faith dimension and developments during the meeting.

After 9/11, Islam in the West was identified with terrorism. Azza Karam (2016), from the UNFPA, highlighted the dangers of such an attitude and continued to stress that faith organizations through the world had contributed greatly to the basic social services of the poor, often long before governments could. A greater appreciation of faith organizations has developed within the UN and are acknowledged to have an identity also in civil society. This is increasingly evident in past meetings with places for prayer and now a pavilion. UN Faith for Earth Coalition seeks to strengthen partnership with faith-based organization's leadership to achieve policy impact; work with greening faith-based organization's investments, operations and assets; and seek to establish an accessible knowledge-based support system using faith scripts and scientific evidence.

Being physically present in the small crowd of the faithful and to hear the words of the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, Ahmed Al-Tayeb, and Pope Francis, and later to greet Cardinal Parolin at the actual Faith Pavilion, gave renewed strength to the moral voice and search for alternatives and transformation. If in discerning—all else being equal—the more universal is a key principle, then global networking is an increasingly sought process in finding international relations and finding the language of faith in a secular world.

As Catholic actors at COP we are all called to collaborate first with God. God continues to work with us in creation, transforming our reality into the promised kingdom. Striving for service and justice is what makes the Catholic action humble and legitimate, and it is in this cry rather than political power where the call for accountability is heard. As discussions on the final document got increased focus, a group calling itself COP28 Catholic Actors organized through social media to invite all Catholics to a gathering on the Saturday, 9th December, in one of the rooms to discuss what we can share as people of faith. It was wonderful to hear people share their experience and the interest to be together. Online meetings continue and promise renewed engagement in the coming COPs.

The call for a more explicit faith is growing, as people continue to be awakened to the daily violence and conflict all around the world. The world lives in the first week of the Spiritual Exercises, where the extent and vastness of people's daily travail, joy, exertions, hunger, hopes, exhaustion, violence and prayers is seen. For the Christian community, divided, secluded, idealistic, pious, attentive there is the great opportunity in Advent and Lent, times of preparation, of sensitivity to the joy of God, to the inner peace of God amongst us now. In these times of

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preparation, grace can be found to experience humbly this “kingdom now,” even and especially where there is much distress. From this grows a trust that whatever happens, all is not lost and that the goodness does gather, it is like the natural growth of plants silently to grow and grow, yes, they die too as life still grows.

9. Ongoing reflection on the Society of Jesus and International Relations

This reflection is the story of Ecojesuit and the collective desire to care for our environment—ecosystems, biodiversity within and climate around—that we are living in and acting on. Daily, people are generally unaware of the integral shifts happening—particularly changes in chemical and energy transactions. Nor do people act in ways that reflect how human beings belong and have our origins in this nature and creation—we are nature, created by God. Over fifty percent of the world is urbanized, a very distended and imbalanced ecosystem, the flows increasingly mechanically disrupting rather than organically exchanging. Another great percentage of humanity live by industrial agriculture (and other extractive industries), and then there are those few who on a daily basis nurture the land or live humbly from the seas. Many people still have generational memories that can bring them back to their roots; they need to use them, during holiday seasons and family events to live more simply and calmly.

It is important to trace our actions from all these local ecosystems seeking change locally, seeking to live peacefully and justly so as to take up the larger national and regional challenges. The objective is not to expect to technically solve this constructed world of problems, but to share the reality and lighten the burden, from the local to the global more modestly and better. Ecojesuit seeks to connect with our basic life and prayer, connecting the story or renewal with community and mission.

The struggle has been to not get caught just with simply informing Jesuits and Jesuit institutions, on an internal passive advocacy, but to make the advocacy real in context. There is still a challenge to cultivate a level of action within, as in divesting and reinvesting in more ecologically sustainable energy, as done with armaments and nuclear portfolios in the 1960s. High schools are achieving broader social engagements for environmental action as well as many pastoral efforts connecting with the *Laudato si'* Action Platform (LSAP) of the Dicastery and *Laudato si'* Movement (LSM). Many of our university conferences are now inclusive of local actors, indigenous representatives, youth leaders and women's groups. The very process of listening with church communities as to how and where they meet the living Christ brings communities back to care for the people, lands and life in the margins.

At the same time the effort is to form a more heterogenous group of organizations and institutions seeking a more meaningful exchange for the good of the mission. This affirmation of a greater universal vision is recognized as needing greater collaborative and collective participation and shared commitment with others. There is a need for significant reflection to understand how Ecojesuit could contribute to a deeper experience of conversion and more connected action.

Ecojesuit is an ongoing learning, of how local actions can be drawn together and form a story—a belief—that from these small actions of wellbeing, personal fulfillment and community collaboration, the greater horizon becomes a more workable reality. A further focus and need for deeper reflection and conversion is called for by Arturo Sosa SJ (2023b, p. 94): “In practically all

The struggle has been to not get caught just with simply informing Jesuits and Jesuit institutions, on an internal passive advocacy, but to make the advocacy real in context

the Provinces/Regions it is recognized that we have not found the way forward or changed our life-mission to collaborate in the care of our Common Home in a new and effective manner.” It is here where the Spirit helps us discern, so we can act with hope and seek to reconcile the human destruction of our own being as nature. Collective learning is very slow, it comes with a generation that seeks change. Not every generation seeks change as some build further on the model of the earlier generation, but then comes a generation confronted by the world itself changing. What does our network need to do of itself and with others to achieve this sense of the mission?

All these shared contexts and arising questions help us reflect on our own reality and what we might do while facing our fears. *De Statu Societatis* raises some poignant questions of insertion that we must answer in our own reflection and learn together to find the ways. “How can we reconcile the life of insertion and the standard requirements of religious, personal and community life?” This comes as a long-term call for personal and community discernment and needing to see the light coming from other shared experiences. Again, the question arises: “How far is it possible to identify with the poor and oppressed in their struggle for justice, which inevitably involves political structures?” (Sosa, 2023b, p. 77). This opens an area of discussion particularly in the social apostolate that has laid silent for some time and requires great vision and should no longer leave people isolated in their commitment.

Networking needs a broad base of shared local contexts and actions in seeking to understand the complementary realities of the poor and youth. Networking with groups that share a similar focus (i.e., climate justice and social vulnerability) ensures valued collaboration in shaping a universal sense of mission. This is how networking responds to the four UAPs. The heart of collaboration and reference for all collaboration is our own prayer, our listening to God and being guided by the Holy Spirit as we work with others, humbly knowing we are working with God. While we must have genuine political and technical responses the solution lies in this generation’s response that grows from the heart and involve all sides. While we must talk of the global North and South, urban and rural, consumption and waste, norms and extremes, balance and inclusion must bring us all together.

In the last six years Ecojesuit has become a “structural” reality of collaboration both because of the governance document and because Conference Presidents have “care for creation” on their agenda. It is also clear in the last few years with COP, not so evident yet with the SDGs, that this is a serious engagement in international relations and not some busybody social questioning out of its depth. Furthermore, its strength can now be recognized as an expression of universal commitment seriously contributing and underlining apostolic choice.

Beyond the temperature extremes and biodiversity loss that the Global North adeptly downplays, when discussing the immediate tipping points at risk are in the cryosphere: with the collapse of the West Antarctic ice sheets, and in Greenland, extensive thawing of permafrost, but also in the tropics with the death of coral reefs, and the collapse of one oceanic current in the North Atlantic. Our urban world, in particular, has is still silo-locked and because the tipping points are not in “my back yard,” who cares, as we will find a technical solution somehow when it becomes economically significant within a given political term of office. Bottom line that the urgency of increasing loss and damages particularly in tropical and ocean states continue while the extreme weather affects even temperate zones.

This crisis is not an endless debate about whether we will totally destruct or in the end “it-will-all-work-out” philosophy and is not measured in terms of successful outcomes but humble

Networking needs a broad base of shared local contexts and actions in seeking to understand the complementary realities of the poor and youth

accompaniment. What might be added in the basic understanding and thought process regarding a network is that Ecojesuit clearly shares a global perspective on international relations and values this; while it can be frustrating, it literally does build peace, even if there is at times subterfuge and manipulation, there is no bloodshed.

It was only confirmed in December 2023 that COP29 would be held in the former Soviet republic of Azerbaijan in 2024, and in 2025 it would go to Belém, in Brazil's Amazon region. For COP31, the next major heads of state gathering, Australia's bid now to co-host with the Pacific nations in 2026 is yet to be resolved. COP will have to continue to battle with misinformation and polarization, but as the next ten years move on, extreme weather events, critical change in Earth systems, biodiversity loss and ecosystem collapse, and with natural resource shortages viewed as the dominant risks by the World Economic Forum (2024).

We are sent to reconcile, so as we seek renewal each in our local context, may we pray to know the direction and where we are called to accompany; may we send out that telegram like Fr Arrupe to the world we know and seek together right action.

Acknowledges

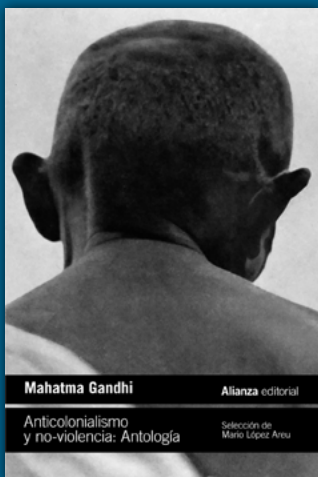
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Anticolonialismo y no-violencia: Antología

Mahatma Gandhi

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Universidad Pontificia Comillas

Anticolonialismo y no-violencia: Antología nos presenta una recopilación de los principales textos de Mahatma Gandhi, seleccionados y traducidos por Mario López Areu, profesor de Relaciones Internacionales de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas y especialista en pensamiento político poscolonial e indio en particular. Si bien los textos permitirán al lector conocer las bases fundamentales del pensamiento político, ético y económico del pensador, político y activista indio, la selección refleja, a su vez, el propósito del editor de resaltar el factor distintivo que supuso la participación de Gandhi para el desarrollo del movimiento nacionalista indio como un movimiento eminentemente no-violento. Además, el libro remarca la relevancia del estudio del movimiento no solo en el ámbito político —la lucha anticolonial— sino también en el ámbito sociológico, ya que el principio de la desobediencia civil no-violenta ha inspirado a otros movimientos sociales y su influencia continúa en la actualidad.

El libro se inicia con un detallado estudio introductorio que presenta y analiza la figura histórica, ideas y estrategia política de Mahatma Gandhi, con la finalidad de ayudar al lector a contextualizar y comprender los textos incluidos en la antología (p. 14). El estudio comienza con una breve presentación de las razones por las cuales el movimiento nacionalista indio puede considerarse como uno de los “grandes hitos de la historia del mundo moderno” (p. 12). Así, se destaca la importancia de su estudio, a menudo subestimado en los ámbitos académicos occidentales, a

pesar de tratarse de un recurso valioso para enriquecer nuestra comprensión de conceptos sociopolíticos fundamentales, tales como “democracia» o “nación”. Estos son conceptos que a menudo analizamos desde una óptica occidental, lo que puede limitar nuestra comprensión de las diversas realidades culturales, políticas, sociales y económicas presentes en el Sur Global. A continuación, el estudio introductorio aborda la trayectoria vital de Gandhi. En esta sección, se analiza cómo sus experiencias en Reino Unido, Sudáfrica e India progresivamente moldean y asientan las bases del pensamiento y visión política del Mahatma. En la tercera parte del estudio se presentan los ejes fundamentales del pensamiento ético-político de Gandhi. Esta última sección es de utilidad para comprender plenamente el contenido de los textos incluidos en la antología. Algunos aspectos generales que se destacan son: la noción de igualdad basada en el individualismo y la diferenciación; la tolerancia hacia la diversidad religiosa o los motivos que llevaron a Gandhi a pasar de ser un súbdito leal del Imperio Británico a convertirse en un firme opositor al mismo. Posteriormente, se presentan y analizan las particularidades de su filosofía y visión ético-política a través del ideal político y económico de la no-violencia que Gandhi consideraba que debía seguir una India verdaderamente libre. Por último, López Areu enfatiza la relevancia actual del pensamiento del activista indio en el análisis y abordaje de desafíos contemporáneos, al considerar la aplicabilidad del concepto gandhiano de

individualismo autoconsciente como un concepto básico para el avance social en la actualidad (p. 69).

La antología ofrece una amplia y representativa selección de escritos de Mahatma Gandhi desde 1908 a 1948, incluyendo diversos discursos, ensayos, capítulos de libros, debates y relatos autobiográficos. Estos textos están organizados siguiendo un recorrido cronológico, que abarca desde los fundamentos de su pensamiento político-ético delineados en su obra más importante, *Hind Swaraj* (1909), hasta aquellos que detallan sus razones para luchar por la descolonización de India, pasando por el desarrollo ideológico y práctico del movimiento por la independencia indio. Los escritos incluyen al inicio una breve nota introductoria, en la que se proporciona al lector un contexto histórico y biográfico conciso sobre la relevancia del texto. Además, se destacan las principales ideas contenidas en el texto y los criterios que llevaron a su inclusión en el libro.

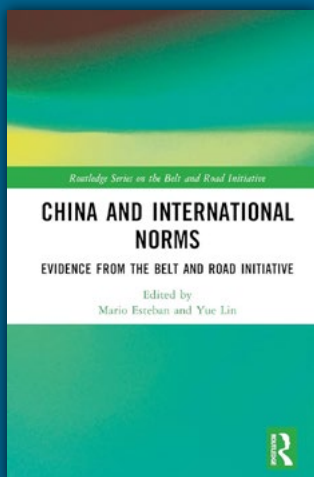
Al final del libro se incluye un glosario de autoría de López Areu, el cual proporciona al lector una herramienta útil durante su lectura al ofrecer un amplio repertorio de definiciones de términos marcados con un asterisco en los textos. Este repertorio abarca desde términos políticos, filosóficos o religiosos hasta nombres de figuras históricas, partidos políticos u organizaciones sociales. Es importante destacar que el autor ha tomado la decisión de “desviarse de la convención académica” no utilizando las cursivas para los términos y conceptos autóctonos indios, decisión que se fundamenta en su deseo de reflejar fielmente la hibridez del pensamiento de Gandhi, caracterizado por su defensa del diálogo intercultural y filosófico y su intento por evitar “una dicotomía ante los ojos del lector que no reflejaría la verdadera naturaleza sincrética de su pensamiento” (p. 10).

En términos generales, la antología se propone como un estudio académico que, lejos de ser excluyente, invita a una comprensión más profunda del pensamiento de Mahatma Gandhi a través de la lectura directa de sus textos más importantes. Con esto quiero hacer referencia a cómo esta selección de escritos y reflexiones no adoptan una narrativa académica dirigida únicamente a personas con amplios conocimientos en la materia, sino que

llaman al lector común, a los estudiantes y a toda persona con interés en el tema. Así, la selección de estos textos se presenta como una herramienta útil y estimulante para adentrarse en el pensamiento de Gandhi, al tiempo que se invita a reflexionar sobre su relevancia en el contexto actual. Destacando el concepto de democracia y el valor de la diversidad, características distintivas de la cultura india, la obra busca distinguirse al abordar no solo el pensamiento de Gandhi, sino también otros aspectos de la sociedad india. En este sentido, ofrece una visión amplia y profunda que no solo enriquece la comprensión del pensamiento de Mahatma Gandhi, sino que también proporciona perspectivas frescas para el lector occidental sobre diferentes conceptos universales.

Desde un enfoque internacionalista, cabría destacar, quizás, la ausencia de una mirada más amplia sobre la figura de Gandhi que trascienda el contexto específico de la lucha anticolonial. Por ejemplo, aunque se analiza la controversia alrededor del racismo de Gandhi contra los africanos (pp. 22-23) y el propio Gandhi hace referencia al auge del fascismo en algunos textos (véase “Abandonad la India”), la cuestión internacional no juega un papel central en el libro.

En conclusión, *Anticolonialismo y no-violencia: Antología* proporciona al lector una recopilación cuidadosamente seleccionada y traducida de textos fundamentales de Mahatma Gandhi, la más amplia y completa hasta ahora en español. Además de introducirnos en los principios esenciales del pensamiento político-ético de Gandhi, el libro destaca la importancia de comprender el movimiento nacionalista indio dentro del contexto sociopolítico global, así como su influencia en otros movimientos sociales y políticos, desde la lucha contra el *Apartheid* en Sudáfrica al Movimiento por los Derechos Civiles en EE. UU. o el activismo ecologista. La inclusión del capítulo introductorio y un glosario de términos enriquecen aún más la experiencia de lectura, al tiempo que demuestran un compromiso con la accesibilidad y la claridad conceptual. Esta obra no solo ofrece una visión más profunda del legado de Gandhi, sino que también invita a reflexionar sobre cuestiones universales como la democracia, la libertad, la ética individual o la diversidad cultural.



China and International Norms: Evidence from the Belt and Road Initiative

Mario Esteban & Yue Lin (eds.)

2023. Routledge

218 páginas

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Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Not too long ago, China was largely perceived as a regional player primarily focused on events in its immediate vicinity. However, within a relatively short span of time, China has evolved into a global actor, solidifying its position among a select group of nations with interests that span the entire globe and the capability to actively pursue them. The remarkable rise in China's influence on the global stage has generated considerable interest in the country's impact on the norms and standards that form the foundation of the existing international order, especially in the wake of the country's foreign policy shift under current President Xi Jinping towards more proactive and assertive stances in a variety of international matters. Xi's key foreign policy initiative, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), has demonstrated an ambition not only to enhance worldwide connectivity but also to augment China's normative influence along networks of capital and infrastructure.

Comprehending China's impact on international norms is vital for navigating a complex and interconnected world. It enables nations, organizations, and individuals to adapt to evolving global dynamics, fostering cooperation, managing potential conflicts, and working towards shared goals. Mario Esteban and Yue Lin have edited a volume that provides the reader with a comprehensive overview of Chinese normative influence in a variety of policy areas. To this end, they utilize a theoretical framework that classifies China's attitude towards

international norms into five categories: cooperation, compliance, qualification, infraction, and subversion. The classification of the Chinese approach to each of the policy areas analysed is based on three explanatory variables: the congruence between China's norms and international norms, the degree of implementation of international norms in BRI initiatives, and China's active or passive approach to the creation of norms and standards within the given field.

The theoretical framework used throughout the volume is presented in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, Mario Esteban and Iliana Olivié scrutinize China's engagement with aid norms, focusing on the case studies of Ethiopia, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Their analysis suggests that the Asian powerhouse infringes key aid principles, notably by eschewing the Western approach of politically conditioning aid, in favour of advancing its own national and domestic interests. They also note a discernible shift toward conforming to international standards, often upon the aid recipients' behest.

Juan He reaches a similar conclusion in Chapter 3 regarding distant-water fishing (DWF) along the BRI, arguing that China's approach to DWF is reactive yet pragmatic, as evidenced by its reluctance to sign or ratify crucial international instruments, and the routine exemption of DWF from national fishing regulations, in particular when it comes to combatting Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated fishing.

In Chapter 4, Mario Esteban and Lara Lázaro discuss climate governance, positing that China generally aligns with international norms set by the UNFCCC. However, they emphasize China's persistent self-identification as a developing country, a stance that curtails the obligations stemming from these norms. The BRI is highlighted as further proof of this qualifying stance.

In Chapter 5, Yue Lin tackles corporate social responsibility (CSR), pointing out the dual yet disparate CSR frameworks espoused within China and abroad. The former is characterized by the selective adoption of international CSR norms, resulting in an uneven development across CSR dimensions. While initiatives beyond China's borders exhibit a higher degree of alignment with international norms, implementation largely relies on on-location managers, introducing notable inconsistencies. These differences again place China firmly in the qualification category.

Chapter 6, authored by Claudio Feijóo, Cristina Armuña, and Javier Fernández-Díaz, assesses Chinese engagement with international Edtech standards. Similar to Chapter 5, it concludes that China qualifies said standards by espousing different approaches at the domestic and international levels. To foreign audiences China underscores the importance of openness and collaboration in education, emphasizing joint efforts in science and technology research. Conversely, in addressing domestic audiences, the focus shifts to portraying the nation's culture and history accurately, and to leveraging education for innovation in the pursuit of global leadership. China's approach to Edtech is thus described as qualification with some salient and increasing examples of subversion in favour of domestic objectives.

In Chapter 7, authors Ge Gao and Yuanbo Li critically examine China's involvement in international agricultural cooperation, using Sino-LAC agricultural collaboration as a focal point. They conclude that China qualifies international agricultural cooperation norms, primarily as a result of its pursuit to ensure domestic food security. The analysis reveals moderate congruence with and implementation of international norms domestically, and a focus on bilateral cooperation through the BRI, rather than multilateral initiatives at regional fora.

Finally, in Chapter 8, Miguel Otero-Iglesias addresses the internationalization of the RMB, arguing that China, while not fully accepting the triad composed by free capital flows, floating exchange rates and independent central banks, has largely refrained from adopting a subversive stance towards the principles underpinning the neoliberal economic order, which again amounts to the qualification of international norms. The author also underscores the use of the BRI to bypass neoliberal principles via strategies including currency swap agreements, an interbank payment system, and the digital Yuan. Chapter 9 follows, wherein the book editors succinctly synthesize the insights garnered from the preceding chapters, underscoring the intricate nature of China's approach to various international standards.

The collection of analyses curated by Esteban and Lin provides a valuable starting point to continue the more nuanced analysis of Chinese foreign policy and attitudes. It is evident that China can and will continue to contribute to the evolution of international norms. What remains to be seen is how the international community can engage China in a more constructive manner when it comes to global governance. The theoretical framework that underpins the research in this book holds considerable promise as a way to transcend the constraints imposed by the binary systems of analysis that are often applied to China's foreign policy. Rather than being confined to a rigid categorization as either a status quo power or a revisionist force, the framework allows for a more comprehensive understanding of China's nuanced positions.

To enhance this understanding further, there is an opportunity to integrate this continuum approach with a secondary spectrum framework devised to delve deeper into China's bureaucratic policy-making processes, elucidating the roles played by both state and non-state actors, thus providing an even more complete picture of the thought and processes behind Chinese policymaking. This approach not only facilitates an examination of whether China seeks to alter international norms but also provides insights into the intricate pathways through which such changes might be pursued. By helping to unravel the complexities of China's foreign policy dynamics, this approach becomes a powerful tool for scholars and policymakers aiming to comprehend and navigate the multifaceted landscape of China's global interactions.



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