

The significance of “reconciliation” in the globalized world

—considered with the spirit of Teilhard de Chardin

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Summary

Mutual understanding became more important in our globalized world because we must cooperate with foreigners in many aspects. There are still many cases which need a reconciliation and overcoming the past to intensify their relations today. Therefore it could be helpful for us to analyze the former interesting cases of process of reconciliation between states. I chose the case of reconciliation between West Germany and Poland regarding “Ostpolitik” by Willy Brandt for my research. This case is very interesting and beneficial for us to consider about some issues of today in the globalized world. Brandt’s Ostpolitik was an eminent action and have surely a meaning as a starting point of reconciliation, but there were other factors for proceeding to the reconciliation in non-political field. The non-political factors and political diplomacy supported each other in this successful case.

The significant points can also be found when we consider this theme with the spirit of Teilhard de Chardin. He established his broad thought which was beyond his specialized fields, by his research. One of his thought appeared in his word “true union makes each one more himself”. This part of his thought has some relations with the process of the reconciliation. It is significant for us to consider about reconciliation with this part of the spirit of Teilhard de Chardin because we should pursue our deeper mutual understanding and harmony with each other without losing our own individualities. Coexistence of various individual actors is unavoidable matters in the globalized world. Teilhard de Chardin died in 1955 and a chain of action for reconciliations between Germany and Poland were not a novel theme, but both are related with this globalized world in nowadays. The theme of reconciliation must remain significant issues because it is impossible to stop the expansion of globalization in the world. Therefore we should continue to consider about this theme.

Introduction

When we advance globalization in a field of economy, politics, culture, studies, and other several aspects as nowadays, our relationships with foreign countries become more intensive and our mutual understandings would deepen. We could build up our relations in various ways but we cannot change our past. Many cases have told us that it is difficult to let bygones be bygones when we make the relation between nation states. The most remarkable cases are relationships between countries which have tragic experiences in warfare. These cases still remain in the world today. Japan has diplomatic difficulties between China and South Korea regarding responsibilities of The World War Second though these countries have large scale relationships in many aspects such as economy, culture, and interaction of people. In these cases they need to reconcile with each other while constructing their relationships. The more globalization expands, the more such problems would arise. It is because we cannot overlook an attitude toward their history which has been connected with matters of the present day when our relationships deepen. Therefore, it should be worth examining and learning process and structures of reconciliation between nation states from the past cases.

I researched about the reconciliation between Germany and Poland in “Ostpolitik” (diplomacy towards east communist countries by Germany) by the 4th prime minister of Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany), Willy Brandt. He contributed to advance “détente” between west capitalistic countries and east communist countries by his “Ostpolitik” in his term of the Foreign Minister (1966-1969) and his Administration (1969-1974). Especially a negotiation with Poland became a significant starting point of reconciliation. Even some signs for reconciliation between these two countries have appeared already in the 1950s and 1960s, it was exactly his action, which took a certain step for realizing the reconciliation.

From this case, we live in the globalized world could learn some clues about reconciliation and find some ways to make better relationships with foreign countries which have some complex experiences. I would like find some suggestions in this point of view and consider this theme with the spirit of Teilhard de Chardin in this paper.

1. Who is Brandt?

Willy Brandt, who was one of the most significant prime ministers in the history of FRG, was born in Lübeck on December 18.1913. He joined die Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)

(the Social Democratic Party) in 1930, but he defected from Germany to Norway when Adolf Hitler came into power in 1933. He played an active role as a journalist in Northern Europe during the war. He also took part in some Resistance activities toward Nazism. This career as anti-Nazism fighter worked helpful for him later when he build new relationships with east countries which had experienced great harm from Nazi-Germany as Poland did¹. It is easy to imagine that, a social democratic politician who has a meritorious deed of anti-National Socialism is more acceptable than conservative politician like a member of die Christlich-Demokratische Union² (CDU) (Christian Democratic Union) for east communist countries, which especially had suffered serious damage from Nazi-Germany such as Poland. The career of Brandt would have helped to reduce some frictions between FRG and Poland for their reconciliation partially.

He took the office of mayor of West Berlin from 1957. While his mayor's term of office, Egon Bahr supported him as the chief of the Information Bureau. He was the most important person who assisted Brandt's Ostpolitik achievement and gave strong influence on Brandt's foreign policy. He was the main person who had planned Brandt's strategies³. The experience of a construction of Berlin Wall as a mayor of West Berlin also affected his mind toward the East⁴. In this sense, it can be said that the process of his Ostpolitik had already begun around that time.

Brandt became the party leader of SPD from 1964 and assumed the office of the Foreign Minister of the Kiesinger (CDU) administration (a coalition government of CDU and SPD) in 1966. After three years, he became the first social-democratic prime minister in FRG in 1969. This was the one of the most significant conversion points in the history of FRG's politics.

2. His achievements

He had already begun Ostpolitik, his own diplomacy, as a Foreign Minister under the Kiesinger administration. As the primary party, CDU had maintained a principle of foreign policy which is called "Hallstein Doctrine" during the management of the diplomacy. This principle is that

¹ 石田 : 2002

² Three of Brandt's predecessor of prime minister, Konrad Adenauer, Ludwig Erhard, and Kurt Georg Kiesinger had belonged to CDU.

³ フォークトマイヤー (岡田) : 2014

⁴ フォークトマイヤー (岡田) : 2014

they, FRG, will not establish diplomatic relations with countries which recognizes the existence of German Democratic Republic (GDR, East Germany). However, Brandt virtually abolished this principle. He reestablished diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and Rumania during his term of Foreign Minister. These were great achievements of him as a Foreign Minister, but actually, it could be say that relationships with these countries were easier because there were no such huge difficulties about responsibilities and problems of WW II like Poland⁵. The most difficult but also crucial neighbor-relationships, tasks of relationships and reconciliation with Poland (at that time, People's Republic of Poland), were dealt under Brandt's own administration. Naturally enough, the government of Soviet Union (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (USSR) was an indispensable player to the world in the Cold War. In brief, Brandt had to negotiate with USSR in advance due to move forward his Ostpolitik. As he came to power in October 1969, he immediately explained his vision and will about Ostpolitik in his policy speech. Already in December 1969, his trusted assistant, Bahr, started preliminary negotiations with USSR. In February 1970, preliminary negotiations with Poland were also initiated. After a signing Treaty of Moscow between USSR and FRG in August 1970, Treaty of Warsaw was signed by Poland and FRG in December 1970. During his stay in Warsaw for signing, Brandt visited former ghetto of the Jews and he suddenly knelt there. This was an unexpected action and therefore, brought about sensation. By this kneel-affair, Germany, and also Brandt personally, had been received positive impression which treats their negative past and responsibilities sincerely, from the international society. Sometimes it has been seen even as a symbol of reconciliation. However, it cannot be a symbol of reconciliation between Germany and Poland. Actually people in Poland got complicated impressions from this affair because this place was not for polish victims of warfare, but for Jews⁶. Of course these symbolic action or substantial leaderships of politician like Brandt had done, plays significant role in diplomacy. It actually happened, reconciliation between FRG and Poland gradually moved forward with cooperation in various fields, and relationships became intensive more and more. Besides, Brandt was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize in 1971 for his contribution to advance "détente". However, the most important points are substantial process of reconciliation and development of their relationships. I will refer to these points in the following chapter.

⁵ アッシュ (杉浦) : 2009

⁶ 木佐 : 2001

3. Relationships and reconciliation between FRG and Poland

There were three main matters, which had made the relations between FRG and Poland more complicated and difficult: a) delimitation of border by Oder-Neisse Line, b) compensation for occupied Poland by Nazi-Germany, c) rights for German refugee from west districts of Poland (east districts of Germany till a defeat of Germany). These are all serious issues for both countries and all the three problems are connected to each other and have many other related concerns. Therefore it needed long time and perseverant efforts for the realization of reconciliation. Germany and Poland might be important and favorable partners for each other in European Union nowadays, but there could still remain some long-pending questions today. That is why one of the reasons the reconciliation is always significant and unavoidable theme for us in the globalized world. However expands the globalization in this world, these issues, reconciliation with the former-enemy and overcome the past, will never vanish from our international society. We have our history as indelible inheritance. Willy Brandt had said that we should look back our history calmly because who cannot remember the past cannot foresee what will happen tomorrow either⁷. This word of him has some similarities with famous speech of Richard von Weizsäcker. He was the 6th President of FRG (1984-1994) and made an eminent speech in May 1985 for the 40th anniversary of the end of the WW II. In this speech, he said that people who will not look the past is also blind to the future⁸. This speech got a considerable reputation. It is also popular among some Japanese people.

Then how Germany reestablished the relationships and proceeded to the reconciliation with Poland? Sure there were some prominent actions or leaderships of politician, but it is not the only factors in this case. Other factors of non-political field played important roles in the process of reconciliation. There were two remarkable factors: religion and education.

« Religion »

There were some signs of reconciliation between FRG and Poland from a field of religion before the normalization of diplomatic relations by Brandt. The first prominent sign was “Memorandum of Tübingen” in 1962. This Memorandum showed other definite plans about Ostpolitik of FRG and it was written by eight Protestant intellectuals⁹. They suggested that FRG

⁷ 石田 : 2002

⁸ 石田 : 2002

⁹ Stokłosa:2011, 佐藤 : 2008

should accept Oder-Neisse Line as the west border of Poland¹⁰. It was exactly what Poland had demanded. The Protestant Church had a relation with an organization for refugee from “east territory” (the west territory of Poland), so this Memorandum made a great impact on public opinion in FRG¹¹. This Memorandum might have made a clue of preparations for negotiation and reconciliation with Poland by bringing about discussions. At this time, Brandt was the mayor of West Berlin and it was only one year after the construction of Berlin Wall and also in the same year Cuban Missile Crisis occurred. So it was still far from détente. This action from a field religion was ahead of the political diplomacy. And then some movements by religious actors occurred in succession. “Memorandum of EKD¹²” was published in 1965 as an official attitude of EKD towards relations with east countries and the problem of refugee from there. They had similar mind to writers of “Memorandum of Tübingen” so it was received favorably by some people in Poland¹³. In the same year, there were also some actions in Roman Catholic Church of FRG and Poland. There was correspondence between bishops of these two countries. In Poland, these letters are one of the most special symbols for the reconciliation with Germany¹⁴. In 1968 published another new Memorandum which is called “Bensberger Memorandum”. It was written by member of “Bensberger Kreis”, a catholic peace movement group. At this time, SPD had been working on a new plan of Ostpolitik, so it caused many discussions again¹⁵. Writers of this Memorandum had said that FRG should accept renunciation of the rights for east former territory and undertake the common responsibilities of Germany as a result of WW II¹⁶. It is clear that such mind was not easy for them to accept. But these various suggestions and discussion might become a preparation for reconciliation and sometimes provides them with an opportunity to understand each other. It is because they cannot help paying attention to each other and beginning to consider about their relations. For the reason, I assume that these actions in a non-political field will promote reconciliation between peoples of two nation states and support some foreign policy of the

¹⁰ Stokłosa:2011

¹¹ 佐藤 : 2008

¹² Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (Evangelical Church in Germany)

¹³ Stokłosa:2011

¹⁴ Stokłosa:2011

¹⁵ Stokłosa:2011

¹⁶ Stokłosa:2011

government. In the FRG's case of reconciliation with Poland, these successful examples were based on a field of religion.

《 Education 》

Realization of a dialogue regarding the textbooks of history in West Germany is said to be the one of the greatest results of Brandt's normalization and diplomacy towards Poland. The first official meeting for the dialogue was realized after signing and ratification of Treaty of Warsaw, so it can be said that it was the result of Brandt's diplomacy. However, some actions for this dialogue had already begun before the normalization of diplomatic relations between FRG and Poland. One of the most important pioneers is Enno Meyer, who was an ordinary teacher of history. He had studied Polish history at Königsberg (Kaliningrad) University, so he had found some problems about description in West Germany's textbook about Polish history, and he listed up all the problems and each suggestion for revision with some scholars¹⁷. His paper was published in 1956 by International Textbook Institute in West Germany¹⁸. Some scholars of history in Poland, who took part in the dialogue later, had spoken highly of his paper as a significant step toward mutual understanding¹⁹. Some signs of reconciliation and its preparations had appeared not only in a field of politics and religion but also in such a field of study and education. Prior to the above-mentioned first official dialogue, realized in 1972 after the ratification of Treaty of Warsaw, two dialogues, which gathered scholars of history from FRG and Poland and discussed about some problems of their textbooks, were held by the Protestant Church in Berlin already in 1968 and 1969²⁰. The dialogue continued successfully and they published "26 Counsels" in 1976²¹. By the discussion of their history and hearing each others' opinions, FRG and Poland could advance their mutual understanding and reconciliation gradually although they had have some remaining serious and difficult matters at the time.

As mentioned above, in case of FRG and Poland, there were other factors for proceeding to the reconciliation in non-political field. However, it could be said that they owed their successful results

¹⁷ 近藤 : 1998

¹⁸ 近藤 : 1998

¹⁹ 近藤 : 1998

²⁰ 近藤 : 1998

²¹ 近藤 : 1998

of achievements in politic, especially the normalization of diplomatic relations with Poland by Brandt. Therefore I assume that the non-political factors and political diplomacy supported each other. In the case of the era of Brandt, each action occurred at just the right time. The three main matters: a) delimitation of border by Oder-Neisse Line was nearly solved by signing and ratification of the Treaty of Warsaw, and b) compensation for occupied Poland by Nazi-Germany and c) rights for German refugee from west districts of Poland were treated in the textbook dialogue and deepened their mutual understanding. Furthermore the practical negotiations continued after Treaty of Warsaw.

Brandt's Ostpolitik towards Poland was not an attainment of reconciliation between these two countries but a conclusive starting point. Indeed, practical process of promoting their cooperation and intensification of relationships were carried by Brandt's successor, 5th prime minister of FRG (1974-1982), Helmut Schmidt. He concluded several treaties with Poland during his administration such as economic cooperation, industrial cooperation, technological cooperation, compensation for victims of Nazi-regime²². In the process of the realization of reconciliation, it could be important to take over the process to next generations. In this point, this theme has some conformity to the spirit of Teilhard de Chardin in terms of future. In a following chapter I will consider about relations between my research and the spirit of Teilhard de Chardin, and the significance of this theme in the globalized world.

4. The spirit of Teilhard de Chardin and reconciliation in the globalized world

Teilhard de Chardin was not only a Priest but also an eminent scholar. He established his broad thought by his research but beyond his specialized field. One of his thought appeared in his word, "true union makes each one more himself". It could be related with the dialogue of textbook between FRG and Poland. Accurately recognition and mutual understanding by process of reconciliation could reach "true union". It is not losing their own memories of history and their mind or emotions. It could be said that the challenge of FRG and Poland to overcome their negative past was also aimed to reach "true union".

There are still many cases which needs reconciliation for intensifying their relationships between nation states in the globalized world today. We can learn some useful suggestions from

²² Stokłosa:2011

former cases like FRG and Poland. And it is also significant for us to consider about reconciliation with some part of the spirit of Teilhard de Chardin because we should pursue our deeper mutual understanding and harmony with each other without losing our own individualities. Teilhard de Chardin died in 1955 and a chain of action for reconciliations between Germany and Poland were not a novel theme, but these are both related with this globalized world in nowadays.

Conclusion

Mutual understanding is more important in our globalized world because we must cooperate with foreigners in many aspects. And there are many cases which need a reconciliation to intensify their relations still today. Therefore it could be helpful for us to analyze the former interesting cases like reconciliation between Germany and Poland. And we must also pay attention to the points of which Teilhard de Chardin had pointed out. Coexistence of various individual actors is unavoidable matters in the globalized world. The process of "Ostpolitik" by Brandt was one of the meaningful cases because there were not only political actions but also several factors of non-political fields and they successfully supported each other to realize the reconciliation. It is also meaningful to consider this theme with the spirit of Teilhard de Chardin as I mentioned in 4th chapter.

The theme of reconciliation must remain significant issue because we could not stop the globalization in the world. We should continue to consider about this theme.

It is regrettable that I could not accomplish enough research and could not express enough with my poor English in this paper. I would like to continue to pursue my theme.

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