7-1-1951

The attitude of The Vatican toward communism from 1936 to 1945

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE VATICAN TOWARD COMMUNISM FROM 1936 TO 1945

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JULY 1951
PREFACE

The present study of the *Attitude of the Vatican Toward Communism From 1936 To 1945* is designed to show how the methods and aims of the Vatican and Communist Russia affected their attitude toward each other. It further endeavors to set forth the basis for Vatican hostility toward Communism.

The research is not exhaustive, but covers sufficient ground for one to have a better understanding of the religio-political policy of the Vatican during the time of the study, and what part Communist Russia played in helping to shape that policy.

The further aim of the research is to stimulate a desire on the part of the reader, who possesses an investigating mind, to make further study and investigation.

L.M.T. Sr.
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INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the attitude of the Vatican toward Communism from 1936 to 1945, it is necessary to understand the structure, methods and aims of both the Vatican and Communism. An examination will reveal that there are similarities and differences between the Vatican and Communism that are worthy of notice.

Communist Russia and the Vatican are absolutistic in structure. The Vatican claims that Jesus made Peter the first Pope when he is reputed to have said in the sixteenth chapter of Matthew "and I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." From this passage in Matthew the papacy secured its divine right and authority.

The absolutism of the Vatican has developed gradually over a long period of time. In 313 Constantine admitted Christianity to the place of an authorized government religion, and Theodosius the Great, one of the successors of Constantine, made Christianity the only official religion of the Empire. Since then one of the fundamental tenets of Vatican policy has been the practical union of Church and State. Gregory VII declared that the Pope had the authority to depose Emperors and absolve the followers of the Emperor of their oath of allegiance to their monarch, basing his claim on that part of the account of the words of Jesus to Peter in Matthew which said "whosoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, etc". The relation, he claimed, between the Pope and the Emperor was as the sun to the moon.
He gave a temporal example of his doctrine when he deposed Henry IV.
Constantine gave Christianity government status, Theodosius the Great
made Christianity the sole religion of the state, and Gregory VII
placed the Church above the State. Innocent III and Boniface VIII
carried out the Gregorian idea in their pontificates.

Another important factor in establishing papal absolutism was the
famous "Donation of Constantine." This document was supposed to have
shown that Constantine gave the Pope all of the provinces of the
Western Roman Empire. It was circulated for centuries before it was
discovered that the document was forged. The Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals,
intended to give the Church the supremacy over the State, were likewise
discovered, after centuries of circulation, to be forged. The "Pseudo-
Isidorean Decretals" and the "Donation of Constantine" helped to stren-
then the position of the papacy in the Middle Ages before they were
exposed as forgeries by the investigating minds of the Renaissance.

The Protestant Reformation produced the Counter-reformation within
the Catholic Church which moved in the direction of more centralized
authority at the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Up to the Council of
Trent, with rare exceptions, the papacy did not judge it necessary to
enter into communication with rulers or states through regular envoys.
At the Council of Trent the nuncial system originated. Authority be-
came more and more centralized, and local independence disappeared. In
1870 Pius IX had the Pope declared infallible when he spoke ex cathedra.
When the forces of the new Kingdom of Italy marched into Rome the Papal
States, that had originated in the eighth century, came to an end. In
the Lateran treaty of 1929 the Papacy secured 103 acres of its former
territory in the form of the new Vatican City State with a temporal and
spiritual absolutism.
Alongside of the authoritarianism of the Vatican stands the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia headed by the absolutist Stalin. Lenin, who was a good disciple of Karl Marx, said that the transition from Capitalism to Socialism was to be effected by an interim period of dictatorship. The dictatorship by education, discipline and guidance would lead the masses to a higher type of democracy which would express the interests of the majority in a collectivized world. While the support of the dictatorship comes from below, the policies are created at the top. Though the Communist party numbers about 7,000,000, according to Blanshard, the party is inside of every organized unit in Russian life.

The 1936 Soviet Constitution was written when the Communist party became secure in power. The members of the party are not responsible to the people, but to the heads of the party. These political leaders constitute the Politburo, at the head of which stands the dictator Stalin who holds absolute authority and power.

Both the Vatican and the Communists have as their aim the conquest of the world with their religion or ideology. This is expressed in the anxiety of the Vatican and Soviet Russia to gain recruits from all the nations of the world. The Vatican declares that salvation comes through the Roman Catholic Church, while Communism states that salvation will come through a classless society.

Both Communism and the Vatican claim men as a whole, and both lay great stress on all that is visible. Both believe in censorship and

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1Paul Blanshard. *Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power.* (Boston, 1951), p.34.
both reject democracy as a form of government. Both are opportunists, willing to deal with any government at the moment and make an agreement if the agreement proves advantageous. The Vatican made agreements with monarchial, fascist, nazi and democratic governments in order to protect and improve the position of the Catholic Church.

In 1939 Russia signed a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany, in 1942 Russia signed a mutual assistance pact with the parliamentary monarchy, England. The Vatican made concordats with Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and succeeded in securing diplomatic relations with the democratic United States. These temporary agreements do not interfere with the ultimate goal of the Vatican and the Soviet Union which is the conquest of the world.

The Soviet Union will use any means to achieve its goal, especially the method of revolution. This is the method that was used in establishing the regime in Russia in 1917. The Vatican endorsed the method of revolution when it supported Franco in Spain from 1936 to 1939.

The Vatican and Communist Russia differ on the question of property. The Vatican believes in private property while the Communists believe in property owned and controlled by the State. This may account for the confiscation of property of large landholders in Russia and in most of the Russian satellite countries.

They differ violently at the point of religion. This is due to the anti-religious program of the Soviet Union. There is no compromise at this point, as long as the Communists persecute religious believers.

As long as the structure, methods and aims of the Vatican and the Communists are what they are, they will remain bitter rivals.
CHAPTER I

COMMUNISM, FASCISM AND THE VATICAN IN THE 1930'S

The Russian constitution of 1936, which said in article 124 that "freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda are recognized for all citizens," revealed that the Communist regime was still basically hostile to every form of religious faith. While freedom of anti-religious propaganda was recognized, freedom of pro-religious propaganda was denied. With this attitude toward religion, the Soviet government hoped that religion would disappear as the old generation died off, for "no reply could be made in speech or writing to the ever present attacks on religion". 1

While all religious believers had the privilege to engage in missionary activity in Russia under the constitution of 1918, the privilege was denied in 1929 and 1936. Large numbers of churches were confiscated and converted into clubs and museums. The remaining churches were forbidden to engage in social or cultural activities, and were obliged to confine themselves to worship. Large numbers of priests were exiled or executed on charges of counter-revolutionary activity. Heavy taxes forced many religious societies out of existence.

Without the legal and material support of the state, the Communists had hoped that the churches would crumble, but when religion failed to collapse, the Soviets launched violent attacks against it in 1922-1923, 1928-1930 and 1937-1938. The attack of 1937-1938 was so violent that it has

been called the "Great Terror." These persecutions startled the outside world, for here was a regime that demonstrated that it was not only interested in separating the Church from the State, but that it also aimed to abolish religious organizations and to eliminate religious beliefs from the consciousness of the people.

The revolutionary movement of the Bolsheviks was more hostile toward religion than the other revolutionary movements which swept Europe after the French Revolution of 1789. But, until the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, these movements had usually sought to "restrict the sphere of action of the Church, and to separate the Church from the State". This was not the policy of the Soviets toward religion. Instead of a policy of restriction and separation, theirs was a policy of elimination and abolition. The basis for such a policy toward religion is to be found in a doctrine of Karl Marx which had been adopted by the Soviet leaders - "Religion is the opiate of the people."

Communism was spreading rapidly in all of the countries of Europe and was gaining ground in Latin America. The Vatican became more and more alarmed and fearful of the influence of Communist Russia that believed in the overthrow of established governments by means of revolution, and setting up new governments based on Communism and atheism. The voice of Vatican opposition to the spread of Communism became louder and louder. The encyclical Quadragesimo Anno of Pius XI in 1931 suggested a corporate state as an instrument with which nations might combat Communism. The encyclical Divini Redemptoris of the Pope in 1937 declared that "Communism is intrinsically

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wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever. These papal pronouncements reflect the collaboration of Pius XI with Mussolini in their mutual struggle against Communism which reached its peak in the Lateran Treaty of February 1929.

In that treaty, in addition to acquiring its independence, which it had always refused under liberal governments, the Vatican had achieved another and no less important goal: it had restored the Catholic Church in Italy in accordance with Catholic principles that Church and State must not be separate, but, like body and soul, must co-operate together. Thus the State became the secular arm of the Church. Divorce was forbidden, religious education was made compulsory in schools, teachers had to be approved by the Church, textbooks were approved by the ecclesiastical authority; books, films and press against the Church were prohibited, Catholicism was proclaimed the only religion of the State, and insult or criticism against Catholicism was made a penal offence. Fascism recognized Catholic Action, but Catholic Action and the clergy were forbidden to take part in any political activity.¹ To pave the way for the negotiations which led to the signing of the Lateran Treaty the Pope gave his blessing to the dissolution of the Catholic Party in Italy, for the "Vatican ordered all priests to resign from the Catholic Party".² The dissolution of the Catholic Party occurred in 1926 and "On December 20, 1926, Pius XI declared that Mussolini was 'the man sent by Providence', and his successor as Cardinal Archbishop of Milan called Mussolini 'the new Constantine".³

For Mussolini, the treaty provided official peace with the Vatican, and the confidence and respectability that he needed in international affairs. It also provided Mussolini with the support of the strongest, single spiritual and Christian force in the world. Fortified by the Lateran treaty, Mussolini launched an attack on Ethiopia with the sanction of the Vatican in 1935. Cardinal Schuster expressed the approval of the Vatican when he said "On the plains of Ethiopia the Italian standard carries forward in triumph the cross of Christ, smashes the chains of slavery, and opens the way for the missionaries of the gospel".1

When the League of Nations declared Italy the aggressor on October 9, 1935, and voted economic sanctions against her on October 19, 1935 over the protest of Mussolini, the Jesuit organ in Rome, Civiltà Cattolica, expressed the opposition of the Vatican to sanctions against Italy, when it said "Italy has given an 'undeniable and wonderful spectacle of abnegation, cohesion and Christian strength' in resisting economic sanctions".2

In its relationship with Italy, the Vatican demonstrated its willingness not only to assist in the establishment of a Fascist, corporate state that was opposed to Communism, but it was also willing to collaborate in the religious, economic, socio-political and military program of such a state.

In the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno, issued in 1931, Pius XI said that no one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true socialist. This papal pronouncement followed on the heels of a movement toward socialism by the ignorant and poverty-stricken masses in Europe, and a wave of religious persecution in Russia. When Dollfuss came to power in Austria in September 1932, he immediately set out to establish a corporate state. He suppressed Parliament, and in 1934 he signed a concordat with the Vatican.

"The principles of the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno were enforced, wherever possible, with more care than before."¹ The concordat established the Catholic Church in a legal, official position, which she began to use to the fullest extent. The Catholic religion became the religion of the State, education was directly and indirectly subject to her, and all traces of non-Catholic influences were systematically destroyed. The corporate state of Austria began to disintegrate at the death of Dollfuss in July 1934, and Austria became a part of the German Reich in the Hitler Anschluss program that terminated in March 1935.

Vatican relations with Germany were more difficult than they were with Italy or Austria, for the majority of the population in Germany was Protestant, and there were in the deeper German tradition things which rendered an understanding with an independent religious body very difficult. The difficulty between the Vatican and Germany can be traced back to the formation and consolidation of the First German Empire at the close of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. The Bavarians had been brought into the new empire only with great difficulty, the Alsatians and Lorrainers were systematic protesters, and the Poles from the eastern parts of Prussia were considered a standing menace to the new state. In other words, the larger part of the Catholic element in the empire was hostile to it, and "Bismarck saw before him the danger of an alliance between these elements and the Papacy".² During the first seven years of the empire its home policy was determined by "Bismarck's attempt to break up the Center Party, whose continuance he considered fatal to the future welfare of the empire".³

¹Manhattan. op.cit. p.240.
Manhattan considers that when an understanding was reached in the beginning of the 'nineties between the Vatican and Germany the Center Party "capitulated to the Hohenzollern's Reich and accepted its protective domination".

Apart from the difficult position of Catholicism in Germany, there were traditional German ideas in National Socialism that made it difficult for the Vatican to maintain friendly relations with Germany. In the mirror of the 'Third Reich' the modern Western neo-paganism revealed itself as displaying three outstanding features. The first feature was its dogma that mankind was to be classified on a new criterion of physical race in place of the Christian classification by faith and works. The second feature of the Third Reich was the tacit repudiation of the God of the Christians, Jews and Moslems for a different object of worship, namely, the pure and professedly superior 'Nordic' race. The third was the glorification of intolerance and bloodshed which was represented to the rising generation by the Nazi propaganda as splendid manifestation of 'Nordic' heroism, "instead of being condemned as crimes or condoned as occasional, provisional, shameful and unhappy necessities". In short National Socialism accepted the Gobineau-Chamberlain ideas of German race superiority, the elimination of God out of religion, and the violent persecution of Jews and other 'non-Aryans'. Hitler proceeded to put these views into practice first in unifying Germany and then in his program of empire-building. These views were violently antagonistic to those held by the Vatican and led to clashes between Hitler and the Church.

within Germany.

In the area of anti-Communism Hitler and the Vatican were in agreement. One of the things that Hitler did in his rise to power was to destroy the Communist party.\(^1\) A concordat with Hitler which had an anti-Communist background would be easy for the Vatican to sign, for as John F. Cronin, S.J. points out, "The Catholic Church has from the very beginning of Communism been its implacable foe. No compromise is possible between religion and materialistic atheism."\(^2\) A concordat was indeed effected on July 22, 1933. In it the Church agreed to keep priests and religious associations out of German politics and the State agreed to permit Catholic religious associations, clerical and lay, to exist so long as they "confine themselves to religious activities."\(^3\) The Hitler government pledged itself to establish uniform educational laws throughout the Reich, and to permit confessional schools even in districts where they had been forbidden. The Vatican secured direct control of Catholic university theological professorships, although the State was given the right to question future appointments to episcopal sees. Catholic organizations having a religious objective were recognized as legitimate.\(^4\)

There was hardly any friction between the Vatican and Nazi Germany over their anti-Communist policy, but in the course of the execution of National Socialist policy many Catholics resisted; indeed the hierarchy in Germany stood against racism and other features of National Socialism on principle. The Vatican was inevitably drawn into the struggle which

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1Ibid. p.174.
ensued. This arose in the course of the "interpretation and application of the concordat."\(^1\) The strategic point on which the struggle was fiercest was the "moral education of the rising generation."\(^2\) In Hitler's May Day speech in 1937 he stated uncompromisingly that the National Socialist demand for "exclusive control over the moulding of youth is at the bottom of the quarrel with the Catholic Church."\(^3\) On both sides it was realized that whoever retained possession on this point would be the ultimate winner of the struggle because the moral education of the young was the key to the command of the future.

The friction was climaxed with the papal encyclical "Hit Brennender Sorge" in 1937 in which the Pope emphasized three things. The first dealt with the Nazis' alleged breach of the concordat of July 22, 1933. The second dealt with faith in God, faith in Christ, the true Church, the authority of the Pope, and the morals, rights and duties of parents. The third reasserted the Pope's love for those of his flock in Germany who had strayed from the right path, and prayed for the restoration of real peace between the Church and the State.\(^4\)

Since there was so much friction within Germany between the Vatican and Hitler after the concordat of 1933, the Vatican was unable to assist in forming a corporate state in Germany as it had done in Italy. Nevertheless, it was necessary to protect the faithful in Germany against great odds, and at the same time advantageously collaborate with Hitler in his anti-Communist policy. The ability of Pius XI and Pius XII to deal with Hitler in these

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\(^2\) Survey of International Affairs. 1933. p.132.
\(^4\) Ibid. March 22, 1937. p.15.
circumstances is reminiscent of the ability of Leo XIII to negotiate successfully with Bismarck after the death of Pius IX in 1878.

From the enactment of the Kulturkampf program in 1873 to the time of the restoration of the Prussian Embassy to the Vatican by Bismarck in 1885, a struggle had been going on between Bismarck and the Vatican. As the conflict grew more bitter, bishops and archbishops were thrown into prison. The Catholic Center Party, headed by Windthorst, fought all of Bismarck's measures indiscriminately, no matter how far removed they were from religious interests. The struggle can be adequately described as a tug of war between Church and State. It almost appeared that one of the objectives of the Kulturkampf program was the establishment of a National Church in Germany independent of Rome. Leo XIII followed a policy of reconciliation and rapprochement with Bismarck and Germany over the strong opposition of the bishops and the Center Party. He succeeded, and Bismarck abrogated most of the Kulturkampf legislation. In 1885 "Bismarck entrusted the Pope with negotiations to settle amicably the conflict between Spain and Germany over the Caroline Islands." In medieval fashion "the skill of Leo XIII had led Prince Bismarck along the road to Canossa."2

The aim of the diplomacy of Leo XIII on the one hand, and Pius XI and Pius XII on the other was ultimately the protection of the Vatican and the Roman Catholic Church, and the defeat of their enemies by means of negotiation and shrewd diplomacy. In spite of previous experience of Hitler, then, it is not surprising that Pius XII opened negotiations with him for a new concordat after Holland, Belgium and France had capitulated to Germany in World War II. In the secret negotiations for that purpose Hitler asked the

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Vatican to exert all of its influence over the Catholics of the three countries that were conquered to rally them to the support of the new governments and occupation authorities. In exchange "Hitler promised to give a special position of privilege to the Church, not only in Germany, but wherever the German armies conquered."\(^1\) Beyond the stage of negotiation, there appears to be no evidence of the conclusion of a new concordat.

After several years of collaboration with Fascism in Italy and Austria and attempted collaboration with National Socialism in Germany, it is not surprising that the Vatican was on the side of the opposition in the Republican-Socialist revolution that began in Spain in 1931. Reporting upon an interview with the Spanish Private Prio Y Daniel, Sam Pope Brosear said "The Cardinal reminded the interviewer that a pastoral letter signed by 'all the Bishops of Spain' (a few did not sign it) during the civil war urged support of the Franco cause."\(^2\) The Catholic Church was not disposed to relinquish her hold on Spain without a struggle, for Spain had been a Church stronghold ever since the reformation. The Vatican had concluded a concordat with Spain in 1851 which made the Catholic religion the religion of the State. Freedom of the press, freedom of religion and freedom of education were features of the Spanish Constitution of 1869 that the Catholic Church opposed. The reactionary forces, which had the support of the Church, were victorious in the civil war which followed. In the new constitution of 1876 the Catholic Church was able to regain all of the privileges that it had enjoyed under the concordat of

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\(^1\)\textit{Manhattan, op. cit.} p. 201.

1851 except the right to prosecute persons for their religious opinions and religious worship.

With the Jesuit order taking the lead, the Catholic Church was able to ward off the rising tide of liberalism in Spain during the pontificate of Leo XIII (1878-1903). By 1912 the Jesuits owned railways, mines, factories, banks, shipping companies and orange plantations in Spain. Clericals could be seen in power everywhere: in the courts, in schools, in the government, in the press and in the army. The monarchy, the large landholders, and the wealthy religious orders were the rulers of Spain. The Vatican was opposed to liberalism, and any person or groups suspected of aspiring to bring about a change were faced with repressive measures.

The economic misery and suffering of the middle and lower classes and their appalling ignorance furnished the soil for the sowing and spreading of Communism and hostility toward the ruling regime. As soon as civil war began, the Spanish hierarchy and the Vatican took an open and bold stand for Franco, and unleashed all the power of the Catholic Church against the Republican government. The clergy in Spain became virtual combatants, even though they may not have carried rifles or operated machine guns. The clergy was active in "appealing for every kind of aid, from money to enlistments, to help along the 'holy war' to save Spain from the Marxist hordes."1 In giving one of the reasons for the conduct of the Vatican in Spain, Toynbee makes the following comprehensive statement:

...Under a Communist dispensation in the Soviet Union Christianity of all denominations as well as every other form of theistic religion—Judaism, Islam and the Mahayana—was being deliberately eradicated; and **** in 1936 the

prospect that Catholicism might suffer the same fate in a Communist Spain was driving the Catholic Church throughout the world into a union sacred with General Franco's backers and, by implication, with Fascism itself. 1

While France, Great Britain and the United States were reluctant to send arms and troops to the Popular Front government in Spain because of their fear of general war, Hitler and Mussolini were supplying Franco with troops and arms that he might crush the Spanish Republican forces. Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and the Vatican were on the same side in the Spanish Civil War, and after the defeat of the Spanish Republican forces, Franco established himself as a Catholic dictator in 1939. Pius XII stated that God should be thanked, for "once more the hand of Divine Providence has manifested itself over Spain (broadcast April 17, 1939)." 2

Before the crisis of 1939, Hitler had occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia, and Mussolini had occupied Albania. By the close of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 the Vatican had secured concordates with Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal. This indicates the influence that the Vatican, Hitler and Mussolini together possessed in 1939. All of them were anti-Communist, and could be counted on to oppose the westward march of the Soviets, and they had succeeded, by force or diplomacy, in marshalling the nations of middle and western Europe to their cause with the possible exception of France and the Low countries.

The parallel activity of Communism and Catholicism in their combat up to 1939 can be summarized in the following manner:

While the Communists in Russia were in the midst of violently persecuting religion in Russia from 1928 through 1930, the Vatican signed the Lateran Treaty with Mussolini on February 11, 1929 which solved the 59 year old

2 Quoted in Manhattan, op. cit. p.99.
Roman Question. The Vatican became a sovereign state united with the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1931, one year following the 1928-1930 Communist persecution period in Russia, Pius XI issued an encyclical suggesting the establishment of corporate states whenever and wherever possible with which to combat Communism. In the same year, with the help of the Communists, the Popular Front overthrew the monarchy in Spain over Vatican opposition.

In 1936 Communist Russia adopted a new constitution which did not change its position toward religion. In the same year the Spanish Civil War broke out with the Communists on one side supporting the Republican-Socialist government, while the Vatican was on the other side supporting the monarchists and large land-holders.

While the Soviets were engaged in the most violent persecution of religion in their series of persecutions (1937-1938), sometimes called the Great Terror, the Pope issued another encyclical in 1937 in which he said that Communism was intrinsically wrong, and made it a sin for the faithful to collaborate with it. At the same time that the encyclical was issued by Pius XI in 1937, and the persecution was going on in Russia in 1937-1938, the Vatican and Communists (with their respective allies) were fighting it out in Spain. It was a bitter struggle which culminated in triumph for the Vatican.

Communism had been halted in Western Europe by 1939, and Fascist regimes supported by the Catholic Church had gained the ascendancy on the European continent. It remains to be seen how Hitler, Mussolini and the Vatican could collaborate in a crisis like the one of 1939, which precipitated World War II, and altered Vatican-Soviet relations.
CHAPTER II

THE POSITIONS OF RUSSIA AND THE VATICAN

FROM 1939 TO 1941

The scene of the Soviet-Vatican conflict shifted from Western to Eastern Europe. When Germany and Russia attacked Poland in September 1939, political and religious alignments and interests were brought to the forefront. Let us examine the interests and policy of the Papacy.

An obscure diplomatic situation arose in the months before Germany invaded Poland. Manhattan says that the Pope was informed of German plans for the invasion. Hitler told of his grand strategy and his ultimate aims, urging that he had to risk a European war in order to achieve them. "The ultimate and main goal was the invasion of Soviet Russia. To do that, Hitler needed to occupy Poland."\(^1\) To plan wisely Hitler needed the counsel and goodwill of the Vatican. With this in mind, "Hitler negotiated with the Pope to secure his support in his invasion of Poland."\(^2\)

If this represents Hitler's diplomacy correctly, the Pope had several things to consider: first, there were the broken promises of Hitler in the treatment of German Catholics; second, there was the sacrifice of Catholic Poland, a country that had always been loyal to the Papacy, and consequent possibility of losing the goodwill of the Catholic world; finally, there was the possibility of indirectly giving his consent to another World War. For his support Hitler promised to respect the privileges of the Church in Poland, and that it would only be a temporary occupation. Manhattan alleges

\(^1\) Manhattan, op. cit. p.192.
\(^2\) Ibid.
that "Pius XII accepted on three conditions": first, that he be allowed time to secure peace and bring about a compromise between Germany and the Western Allies; second, that Germany should not persecute the Polish Catholics if they decided to resist; third, that it should not be made known that the Vatican had discussed with Germany plans for the invasion of Russia. That Manhattan's version of events contains some truth is suggested by the fact that the Pope did proceed to try to gain peace between Germany and the Western Allies; this we have on the authority of Camille M. Cianfarra who says that peace was proposed to prevent the conclusion of a British-French-Soviet pact. The Papal démarche was a failure, and further support for Manhattan's general view of the matter may be drawn from a statement of S.W. Baron who gives a reason for this failure:

The Vatican's efforts to secure an amicable settlement of the Danzig controversy and a general reproachment between the Axis on one hand, and Britain, France and Poland on the other, lost all efficacy because of the underlying anti-Communist bias.

Baron further believes that unwittingly the Vatican's intervention thickened the atmosphere of mutual suspicion between Russia and the Western Powers, and led on to "Stalin's non-aggression treaty with Hitler and thus to the immediate outbreak of the war."

The Vatican did not want either Germany, with her bad record of racism and breaches of her concordat, or Russia with her anti-religious policy, to occupy Poland. The Vatican's last thoughts on the subject were revealed after the occupation of Germany and Russia, for the Vatican apparently

1 Ibid., p. 193.
continued to recognize the Polish government which Hitler and Stalin claimed to have wiped out. ¹

When Germany and Russia occupied Poland, France declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939, and Great Britain did so later. Thus Germany became committed to a war in the west. This and the non-aggression pact that she had negotiated with Russia in August 1939 eliminated for a space the development of the Drang nach Osten at Russia's expense. These circumstances gave Russia a little more time to prepare for the war with Germany that she knew would come. Russia had hoped, however, that the war in the west would weaken Germany to the point that she would be unable to carry out her Drang nach Osten program. Hostility toward Russia at this time seemed to be growing. As Russia observed and participated in the Spanish Civil War, she saw the open hostility of the Fascist States - Italy, Germany and Portugal -, and discovered that they were apparently determined to assist Franco, on the professed grounds that the "triumph of the Loyalists would result in the establishment of another Bolshevist State in Europe."² Russia also took notice of the anti-Comintern pact of 1936 signed by Italy, Germany and Japan. From 1938 to 1940 she had difficulty in settling border disputes with Japan. In 1939 it was easy to see the growing hostility of the socio-political Fascist bloc in Europe and Asia, and the deep and bitter enmity of the religio-political Vatican toward Russia. Russia's political and military machine began to roll.

After the occupation of Eastern Poland, Russia concluded mutual assistance agreements with Estonia (September 28, 1939), Latvia (October 5, 1939) and Lithuania (October 10, 1939). The Western Powers and the

Vatican were alarmed at the aggressiveness of Russia up to this point, but when Russia attacked Finland on November 30, 1939 the protests were heard around the world. "Among prominent protesters were Italians, Lord Halifax, President Roosevelt, and, of course, the Holy Father." There exists a strong probability that the Vatican played its part in helping to drop Russia from the League of Nations because of this act of aggression against Finland.

Dr. A. Costa du Rals, the Bolivian delegate to the League of Nations, was the first speaker for the exclusion of Russia, and the fact that he used the 1939 encyclical of Pius XII, regarding the right of each people to its independence, the respect of treaties, and the need for mutual confidence between peoples, as the basis of his speech leads support to the probability that he had Vatican endorsement. Argentina, another South American Catholic country, maneuvered vigorously for the exclusion of Russia from the League. The activity of these two South American Catholic countries would seem to indicate direct or indirect Vatican influence. It is reasonable to believe that the exclusion of Russia from the League of Nations would intensify her hostility toward the Western Powers and the Vatican, and would leave her free to persecute religion and believers at will, and to follow her policy of nationalism, since she no longer belonged to the commonwealth of nations.

By July 1940, as the German military machine rolled over helpless Belgium, Holland and France, Soviet Russia occupied the Baltic States completely; and the moment King Carol lined up his country with victorious
Germany, the Soviets by threatening military action forced Rumania to cede North Bukovina and Bessarabia, a Rumanian province in which the Rumanians are a majority of the population, but which belonged to Russia before the First World War. Reputedly Russia also gained control of Constanta, the Rumanian Black Sea port, and of Galatea and Braila, two Rumanian ports dominating the estuary of the Danube.

As Russia made these westward moves to strengthen herself against probable German attack, the Vatican, it seems, became upset. Russia was moving too close, and extending her influence too far westward for Vatican comfort. It follows, then, that the Vatican would probably strive to do all that was in its power to halt the "Push to the West" of the Russians. Therefore, when the Vatican employed superstition also to stop the advance of Russia, it was not surprising.

It is noteworthy that an "international promotional campaign for Fatima begun under Pius XII",¹ and Fatima literature greatly increased during the occupation of Eastern Poland and the Baltic States, and before and after the exclusion of Russia from the League of Nations. "Fatima literature" is a species of numiology taking its name from Fatima, the Portuguese hamlet where the Virgin Mary made six appearances to three peasant children in 1917 just before the Bolshevik revolution. The messages she delivered to these children were most timely; in fact they showed a considerable comprehension of the delicate position of the Vatican in European politics. Her political forebodings were conveyed to three shepherd children of ten, nine and seven who had never gone to school.

¹Blashard. op. cit. p.226.
The gist of the Fatima message was that a 'horrible, horrible' war was coming, and that the one way to avoid it, was 'conversion of the world to my Immaculate Heart'. If my requests are granted Russia will be converted, and there will be peace. Otherwise Russia will spread its error throughout the world giving rise to wars and persecutions against the church.  

It is reasonable to believe that recently occupied Poland would be included in the distribution of the Fatima literature, for one must remember that one of the imponderable features of the Polish character is its devotion to religion. "The Holy Virgin is worshiped as the eternal Queen of Poland." Books and pamphlets written on the experience of the Portuguese children at Fatima, advertised as historic fact, may account in part for the foreign legions from Spain, Portugal, France and Belgium which fought side by side with the Nazis when they invaded Russia in 1941. The superstitious Catholic masses rallied in medieval fashion to the anti-Communist banner.

The religious, political and military activity of Russia in eastern Europe was one of the reasons why the Vatican hastened to establish diplomatic connections with the United States, for "secret negotiations were begun between Pius XI and Roosevelt (in 1936 after Roosevelt's election), and continued until 1939." Pius XII sought the diplomatic goodwill of the United States. On July 29, 1939, Cardinal Emanuele Casperri arrived in New York and spent three days with Archbishop Spellman, his mission being to prepare "the juridical status for the possible opening of diplomatic relations between the State Department and the Holy See."
In December 1939 the United States, which officially had had no diplomatic connections with the Vatican since 1867, established diplomatic connections with the Vatican by appointing Myron Taylor the first ambassador of President Roosevelt to the Pope.

Despite the protests from the American Protestants on the basis of the old doctrine of separation of Church and State in America, President Roosevelt maintained diplomatic relations with the Vatican until his death in April 1945. President Truman followed the policy of maintaining an ambassador at the Vatican practically until the end of the Second World War. President Roosevelt had declared in his letter that he was sending his ambassador to the Holy See "in order that our parallel endeavors for peace and the alleviation of suffering may be assisted." The "parallel endeavors" provided the basis for the collaboration of the United States and the Vatican in "alleviating suffering" wherever and whenever they found it. This collaboration revealed itself at work through the frequent visits of Sumner Welles, Myron Taylor and Mgr. Spellman to the Holy See.

There was one outstanding point of difference between the United States and the Vatican in their diplomatic relations. The United States saw Germany as more dangerous than Russia, while the Vatican continued to hold that Russia was public enemy number one. This point of difference was made clear in the letter of President Roosevelt to Pius XII on September 3, 1939.

I believe that the survival of Russia is less dangerous to religion, to the Church as such, and to humanity in general than would be the survival of the German form of dictatorship.2

1 Myron Taylor, "Correspondence Between President Roosevelt and Pope Pius XII" (New York, 1947), p. 19; my italics.

2Ibid., p. 62.
The Allies and the Vatican did not iron out this difference, for the Vatican continued to view Communism with hostility, while the Allies continued to see Germany as more dangerous than Russia, and prosecuted the war against her until she was defeated.

I think this chapter can be concluded by saying that the Vatican suffered reverses in Poland and the Baltic States up to the attack of Germany on Russia, but it made gains in the West. The fascist-clerical states of Belgium and France were added to the Axis and Vatican powers. The Vatican had gained the goodwill of the United States, the strongest nation in the world. The position of the Vatican was very strong in the West, but its position in the East was filled with weaknesses. Let us consider Vatican-Soviet relations during and following the German invasion of Russia.
CHAPTER III

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE VATICAN AND RUSSIA FROM 1941 TO 1945

Just as Hitler and the Vatican knew the attitude of Russia at this time, the Russians in turn knew the attitude of Hitler and the Vatican. Hitler's attitude toward Russia was found in his book *Mein Kampf*, and the attitude of the Vatican was made crystal clear in the papal encyclical of 1937. When Hitler invaded Poland, Russia followed with the occupation of eastern Poland, and secured air and naval bases in the Baltic states, and also territory and bases in Finland. When Germany invaded the Low countries and France, Russia occupied the Baltic states; and when King Carol lined his country up with Germany, Russia threatened military action and forced Romania to cede North Bukovina and Bessarabia.

It would be to the advantage of Russia if there were a long drawn out war between Germany and the Allies, "with both sides exhausted in the end and ripe for a Communist revolution." That is probably one of the reasons why Russia supplied Germany with oil, fodder and raw materials, for apparently Russia believed that Germany's military chances were not good against the allies, and Russia could prolong the war by helping Germany.

The plan that Russia made for taking eastern Poland, for occupying Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and waging war on Finland, was that she needed to improve her defenses. Russia had sought to foster, in countries along its borders, the establishment of governments that would be friendly both to her as a nation and to the Soviet system. This should be no surprise if one remembers that between 1919 and 1939 the governments of all the countries

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1 Stress, pp. 6f.
along Russia's border from the Baltic to the Black Sea, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, were unfriendly toward Russia. The governments of Marshal Pilsudski in Poland, of King Carol in Rumania, of King Alexander in Yugoslavia, of King Boris in Bulgaria, of Premier Metaxas in Greece, "all feared the influence of Russia and tried to stamp out Communism in their own countries."¹ Germany, Italy, and Japan signed the Three Power Pact in Berlin on September 27, 1940 which seemed to have as its main purpose the encirclement of Russia and the prevention of the spread of Communism in Europe and the Far East. One has only to examine the provisions in the first three Articles of the Pact to make that discovery. Article I of the Three Power Pact stated:

Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new order in Europe.

Article 2 stated:

Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in East Asia.

And Article 3 stated:

Germany, Italy and Japan agree to cooperate in their efforts on aforesaid lines. They further undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means if one of the three Contracting Powers is attacked by a Power at present not involved in the European War or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict.²

Russia became alarmed at the rising tide of anti-Communism. Surrounded as she was with unfriendly governments in Europe and the Far East, and sensing an early war with Germany, who had received encouragement from the Vatican,

¹Dean. Russia—Menace or Promise? p. 63.
Russia hastened to settle the border disputes that she had with Japan from 1933 to 1940, and signed a neutrality pact with Japan on April 13, 1941 that she might not have a war on two fronts. The kernel of the pact is found in Article 2. It reads as follows:

Should one of the contracting parties become the object of hostilities on the part of one or several third powers, the other contracting party will observe neutrality throughout the duration of the conflict.¹

Protected, as she felt, from an immediate attack by Japan, Russia was now in a position to concentrate her war preparations in the west. Russia did not have long to prepare for on June 22, 1941 Germany invaded Russia.

When the German attack came, the Russian attitude toward religion underwent a change. "On August 21, 1941, the Moscow radio called upon all God-loving inhabitants of the occupied countries to rise in defense of their religious freedom. It charged the German regime with menacing the very existence of Christianity and seeking the overthrow of Christ the King, to install instead the myth of the Twentieth Century of Alfred Rosenberg."² The policy of the Soviet government toward religion under the pressure of war was one of leniency, compromise and opportunism. The religious believers were assured that there would be no gross interference with worship: "and they no longer expect, every day, announcements of the arrest of bishops and priests or of the demolition of churches."³

There are two strong reasons why the Soviet government modified its attitude toward religion in Russia prior to and during the war with the

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Nazis. Planning to invade Russia, Hitler began to assume a benevolent attitude toward the persecuted Orthodox Russian Church. Hitler thought that the hostility of religious-minded people to an atheist government could be of great help to him. He courted their favor, and "money was given for the erection of a Russian Orthodox cathedral in Berlin,"¹ and appropriation was made for the repair of nineteen Orthodox Churches in Germany. This was merely a symptom pointing to an extremely dangerous situation. Russia met this challenge by Hitler with a new friendly religious policy.

The second reason for a more friendly attitude toward religion in Russia by the Soviet regime was the loyalty of the Russian Orthodox Church to the government in meeting the German invasion, while it was at the same time in the midst of Soviet persecution. "On the very day of the outbreak of the war, Acting Patriarch Sergius issued a pastoral letter in which he enjoined the believers to take full part in the patriotic effort."² The Church was urged to stand with the nation in this period of crisis as it always had done.

Metropolitan Sergius made an appeal not only to the constituents of the Orthodox Church, but to people of other religious beliefs and nationalities as well. Baron says that the "Metropolitan Sergius immediately issued an appeal to all the Soviet nationalities stating that the Russian Church, as a Church of the people and not of the State, shared all the dangers confronting the people."³ This appeal to religious loyalties proved effective.

¹ Timasheff. The Great Retreat, p. 228.
² Ibid. p. 230.
Even in the Ukraine, where nationalist as well as Uniate aspirations had long militated against complete solidarity with Great Russia, intensive German propaganda made little headway.

The Soviet government rewarded this loyalty by discontinuing the publication of anti-religious journals, reducing the heavy taxes on the Churches, and prohibiting violence against religion. Thus the war against Germany, and the new religious policy of the Soviets served to unite the Russian religious forces almost solidly behind the government. Those who collaborated with the Nazi enemy were negligible.

While this collaboration was going on in Russia between Church and State, there was a growing hostility at the Vatican toward Communist Russia. The hostility of the Vatican toward atheistic Russia and the collaboration of the Vatican with Hitler in his war against the Soviets found temporal expression in the number of Catholics from various Fascist countries who fought side by side with the Nazis against Russia. By the autumn of 1941 anti-Communist Legions were formed in all the Catholic countries, Portugal, Spain, France and by the Rexist Catholic party in Belgium. All the volunteers were enlisted to fight against godless Soviet Russia.

The German bishops issued a declaration in 1942 in which they said, "A victory over Bolshevism would be equivalent to the triumph of the teaching of Jesus over that of the infidels." Baron points out that "certainly during the war, despite the regime's unrelenting persecutions, the majority of German Catholics rallied behind Hitler." There appears to be no evidence that the Pope rebuked the German bishops for their declarations and activities.

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1Quoted in Manhattan. op. cit. p.207.
2As. cit. p.113.
As the Nazi armies cut deep into Russian territory, the Vatican sent advice to the various national Catholic hierarchies all over the world to "support the military campaign against godless Russia, not only passively but also actively in the moral field."\(^1\) This advice was given in a letter sent by the Papal Secretary of State to the Catholics of the world.

While the Nazi attack on Russia was satisfactory to the Vatican, it produced a different effect on countries that were not in the Fascist orbit. Prime Minister Churchill at once announced that "though he had not changed his views on Communism, any man or state who fights against Fascism will have 'our aid'. That is our policy and that is our declaration."\(^2\) The same idea is expressed in the Atlantic Charter article 3 in which Churchill and Roosevelt say that they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.\(^3\) The Atlantic Charter was strengthened by the Joint Declaration of twenty-six United Nations including Soviet Russia regarding cooperative war effort against the Axis Countries.

Between the time of the Atlantic Charter in August 1941 and the joint declaration of the United Nations and Soviet Russia, President Roosevelt made an effort to convince Pius XII that Germany was more dangerous to religion and humanity than Russia, and indirectly solicited the support of the Vatican. This produced a psychological conflict, and the alliance between the Allies and Russia caused the psychological conflict to become acute. "Why must

\(^{1}\text{Quoted in Manhattan. op. cit. p.204.}\)
\(^{2}\text{Ibid. op. cit. p.545.}\)
\(^{3}\text{James W. Cantenbain. Documentary Background of World War II 1931 to 1941. (New York, 1948), p.1034.}\)
Communistic Russia now be aided, they were thinking, when just yesterday this same Communism had been fought in Spain? asked McMahon. Although McMahon shared the view of President Roosevelt that at this moment of history Nazism was a greater danger to the world than Communism, this Catholic scholar admits that "for ten Catholics who might have read the papal encyclical against Communism, there are probably only one who had read the equally strong indictment against Nazism." The anti-Nazi encyclical, Mit Brennender Sorge, was issued five days before the publication of the encyclical against Communism, Divini Redemptoris. "Yet the former was generally ignored at the very time it should have been foremost in the minds of men." The attitude of the Vatican toward Russia at this time makes it clear that the Vatican was not only unwilling to consider Vatican-Russian reconciliation, but also opposed to the idea of the alliance of the Allies with Russia. While Vatican outbursts of opposition toward Russia continued, Great Britain signed a mutual assistance pact with Russia. It was disturbing enough for the Allies to collaborate with Russia during the war, but to continue to collaborate with Russia after the war was horrifying to the Vatican, as the pact called for post-war collaboration. Part II Article III of the pact reads, "The high contracting parties declare their desire to unite with other like-minded States in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period."

2 Ibid. p. 102.
3 Ibid.
believed that the Charter of the United Nations and the Anglo-Russian pact left out the Catholic Church in the planning of post-war Europe.

The Orthodox Church and the Soviets were drawn closer together as war continued, and as more criticism came from the Vatican and the outside world. Following the dissolution of the Comintern on May 22, 1943, the patriarchate, which had been suspended since the death of Tikhon in April 1925, was restored "with the concurrence of Stalin on September 4, 1943, and training colleges for priests were again established in Russia." Not only did President Roosevelt imply that he would welcome an understanding between the Vatican and Moscow, but Moscow made an effort for reconciliation.

"Moscow indeed sent a memorandum to the Pope himself, offering coordinated action between Moscow and the Holy See on post-war organization for the solution of moral and social problems." It appears that there is no record of a reply.

The Kremlin and the Vatican were at odds on at least four planes; philosophical, religious, economic and diplomatic. Ever since Thomas Aquinas Catholic political philosophers have held that the purpose of any government is to secure justice and his natural rights for the individual citizen. As Pius XI had remarked, "society is for man and not vice-versa." But ever since Hegel a contrary notion has developed which claims that society, or the state, is a mystic organism in itself, and that the individual has no rights except those which the state confers. Vatican political philosophy is rooted in Aquinas while Marxist Communism stems from Hegel.

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2 "Osservatore Romano. August 14, 1944. Cited in Manhattan. op. cit. p.344."
The religious conflict between the Kremlin and the Vatican hinges on the doctrine of Marx that "religion is the opiate of the people." Catholics view Stalin's reestablishment of the Orthodox Church somewhat cynically, partly because it is a rival orthodoxy to Rome's, but also because they think it is under Stalin's thumb.

In economics, the Catholic Church believes strongly in private property, while Communists (at least in theory) do not. Moreover, recognizing that the masses of Europe no longer have faith in old-fashioned capitalism, the Church has outlined a new economic philosophy which is equally opposed to capitalism and socialism. The encyclical of Pius XI Quadragesimo Anno (1931) recommends a kind of functional, stratified system which found a partial expression in Mussolini's "Corporate State."

In the field of diplomacy the conflict is interesting. Here, on the secular plane, stand two fallible human beings, Stalin and Pius XII, the absolute rulers respectively of the largest and the smallest states in the world. They are in a diplomatic duel for the confidence of 350,000,000 Europeans. Every move one makes is surcharged with danger.

These four planes of conflict make it extremely difficult for peace to prevail between these two contestants. To the impartial observer it seems to be a long drawn out struggle. The conflict shifts from one plane to another with increasing intensity.

An all-Russian Church Council was held in February 1945, when a new patriarch, Alexei, was elected. The government had returned to the Church a substantial part of the property it had confiscated. Churches and ancient shrines were restored to public worship with government support. This new policy has been directed primarily toward improving the position of the Russian Orthodox Church, which is a visible expression of the growing spirit
of nationalism brought on by the German invasion. No comparable advantages have been extended to other faiths.

The revival of the Russian Orthodox Church fits into the pattern of Russian occupation or control of the Slav countries in the Balkans. As the Russians drove the Germans out of Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia, there was revival of the Pan-Slav agitation by Russia. After all, stripped of its trappings, Pan-Slavism emerges as simple Russianism. In the old days the idea was to federate all the small Slav nations under the Russian Tsar. Today the idea is the same, except that the Communist dictator replaces the Tsar. It is true that the Bulgars and Yugoslavs would prefer a Russian yoke to a German. But it is true too that they would rather have none at all.

The all-Russian Orthodox Church has been revived with much pomp and ceremony and Moscow has resumed its place as the center of the Eastern Orthodox World. The Kremlin is again the political head of about 150,000,000 Christians; the powerful, self-appointed defender of 13,000,000 Orthodox worshippers in Rumania, 5,250,000 in Bulgaria, 6,500,000 in Greece, 7,500,000 in Yugoslavia, 4,000,000 in Poland, and other millions in other places.

The Eastern Orthodox Church was long a major channel through which the Russian rulers broadened and strengthened their influence in Europe and Asia. "For fully two hundred years it enabled the Tsars, as the distinguished Philip Schaff wrote sixty years ago, to be 'the most powerful rivals of the Roman Pope'."

With the revival of the Eastern Orthodox Church the Vatican now has two

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strong forces to contend with: Communism and the Orthodox Church. It should not be difficult to understand the conflict in the light of the rivalry that proximity has brought into the situation. With the Vatican in the past having such a hostile attitude toward Communism and the Orthodox Church, one is not surprised to note the reaction of Communist Russia and the Orthodox Church toward Roman Catholicism in the Eastern, Russian-occupied countries.

The Russian Orthodox Church, with historic ties in many lands, notably among the Slavs of the Balkans and in other parts of the Near and Middle East, could be of great value to the Soviet government in the field of international relations especially when counterposed to the Vatican, which since 1917 had unremittingly opposed Communism, primarily because of its anti-religious character.

It was perhaps the greatest tragedy of our era that the two major genuinely international movements, Catholicism and Communism (or what the Nazis chose to call the Black and Red Internationals), through their mutual hostility, largely neutralized each other's efforts in combating excessive nationalism. It stands to reason that, were it not for this overpowering fear of Communism, the Catholic Church would have more effectively "counteracted the spread of the new paganism."¹

¹Baron, op. cit. p.111.
CONCLUSION

I have pointed out that the Vatican was successful in warding off the advance of Communism in Western Europe by its collaboration with Fascist regimes. The common hostility of the Vatican and the Fascist regimes toward Communism formed the basis of the collaboration. The Vatican was grateful to the Fascist Mussolini for his cooperation in solving the Roman Question which provided the Papacy with a temporal state from which the temporal activities of the Vatican might be carried on. The Lateran Treaty of February 1929 was signed and a growing friendship was formed between Fascist Italy and the Vatican State.

The Vatican cooperated with Mussolini in his Ethiopian venture, and opposed the action of the League of Nations when that body invoked economic sanctions against Italy.

Armed with the international recognition that is due a sovereign, independent state, the Vatican proceeded to make its political, social, economic and spiritual position crystal clear in international matters.

The Catholic Church turns out to be an effective political force when it goes to work. From the Pope down to the parish priest, the forces of the Church campaigned against Communism in Italy in the 1948 Italian elections. "Priests told parishioners that it was a sin to stay away from the polls, a greater sin to vote for the Communists."\(^1\) Leaders of the Communists said that the heavy vote by women, influenced by the priests, contributed largely to the Communist defeat. Letters from American told voters throughout Italy that their election was not just a local affair. Italian Americans encouraged

\(^{1}\) *U.S. News.* April 30, 1943. p.23.
by their political leaders, wrote millions of letters to relatives and friends in Italy, urging them to vote against Communists. In Italian towns and villages these letters were read by recipients to other voters at public meetings. From the Lateran Treaty of 1929 to the Italian elections of 1943, due in part to the papal encyclicals Quadragesimo Anno in 1931 (in which the Pope encouraged the establishment of corporative states with which to fight Communism) and Divini Redemptoris in 1937 (in which the Pope declared Communism to be 'intrinsically wrong'), the political, social, economic and spiritual policy of the Vatican was brought to bear in Church and State relations, and in opposing Communism.

The Vatican was opposed to Communism in Spain and supported Franco in the establishment of a fascist corporate state. By 1943 the government of Franco seemed well entrenched. Spain had had no free elections since 1936. Even members of the parliament are appointed directly or indirectly by Franco. Only one political party is recognized, the Fascist-type Falange.

Before Hitler invaded Poland in 1939 there was strong opposition to Communism from the western borders of Russia to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the Baltic to the Mediterranean Seas. The Vatican was also able to secure friendly diplomatic relations with the United States when President Roosevelt appointed Myron C. Taylor as his personal ambassador to the Vatican in December 1939.

When Hitler attacked Poland and set the stage for World War II, new alignments came into existence. The new alignments were based on whether or not Nazism was more dangerous than Communism, and the Vatican took sides with Nazism and Fascism against Communism. By its bold anti-Communist policy the Vatican either voluntarily supported the Nazis or was forced to decide to
stand with Hitler against Soviet Russia. For the Allies: after Soviet Russia's entrance into the Second World War, its exclusion from the League of Nations in December, 1939, was entirely forgotten, and it was included in the new comity of the United Nations.¹ On January 1, 1942 the representatives of 26 nations that were fighting against the Axis aggressors signed in Washington, D.C. a Declaration by the United Nations (including Russia), "in which they undertook to cooperate in winning the war and not to make a separate peace."² Later on a Mutual Assistance Pact was signed between Great Britain and the Soviets, and the alignments of the Allies with Russia were completed. The Axis was defeated and the war closed in 1945.

Let us digress for a moment from Soviet-Vatican relations and examine the emergence after the war of the grins of the Soviet Union. The Communist influence extends now from Central Germany and the Adriatic to the China Sea. It spreads over about 10 million square miles and affects approximately 450,000,000 people. The Communist organization of Stalin has influence with nine European countries, half of Germany and the richest portion of China. Rapid expansion of the Soviet Union began in earnest on August 24, 1939 when Communist Russia signed a pact with Nazi Germany. The United States gave military aid to Russia, but at the war's end the Communists turned to empire building. The post-war drive for power by the Communists has been swift and thorough. In Europe the Communists asked for more than the Western Powers were prepared to give them. They sought conditions of peace that would enable them to get control of Germany and take a dominating position in Western Europe. When

this was refused, the "cold war" between East and West began.

Eastern Europe slid swiftly into the grasp of Communists. Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania and Bulgaria came out of the war with Communists in power. Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary were taken over by Communist minorities.

Resistance in Europe, sparked by the Marshall Plan, has slowed down the Communist advance to the west. But the Communists are now expanding their influence in another direction, namely China and the Far East.

In the Russian advance to the west, the Vatican suffered serious losses in Eastern Europe. In the Baltic States, Poland, Romania, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria "the Kremlin came into authority over at least 45,000,000 members of the Roman Catholic Church who had not been subject to its rule before 1939." The Vatican lost some prestige in Italy and Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Belgium and substantial participation in power in the Netherlands, West Germany and France. The Vatican must now rely on non-Catholic political allies to survive and protect itself in this post-war world with Communism yet a world menace, for there are no strong Catholic countries in the world today that can challenge Communism on the field of battle.

This may account in part for the cultivation of friendly relations with the United States by the Vatican. The losses of the Vatican may also account for the use by it of what it calls the "vital law of continuous adaptation." This so called 'vital law' provides the Vatican with the privilege of dealing with any government at any time that will prove advantageous to the Vatican.

The Catholic Church lays stress upon the way a government acts, and not particularly upon the type of political form it constitutes. The main requirement it lays down is that any regime, whatever its character, conform to the standards of law and justice, and respect as well the "rights of the Church to bring her doctrine of eternal salvation to the people."¹

The Church will condemn a monarchy that violates its conception of natural law as it will approve a democracy that earnestly aims to fulfill the demands of justice. Its mission is to save a soul, and to pursue its mission it sometimes has to take great risks. "It is said of Pope Pius XI that he was willing to deal with the devil in order to ensure the salvation of souls."² Sidney Hook has said, "If we are to judge by the writings of the outspoken apologists of Catholicism in Europe and America they are just as ready, if necessity arises, to baptize Marx as they once baptized Aristotle."³ With this "vital law of continuous adaptation" as a policy of the Vatican, it is not impossible, though highly improbable, that there may be a rapprochement between the Kremlin and the Vatican. Dalla Torre said in an editorial, in the L'Osservatore Romano, dated June 17, 1947 that "there is always room for peaceful accommodations,...Nations must realize that in geographical space all ideas can live."⁴

After the war both the Vatican and the White House were suddenly found accepting the same views concerning Communism. Particularly since the days of the Spanish war the Vatican had hammered at this theme through media ranging from Papal encyclicals to parish pulpits and Vatican press. Its words fell

¹McMahon, op. cit. p.170.
²Ibid. p.82.
on fertile soil once World War II was ended, and the Russians were no longer fighting as allies of the United States. The first to put the Vatican's words into action on a world-wide, army moving scale was President Truman.

It is no surprise that the Vatican is anxious to cultivate American friendship. When Pius XII became Pope in 1939, there were three cardinals, seventeen archbishops, and 123 bishops in the United States. Today the number has jumped to four cardinals, nineteen archbishops and 162 bishops—a total increase of forty-two prelates. Millions of dollars have crossed the Atlantic to the papal treasury.

The Pope now sees his faithful most tormented by the Red threat of atheism. In Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and now China, he watches his clergy imprisoned, tortured and killed. The pontiff fights back through his addresses, his paper L'Osservatore Romano, and through perhaps his most powerful weapon, the Vatican radio.

Some 1,300 reports of cardinals, archbishops, nuncios, apostolic delegates and bishops pour into the Vatican at regular intervals. Each bishop must visit Rome every five years to report personally to Pius XII on conditions in his diocese. By creating 32 new cardinals in 1945 Pius XII brought the far corners of the Church more strongly into contact with Rome than at any other point in modern times. In 1946 Pius XII said to a Sicilian bishop: "It is not impossible that one day the Pope may be hanged on the gallows in St. Peter's Square." He fears that the battle with Communist atheism may be

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1Newsweek. April 4, 1949.
the hardest in the Church's history. From the quiet scholar of 50
years ago, Pius XII has become a fighting Pope. He intends to protect
his people and their faith at whatever personal effort and cost. He is
looking to America and the United Nations to save Catholicism and the
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<td>Popolo d'Italia</td>
<td>October 28, 1935</td>
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ESSAY ON SOURCES

The primary material used consists of treaties, pacts, charters and personal correspondence cited in different parts of the thesis. The Lateran Treaty of 1929 between Mussolini and the Vatican is to be found in Wheeler-Bennett's Documents on International Affairs 1929. The Three Power Pact that was signed by Germany, Italy and Japan on September 27, 1940 is taken out of Far Eastern War, 1937-41 by Quigley. Harriet L. Moore's Soviet Far Eastern Policy furnishes the neutrality pact that was signed by Russia and Japan on April 13, 1941. The Yearbook of the United Nations supplied the material for the origin and development of the United Nations. William Yandell Elliott et al. in The British Commonwealth at War provides the terms of the Anglo-Russian pact of 1942.

In order to throw light on Vatican-United States relations the Wartime Correspondence Between President Roosevelt and Pope Pius XII was used.

The official Catholic material is found in L'Osservatore Romano, the Comunnoal, Civitá Cattolica and Popolo d' Italia. The New York Times furnishes excerpts from L'Osservatore Romano, giving the part played by the Vatican in dropping Russia from the League of Nations on December 14, 1939. The so-called "vital law of continuous adaptation" used by the Vatican is found in L'Osservatore Romano by way of the New Republic. The opposition to sanctions against Italy by the Vatican is found in the Jesuit organ Civitá Cattolica quoted in the New York Times. The statement of Cardinal Shuster of Milan found in Popolo d' Italia is quoted in Blanchard's American Freedom and Catholic Power. This made it possible to venture the assertion that the Vatican endorsed Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia. The
attitude of the Vatican toward Russo-German occupation of Poland and
the Russian attack on Finland is found in the Commonweal under the caption
"The Papacy and Poland." The Commonweal and other Catholic publications
give support to other material that was used.

The secondary material of a more or less scholarly character that was
used is Modern Nationalism and Religion by Solo Baron, Reimann’s Germany,
World Empire or World Revolution, Lichtenberger’s Third Reich and Vera
Dean’s Russia at War and Russia-Menace or Promise? In Solo Baron’s
Modern Nationalism and Religion there is an effort to secure the facts
of Vatican relations with European countries. Quite a bit of material
in the thesis is drawn directly or indirectly from this book. Quite a
bit of the material concerning National Socialism is taken from Reimann’s
Germany, World Empire or World Revolution and Lichtenberger’s Third Reich.
In her two pamphlets Russia at War and Russia-Menace or Promise?, Vera
Dean gives information on Russia’s political, economic and religious aims.
Joseph Bernhardt’s The Vatican as a World Power and The Vatican—Yesterday,
Today and Tomorrow by George Seldes are important in furnishing a good
background for the study of the attitude of the Vatican toward Russia
from 1936 to 1945.

There are three anti-Catholic books that were the sources of much
information. They are Blanshard’s American Freedom and Catholic Power
and Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power and Manhattan’s The Vatican
in World Politics. Blanshard’s books are better documented than the one
written by Manhattan. Blanshard is anxious, however, to keep America from
the power of Russia and the Vatican, which prevents him from being unbiased
as he otherwise might have been. Manhattan’s book The Vatican in World
Politics could have been of immense help if the author had said how, where,
and when he secured his material. He seems to use some of his documentation
as a point from which he moves into the area of propaganda, imagination and speculation. One has to read his material critically and get support for what Manhattan says from other sources to be on safe, unbiased and scholarly grounds. McMahon, who is associate professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago, gives a pro-Catholic philosophical view in A Catholic Looks At The World.

In a treatment of Soviet-Vatican relations in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, much material is to be found in Bilmanis' Baltic Essays, Stoyan's Spotlight on the Balkans and Krzesinski's Poland's Rights To Justice.

Outside of primary material, it is quite difficult to find authors who approach this subject objectively. It is essentially one on which partisanship rules attitudes taken towards Russia and towards the Catholic Church. The essential task of the thesis has been critical comparison and assessment of the various secondary materials available.