

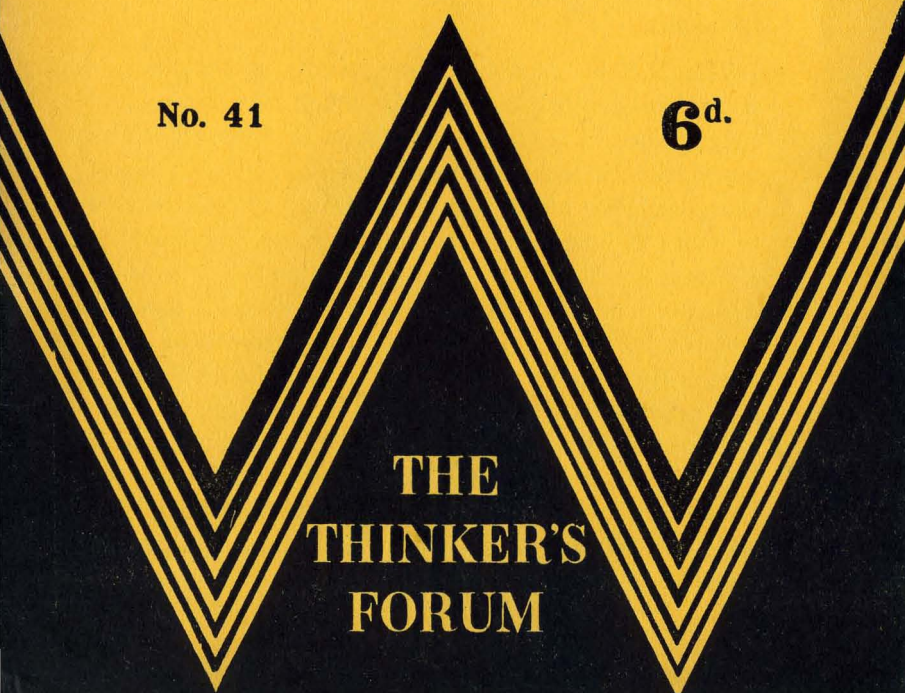
# **THE VATICAN AND THE U.S.A.**

By

**AVRO MANHATTAN**

No. 41

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**THE  
THINKER'S  
FORUM**

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By  
AVRO MANHATTAN

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# THE VATICAN AND THE U.S.A.

WITH the dawning of the twentieth century a new star has risen steadily in the West and increasingly dominates the troubled horizon of world politics: the American continent

The energetic stride of a group of young nations, which to a cynical Europe seem to be alarmingly lacking in experience and to possess a rather naive and therefore potentially dangerous idealism, has so altered the interplay of economic, political, social, and other factors throughout the world that to-day the American continent not only takes upon itself European leadership but becomes the main arbiter of our age.

This may be due to the exhaustion of an ageing Europe, to the simultaneous emergence of new opposing economic and political forces in several parts of the world, to the appearance of contrasting social ideologies, to the ever-expanding development of industry, to the continuous development of inter-continental means of exchange, transport, and communication, to the multiplying results of applied science affecting on an ever-increasing scale both the life of the individual and the lives of the nations—or perhaps to the sum of all these reasons. The fact remains that the change has taken place and, what is more, it goes on, with the result that the increasing influence of the Americas in the administration of the world has become a factor with which everybody must reckon.

Economic, political, social, and to a great extent even cultural elements, whose natural centre until a few decades ago was in Europe, have had to orientate themselves to the changed situation and take increasingly into account a rising Americanism not only in the purely political field, but also in the economic one. If this is true in the economic and political fields, it is also true in another, perhaps less evident but nevertheless vital, sphere—religion.

## CATHOLIC AMBITIONS IN U.S.A.

The growth of American power has, of course, been watched by European and other States, and also by the leaders of industry and finance. An even greater degree

of interest has been displayed by that most astute religious institution, the Catholic Church. The enormous losses in numbers and influence suffered by the Church in the Old World have forced it to think of some scheme for the recovery of its influence. Its scheme envisages nothing less than the transformation of the whole American continent into one compact and powerful Catholic bloc.

The new orientation has two fundamental objects: first, to seek new ground where Catholicism could consolidate and expand, as compensation for its weakened position in a bankrupt Europe; second, to transform and ally itself with a continent destined to become the leading light of the twentieth century. This double policy (which, by the way, the Catholic Church has pursued consistently in past centuries) has already yielded the most encouraging results and secured a strong foothold for the Catholic Church throughout the American continent. The fact that the largest and most powerful of all American countries, the U.S.A., is a Protestant country is but an incentive to the Vatican to multiply its efforts towards transforming the whole western hemisphere, from the most northern outpost in Alaska to the most southern in Tierra del Fuego, into a solid Catholic territory, providing a base for its activities all over the planet.

If, at first sight, this statement seems exaggerated, it should be remembered that the Catholic Church is an institution accustomed to carry out plans not only in terms of years or even decades but in terms of centuries, nations, races, and whole continents. Although long-range policies are usually difficult to detect, in the case of the Catholic Church's designs on the Americas it is comparatively easy to see its plan being unfolded. We can observe the quickening tempo of its activities, the successes it has already achieved, and, last but not least, the power it wields to-day in the Americas, including Protestant U.S.A.

Among the factors which have contributed to the advance of the Catholic Church, not the least is the prevalent fear that the dangerous ideological Red virus which has attacked Europe should penetrate the western hemisphere and destroy its economic, social, and political stability. Under the influence of this fear the American countries have not only accepted but have even encouraged the expanding influence of the Catholic Church as a most

effective barrier against the revolutionary spirit of the age. The U.S.A. has become, in fact, the focal point of Vatican strategy.

As already hinted, the Vatican has always allied itself with strong secular States, and the only change is that, whereas in the past such alliances were sought mainly in Roman Catholic parts of the European continent, the Vatican is now trying to align itself to a great Protestant country, with a view to extending Roman Catholic influence in all parts of the world.

### PROGRESS IN CATHOLIC PENETRATION

The tremendous efforts which, since the opening of the twentieth century and especially during the last two decades, the Catholic Church has made to capture the U.S.A. from within are therefore worthy of study. How far has the Vatican advanced towards its first goal—the transformation of Protestant U.S.A. into a Catholic country? What was its position there in the past, and what is it now? What is the extent of the influence exercised by the Catholic Church in social, political, and cultural matters, and how far has its increasing hold already affected the domestic and foreign course of the U.S.A., before and after the first and second world wars?

These are some of the questions we shall now try briefly to answer.

When Washington took command of the Continental Army, Catholicism had only one church (in Philadelphia). In those days America had a yearly celebration on "Pope's Day," November 5th, during which the Pope's image was ceremoniously burned at the stake.

On the entry of the U.S.A. into the second world war (1941) the Catholic Church owned or controlled a network of churches, schools, hospitals, and newspapers, spreading from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. It had become the biggest, most compact, and most powerful religious denomination of the U.S.A. The American President deemed it necessary to keep an "official personal" envoy at the Vatican, besides having scores of private envoys journeying backwards and forwards between Washington and Rome as the situation required. All this had happened within the period of just over a century and a half.

What contributed most to the numerical increase of

Catholicism in the U.S.A. was the mass emigration from Europe which occurred at the close of the last century and the beginning of the twentieth century. It was at that period that the Catholic Church gained most in strength and spread all over the States. The following figures give an idea of the enormous numerical gains made by Catholicism in the U.S.A., solely through immigration. Between 1881 and 1890 the American Catholic Church acquired over 1,250,000 new members; from 1891 to the close of the century, another 1,225,000; and between 1901 and 1910 the figure was well over 2,316,000. In the brief space of three decades Catholicism in the U.S.A. had been strengthened by almost 5,900,000 new members through immigration alone.

Parallel with this numerical increase the establishment of churches and all other religious, social, and cultural organizations kept step with the demands of the new Catholic populations. Their efficient supervision required a proportionately expanding hierarchical machinery.

The Vatican, already watching the progress of the American Church, was not slow in creating the necessary ruling bodies, represented by arch-dioceses, which in 1911 rose to sixteen, while bishoprics were increased to forty. Religious, semi-religious, and lay institutions grew everywhere with the same rapidity. Within thirty years, for instance, Orders for women, consisting mainly of small diocesan organizations, reached the figure of 250. The activities of some were nation-wide, in the cases of the Ursuline, whose members were mainly concerned with educational work, the Sisters of Charity, and so on. Similar Orders for men grew all over the country, although they were not so numerous or varied; the principal and most active of them all was that of the Jesuits. In 1946 there were 38,980 ordained priests, while Religious Orders included 6,721 Brothers and 139,218 Sisters, of whom 61,916 nuns were engaged in works other than teaching.

All these factors contributed to a steady increase in the Catholic population of the U.S.A. In 1865 Catholics numbered approximately three millions, or 9.65 per cent. of the total population. By 1890 they had already grown to 8,909,000; by 1900 they had become 12,041,000 (15.78 per cent). During the following decade they reached 16,336,000; in 1920 approximately twenty millions (18.76 per cent);



in 1930 approximately twenty-three millions; by the end of the second world war they had passed the twenty-four million mark; and by 1946 24,402,224 (*Official Catholic Directory*, 1946)—an increase of 438,453 on the previous year.

The educational work of the Catholic Church in the States during this period and in the following decades expanded in proportion. By 1921 the Catholic Church was already conducting 24 standard colleges for women and 43 for men, 309 normal training schools, 6,550 elementary schools, and 1,552 high schools; the total attendance at these establishments exceeding two million.

This increase in the numerical strength of American Catholics and in their hierarchical machinery continued to soar, gaining great impetus with the entry of the U.S.A. into the second world war. By the end of hostilities (1945) the American hierarchy was made up of 1 cardinal\*, 22 archbishops, 136 bishops, and about 39,000 priests, while the Catholic Church controlled over 14,500 parishes, 5,124 chapels, 5,084 missions, and 9,316 stations, and numerous seminaries where well over 21,600 students were being prepared for the priesthood. The number of monks was 6,700 and of nuns 38,000.

#### CATHOLIC INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION

In the field of general education the Catholic Church has made even greater strides. In the years immediately following the first world war there were not sufficient high schools in the U.S.A. to justify a separate report or an official directory, but by 1934 there were 966 Catholic schools with 158,352 pupils, by 1943 1,522 schools with 472,474 pupils, and by 1944 the Catholic Church was providing the teaching staff (mainly nuns) for 7,647 parochial schools with 2,048,723 pupils. In 1945 the Catholic Church owned, controlled, and supervised a grand total of 11,075 educational establishments giving Catholic instruction to 3,205,804 young people (an increase of 167,948 pupils over the preceding year).

No branch of education escapes the attention of Catholicism. It meets the needs of the youngest elementary pupils, the pupils at parochial and secondary schools, and the students at Catholic colleges and universities (769, in addition to the 193 seminaries), which in 1946

\*Four new Cardinals were created in the following year (Feb., 1946).

had 22,950 students, the greatest number ever recorded. American youth is cared for by the Catholic Church not only in schools but also outside them. For this purpose societies and organizations of all kinds have been created. Bishops and others concerned with such activities co-operate with a National Catholic Youth Council, consisting of the leaders of the diocesan youth councils. Other important bodies are the two Catholic student institutions, the Newman Club Federation and the National Federation of Catholic College Students, with more than six hundred clubs. The Boy Scouts are supervised by a special committee of bishops.

Once the young people have reached manhood or womanhood, the Catholic Church provides for their needs through the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women. These Councils have set up thousands of parish groups, each responsible to its respective bishop, whom they are ready to help in his various religious and non-religious undertakings. The duties of the two Councils include the building up of high schools, the strengthening of the Legion of Decency, the encouragement of the "Catholic Hour" and similar programmes on national radio networks, and so on.

The Catholic Church, which has also set itself to control the field of charitable institutions, has made similar striking progress in this direction, and over the same period it set up 726 hospitals. During the second world war the Catholic Church did not abandon its work among the troops but built up a Catholic army of chaplains which, from a mere sixty before Pearl Harbour, rose to 4,300 by 1945, Mgr. Spellman having been appointed "Military Vicar of Army and Navy Chaplains" as early as 1940. The average number of Americans received yearly into the fold of the Catholic Church is about 85,000. In 1944 90,822 American citizens became Catholics; in 1945 87,430; and during the years of the second world war the Church gained a total of 543,970 converts.

With figures like these before us it is not surprising to learn that the Catholic Church, within the brief period of 150 years (1790 to 1945), has increased the number of its American members from 30,000 to over 24,000,000 (including Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands—see *Catholic Directory*, 1945).

### THE CATHOLIC NATIONAL WELFARE CONFERENCE

The efficiency and success of all these nation-wide and manifold activities of the Catholic Church are due in part to the zeal with which Catholics work for the maintenance and spreading of the faith. Not less important are factors of a purely spiritual and administrative character. The most notable of these are without doubt the Catholics' singleness of purpose and discipline, and above all the powerful nation-wide organization which directs the innumerable activities of the Catholic Church in the U.S.A.—namely, the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

This organization was created during the first world war to deal with problems affecting the interests of the Church in the U.S.A. It was first known as the National Catholic War Council, subsequently as the National Catholic Welfare Council, and finally as the National Catholic Welfare Conference. In it the American hierarchy has almost unchallenged sway, although theoretically its power is of a purely advisory nature. The N.C.W.C. has come to be the factotum of the Catholic Church, and on its driving force the expansion of Catholicism depends.

### CATHOLIC PRESS ACTIVITIES

In addition to the various activities of a charitable, cultural, and educational character at which we have just glanced, the N.C.W.C. is responsible for the efficiency of another instrument for the furtherance of American Catholicism—namely, the Catholic Press. In 1942 the Catholic Church in the U.S.A. had 332 Church publications, with a total circulation of 8,925,665. These comprised papers of all descriptions, including 125 weeklies, 127 monthly magazines, and 7 daily newspapers. Within the brief period of ten years, up to the end of the second world war, the circulation of Catholic papers increased by over 2,500,000—or nearly thirty-five per cent.

All these papers are in close touch with the Press Department of the N.C.W.C. This department describes itself as the "International Catholic news-gathering and distributing agency founded and controlled by the Catholic archbishops and bishops of the U.S.A." It is run by skilled journalists and maintains correspondents in all the most important towns of the U.S.A. and the rest of the world. From all five continents it collects news items which are

distributed all over the country and treated from the angle best suited to the interests of Catholicism. The N.C.W.C. Press Department during the second world war forwarded between 60,000 and 70,000 words a week to about 190 publishers, and in 1942 it claimed to be serving 437 Catholic publications in the U.S.A. and other countries.

Many of these Catholic papers had a good circulation at the end of the second world war. To cite only a few: *Catholic Missions*, 530,000; *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, 260,000; *The Young Catholic Messenger*, 420,000; *Our Sunday Visitor*, 480,000. Sales of Catholic pamphlets in the U.S.A. by 1946 approximated 25,000,000 a year. In spite of war conditions, 650 new titles were published between 1942 and 1946, many attaining "best seller" status with a sale of 100,000 copies each. The Paulist Press leads, its sales totalling 5,967,782. More than 10,500,000 people in 1946 bought the 367 publications of the American Catholic Press. In the three preceding years 35 publications were launched and 1,500,000 subscribers gained. There were four Catholic dailies in foreign languages. In addition to serving papers in the U.S.A., the N.C.W.C. also serves Catholic papers abroad, especially in Central and South America. Its *Noticias Catolicas*, for instance, go to all four daily papers of Mexico City.

Besides the N.C.W.C., the Church controls the Press through the Catholic Press Association, which is a Conference bringing together hundreds of publishers and editors, arranging for advertising the Catholic Press, reducing costs, encouraging Catholic outlooks and Catholic journalists, and so on. The Catholic Press, whose largest circulation is in the form of parish magazines, reaches all cultural and political strata. Chief among such magazines are the Jesuit weekly *America*, *The Commonwealth*, the *Catholic World* (published by Paulists), and the *Inter-racial Review*, which is said to be the most influential with regard to racial problems. The last-mentioned journal has attempted to deal with the question of the negroes, who, at the end of the second world war, constituted one-tenth (13,000,000) of the American population. During the decade preceding Pearl Harbour the Catholic Church started a drive for the conversion of this minority, and, although it made no remarkable progress (reaching 300,000 converts in 1945, as compared with the 5,600,000 acknowledging Protestant denominations), the attempt is worthy of notice.

### CATHOLICS AND THE NEGRO QUESTION

Hostility had previously existed between negroes and Catholic minorities consisting mainly of immigrants who competed with the cheap negro labour. This antagonism began to disappear with the stabilization of the economic life of the country and with the rebellion of the negroes against discrimination by Protestant society and the Protestant Churches. With the passing of the years, the negro has tried with increasing success to fight back at all those forces which endeavour to keep him a second-class citizen. The Catholic Church, by preaching racial equality and the right of the negro to be on a par with men of other races, will one day be able to swing that minority to her side—a process which will involve a complex series of racial, social, economic, and political repercussions.

The Catholic Church's main instrument for the conversion of negroes is its usual one—education. Thousands of nuns are engaged exclusively in teaching negro children. Almost one-tenth of the 86,000 American citizens who are annually converted to Catholicism are negroes. In the period between 1928 and 1940 the average per year was about five thousand, but during the war this figure greatly increased, the major gains being in urban centres, such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Baltimore.

During the second world war the Catholic Church made great strides in its negro missionary work, and the number of priests devoting their full time to negro conversion was one hundred and fifty times greater than it was fifteen years before Pearl Harbour. Religious Orders for women assigned to work among negroes were 72, with almost 2,000 nuns, while Religious Orders for men during the same period increased from 9 to 22. Most prominent of these Orders were those of the Josephite Fathers (founded in 1871), the Society of the Holy Ghost, the Divine Word, the Redemptorists, the Jesuits, and the Benedictines; and for women the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (an Order for negro women) and the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. The Catholic Church runs a university for negroes—the St. Xavier University. While in 1941 only ten Catholic institutions of higher learning admitted negroes, in 1945 more than a hundred accepted them, as well as actively encouraging negro youths to enter the priesthood.

By the end of the second world war the Catholic

Church in America, although it had prepared the machinery for the conversion of the negroes, had by no means seriously embarked on the work, feeling it was premature. But on the day it deems opportune it will certainly start a full drive in the racial field. In view of the fact that about eight million negroes claim affiliation with no religious denomination, the Church is likely to make great progress.

We must remember that the Catholic Church thinks in terms of centuries and that, having a long-range policy, it prepares its machinery long before it intends to use it. One of the chief items of the Catholic programme for the conversion of America is the winning over of the American negro. Significant activities in this field were already taking place before and during the second world war, and these increased after the end of hostilities.

The work of the *Inter-racial Review* in the sphere of propaganda has already been mentioned; it is supported by the activities of the Catholic Inter-racial Council in the field of practical endeavour. Negro labour problems have been handled by the Social Action Department of the N.C.W.C. which, during and after the second world war, has advocated that Unions should remove from their charters all discrimination against negroes, and that immediate schemes should be proposed to make good housing available to negro families.

Catholic action in the labour field is, of course, not restricted to the promotion of negro interests; every phase of the labour movement is watched—and exploited—by the formidable organization of the N.C.W.C.

#### OPERATIONS IN THE LABOUR FIELD

The task of the N.C.W.C. is to drill into the Catholic and non-Catholic population the social teachings of the Church in the controversial economic-social sphere, by propagating all that the various Popes—especially Leo XIII—have said on the subject. Thus, questions concerning the family, just wages, private property, social security, labour organizations, and so on, are presented as seen and settled by the Catholic Church. On all these issues of practical politics Catholic policy boils down to the advocacy of a kind of corporate State on the Fascist model, and hostility to Socialism.

The formidable penetration of the Catholic Church into the American Labour movement can be judged by the

fact that, by 1946 thirty-five per cent of the U.S. trade union leaders were Catholics, in comparison with fifty per cent for the various Protestant denominations and four per cent for the Jews.\*

It is worth remembering that the numbers of organized workers in the U.S.A. have grown from 2,500,000 in 1936 to 15,000,000 in 1946.

The N.C.W.C. specializes in this important field through a "Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems," which organizes discussions on current social issues—discussions which have been rightly described as "travelling universities." From 1922 to 1945 more than a hundred of these meetings, sponsored by churches, labour leaders, professors of economics, and the like, were held in the principal industrial cities.

The Catholic Church also began a drive to train its priests in the handling of social problems. To this end the American hierarchy organized "Priests' Summer Schools of Social Action" and Congresses such as the National Catholic Congress on Social Action, held in Milwaukee in 1938 and also in Cleveland the following year, the first being attended by 35 bishops, 750 priests, and thousands of laymen.

Such activity is aimed at two great objects: the penetration by Catholics of the economic-social field of America, and the gaining of influence among workers and capitalists alike in order to fight the menace of Socialism and Communism. To achieve both these aims the Catholic hierarchy again employs the N.C.W.C., whose first great organized and open attack against Communism was launched in 1937, when its Social Department made a detailed survey of Communism in the U.S.A. This was followed by each diocese setting up a committee of priests to follow the progress of Communism and to report their findings to the N.C.W.C. Catholic schools, Catholic workers, professors, etc., had the task of passing on any news of Communist activities, and they were kept supplied with anti-Red pamphlets, books, and films, while the most brilliant priests were sent to the Catholic University of Washington to become experts in social science. The Catholic Press was flooded by anti-Communist advertisements and articles,

\*According to David Goldstein, surveying statistics compiled in 1946 by Prof. C. Wright Mills, of the University of Maryland.

while Catholic workers and students were continually warned not to co-operate with the Reds.

This campaign was not merely theoretical but entered the sphere of Labour itself. In 1937 a special organization to fight Communism was created with the blessing of Cardinal Hayes of New York; it is the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which carries the war of Catholicism into the very rank and file of the trade unions themselves. Other Catholic organizations with similar objects are the Conservative Catholic Labour Alliance and the Pacifist Catholic Workers Group. All of them are encouraged and financed by the Catholic Church and by powerful economic elements inimical to Socialism.

#### CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA IN THE TOWNS

Catholicism in the U.S.A. owes its progress to another factor which, although not so well known, is largely responsible for Catholic influence—the circumstance that the majority of the Catholic population lives in urban centres. It should be remembered that it is chiefly through the urban population that religious, cultural, social, and political developments are effected, and that it is the urban masses who exert decisive influence on issues of national importance.

By the end of the second world war the total population of non-Catholic communities in the U.S.A. was about 35,000,000, of whom eighty per cent lived in rural districts, leaving 7,000,000 non-Catholic churchgoers in the towns, where about 20,000,000 Catholics were concentrated. In the fifty most important American urban centres there was a Catholic population of about 9,000,000 more than there were non-Catholics in all the towns of the nation.\* Chicago had a population of 1,627,164 Catholics, followed by Boston with an archdiocese of 1,133,075, and New York with 1,113,132 Catholics.

The numerical strength of the Catholics and their concentration mainly in urban centres make them a force with which every politician, from the town attorney to the presidential candidate, must reckon. Again, we must bear in mind that while the non-Catholic denominations have no common organization or aim, the Catholic Church is a highly disciplined unit, with all its forces directed to one goal—to make America a Catholic country.

\*According to calculations of Bishop Noll, 1945.



## GROWTH OF "AMERICAN CATHOLICISM"

This unity in power and purpose has, we have already noted, made the Catholic Church the largest religious body in America; in 1945 Catholicism had the highest church membership in thirty-eight out of the 50 largest American towns. Unity has also given birth to a peculiar brand of Catholicism known as "American Catholicism," which was first snubbed by the Vatican, then tolerated, and finally encouraged in the form in which it stands to-day.

The man who gave organized impetus to the unification of American Catholics was Father Hecker, who in the last century maintained that in order to make progress in the U.S.A. the Catholic Church must make itself American. Father Hecker fought against the tendency then prevailing among Catholic immigrants to create their own churches with their own national bishops speaking their own languages, thus forming innumerable Catholic bodies within the Catholic Church of America.

As an illustration of what that meant, as lately as 1929 there existed in the city of Chicago alone 124 English Catholic churches, 38 Polish, 35 German, 12 Italian, 10 Slovakian, 8 Bohemian, 9 Lithuanian, 5 French, 4 Croatian, and 8 of other nationalities, making a total of 253. Had this tendency been allowed to grow, Catholicism, in spite of its religious unity, would have dissipated its efforts and consequently, like the Protestant denominations, would have remained a comparatively powerless body in the U.S.A. What actually happened was that the spiritual and administrative unification of Catholicism and the impulse to make the Catholic Church "American" created a brand of Catholicism peculiar to the U.S.A. This was noticed as early as 1870, when Europeans began to remark that "Catholicism in the U.S.A. has about it an American air" (M. Houtin).

At the beginning of the twentieth century the characteristics of American Catholicism were already well marked. The most important of these were the tendencies to give "the active virtues in Christianity predominance over the passive," to prefer "individual inspiration to the eternal magisterium of the Church," and "to concede everything to non-Catholics, while passing over certain truths in silence if necessary as a measure of prudence" (Premoli; 1889). These tendencies were very important, for they greatly

influenced the attitude of American Catholics towards the teachings of the Catholic Church in social, and above all political, problems. Such problems, in fact, instead of being regarded as intractable and insoluble, were treated with a liberality and breadth of mind which no Catholic in Europe would have dared to emulate. American Catholics felt free to co-operate with Protestants and to renounce, in religious, social, and political affairs, that exclusiveness which was the source of much bitterness elsewhere.

American Catholicism became prominent in the political scene during the election for the Presidency in 1928, when Governor Smith, the Catholic candidate, issued his "credo," which became that of approximately ninety-five per cent of American Catholics. In reply to groups whose slogan was "We do not want the Pope in the White House" and especially in answer to those honest Americans who began to ask themselves whether, after all, anyone could be at the same time both a loyal American and a devout Catholic, Alfred E. Smith, after having stated that American Catholics—for whom at that moment he spoke—accepted the separation of Church and State, made this pronouncement:—

I summarize my creed as an American Catholic:—I believe in the worship of God according to the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church. I recognize no power in the institution of my Church to interfere with the operation of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land. I believe in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and equality of all Churches . . . . in the absolute separation of Church and State.

This was something new in the history of Catholicism. The great bulk of American Catholics, as well as a good proportion of the hierarchy, openly supported Smith in spite of the fact that their Church clearly teaches that "the State ought not to be separated from the Church," and that no Catholic can accept the equality of religions.

It is instructive to contrast Mr. Smith's "credo" with papal pronouncements on the subject of religious equality. Pope Leo XIII, in his Encyclical on "Human Liberty," states that "It is quite unlawful to demand, to defend, or to grant unconditional freedom of thought, of speech, of writing, or of worship as if these were so many rights given by nature to man." Pope Pious IX declared that "It must

certainly be held as of faith that outside the Apostolic Roman Church no one can be saved." Again Pope Boniface VIII laid it down that "we declare, decree, define, and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." These statements must be read in the light of the instruction given by Pope Leo XIII that "as regards opinion, whatever the Roman Pontiffs have hitherto taught, or shall hereafter teach, must be held with a firm grasp of mind and, so often as occasion requires, must be openly professed."

How far these official and absolutely binding declarations of the true Roman Catholic faith can be reconciled with Mr. Smith's "credo," the principles of democracy, or the Four Freedoms is a matter which anyone can decide. The Roman Church undoubtedly maintains, as it has always maintained, that, as there is only one true religion, all others are false; in which case, since it is the duty of the citizen and of the State to uphold only the truth, other religions should be forbidden. Naturally enough, the Church does not dare to emphasize such a doctrine too openly in a country where it is still in a minority. As we shall see presently, all it has felt itself strong enough to do is to defend a version of this teaching slightly modified to suit the American environment.

On the other hand the Church, in view of the solid support that Mr. Smith's "credo" received from almost the whole of the Catholic Church in the country, and in order not to jeopardize its supreme purpose—the conquest of the U.S.A.—deemed it wise to allow the American Catholics to have their own way for the time being.

But only for the time being. The Vatican, having yielded a slight and guarded degree of recognition to an unprecedented claim for freedom, was fully aware that any brand of Catholicism which, like the American, tended to stress what the Church *ought to teach* instead of accepting what the Church *actually teaches* must not be tolerated for one day longer than absolutely necessary.

#### THE QUESTION OF TOLERATION

By permitting the American hierarchy to organize itself and be to a great extent independent of Rome in matters of administering and propagating Catholicism, and by

allowing Catholics to treat their opponents with a measure of toleration which is the basis of the American way of life, the Vatican thought that it would assist the American faithful to execute their task of furthering Catholic principles, ethics, and influence.

So far the Vatican has been successful. How far Rome will allow American Catholicism to diverge from the traditional Catholicism of Europe it is difficult to say. A great deal will depend on the progress made in the U.S.A., on the social and political trend of the world, and above all on the gravity of the upheavals likely to shake Europe more than any other continent in the years to come.

To whatever lengths the Catholic Church may go in trying to harmonize its spirit with modern society, and however much latitude it may give to American Catholicism, it is nevertheless certain that it will not alter its fundamental aim by an inch. It will not modify its basic hostility towards the real democratic freedom of society so radically alien to its own doctrines. The indulgence shown towards American Catholicism is merely a tactical manoeuvre—spreading over a whole continent and possibly embracing decades, if not centuries—to enable the Catholic Church the better to conquer the land.

To prove that, in spite of its newly found liberalism, as embodied in American Catholicism, the Church remains the same, even in the U.S.A., it will be sufficient to give a few typical examples which, although not startling in themselves, yet clearly indicate the real aims of the Catholic Church in the U.S.A.

In the field of education the Catholic Church, in opposition to the broad democratic principles of the Republic, does not hesitate to put forward claims and vetoes peculiar to itself, controlling the attendance of the children of American Catholics at any given school or scholastic establishment, be it in private hands or run by the State. This is clearly set out in Canon 1374 of the "Code of Canon Law," which explicitly states that "Catholic children shall not attend non-Catholic or *indifferent* schools that are mixed—that is to say, schools open to Catholics and non-Catholics alike."\* The Church goes further by asserting that "the

\*See *Digest of the New Canon Law*, prepared by Father Waywood, New York (Joseph F. Wanger, 1929).

religious teaching of youth in any school is subject to the authority and inspection of the Church" (Canon 1381).

In the sphere of marriage the Catholic Church most explicitly forbids divorce, at the same time commanding all Catholics to oppose the principle and practice of divorce whenever and wherever it is in their power to do so, both as individuals and as citizens representative of the State. No compromise is here permitted, although American legislation is based on the assumption that a man and a woman, being liable to make mistakes, should be given a chance to rebuild their lives.

### CONTROL OF MIXED MARRIAGES

Not only this, but the Catholic Church categorically forbids the exercise of religious freedom in mixed marriages. It grants permission to a Catholic to marry a non-Catholic only if both parents bind themselves to bring up the children in the Catholic religion. Furthermore, it bids the Catholic partner to do all in his or her power to convert the non-Catholic to the true religion, enjoining that the couple shall marry according to the rites of the Catholic Church and not before a magistrate legally empowered by a democratic State to perform the ceremony.

All this is made clear in the form which a non-Catholic who is about to marry a Catholic must sign before the wedding:—

### ANTE-NUPTIAL AGREEMENT.

*(To be signed by the non-Catholic party in a mixed marriage).*

I, the undersigned, not a member of the Catholic Church, wishing to contract marriage with . . . . . a member of the Catholic Church, propose to do so with the understanding that the marriage bond thus contracted is indissoluble, except by death. I promise on my word of honour that I will not in any way hinder or obstruct the said . . . . . in the exercise of . . . . . religion and that all children of either sex born of our marriage shall be baptized and educated in the Catholic faith and according to the teachings of the Catholic Church even though the said . . . . . should be taken away by death.

I further promise that I will marry only according to the marriage rite of the Catholic Church, that I will *not* either before or after the Catholic ceremony, present myself with . . . . . for marriage before a civil magistrate or Minister of the Gospel.

Signed in the presence of Rev. ....

Place..... date..... (Signature).

On the other side of the form is a similar pledge to be signed by the Catholic party. In addition to provisions for the baptism and education in the Catholic religion of any children born of the union, it demands another promise: "That I will do all in my power to bring about the conversion" to Catholicism of the husband or wife, as the case may be.

The form of the Ante-Nuptial Agreement may vary in different parts of the U.S.A. In the diocese of Richmond, for instance, this additional promise is required of the non-Catholic:—

That I will not interfere in the least with the free exercise of the Catholic party's religion, and that I will lead a married life in conformity with the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church regarding artificial birth control, contraception, or so called "planned parenthood," realizing fully that these practices are against the natural and divine law.

It is easy to imagine the innumerable complications and tragedies that such restrictions and vetoes on specific issues arising from married life cause whenever a Catholic and non-Catholic, or two Catholics, marry.

During the second world war, when American troops took brides in various foreign countries, tragedies caused by difference of religion occurred very frequently. A typical one concerned an English woman and a Catholic American sergeant who agreed not to have children, owing to health reasons and the advanced age of the bride. On returning to the U.S.A., and after having consulted his Catholic authorities, the sergeant wrote: "This agreement about having no children is against the rule of my religion. We would not be happy. Call the marriage off." The bride committed suicide.\* An extreme example, perhaps, yet typical of the disastrous effects of the rigid and intolerant principles of the Catholic Church.

#### CATHOLICISM AND DEMOCRACY

Were Catholic interference confined to religious and moral issues the results would be serious enough, but the Catholic Church, owing to its very nature and notwithstanding all its diplomatic efforts to appear as a purely religious organization, cannot avoid concerning itself with social and political problems.

\*See daily newspapers, April 17, 1946.

What characterized the world policy of the Vatican in the period between the two world wars was its relentless and steady support of any and every form of totalitarianism in Europe. This was exemplified in its relations with Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Franco's Spain, Petain's France, and so on.\* Such a policy, being dictated by the fundamental moral and ethical principles of Catholicism, could not be confined to Europe but had to be carried out wherever the Catholic Church could exercise influence. The U.S.A. was no exception. Here the Catholic Church, although extremely careful not to hurt the susceptibilities of American democracy, could not avoid sponsoring, alike in spiritual and in social and political spheres, principles which in Fascist Europe had become the key-stone of dictatorship.

In fact, several years before the outbreak of the second world war, the Vatican thought itself strong enough to reveal, even if still a little hesitantly, its real ultimate aims in the U.S.A. As usual, the Catholic Church's undemocratic policy was expounded by way of spiritual, moral, and ethical tenets closely interwoven with social and political ones.

These doctrines were very clearly set out in an official book† written by the head of the Social Action Department of the N.C.W.C., stamped with the entire approval of the Pope, and studied as a text-book in Catholic universities. There it was explicitly stated that, as there exists only one true religion—i.e., Catholicism—the Catholic Church must establish itself as the State Church in the U.S.A. This is not only in accordance with the authority of the Encyclical written by Pope Leo XIII, called "Christianity in the United States," in which the American separation of Church and State was condemned; it is also and above all in harmony with the fundamental doctrine "that the State must not only have care for religion, but must recognize the true religion" (Leo XIII). In short, Catholicism must be made to prevail and thus eventually eliminate all other religions. This consummation is regarded as the logical

\*For further details of the political activities of the Vatican in world politics between the first and the second world war see *The Catholic Church against the Twentieth Century* (Watts).

† *The State and the Church*, by Mgr. J. A. Ryan and M. F. X. Miller, republished 1940 as *Catholic Principles of Politics*.

result of the inescapable truth that all religions other than Catholicism are false.

What, then, would the rise of Catholicism mean to American principles of liberty of conscience, of the individual, of religion, of opinion, and to all those other aspects of freedom that are now an integral part of American life? To take a particular sphere of society—the religious—what would happen if Catholicism assumed power?

Here the Catholic Church, although trying to avoid alarming the American citizen, cannot entirely disguise its real intention. Thus it gives the answer that, once the U.S.A. had become Catholic, all other religious denominations "might" be allowed to profess their faith and to worship, only if such worship "is carried on within the family circle or in such an inconspicuous manner as to be an occasion neither for scandal nor of perversion to the faithful" (*idem*).

What is the real significance of such an attitude? It is that a Catholic U.S.A. would first limit and eventually even forbid the principle and practice of religious freedom. So reactionary a step would involve nothing less than the destruction of the most cherished principles of the American people, yet—and this should be kept well in mind—it is, in the eyes of the Catholic Church and therefore of the average American Catholic, amply justified by the cardinal doctrine of the Catholic Church that "since no rational end is promoted by the dissemination of false doctrines, there exists no right to indulge in this practice" (*idem*).

Can such a doctrine truly justify the suppression of democratic freedom? According to the Catholic Church it can, for as "error has not the same rights as the truth," it follows that whatever goes against the truth must be ruthlessly eliminated. The Catholic Church believes that it possesses, by direct gift from God, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, about religion and all cognate matters. Therefore, to a Catholic, absolute intolerance of all other religions is a divine virtue.

### THE AUTHORITARIAN CHURCH

When the principles we have just mentioned are extended from the merely religious into social and political fields, it automatically follows that social and political issues are settled in the same dogmatic spirit as the religious



one. So far, therefore, as the power of the Catholic Church reaches, freedom tends to disappear and to be replaced by authority.

In the U.S.A. the Catholic Church, although for reasons already given it watches its step very carefully, has deemed itself strong enough to fly the kite of authoritarianism to see how high it would rise. This experiment was, of course, made when Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany were at the height of their power, and Europe seemed destined to become the continent of the Fascist New Order. The delicate task was given to a section of U.S. Catholicism more inclined to Fascism than any other—namely, the Jesuits, who several years before the outbreak of the second world war started a subtle and relentless campaign to rally Catholics and non-Catholics alike to the standard of Fascist authoritarianism.

This campaign assumed such proportions that, just before the U.S.A. was drawn into the whirlwind of war, the American Jesuits openly attacked the democratic institutions of the U.S.A. Here is a typical declaration:—

**How we Catholics have loathed and despised this . . . civilization which is now called democracy . . . to-day, American Catholics are being asked to shed their blood for that particular kind of secularist civilization which they have heroically repudiated for four centuries. (*America*, May 17, 1941).**

And, as if that were not enough, the same publication dared to foretell a social revolution within the U.S.A.: "The Christian (that is, Catholic) revolution will begin when we decide to cut loose from the existing social order, rather than be buried with it" (*idem*).

Such plans, although actually in operation in Europe, would have seemed fantastic to an American; yet they were being carefully prepared by the Catholic Church within the U.S.A. itself before the thunderbolt of Pearl Harbour.

The Catholic Church, being a master in the art of chicanery, naturally did not officially sponsor these plans. It continued to woo democracy and all else that is dear to the American masses, while at the same time organizing a minority of its faithful, under a priest, Father Coughlin, for anti-democratic action. In view of what Father Coughlin preached, wrote, and broadcast, it should be remembered

that he had the tacit approval of the American hierarchy, for "any priest who writes articles in daily papers or periodicals without the permission of his own bishop contravenes Canon 1386 of the Code of Canon Law."

Father Coughlin had thousands of readers of his paper *Social Justice*, and millions of listeners to his broadcasts. What did he preach? He simply preached the kind of authoritarianism which was then so successful in Catholic Europe, combined with a mixture of Fascism and Nazism modified in a certain degree to suit American society and temperament. But Father Coughlin, besides preaching, also acted. His tactics were not those employed by the European sponsors of authoritarianism, Catholic or otherwise, for he bore in mind that the country in question was the U.S.A. Nevertheless they did remind one of moves in Europe which had proved successful.

Father Coughlin, in fact, tried to use non-Catholic elements which shared the Catholic hatred of certain things and sought the same goals in social and political matters. By skilful manoeuvring he managed to secure a majority control (eighty per cent) of "America First," an organization formed mainly by super-nationalist elements and business magnates. Father Coughlin and the leaders of this movement had already made plans to transform "America First," by amalgamation of its members with the millions of his radio followers, into a mighty political party. In imitation of European Fascism he and his followers went so far at this early stage as to organize a kind of private army which was screened behind the formation of the "Christian Front." It was to have been the herald of Coughlin's "Christian Revolution." Sports clubs were set up in many parts of the U.S.A. The peculiarity of these clubs was their resemblance to quasi-military movements; military drilling was one of their regular practices. The nature of the movement made the American authorities suspicious. Father Coughlin's paper, *Social Justice*, was banned as "seditious," while many sporting clubs of the "Christian Front" were raided—e.g., Brooklyn Sporting Club of the Christian Front, on February 13, 1940.

On more than one occasion Father Coughlin stated that he would seek power, even by violent means—as, for instance, when he declared: "Rest assured we will fight you, Franco's way" (*Social Justice*, quoted by Carlson). Fur-

thermore, he even dared to predict, at the outbreak of the second world war, that he would be in power within the next decade:—

We predict that . . . the National Socialists of America, organized under that or some other name, eventually will take control of the Government on this continent . . . We predict, lastly, the end of Democracy in America. (Father Coughlin, in *Social Justice*, September 1, 1939).

Could there have been a more outspoken hint of what Father Coughlin and his Catholic and non-Catholic associates would do if they had the opportunity to develop their plan? And what would that mean if the situation had turned in their favour? Simply an American version of European Fascism. Naturally, the Catholic Church in the U.S.A. could not support this campaign too openly. It was in its interests even to disown Father Coughlin at times, when it did not want to endanger its penetration into American Society through its schools, charitable institutions, the Press, and so on. And yet there is no doubt that the Catholic Church watched Father Coughlin's work with great sympathy and that secretly it supported him and even blessed him. A few typical instances will suffice to prove this.

In 1936 Bishop Gallagher, Coughlin's superior, on his return from a visit to the Vatican—a visit made in order to discuss Coughlin's activities with the Pope—declared: "Father Coughlin is an outstanding priest, and his voice . . . is the voice of God." In 1941 a Franciscan compared Father Coughlin to a "Second Christ" (New York, July 29, 1941), and in the following year Catholic prelates asked openly for Coughlin's return, so that he might organize his revolution: "The days are coming when this country will need a Coughlin and need him badly. We must get strong and keep organized for that day" (Father Edward Brophy, a "Christian Front" leader, June, 1942).

All this while, in the background, leaders of the American hierarchy itself were often sympathizers with Fascism. Such, for instance, were Cardinal Hayes of New York (decorated four times by Mussolini) and Cardinal O'Connell, who called Mussolini "that genius given to Italy by God." By 1941 "America First" and Father Coughlin had about fifteen million followers and sympathizers.

Pearl Harbour put an abrupt end to all this. But the next moves, which were kept quiet until the war storm passed and until new circumstances favoured them, were already clear when the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki struck the final blow at Japan.

The signs of authoritarianism provided by text-books in the Catholic universities, by the decoration of American Cardinals by Mussolini, and by Father Coughlin and his "Christian Front" may, perhaps, seem trifling when compared with the immense activities carried out in the U.S.A. by the Catholic Church through its N.C.W.C. Nevertheless they are very significant and they demonstrate that should Catholicism continue its growth it will become a powerful influence, ready and able to direct the destiny of the U.S.A. in a direction alien to the tradition and spirit of the American people.

### CATHOLIC ACTION IN FOREIGN POLICY

The Vatican is, of course, too clever an institution to disclose the real aim of its strategy, especially in the U.S.A., where it has so much at stake. While not disdaining experiments in overt action, it has put its main trust in subtle underground intrigue—first, through unofficial but powerful pressure in American political and economic fields, and second, by the development of its diplomatic relations with the White House.

Of the first kind of Catholic pressure on the life of the U.S.A. there have been numerous instances, the most typical of which, perhaps, is represented by the Mexican-American quarrel which occurred during the period between the two world wars. In that crisis Mexico—wishing to put her own house in order—came into direct conflict with two powerful concerns: the Catholic Church on one side and the American Oil Companies on the other, both wielding a disproportionate influence in the internal and external affairs of the Mexican Republic.

The programme of the new Mexican Government was to limit the influence of the Church by undermining it in the economic, social, cultural, and political fields, and to appropriate the oil concerns owned and controlled by American firms. The result was that the two, although so alien to each other, became allies and plotted hand in hand for the downfall of the Mexican Government.

The Catholic Church, besides starting an armed revolution and inciting Mexican Catholics to assassinate the Mexican President, aroused the twenty million Catholics in the U.S.A. against their neighbours, and the American hierarchy at the same time openly asked for American intervention in Mexico. This request, of course, was backed by the powerful oil concern, and it so nearly succeeded that the U.S.A. mobilized a portion of the U.S.A. Army on the border of Mexico.\*

The second case occurred during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

### THE LESSON OF SPAIN

When the war first broke out, in July, 1936, the main concern of the Vatican was to procure as much help for the Catholic rebels as possible, and to deprive the Republicans of any aid. That Hitler and Mussolini sent soldiers and guns to Franco, that France closed her frontier, that England helped the rebels with her hypocritical non-intervention formula, was not enough for the Catholic Church.

The few weapons sent to the Republicans by Russia were ridiculously inadequate and were made even less effective by difficulties of communication and by the iron ring of the Western Powers, determined that the Republicans should not be helped. The only place still open to the Spanish Government was the U.S. market.

It became a matter of the utmost importance that this last hope of the Republic should be dashed. As neither Mussolini nor Hitler, for obvious reasons, could ask Washington to close the door, this task was undertaken by the Vatican, which, using the full machinery of the Catholic Church within the U.S.A., started one of the most unscrupulous slander and hatred campaigns on record. This it conducted through its press, radio, pulpits, and schools; and, by appealing directly and openly to President Roosevelt, it managed to get what it wanted.†

\*For further details see the author's *Latin America and the Vatican* in this series.

† For further details concerning the part played by the Vatican in the Spanish Civil War, see the author's *Spain and the Vatican* in this series.

## INTRIGUES IN DIPLOMACY

With regard to the second and more orthodox instrument—namely, diplomacy—the Vatican was even more successful. In spite of great opposition from Protestant U.S.A., it finally achieved its objectives during the second world war, when relations between Pope and President became the closest yet seen in American history.

The initial successful steps were taken as far back as 1936, when, owing to the rapidly deteriorating state of world politics, both the Vatican and Washington discovered that, having several important objectives to achieve, they could be of mutual help. The Vatican's main goal was that of securing the U.S.A.'s support in the event of another European war—in the background of which loomed Bolshevism and Soviet Russia represented in Spain by the Comintern and the Red Republic. Roosevelt's short-range and long-range plans with regard to the Catholic Church were to capture the Catholic vote in the next Presidential Election, to enlist Rome's support of his Good Neighbour policy towards Catholic Latin America, and, last but not least, to have the services and influence of the Vatican, in its quality both of a spiritual institution and a diplomatic centre, in the political cauldron of Europe, especially in the event of war.

It was against this background that the Vatican began to act in the autumn of 1936 by sending the Pope's Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli, on a visit to the States. Strangely enough, the visit coincided with the election. Cardinal Pacelli arrived in New York on October 9, 1936, and, after spending a couple of weeks in the East, he made a whirlwind trip to the Middle and Far West, visiting Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Cincinnati. He was back in New York on November 1. After Roosevelt was re-elected, on November 6, he had lunch with him at Hyde Park.

What the visit of the Papal Secretary at election time meant to the American hierarchy, with its tremendous machinery of newspapers and the N.C.W.C., is not difficult to imagine. Pacelli and Roosevelt, after the election, discussed the main points: the help that the U.S.A. should give indirectly to the Vatican to crush the Spanish Republic (under the formula of neutrality) and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Washington. Secret negotiations were begun between Pius XI and

Roosevelt and continued until 1939 without any concrete result. Then, on June 16, 1939, the Rome correspondent of *The New York Times* sent a dispatch from the Vatican, declaring that "Steps to bring relations between the Holy See and the United States on a normal diplomatic footing are expected to be taken soon by Pope Pius XII" (who, meanwhile, had succeeded Pius XI).

On July 29, 1939, Cardinal Enrico Gasparri 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." (*New York Times*, July 29, 1939).

The great obstacle to the establishment of regular diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the White House was that Roosevelt could not send a regular ambassador to the Vatican, while the Vatican could not send a nuncio to Washington, without the approval of Congress. However, Roosevelt found a more compromising man in Pius XII, and a way was soon found by which Congress could be overstepped and the U.S.A. could have its ambassador. In December, 1939, the U.S.A., which officially had ignored the Vatican since 1867, established diplomatic connections with it by appointing Mr. Myron Taylor the first personal Ambassador of President Roosevelt to the Pope. This was accomplished without any serious stir in Protestant U.S.A., and the move was favoured by the belief that, thanks to the parallel efforts of the Pope and the President, Italy had been kept out of the war.

Mr. Taylor was a millionaire, a high Episcopalian, an intimate friend of both Roosevelt and Pius XII, and an admirer of Fascism. He was thus accepted by Protestants, Catholics, the White House, the Vatican, and Mussolini. For it had not been forgotten that in Fascist Italy—on November 5, 1936, for instance—Taylor had declared that "the whole world has been forced to admire the successes of Premier Mussolini in disciplining the nation," and had expressed his approval of the occupation of Ethiopia: "Today a new Italian Empire faces the future and assumes its responsibilities as guardian and administrator of a backward people of ten million souls" (*New York Times*, November 6, 1936).

This was the beginning of ever-closer diplomatic-

political relations between the Vatican and Washington—relations which lasted up to the end of the second world war.

### THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE U.S.A. AND THE VATICAN

The rôle that the Vatican could play as an intermediary between belligerents, the influence it could exercise in many countries, and the affinity on many issues between the Catholic Church and the U.S.A., caused their relationship to develop to such an extent that no major problem affecting political, social, and sometimes even military, issues, was dealt with by the White House without previous consultation with the Vatican. This co-operation became so intimate that, as an ex-Ambassador to the Vatican put it, "few people in Europe were aware of the union which was functioning on a spiritual level between the two forces which were represented in the United States and the Holy See and which . . . were co-ordinated in each instance that justified joint action."\*

As this co-operation made more frequent contacts desirable, it became necessary for President Roosevelt to send not only Myron Taylor but also a host of "unofficial" or "personal" envoys scurrying across the Atlantic from Washington to the Vatican. Among those who figured most prominently were Sumner Welles, Archbishop Spellman, Mr. Titman, and Mr. Flynn.

With the death of President Roosevelt on April 12, 1945, the relationship existing between the Vatican and Washington cooled off somewhat. For a short while it looked as if the new administration would cease to regard the Vatican as a great political power with which it was necessary to be in close contact, but with the dawn of peace the White House quickly came to the opposite conclusion, and relations with the Vatican were maintained.

Naturally, the necessities of war being no longer existent, the contacts between the Vatican and Washington became less frequent; notwithstanding this, however, they had to continue for many of the reasons which had compelled President Roosevelt to open a new chapter with the Catholic Church were still present—indeed, some of them had even become more important than ever.

\*Mr. Francois Charles Roux, former French Ambassador to the Holy See (*Revue de Paris*, September, 1946).



The problems which made it imperative for the U.S.A. to prosecute her policy of friendship with the Vatican were not only diverse in nature but also very numerous. They can be divided into three broad issues, touching both the internal and the external life of the U.S.A.; first, in the domestic field, the Catholic vote, which no President, candidate to the Presidency, or administration could afford to disregard; second, in the Western Hemisphere, the imposition, in a more subtle and friendly fashion, of the Monroe Doctrine, disguised in the more palatable form of the Good Neighbour policy, whose final goal is to make the three Americas a solid continental block *vis-à-vis* non-American powers; third, in the inter-continental and world sphere, the steady prosecution of the U.S.A.'s external policy in its new world-wide rôle, requiring the co-operation of a great religious institution like the Catholic Church to smooth out difficulties that the U.S.A. was bound to encounter in Catholic Latin America as well as in numerous Catholic countries in and outside Europe.

With regard to the Catholic vote, the problem which had confronted the Roosevelt administration remained essentially the same after the second world war; the only change was that in the meantime Catholics had increased both in numbers and in influence throughout the U.S.A.

The prosecution of the Good Neighbour policy assumed increasing importance because, in addition to the reasons which before the war had spurred the U.S.A. to attempt to unite all three Americas, new factors had arisen. The principal of these was, without any doubt, the steady and rapid deterioration of relations among the main Allies—the U.S.A., Great Britain, and Soviet Russia. The unsettled conditions of a war-ravaged world, the unsolved economic, and political problems, and the release of atomic power (officially proclaimed the monopoly of the U.S.A.) served to widen the rift between the East and the West.

On one side stands the Soviet Union, with its satellite territories in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, with its dangerous **Socialist doctrine** and its penetration everywhere through local Communist movements; and on the other Western Europe and the British Empire, both tacitly trusting in the protection of a paramount U.S.A.

It is when one looks upon the world stage from this point of view that the Vatican is seen to be more intimately

connected with the foreign policy of the U.S.A. than it ever was in the past. To an anxious U.S.A., earnestly desiring to strengthen the American continent for more urgent reasons than those prevailing at the time of Roosevelt's Good Neighbour policy, the Catholic Church, which wields such enormous influence in both Central and South America, becomes not only a useful but a positively necessary partner, whose good services can be employed, not only in the West, but also, though in a less degree, in a great portion of Europe.

Another factor contributing to the alliance between the U.S.A. and the Catholic Church is their common hostility towards the Socialist ideology in general, and its practical embodiment in a political system in particular, as represented by the Soviet Union.

At this point it should be remembered that both the Americas, headed by the U.S.A., and the Catholic Church have always distinguished themselves for their unwavering hatred of any Socialist doctrine and practice. The U.S.A. and Latin America succeeded up to the second world war in impeding the spread of the Red virus into the western hemisphere, and the Catholic Church, as is universally known, has made its hostility towards the Red ideology nothing less than the key-stone of its whole policy in the twentieth century. The Vatican, in the first year after the end of hostilities, opened a colossal campaign all over the Americas, and especially in the United States, by the creation of four new American cardinals in February, 1946 (as already mentioned), the canonization of the first United States saint, Mother Cabrini, a gigantic drive for Catholicism in the film industry, and infiltration into the leading offices of trade unionism.

Although it is always hazardous to prophesy, yet it is fairly safe to say that the Catholic Church will not only continue its inroads into the U.S.A., but will steadily gain in influence, prestige, and power to such an extent that hardly a single sphere of American life will be allowed to escape its steady penetration and moulding influence.

Clearly the Vatican has begun, more determinedly than ever, to hasten its conquest of the United States of America.\*

**\*For further details about the world-wide plan of the Vatican to employ North and South America as potential levers in bargaining with non-American countries see *The Catholic Church against the Twentieth Century*; Watts.**

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