

# H-Diplo ROUNDTABLE XXI-26

**Giuliana Chamedes. *A Twentieth-Century Crusade: The Vatican's Battle to Remake Christian Europe*.**

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## INTRODUCTION BY SAMUEL MOYN, YALE UNIVERSITY

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Giuliana Chamedes's *A Twentieth-Century Crusade* is an extraordinary contribution to the history of modern international relations which succeeds by adding a protagonist that has previously been written out of the story: the Roman Catholic Church. Its diplomatic arm, the Holy See with its seat in Vatican City, pursued an active diplomatic agenda in the early twentieth-century, especially through what Chamedes identifies as 'concordat diplomacy.' And the broader agenda of the church affected the interaction of powers in crucial ways, initiating its own cold war against the Soviet Union before World War II even began.

Chamedes's narrative is erudite and gripping: beginning with her story of concordat diplomacy after World War I, which led to constitutional and political changes in a series of European states, she goes on to study the Holy See as fascism arose in Italy in 1922. Chamedes gives special attention to the founding of the anti-Communist crusade, and its intersection with civil society mobilization, in part directed from above.

While anti-Communism did not follow immediately or necessarily from the Bolshevik Revolution, once it became church policy it became a potent force with spectacular consequences. Chamedes concludes with a detailed examination of the legacy of interwar diplomacy for the Catholic Church's posture after World War II.

In particular, Chamedes demonstrates that interwar Catholic internationalism played a critical role in the reconstitution of Europe's political order, and for that matter in transatlantic relations. World War II was not a caesura, Chamedes shows, for Catholic internationalism, which returned to its concordats and survived regime change in some of its former treaty partners unscathed, while hewing to a comparable agenda.

The readers in this H-Diplo roundtable all ratify the book's basic accomplishment: returning the Catholic Church as an international actor in the transitional and tumultuous years from World War I to the Cold War.

Charles Gallagher, in his review, offers a masterly reading of Chamedes's path-breaking emphasis on concordat diplomacy, as well as her revelation that Pope Pius XI left it hazy as to whether violence in resistance to left wing forces was in fact licit—an unclarity with potentially fateful ramifications.

John McGreevy, welcoming Chamedes's contribution, observes that the increasing allergy towards liberal democracy was endemic to European society between the wars, if sometimes more pronounced among Catholic prelates and audiences. While Gallagher notes that the concern for international anarchism before 1917 later provided a template for Catholic anticommunism, McGreevy underlines that Catholic anti-Communism, whatever the details of its origins, reflected genuine fears and real threats. That was especially true with the extraordinary power of the Soviet Union after World War II, and the Communist takeover of East European states.

Aside from offering an expert summary, Elizabeth Foster also focuses on the years after World War II, observing that the opening of Pope Pius XII's archives next year will allow an even better depiction of the continuities during his reign in between the interwar period and his death in 1952. And Foster suggests that much more thinking will be required before the transformation of European Christianity after World War II – especially increasing defections from observance in and after the 1960s – is understood. The relationship between Chamedes's story of the early period and that epochal transformation remains to be seen.

David Kertzer's reflections praise Chamedes for taking neither an apologetic nor prosecutorial attitude towards Pius XII's choices in wartime, but part ways with both Chamedes and Foster in insisting on the continued influence of the Catholic Church in Europe, notwithstanding the falling numbers of clergy and parishioners.

In her engaged and gracious reply, Chamedes welcomes many of the correctives and criticisms of her readers, while defending the book's chronology and its emphasis on the retrograde rather than the reasonable aspects of the Vatican's anticommunist crusade. The entire forum points productively towards ongoing debate and research that will flow from the milestone of Chamedes's own book.

**Participants:**

**Giuliana Chamedes** is an Assistant Professor of European History. A political and intellectual historian, her core research areas touch on the history of internationalism, religion, and twentieth-century European politics. She is currently at work on her second book project, provisionally titled "Failed Globalists: Decolonization, the Global Struggle to Redistribute Wealth, and the Decline of the European Welfare State, 1973-1993." With attention to Western European business associations, labor groups, and Christian Democratic, Socialist, and Communist parties, the book shows that the decline of state welfarism and the rise of European integration was intimately related to the call for the globalization of the welfare state, articulated by proponents of a New International Economic Order in the 1970s and beyond.

**Samuel Moyn** is Henry R. Luce Professor of Jurisprudence and Professor of History at Yale University. His most recent book is *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World* (Harvard University Press, 2018).

**Elizabeth Foster** is Associate Professor of History at Tufts University. She is the author of *African Catholic: Decolonization and the Transformation of the Church* (Harvard University Press, 2019) and *Faith in Empire: Religion, Politics, and Colonial Rule in French Senegal, 1880-1940* (Stanford University Press, 2013). Her work has been supported by Fulbright, NEH, and ACLS fellowships.

**Charles R. Gallagher, S.J.** is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at Boston College. In 2017, he held the William J. Lowenberg Memorial Fellow on America, the Holocaust, & the Jews, at the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C. His current writing is contracted as, "The Nazis of Copley Square: A History of the Christian Front, 1939-1945," with Harvard University Press. In 2009, his book, "Vatican Secret Diplomacy: Joseph P. Hurley and Pope Pius XII" (Yale University Press, 2008), won the John Gilmary Shea Prize of the American Catholic Historical Association.

**David I. Kertzer** is the Paul Dupee University Professor of Social Science at Brown University (USA) where he is also Professor of Anthropology and Italian Studies and, from 2006 to 2011 served as Provost. His newest book is *The Pope Who Would be King* (2018), on the Roman revolution of 1848. His previous book, *The Pope and Mussolini*, which has appeared in eleven languages, was awarded the 2015 Pulitzer Prize for Biography. Among his many other books, his *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* was a finalist for the 1997 National Book Award for Nonfiction, and has been published in eighteen foreign editions. Kertzer's work focuses on Italian politics, society, and history; political symbolism; and anthropological and historical demography. He co-founded and served for many years as co-editor of the *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*. In 2005 he was elected to membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

**John T. McGreevy** is the Frances A. McAnaney Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of *American Jesuits: How an Embattled Religious Order Made Modern Catholicism Global* (Princeton University Press, 2016).

## REVIEW BY ELIZABETH FOSTER, TUFTS UNIVERSITY

Giuliana Chamedes's history of what she calls "Catholic internationalism" is a deeply researched and thoughtfully argued contribution to a growing historical literature that is reaching across national boundaries to re-focus attention on the importance of Christianity in Europe's twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> Nowadays, while European prelates hunt for rare priestly vocations in their dioceses and import droves of clergy from Africa and Asia, and as observant believers melt away even in the church's Irish strongholds, it is easy to forget how many committed Catholics there were in Europe up through the 1960s. Moreover, secular historians often lose sight of how widespread and formidable Catholic social organizations were across the continent, and, as Chamedes emphasizes, how the Vatican was a diplomatic and political force to be reckoned with for much of Europe's twentieth century.

Indeed, Chamedes's central aim is to re-establish the importance of the Vatican as an international actor in Europe between the First World War and the 1960s. Focusing closely on the popes and their diplomatic corps, she argues that the Vatican actively constructed a Catholic internationalism that was a counterpoint to, and at times a shaper of, Wilsonian liberalism, Soviet Communism, imperialism, and anticolonialism, all of which are globalist ideologies and programs that have received much more scholarly attention. She contends that this Catholic internationalism was activist, influential, and quite successful: beginning at the tail end of the First World War, the Vatican managed to "de-privatize" religion across much of the continent, drawing church and state closer through a campaign of concordat diplomacy aimed at safeguarding church influence in education, family law, and civil society within the signatory powers. (7) The concordats constructed and maintained the papacy's status as a sovereign power and as a central diplomatic player on the European scene, while the Vatican's recognition in turn bestowed credibility and stature on its interlocutors, including the Italian fascists and the Nazis.

In addition to concordats, the other central plank of the Vatican's diplomacy that Chamedes traces throughout the book is its fierce anti-Communism. She shows that this stance was not necessarily automatic as of 1917: she points out that the Papacy cultivated diplomatic relations with the Bolsheviks for much longer than one might imagine in the interwar years, partially in hopes of profiting in converts from Soviet attacks on the Orthodox church. Yet in the context of the Great Depression, the Vatican ultimately embraced a thoroughgoing diplomatic and cultural anti-Communist "crusade" that she claims was "the largest and most ambitious experiment in cross-border anti-communist mobilization prior to the Cold War." (5) This campaign helps explain the Papacy's decision to engage with Adolf Hitler, and to reconcile itself to an eventual alliance with the United States, despite misgivings about America's liberalism, its commitment to the separation of church and state, and its embrace of materialism.

One of the strengths of the book is its broad geographical scope. Chamedes assembles a wide range of examples, some of which are rarely accorded attention even in transnational European scholarship. For instance, she foregrounds the Papacy's aggressive early push into Eastern Europe in the wake of the March 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between the Bolsheviks and the Central Powers. Vatican diplomats cunningly adapted their message to local grievances and priorities in the region, and helped lend legitimacy to new states by concluding a series of concordats with Estonia (1920), Latvia (1922), Poland (1925), and Lithuania (1927). Here she clearly shows how Catholic internationalism outmaneuvered vague Wilsonian self-determination, the Paris Peace accords, and Bolshevism on the ground, while securing advantages for the church even in locales where Catholics were in the minority. Of course Italy and Germany (including Bavaria, which the Vatican often dealt with separately) loom large in the book, because of the Papacy's fraught relations with the Italian state, its decision to ally with the Fascists and the Nazis against Communism, and the importance of postwar Christian democracy in both places. Spain is also crucial to the story, both during its civil war in the 1930s, and under Franco after the Second World War. Chamedes focuses less on France, whose church had a long history of independence from the Vatican, and which is also

<sup>1</sup> Two other brand new books in this category that also adopt a transnational approach include James Chappel, *Catholic Modern: The Challenge of Totalitarianism and the Remaking of the Church* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press) and Piotr H. Kosicki, *Catholics on the Barricades: Poland, France and "Revolution" 1891-1956* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

perhaps overemphasized in the scholarship. Nonetheless, key francophone Catholic politicians and intellectuals, whether critics or boosters of the Vatican, often appear in the text.

For Chamedes, as for many historians of twentieth century Europe, the First World War was Genesis: it laid the groundwork for what came after. The book begins with the reign of Benedict XV (1914-1922) and concludes in the mid-1960s with a brief look at Vatican II, followed by an epilogue that traces threads of concordat diplomacy and anti-Communism into the papacies of John Paul II and Benedict XVI. The heart of the book, however, is the period from the First World War through to the ‘hour of the Church’ in the 1950s, when the Vatican surfed a surprising wave of postwar popular piety and Christian Democratic parties made gains across the continent. In Chamedes’s telling, Benedict XV viewed the First World War as the fruit of a disastrous nineteenth century, which had stripped the Papacy of most of its temporal realm and had unleashed rising tides of liberalism and socialism, with their insistence on decoupling religion from the state or on atheism *tout court*. He seized on the devastation of the war as an opportunity to reestablish Papal relevance and influence on the continent, and thereby re-Christianize European society. Alarmed by the entry of the liberal, “masonic” United States into the conflict in 1917, the Vatican went “from defense to offense,” formulated a vision of a re-Christianized Europe, and launched its campaign to bring it about via concordat diplomacy. (2)

By contrast, Chamedes does not portray the Second World War as an obvious turning point in her story, or to be more precise, she suggests that it was quite some time before critiques of the Vatican’s accords with Italian Fascism and Nazism, as well as its silence on the persecution of Jews, prompted any reorientation of its policy. Instead, she emphasizes the remarkable continuities between the interwar period and the 1950s. In the wake of the Second World War, the Papacy sought some new allies (the United States, though still galling in many respects, appeared more palatable in the face of the strengthened Soviet Union) but its overall approach remained much the same. The legacy of signing concordats with Mussolini and Hitler certainly did not prompt any major re-thinking of the policy of cozying up to authoritarian states. Indeed, the Vatican pushed to get the concordat with Hitler’s Reich reinscribed in German and Austrian law as soon as possible after the war. Moreover, it championed Franco’s Spain in a hostile postwar international order, lauded it as a Christian bastion in the face of the communist threat, and signed a concordat with Franco in 1953, which Chamedes compares to the Lateran Accords of 1929. Other striking points of continuity include anti-Semitic threads in Vatican diplomacy both before and after the war. In their construction of interwar concordats in Poland and Bavaria, for example, Vatican diplomats aided and abetted the idea that only Catholics could be true Poles or Bavarians, while Jews were correspondingly deemed “outsiders” and, often, the agents of liberal or Communist danger. (81) In the wake of the Holocaust, one might assume that the Vatican would revisit its positioning vis-à-vis Jews, but this did not occur immediately and Chamedes reminds us that sympathy for Jews was by no means reflexive for many Europeans right after the war. The immediate postwar discourse on human rights, which Pius XII himself employed, was not a response to the Holocaust, and even had anti-Semitic undertones.

Perhaps these continuities are not entirely surprising: Chamedes’s focus on the Papacy highlights the fact that just three Italian men, deeply invested in the concordat strategy, anti-Communism, and the corresponding Catholic internationalist vision, were at the helm of the Vatican between 1914 and 1958. Achille Ratti, the future Pius XI, began his Vatican career as a librarian, but became Benedict XV’s chief exponent of concordat diplomacy in Poland at the end of the First World War. Similarly, Eugenio Pacelli, who became Pius XII, was another one of Benedict’s most trusted diplomats and helped launch the concordat campaign. They were both wedded to Benedict’s approach, and conducted their own foreign policy accordingly. On the other hand, however, their immediate successors Angelo Roncalli (John XXIII), and Giovanni Montini (Paul VI), were also Italian and seasoned papal diplomats, but they ended up taking the church in very different directions. What happened?

Chamedes suggests that the Papacy’s alliances with the Italian fascists and the Nazis, as well as its cultivated silence during the Holocaust may have paid off early in the postwar period, but came back to haunt it later. As noted above, piety exploded in the aftermath of the war, particularly in Germany. Ardent Papal condemnations of Nazi crimes or heartfelt apologies for not opposing fascism more vigorously may not have sat well with rank and file German or Italian believers who were engaged in self-pity and/or did not want to contemplate their own complicity or bystanding as Europe lay in ruins. Yet the Vatican’s

stance earned it withering critiques from other Catholics, many of whom were vocal intellectuals, who felt the church had abandoned its own moral compass. In addition, the Vatican's longstanding skepticism vis-à-vis democracy, its refusal to entertain any compromises with socialism or Communism, and its ardent postwar embrace of America (Pius XII became known as the Coca-Cola Pope) added to the motley ranks of the disaffected. Indigenous Catholics in European colonies piled on, demanding the church come out in support of decolonization. While the Vatican adhered to its standard line, Catholic critics touted alternative internationalist Catholic visions (democratic, anticolonial) from below. Moreover, these dissenters began to ignore the Vatican altogether. As Czeslaw Milosz observed, in the eyes of a hegemonic power, heretics who repurpose that power's discourses are much more dangerous than infidels.<sup>2</sup> Pius XII's reign ended with the church "lost" in what he termed a "darkness of death." (293) John XXIII felt he had no choice but to try a different tack and convened Vatican II, which took Catholicism in unexpected directions.

Chamedes's handling of the Vatican and its Catholic critics in the fascinating postwar moment in the church is deft and persuasive, though I think much remains to be explored by historians who are trying to explain the myriad, titanic changes within Catholicism since the late 1950s. The opening of Pius XII's archives in March 2020 should inspire further such research. As a historian working at the intersection of European and African Christianity, I would like to conclude this roundtable intervention by zooming out from a tight focus on Europe alone, and consider the continent's place in the global Catholic postwar world. I am particularly interested in the astoundingly rapid growth of the church in the developing world, coupled with its shockingly swift demise across much of Europe. As Philip Jenkins has observed, "the era of Western Christianity has passed within our lifetimes."<sup>3</sup>

Chamedes is absolutely right to insist on the Papacy's prevailing Eurocentrism during the period in question (angry African Catholics made the exact same claim in the 1950s and 1960s), though more attention to the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, the arm of the Vatican dedicated to evangelism and missions, might add some nuance to the Catholic internationalist vision she describes. The Vatican, beginning with Benedict XV in 1919, took the lead in urging its recalcitrant European missionary agents to stop doing the bidding of their respective colonial powers, and in 1926 Pius XI urged the creation of indigenous clergy as preparation should Europeans be expelled from their colonies. In the postwar period, the *Propaganda Fide* condemned European missionary racism and the Papacy called even more urgently for missionaries to focus on training indigenous clergy around the world. Pius XII, ever temperamentally conservative, grasped that the future of the church outside of Europe was important to attend to, though he did not want to wade into the debates over colonialism that were erupting between Catholic constituencies. As on many other fronts, the Papacy had to wait until John XXIII and Paul VI for a sweeping change in orientation. Both of them saw the potential for growth in the developing world more clearly and helped to lay the groundwork for it.

In the end, however, it remains unclear how much of this global shift can be attributed to Vatican policy. Chamedes's description of the upwelling of European support for the Church in the wake of the Second World War is a reminder of how faith can find powerful anchors amid material and political insecurity and personal loss, which are all too common across the parts of the world where Catholicism flourishes today. Perhaps welfare states and material abundance, more so than internal strife, dealt the church a death blow in Western Europe (obviously, clerical sex abuse did not help either and the story is certainly more complicated in the former Communist bloc.) Ultimately, historians may not be well-equipped to answer this particular question definitively, but I hope they will continue to work on it. A strong book makes a compelling case that opens avenues for further speculation and research, and Chamedes's *A Twentieth-Century Crusade* has admirably succeeded.

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<sup>2</sup> Czeslaw Milosz, *The Captive Mind*, Vintage International Edition, trans. Jane Zielonko (New York: Vintage, 1990), 213.

<sup>3</sup> Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3.

## REVIEW BY CHARLES R. GALLAGHER, S.J., BOSTON COLLEGE

Giuliana Chamedes's book is a most welcome addition to English-language studies of the Vatican's diplomatic, cultural, and global activities during the last century. This work is important because the Holy See has been the only non-state (from 1870-1929) and state actor that has publicly and consistently asserted itself on the international plane as a moral arbiter. Chamedes's book breaks the historiography on the topic, which has been grounded in hierarchical studies or specific studies of combined or individual popes. It engages the reader with more than the implications of the Holy See's state-to-state interactions. The author goes behind the action to show the larger intellectual and cultural forces moving the Holy See in one direction or another. The setting is Europe, and the argument is connected to how Europe saw itself in the twentieth century and how the Vatican desperately hoped to remain a part of Europe's self-identification. During two world wars and a long Cold War, it was not just "Western Civilization," that was at stake but it was, as Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley remarked upon the conclusion of the 1941 Atlantic Charter, the sustenance of "Western Christian Civilization."<sup>4</sup> For the papacy, Christianity was as self-evident a descriptor of Europe as it was of the Holy See itself. The question for the late nineteenth and all twentieth-century papacies was how to hold the equation together.

Chamedes guides the narrative of twentieth-century papal internationalism along two tracks: 'concordat diplomacy' and anti-Communism. Both of these concepts are well-known to historians of the so-called 'Pius Wars,' the historiographical gauging of Pope Pius XII's complicity in the Holocaust. Since they were hyper-charged in John Cornwell's 1999 bestseller *Hitler's Pope*, historians have tended to treat both concepts as discrete and unrelated suppositions.<sup>5</sup> Chamedes deftly shows that the concepts were not parallel in their application, but rather were tightly inter-braided. The object was not to create a two-pronged strategy, but rather to forge a single integrated program, global in scope, theological in shape (but not necessarily in content), and resembling what would later come to be known as 'soft power.'

A concordat is a legal agreement concluded between church and state regarding matters of mutual concern. In early twentieth-century Vatican diplomacy, the Holy See stressed a form of cultural diplomacy which pushed democratic and increasingly secular states to view the place of Catholicism as not only mutually beneficial to the state, but definitional. The idea of a European country such as Spain or Portugal being cast as a 'Catholic country' was not uncommon in the early twentieth-century parlance. Concordat diplomacy reinforced this vision of the 'confessional state.' Religious practice, education, and the rights of the family were essential matters of most twentieth-century concordats. From the fall of the Papal States in 1870 through the beginning of the Cold War, Chamedes argues, the concordat was used as a tool not only to legalize the Vatican's position vis-à-vis the state, but also to reestablish the primacy of Roman Catholicism within the state's political culture. Concomitantly, concordats codified a state's antithetical position to Communism since Communism was seen as the greatest threat to the family, and to the educational and religious lives of citizens. Over the long arc of the twentieth century, Chamedes argues, concordat diplomacy allowed the Holy See to sidle up to antidemocratic, fascist, and Nazi regimes. With the concordat, the juridical becomes the cultural.

Chamedes's argument is deeply tied to an examination of Vatican anti-Communism in the twentieth century. Chamedes rightly points out that while historians of religion have often remarked on the Holy See's anti-Communist stance, few have examined its origins and contours. The presumption of axiomatic anti-Communism left the history of papal anti-Communism unexplored. In a sense, the great benefit of this book is that Chamedes opens up this discussion and places it in the context of internationalism.

<sup>4</sup> Charles R. Gallagher, *Vatican Secret Diplomacy: Joseph P. Hurley and Pope Pius XII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 159.

<sup>5</sup> John Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (New York: Viking, 1999).

For Chamedes, the discussion begins around the time of World War I. President Woodrow Wilson's exclusion of the Holy See from the Paris Peace Conference, via the 1915 secret Treaty of London, was an affront to Pope Benedict XV. Benedict believed that Wilson's Fourteen Point Peace Plan of 1918 was simply a reworking of Benedict's own seven-point plan of the previous year. What Chamedes adds to this discussion is the fact that while the secret diplomacy surrounding these issues was rough-and-tumble, it was in fact the Holy See's suspicion of democracy itself that was being played out in the crucible of war. Framed by both the 1789 French Revolution and the revolutions of 1848, the Holy See had long harbored suspicions of democracy. Catholic accommodation to democracy was not a given in the early twentieth century.

Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin's Communism was new, and as Chamedes points out via important primary source research, the Holy See seemed amenable at first to the new ideology. A correspondence between Lenin and Vatican Secretary of State Pietro Gasparri was charitable and consequential in the areas of famine relief, charitable work, and dialogue. That channels of communication remained open between Moscow and Rome was one of the hidden secrets of Vatican diplomacy even after Lenin's death in 1924.

But the story here is one of non-state-sponsored religion's relationship to Communism and anti-Communism. The gear moving the storyline was concordat diplomacy. Chamedes argues that the original relationship between Moscow and the Vatican was organic, not reactive. Consequently, the post 1928 reactionary, rigid, and ironclad anti-Communism might be considered to have been a political add-on to Vatican diplomacy. Catholic anti-Communism was a synthetic concoction, and largely extra-theological.

For Chamedes, the key organizer of Catholic anti-Communism during this nascent period was Vatican Secretary of State, Eugenio Pacelli. As nuncio to Germany, Pacelli's reports informed central Vatican policymakers of Communism's existential threat to the Roman Catholic Church in Bavaria. By both extrapolating and withholding information, Pacelli aimed to restructure the seemingly benign view of Bolshevism within the Vatican. The endgame for Pacelli was an uptick in political Catholicism within Bavaria, and he pulled out all the stops to effect this end.

Pacelli's early anti-Communism and anti-Judaism have been well chronicled by biographers. But Chamedes argues further that Pacelli's upward track in Vatican diplomacy had a definite impact on the emergence of the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism within Vatican circles. The myth of Judeo Bolshevism centered on the idea that Jews had created and sustained Bolshevism and were therefore responsible for its violent crimes. It was in Bavaria, a predominantly Catholic confessional area, that Pacelli's suspicions of Judeo-Bolshevism were first raised. It was a skepticism that stayed with him his entire life. Pacelli even remained suspicious of Nazi leader Adolf Hitler into the 1930s, since his first political affiliation was with the German Socialist Workers' Party.

Historians such as John Pollard and John Padberg have touched upon the Vatican's Secretariat on Atheism, which was presided over by the Jesuit Joseph Ledit.<sup>6</sup> This 'man of action,' made sure that anti-Russian and later anti-Soviet segments were included in virtually all programs produced by Vatican radio in the 1930s. The Secretariat on Atheism was in fact the Vatican's apparatus commissioned to counter Russian ideology and propagandize on a global scale. Chamedes graphically captures how Ledit and his companions shaped the ideological battle between Roman Catholicism and Communism into a worldwide propaganda battle. Ledit played a significant role in shifting ordinary Catholics at the street level into a defensive posture against Communism. Chamedes points out that the significance of the Secretariat on Atheism was not so much its intellectual contribution to the battle, but rather its incremental influence over how the Catholic masses perceived Communism. Art, literature, radio, and touring exhibits were all mobilized to create a visual and theological panorama presenting Communism as an unquestionable threat to the moral, juridical, and sacramental life of the Church. For Chamedes, the Secretariat on Atheism helped to cement the new "interwar battle for the soul of Catholicism" (286), which

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<sup>6</sup> John F. Pollard, *The Papacy in the Age of Totalitarianism, 1914-1958* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) and John W. Padberg, "Above and beyond Party: The Dilemma of *Dossiers de l'action populaire* in the 1930s" in Richard T. Bienvenu and Mordechai Feingold, eds., *In the Presence of the Past: Essays in Honor of Frank Manuel* ed. (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1991), 280.



would mold Vatican and papal prerogatives into the 1960s. Whether these verities were conjured or real is one of the major questions posed by Chamedes's project. For the Vatican, the new conditions were cast as deathly real. Communism's institutionalized violence against Catholics was on view most immediately from 1927 onward in Mexico.

Chamedes is one of the first historians to take an in-depth look at Pope Pius XI's 1937 encyclical *Firmissimam Constantiam*, which a Catholic Truth Society pamphlet at the time subtitled, "The Right to Resist." In 1939, an Irish Jesuit writing in the Dublin review *The Month* posited that *Firmissimam Constantiam* "may in time come to be regarded as one of the most important documents issued by Pius XI."<sup>7</sup> But in the wake of the *Cristeros* war, and because it was released on the heels of twin encyclicals condemning both Nazism and Communism, the encyclical has received little notice by historians.

What is astonishing about Chamedes's interpretation of the encyclical, and supported by her newly unearthed archival material, is that Pius XI seems to have "made a clear statement in favor of the use of violence to defend church interests and fight left-wing elements" (189). Because Communism was revolutionary in nature, it followed that entities targeted for revolutionary submission could apply the long-held Thomistic concept of "legitimate defense." For Thomas Aquinas, a moral actor's first intention may be defensive, while the proximate or ultimate end of acting defensively can result in the death of an assailant. As theologian Jean Porter has discerned, "the agent can be said to act with the intention of [defensively] preserving their life," a legitimate religious and moral position.<sup>8</sup> But while *Firmissimam Constantiam* seems to eschew "violent defense," it nevertheless enjoins Catholics to "make just use of their rights, and to defend them with all legitimate means according as the common good requires."<sup>9</sup> As Chamedes shows, Vatican diplomats were deeply disturbed by Pius XI's near blurring of "legitimate defense," and "violent defense." Three years later, in the United States, a paranoid splinter group of followers of the Detroit priest Charles Coughlin would arm themselves to the teeth consumed with fear of a Communist counter-coup in America. Arguing a bizarre counterpart to the "violent defense" doctrine, nary a bishop nor Vatican official said a word upon reading the blaring headlines of their arrests.

In my view, the big question emerging from the publication of Chamedes's book will be connected to the question of whether or not Communism represented an existential threat to the Roman Catholic Church from 1930 to 1960. For Chamedes, especially during the early years of its formulation, Catholic anti-Communism applied itself to virtually any amorphous left-wing, Marxist, or even non-Communist progressive movement. In many ways, the implication of Chamedes's argument is that during the interwar years the Holy See felt free to create, almost out of thin air, a Communist bogeyman in transnational pockets around the world. In the worldwide publicity campaign crafted by Eugenio Pacelli, any benign or social justice elements of Communism were subdued into a new discourse grounded in fear and peril. Consequently, from 1919 Bavaria to 1929 Mexico to 1939 Spain, the church's truculent 'fists up' posture against Communism was in some way inauthentic.

I would be inclined to agree with this sentiment wholeheartedly were not for the absence of consideration of what I feel was a propaedeutic to the Vatican's campaign against global Communism: its struggle against global anarchism from 1878 to 1927. Although not as highly structured as its later campaign against global Communism, the papacy formulated responses and policies not only to anarchist movements in Europe and America but also to anarchist bombings, provocations, and harassments—many of which directly targeted Vatican and Catholic interests. Pope Leo XIII went on record against the anarchists as early as 1878. The encyclical *Apostolici Muneris*, in the view of historian Gary MacEóin, "was written primarily

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<sup>7</sup> John Murray, S.J., "On the Persecution of Religion in Mexico," in *The Month: A Catholic Magazine and Review* 174 (1939), 444.

<sup>8</sup> Jean Porter, *Justice as a Virtue: A Thomistic Perspective* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2016), 217.

<sup>9</sup> Pius XI, *Firmissimam Constantiam* (March 28, 1937) § 28.4. Available at [http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_19370328\\_firmissimam-constantiam.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19370328_firmissimam-constantiam.html).

as a condemnation of anarchism and anarchists.”<sup>10</sup> Dual encyclicals, *Diuturnum* of 1881 (penned after the assassination of Czar Alexander II by an anarchist) and *Immortale Dei* of 1885, continued the anti-anarchist arc. While presiding at a Mass on the main altar in St. Peter’s Basilica on 18 November 1906, Cardinal Secretary of State Mariano Rampolla was nearly killed when a bomb constructed of two pounds of gunpowder and three pounds of iron nails exploded not far from the altar.<sup>11</sup> (Cardinal Rampolla survived unharmed because the time bomb exploded well into the recessional, which I like to think tells us more about the value of short homilies than the construction of bombs.)

In Italy, Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci praised the works of French political Georges Sorel, even though Sorel departed “into myth-making and the celebration of violence,” which inspired so many anarchists.<sup>12</sup> The Vatican devised a program of subsidiarity, which is spelled out in how it dealt with the Sacco and Vanzetti case in America as late as 1927. In that case, Pius XI’s seeming willingness to intercede on behalf of the Massachusetts anarchists was stymied by the intervention of William Cardinal Hayes of New York (Boston’s Metropolitan) because anarchists had bombed New York City’s St. Patrick’s Cathedral three times in the previous five years.<sup>13</sup> For the papacy, anarchism was distinctly tied to the left, was transnational, and was deadly. While the Holy See’s diplomatic corps was delicately communicating with Communists in Moscow and Poland in the 1920s, its episcopate was simultaneously steeled against a (nother?) movement of the left which was transnational, asymmetric, and deadly. As Chamedes rightly shows, these same qualities would be adapted to Communism in the interwar period.

*A Twentieth Century Crusade* is grounded in primary research about the Holy See’s posture on Communism. Much of the research is drawn from sources within the Vatican Secret Archives and much of it is seeing the light of day for the first time here. The book is a major contribution for historians of globalism, religion, Europe, international studies, and politics. It gives us infinite value not only for the framework it provides, but for the tantalizing questions it encourages us ask.

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<sup>10</sup> Gary MacEóin, *Unlikely Allies: The Christian-Socialist Convergence* (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 19.

<sup>11</sup> “Bomb Outrage in Rome,” *Boston Daily Globe*, 19 November 1906, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Carl Levy, *Gramsci and the Anarchists* (New York: Berg, 1999), 74.

<sup>13</sup> Gasparri to Fumasoni [Washington], August 10, 1927, *ASV, Archivi Delegazione Apostolica della Stati Uniti, Section X Diverse*, Posizione 856, “Sacco-Vanzetti Condannati a Morte,” Città del Vaticano, Rome.

## REVIEW BY DAVID I. KERTZER, BROWN UNIVERSITY

*Twentieth-Century Crusade* is remarkably ambitious in geographical and temporal scope. Focusing especially on Italy, France, and Germany, but with references to other parts of Europe and to the United States, it examines evolving Vatican strategies for strengthening its influence through the development of international networks.

These efforts aimed both at reinforcing the central authority of the Holy See over the Church worldwide and building up national Church infrastructures to provide the foot soldiers for the Church's battles. The competitors to be defeated would change over time, with socialism, Communism and liberalism the principal targets in the first decades of the century. In those years, which included the demise of democracies in Italy and Spain via Mussolini and Franco, the popes favored authoritarian regimes and emphasize the negotiating of concordats to secure as influential a political position as possible throughout Europe. As Chamedes recounts, with the defeat of the Axis Powers in the Second World War, the Church began the process of embracing the democracies, a process that would get a big boost following the death of Pope Pius XII in 1958 and the subsequent convening of the Second Vatican Council by Pius's successor, John XXIII.

Chamedes properly casts her book as part of movement to rescue the Vatican from its common relegation to a separate field of "Church history" and bring it into the mainstream of European history. Her book helps show just how integrated the political action of the Vatican has been with the larger political and intellectual currents in Europe, and how necessary it is for any political and intellectual history of twentieth-century Europe to incorporate the Vatican into its work.

The wide variety of archives used by Chamedes is also notable. They include various Vatican and other ecclesiastical archives in Italy, along with state archives ranging from Rome's Central State Archives, to the French foreign ministry archives outside Paris and the U.S. National Archives outside Washington.

Chamedes argues that "the papacy invented a new form of internationalism in twentieth-century Europe, one that aimed to rival liberal and socialist competitors" (5). She dates the advent of this new Catholic internationalism to the end of World War I. It might have been helpful here for the author to consider the birth of this new direction in the context of the papacy of the prewar pope, Pius X (1903-1914), who is barely mentioned in these pages. Pius X's fierce anti-modernist campaign involved a kind of papal internationalism of its own, with its creation of an international network of clerical spies aimed at rooting out colleagues guilty of seeing merit in aspects of modernity. More generally, it might have been worth considering the longer history of the Vatican's creations of various forms of internationalism. Indeed, the Roman Catholic Church could be viewed as something of a progenitor of such supranational modes of organization.

Chamedes offers good insight into the role played by Pope Ratti, Pius XI (1922-1939), in developing the Church's international anti-Communist crusade and developing a concordat strategy for relations with the states of Europe. Her discussion of the pope's 1931 encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*, which is seen as arguing "that tight historical and ideological bonds linked liberalism, socialism, and communism, and that therefore the fight against one must be the fight against all" (130-131), is particularly provocative. It was in this context that the pope and his entourage viewed democratic governments with reserve and had no sympathy for the principle of separation of Church and state. Indeed, the Vatican's preference was for Church-friendly authoritarian governments in Catholic-majority countries in which the state identified with and bolstered the influence of the Church. As Chamedes puts it, "Midcentury papal diplomacy was antidemocratic through and through" (311). It might be more precise to say that this characterized papal diplomacy for the first four decades of the century.

It is in this context that Chamedes makes an important observation. In the 1930s, the papal nuncio to Nazi Germany, Cesare Orsenigo, distinguished between two wings of the National Socialist Party, one Catholic and one anti-Catholic. From this perspective, the Hitler regime was not a lost cause for the Church. One might make a similar observation about the Vatican view of Italian Fascism. From the Holy See perspective there was the good Fascism (that which bolstered the power of the Church) and the bad, anticlerical Fascism (which, incidentally, the Vatican would identify with the leftist roots of Fascism). Chamedes also points out that both the German National Socialist and Italian Fascist regimes were able to take advantage of the Holy See's fear and demonization of Communism to help attract their Catholic citizens' support.

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Joining a rather crowded scholarly field, Chamedes's book examines Pius XII's efforts not to antagonize either side in the Second World War. In her view, during the war "the pope played it safe. He stuck to his core internationalist planks of anticommunism and concordat diplomacy, but he also tried as best as he could to lie low and not draw attention to his tentative openness toward the Allies. In the process, he chose, time and time again, to proffer silence more than guidance during events like the invasion of Poland, the occupation of France, and the genocide of European Jewry" (195). Needless to say, Chamedes here enters into bitterly contested territory, but her characterization is in line with the bulk of the work of serious historians.<sup>14</sup>

Following the war, Chamedes observes, "the pope showed himself unwilling to reckon with the complicity of so many Catholics in the Holocaust" (239). This is certainly true, although it might be worth adding that in this the pope was acting like the great majority of Italians. In the years following the war there were few in Italy who were willing to confront the role of regular Italians in the Holocaust. Of course, the same can be said about those in many other parts of Europe as well.

As Chamedes shows, in the wake of the Second World War, the Vatican's political strategy changed substantially. It put great emphasis on the development of Church-backed Christian Democratic parties in several European countries as its preferred vehicle for protecting and enhancing Church influence. Often, as Chamedes observes, this relationship was not without tension, as the pope tried (as in the Italian case) to push the nascent Christian Democratic parties more to the right. Following the Second World War, too, in contrast with the Church's anti-League of Nations stance following the First World War, the pope enthusiastically embraced the United Nations.

Further changes were in store with the death of Pius XII, who never escaped the integralist creed of the Holy See that had long cast the Enlightenment and the French Revolution as the work of the devil and the source of much evil in Europe. As Chamedes notes, even in the decade after the war Pius XII remained committed to his principled opposition to interconfessional dialogue. With the Second Vatican Council, Chamedes explains, the Vatican jettisoned its confessionally exclusive brand of internationalism and its opposition to interreligious dialogue. In a rather dramatic turnaround, the Vatican embraced a new language of human rights. Her discussion of this shift offers many stimuli for further historical work.

I was a bit puzzled by some of the conclusions to Chamedes's book. She ends her final pre-epilogue chapter by stating that while the Vatican hoped that its modernizing moves "would bring about a boom in European Catholicism", in fact "the opposite happened. Western Christendom imploded" (309). Yet she ends her Epilogue by observing that "Though the Vatican is neither a nation-state nor a corporation, it remains a political actor of great force" (320). It is true that in the years following the Second Vatican Council, church attendance, Catholic Action membership, and the number entering the Catholic clergy have all declined substantially in Europe. Yet, even in Europe the Roman Catholic Church has remained a highly influential force, while in the rest of the world the number of Catholics has continued to rise.

Although they do not detract from the main arguments of the book, for the record it might be worth pointing out that the book does contain a number of factual errors, including the following: The *Osservatore romano* was not "the official Vatican daily" (53) but rather the unofficial paper of the Vatican, an (albeit dubious) distinction Vatican officials were always eager to make; Francesco Pacelli, who negotiated the Lateran Treaty for the pope, was not Eugenio Pacelli's "younger brother" (115) but his older brother. It is inappropriate to refer to Monsignor Tardini as "Father Tardini" (177); Luigi Sturzo did not found the Italian Christian Democratic Party following the First World War (198). He founded the Italian Popular Party; Fascist military operations in Ethiopia led to an outpouring of Italian Catholic support not in the fall of 1936 (198) but in the fall of 1935; the Italian racial laws beginning in 1938 did not only ban foreign Jews from attending Italy's public schools, but all Jews in Italy; and while the laws banned marriages between Jews and "Aryans" they did not "annul" existing

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<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Giovanni Miccoli, *I dilemmi e i silenzi di Pio XII* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2000); Frank J. Coppa, *The Life & Pontificate of Pope Pius XII* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2013); Robert A. Ventresca, *Soldier of Christ: The Life of Pope Pius XII* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013)

marriages (205). It is incorrect to refer to Pius XI's scheduled speech on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Lateran Accords as his "planned speech to Mussolini," (207) as he knew Mussolini would not be present for the speech; Pope John XXIII could not have concluded the first Vatican agreement with a Communist government in many years in September 1964 (306) as he died in 1963; Palmiro Togliatti could not have "concurred" in 1967 that the thrust of papal diplomacy had changed, as he had died three years earlier.

In addition, I would briefly mention a number of interpretations that I would question. Chamedes describes Achille Ratti, the future Pope Pius XI, as "charismatic, quick-witted [and] sharp-tongued" (34). While he could reasonably be described as possessing the latter two qualities, he was definitely not a charismatic personality. It also seems a bit odd to claim that the death of Benedict XV in 1922 produced "An unprecedented wave of public mourning" (50). He had not been pope very long and was not particularly a man of the people or an object of popular devotion. Chamedes states that "the papacy had aligned itself with the German Empire during World War I" (59), but the Vatican under Benedict XV tried hard not to take sides in the war. In referring to the influence of Vatican Radio in the 1930s, Chamedes attributes it in part to "radio's capacity to make listeners feel as though they had invited the pope in for a midmorning espresso" (150). Given the highly stylized, formal language used by Pius XI (and subsequently by his successor, Pius XII), no one would mistake their broadcasts for a conversation over coffee. These were no Rooseveltian fireside chats. Chamedes characterizes Pius XI's historic encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* as "intended for a small audience." She goes on to note, properly, that it was written in German, adding that it was "addressed to German bishops alone" (184). The statement that it was intended for a small audience is incorrect, and the assertion that it was addressed to German bishops alone is misleading. The pope's plan, which was in fact put into effect, was to have the bishops and priests of Germany read the text of the encyclical from the pulpit to their parishioners on one of the most heavily attended gatherings of the year, Palm Sunday. One final point: Luigi Sturzo's exile from Italy in 1924 was not "dictated by his desire to escape Vatican control" (198) but by the message he got from the Vatican urging him to leave the country.

Notwithstanding these minor points, there is much value in *A Twentieth-Century Crusade*, not least in bringing serious historical attention to the political aspirations of the twentieth-century popes and of the Holy See. After reading Chamedes's book it should be hard for future historians of transnational twentieth-century history to ignore the role played by the Vatican.

## REVIEW BY JOHN T. MCGREEVY, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Why does a church have a foreign policy? Giuliana Chamedes never asks the question directly but it hovers over her arresting and important study. After all, we don't expect, say, Mormons or Methodists to send ambassadors to foreign countries, delegations to international organizations such as the United Nations, or to fund training programs for church-affiliated diplomats.

And yet the Vatican, as at once state and religion, does. Chamedes begins *A Twentieth Century Crusade* with her central protagonist, Archbishop Eugenio Pacelli, the new papal ambassador (or nuncio) to Bavaria stepping off a train in Munich on 25 May 1917. Pacelli's immediate task was to promote Pope Benedict XV's peace proposal, an effort to halt the slaughter convulsing the continent. Pacelli was not a minor figure. In 1930 he became the Vatican Secretary of State. In 1939 he was elected Pope Pius XII.

Using to superb effect the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (primarily), a variety of other archives, and a considerable secondary literature in multiple languages, Chamedes places this papal peace initiative in a context of international law and Vatican diplomacy. In the short run, neither Benedict XV's peace note nor Pacelli's promotion of it much mattered. The war continued to grind on for another eighteen months. French and British leaders dismissed the papal proposal as too sympathetic to Germany, and even Catholics in Allied nations belittled the document.

The statesman of the hour was instead President Woodrow Wilson, who laid out his own vision of a League of Nations and a hazily defined ideal of self-determination. Pacelli and his allies in the Vatican resented what they saw as Wilson's "meddling in matters European" (2). Like other European elites, they displayed their anti-Americanism with disparagement of Wilson's efforts to "Americanize the whole world, making it Freemason, so as to liberate it from its servitude to the Kaiser, the pope and the priesthood" (2). They also displayed their anti-Semitism in nervous references to a Judeo-Bolshevik plot to conquer Europe and then the world. This conspiratorial anti-Semitism endured in Vatican circles, as Chamedes demonstrates, into the late 1930s.

Vatican officials were not even invited to participate in negotiations at the Treaty of Versailles. But for Chamedes the failure of the peace note is the beginning, not the end. She argues that a papacy thought irrelevant in, say, 1799, when Pope Pius VI died as Napoleon's prisoner, had become a reinvigorated actor on the world stage. If in the nineteenth century embattled Catholic leaders struggled to combat assertive nation states, papal diplomats in the 1920s and 1930s shifted from defense to offense.

Chamedes is especially good and entirely innovative in emphasizing the role of treaties or concordats in this "Catholic internationalism" (5). Such agreements have a history dating back to the medieval period. They were also used extensively by the papacy in the nineteenth century to navigate thorny disputes over who would nominate bishops (historically Catholic states such as Argentina, Mexico, France, Chile, and Bavaria often controlled the process with Vatican veto power), the role of Catholicism in publicly funded schools and the relationship between civil law and official Catholic teaching on topics such as marriage.

In this sense they were not novel. But after World War I the concordat genre received new life. In the decades after World War I the Vatican struck agreements with Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Benito Mussolini's Italy, Adolf Hitler's Germany, Portugal, Austria, and Spain. Chamedes's description of these efforts will be a significant and enduring contribution to the period's international history. One of her insights is to stress the importance in Vatican thinking of so-called Catholic Poland and its preservation. Another is to see this enhanced Vatican diplomacy as an analogue to other efforts to centralize authority and procedure within the Church. Just as papal diplomats usurped the prerogatives of local bishops, papal lawyers codified laws for a universal church. They produced the first modern Code of Canon Law, which was completed in 1917 and published in five massive volumes. In majority Catholic countries concordats transferred parts of the code outlining the obligations of states to provide religious education or support Catholic marriages practices (such as restricting divorce) into civic law.

Underlying these concordats was a widespread Catholic mistrust of democratic decision making. Negotiated agreements were thought to protect Catholic interests better than fickle parliamentary majorities. In this Catholics were not alone and studies such as Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt's recent *How Democracies Die* identify the 1920s and 1930s as decades of widespread dissatisfaction with democratic regimes.<sup>15</sup> Catholic mistrust of democracy was particularly deep-seated: it began in the aftermath of the French revolution and was solidified in the late nineteenth century when more or less democratic governments in Italy, France, Germany, Mexico and elsewhere confiscated church property, harassed and expelled clergy and nuns, and bitterly fought over the place of religion in newly founded systems of mass education.

Chamedes knows this and smartly quotes Pius XI's first encyclical in 1922 with its condescending description of "democratic states" that are "most exposed to the danger of being overthrown by one faction or another" (98). But the point deserves emphasis. Catholic defenders of democracy on principled grounds were few in number even if Catholics around the world voted and held office. To the Vatican, even Catholic political parties seemed unsatisfactory. Vatican officials undermined the *Partito Popolare* led by Fr. Luigi Sturzo in Italy. They evaded Polish Catholic politicians in order to negotiate with nominally Catholic strongman Marshall Józef Piłsudski. A young Konrad Adenauer, mayor of Cologne and Catholic Center Party leader, found himself making a futile defense of Weimar democracy against Munich Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber at the annual meeting of the German *Katholikentag*. A young Jacques Maritain still thought democracy was an outgrowth of liberal and Protestant heresies.

The tragic consequences of this dismissal of democracy—again not simply by Catholics but disproportionately including them—became obvious in the late 1930s. Austria's corporatist Catholic regime dissolved its parliament in 1933. Portugal's Catholic state became essentially authoritarian, as did Francisco Franco's Spain, and Catholic intellectuals in Latin America, perhaps especially, convinced themselves that democracy was not the governmental form of the future. More ominously, the decision to negotiate with Nazi Germany in 1934 backfired as Nazi leaders shredded the concordat and began to close Catholic organizations and harass Catholics who voiced any doubts about what had become a totalitarian state. (This is not to overlook, of course, the far graver targeting of Jews and other political and religious minorities.) The arc of Mussolini's relationship with the Church followed a similar path.

If these first four chapters of *A Twentieth Century Crusade* both convince and enlighten, the last sections raised more questions for me. The central narrative thread is anti-Communism. Chamedes does provide important new analysis of how a fascinating proposed encyclical attacking both Communism and fascism morphed into two 1937 documents, a vigorous and unequivocal attack on Communism, *Divini Redemptoris* and an elliptical attack on Nazism *Mit Brennender Sorge*. (The latter document, smuggled into Germany and read from pulpits, was perhaps more of an event than Chamedes allows.) She delves into how Vatican Radio, church sponsored publications, and even museum exhibits amplified the anti-Communist message.

That a Vatican emphasis on anti-Communism came to overshadow much else is clear. So too is the global character of this Catholic antagonism to Communism from Argentina to Ireland to the United States. Papal initiatives stirred this animus but its core might be better characterized as a social movement, not simply a manipulation of the Catholic masses.

Chamedes does not ask if there are morally understandable reasons why anti-Communism became such a unifying Catholic priority. It is instead a "crusade" (121). Or a rehabilitation of the "old Orientalist East/West binary" (125). Catholic publications warning that the economic depression of the 1930s might lead to the expansion of Communism—a view held by Communists themselves—serve only as a "mouthpiece" for Vatican views. (125). Vietnamese Communists in the early 1950s, Chamedes posits, persecuted Vietnamese Catholics in part because of Vatican criticism of Communism and tolerance of French colonialism. (The source she cites, Charles Keith's *Catholic Vietnam*, stresses a different cycle of

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<sup>15</sup> Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (New York: Crown, 2018).

causation: Viet Minh persecution of Catholics provoked condemnation of Communism by Vietnamese bishops.)<sup>16</sup> We are meant to shrug our heads, I think, when informed that Pius XII “sternly criticized” Chinese Communism soon before his death in 1958 (287). She regrets that the Vatican made a “rigid distinction between anti-communist Christian friend and communist atheistic foe.” (5).

One could take a more empathetic view. Chamedes does discuss the massive suppression of Catholicism in Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe in the late 1940s but only for two pages. No mention is made of the equally violent repression of Protestant and Catholic Christianity in China. These events and the imprisonment of many priests, bishops, and missionaries made an impression on not simply the Vatican but Catholics around the world.

Surely all this was more than a way to deflect opposition to fascism. Chamedes mentions Fr. Léopold Braun, an American and the only Catholic priest in the Soviet Union by the late 1930s, in a country that as recently as 1917 included a thousand parishes. His memoir has been edited by G.M. Hamburg. From his parish in central Moscow, Braun watched newly arrested victims of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin’s purges pour out of trucks in front of the neighboring Lubyanka prison in the middle of the night. Police observed Braun’s every move and reported on each of the handful of brave attendees at Mass. As Braun knew, and reported to the Vatican, the repression of Catholicism (and of course other religions) in the Soviet Union in the late 1930s was virtually total. This repression intensified after the Soviets blithely promised to protect religious freedom in order to obtain diplomatic recognition from the United States in 1934. The term ‘militant atheism’—a favored Catholic locution—seems absurd now. Reading Braun it is hard to come up with anything else. Braun encouraged the Roosevelt administration to promote Vatican cooperation with the Soviet Union after the German invasion in the summer of 1941 and Pius XII gestured in that direction, a decision that annoyed anti-Communist Catholics in Germany and Italy even as his silence after the 1939 invasion of Poland appalled Polish Catholics. Braun had hoped that Soviet-Vatican cooperation might ameliorate conditions for Catholics in the Soviet Union. The results were modest. In 1945 he reported that Catholicism faced “quasi-total material annihilation.”<sup>17</sup> At Yalta, an annoyed Stalin asked President Franklin Roosevelt to recall the American priest.

My point is that Catholic anti-Communism had a trajectory more complicated than its rhetorical excesses. So too did Vatican diplomacy. Chamedes persuasively details Pius XII’s continued willingness to laud Franco’s Spain after World War II, with the last great concordat signed between Rome and Madrid in 1953 and with Vatican official Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani publicly upholding the Spanish version of church and state. In this an elderly and increasingly enfeebled Pius XII clung to the strategies he had developed as a diplomat in the interwar era. And yet Christian Democratic parties in Europe and Latin America accepted no such vision and even conservative Cardinals in the United States thought official teaching on church and state to be in serious need of reconsideration. Within an increasingly sclerotic Vatican bureaucracy, important officials such as Archbishop Giovanni Battista Montini probed for new openings. Just over a decade later, as Pope Paul VI, Montini would facilitate Vatican Ostpolitik or negotiations with Communist governments in eastern Europe. By that time the Second Vatican Council had ended the era of the concordats granting Catholicism special privileges, with even the Spanish bishops voluntarily dissolving theirs in 1976.

Now the Vatican, like everyone else, conducts diplomacy through mobilizing public opinion as much as through treaties. Efforts to protect Catholic interests and, unlike the early twentieth century, even to promote religious freedom continue but in a different key. Chamedes briefly and unpersuasively connects Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI to the older vision, in part because they were theological conservatives on more contentious matters. But the break between the era of concordats where Catholicism would be defined as the official religion of the state and the contemporary era of papal travel and media

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<sup>16</sup> Charles Keith, *Catholic Vietnam: A Church from Empire to Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> Léopold L.S. Braun, AA, *In Lubyanka’s Shadow: The Memoirs of an American Priest in Stalin’s Moscow 1934-1945*, G.M. Hamburg, ed. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), xlix.



spectacles seems irrevocable. Pope Francis recently traveled to Bangladesh not (or certainly not only) because of the region's small Catholic population, but as a means of highlighting the plight of refugees, typically Muslims, seeking religious freedom.

Pope Francis's efforts to negotiate a treaty with China even suggests a role reversal. Instead of Vatican officials attempting to marginalize critics of concordat diplomacy as in the 1930s, Catholic conservatives now decry concordats as a betrayal of underground Catholics and religious freedom. Vatican liberals, in turn, are now institutionalists urging patient negotiation. Even to make this comparison is to acknowledge how deeply indebted any analyst of these matters now is to Chamedes' book. *A Twentieth Century Crusade* is the new benchmark for studying these important matters. And among its virtues is the capacity to help gauge the considerable distance traveled from present-day concerns back to the day when Eugenio Pacelli stepped off that train in Munich a century ago.

## RESPONSE BY GIULIANA CHAMEDES

It is a rarity to find a single reader who has the time and intellectual energy to read a lengthy academic book from cover to cover and to do so with generosity, care, and acuity; rarer still is it to have five experts in the field take part in such an undertaking. I would like to begin my response by offering sincere thanks to Professors Samuel Moyn, Elizabeth Foster, Charles Gallagher, S.J., David Kertzer, and John McGreevy, and for putting their own (exciting) research on hold for a bit to provide their thoughts on *A Twentieth-Century Crusade: The Vatican's Battle to Remake Christian Europe*. My gratitude also extends to Daniel Jenkins, Diane Labrosse, and the other members of the H-Diplo editing team for shepherding this project to completion.

Upon first glance, *A Twentieth-Century Crusade* may appear to be a rather quaint academic exercise, of interest only to a very specialized field of scholars working on the history of Catholicism and the central government of the Roman Catholic Church. However, as all scholars in the roundtable note, the book was not written with only a hyper-specialized audience in mind, and neither are its findings of relevance solely to historians who have spent years of their lives puzzling through the inner workings of the Holy See. Rather, *A Twentieth-Century Crusade* attempts to bring the Vatican from the margins to the center of twentieth-century European and international history. In the process, it shows that we cannot understand that history fully without taking the Vatican into account. The book demonstrates that attention to the Vatican's distinctive brand of religious politics helps explain the rise of anti-democratic movements after World War I; the long pre-history of Cold War anti-Communism; and the enduring role of Catholicism in shaping European law, politics, and society. It also sheds new light on the modern phenomenon of internationalism – both as a real-world practice involving the movement of peoples and ideas, and as a set of aspirational values characterized by the desire to zig-zag across national borders. In particular, the book shows that papal or Catholic internationalism shaped and was intimately shaped by the internationalist behaviors and visions of more well-known movers and shakers, including Communist internationalists, anticolonial internationalists, and liberal internationalists. But not only that: *A Twentieth-Century Crusade* also argues that internationalism is intimately related to the new forms of nationalism that rose to prominence after 1914.

For these and other reasons, the book begins with World War I. In these years, a new sort of papal diplomacy premised on the rediscovery of the concordat enabled the Vatican to position itself against secularization in general, and the specter of Wilsonian-style liberalism in particular. Over the course of the 1920s and 1930s, papal anti-liberalism gradually morphed into papal anti-Communism. The latter was by no means given from 1917. Rather, through attention to the relations of papal officials to anti-Communist and anti-Semitic movements in Eastern and Western Europe after World War I, *A Twentieth-Century Crusade* shows how an otherwise rather small contingent of papal diplomats, lawyers, and clerics was able to shift the Vatican as a whole to take a strong position against the Soviet Union. Once the papacy had launched its crusade against international Communism in the early 1930s, the momentum proved inexorable. By the mid-to-late 1930s, the papacy had inspired and itself pioneered a dizzying array of Catholic anti-Communist work, from radio broadcasts to films, and from anti-Communist novel competitions to traveling exhibitions. As the book aims to show, understanding the postwar victory of Western European Christian Democracy at the polls and the rooted nature of Cold War anti-Communism on the continent as a whole is well-nigh impossible without attention to how papal activism had set the stage in the interwar years.

The issues raised by the commentators are all incisive and thought-provoking. To start, I would like to thank David Kertzer and John McGreevy for helpful corrections and clarifications that I hope to directly integrate should the book ever reach a second edition. The remainder of my comments will focus on three central themes that emerged in the reviews, pertaining to periodization, colonization, and historical empathy. I will tackle each of these three central themes in turn, in an attempt to sketch out common threads and indicate some avenues of future research for historians. As a scholar firmly committed to the idea that knowledge-building is a collective undertaking, it feels appropriate to focus my response on what historians of Catholicism, European, transnational, and international history might want to explore and discover in the future – not least because the papers of Pope Pius XII will be made newly available to scholars in March 2020.

Let us begin with the question of periodization. *A Twentieth-Century Crusade* argues that the arc of time from World War I through the mid-1960s should be treated as a distinct and cohesive moment in the history of the Church. Though no reviewers quibble with my decentering of 1945 as a “year zero,” and all agree that World War I is a key turning point in history, David Kertzer asks a key question pertaining to my story’s start date. In short, he wonders whether the history of papal internationalism actually should be told in the *longue durée*, as a story that begins well before 1914. He highlights the role of Pius X (1903-14) in launching a fierce campaign against modernism—a campaign enabled by a leading figure in the history of post-World War I antisemitism and anti-Communism, Umberto Benigni (whose activities have been brilliantly investigated most recently by the young scholar Nina Valbousquet).<sup>18</sup> Kertzer is certainly correct that forms of papal internationalism pre-existed 1914—and that the Roman Catholic Church was a real pioneer when it came to organizing beyond and across national and imperial borders.

That said, World War I represented a real turning point for the Holy See. To put it rather simply, following World War I, the papacy decided to stop resisting modernity. It came to see international law as a tool from which it could benefit, as opposed to a liberal-secular bludgeon aimed at destroying the power of organized religion. Similarly, it came to embrace the nation-state and began conceptualizing itself as a power whose task was at once to support nation-states and move between and across them. Finally and relatedly, it was not until the founding of the Communist International that the papacy began to conceptualize itself as an internationalist power in the age of internationalism. The term became an actor’s category and signaled the perceived need to capture civil society, craft distinctive new Catholic media, and engage in border-crossing activism. For these reasons and more, I think that the starting date chosen in the book remains the correct one. I do, however, hope that future scholars will take up a series of related understudied questions pertaining to how secular forms of transnational organizing in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries were inspired by attention to the Roman Catholic Church’s example, and if and how the Church’s anti-modernist campaign of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century may have pioneered techniques that were later re-employed in the anti-Communist crusade of the interwar years.

Regarding the story’s end-date: I see Vatican II as a real break, and align with commentators like John McGreevy, who suspect that few strong continuities link the concordat era to popes like John Paul II and Benedict XVI. My book’s evidentiary base really pertains to the years between 1918 and 1965, and in many senses I do not feel prepared to speak with any deep authority on either John Paul II’s or Benedict XVI’s pontificate. That said, I do hope that my focus on the papacy’s concordat revolution leads future scholars to study the “mini” concordat revolution of the years after 1989—and discern the extent to which John Paul II in particular was beholden to *certain* components of the interwar papal diplomacy, even while eschewing many others.

The reviewers also zero in on the question of colonization and the Church’s relationship with the non-Western world. Though the commentators agree that the Vatican remained firmly Eurocentric in the years under analysis (not least because its core personnel was almost exclusively European in make-up), Elizabeth Foster in particular notes that it might have been worthwhile to bring in additional information on papal attitudes towards colonialism in the years 1919-1958. She usefully reminds us that Pope Benedict XV encouraged missionaries to not always and necessarily see their work in nationalist terms, as the defense of European interests abroad; she also emphasizes that Pius XI, Benedict’s successor, took a step further, urging the creation of indigenous clergy and even presaging the eventual end of European imperialism. Foster’s own work on these topics, combined with that of scholars such as J.P. Daughton, Darcie Fontaine, Udi Greenberg, Henrietta Harrison, Charles Keith, Albert Wu, Ernest Young, and others, suggests an exciting growth area in the scholarship.<sup>19</sup> Usefully, much of

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<sup>18</sup> See Nina Valbousquet, *Catholique et antisémite: Le réseau transnational de Mgr Benigni (1918-1934)* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2019).

<sup>19</sup> J.P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Darcie Fontaine, *Decolonizing Christianity: Religion and the End of Empire in France and Algeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Elizabeth Foster, *Faith in Empire: Religion, Politics and Colonial Rule in French Senegal, 1880-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013); id., *African Catholic: Decolonization and the Transformation of the Church* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019); Udi Greenberg, *Religious Pluralism in the Age of Violence: Catholics and Protestants from*

this scholarship does not limit itself to papal pronouncements on imperialism (which were both limited in nature and even more limited in impact), and focuses instead on realities on the ground, through attention to the thick web of personal relationships, professional ties, and political strictures that determined how Catholic missionaries, Catholic converts, and everyday non-Catholics defined and redefined the relationship between Catholicism and imperialism many times over.

The final question asked by the reviewers hangs somewhere between philosophy and history. Charles Gallagher, S.J., and McGreevy each pose the matter in their own terms, but both scholars are concerned with an ethical matter, which has to do not with the existence of the Vatican's anti-Communist crusade (which both see as a central episode in the history of twentieth century), but rather with the reasons for its existence, and even more so, the extent to which my book displays historical empathy in detailing this story. In brief, both suggest that perhaps the Vatican was reactive more than proactive and that papal anti-Communism was a natural, necessary, or at the very least understandable reaction to the persecution of Catholics under Communist regimes. This is doubtless the position of much of the extant scholarship that was produced under the long shadow of the Cold War.

The first point to make is that it is certainly true that at several points in history, prominent Communist regimes persecuted Catholics. This involved everything from the collectivization of Church property to the arrest, imprisonment, and execution of clergy and members of the laity. However, the when-and-where details really matter here. No two Communist regimes meted out the same treatment to Catholics in the course of the twentieth century – and neither did any single Communist regime implement a unified and unchanging strategy throughout the course of its existence. Taking the prominent case of the Soviet Union, new scholarship has taught us that the old story emphasizing a continuously violent atheistic regime, which single-mindedly pursued its aim to eliminate organized religion for over 70 years, is, quite simply, inaccurate.<sup>20</sup> While it certainly was true that a number of Russian revolutionaries espoused both secular and radically atheist worldviews, the long Civil War, the process of consolidating power and the imperative of winning over a modicum of popular support taught the Bolsheviks that in pragmatic terms, religion could not be entirely cast aside. Recent books have suggested that despite the antireligious campaigns that had support from low-level government officials and everyday activists, it might not have been until the Khrushchev period that eradicating religion and pushing atheism became a state project.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, we have learned from numerous richly documented comparative studies that Catholicism did not just endure in the Cold War in Eastern Europe: in countries like Poland, the Church enjoyed a number of freedoms and Catholic civil society was able to manifest itself, even under Communist rule.<sup>22</sup> The story of how Communism impacted Catholic life in Communist China is also one of light and shadow. For even as the Chinese Communist Party deemed the Catholic Church an enemy of the

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*Animosity to Peace, 1885-1965* (contract under negotiation); Henrietta Harrison, *The Missionary's Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Charles Keith, *Catholic Vietnam: A Church from Empire to Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Albert Wu, *From Christ to Confucius: German Missionaries, Chinese Christians and the Globalization of Christianity, 1860-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); and Ernest Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>20</sup> Laura Pettinaroli, *La politique russe du Saint-Siège, 1905-1939* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2015).

<sup>21</sup> Victoria Smolkin, *A Sacred Space is Never Empty: A History of Soviet Atheism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

<sup>22</sup> John Connelly, *Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech and Polish Higher Education, 1945-1956* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Piotr Kosicki, *Catholics on the Barricades: Poland, France and 'Revolution,' 1891-1956* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); Pedro Ramet, ed., *Catholicism and Politics in Communist Societies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).

state, it was unable to eradicate it: at best, it created a divided Catholicism, with “patriotic” churches on the one hand and resistant ones on the other.<sup>23</sup>

In adjudicating these matters, it is also important to make the crucial analytical distinction between the perceived existential threat posed by Communist regimes and the actual threat they posed. Whereas the Vatican perceived itself to be under attack by an enemy who knew no bounds, in hindsight we can see (through careful attention to the sources and to the historical realities on the ground) that papal diplomats repeatedly overemphasized and misinterpreted the extent to which left-wing forces had the eradication of Catholicism as their leading aim. Similarly, it becomes evident that the word “Communism” became a catch-all for the papacy, which applied the term quite loosely to a broad spectrum of movements on the Left, not all of which were Marxist or anti-clerical. Here, it seems to me that it is best, attitudinally speaking, to foreground objectivity in place of empathy: after all, it is an unfortunate fact that Catholic anti-Communism was all-too-often inter-braided with anti-Semitism and racism, and it is another unfortunate fact that the Church allowed a rhetorical crusade against Communism to spill over, on more than one occasion, into a justification for armed violence. In a moment in time when talk of marauding and free-loading enemy-nationals is once again on the rise, it behooves us to take seriously the question of how crusades against enemies (real or perceived) take shape, and how these crusades have real-world impacts on the ‘guilty’ and ‘innocent’ alike.

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<sup>23</sup> On this very phenomenon, see Paul P. Mariani, *Church Militant: Bishop Kung and the Catholic Resistance in Communist Shanghai* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).