

Politics and the Catholic Church: The rise of Communism, the Modernization of the Church, and American involvement in early Cold War Italy

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Chapter One: Introduction

The development of global history is a relatively young discipline. The answer as to why certain institutions influence the sway of politics has eluded both historians and political scientists alike, especially ones that have been so engrained within the culture of a particular society. Within the early Cold War era, the Catholic church was one such institution. The role of cultural institutions within the scope of international relations deserves to be historically analyzed, especially as Cold War political tensions continue to affect the United States in both historical consciousness and policy development. The relevance of the Vatican to the rise of nationalist, conservative, and leftist leaning parties during this age of rapid liberalization and modernization begs the question of why their ideologies were so important. Of course, the fruition of Catholic tradition and religious dogma has been central to the political alliance system and redrawn boundaries of Europe for centuries. The early Cold War era, however, demonstrates an era of peculiar political development foreign to the traditions of the Vatican. With the introduction of fascism and communism to the modern world, the Catholic church had a growing socio-political concern. Along with the varying ways of viewing sociopolitical situations, the impact of international governments and shifting alliances split the world in half. The Vatican, now with followers on all sides of the political, social, and cultural spectrum, had to find ways of modernizing their own doctrine without giving up traditional elements. Their answer was the Second Vatican Council, a new dispensation that liberalized the sociopolitical goals of the church and placed their political alliance squarely within the west's sphere of influence. Why, then, was Italy's case unique in its development? The rising communists within Italy believed in the same tenants of the Soviet communists, but implementing its political agenda was radically different. St. Peter's reaction seemed to be one of ideological horror, yet on occasion, still

politically reliant. This dissertation will argue that the complicated relationship between the rise of the Italian communists and the modernization of the Catholic church, culminating with the implementation of the Second Vatican Council, was ultimately symbiotic and each relied on the social modifications of European society that was wholly unique to the early Cold War era.

The first issue of this dissertation will be to address the gaps within current cultural and political research. Political realism, meaning the idea that power is the end goal of all political ambition, within Italian culture had not yet been fully realized for the communists. The communists, represented by the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI), was dwarfed by the Democrazia Christiana (DC) or conservative party. The movement itself had been plagued by riotous activity even before the war. In Sicily, for example, the growing tension between the farming lower classes who aligned themselves with a more communist ideology and the ruling government, that was decidedly more conservative, was complicated by the lack of agrarian reform and further complicated by mafia activity in the grab for power.¹ Riots and violence broke out on the island, dividing the already split region from the industrious north and mixed market center. Regional issues, and for the communists and increasingly angry south, agrarian reform was at the top of the list of changes they desired to see happen in the government. Reform, however, would always prove elusive to the communist party, and pressures from the international stage as the world became split between the Soviets and Americans would add to the internal issues that plagued Italy. This elusiveness, the need for reform, and the division within Italian regional politics of the will occupy the next area of focus within the dissertation.

¹ Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics 1943-1988*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003): 59-63.

Evidence taken from newspapers, diaries, and political memoirs of various regional leaders, accompanied by secondary print, government, and book source will strengthen the research. The next section of the dissertation will focus on religious modernization within those regions and within the Vatican itself. The rapid growth and spread of liberal, or progressive, ideology dramatically changed the way the Holy See understood their role within society and culture. The main texts that will be examined reside within the Vatican archives and will analyze the varying opinions of the three Popes that dominated Catholic theology before, during, and after World War Two.

Pope Pius XII, Pope John XXIII, and Pope Paul VI all wrote about the economic and theological ramifications of either accepting or rejecting the dominant political ideologies of their era. In each encyclical, the pope's respective opinions regarding the advantages and disadvantages of aligning with the communists or the west is detailed. In supporting this examination, I will analyze various secondary books written by leading Catholic theologians and political theorists. Furthermore, I will examine a basic understanding of the dominant ideologies examined using primary documentation and compare them to the papal understanding of each one mentioned within the dissertation. Questions surrounding individual and regional communist alliances to the Church vary and will be examined. Finally, I will attempt to answer the question of why the communists and their allies may have been disillusioned with papal authority and yet still reluctantly relied on their support socially, making their cooperation detrimental to their plan to unite Italy under the flag of communism. Stalin's response concerning the Italian communist's inability or unwillingness to participate in the global revolution will be examined. Following this section, the concluding section will examine this era of Italian political history as either a global movement or political phenomena. For example, asking why the communists gained a large

following in the south, even while the Democrazia Christiana enjoyed a larger following of the middle- and upper-class families will be examined as part of this phenomenon.

Author Elisa A. Carillo's article, "The Italian Catholic Church and Communism, 1943-1963," directly speaks to this issue when she discusses the threat communism represented to the church.² Her article, however, does not address whether or not the emphasis of the communist party on national unity fostered a cultural and social cleavage to Catholic and traditional morality. She understands the main problem with the church's hard stance as they had previously, during the war, supported neutrality rather than democracy.³ The oscillating cleavages of the church represent another problem with international alliances and highlight the church's stance on anything that does not support its doctrine, whether it be politically moral or not. In an article by Theresa Macheimer from the Smithsonian, for example, she points to unsealed documents that Pope Pius, who had refused to publicly condemn the Nazi's, had failed to speak about the Holocaust, perhaps suggesting a conflict with political alliances, or at the very least, a moral conflict between Catholic protection of life.⁴ This conflict will be examined in the context of the Italian reliance on both America and Stalin and conclude that the country's successes or failures were determined as a failure or success of American containment policy, and why this was important in the historical narrative.

² Elisa A. Carillo, "The Italian Catholic Church and Communism, 1943-1963," *The Catholic Historical Review* 77, no. 4 (1991): 644.

³ Carillo, "The Italian Catholic Church," 644.

⁴ Theresa Macheimer, "Newly Unsealed Vatican Archives Lay Out Evidence of Pope Pius XII's Knowledge of the Holocaust: The Catholic Church's Actions during World War II have long been a Matter for Historical Debate," *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 5, 2020, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/researchers-find-evidence-pope-pius-xii-ignored-reports-holocaust-180974795/#:~:text=Pope%20Pius%20XII%20led%20the%20Catholic%20Church%20during,represents%20a%20shameful%20moral%20failing%20with%20devastating%20consequences>.

Historiographical examination within the research has been broken down into subtopics regarding cultural and political history. The role of the early Italian Cold War communist movement and the conflict, alliances, as well as the rise and fall of political leaders are discussed separately, for example, from the pressures of rapid modernization and liberalization felt within the post-war Vatican. Many questions surrounding the comprehensive analysis of this topic have yet to be answered and will be attempted within this dissertation. The question of political motivation, inspiration, socio-cultural and political alliances, as well as questions surrounding the development of political realism as a cultural phenomenon and international movement will be discussed at length. A comparative analysis of the post-War Italian political revolution and chaos that followed will be discussed alongside the theological revolution that occurred within the Catholic church and an attempt to reconcile their developments as an international movement will be examined.

A recurring theme within post-war politics is the need for reform and the inability to achieve it; the goals and influence of the Catholic church and the regional tensions developed because of cultural differences will thus be the focal point and main thesis. The political development of post-war Italy was incredibly important to American containment policies and acted as catalyst for the successes and failures of their future foreign policies. Knowing this, the importance of Italy in modern international development and in studying the trends of political movements as well as political alliances becomes of elevated import within the scope of American foreign policies, international relations, and historical consciousness. Questions then over the political and cultural changes from 1948-1965 will center on the power vacuum left in Italian politics after the death of Mussolini, the decline of conservatism, the rapid liberalization

of society and religion, the impact of such religious change, and the oscillation between the Democrazia Cristiana and the Italian Communist Party.

Most of the historiographical analysis is centered on either political or cultural considerations, but not both, and so a combined political, religious, and cultural history will create a more inclusive narrative. Most of the research will be conducted through historical narrative, an analysis of primary sources, a study of political statistics, and an examination of Vatican archived material. In examining the narrative, many sources that deal with Cold War Italian politics, Vatican modernization, and the interplay between communism and tradition will be evaluated. The political statistics, though not extensive, will include aspects of political party memberships and political cleavages in order to understand the rise and fall of political parties and the support they enjoyed. Statistical analysis of how many of these supporters were also practicing Catholics may also shed light on why the Vatican was alarmed at the rise of the political Left. Investigation of the Vatican archives should reveal deeper truths regarding various papal dispensations and doctrinal changes relevant to the process of modernization, the Vatican's understanding of politics, the shifting alliances of the Holy See, and the various Pope's understanding of political and economic systems. The combination of such research should reveal a pattern in how culture and conflict give rise to political change. Historiographical and qualitative evidence will begin with the investigation of global Cold War and Italian Cold War politics as explained by, but not limited to, John Lewis Gaddis, Palmiro Togliatti, Alcide De Gasperi, Antonio Gramsci, Harry Truman, Silvana Patriarca, and George Kennan. Then, investigation into the changes within the Catholic church, starting with an analysis on the Cold War papal dispensations and analysis of scholars such as George Wiegand, Michael Novak, and Maciej Zieba, will round out the sources contained within the dissertation.

Further issues regarding the research on Cold War Italy have centered on their lack of social and political cohesiveness. For example, the regional issues that plagued the industrial north were vastly different than in central or even southern Italy where agriculture were more important. The political alliances in the various regions of Italy therefore vary greatly and create both social and political conflict within the government of a united Italy. In the political historical writings concerning the prominent left and right political parties, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the Democrazia Christiana (DC), reform versus revolution and political cooperation are emphasized, but the history does not deeply examine the development of Italian political realism as an international event. Communist doctrine under Stalin was violent and demanded strict observance, however, the role that the PCI played under Togliatti was cooperative, socially focused, and observant over the role the church played within both society and politics. The change occurred not in ideology but within action and its impact on the socialists as well as the international implementation of communist ideology must be determined as either a phenomenon or part of the developing nature of communist action. Furthermore, the impact of regional disputes and reliance on traditional religious values that weighed on Italian communism must be factored in and considered as part of the phenomena of history. Asking an Italian communist their theory of social realism and revolutionary implementation would garner much different responses in Rome than in Sicily. In Paul Ginsborg's book *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics 1943-1988*, he explains the differences in working class attitudes: "While certain sections of the rural poor [...] were to rival the northern working class in militancy, vast strata of the working population [...] remained hostile or indifferent to a

political appeal based on class lines.”⁵ Much of the historiography ignores the differentiation and instead focuses on the political chaos that ensued after the breakdown of PCI-DC alliance.

Cold War history has seen dramatic change in the last twenty years that highlights the historiographical transition from a more country-specific historical viewpoint into global history in which the history of one country and its impact on a global scale is examined. As this took over the historiography in the early twenty-first, aspects of social history maintained their importance, but the perspective began to shift focus on the global impact of historical events. For example, John Lewis Gaddis’ book *The Cold War* focuses on how the world wars, as well as Stalin and Truman, struggled for economic influence in the Mediterranean.⁶ Ginsborg too mentions the disasters of Greece and Turkey in influencing Italian communist rejection of social revolution.⁷ In exploring the cultural aspects as a motivator for political change within early Cold War Italy, however, three subtopics in global historiography must be examined. The first is analyzing the impact of the early Cold War and the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union as an international event. The second historiographical examination is theological in looking at the changes in Catholic church doctrine and its impact on modern society. The final examination comes by probing the role of sociopolitical changes and nationalistic trends within modern Italy. When observed together, a more complete understanding of the connections between these historiographical trends takes place. This allows for a more inclusive understanding of why the rise of communism in Italy may have differed from the rise of other leftist groups in Western Europe. To understand the political writings of Antonio Gramsci and Alcide De Gasperi, for example, understanding their motivations and of the culture in which they

⁵ Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy*, 81.

⁶ Gaddis, *History of Italy*.

⁷ Ginsborg, *A Contemporary History of Italy*.

implemented their sociopolitical agendas must first be examined. In the historiographical writings concerning their careers and ideology, writings from various disciplines, such as political science, history, theology, and sociology, must be investigated. In order to understand how the political climate of the Cold War had a global impact, and why Italy is unique in its post-war political development, a full cultural, social, and political history of the early Cold War era must be explored. A reexamination of cultural institutions and social norms as motivators for political change is examined at length in modern historiography. The impact of the Catholic church can be seen globally, and the changes that took place during the early Cold War years drastically changed both Italian society and politics, perhaps creating more division than unity. The trend of global and cultural history in the historiography is my motivation for a more comprehensive understanding of the turbulence of Italy after the World War and the various fall of traditions that took place.

Within the political science discipline is leading Italian political historian, Donald Sassoon. His book *One Hundred Years of Socialism (2010)*, Sassoon gives a comparative analysis of communist parties in Western Europe in the context of the problems they faced. He explores the problems faced by the left in both Italy and France with regard to electoral constraint and political power.⁸ Sassoon mentions that the rhetoric concerning social discourse has asked whether or not Capitalism had fallen because of revisionism led by the left or had transformed it into a more socialist agenda. His book argues that after the war, social democracy in Western Europe was able to thrive but their advocates were not able to find cohesive arguments on their overall political agendas. For example, what the communists wanted in Italy

⁸ Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: The New Press, 1998).

concerning labor and nationalization was different than what the French communists would have sought to implement. Other revisionist writers who address the role of Western European social democracy include C.A.R. Crosland and John Callaghan. In Sassoon, and many of these revisionist scholars' writings, very little is mentioned about cultural events, centering mainly on the economic and social impacts on the choices of the Left.

No other scholar has matched the importance of understanding the worldwide impact of Cold War politics than leading international relations scholar John Lewis Gaddis. Gaddis, once a staunch revisionist, provides a unique blend of post-revisionist historiography that leans more toward the orthodox view that economics was not the sole motivating factor in starting the Cold War.⁹ Gaddis realizes within the development of his writing that there was not one motivating factor more important than another for each country in starting the Cold War. Though the Cold War is traditionally thought of as a hegemonic standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union, in the development of his writing, he seeks to explain both the origin and the global impact of this conflict such as he does in his book *The Cold War: A New Strategy* (2005). In his book *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War* (1992), his goal is to analyze historical records to understand the transitional views of how the United States understood the Soviet Union. He chronologically examines the key policy issues that started with the Grand Alliance of 1941 to the Truman Doctrine in 1947 and how those influenced the beginning of the Cold War. This book sets the tone for other countries and political groups as they began siding with one or the other country, as well as helps understand the geopolitical climate and conflicts resultant.

⁹ Other interpretations of an orthodox view of the cold war include Raymond Garthoff, *A Journey through the Cold War a Memoir of Containment and Coexistence*, (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2001); William G. Hyland (William George). *Mortal Rivals: Superpower Relations from Nixon to Reagan*, 1st ed., (New York: Random House, 1987); James Edward Miller, *The United States and Italy, 1940-1950 the Politics and Diplomacy of Stabilization*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Sallie Pisani, *The CIA and the Marshall Plan*, (Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 1991).

Other writers such as Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Odd Arne Westad, and D.F. Fleming lend their expertise in setting the geopolitical stage. In Schlesinger Jr.'s *The Origins of the Cold War*, he argues that the Cold War had its roots in Marxism, taking a firm orthodox view of the Cold War, he is extremely against any revisionist work that gives Stalin any praise.¹⁰ Flemming too blames the Cold War on Soviet ideology and antagonism of the West.¹¹ Westad's expertise, however, examines the Cold War as a global phenomenon, not placing blame as much as understanding the conflict between the Soviets and American's as having significant influence in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.¹²

Specific to Italian political and social history, European University Institute professor Lucy Riall writes her book *The Italian Risorgimento: State, Society, and National Unification* (1994). In her analysis, she concludes that the rise of the leftist party after World War Two was reminiscent of the rise of Nationalistic movements during the Italian unification. In this way, she relates the two political uprisings to the failures of the established order and the social shift that swept Western Europe. In her book, she seems to conclude that crises tend to lead to political and social upheaval. In Italian history, the role of nationalistic movements during unification could be examined as a precursor to the rise of the Italian communist left after the World War, and part of a continental trend that impacted all of Europe. In this way, the patterns of the political and social rise of the Italian communists could be seen as inevitable. She does not consider the cultural, or more importantly, the religious traditions of Italy. In leaving out the cultural crises of Italy during the beginning of the Cold War, she dampens her argument in not

¹⁰ Arthur Schlesinger, "Origins of the Cold War" *Foreign Affairs* 46, no. 1 (1967): 22–52.

¹¹Denna Frank Flemming, *The Cold War and Its Origins, 1917-1960*, Volume Two, 1950-1960. 1st. ed. (London: Routledge, 2021).

¹²Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War : a World History*, First edition, (New York: Basic Books, 2017).

analyzing the complete story of the social sway the left had over the more remote parts of Italy nor the labor sector. Riall, with the help of Fordham University history professor Silvana Patricia, revisits the issues of culture in their book *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth Century Italy* (2013). In it, they argue that in order to understand modern Italy, a full analysis of the Risorgimento must be complete. Through their anthology, they stress the importance of examining Italian unification as a precursor to what could only be examined as Italian reunification after World War Two. The historiography of both time periods tends to examine the socio-political issues and how that impacted culture. In contemporary historiography, they argue, it should be the opposite so that a more comprehensive understanding of the changes can be understood.

Political historiography of the period will be taken from firsthand accounts by Gramsci, De Gaspari, Mussolini, and analyzed in the works of Paul Ginsborg, leading Italian political scientist Nadia Urbanati and Norberto Babbio, as well as from the *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, *Italian Political Science*, *Societa Italiana di Scienza Politica*, and the *Journal of Cold War Studies*. Ginsborg writes mostly on the regional conflicts of pre- and post-war Italy as well as the political and social challenges that made governance difficult.¹³ Babbio too writes on the issues of Italian cultural history but does so from a unique Italian perspective. Within the various journals mentioned above, their usage will contribute both modern Italian perspective on a conflict that changed perspectives of Catholic social involvement, as well as provide valuable cultural primary sources from a unique perspective.

¹³ Ginsborg, *A Contemporary History of Italy*.

Central to Italian culture, and embedded in their beliefs and traditions, is the Catholic Church. The role of the Catholic church in society has been discussed at length throughout theological, political, and economic historiography. What makes the early Cold War period unique, however, is the massive shift in ideology that came with the implementation of the Second Vatican Council. The impact of an incredibly integrated cultural institution like the Catholic Church, into Italian politics and economics, especially as it addresses the changes in social traditions, is examined within Maciej Zieba's book, *Papal Economics: The Catholic Church on Democratic Capitalism* (2013). Taking his historiographical inspiration from Michael Novak, Zieba examines the impact of Papal dispensations on political and economic life in Italy during times of social and cultural traditions. This book analyzes the impact of the Catholic Church on political and economic situations but does not examine specific parities or party alliances that impacted Italian social life. It does, however, help in the understanding that each Pope has had his own interpretation of social and economic theories, and concludes that the way these are disbursed has immense impact on the political and economic decisions of various countries. Further study of the Vatican Archives that include Papal dispensations and encyclicals will also be examined. Most notably will be the *Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XI on Atheistic Communism* (1964) and the development of thought from *Rerum Novarum* (1891) to *Populorum Progressio* (1967) will also be examined.

Distinguished Senior Fellow of the Ethics and Public Policy Center and leading Catholic theologian, George Weigel is another author who examines the impact of the Catholic church on political and social life. In his various writings, he understands that the role of cultural institutions plays a large part in socio-political choices and alliances. Described as a Catholic neo-conservative, realizing his bias is important in understanding his encouragement of Catholic

doctrine and doctrinal implementation. His books, however, lend themselves to a deeper knowledge of the internal issues that caused the Catholic church to modernize and the impact that had on both social, economic, and political spheres. His book, *The Irony of the Modern Catholic History: How the Catholic Church Rediscovered itself and Challenged the Modern World to Reform* (2019) details the traditional role of the church in battling the rise of modernity and its opposition to leftist parties in going against ideas such as the role of the family. He further details their transition into acceptance of modern society and their goals with political and economic integration in devising the Second Vatican Council. Further, in his book *The Fragility of Order* (2018), he details the response of the Catholic church to world political crises such as World War Two and the rise and fall of Communism. His particular expertise in the moral, political, social, and economic impact of the modern Catholic church makes his writings necessary for analyzing the church's particular views and dealings with the Italian communists and nationalists.

The Vatican's oscillating viewpoints and understanding of communist ideology and implementation between the popes, bishops, and priests are hardly mentioned within the historiography. Thanks to the subsequent years of war and economic interdependence, the rapid interconnectedness of the world sparked a serious debate within Saint Peter's walls. The church had to ask themselves how they would deal with the modernization taking place as a result of the post-war social, political, and technological developments. The connection the Vatican had between and alongside various cultures and their allegiance to political parties raises the question over whether or not the modernizing church and theological development was part of the Cold War hegemonic struggle. Was the church a caveat for social change or did it simply wish to stay relevant to the common view of post-war social life? If the Vatican simply followed along with

the modernization and liberalization of the post-war sociopolitical wave, the question must be asked whether or not they undermined their own authority. The Second Vatican council, usually regarded as the Catholic attempt to reform, could be seen as a devaluation of their strict moral code. In an article written in the *Catholic Register*, the staff argue that Vatican II forever changed the way lay Catholic's viewed themselves as well as how they might relate with other countries, whether democratic or not, and other religions.¹⁴ Other books, such as Lucas Van Rompay's *The Long Shadow of Vatican II Living Faith and Negotiating Authority Since the Second Vatican Council*, suggest this change was so impactful globally that it changed the face of Catholicism in modernity.¹⁵ This question seems to allude the writers of Catholic church history as their focus is less on global matters and more on internal development. Another question that seems to elude the historiography is whether or not the Catholic modernization process was representative of the changing face of post-war politics and if there was a connection to the rise of Italian communism. The church's failure, perhaps, in its goals of liberalization and modernization, was an abandonment of social programs in search of global stability among the warring political left and right. In its place, Italian communists and socialists took up the mantle of social redeemer and economic savior. This connection between the modern Catholic church and the rise of communism should be examined more closely to understand cultural, economic, and political cleavages and as motivations for social change.

Shifts in geopolitical alliances for the Vatican began even before the Cold War as Pope John XXIII espoused his neutrality in his discouragement of materialistic capitalism and

¹⁴ Catholic Register Staff, "What Changed at Vatican II?" *Catholic Register*, features, 8 October 2012, <https://www.catholicregister.org/features/item/15194-what-changed-at-vatican-ii>.

¹⁵ Rompay, Lucas van, Sam R. Miglarese, and David Morgan. *The Long Shadow of Vatican II Living Faith and Negotiating Authority Since the Second Vatican Council*. Edited by Lucas van Rompay, Sam R. Miglarese, and David Morgan. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

condemning the vicious ways of communism.¹⁶ Pope Pius XI had followed in maintaining this economic and political neutrality while also supporting liberal democracy; however, he was more apt to ally with Washington as it appeared no other alternative was possible.¹⁷ In his encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI criticizes both the capitalist northern government as well as the communist party as being immoral, and instead advocates for an idealistic state based in social justice and charity.¹⁸ In John XXIII encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, he further develops the perspective of Pius. The encyclical looks at the development of social life in order to influence it and highlights the social and technological advances—as well as challenges—the world was facing.¹⁹ Specifically, he notes the development of social welfare, the rise of education, wealth increases, and newfound opportunity that abounded in the west.²⁰ He rejoices at the prospect of social charity, and even government welfare, but emphasizes his point that the government should never be able to overstep the freedom of the individual.²¹ The two subsequent encyclical's highlight the rapid development in understanding modern political and economic ideology within the church as a tool to impact social development. The church took steps to further liberalize in order to match the pulse of the nation surrounding St. Peter's. The implementation of Vatican II had significant impact on the West and changed the face of Catholicism in the modern world. Within the Vatican Archives lies a declaration supporting social and civil human rights, the dignity of man, and the duties of humanity in protecting these rights—the Declaration on Religious Freedom, *Dignitas Humane*, *On the Right of the Person* and

¹⁶ Rosario Forlenza, "In Search of Order: Portrayal of Communists in Cold War Italy." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 22, no. 2 (2020): 106-8.

¹⁷ Forlenza, "In Search of Order," 108

¹⁸ Maciej Zieba, *Papal Economics: The Catholic Church on Democratic Capitalism*, (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2014}, 14-23.

¹⁹ Zieba, *Papal Economics*, 24.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

of Communities to Social and Civic Freedom in Matters Religious Promulgated by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on December 7, 1965.²² The first sentence sends a clear message to the global communist community that their ideological allegiance stood within the West. It reads, “A sense of the dignity of the human person has been impressing itself more and more deeply on the consciousness of contemporary man, and the demand is increasingly made that men should act on their own judgment, enjoying and making use of a responsible freedom, not driven by coercion but motivated by a sense of duty.”²³ This is directly contradictory to the atrocities perpetrated by both fascism and Stalin’s Communist system. Italian Communists felt that their national pride and their ideological goals were tied together and that their suffering for an Italian communist state paralleled religious suffering. Their focused fight against Nazism shifted to fighting against another form of totalitarianism while their anger was perceived as social and economic strife that was perpetrated by the Catholic church, western democratic governments, and the Christian Democratic party.²⁴ Etched into their hearts and ideology was the idea of resistance for the sake of both Italy’s future, and for communist rule.

Culturally, Italian society was increasingly moving away from its more conservative ways. The liberalization of Italian culture thus had tremendous influence on its politics. The country’s new identity crisis produced many theoretical and practical changes that inspired governmental and social movements. Increased polarization within Cold War Italy also inspired governmental change. The role of the Italian Communists, the second largest political group in

²² Vatican Archives, “Declaration on Religious Freedom, Dignitatis Humane, On the Right of the Person and of Communities to Social and Civil Freedom in Matters Religious Promulgated by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on December 7, 1965,” Historical Councils, https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651207_dignitatis-humanae_en.html.

²³ Vatican Archives, “Declaration on Religious Freedom.”

²⁴ Forlenza, “In Search of Order 115

Italy, rivaled the Christian Democratic party and shaped a less Soviet-era communism and a more Italian-era communism. A deep-seated fear of Stalin and Russia as a whole permeated the Italian nation during the war and only seemed to intensify within conservative circles after the war.²⁵ The once conservative republic was again reborn and liberal changes that occurred impacted historical memory. The implementation of the new democratic constitution was the starting point in this change and deserves further analysis. As many focused on the Soviet or American Cold War histories, the incredible changes within Italy are brought to the forefront as its role in political development, social liberalization, and religious changes are felt throughout both Europe and America.

After almost fifty years of consecutive military conflict, post-war Europe itself, as well as the Vatican, desperately searched for a strategy to rebuild their respective infrastructures. Each country had their own ways of implementing reconstruction, and the impact of the two emerging hegemonic powers—the United States and Stalin’s Soviet Union—affected each country’s Cold War political structure. While Stalin controlled most, if not all, of eastern Europe, the United States’ Marshall Plan inspired post-war reconstruction in western Europe. Almost directly in the geographic center was Italy. During the war, Italy had been part of the Axis powers, aligning itself with the fascists in Germany. Staunch hatred for all things communist underscored their dedication to their political mission. As Italy progressed into the Cold War era, their alliance to fascism dimmed and many political factions that had emerged from the First World War emphasized their role in Italian society; most significantly was the Christian Democratic Party (Democrazia Cristiana or DC) and the Italian Communist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano or PCI). Because of the predominance of American influence in Italy and the Catholic church’s

²⁵ Forlenza, “In Search of Order,” 111.

communist resistance, the significant rise of communist activity during the Cold War in Italy contradicts its conservative nature yet parallels the risorgimento political culture. Emphasis on the traditional role of morality as well as a patriarchal society structure dominated the church's understanding of Italian culture. The increased level of globalization due to the war and the resultant spread of new ideology led to a moral revolution that challenged the church's moral supremacy, something they had to deal with during the Protestant Reformation, and now had to reconcile with in the twentieth century. The balance between tradition and change impacted all aspects of culture, society, and politics both domestically and globally. Lasting religious and political alliances between America and Italy, its central geographic importance in Europe, and its cultural impact on the world makes research into its Cold War political history of greatest significance.

My analysis of Italian political development from 1948, the year they adopted their first democratic constitution, to the time of the implementation of the Second Vatican Council in the mid 1960's, both nationally and globally, and will be detailed within this paper. Italy, the nation that developed the ideology of republican democracy and gave the early United States a political model, had decidedly anti-democratic leanings after the Second World War, relying instead on social democracy. Post-war Italy, however, had erupted into regional chaos that had yet to be solved by the alliance between Togliatti and De Gasperi. The divisive nature of Italy during the early Cold War years further details an important chapter in the study of democracy, political history, and ideological change.

Italy in 1948 was, in fact, a relatively young, united country; its monarchical shelf life was about to give way to social republicanism. During the mid to late nineteenth century, Italy had struggled to find its international footing. Mired in civil strife for years, it was able to finally

unite its various kingdoms into one under the leadership of King Victor Emmanuel II, the former King of Sardinia, in the early 1860's. As Italy moved forward toward unification, Nationalist movements grew and would shape the country in the early twentieth century. In the early twentieth century, the ultranationalist movement led by Mussolini took power and eventually allied itself with Germany in the 1930's. Immediately after the Second World War, Italy was subjected to British rule per the discussion at Yalta.²⁶ Yalta essentially was the beginning to the ideological and geographic standoff between east (USSR) and west (US/Britain) as it formed alliances and split Europe in two, the eastern portions belonging to Stalin's sphere of influence, and the west belonging to America's sphere of influence. Italy, however, was unique in that it was centered in the middle of this struggle, with the influence of Stalin's communist international growing at a rapid pace. An international tug-of-war between Britain, America, and the USSR for the prize of Italy affected the post-war development of political alliances. While Britain was apt to let Italy starve, Americans were more inclined to provide economic aid. Meanwhile, a resistance movement arose that would define Italian political development in the late war years. Ginsborg explains, "The creation of a large partisan army, dominated by left-wing ideology, was an obvious threat to conservative hegemony which the British intended to exercise over the whole process of liberation."²⁷ The obvious rise of communist ideology predated even the rise of the communist party in Italy. Italy's deep political and historical roots, once important in shaping democratic ideology, seemed to have dimmed as the age of totalitarianism surged in Europe. Longing for stability and cohesion, Italians began to rebuild and reconcile to a new social order.²⁸ The age of totalitarianism had seemingly ended and what was left appeared to be

²⁶ Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy*, 40.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

²⁸ Forlenza, "In Search of Order," 113.

political chaos and confusion. The political vacuum was filled by the more conservative party; however, the prominence of the communists was increasingly alarming to the West. This was not a new phenomenon within Italy as the whole of the early twentieth century was plagued with resistance movements, trade union issues, political infighting, strange alliances, and regional strife. Questions over who would lead Italy in their post-war reconstructionist years were followed by years of confusion and political infighting, splitting the country, and redefining its cultural significance in the world. Adding to international pressure, especially from the United States, Italy's importance in the global sphere would only exemplify the successes or failures of the Marshall Plan. Ginsborg remarks on the importance of this by detailing the influence of Ambassador Dunn and George Marshall in stabilizing Italy's floundering economy, their support of the Christian Democrats, and their goals in implementing Truman's strategy of containment. He argues, "Whenever a new bridge or school or hospital was constructed with American help, there was the indefatigable ambassador traveling the length of the peninsula to speak in the name of America, the Free World, and, by implication, the Christian democrats."²⁹" The importance of Italy did not escape the attention of the Soviet Union as they called for an international Communist conference in Poland.³⁰ Togliatti, the PCI leader, was told, in no uncertain terms, that he needed to disregard his wait and see strategy and instead follow Stalin's plan to oppose the American strategy.³¹

Other than international pressures, nationalistic pride and varying degrees of traditional practices appeared to be at the core of their struggle. Italians, and especially the Italian Communists, struggled to combine their traditional cultural and new socio-political values.³²

²⁹ Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy*, 115.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 113.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 113.

³² Forlenza, "In search of Order," 113.

Regional issues continued to divide the country both geographically and politically. In the north the industrialists centered around the auto and textile industries.³³ It was here that solidarity and unity were derived from the traditional views of family and community and reinforced by their reliance on the Vatican and their allegiance to the capitalistic nature of the DC. The Vatican, understanding that this type of capitalism was not ideal, would have rather aligned themselves with the DC, who represented these industrialists, as their ideas surrounding traditional family values—something they believed was under attack by the left via their acceptance of divorce—was socially and morally more acceptable.

With the introduction of fascism and socialism within the younger working class, however, unity derived from community and family shifted toward political and geographic unity.³⁴ In the south, for example, extreme traditionalism and their reliance on agrarian life pointed to their political reliance on the resistance movements that grew from the anti-fascist alliances. The story of Italy during the war is much the same as other war-time economies: the city expands, new immigration inspires new political ideology, work is centered on war production, class differences plague the political atmosphere, and modernization spurs on discontent.³⁵ Leading discontent in the north was perpetrated by women and the lower working class and culminated in strikes that spread rapidly. Their utter hatred for the Germans and the Fascist government was circulated in their—mostly communist—leaflets.³⁶ The geographical center of Italy was economically and politically dependent upon agricultural production. As the fascist government rose, restrictions on their production, as well as what they must produce,

³³ Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy*, 17.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 18-9.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

sowed deep seeds of discontent.³⁷ In the south, and in the agrarian center of Italy, lack of reform and dissatisfaction with the corruption of the government was stirred by the working-class youth and characterized by a sense of nationalism that was associated with communism. Further displeasure was measured by the sheer number of military escapees, fleeing Jews, those who refused military service, and former political prisoners who had removed themselves and migrated toward Tuscany.³⁸

With the fascist government quickly losing focus on central Italy and losing political power within the country as a whole, the sharecroppers began dealing in the black market and suddenly gained the upper hand in production, manufacturing, and political strength.³⁹ The ties between the communists in the north and the sharecroppers in Tuscany soon became evident in their mutual distrust for the Fascist regime. In the southern portion of Italy, agriculture focused on vineyards, olives, and pasture farms dominated the economy.⁴⁰ What differentiated the south was their reliance on family, the unimportance of the Catholic clergy, the strict observation of tradition, and the unfair treatment they had received during unification.⁴¹ Communist rise in the south took shape in the form of peasant exhortation of cult-like religiosity that flew far from the domination of Catholic theology.⁴² The south was no stranger to social uprising. What would determine the course of Italian life would be the way in which they would unite under liberation while questions surrounding both regional alliances and cultural continuity. This party line, espoused and encouraged by both Togliatti and De Gasperi, would prove their ultimate downfall as international pressures became too strong to ignore. The American pressure on the DC belied

³⁷ Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy*, 22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 26-7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 31-3.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 33-4.

the economic reliance of Italy on the west. The implementation of a republican constitution in 1948, the victory of the DC party during the elections, the split between the DC-PCI alliance, and the emphasis on civil liberties in the constitution exemplify the American pressure of post-war Italy.⁴³ Further division of the communist party in the creation of the Common Man's Party, representing the South, cost the PCI its seats in the newly formed government and the ensuing years of political strife represented the fledgling nation.⁴⁴

Changes within the Italian peninsula as well as within the Vatican are highly volatile and deeply mired in political confusion. To sort out the disarray, a strict focus on motivation and early Cold War political and economic change will be detailed within the subsequent chapters. Firstly, I will provide an understanding of basic political structures within fascist Italy and in post-war Italy, as well as the rise of political leadership. This chapter will include statistics and an examination of the slow implementation of the new Italian Republic as well as what that would mean for the North versus the South. I will further provide a thorough examination of the role of each political party within society and their reliance upon the Cold War global balance of power. The next chapter will detail the importance of social programs and the involvement of the Catholic church. Interwoven throughout this chapter will be an analysis of the liberalization of the Church and changing opinions of its involvement in Italian society. The last section of my dissertation will answer the question of Italy's post-war global importance and why it represents a model for the American post-war economic and political state as well as their ideas on containment.

⁴³ Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy*, 100.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

The role of Italy in the early Cold War seems to come as a shock to many who underestimate its importance to the balance of power between America and the Soviet Union. The question of why it was so important will be identified within my dissertation. Italy presents itself as an example of post-war political chaos in its struggle for political, economic, and social stability. Italy's relying on international powers and its cultural development from traditional to liberal will highlight the trending global response to the Second World War. The socio-political wreckage that engulfed the Italian peninsula had been done not over the course of the war but had begun with the various national movements of the 1860's and was characterized in the figure of Mussolini who led the country into utter turmoil. Other leaders who came out of the post-war religious and political scene, such as Togliatti and Pope Pius IX, took center stage as those who could rebuild Italy in the coming years. Each had their own ideological standpoints—in which one was backed by America while the other by Stalin's regime—and would contend for the future of Italy. Italian Cold War history is plagued by the battle between modernization and traditional culture and its politics would forever implicate the future of the republic while leading to its ultimate submission to international pressure. Whether that would be at the hands of the Americans, or the Soviets would decide the future of Italy and represent the struggle for a strictly European existence.

Chapter Two: Ideological and Party Origins

As the war ended on the continent and questions arose over what hegemonic power was to take control, the political and social dynamic in Italy became split as the rise of the communists within the country grew rapidly. On one hand, the government was left with a power vacuum, opened really after the murder of Mussolini and fought over by various parties and political coalitions. Rather than a two-party system (something abnormal to the world other than in the United States), the multi-party system in Italy contained more than just a few parties on the left and right of the political spectrum. Perhaps adding to the confusion was the influence of both the American and Soviet powers bidding for the chance to rebuild Europe. Italy was at the heart of this struggle and nowhere is this more evident than in the response of both the church and the leading political players. Within these two camps, however, lay discontent and disunity. Most of the Catholic church bowed to the social decisions and opinions of the pope; however, many lay followers of the Catholic church—and even some priests—were sympathetic to the communist cause. The main issue was that communism and Christianity are diametrically opposed; communism is materialist at its core, denying the existence of a God, while Christianity preaches a belief in a decidedly supernatural God. Each proposes a savior, but while Christianity offers a spiritual savior, communism offers an economic and social one. The Catholic Democratic party, which was tied to the church in their religious convictions, was not specifically tied to the socio-political ideology of both Pope Pius XI and Pius XII, which is demonstrated in the writings of Prime Minister De Gramsci. The ideology of the Italian communist party was, of course, tied to the ideology of Stalin and the Soviet Union; however, they differed in their violent approaches to political implementation. Confusing the situation more were the opinions and actions of the

people of Italy who were split between the two dominant parties, their own interests that may or may not have aligned with either party, as well as their loyalty to the church.

Ideology and the implementation of such principles are entirely separate issues in post-war Italy. The ideals of classical liberalism, social justice, equality, democracy, and liberty had all been taken by each organization and institutionalized to fit their socio-political goals, and in the case of Palmiro Togliatti—and by extension Stalin—economic goals. The true nature of these terms has typically been understood in Greco-Roman or Judeo-Christian terms and framed by such events as the American Revolution and the various nationalistic movements of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ The way these terms were understood by wartime and post-war powers, however, differs in their applications. The pope during the war, for example, utilized these terms and implemented them in his encyclicals much differently than that of both his predecessor and the post-war papacy. For example, in *Humani Generis Redemptionem*, Benedict XV does not directly mention politics, which characterizes his papacy, and instead directs the church on their responses to the evil in the world and the pull between temporal and spiritual.⁴⁶ In contrast, in *Divini Redemptoris*, Pope Pius XI speaks directly to the political evils of atheistic communism as upsetting the social order, morality, and as devoid of liberty. For the Vatican, criticism has been laid at this lack of ideological and practical consistency. How then are these terms, the church leadership, and its implementation to be reconciled with the socio-political age? Complicating

⁴⁵ The 1848 revolutions that swept through Europe embodied nationalism and individualism. In various works, they detail the development of these nationalist movements and their role in changing the sociopolitical arena of Europe forever. Authors such as Mike Rappaport's *1848: Year of Revolutions*, Peter Jones' *The 1848 Revolutions*, William S. Chase's *1848, a Year of Revolutions*, Priscilla Robertson's *Revolutions of 1848: A Social History*, Douglass Moggach's *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought*, and Maurizio Isabella's *Southern Europe and the Age of Revolutions* are prominent writers on the topic.

⁴⁶ Benedict XV, *Humani Generis Redemptionem*, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xv_enc_15061917_humani-generis-redemptionem.html.

matters further are the use and definition of these terms by both Christian Democratic and communist leaders. The Christian Democrats, though identifying morally with the Holy See, differ in their understanding of political ideology and side more with a typically American definition of liberalism, equality, and democracy. Togliatti, though he believes in the Marxist goals and ultimate utopian idea of a classless and anti-government state, argues that democracy and equality are not steeped in classical understandings but instead have adapted to the situation of Italy. He further argues that communism is the only way that true democracy, equality, and justice may be realized in Italy. All sides understand that the best way for their definitions of classical political ideology to be heard is through the use of education.

The second chapter of this dissertation must be dedicated to the re-organization of definitions and thoughts for the sake of clarity, as definitions have changed and grown since the mid-nineteenth century. It will discuss the way that communism was understood in twentieth century Europe and Russia. This will provide context into what communists desired within the framework of post-war reconstruction, what the Catholic church was battling, and why that is important in understanding American containment theory and the successes of the Marshall Plan. In the American education system, a topic in and of itself, American children are taught, and have been taught since 1948, that communism advocates for the revolution of the working class. They argue that communism seeks to destroy American values such as liberty and equality by taking away the rights of one individual and giving them to another. That is a re-organization of society in which liberty, equality, and property are snatched away and the only thing that exists are the needs and ambitions of society as a whole. They are further taught that socialism, while similar, is the ideological basis for the war-time policies of Hitler and Mussolini. That nothing matters other than the state and that extreme national pride is the driving force behind their

political goals. In 1948 Italy, however, these terms and the typical American definitions—that seem to permeate the Western mind—are nothing short of confusing. The definitions of classical liberalism are taken by Togliatti and are used to support his own political case. Though this could be said of any political leader, despite country of origin, the mostly agreed upon global definitions typically harken back to the theories' founders (Weber, Marx, Engels, etc.) are not as they appear in Italy's post-war political scene. This chapter then must be dedicated to the understanding that the political ideology of modern and even contemporary Italy is not rooted in the same classically liberal ideology that one may attribute to enlightenment thinkers such as Adam Smith and John Locke. To understand the differences, a classically liberal understanding of terms such as democracy, liberalism, capitalism, private property, equality, and freedom will be defined. Furthermore, a solid understanding of the development of modern communism from 1848, culminating in the 1917 revolution to 1948 will be analyzed.

The classically understood definition of democracy stems from a Greco-Roman philosophical base. In Greece, of course, democracy was direct and limited to men above a certain age within the polis who owned land. In the Roman Republic—much of this coming from the philosophical writings of Cicero—democracy was representative, based on the twelve tablets, and more inclusive than Greece.⁴⁷ Definitions of words such as equality, individualism, and liberty were qualities of which Rome prided itself. Moving into the early modern period and the influence of Martin Luther, these words took on a different and perhaps more biblically supported definition. Perhaps the foremost thinker on early modern politics (1450-1700) is

⁴⁷ Cicero was especially praised for his political philosophy and is well known for his book *The Republic* and *The Laws*. His expertise on politics, debate, speech, and ethical theory is sometimes referred too when defining sociopolitical terms and describing certain socioeconomic situations. His stoic responses to defining law and republicanism are also credited with the founding of the Roman Republic. Many scholars refer to him when studying political history.

Quinten Skinner. Skinner defines the ideal of liberty as an all-encompassing product of generations of development. In his *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, he explains that after the fall of feudalism, a new form of stable and elected government was born through the various consular movements within the regions of Italy.⁴⁸ By the early Middle Ages, a specifically republican form of government had developed that sought two specific goals: to protect their cities from outside political control and to protect their right to govern themselves.⁴⁹

Further development of these terms came into play through the Protestant Reformation and the writings of Martin Luther. Radical change in the way that Europeans relied on certain types of authority brought about how they viewed their socioeconomic situation. Luther argued that an overhaul of the Catholic church must be accompanied by some amount of change of the political system with regards to religious loyalty in Europe. Luther believed in two kingdoms: the spiritual and the temporal.⁵⁰ In the spiritual, God ruled, and in the temporal, the goal of the ruler (usually the magistrates and the ruler) was to ensure peace, order, and effectively utilize the rule of law in all matters.⁵¹ Though he believed in the use of coercion in implementing the rule of law, he did not believe in the absolute authority of the ruler, staying consistent with his theology as well.⁵² Throughout the reformation, one theme reigns true for almost all political theorists: the idea of limited rule and authority.⁵³ A heightened sense of individualism and the idea that authority should be contained created a more politically aware society. Consolidation and

⁴⁸ Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 3-4.

⁴⁹ Skinner, *Modern Political Thought*, 6.

⁵⁰ Jarrett A. Carty, *God and Government: Martin Luther's Political Thought* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017) 37-8.

⁵¹ Carty, *God and Government*, 38.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 38.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 142.

centralization, rather than growth and control over the people established a lasting tradition of trusting in the rule of law rather than in the personality of a ruler.

Typically, western consciousness looks to this historical development of classically liberal terms when defining democratic principles. Scholars such as John Locke, David Hume, F.A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, Tocqueville, and Baron de Montesquieu all come up when arguing the case for classical liberalism. This is not how communists defined and delineated historical liberalism. In fact, it is criticized as being bourgeoisie and therefore inept at defining true democracy. Their understanding of history and historical consciousness was entirely based on an economic understanding of class conflict.

The modern Western understanding of communism stems from a much more familiar knowledge of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the development of the Russian state. What communism is to the modern mind is an ideology held by a dictatorial state in which every aspect of life is controlled by the party's chairperson, representing the will of the proletariat and guided by the party's chairperson, usually now attributed to Putin and Xi Jinping. It is much more complicated in its definition and begins much earlier in modern history with German philosophers such as Hegel and later Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Early communism was founded on the basis of a materialistic point of view. In this way, democracy is understood as a negative form of freedom alone—the freedom from the bonds of capitalism. Marx thus understood liberty, capitalism, equality, and property from a strictly economic point of view and would develop his understanding of the development of society in the same way. He understood utopian socialism as the final stage of society and explained that Socialism is the building block in which communist application works. In other words, communism is the radical and revolutionary way in which a true socialist utopian society is manifested. This is only done when

the proletariat, or working class, rise over their oppressors—the bourgeoisie—and establish themselves as truly free from the bourgeoisie's definitions of equality and liberalism. Communist democracy is when the working class has equal participation and rights to the other classes. Democracy is thus true equality.

Developing communism within the constraints of the twentieth century seems almost contradictory in nature. However, this is the place most European communist parties found themselves. Typically, the historiography speaks on the fall of communism and the reinstatement of the rule of law in the post-communist states, such as in Samuel Huntington's *The Third Wave*. There seems to be little in the way of how these parties worked within a democratic state. From a Western point of view, the communists working within their legal framework constituted a positive outlook for the country, and it meant the communists were willing to entertain the idea of law over ideology. In A.K.R. Kiralfy's article "The Rule of Law in Communist Europe," the author argues that the rule of law was the same as individual protection and that in the Socialist East, this was reversed and in fact implemented more harshly.⁵⁴ The state defines freedom according to the law and not nature doing the defining. "Law," the author argues, "is the incarnate will of the working class. To violate it is a political blow and to suggest that it is transitory and impermanent is a still greater affront."⁵⁵ The question of how communist ideology can work inside western law, becomes a question of justification. It appears that the reason why many communist parties were willing to work within the system was to continually improve upon it until it became purely socialist. In fact, the communists believed that the West was too

⁵⁴ AKR Kiralfy, "The Rule of Law in Communist Europe," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 8, (1959): 466.

⁵⁵ Kiralfy, "Rule of Law," 466.

free and that they would only be able to achieve true freedom by loosening the burdens of the feudal past.⁵⁶

Developing ideology and ideas of authority

Though communism and socialist theory were already ideologies well before the time of Marx, the beginning point of the practical application of communism began with the works of Marx during and just after his lifetime. Influences like Georg W. F. Hegel, Moses Hess, and movements like the Industrial Revolution and the nationalist movements of the 1830's would have a profound impact on how Marx perceived the world around him and how he understood the practicalities of revolutionary socialism. The 1830's in Germany and France, where Marx spent the majority of his time, were the most formative in defining his works. His time spent among the socialist revolutionaries in France, and learning from the practical revolutionary ideals of Engels would eventually form the basis for his Communist theory.⁵⁷ Marx seemed convinced that the working-class conditions were more important than spiritual conditions, thereby developing his various dialectical theories. His theory of man, in particular, and the subsequent communist leaders of Europe, would shape the way they understood humanity, history, and political understanding. In Marx's point of view, man is not defined as a homo sapiens, instead as *homo faber* or man the maker, connected to nature and his surrounding through his labor.⁵⁸ It is not nature that shapes man but rather man that shapes nature to suit his needs. The idea that labor would be the "foundation of human consciousness" would then shape how Marx understood the movement of history and the development of society.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Kiralfy, "Rule of Law," 468.

⁵⁷ Shlomo Averini, *Karl Marx: Philosophy and Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019) 60.

⁵⁸ Averini, *Karl Marx*, 65-6.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 66.

In order to experience true freedom, man must labor. It was capitalism that took away that liberty.⁶⁰ His major critique of capitalism would be that it was dehumanizing and exploitative. Though his theory of rectifying the wrongs of capitalism is certainly unjust and illogically applied, the conditions in which the working class were laboring during the industrialization of Europe were less than fair, and to Marx, it seemed that no social or political institution had done enough in fixing the rampant exploitation and class alienation. If anything, since the time of feudalism, they had only made the struggle between the classes progressively worse for the proletariat.⁶¹ Modern capitalism, during the 1830's, was the final development of bourgeoisie power and strips the working class of its creative value in the process of production.

In Marx's reality, the stake that man has in the process of production has been taken over by the machine, and man is reduced to little more than a means by which the capitalist makes money or an extension of the same machine. This exploitation and dehumanization of man reduces the proletariat to one instinct—economic survival.⁶² Freedom and the individual are thus tied to their value as a commodity; however, when the need for a commodity is taken away, only then will freedom and the individual be able to live.⁶³ Marx is vague throughout his manifesto of what the actual definitions of freedom and individuality, only really stating that they will be realized when the means of production are given back to the proletariat. It appears that his definition of freedom is confined to strictly economic terms. Freedom is thus a freedom from the constraints of capitalism. Once society, as a whole—there is little need for the individual if they

⁶⁰ Averini, *Karl Marx*, 68.

⁶¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (London: Pluto, 2008) 34-6.

⁶² Marx and Engels, *Manifesto*, 38.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 55.

do not contribute to the whole—is free from economic slavery, true utopia and equality will be realized.

Marx's work in the *Communist Manifesto* can constantly be viewed in steps. It was the bourgeoisie who materialized modern capitalism in historical stages. The working class, by extension, must react in stages, similar to his understating of the development of communism. History, society, economic activity, and humanity all move in stages, feeding off each other. Though communism presents itself as revolutionary, it appears that it is only a reaction to unjust treatment and is thus contradictory in and of itself. Marx, therefore, seems to talk in circles, only critiquing and offering only one solution for the proletariat. He only develops his theories from observable facts without factoring in the depth of humanity, and when he talks about humanity, he is only speaking on the depth of human greed. In his article, "Estranged Labour", Marx explains that at the heart of capitalist competition is human greed.⁶⁴

The only wheels which political economy sets in motion are *greed*, and the *war amongst the greedy – competition*. Precisely because political economy does not grasp the way the movement is connected, it was possible to oppose, for instance, the doctrine of competition to the doctrine of monopoly, the doctrine of craft freedom to the doctrine of the guild, the doctrine of the division of landed property to the doctrine of the big estate – for competition, freedom of the crafts and the division of landed property were explained and comprehended only as accidental, premeditated and violent consequences of monopoly, of the guild system, and of feudal property, not as their necessary, inevitable and natural consequences.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Marx, "Estranged Labor" in *Economic and Political Manuscripts of 1844*, Karl Marx Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/labour.htm>.

⁶⁵ Marx, "Estranged Labour".

Every societal issue—exploitation, issues with the family, etc.—can be treated and explained in a materialistic way. He offers a compelling alternative to the church, believing when a socialist utopia is realized, there will be no need for trivial things such as the family, spirituality, and property. All of these are transcended when true equality between the classes and a pure form of democracy is realized. Though Marx is highly critical of religion itself, his utopia is strikingly similar. Instead of Christ as savior and messiah, communism replaces its ideology as the means by which ultimate economic salvation is achieved.⁶⁶ This relates well to his theories on value and freedom. There are countless ways in which Marxism acts as a pseudo-religion, but in his article, Murray Rothbard argues that it is the atheistic counterpart to Christianity.

For it is the contention of this article that the crucial goal—communism—is an atheized version of a certain type of religious eschatology; that the alleged inevitable process of getting there—the dialectic—is an atheistic form of the same religious laws of history; and that the supposedly central problem of capitalism as perceived by "humanist" Marxists, the problem of "alienation," is an atheistic version of the selfsame religion's metaphysical grievance at the entire created universe.⁶⁷

As history continued on, and Marx's works—though unpopular during his lifetime—were gaining popularity, a socialist revolutionary—V.L. Lenin—was the first to adapt Marx's theories into a real revolution, giving the socialist revolutions of the twentieth century a clear roadmap to communist utopia.⁶⁸ At the foundation of Lenin's communism is its radical and immediate nature. He, like Marx, and every other major communist leader, is founded on the idea that history is rooted in class struggle and in order to achieve true freedom, the working class must be radical in overthrowing the established order. It is clear that Lenin highly admired Marx and Marxist theory. Nadezhda Krupskaya argues in a 1933 article that while Lenin

⁶⁶ Murray Rothbard, "Karl Marx: Communist as Religious Eschatologist," *The Review of Austrian Economics* 4 (1990): 123-79.

⁶⁷ Rothbard, "Karl Marx," 127.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 127.

illuminated the path of Marxism, he was highly successful in moving Marxism along historical development.⁶⁹ Krupskaya argues, “Here we arrive directly at the question of *how Lenin studied Marx*. This can partly be seen from the previous quotation: It is necessary to elucidate Marx's method and learn from Marx how to study the peculiarities of the workers' movement in definite countries. Lenin did this. For Lenin the teachings of Marx were a guide to action.”⁷⁰ Where Lenin differs from Marx is his focus on factory owners, peasants, and in the role of the communist party. In *The proletariat and the Peasant*, Lenin argues that the message of the party must be tailored to the peasant and the proletariat.⁷¹ Peasants only want two things—land and freedom—and especially freedom from the bonds of serfdom. This is what the party must focus on if revolution is to be successful.

Of course, not all peasants fighting for land and freedom are fully aware of what their struggle implies, and go so far as to demand a republic. But for all that, the democratic trend of the peasants' demands is beyond all doubt. Hence the peasantry can be certain that the proletariat will support these demands. The peasants must know that the red banner which has been raised in the towns is the banner of struggle for the immediate and vital demands, not only of the industrial and agricultural workers, but also of the millions and tens of millions of small tillers of the soil.⁷²

As for the factory workers, Lenin argues that their power over the worker was strengthened with the advent of machines and only increases unemployment, thereby benefiting only the bourgeoisie and creating a clearer wealth disparity.⁷³ This disparity, however, only united the communist in their shared suffering and strengthened their desire for a party. The party is the means in which communist radicalism is realized. It acts as a vehicle for the working

⁶⁹ Nadezhda Krupskaya, “How Lenin Studied Marx,” *Labor Monthly Pamphlet*, no. 2 (1933), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/krupskaya/works/howleninstudiedmarx.htm>.

⁷⁰ Krupskaya, “How Lenin studied Marx.”

⁷¹ V.I. Lenin, “The Proletariat and the Peasant” in *Lenin Collected Works*, vol.10 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965).

⁷² Lenin, “The Proletariat and the Peasant”.

⁷³ V.L. Lenin, *Revolution, Democracy, Socialism: Selected Writings* (London: Pluto, 2008) 86.

class to realize their political autonomy.⁷⁴ During the early twentieth century, Russia was preparing to enter into the first world war. The industrialization, as well as the Russian traditions of authority and hierarchy, were leaving the poor and the working class with very little socio-political power. Everything was decided by the aristocracy, whom Lenin scoffs in his writings and speeches as faking their concern for the working-class struggles. Lenin argues that the only way the proletariat would be free is by freeing themselves.⁷⁵ It should have been no surprise to the crumbling monarchy the issues in which Lenin was espousing. His various writings and speeches before the 1917 revolution paint the picture of a more equitable society. At first glance, these demands do not seem unreasonable; however, to the Russian elite, their freedoms and status would be threatened by the rise of the working class. Lenin represented a threat to the established order.

Lenin's demands were achieved only through party unity and the ability of the party to enlighten the working-class consciousness. For Lenin, it was not the working class who was able to fully realize economic enlightenment. The working class was only able to realize their situation, but it was up to the party to steer them into political power.⁷⁶ Lenin argues, "The Russian-Social Democratic party declares that its aim is to assist this struggle of the Russian working class by developing the class-consciousness of the workers, by promoting their organization, and by indicating the aims and objects of the struggle."⁷⁷ When the party gains political momentum, the workers understand the way and means by which oppression occurs and how to fight and demand change.⁷⁸ Strikes, whether they succeed or fail gives rise to either

⁷⁴ V.L. Lenin, *Revolution, Democracy, Socialism: Selected Writings* (London: Pluto, 2008) 87.

⁷⁵ Lenin, *Selected Writings*, 87.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 89-90.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

concession or discussion, which means progress, and this is why party development is at the core of their struggle.⁷⁹ In promoting this, all workers learn the meaning, ways, and the social implications of capitalist exploitation. Only then will the workers understand the need for organization, solidarity, and unionization, thus growing the movement.⁸⁰ In Lenin's Nationalist-socialist state, he takes Marx's vague description one step further and argues that the majority may take the place of the state. He argues, "In this connection, the following measures of the Commune, emphasized by Marx, are particularly noteworthy: the abolition of all representation allowances, and of all monetary privileges to officials, the reduction of the remuneration of all servants of the state to the level of "workmen's wages."⁸¹

It is out of this tradition that the war-time growth of communism is realized under Joseph Stalin. Stalin, a self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist, builds off of the successes of Lenin's 1917 Revolution and really internationalizes and institutionalizes the political power of the Russian Social Democratic Party. Stalin's ideals were really a political manifestation of Marxist ideals concerning materialism and built off the revolutionary work of Lenin. In his many works and speeches, Stalin reiterates his Marxist beliefs in dialectical materialism and the Leninist ideals of party primacy. In 1932, Stalin wrote *Foundations of Leninism* in which he outlines the development of Leninism, the issues with it, his understanding of the issues of peasants, and the current situation facing the Russian Communists. The biggest criticism of Lenin is his lack of emphasis on theory. Stalin argues that though he believes this to be misguided, he understands the importance of both theory and practical application as one fuels the revolutionary fire of the other. Stalin argues, "Lenin, better than anyone else, understood the great importance of theory,

⁷⁹ Lenin, *Selected Writings*, 91.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 92-3.

⁸¹ Lenin, *The State and Revolution: Experience of the Paris Commune of 1871. Marx Analysis*.

particularly for a party such as ours, in view of the vanguard fighter of the international proletariat which has fallen to its lot, and in view of the complicated internal and international situation in which it finds itself.”⁸² Here, he disputes the West’s criticism of a purely emotional and reactionary movement. This also alludes to the ideas of dialectical materialism and a Marxist view on the development of history as being interconnected and flowing, whereas later, Stalin will criticize classical liberalism with redefining spontaneous. He further argues that the Communist Party is not spontaneous in the way that this term is usually argued—out of nothing-- but instead is based off of opportunity, something that goes along with his understanding on the development of history.⁸³ He makes an interesting differentiation in his theories. Instead of the theory of spontaneity, which he defines as opportunity, he argues that it is the theory of deference to spontaneity that goes against the revolutionary movements.⁸⁴ It is the trade unions, he says, that actually interrupt the revolutionary fervor of the labor movements. It is this theory that is so resistant to change and, it seems, puts the idea of class consciousness working within the system to overthrow the bourgeoisie oppressors.⁸⁵

It appears that his zealousness over what can only be described as the socialist system stems from Marx’s criticism of the various forms and stages of communism. He again espouses his fondness for Leninism when he argues that Lenin’s view of the party as being the conduit for revolutionary consciousness and change has come to fruition. He argues that the West’s attempts to discredit the party leadership are in direct contradiction to its true purpose.

The theory of worshipping spontaneity is decidedly opposed to giving the spontaneous movement a politically conscious, planned character. It is opposed to the Party marching at the head of the working class, to the Party raising the masses to the level of political

⁸² Joseph Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2001) 29.

⁸³ Joseph Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2001) 29.

⁸⁴ Joseph Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2001) 29.

⁸⁵ Stalin, *Leninism*, 30.

consciousness, to the Party leading the movement; it is in favour of the politically conscious elements of the movement not hindering the movement from taking its own course; it is in favour of the Party only heeding the spontaneous movement and dragging at the tail of it. The theory of spontaneity is the theory of belittling the role of the conscious element in the movement, the ideology of "khvostism," the logical basis of *all opportunism*.⁸⁶

It is the parties of inaction that ultimately do not understand Marxist Leninist ideology and that continues to threaten international communism.⁸⁷ Only when these types of parties who hold to these theories are destroyed can communist parties in the West be brought to their full capabilities. It is with these theories in mind that the Italian Communist Party was begun.

Stalin's written work on the theories and work of Lenin seem almost as religious veneration. Though they rest on the work of Marx and Engels, it is Lenin who Stalin argues began the movement's exodus from theory to practice and, it seems, Lenin who began the revolutionary fervor in twentieth century Europe. One way in which he slightly differs from Lenin, and perhaps it is because he is a product of his time, is the way in which he understood how the revolution must be brought to fruition. He argues, "Briefly: the chain of the imperialist front must, as a rule, break where the links are weaker and, at all events, not necessarily where capitalism is more developed, where there is such and such a percentage of proletarians and such and such a percentage of peasants, and so on."⁸⁸ Rather than a reactionary revolution, the proletariat revolution must be viewed as a result of the contradictions of capitalism that existed in the imperialistic world.⁸⁹ He argues, along with Lenin, that the best place for capitalism to fall is where imperialism was at its lowest point. This clearly supports the growth of the Communist Party in post war Italy as the economy, political dynasties, and industry were in complete

⁸⁶ Stalin, *Leninism*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 30-33.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 34.

shambles after the war. Thus, the rise of Gramsci in the fight for the political dominance of the Partito dei Comunista Italiano⁹⁰

Stalin understood that the West, just as Lenin had predicted, was moving from capitalism to socialism. Stalin understood, and perhaps rightly, that the weaknesses of a war-torn Europe were the perfect breeding grounds for the realization of his ultimate goal—a socialist utopia. In order to realize this goal, Stalin understood that it would not be instantaneous but rather a gradual development of struggle in which revolution would occur throughout various historical eras.⁹¹

[T]he growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries of the world—all this leads, not only to the possibility, but also to the necessity of the victory of the proletariat in individual countries. The history of the revolution in Russia is direct proof of this. At the same time, however, it must be borne in mind, that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can be successfully accomplished only when certain absolutely necessary conditions exist, in the absence of which there can be even no question of the proletariat taking power.⁹²

Further, this meant the reduction of the masses, and understanding of authority from the bottom, or proletarian leadership, and an overcoming of long held traditions such as religion. In Italy this would prove difficult, something Togliatti and Gramsci knew well. The dictatorship of the proletariat would not take a miracle but rather long and arduous work.⁹³ It is out of the Leninist tradition and the conditions of Italian economic strife that Antonio Gramsci built the communist party. It is then out of the Stalinist regime that the Modern Italian Communist Party was formed under the supervision of Palmiro Togliatti.

⁹⁰ Stalin, *Leninism*, 35.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 48-9.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 48-9.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 49.

Development of the PCI

During the postwar years, leaders in Italy, like in Germany, argued that the Versailles treaty led them to their ultimate fascist destruction. After the crises of the First World War, Italy, and really much of Europe, was on the verge of political and economic collapse, exacerbated by the world market crash in 1929. It was during this time that Mussolini was able to use his power under the monarchy and implement his fascist regime. While there are always political factions that either are for or against political regimes, there were a healthy number of resistant fighters in Italy, who would eventually bring down Italian Fascism. These resistance fighters, were driven by patriotism and communists.⁹⁴

To grasp the political situation that birthed the Partito dei comunisti Italiano, a clear understanding of their development and their creation must first be described. The Partito dei comunisti Italiano (PCI) was officially established as an international branch of Stalin's party in Livorno 1921; however, it was first called the PSI or Partito socialista italiana (PSI). The creation of the party was really due to two major developments—the intervention of the Communist International (Comintern) and the infighting within the PSI over various issues that include but are not limited to the reaction against fascism, party organization and election turnout, as well as core ideology. Nineteen twenty and 1921 were extremely tumultuous years for PSI. By late 1921, the Socialist party within Italy had split into three factions, with the far left faction being led by Gramsci.⁹⁵ The other two factions were the more centrist Maximalists and

⁹⁴ Michael Kelly, "The Italian Resistance in Historical Transition: Class war, patriotic war, or civil war?" *Eras Journal* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 2002).

⁹⁵Two prominent authors and historians stand out in documenting the development of the Italian left. Alexander De Grand is a professor emeritus at North Carolina State University and has written countless books and articles on the Italian left. Donald Sassoon is a professor of comparative European history at the University of London and writes extensively from an economic point of view on the development of Europe in relation to Europe from the mid

the other were the reformists, or ones who were more apt to fit their ideology within the current political framework.⁹⁶ Within the far left, the party was further divided into two wings, one being led by Gramsci, Palmiro Togliatti, and two other men, who disseminated their ideology via newspapers that highlighted the “development of an autonomous worker consciousness through cultural as well as economic and political means.”⁹⁷ This had enormous implications later on, of course in the political arena, but culturally as well when Togliatti and the PCI went up against the Catholic Church and their sponsored political groups. Gramsci and Togliatti’s ideology was based in a Marxist understanding of the new idealist culture that had emerged in Italy at the turn of the century; however, they became increasingly more radical in implementing their strategy as the century progressed, quietly relying on the youth movements and the more violent factions in the cities.⁹⁸

Antonio Gramsci, himself, had a rather tragic upbringing that led him to rely on the more violent and emotional youth movements later on. Gramsci was born into a highly religious Sardinian family and his youth was formed by various contradictory institutions.⁹⁹ It is almost easy to understand Gramsci’s movement into the communist party as he lived his life, like most around him, reaping the aftereffects of feudalism and imperialist rule.¹⁰⁰ Davidson describes life in Sardinia for Gramsci in doomed terms and speaks on the nationalism that most felt.¹⁰¹ Like Stalin, Gramsci blamed others for the inequalities of economic life and continued to live as an

nineteenth century into modernity. Each provide detailed accounts of the Italian Communist and Socialist parties, as well as the lesser-known parties that supported or hindered their progress.

⁹⁵ Alexander De Grand, *The Italian Left in the Twentieth Century: A history of the Socialist and Communist Parties* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989) 38.

⁹⁶ De Grand, *The Italian Left*, 37-8.

⁹⁷ De Grand, *The Italian Left*, 39.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁹⁹ Alistair Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci : Towards an Intellectual Biography* (Leiden: Brill, 2016) 1.

¹⁰⁰ Davidson, *Gramsci*, 2.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

angry Sardinian nationalist.¹⁰² Davidson argues, “For him, life was wrong; at this juvenile stage of his development, only concrete persons could be blameworthy (the notion that the system was responsible was beyond his intellectual capacities) and so someone or some group was obviously to blame for the inequalities of life [...]”¹⁰³ Gramsci’s political involvement really took flight in the mid-1910’s when he was influenced by the socialists in Turin. Here, he abandoned his religious upbringing—arguing that it was for man to make his own future—and began to identify more with a pessimistic worldview.¹⁰⁴ His political involvement with the far-left wing of the PSI grew when he tried to influence a revolution similar to the 1917 Russian revolution in Turin. The overall goal of Gramsci’s group was to bring revolution to Italy, and they believed the timing for such a thing was never as perfect as it would be following the First World War. Combining the numerical power of the peasants, the disillusionment of the factory worker, as well as the economic position of Italy, Gramsci believed the nation to be in perfect condition for an uprising. His goal was to make the factory councils in Turin the starting point for a Soviet style takeover of Italian sociopolitical life.¹⁰⁵ The strength of the movement, however, was extremely limited in its geographical reach, and did not rise in the way in which Gramsci had hoped.

After the failures of the early 1920’s in Turin, the decisions made by the Comintern were quickly gathering strength, forcing the PSI to commit to their international goals, most specifically to get rid of the Italian socialists who were hesitant about the obviously imminent revolution.¹⁰⁶ Their predictions on a political revolution were correct; however, they were misguided into thinking it was for the communist benefit. Because of the political infighting and

¹⁰² Davidson, *Gramsci*, 57.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 48-9.

¹⁰⁴ De Grand, *The Italian Left*, 39 104-5.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

the lack of numbers for the PSI, Mussolini and his party were able to easily gain political prominence. The growth of the middle class and the fascist party, along with the criticisms of the Catholic church, led to an unfortunate turning point for the PSI. It was then that Moscow understood the need for a new era in the PSI, and perhaps a break with the old order. The two factions of far-left leadership of the PSI continued to split as soon as they entered parliament.

The split in the party occurred in early 1921, deeply dividing and weakening both the PSI and the new PCI. Gramsci knew that in order to have real revolution over the evils of capitalism, there must be a central party in which the proletariat may look to for information and organization.¹⁰⁷ He would now be a part of a highly centralized organization that was deeply rooted in the practical and ideological section of the Comintern.¹⁰⁸ His understanding of this did not follow a Leninist view, however, and instead, his focus was on the worker council movement that he had been involved with in Turin.¹⁰⁹ Throughout the early 1920's, however, due to the small numbers and poor relationships with similar parties, the PCI struggled. This was further compounded by the Fascist oppression of the PCI. In 1927, after a visit to see Mussolini, Winston Churchill described Mussolini's understanding of the Italian and international political situation well and that it was the charming Mussolini who had given the entire world a base line example for how to defeat the overly passionate communists.¹¹⁰ This would continue to be an issue for the communists who blamed the Fascists and the police for oppression before and during the war.

¹⁰⁷ Davidson, *Gramsci*, 172.

¹⁰⁸ De Grand, *The Italian Left*, 45.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ our Own Correspondent, and Reuter. "We Shall Choke Communism." *Daily Mail*, January 21, 1927, 10. *Daily Mail Historical Archive* (accessed June 29, 2023).

It would not be until 1924 that Gramsci and Togliatti could have more influence within the PCI. From 1921-1924, it was another man, Bordiga, who ran the party and whom Moscow grew increasingly discontented with. During the elections of 1924, the PCI still failed in their election turn out, and the party was further divided into three with Gramsci and Togliatti leading the center wing. It was in the middle of 1924 that Gramsci took over party control after analyzing the current issues. He understood that there needed to be unity within the party and a strengthening of numbers and revolutionary fervor. In 1924, Gramsci wrote on his opinions of Fascism in an article for *L'Unita*, the communist newspaper. He says that it has been argued that in order to truly defeat Fascism, only the old liberal order can succeed, and that the working class are willing to unite with the bourgeoisie because of this belief.¹¹¹ He argues that the only way to get rid of fascism, is to also get rid of the liberal party who ushered in its rise and that the communist party, more specifically the working class, is the only group who can defeat them both.¹¹²

The essential task of our party consists of having to penetrate among the workers and peasants this fundamental idea: only the class struggle of the mass of workers and peasants will defeat fascism. Only a government of workers and peasants can disarm the fascist militia. When these essential truths will have penetrated the spirit of the working and peasant masses by means of our tireless propaganda the workers of the factories and the fields, of whatever party, will understand the need to construct Worker and Peasant Committees for the defense of their class interests and for the struggle against fascism.¹¹³

Their task of uniting and defeating fascism would be long and uneasy, especially considering the opposition of the west. From then until 1926, and Gramsci's arrest by the Fascists, his goal never

¹¹¹ Antonio Gramsci, "Neither fascism nor liberalism: sovietism" Marxist Internet Archives, 29 June 2023, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/>.

¹¹² Gramsci, "Neither fascism nor liberalism: sovietism."

¹¹³ Ibid.

wavered, and he was successful in both uniting the PCI and in stirring up communist resistance toward the Italian government.

Togliatti's takeover

After Gramsci's arrest, Palmiro Togliatti, his contemporary, who had been dispatched to Moscow, acting as a representative for the PCI, was made secretary of the party. As the PSI grew and consolidated under the leadership of Pietro Nenni, the PCI grew in discontent and sat in Paris forming a plan for action. Here, they received aid from Moscow and by 1930, Togliatti had joined forces with the communist youth movement led by Luigi Longo, who argued the time for agitation in Italy was present.¹¹⁴ It would not be until 1941, however, that this goal of agitation was put more soundly into place. Togliatti, though smart in his ability to compromise and unite, appeared not to have the militant attitude usually subscribed to communists, like Gramsci for example, who continued to live in prison. One stark contrast was his ability to compromise with other socialist and working-class parties as well as his belief in a gradual socialist political victory. The goals of the newly formed PCI were different from Moscow, and by extension Stalin, Lenin, Gramsci, and Marx because of the lack of revolutionary implementation and their eventual ability to work within the system of democratic government.

Throughout the 1930's, Togliatti demonstrated his ability to compromise, first with Longo and the youth organizations, and then with the PSI. In 1934, he wrote his *Letter on Fascism*, and outlined his own ideology concerning the Italian political situation. It was within this work that he specified the issues of Italian Fascism, clearly differentiating it from other forms of fascism, such as the one that existed in Germany. Throughout the 1930's, he would

¹¹⁴ De Grand, *The Italian Left*, 66-8.

travel to the Leninist school in Moscow to make his theories known, culminating in a later anthology put together by the PCI in the 1970's.¹¹⁵ Party theory and leadership was extremely important to Togliatti as he blamed the former PSI leadership, and specifically the Maximalists, for their failures against the Italian proletariat.¹¹⁶ Taking neither the reformist or maximalist side, in 1922, Togliatti argued that unity was of the utmost importance and should be the first step for the party.¹¹⁷ He argues, "The split in the Socialist Party of Italy will accelerate the influx of the masses to the Communist Party, for this it is necessary that Maximalism should also be gotten rid of. The Italian Communists believe that the liquidation of the Maximalists may best be brought about by their complete isolation, so that they may have no opportunity to delude the workers that they have a program of their own, and that they are capable of any action."¹¹⁸ Togliatti readily agreed with the Comintern's definition of fascism as a means by which the capitalist bourgeoisie was able to control the proletariat. His overall goals tended to match with the Comintern, i.e., socialist domination, gradual implementation of communism, an elevation of the working class, etc, but more pressing concerns arose at the onset of the dawn of fascism. In 1928, in his *A proposito del fascismo*, he argued that the only way to defeat the fascists was through a coalition, however, it could not come at the expense of the working class.¹¹⁹ They issued a statement saying "The characteristic feature of fascism is this, that the bourgeoisie faced by the breakdown of the capitalist economy and by particular subjective and objective circumstances, exploit the discontent of small and medium urban and rural bourgeoisie, and even of certain strata of declassed proletarians, to form a reactionary mass movement to bar the road

¹¹⁵ Vijay Prashad, "On Togliatti's 'Lectures On Fascism'," Communist Party USA, 6 January 2020, <https://cpusa.org/article/on-togliattis-lectures-on-fascism/>.

¹¹⁶ Togliatti, *The Italian Socialist Party*

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Prashad, "On Togliatti."

to revolution’.”¹²⁰ Togliatti, and by extension, the goal of the PCI was to create a true democracy, one in which everyone worked together for the good of the collective and in which fascism was defeated for the working class. His strategy was called the “popular front strategy,” and though he was criticized for being overtly Stalinist, he argued that the implementation of Italian communism would be different. Togliatti believed that agrarian and monopoly issues were the enemies that needed to be defeated in order to undermine and wipe away fascism and lead the way for true socialist democracy.¹²¹ Donald Sassoon asserts, “It can be seen as a stage in the struggle for socialism, the stage of the elimination of the social basis for fascism, that is, according to Togliatti, agrarian and monopolistic interests.”¹²² This will be a reoccurring statement for both Togliatti, and surprisingly the staunchly anti-communist Pope Pius XII. He continued to argue that a true democracy would be the only way to defeat fascism. According to the Communist Party of the United States of America, by democracy, Togliatti meant an overthrow of the fascist system—that directly went against democracy—by the working class.¹²³ This idea of true democracy is reminiscent of direct democracy in which each person has a direct say in the state’s democratic institutions. Democracy for Togliatti meant pure equality and not ideals such as individualism, republicanism, and liberty founded on the ideals of Rome and espoused later by the United States.

After the communist involvement in the Spanish Civil War, Togliatti brought back to Paris and subsequently to the PCI a new and invigorating attitude of victory. By 1937, the communists in Italy were gaining tremendous momentum. They were successful in gaining

¹²⁰ Prashad, “On Togliatti.”

¹²¹ Donald Sassoon, *The Strategy of the Italian Communist Party: From the Resistance to the Historic Compromise* (Frances Pinter Publishers Ltd: London, 1981) 11.

¹²² Sassoon, *Strategy of the Italian Communist Party*, 11.

¹²³ Prashad, “On Togliatti.”

youth membership and in planting the seeds of antifascist discontent in the prisons of Italy.¹²⁴ He argued that the PCI was concerned with building an influential rather than a purely Stalinist party on their way to transition from fascist to social democracy and eventually utopia.¹²⁵ It differs then from previous communist leaders, and certainly from Marx and Lenin, in building influence rather than a reaction to capitalist evil. By 1939, however, Togliatti faced a new crisis within his party. While in exile in France, the French government outlawed the communist party, scattering leaders and lower party members into Europe and to the USSR. One can see that this most likely led to increased discontent and a dissemination of communist ideology into western Europe, but the party focused on their continued propaganda campaign from underground. In 1941, Togliatti began his radio campaign from Moscow and a pact between the PSI and the PCI was made, focusing on a united front, that eventually drained the power of Nenni's PSI.

By 1943, the Italian Fascist government led by Mussolini was ousted and a new republic was formed under the leadership of Pietro Bagdolio. This supposed conservative coup, who were determined to go back to the pre-fascist constitutional government, was met with fierce opposition, especially when the German's occupied Rome and the government relocated south.¹²⁶ Soon after, the allied forces entered Italy via the South, and returned Southern Italy to a pre-fascist state, although of course, an occupied one. The continued fight for Italy between the German and allied forces continued; while the allies freed the south, the resistance forces faced a bloody battle against the Germans in the North. Anti-monarchist, communists, and socialists also formed a coalition alternative government under the name of Committee of National Liberation (CLN) while Togliatti planned his return to Rome. If anything, this seemed preemptive, and

¹²⁴ De Grand, *The Italian Left*, 74-5.

¹²⁵ Donald Sassoon, *The Strategy of the Italian Communist Party: From the Resistance to the Historic Compromise* (Frances Pinter Publishers Ltd: London, 1981) 12-13.

¹²⁶ De grand, *The Italian Left*, 81.

really of no benefit to Italy until they could liberate the North and appease the United States Army in the South. It was Togliatti who seemed to realize this.¹²⁷

It now seemed Italy was finally open to become a battleground between the USA and the USSR, with the various political parties, and party extensions, fighting the bloody battle in Rome. On the one hand, the resistance movement played a significant part in liberating Italy, especially in the North, and the strength of pro-soviet groups seemed to be growing. This would have been an excellent opportunity for Stalin to increase international influence, especially in the west, had he not been occupied with his own domestic issues. On the other hand, the influence of the British, who no one seemed to like in Italy, and of the Americans was popular with the current government and in the south. Later on, it would become increasingly popular when George Marshall laid out his plan for reconstruction. The way that Togliatti saw the situation in Italy was outlined in his speech in Rome in 1944.

He outlines his goals for Italy's political future—all while the war would still be fought until spring of 1945—and his optimism in PCI's influence in aiding in the reconstruction.¹²⁸

It is not an easy task to reconstruct Italy as a great, free, democratic and progressive nation. The difficulties which we are now meeting and will continue to meet after the war are essentially due to the fact that the downfall of fascism occurred in such a way that it did not permit the immediate and complete elimination of the elements responsible for fascism. These are now attempting to gather their forces and to reconstruct the back-bone of an anti-democratic, reactionary Italy, once again pregnant with fascism, just as it was before the march on Rome.

¹²⁷ De Grand, *The Italian Left*.

¹²⁸ Palmiro Togliatti, "The Political Situation In Italy," Marxist Internet Archives, 29 June 2023, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/togliatti/>.

For this very reason, difficult and confused political situations are sometimes created in our country, despite the will to work, to fight, and to be united which exists among the advance guard parties and the great masses of the people. The clear views, wisdom and political ability of the advance guard party of the 'working class are necessary to overcome such situations.¹²⁹

Togliatti explains that the future belongs to the working party that combine the needs of the working class and the peasants, represented by their party in government.¹³⁰ Though this does not line up with a true direct democracy, it does highlight Togliatti's view of authority within the present situation, and his goals for future party domination via parliamentary elections. He reiterates his assertion that it was the old political bourgeoisie who brought Italy to its knees in implementing Fascism, and that the only way out was through working class involvement.¹³¹ Togliatti argues, "[...] we want a regime based on national solidarity, which will guarantee to those who work the means to continue working without being struck by the insulting wealth and abundance enjoyed by the speculators. This is not a class problem; it is a national problem."¹³² He argues in the strength of the coalition government in acting as a conduit for progressive change when he says, "Criticizing, stimulating, fighting for the correction of these errors, we carry out the only democratic policy which is just and necessary to maintain the strength and authority of the Government among the people".¹³³ The bulk of his message is centered on the current occupation and his understanding that in order for any political and economic change to really happen, Rome must be liberated, and he argues that the people are ready to avenge themselves and take up arms.¹³⁴ The rest of his speech argues that the present situation in Italy

¹²⁹ Togliatti, "Political Situation."

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

leads to various questions about the future but again stakes his belief in the nationalist fronts who continue to work tirelessly for the liberation, as well as a few other issues that can be fixed by trusting in this government.¹³⁵ The biggest issue facing him after liberation, however, seems to be the consolidation of power in Rome, who he argues is the epicenter of bourgeoisie and fascist power.

You must succeed in making Rome, the present and future capital of Italy, the city which not only leads the country in an administrative sense, but also a city which makes a bid for political leadership by being the center, the heart of a democratic, revolutionary life. From such a city would spring a strong call which would reach the entire country and gather the masses of the people together for the struggle which we must wage, which we must win against the reactionary forces, against fascism, for the rebirth of Italy.¹³⁶

A need to emphasize the agrarian national spirit is necessary to rebuild the country and gain the support of the entire populous—including women and the poor—in order to gain respect as the true party of the people.¹³⁷ Their ultimate goal, in getting to a socialist utopia, is representation of all people—and by all, this means truly all—and universal equality via the spirit of Italy.

In order to build up this support, Togliatti knew that he would need the support of all Italians, and this meant forming a coalition that was willing to work with and compromise with the conservative parties. The biggest obstacle, other than the obvious war, was the current government. Replacing the Badoglio government—which survived less than a year—was the coalition backed Ivano Bonomi, also the leader of the National Liberation Committee (CLN).¹³⁸ Throughout late 1943 and all of 1944, the government, and in particular Togliatti were hyper fixated on killing any remnants of the Italian fascist state in which they were only moderately

¹³⁵ Togliatti, “Political situation.”

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ De Grand, *The Italian Left*, 91.

successful, due in part to conservative interference and regional feelings. In late 1944, the Bonomi government failed, and though Togliatti had some nominal control as Minister of Justice, the government failed, and a new one was instituted in early 1945. The socialist candidate, Nenni, was unfortunately arrested and the Christian democratic (DC or Democrazia Christiana) Alistair de Gasperi would have to wait for his political rise to power. It would be the left—meaning the coalition backed parties—in the person of Ferruccio Parri who would win.¹³⁹ Plagued by many government issues, including cabinet disagreements and party infighting, Parri would continue to focus on these issues that seemed to dominate early post-war Italian politics.

A period of growth and rebuilding party strength was exactly what Togliatti would need. By 1946, the PCI had grown massively, becoming the largest communist party in western Europe. The PCI were successful in gaining municipal support and were able to influence much of local Italian politics.¹⁴⁰ A lot of their success was owed to their intense propaganda campaign and their popularity with high-ranking families—something seemingly counterintuitive to the communist cause, but perhaps not as much in Togliatti's cause. Though their support in Italy grew, they were still unable to dominate parliamentary seats. Most of their parliamentary defeat had to do with the involvement of the Vatican and of American intervention.¹⁴¹ This made it possible for De Gasperi to gain power. Togliatti's new goal was to abolish the monarchy—the final nail in the fascist coffin—to further legitimize his party, and to gain election strength.¹⁴² This was not easily achieved, especially as other prominent PCI members clashed with the De Gasperi government.

¹³⁹ De Grand, *The Italian Left*,

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁴¹ Donald Sassoon, *The Strategy of the Italian Communist Party: From the Resistance to the Historic Compromise* (Frances Pinter Publishers Ltd: London, 1981) 59.

¹⁴² De Grand, *The Italian Left*, 105-7

Short mention should also be given to the development of fascist ideology in Italy at the time, especially as Mussolini acted as diplomatic friend to the Vatican. Mussolini, like Hitler, showed characteristics of extreme nationalism, militarism, and the elevation of nationhood over the individual.¹⁴³ The Council of Foreign Relations defines it as “In many ways, fascist regimes are revolutionary in nature. They advocate for the overthrow of existing systems of government and the persecution of political enemies. However, such regimes are also highly conservative in their championing of traditional values.”¹⁴⁴ It is no wonder the Pope was not as critical then of Mussolini, and later Fascists such as Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile, as they both stood for traditional values. These men would also try and influence the new government and constitution of 1948, giving De Gasperi more to work with, especially as he was unwilling to allow the PCI to interfere. Croce, a traditional and strict Catholic, was coming from the German idealist movement that Hegel had been apart. Though he later denounced the Fascist movement, to De Gasperi, and Pope Pius XII, his reliance on the church during and after the war, as well as his ties to big businesses was more tolerable than working with Togliatti.

It appears that from 1946 to the formation of the new post war constitution in 1948, the focus of the PCI under Togliatti was much the same. It included gaining political strength, compromising with the center and right-wing parties, and gradual influence over the socio-economic sphere of Italy. The process was slow and though there were many setbacks, the PCI would not retreat from political glory until decades later. What stood between the PCI and socio-political victory would be the Vatican, US involvement, and the inability for the Italian government to agree or compromise on a plan for reconstruction.

¹⁴³ “What does Fascism really mean? What is Fascism?” Council on Foreign Relations, April 13, 2023, <https://education.cfr.org/learn/learning-journey/what-does-fascism-really-mean/what-is-fascism>.

¹⁴⁴ “What does Fascism really mean?”

Chapter Three: The Roman Catholic Church and Communism

The radical aspect of communism is its application in ridding the world of universal truths. During the height of their fight with the PCI—between 1943-1948—the Catholic church was reasonably united in their efforts to rid Italian politics of the supposed red plague. Though there were some Christian leftists, very little was impacted by their input. Questions regarding how the Italian people received and synthesized this fight highlight their exasperation with chaos and their overwhelming desire for peace after the war and subsequent civil war. Still, the response of the Catholic church was received, but reactions varied. It is difficult to narrow a particular following that the PCI amassed as they varied by region. For example, in the south of Italy, there were an array of farmers who followed the PCI but there were some who, disenchanted with the violence they had witnessed on behalf of the PCI, were more inclined to follow the political leanings of the church and the Democrazia Christiana (DC). The only way to understand the complicity of Italian politics during this time, and how the Catholic church dealt with the complexity of regional politics, is to break down the various regions of Italy and dissect their complex political roles. First, however, one must understand this was not a new battle for the Catholic church. In fact, the Vatican had dealt with rising nationalism, socially progressive politics, and radicalism in the centuries before. Was the way they dealt with such troubling issues, however, the reason for the secularism that permeated throughout Italy after the elections? Was their reliance on a particular political group and on America the reason for rapid modernization in the early cold war era, and would this lead to the modernization of the Church itself? Did the opinions of Pope Pius XI, Pius XII, and John XIII motivate Italian society to modernize?

Modernization of the West from Pope Pius IX-Pius XI

This is not the first-time suspicion of modernist ideology was brought up in church history. The problem of modernism and political ideology began in the mid-19th century for the church when they lost their temporal power as the papal states. The idea that Rome has always belonged to the realm of the Catholic church was, in part, true, but false considering the medieval and modern ways in which the church has lost its power. Politically, for example, the Vatican was split during the Avignon papacy, having two popes—one living in France, and the other Rome. This not only delegitimize the power of the Catholic Church but weakened it internally as alliances were split. Only after a half decade did the problem resolve.

During the nationalistic wars that raged within Europe in the mid to late-19th century, the church grew even more suspicious of the rising modernist fervor. Several encyclicals were written by Pius IX and Pope Leo XIII that detail their growing concern over particular ideologies, including communism and socialism, that were taking root in Europe and offering an alternative to the Christian faith. This new ideology had three goals in mind, according to the church: a total rejection of spiritualism, the privatization of religion, and the rejection of traditional morality.¹⁴⁵ The most prominent papal writers on the issues of modernism were Pope Pius IX and Pope Leo XIII.

Marking the period of modernist political implementation—though many may argue it was much earlier that this happened—in Italy, the popes began seriously considering this a threat to their power in the mid-19th century. In the wake of these nationalistic wars, Pope Pius IX writes his thoughts on modernist ideology in his encyclical *Nostis et Nobiscum* in 1849. Pope Pius IX reigned from 1846-1878, one of the longest reigning popes in the history of the papacy.

¹⁴⁵ Taylor Marshall, *Infiltration: The Plot to Destroy the Catholic Church from Within*. Nushua: New Hampshire (Sophia Institute Press, 2019), 47-8.

Published in 1878, John Gilmary Shea wrote Pius' biography. Upon his election, Shea argues that there was little to no discord in raising him to the level of the Holy Father.¹⁴⁶ During his papacy, however, discord within Italy was insurmountable. Seeking to eliminate Austrian control, and install a liberal government, many revolutions occurred in the year of his election. Once the short revolutions in Italy had ended, the papal states who had lost their political power, would be eventually annexed by 1870 when Italy was united as a kingdom. Thus, Pius's scathing remarks are understandably reserved for those who wish to infiltrate and subvert the temporal and spiritual authority of the church.¹⁴⁷ He argues against the claim by these modernists, who we later learn to be socialists and communists, that the church is against the prosperity of Italy as a nation, and claims, "It is hard to decide which is the more hateful aspect of this fiction of theirs — the malice of their raving impiety or the effrontery of their lying wickedness."¹⁴⁸ The true beginning of the forced modernization of the Catholic church may well have begun with Pius when he lost control of the sovereignty of the Papal States. The political power of the Holy See would forever be tainted by the liberal revolutionaries who took it. It would be understandable for the new modern popes to interpret this attack of modernism as a way to subvert their religious authority and implement a new way of governance that shunned hierarchy, religious dogma, and government interference. Though this is not only relegated to the communist and socialist camps, but it was also these particular political ideologies that threatened their religious existence the most.

Pius further argues that the Vatican as an institution venerates the Italian people as carriers of a historical religious tradition that far exceeds and blesses their nation. It is war, societal

¹⁴⁶ John Gilmary Shea, *The Life of Pius IX*, National Archives, 1887, 57-62.

¹⁴⁷ Pope Pius IX (Papal Encyclicals Online, 2023), <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius09/p9nostis.htm>.

¹⁴⁸ Pius IX

progress, conflict, and foreign intervention that brought Italy to a place of unhappiness, and it was the Catholic church that brought it out of those depths and made them defenders of wisdom.¹⁴⁹ He argues it was the Catholic church who brought on true, Christian justice, truth, and mercy so that their nation could flourish and expand.¹⁵⁰ He remarks that he is saddened by the rampant attempts by the progressive Italians to rid themselves of this tradition.¹⁵¹ It is the socialists and the communists, who cannot do business with the church, try to subvert their authority and drive them toward Protestantism, which Pius explains will twist the meaning of justice and truth to turn them against the Catholic faith.¹⁵² He further argues that because most of their influence is on the laity, the responsibility should begin in the pastoral care of the parishes.¹⁵³

Though the encyclical includes both the socialists and the communists, its tone is similar to that of the encyclicals and papal bulls against Togliatti and the PCI almost 100 years later. Similarly, the socialists and communists of each era used books, flyers, and pamphlets to spread their so-called subterfuge. Pius IX urges priests, bishops, etc., to write their own works to combat this effort.¹⁵⁴ It is the duty of the clergy to combat their ideological efforts at all costs.

As regards this teaching and these theories, it is now generally known that the special goal of their proponents is to introduce to the people the pernicious fictions of *Socialism* and *Communism* by misapplying the terms “liberty” and “equality.” The final goal shared by these teachings, whether of *Communism* or *Socialism*, even if approached differently, is to excite by continuous disturbances workers and others, especially those of the lower class, whom they have deceived by their lies and deluded by the promise of a happier condition. They are preparing them for plundering, stealing, and usurping first the Church’s and then everyone’s property. After this they will profane all law, human and divine, to destroy divine worship and to subvert the entire ordering of

¹⁴⁹ Pope Pius IX (Papal Encyclicals Online, 2023), <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius09/p9nostis.htm>.

¹⁵⁰ Pius IX.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

civil societies. In this critical period for Italy, it is your duty, venerable brothers, to help the faithful realize that if they let themselves be deceived by such perverted doctrines and theories, these theories will cause their temporal and their eternal destruction.¹⁵⁵

He urges those in political power to refute the efforts of the leftists forces and argues that if they continue to fight alongside the Catholic church they will bring pride to their country and ancestors.¹⁵⁶ He argues that historically, when the authority of the church is undermined, so too is the power of Italian civil authority.¹⁵⁷ His call to arms is directed at the Italian people in resisting those who seek to destroy the church, as well as continue to strengthen their piety.¹⁵⁸

Like Pius IX who argued against modernism, Pope Leo XIII, reigning pope from 1878-1903, wrote various encyclicals dealing with, what he argued to be, the most poisonous ideology that the Catholic church has battled against: the cult of reason. In his 1884 encyclical, *Nobilissima Gallorum Gens*, he begins by outlining the churches relationship with the kingdom of France, and however rocky it may have been, that ultimately France has served the church well.¹⁵⁹ He attributes France's downfall, and their subsequent rejection of the church and her doctrine, to, what can only be assumed as the French Revolution of 1789, spurred on by the Enlightenment, and the various sociopolitical in which reason replaces Christianity.

But when the human mind, filled with the poison of new opinions, had begun, in the pride of an untempered liberty, to reject the authority the Church, its downward course has been rapid and precipitate. For when the mortal poison of false doctrines had penetrated manners and customs themselves, society, to a great extent, came to fall away from Christianity.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Pope Pius IX (Papal Encyclicals Online, 2023), <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius09/p9nostis.htm>.

¹⁵⁶ Pope Pius IX.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Leo XIII, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_08021884_nobilissima-gallorum-gens.html.

¹⁶⁰ Leo XIII.

In his analysis, it is reason and logic, in its extreme form, brought about by the Enlightenment earlier, who poisoned the well of good French Catholic devotion, rejecting the churches temporal and spiritual power, leading to an unchecked system of freedom that ultimately led to the French church's downfall. His last sentence is quite telling. It is false doctrine, in this case extreme liberty, universal brotherhood, and equality, that lead to spiritual—and authoritative—death. These extreme political ideologies, according to Pope Leo XIII, seem to be the reason the church loses authority within certain states, and one can only surmise this to be the reason that they fail as a nation. He goes on to further highlight his point that abandonment of God means the downfall of society.

And in France the propagation of this plague was not a little promoted by certain philosophers in the last century, professors of a foolish wisdom, who set themselves to root up the foundations of Christian truth, and started a system of philosophy calculated the more vehemently to inflame the desires after unlimited licence which had been already enkindled. Nor was the help of these wanting whom an impotent hatred of religion binds together in unhallowed bonds, and daily renders more eager in the persecution of Catholics; and whether emulation in this evil work was greater in France than anywhere else, nobody, Venerable Brethren, can be a better judge than yourselves.¹⁶¹

Though it is not completely fair to say that the Catholic church is an enemy of learning and reason—Thomas Aquinas being the ultimate example—it may be fair to say that, at the turn of the 20th century, the Catholic church was an enemy of Enlightenment ideology and societal change.

In the second paragraph of the encyclical, Leo XIII goes on to explain that the absence of God means the absence of justice and without that, the ultimate degeneration of society at large. It follows, of course, that without justice in a state, society would fall into chaos. Here, one can

¹⁶¹ Leo XIII, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_08021884_nobilissima-gallorum-gens.html.

suppose that he might agree with some of the political philosophers that he condemns; it is simply the source in which justice derives that they would disagree. His concern for France continues as he writes on the modernist's rejection of the divine in nature.¹⁶² He argues that though the church has pled with the state to reverse course, the state continues to push itself forward into social progressivism and education, ignoring the warnings of the church.¹⁶³ Of course, the church continues to hope and pray for the eventual return of France to the faith; however, this is a story that continues to resonate over time, even within the papacy of Leo XIII himself.

One year later, in 1885, Leo XIII wrote on his historical understanding of states if they have followed the leadership of the Catholic church. In his encyclical, *Immortale Dei*, he begins by stating that states who have continued to follow the Christian faith are venerated for their successes in justice and high deeds.¹⁶⁴ Further, he charges the church with providing spiritual guidance as well as earthly comfort to those seeking God.¹⁶⁵ Later on, in the writings of Pius XI, this would be echoed in the writings of Pius XI in protecting the societal welfare of Italy and the spiritual power of the church.

Writing to the church at large, Leo XIII states that they are accused of being against civil government insofar as it does little to help with social progress and protection of the social welfare—something too echoed in the PCI's message concerning the churches role in Italy.¹⁶⁶ In

¹⁶² Leo XIII, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_08021884_nobilissima-gallorum-gens.html.

¹⁶³ Leo XIII.

¹⁶⁴ Leo XIII, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_01111885_immortale-dei.html.

¹⁶⁵ Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

fact, Leo argues, it was always the charge of the state that led to the church as being branded enemies, a charge later countered by Augustine of Hippo.¹⁶⁷

Many, indeed, are they who have tried to work out a plan of civil society based on doctrines other than those approved by the Catholic Church. Nay, in these latter days a novel conception of law has begun here and there to gain increase and influence, the outcome, as it is maintained, of an age arrived at full stature, and the result of progressive liberty. But, though endeavors of various kinds have been ventured on, it is clear that no better mode has been devised for the building up and ruling the State than that which is the necessary growth of the teachings of the Gospel. We deem it, therefore, of the highest moment, and a strict duty of Our apostolic office, to contrast with the lessons taught by Christ the novel theories now advanced touching the State.¹⁶⁸

It must therefore be the charge and duty of the church to instruct and re-right the accusations it has been placed under. In order to do this, he contradicts the modern political philosophy that ruled Europe in 1885 with Christian doctrine and give guidance on the way a government should be run.¹⁶⁹ He refrains from specifically mentioning a type of governance style, but it becomes clear through analysis of his various encyclicals, that anything short of divine rule is most likely something he would frown upon. One can only surmise that because the power of the papal states was lost just under a half century before, that this is the reason for his insistence upon this type of rule. In any case, he clarifies that whatever style of governance, the ruler must acknowledge the power and ultimate supremacy of the divine.¹⁷⁰ Further attributes of an ideal government would be a patriarchal one that meets out justice for the common good, keeping all citizens and their welfare in mind; if their rule becomes tyrannical and, decidedly, un-patriarchal, it will be God whom they must face in judgement.¹⁷¹ He states, “So, too, is it a sin for the State not to have care for religion as a something beyond its scope, or as of no practical benefit; or out

¹⁶⁷ Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

of many forms of religion to adopt that one which chimes in with the fancy; for we are bound absolutely to worship God in that way which He has shown to be His will.”¹⁷² This opinion, in particular, will continue to resonate throughout the subsequent papal encyclicals in their crusade against the forces of socio-political modernism.

Following in Leo XIII’s attack on communist ideology was Pope Pius X (1903-1914). As the first pope of the twentieth century, though his reign was short, he had the unspoken responsibility of carrying the Catholic church into a new, modern century. Going up against the political ideology of the time was perhaps hardest for Pope Pius X as he had no political experience as part of the curia or as archbishop of Venice.¹⁷³ In fact, his papacy began as a political maneuver. The cardinal chosen before him, Cardinal Rampolla, was likely to be elected before the Austrian-Hungarian Cardinal Puzyna exercised his veto rights to oust him from the running.¹⁷⁴ According to author Owen Chadwick, there were several reasons that Austria was not in favor of Leo XIII’s Secretary of State Rampolla, including his pro-French leanings.¹⁷⁵ Another strong contender was the prefect in charge of propaganda, a well-known theologian Antonio Gotti, but unfortunately, he was a Carmelite monk, making it difficult for him to get elected.¹⁷⁶ Chadwick argues that the two most pressing reasons making it hard for Rampolla to be elected were his loyalty to the previous papal changes, and his enemies accrued within the church over his long career.¹⁷⁷ Further complicating the 1903 election were the attitudes of the electors, as well as the politicization of the curia itself in splitting itself into parties. One could describe these parties as being pro-modernism and anti-modernism, one being more inclined to look past

¹⁷² Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*.

¹⁷³ Owen Chadwick, *A History of the Popes 1830-1914*. New York: NY (Oxford University Press, 1998): 332.

¹⁷⁴ Chadwick, *History of the Popes*, 333.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 333

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 334

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 334

ideological differences and the other, more traditional, looking to conserve the beloved practices and ideological roots of the Holy See.¹⁷⁸ Though the election of 1903 would not be as divisive as the one in 1939, thanks to the looming war, it would still prove ideologically important to a rapidly modernizing world. Much criticism of the papal authority had been on their role in politics; however, it is difficult to lead an international organization without thinking of the moral implications of the organization's teachings on socio-political development. Though the papal office had no political authority, the Holy Father was prominent in socio-political spheres, hosting emissaries, ambassadors, and lowly pilgrims alike; it was therefore important how he would be perceived in political circles.¹⁷⁹ It would thus be necessary for him to be well versed in the political leanings, issues, and developments of the world. It would be the least likely of these men to be elected as the next pope—one who had very little political knowledge, and little experience in the ways of political men. After various rounds of votes and discussion, and even a refusal, Pope Pius X (Giuseppe Sarto), was elected the new Pope.¹⁸⁰ According to Chadwick, “So he said that he would be known as Pius X, in remembrance of the popes who had ‘fought with courage against the sects and the errors dominant in their time’. This made it clear that the new reign was not to lose its militancy against the contemporary world.”¹⁸¹ It would be this attitude that would carry him forward on his fight against socialism and communism.

Though not an intellectual pope, Pius X is described as being strong in his convictions. His former post as the Bishop of Mantua had prepared him for the intellectual opposition he would receive as a pope in the modern era. Mantua had a long history of liberalist bishops and priests who wished to modernize the Catholic church, introducing French and American

¹⁷⁸ Chadwick, *History of the Popes*, 335.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 338.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 338-9.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 339.

revolutionary ideals to their masses. This, in turn, angered the church enough into issuing the Syllabus of Errors, under which Pius IX condemns certain acts as heresies.¹⁸² Mantua was thus an undertaking that had bad blood within certain circles, and as the new rector of the seminary, Sarto would need to step up his work, and he did just that after a confrontation with the Mantuan government, making him famous in Rome.¹⁸³

Chadwick explains that Sarto's focus in Venice must have changed to set him up for papal succession, changing him from an authoritarian to a politically involved Bishop.¹⁸⁴ His first political maneuver would be to create a voting alliance between the moderates in Venice and the Catholic votes, creating a precedence for future political alliances, similar to the one that occurred in Rome on the eve before the 1948 elections.¹⁸⁵ His next success in politics was shown through his diplomatic skills in providing spiritual consoling to the Queen when the King was murdered, showing the curia his skills in handling any future political or diplomatic discourse.¹⁸⁶ His future as the pope, though perhaps not ideal to him, was to the Roman curia. The development of Pius X and his emphasis on political involvement would directly translate to the eventual involvement of Pius XII in the political arena in Rome. His papacy would thus set a precedent for future papal involvement in the world around them.

As Pope, Pius X did make non-traditional changes, such as eating with people and disregarding particular traditions that he disliked, but ideologically, his ideals were yet to be implemented. Exacerbated by a more modern media, as well as the hierarchical system of the

¹⁸² Chadwick, *History of the Popes*, 342.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 343.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 344.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 344-5.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 345.

Catholic church, Pius X had to learn a new way of dealing with the rising tide of liberal ideology and a rapidly secular world around him.

There were old-fashioned heirs of the Catholic enlightenment of the eighteenth century who wanted the liturgy in the vernacular or the end of compulsory celibacy of the clergy. There was a vague feeling that the ultramontanes shut them into a ghetto and they needed to come out. There were natural radicals who wanted charisma, and freedom, and a Franciscan anarchy rather than a legalistic structure of the Church. Most of them thought the power of Rome to be excessive. Centralization could not occur without critics. In these ways the question about truth was fought out in an environment of less definable discontents.¹⁸⁷

The church was dealing with the aftershocks of the enlightenment, and though doing it much later, it would affect the way in which future generations of Catholics, and Europeans would interpret conservative politics. It was up to the Vatican to churn out their version and reaction to such ideologies. Would modernism be an issue of faith, or would it be about loyalty to the oldest Christian institution in the world? His papacy would be the first of the new century to address these issues en masse, with each year, a new encyclical that builds on the foundation of his approach to combatting modern ideology.

Pope Pius X answered in his first encyclical, *E Supremi* (1903). He voiced his resistance to taking up the holy robes, not only because of the splendor and wisdom in which he attributed the rule of Leo XIII, but because he believed society is in such a state that he was unsure of his ability to take up the proverbial amour of God and fight against the evil.¹⁸⁸ His mission, in restoring the world to Christ and moving away from apostacy, would be so strengthen himself through Christ and trust in the divine mission in which he was elected.¹⁸⁹ He seems to reject any title other than being an emissary for Christ, and thus setting himself up for shying away from

¹⁸⁷ Chadwick, *History of the Popes*, 348.

¹⁸⁸ Pius X, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_04101903_e-supremi.html.

¹⁸⁹ Pius X, *E Supremi*.

the political, and argues that the interests of God will be the interests of his office.¹⁹⁰ He goes on, however, to make a seemingly political observation in saying the nations had risen up against God, thus answering all of Europe's question on how he would understand the role of the church in combating modernization.¹⁹¹ It is the prerogative of the Catholic church to combat the rising secular world because they show remarkable disregard for the things of Christ, and elevate themselves above the will of God. He argues that the right to assert authority, which naturally belongs to God, is also bestowed on himself. He rhetorically asks, "For, Venerable Brethren, who can avoid being appalled and afflicted when he beholds, in the midst of a progress in civilization which is justly extolled, the greater part of mankind fighting among themselves so savagely as to make it seem as though strife were universal?"¹⁹² His idea of a universal peace is not achievable without justice—something only brought upon by adherence to the will of heaven, and so Pius X's goal is to advance a party of peace if love and justice are to win the day.¹⁹³ In this encyclical, he seems to follow a similar pattern to previous popes, whereas he does not wish to be involved in politics, but is called to do so because of the continual attack against religion and divinity. It seems it is not the choice of the Vatican to combat modernization, but it must be the end goal to bring about Christ's will, so they are forced to dip their hand into the socio-political sphere. He too emphasizes the role of the local priests and clergy, exhorting the entirety of the layman to work in conjunction with the other to lay the foundation that will bring others to Christ, under the authority of the church, who is acting as the executor of the will of God, and bringing an end to the crumbling society around them. He argues, "Then, at last, it will be clear to all that the Church, such as it was instituted by Christ, must enjoy full and entire

¹⁹⁰ Pius X, *E Supremi*.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

liberty and independence from all foreign dominion; and We, in demanding that same liberty, are defending not only the sacred rights of religion, but are also consulting the common weal and the safety of nations.”¹⁹⁴ Only two years later would he extend his opinion on the matter of how this was to be accomplished.

Comparing the divisions in society, as well as within the church itself, to the church of Ephesus, Pius X argues in *Acerbo Nimis* there are those hidden among the church ranks who wish to destroy from within.¹⁹⁵ Switching perspective, he argues further that there are those who further wish to tear down both society and the church by living as if religion did not exist. Here, it can only be assumed he speaks of either communists, socialists, or philosophers. He argues that they disregard religion completely, until at the end of their lives, they reach out to the church for help.¹⁹⁶ It is not just foreign missions to unknown places that need the attention of the church, but also the very people in Europe who disregard the faith.¹⁹⁷ In this way, Pius uses the fight against the political left as a missionary outreach, and thus something that is necessary for the salvation of the world.

In 1905, he wrote *Il Fermo Proposito*, calling for further action to be taken with regard to the mission of Christianizing the public deniers of the faith; from his last examined encyclical, this can be applied to communists, socialists, and philosophers. He reiterates his, and the clergy’s, united responsibility to point the lost in the ways of Christ, to teach, caution, encourage, and help others be fulfilled in the faith.¹⁹⁸ This is particularly important for Pius, as he echoes in

¹⁹⁴ Pius X, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_04101903_e-supremi.html.

¹⁹⁵ Pius X, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_15041905_acerbo-nimis.html

¹⁹⁶ Pius X, *Acerbo Nimis*.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Pius X, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_11061905_il-fermo-proposito.html.

various other encyclicals, that it cannot be just the duty of the Holy Father to combat this alone. It would be the duty of all who are called by the church to work in accordance to his or her calling—and that, he believes, is the combatting of evil and the reawakening of Christendom. Within *Il fermo Proposito*, he specifically discusses the partnership of the Vatican and Catholic Action, a political youth movement in Italy.¹⁹⁹ Particularly pleased with the efforts of the movement, Pius claims their work must continue to be protected—verbally—by the church, as they have historically done through use of the Vatican press.²⁰⁰

Accordingly one can plainly see how necessary it is for everyone to cooperate in such an important work, not only for the sanctification of his own soul, but also for the extension and increase of the Kingdom of God in individuals, families, and society; each one working according to his energy for the good of his neighbor by the propagation of revealed truth, by the exercise of Christian virtues, by the exercise of the corporal and spiritual works of mercy.²⁰¹

It is not just about protecting their political arm, but it now matters for the very salvation of all good Catholics; if they want to remain faithful and retain their salvation, they must support the venerable works of Catholic Action, who seek to protect the values of the church in the socio-political sphere.

Though many have and still argue that the church has no business in meddling in the affairs of the politicians, the reality is much different. In 1905, the Papacy had not been so far removed from its temporal power that it forgot its political status. Furthermore, it was the duty of the Vatican to teach the morality of Christianity, and thus had a stake in the political leanings of the country surrounding her. It had clearly been the opinion of Leo XIII and of Pius X that this meant a moral, social, and political crusade in the name of, first protecting the church, and in the

¹⁹⁹ Pius X, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_11061905_il-fermo-proposito.html.

²⁰⁰ Pius X, *Il fermo proposito*.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

case of Pius, it meant a missionary outreach. Both Leo XIII and Pius X expected full participation of their doctrinal statements, and for Pius, this included specifically using the branch of Catholic Action to further his agenda and protect society. It would be the business of the modern age for popes to use these political branches to do the same. In *Il Fermo Proposito*, Pius argues it was the church who protected parts of society during the ages of paganism, and it was the church who preserves tradition while progressing forward in history.²⁰² As long as society remains rooted in Christian teaching, it will maintain order, but if Christianity is lost, chaos will reorder society.²⁰³ Just as Leo XII had argued, it is the characteristics of an ordered society—justice, grace, progression—that are rooted in Christian teaching. If, as the communists, socialists, and philosophers, are to gain control of society, order and civil law would have little meaning or incentive for remaining relevant. Pius X argues it has been this way throughout history and that it must remain that the church and the government work in tandem.

On that very fact rested the relations between Church and State; the public recognition of the authority of the Church in those matters which touched upon conscience in any manner, the subordination of all the laws of the State to the Divine laws of the Gospel; the harmony of the two powers in securing the temporal welfare of the people in such a way that their eternal welfare did not suffer.²⁰⁴

In order to preserve this relationship, and to preserve and ideal Christian society, Pius turns to Catholic Action. Catholic Action seeks the same traditional societal structure that the Vatican also seeks. It looks to restore Christ to the family, maintaining a hierarchy of authority within both society and politics that mirrors the Catholic church and Christian teaching, and targeting those overlooked in society in order to provide charity and alleviate hardship.²⁰⁵ It appears that Catholic Action specifically targets the farmer and the industrial worker—part of which will

²⁰² Pius X, *Il fermo proposito*.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

eventually turn toward the PCI to help alleviate their disadvantages—to give them back some form of economic autonomy and instill a spirit of faith in the sacred. With the help of Catholic Action, the church has been able to adapt strategies of outreach to modernity, something which he argues the Catholic church has done well over its history.²⁰⁶

Not only does Catholic Action adapt itself to the modern age, but they do also so with energy and spiritual conviction.²⁰⁷ He argues that though they adapt, their goals remain the same. He argues, “Experience has shown that this has been most effective. The purpose of the Popular Union has been to gather all Catholics, and especially the masses, around a common center of doctrine, propaganda, and social organization.”²⁰⁸ It is imperative that unity is maintained if they are to be effective in their mission to reach their targeted audience, and it will do so in any country that is built on a Christian foundation. Once unity is achieved, he believes all economic institutions will spontaneously unite with society as well.²⁰⁹ This had already been done in Italy with great success concerning various Catholic committees, and so Pius takes them to be the ultimate example of his practical goals.

It is also practical to use civil law in gaining the upper hand. He argues, “It must be vitally aware of the conditions of civil society, and the public life of states. Otherwise, it runs the risk of wasting time in searching for novelties and hazardous theories while overlooking the good, safe and tried means at hand.”²¹⁰ It is the right of both Catholic Action and the church itself to exercise its right to public opinion, its right to religion, and its right to exercise its freedom of speech. It appears that to Pius, this is not only practical, but reality as those with

²⁰⁶ Pius X, *Il fermo proposito*.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

religious conviction will have to start improving themselves and using the law to reach a status of reliability in the eyes of society or within the eyes of the government. Then, they will have temporal authority that will positively impact the spiritual viability of the unbeliever. He encourages participation as far as one can go, including gaining seats within the legislative body.²¹¹ Previous to Pope Pius's reign, it was illegal for Catholics to participate in politics, so the allowance of such is a huge step for the goals of Catholic action. Since the loss of the temporal power of the papal states, this acts as a consolation of sorts in allowing for the growth of a conservative, Catholic party, which will eventually dominate Italian politics during and after the second world war.

Pius calls for all Catholics to be ready for political defense and political participation, as they may be called by the church.²¹² Those are then the goals of Catholic Action; true to their name, it is to be politically ready, by means of social action and political propaganda, to implement the characteristics of the Catholic church to benefit the reawakening of Christendom. He argues it is the best and most practical solution for the reordering of society.²¹³ These types of outreaching Catholic institutions, he reiterates, must fall under the authority of the Catholic church, but given the freedom to exist in the temporal world whereas the church resides in the spiritual.²¹⁴ In the rest of this encyclical, and in many others, he continues to espouse his missionary mindset and political zeal, something which surrounded the start of his papacy, and something that he learned as necessary to the continuation in his fight against modern ideology.

²¹¹ Pius X, *Il fermo proposito*.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

The last of his encyclicals speaks to the issue of rising labor unions. In 1912 Italy, much concerned the labor force and the agricultural sector of the young nation. Peace was not something in every Italian's vocabulary, particularly within the past two papal reigns. From 1848 to the turn of the century, nationalist movements and the uniting of the country under one flag meant domestic peace had not occurred in almost fifty years. In 1911, expansionist policy within Italy, fanned by the flames of nationalism, saw them enter into a conflict within Northern Africa. Only a few short years later would World War I begin. Pius, seemingly more interested in the issues concerning his flock in Germany, wrote *Singulari Quadam*. In it, he writes concerning the persecution of the church and its response to Germany. It eerily promotes the ideas of the Catholic church that would echo into World War Two, that peace and survival of the church far outweighed the problems of humanity—something his successor Pius XI would have to answer for in contemporary society.

In 1912 Germany, the Catholic church was being persecuted by Bismark and his government. A New York Times article highlights the issue by underscoring the conflict between the German government and the German Catholics. The Chancellor of Germany in 1912 had close ties with the conservative and Catholic parties of Germany; however, his position was threatened by the implementation of Bismark's policy kulturkampf.²¹⁵ Further anti-Jesuit laws continued to threaten the region of Bavaria and the Catholics within Germany grew increasingly concerned at a rising Prussian influence in Germany and a repression of their faith.²¹⁶ The attitude of Bismark would echo the opinions later on of Stalin in his exhaustion in dealing with

²¹⁵ Special Cable to The New York Times, "Catholic Crises near in Germany: Refusal of Federal Council, led by Prussia, to Relax Jesuit Laws stirs Church. Peril to Chancellor seen Centrists' Threat to Desert Bethmann-Hollweg Jeopardizes His Reichstag Majority—Defiance to Holy See." *New York Times (1857-1922)*, (1912): 4.

²¹⁶ Special Cable to The New York Times, "Catholic Crisis," 4.

the Vatican.²¹⁷ *Singulari Quadam* calls all Catholics to continue in their adherence to their beliefs and duties as part of the Catholic church.²¹⁸ In making this statement, especially to the opinions of many European governments, this means a choice in alliance-similar to the English reformation in which a choice had to be made between loyalty to church or loyalty to state. Further enraging sovereign nations, Pius continued, speaking on the issue of trade and labor unions, stating that if they are to be Catholic unions, they must not mix with non-Catholic unions, and would, of course, fall under the authority of the Vatican.²¹⁹ The German Kaiser grew weary of the Vatican and of Pius, arguing that his involvement in unions was an overreach of his power—that virtually did not exist in the realm of government anyway. The New York Times article argues, “Prussian diplomatic relations with the Holy See, he [Bismark] affirmed, would be absolutely broken off the next time the Pope attempted to interfere with the sovereign rights of the State[...]. The Chancellor warned the Catholic Deputy that it was ‘the last papal intervention in the independence of interdenominational labor organizations which Prussia will tolerate’.”²²⁰ The conflict with Prussia would set a precedent for the way modern states would deal with the Catholic church and Catholic political branches, especially after the First World War, in which Pius would not live to see. It would not, however, change the involvement of the Catholic church in trying to uphold its values in the public sphere.

Following the death of Pius in 1914, arose the Genoan pope, Giacomo Della Chiesa, or Benedict XV, who reigned until 1922, a pivotal time for the PCI in Italy. As discussed in earlier chapters, the early 1920’s was a continuation of turbulent times in Italy and formative for the

²¹⁷ Special Cable to The New York Times, “Catholic Crisis,” 4.

²¹⁸ Pius X, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_24091912_singulari-quadam.html.

²¹⁹ Pius X, *Singulari Quadum*.

²²⁰ Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES, “Catholic Crisis,” 4.

growth of the PCI, Gramsci's ideological development, and the rise of Togliatti as eventual leader of the PCI. The first pope to rule during a world war, Benedict XV, was different in his attitude toward conflict than Pius X. The Vatican describes his views of the war as being consumed with anguish for the loss of life and the lack of peace throughout Europe.²²¹ When Italy, who was previously neutral, entered into the war, he became increasingly inconsolable as the role of the Vatican as neutral peacemaker was seen as a liability to many diplomats.²²² The majority of his early pontificate was consumed by thoughts of humanitarian missions. This changed as the Russian Revolution's aftermath spread into Western Europe. Benedict XV's concern for the people of those communist countries is founded in his understanding of political freedom, and his concern that the religious order had been broken. It would not be a far stretch to imagine that Benedict was concerned with the spread of communist ideology into the religiously free west.

In 1921, he wrote to Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Pietro Gasparri of the issues plaguing the Russian people after the Bolshevik takeover. Calling it the most disastrous episode in human history, it is clear the mounting concern both the Pope and the Cardinal have for the state of Russia.²²³

Endless masses of human creatures, stricken by hunger, mowed down by typhus and cholera, sway desperately over a parched land and pour into the most populous centers, where they hope to find bread and whence they are driven back by force of arms. From the Volga basin, many millions of men cry out to the help of humanity in the face of the most terrible death.²²⁴

²²¹ The Vatican, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/it/biography/documents/hf_ben-xv_bio_20060214_biography.html.

²²² The Vatican.

²²³ Pope Benedict XV to Cardinal Gasparri, (Rome,IT: Vatican Archives, 2023)

https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/it/letters/1921/documents/hf_ben-xv_let_19210805_le-notizie.html.

²²⁴ To Cardinal Gasparri.

The Cardinal is beseeched to reach out to his contacts within the western governments to provide aid to those who are oppressed in Russia.²²⁵ It is apparent the helpless difficulty the Pope felt in trying to reach the communist nation, especially as religion within that region had essentially been extinguished. This follows the papal encyclical *Annus Iam Plenus* in which the pope calls for a time of peace following the horrors of the war and the Russian Revolution, especially mentioning the oppressed people who had felt the impact of the war most severely.²²⁶ It was this encyclical that really marked the focus of the short reign of Benedict XV—one of peace, that sharply contradicted that of his predecessor and successors alike.

Benedict's successor, Pius XI reigned during the interwar period of the twentieth century. The first pope to be affected most directly by the communists, thus shaping his view of Communist Russia, Pius was sent to Poland and Lithuania in 1918 under the title of apostolic visitor; his duty was to restore the church within those regions, and later became the Archbishop of Warsaw.²²⁷ After the invasion of the Bolsheviks into Poland in 1920, though he wished to remain in Warsaw, he was recalled to Milan where he served as Archbishop until his election to the papacy in 1922.²²⁸ Perhaps the most outspoken pope in regard to communism, he wrote *Divini Redemptoris* in 1937. He speaks on the issues of Europe and the conflict between good and evil, and condemns the violent actions taken against the church.²²⁹ He goes as far as to claim that the oppression of the church is worse than the oppression of the Christians and Jews as the

²²⁵ To Cardinal Gasparri.

²²⁶ Pope Benedict XV, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xv_enc_01121920_annus-iam-plenus.html.

²²⁷ Biography of Pius XI, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/it/biography/documents/hf_p-xi_bio_20070330_biography.html.

²²⁸ Biography of Pius XI

²²⁹ Pope Pius XI, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023) https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19370319_divini-redemptoris.html.

time of Christ.²³⁰ The most pressing danger to the foundations of Christian civilization was different than the previous pope's concerns; it was now the threat of Atheistic Communism in Europe.²³¹ Inclined to protect justice and morals—something previous pope's had also emphasized—his goal is to now protect the church from the rising threats of communism.²³² Using history as his evidence, he says the church had warned society of the dangers of dechristianization, especially Pius IX who condemned communism for its ability to destroy natural law, rights, and property, and Leo XIII who said communism was fatal to social order.²³³ The most vicious enemies, he argued, came from Moscow, and the more he spoke out against communism—more than any other institution—the more his intention to protect Christendom grew.²³⁴ Communism, he says, is the anti-religion, and a pseudo-religion rolled into one political ideology as it promises a sense of false security and promotes a working class delusion.²³⁵ He leaned toward the classically liberal tradition in arguing that the promises of economic control that communists make are delusional because it cannot actually be controlled, and the particular circumstances of Europe, though grown from unusual developments, cannot be predicted.²³⁶

He goes on to explain the Marxist ideology of conflict evolution, and the hopelessness communism actually promotes, further exacerbated by the antagonized class conflicts they implement.²³⁷ He says that the communists disguise themselves as a progressive party that wishes to destroy tradition, religion, freedom, individuality, authority, and morality.²³⁸ It is thus

²³⁰ Pope Pius XI, *Divini redemptoris*.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

the duty of the church to protect society from such intervention and ask how the true development of society could thrive under this type of society, openly challenging the growing ranks of Togliatti's PCI.²³⁹ His understanding of economics and political ideology is thorough, which is not surprising given his past position as a Vatican librarian. He said that under a communist regime, where personal welfare is discouraged and violence is encouraged, a godless civilization motivated only by equal stake in the economy is created.²⁴⁰ It is absolutely a bleak future that he imagines under the rule of communism. Though one must ask if this could have been possible in a country that praised itself on regional identity and loyalty. The true goals of communism are then realized when societal order is upended, religion is detangled from society, individual freedom is lost, and dystopia is realized.

In Pius XI's final encyclical *Ingravescentibus Malis*, he repeated his plea for the reemergence of religious restoration in fighting societies evils.²⁴¹ He briefly mentioned two episodes in the history of Europe in which, under the supervision of the church, and the protection of Mary, society was kept intact.²⁴² He argued that society and religious freedoms are still as much in danger as they ever have been, especially since the rejection of the authority of God is so rampant, weakening those who wish to remain faithful.²⁴³ Pius then mentioned the evils of communism, really in a roundabout way, by mentioning the dissolution of private property.²⁴⁴ Conversely, he argues that man is elevated above the common good and the definition of authority must then be changed, seemingly putting an end to communist

²³⁹ Pope Pius XI, *Divini redemptoris*.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Pope Pius XI, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023) https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_29091937_ingravescentibus-malis.html.

²⁴² Pope Pius XI, *Ingravescentibus malis*.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ ibid

ideology.²⁴⁵ This must, of course be put into perspective, as most of Italy was still in line with a fascist form of governance in 1937. Though many regions in Italy, pockets of communists were strengthening, it would take a few years for them to become strong enough to defeat the fascists. The ideology, however, according to Pius, was something to be fighting against. His thinking gives itself over to the idea that according to Pius, communism was a greater, and perhaps longer lasting evil, that fascism ever would be in Europe. It is the communists who will not work with the church. It is the communists who seek to trample on religious tradition and divine inspiration. It is communism who divides Italy, and even worse, divide Christendom, to create civil strife. Pius then encouraged his flock, asking them not to give up hope in the divinity of Christ, Mary, and the strength of the church.²⁴⁶ During times of hardship for the Catholic church, a phenomenon arises throughout the devout peoples. Sightings of the Virgin Mary appear to offer hope, comfort, and ultimate resolution in the triumph of good over evil. Throughout the 20th century, sightings of Mary, and miracles happened that influenced the faithful's devotion to the church. According to the University of Dayton, beginning in 1925, the years 1929, 1932-3, 1933, and 1945 were key in marking apparitions of Mary.²⁴⁷ In late 1925, in Pontevedra, Spain, a young nun named Lucy encountered the Virgin Mary and begged her for clemency for the sin that permeated in the world.²⁴⁸ Mary was reported to have instructed the girl, "[...] on the first Saturday of five consecutive months, shall confess, receive Holy Communion, recite five decades of the rosary, and keep me company for fifteen minutes while meditating on the fifteen

²⁴⁵ Pope Pius XI, *Ingravescentibus malis*.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ University of Dayton. "Chronological Table of Marian Events," Alphabetical List of Articles, <https://udayton.edu/imri/mary/c/chronological-table-of-marian-events.php#c20>.

²⁴⁸ "The apparitions at Pontevedra (1925-1926)," The Fatima Center, last modified 2021, <https://fatima.org/the-apparitions-at-pontevedra/>.

mysteries of the Rosary, with the intention of making reparations to me.”²⁴⁹ In 1929, a continuation of these divine demands continued and from 1932-3, only five to six years before Pius wrote *Ingravescentibus Malis*, another series of apparitions and miracles were reported. According to the National Catholic Register, an apparition of Mary appeared to five younger people in Belgium. Her demands were much less demanding, and she requested the children continue to be good.²⁵⁰ It could not have been a coincidence that in each report of her appearance, the prominence of socialists and communists within the country was rising.

Pius’s last encyclical further calls on the Virgin Mary, the saints, and to Christ to continue to intervene and protect the faithful in an increasingly secularizing world.²⁵¹ These apparitions act as a source of comfort for the Catholic’s in the face of rising political persecution. Specific persecution, such as the attack on the rosary and chanting, he argued, will not last as long as the faithful remain as such, true peace will remain intact.²⁵² If the faithful follow in the footsteps of Mary, and carry out her divine commands, then they will see divine triumph. The case is such in the face of communist attack on Italy. What is interesting is the Catholic veneration for divine non-violence in the face of various attacks. Though Italian communists, trademarked as extremists by Togliatti later on, attack many and promote violence, specifically in the South, it is more of an ideological battle the Pope is waging war on. Such action is called upon by Pius XI in his encyclical when he urged that this type of piety, emulated by Mary, Christ, and the Saints is simple for everyone to follow—meaning that it is expected.²⁵³ Likening

²⁴⁹ The Fatima Center

²⁵⁰ Patti Maguire Armstrong, “The ‘Golden Heart’ Apparition of Our Lady of Beauraing”, National Catholic Register, last modified August 10, 2016, <https://www.ncregister.com/blog/the-golden-heart-apparition-of-our-lady-of-beauraing>.

²⁵¹ Pope Pius XI, *Ingravescentibus Malis*.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

this battle with modernity to the crusades, however, adds a sense of holy justice to his cause, and a rallying cry for all those under his spiritual guidance. Many within the clergy took this command to their graves, especially within the newly formed Soviet Union. According to the Benedictine XVI Institute, most of the Catholic Martyrs during and after the Second World War were killed by Stalin's regime in places such as Ukraine, the former Czechoslovakia, and Poland.²⁵⁴ The expectation to fight against the forces of communism and socialism will take precedence throughout the years leading up to the Second Vatican Council in which the church modernizes despite its former leaders' warnings against such action.

What really damaged the power of the Catholic church in fighting against modernity was the signing of the Lateran Pacts in 1929. The Lateran Pacts essentially took away the political power of the church and gave it to the state, or in this case, Mussolini's government, rendering the church influential only through its encyclicals and papal bulls. Precedent would be set for the next Holy Fathers, limiting their ability to truly fight against communism and socialism on more than just an ideological front. Many of Pius XI's letters, decrees, and encyclicals warn against the rising red tide, and call to arms the faithful against such a sociopolitical catastrophe; however, the largest blow to their ability to politically make a difference was taken away from the church by his own paradoxical signing of the Lateran agreements. The Pact gave the Vatican its own sovereignty, essentially making it a city-state within the middle of Rome, gave the Vatican a financial incentive, and clearly defined the role of the Vatican in how it would relate politically to the state of Italy. Many of the articles, however, seemed to have made the church subservient to the state. For example, in article 22, no one may take refuge within the walls of

²⁵⁴ Charlotte Allen, "The Martyrs of Communism," The Benedict XVI Institute, last modified March 1, 2022, https://benedictinstitute.org/2022/03/martyrs_of_communism/.

the Vatican if they are wanted for a crime in Italy.²⁵⁵ The vagueness of the wording in the treaty left it fully open to both international law and Italian legal interpretation. The vaguest being article two, which states: “Italy recognizes the sovereignty of the Holy See in international matters as an inherent attribute in conformity with its traditions and the requirements of its mission to the world.” In essence, the Italian state recognized the importance of the Vatican in its traditions and influence on the country, but it would not so much recognize or take its input in matters of political importance. This severely limited the ability of the Pope on all socioeconomic and political, relegating him to an advisor at best and an influencer at his core. Though a powerful influence, it meant little to Mussolini, and certainly would not mean much to Togliatti and the PCI in their political battle to control Italy.

The question of why Pius gave up so much after defending the Catholic fight for religious justice is puzzling. Writing to Cardinal Gasparri, a seasoned Vatican diplomat and his secretary of state, Pius defended his decision.

It is not, therefore, the Catholic organization in Italy that submits to the sovereignty of the State, albeit with a condition of particular favor, but it is the Supreme Pontiff, the supreme and sovereign authority of the Church, who disposes of what it judges can and should be done for the greater glory of God and for the greater good of souls. and in the worst case (which is by far not Ours) for the lesser offense of the Former and for the lesser evil of these.²⁵⁶

It appears that Pius believed this to be a better way of influencing the people, and thus the democratic process of the Italian state. Later within the letter, he optimistically gave two more reasons for his desire for ultimate peace. Firstly, he said that he believes in the goodness of mankind, and secondly, he holds dear the faithfulness of God that will see the faithful through

²⁵⁵ “Lateran Treaty of 1929.” Univerzita Karlova. <http://spcp.prf.cuni.cz/dokument/lateran.html>

²⁵⁶ Pius letter to Gasparri, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/it/letters/documents/hf_p-xi_lett_19290530_domandato.html.

this trial.²⁵⁷ Perhaps his intention was peace, but it seems he was eventually regretful as he believed Naziism to be a greater threat to the church, and according to the Irish Times, planned to speak out publicly against the racist fascism of both Italy and Germany.²⁵⁸ He would die before that could happen, in the middle of an ideological battle for the European continent.

After his death, the next pope to be elected was his former secretary, and another controversial figure in Catholic history—Cardinal Pacelli, Pope Pius XII. After working under Secretary of State Gasparri, Pacelli was appointed Archbishop of Ancona and Apostolic Nuncio in Munich in 1917.²⁵⁹ Working to provide aid to prisoners and weary Germans, he was eventually appointed to head the Catholic church of the new Weimar republic in Germany post-WWI.²⁶⁰ After his election, he made clear his position in fighting for social harmony and peace in his election speech. During the onset of the war on the continent, and later with the involvement of Asian empires and the United States, Pius XII tried again to beg for peace. He was unable, due mostly to his insufficient political power, to invoke any real change; however, he did make it clear his position through his various letters and encyclicals. In modernity, however, he has been criticized for promulgating the ideals of peace while also turning a blind eye to the known persecution of the Jews in Germany. Not only would Pius XII have to deal with the beginning, middle, and end of the war, but the onset of the Cold War as well, leading to one of the greatest political battles for ideological control of Italy in the modern state.

²⁵⁷ Pius letter to Gasparri.

²⁵⁸ Peter Kent, “How the Pope came to regret his deal with the Duce: The Pope and Mussolini” The Irish Times, last modified May 24, 2014, <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/how-pius-came-to-regret-his-deal-with-the-duce-the-pope-and-mussolini-1.1803692>.

²⁵⁹ Pius XII biography, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/it/biography/documents/hf_p-xii_bio_20070302_biography.html.

²⁶⁰ Pius XII biography.

Within his first encyclical, Pius XII lays out his plan for his pontificate, similar to a state of the union address, where he made missions his focus as well as the unity of Catholic his central plan.²⁶¹ He hoped for the reunification of Italy with the church, seemingly resentful of the Lateran agreements, as well as peace and unity amongst the world—something near impossible that would only partially manifest after the war. It seems his initial focus is not repeating what most of the popes have said before, that there is great evil in need of correcting in the world, but instead, Pius XII focused on a few key observations of the world around him which he believed to be most pressing.²⁶² The first observation he made is that within the world, there is a widespread denial of universal morality rooted in natural law.²⁶³ It can be assumed he is speaking most pointedly at Germany and perhaps the Soviet Union, especially in their quest to snuff out the church within their territories. The denial of the divine, is at the center of the rejection of morality, because, he argued, it is God that is the center of natural law and morality, so if the idea of God is questioned, so too is the ground on which these truth's rest.²⁶⁴ The spiritual implosion of Europe, where social cohesion and divine revelation once found its home, is now manifesting itself in the evils of the modern world. Because of this, society looks to the state for ultimate salvation. Pius XII argued that the search for salvation further manifests itself in two ways: the first being “[...] is the forgetfulness of that law of human solidarity and charity, which is dictated and imposed both by the commonality of origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong, and by the redemptive sacrifice offered by Jesus Christ[...].”²⁶⁵ The second is the detachment of the state from the foundations of Christ, placing

²⁶¹ Pope Pius XII, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20101939_summi-pontificatus.html.

²⁶² Pope Pius XII, *Summi Pontificatus*.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

itself above mankind and at the level of divine autonomy. It is for these reasons that missions work and educating Europe of the foundations of their ideological and political power is up to the Catholic church.²⁶⁶ This idea, of course, is not as practical as the Pope may have hoped, especially considering his lack of political influence. The best the Pope could do was write, argue, and command his clergy to peacefully execute his mission focus.

At the outset of World War Two, months after Pius' election to pontiff, it was not communism or socialism that dominated the majority of his early works. This would come later as civil war in Italy weakened the already weary Italian peninsula. His focus was peace among the continent, the evils of fascism, and the condemnation of Germany. As the war continued on, however, his partnership with Mussolini would define his wartime policy. What is of particular note, is his correspondence with both Mussolini and his correspondence with President Roosevelt. The Pope took his role as peace finder and neutral ambassador seriously, it seems, as he was busy trying to keep Italy out of the war, all while writing to FDR about the ideas of universal peace. His focus is thus a balancing act, but a diplomatic one. He wished to keep Italy out of the war, all the while calling on FDR to be the one to bring peace. Before America was involved in the war, Pius wrote, "It is an exemplary act of fraternal and hearty solidarity between the New and the Old World in defense against the chilling breath of aggressive and deadly godless and anti-Christian tendencies, that threaten to dry up the fountain head, whence civilization has come and drawn its strength."²⁶⁷ His goal of peace, arguably, does not take sides, hoping for an end to war, and an end to the religious persecution, from both sides of the Atlantic. It is strange, however, that he does not specifically call out the racist laws or pointed persecution

²⁶⁶ Pope Pius XII, *Summi Pontificatus*.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*.

of both Germany and Italy. His overall goals overlook the issues in hope of appeasing Mussolini to not touch the Catholic church or his hopes for the future. It is, of course, natural for Pius to want to protect his flock, but as purveyor of peace and keeper of the root of universal morality, his goals are controversial and contradictory at best. Research is still being conducted concerning the various avenues of thought that Pius had concerning the war and the Holocaust.

One historian who tries at understanding is author David Kertzer who dives into Pius XII's letters in his book *The Pope at War: The Secret History of Pius XII, Mussolini, and Hitler*. In the recent opening of the Vatican archives of the documents that detail Pius's correspondence with Mussolini, Kertzer presents these in a cohesive narrative, chronicling the Pope's dealings between 1939-1945, or essentially the war years. Kertzer, a professor of social sciences at Brown University, is a leading authority on Italian politics, history, culture, and anthropology.²⁶⁸ In a lecture series at the University of Washington St. Louis, Kertzer explains the findings of his book. The most amazing discovery, he argues, was the envoy sent between Hitler and the Pope and their secret conversations regarding the persecution of Roman Jews, more than 1000 of which were sent to Auschwitz, with little protest from the peaceful pope.²⁶⁹ Though Pius XII clashed over the implementation of various Catholic policies and ideological differences, it would be their mutual correspondence with Hitler that would keep them from a complete falling out. Within Kertzer's book, he argues that many begged the Pope to simply excommunicate both Mussolini and Hitler, but arguably, without real political power, what might this have accomplished? In his lecture series, Kertzer argues that although Pius eventually would

²⁶⁸ David Kertzer, "Biography" David Kertzer, last modified 2022, <https://www.davidkertzer.com/biography>.

²⁶⁹ David Kertzer, "The Pope at War: The Secret History of Pius XII, Mussolini, and Hitler," John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics, steamed live on March 27, 2023, YouTube Video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Iu43n12bTk>.

excommunicate all communists, he never seriously considered doing this to the Fascist dictators.²⁷⁰ The long term consequence of the silence of the pope, and his concern with communism over fascism, would plague the historical analysis of his papacy, however, it is worth noting the millions of deaths that occurred under the communist regime of Stalin and eventually China's Mao Zedong. This does not, of course, right the wrongs of his silence, but hints and the future violence brought about by each regime, and their implications on the way the Vatican interprets sociopolitical events.

Pius, after the annexation of Vienna and the attack on German priests, would be hard-pressed to fight with the new Italian ally.²⁷¹ Caught between his ideological principles and practical political goals, it would be difficult for the Pope to oppose the Fascist regimes that, by 1943, surrounded his papal territory. Eventually, the Italian's reliance on the resistance movements, led by the Italian communists would trade one evil for another. In a letter to the Archbishop of Palermo in 1943, Pius is aggrieved at the violence that has swallowed the city. He tried to reassure the people that his prayers and the guidance of Christ is with them and tells them that suffering does not come without some form of good. The annexation of Sicily by American troops, perceived by them as the good Pius wrote about, from Mussolini's fascist regime sparked a new issue of conflict in Italy—the civil war between those aligned with the Allied forces—including the participation of the resistance fighters—and the Germans. In 1943, as the allies moved closer to Rome, a letter was sent to a Cardinal in Rome, detailing Pius's wish for the

²⁷⁰ Kertzer, "The Pope at War."

²⁷¹ Harry Schnitker, "Inside the Church during WWII: From Standoff to Confrontation: Pope Pius XII and Mussolini, 1938-1943," Catholic News Agency, Last Modified September 5, 2011. <https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/column/51652/from-stand-off-to-confrontation-pope-pius-xii-and-mussolini-1938-1943>.

peaceful protection of the citizens and its religious symbols and monuments.²⁷² Pius's thinking, it seemed was on the discord that might exist in Italy after annexation. In a letter from FDR to Pius, upon the landing of the allies in the south, he reiterated the allied intention of trying to preserve both religious and human liberty as much as possible. FDR wrote, "In common with all other nations and forces imbued with the spirit of goodwill toward men and with the help of the Almighty God we will turn our hearts and minds to the exacting task of building a just and enduring peace on earth."²⁷³ Pius's reply reiterates his wish to guard Rome from destruction, and preserve lasting brotherhood between the Italian people; it is now, as it has been, the focus of Pius and the American forces, as they look toward the long process of winning the war and of reconstruction.

As the liberation of Rome quickly approached in 1944, and the PCI rapidly gained a foothold in Italian politics, it became clear whose side the Pope allied himself. Though hoping that peace would ultimately prevail, in both the hearts of the citizens and the clergy, the political vacuum left by the ousting, and eventual death, of Mussolini and the fleeing of the King, gave cause for political renewal. Allied with the British and the Americans at the time, the communists grew optimistic in their hopes for a newly freed Italy; one in which they might instill their own form of governance.²⁷⁴ Also hoping to instill their own government was the CLN party, who wished for a collated government.²⁷⁵ The British pushed for another monarchy, while the Americans leaned toward letting the Italians figure out their own governance, providing it

²⁷² Pius XII, "Lettera al Cardinale Francesco Marchetti-Selvaggiani, dopo il primo bombardamento aereo di Roma, 20 Luglio 1943," https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/it/letters/documents/hf_p-xii_lett_19430720_cardinale-marchetti-selvaggiani.html.

²⁷³ Franklin D. Roosevelt (Franklin Delano), Pius XII, and Myron Charles Taylor, *Wartime Correspondence between President Roosevelt and Pope Pius XII* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947).

²⁷⁴ David Broder, *The Rebirth of Italian Communism, 1943-44 : Dissidents in German-Occupied Rome* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): 117-8

²⁷⁵ Broder, *Rebirth of Italian Communism*, 118.

was pro-American and democratic. From the point of view of Churchill, the people of Italy seemingly wished to attach themselves with the Allied powers.²⁷⁶ He warned, almost cryptically, of the various powers that the Italians might align themselves to, arguing, “Such systems of Governmental tyranny breed in the conditions of social dislocation, economic hardship, and moral depression, which follow in the wake of war and defeat.”²⁷⁷ It is this speech that echoes the papal encyclicals of modern history that warn of the moral decay, specifically of communism and socialism. Unity and peace, Churchill argued, will ensure the rise of Italy to powerful European statehood, again echoing the words and goals of Pius XII.

After the end of World War Two, Italy began the arduous task of reconstruction. Complicated by political infighting, many parties vying for political authority, the input of America, and the start of the Cold War, the new task of Pius was to weigh out the new evils that permeated Europe, choose a side, and try to influence the elections and the new constitution. Togliatti, in charge of the PCI, or communist forces in Italy, began his campaign in earnest following the war, arguing that without the resistance, Italy would have been lost to the fascists. The rise of the Democrazia Christiana, and their allegiance to papal authority, and the rivalry between the two parties as the election years and the new constitution were quickly approaching, would dominate the attention of Pius XII between the years of 1945-1948. The peace treaties of Paris saw many territories of the former kingdom lost, meaning the burden of the war was on those allied with Germany during the war. This would, of course, have profound sociopolitical implications, as well as economic ones, as many natural resources were lost, and voting people

²⁷⁶Winston Churchill, “Encouragement for the Italians,” in *The Dawn of Liberation*, (New York: Rosetta Books, 2013): 229.

²⁷⁷ Churchill, “Encouragement for the Italians, 230.

were reduced. The war for the political future of Italy remained confined to the modern geographical territory of Italy.

Though not put into effect until late 1947, the first encyclical after the treaties were implemented was published only a few months later in December of 1947. Within *Optatissima Pax*, Pius noted that though peace may be close, it is with anxious waiting that the people of Europe wait for the next steps of reconstruction.²⁷⁸ It is here one may assume he anticipated the looming elections as well as warns against the growth of the PCI's popularity. He utilized communist language when he argued, "[...] there is no lack of those who exasperate and exploit the misery of the proletarian classes, with secret and cunning calculation, and thus prevent those noble efforts by which they try to rebuild, with right order and justice, the fortunes that have been lost."²⁷⁹ To combat these evils, "[...] it is necessary, finally, that all understand that it is not by discord, by tumult, by fraternal massacres that lost goods can be regained or those in danger saved, but only by active harmony, by mutual cooperation, by peaceful work."²⁸⁰ His fight against the institutions of communism, the state of the Soviet Union, and the violence perpetrated by those extremists in the south is clearly marked and he laid out the road to redemption. He argued the goals of the communists (again not specifically mentioned) are far more dangerous than war and disaster itself.²⁸¹ The only way to win the Italian people to the cause of Christianity and, subsequently, the Vatican, was a propaganda campaign to combat the efforts of the PCI and motivate the DC and Catholic Action to battle.

Catholic attack on post-war materialism

²⁷⁸ Pope Pius XII, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_18121947_optatissima-pax.html.

²⁷⁹ Pope Pius XII, *Optatissima pax*.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

Keeping Rome sacred became a political and ideological war for Catholic Action. Catholic Action was a social organization, and the working arm of the Christian Democrats. Called into action during the papacy of Leo XIII, he asked for the working-class Catholics to rise up against socialism.²⁸² In 1905, Pope Pius X wrote *Il Fermo Proposito*, further calling for Catholic Action to mobilize.

The sum total of all these works, supported and promoted for the most part by the Catholic laity, and variously conceived according to the needs proper to each nation and to the particular circumstances in which each country finds itself, is precisely what is called Catholic Action, or the action of Catholics, by a more particular and certainly very noble term.²⁸³

In essence, the Catholic working class would be going up against the so-called representatives of the working-class movement. This would not just be a war of ideology in Italy, but a war of social class. After the war, and the end of the Kingdom of Italy, the DC instituted a moderate government under the leadership of Alcide De Gasparri. One such example of the clashes between the two movements occurred in 1947, under the leadership of De Gasparri. In an article of *The Sun*, published on October of 1947, they wrote that the communist youth arm of the PCI attacked members of the DC over the use of propagandized posters and for being excluded from the coalition government.²⁸⁴ Blame was placed on both the DC and on anti-fascist aggression. This had followed closely on the heels of more communist aggression against the DC and De Gasparri's coalition government when the communist argued the working class was not

²⁸² William Issel, *For Both Cross and Flag: Catholic Action, Anti-Catholicism, and National Security Politics in World War II San Francisco* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 35.

²⁸³ Pius X, *Il fermo propositio*.

²⁸⁴ "Romans Vote for Council: Elections Provide New test of De Gasparri's Strength," *The Baltimore Sun*, October 13, 1947, (ProQuest Historical Newspapers): 11

confident in a government that excluded the communists, and so the cabinet should be reorganized or, in essence, overthrown.²⁸⁵

The preservation of Rome as both the ideological capital of liberal freedom as well as the cradle of western religion, was the goal for many of those within Catholic Action, the DC, and was importantly backed by the Pius XII. The focus of the Holy See was now firmly set to the issues of communism and their influence in Italy. Communism had always been a concern of the modern popes, seen in their various encyclicals and political correspondence; however, it became less of an ideological battle after that war and more of a practical political battle for the future of Christianity in the western world. According to the Vatican, communism equated to tyranny, and the loss of precious freedoms enshrined in the history of both the Catholic Church and in the history of Rome. If Rome fell to the influence of the PCI, and by extension, to Moscow, Satan would win, and the tide of democratic governance would cease to exist. This was the vast importance attributed to the Vatican and to the elections in Rome 1948. The vying of attention between the US and the USSR, and the decision made in Italy would forever determine the tide of the Cold War and would potentially upset the delicate balance of power that existed during the early years of the Cold War. The path of the Catholic church would have to choose between controlled modernization, something in which it had historically spoken out against, or give into the demands of Moscow. The path of least resistance pointed them to the Americans and to the preservation of their church.

Author Andrea Mariuzzo writes on the change in Catholic understanding of communism in his book *Communism and anti-communism in early Cold War Italy*. He argues that the threat

²⁸⁵Arnaldo Cortessi, "De Gasparri Names New Rome Cabinet: Appoints Two Special Ministers for Marshall Plan Ais and Southern Italian Affairs," *The New York Times*, May 24, 1948, (ProQuest Historical Newspapers):1

of communism was originally deemed an ideological threat until the 1930's in which the Catholic church, under the leadership of Pius XI and espoused in his *Divini Redemptoris*, argues that communism was under the umbrella of atheistic materialism, and according to Mariuzzo, was an inversion of Marxist ideology.²⁸⁶ It could no longer just be a political and ideological struggle between communism and Christianity, because, he argues “[..] if Catholicism was the expression of truth in the world then communism was the expression of error that came from abandoning God.”²⁸⁷ This, of course, is reiterated time and again within various papal encyclicals, not only belonging to Pius XI. Pius XII's constant echo of his mission-minded focus was a reaction to this Catholic ideological understanding of communism. Catholic clergy argued the same, saying that anyone following the satanic communist party would be deemed apostates.²⁸⁸ The PCI, they argued, was not ideologically viable because it wasn't revolutionary; it was trying to take down Christianity. With the understanding that this was to be a war on aesthetic materialism, the Vatican turned this into a religious war.²⁸⁹ It was no longer just a threat to the government, but it was now akin to a holy war similar to the defeat of the Muslims during the Crusades.

One particular zealous priest who perpetrated the views of the Vatican that Communism must be kept out of Italy entirely was Fr. Riccardo Lombardi, who arguably, along with the various acts of violence perpetrated by and against the communists, ushered into being the existence of militant Catholicism. Lombardi, regarded as a modern-day Savonarola, who also argued for reform and progress within the Catholic church, spoke often of the revitalization of

²⁸⁶ Andrea Mariuzzo, “Religions and moral values” in *Communism and anti-communism in Early Cold War Italy: Language, symbols and myths*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018): 31.

²⁸⁷ Mariuzzo, “Religions and moral values,” 31.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*,” 32.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

Christianity and an overhaul of social reform within the church itself.²⁹⁰ Lombardi argued that to defeat communist ideology from entrenching itself in Italian, or even western politics, it would need to modernize. Some reforms he wished to see implemented were a larger role for Catholic working class in an advisory role, a removal of the current curia and the institution of merit-based curia members, as well as modesty in the dress of the clergy.²⁹¹ In terms of his defense against communism, he wrote many articles including one entitled “Una mano tesa minacciosa” or An Ominous Outstretched Hand.²⁹² Published just before the end of the war, he describes the true goals of communism and the foundational principles of the PCI.²⁹³ He pointed out four ideological beliefs that they ascribe to, including dialectic materialism, which he argued is the bases for their own reality.²⁹⁴ He argued it denies the existence of God, and that the only thing that fundamentally exists is something called matter, that ultimately denies the existence of a human soul: “According to this system, the central and fundamental element of all that exists is matter, and matter alone; There is no spiritual soul of man destined to overcome death, there is no existence.”²⁹⁵ The spiritual soul for man does not exist for the communists; it is simply a matter of natural development and they use this as a defense against the necessity of religion. The Catholic Church would have to have seen this as a spiritual attack, further underscoring the Vatican understanding that this was now a Holy War.

²⁹⁰ “Religion: Silenced Microphone,” TIME Magazine, last modified February 2, 1962, <https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,829003-1,00.html>.

²⁹¹ “Religion: Silenced Microphone.”

²⁹² Mariuzzo, “Religions and moral values,”32.

²⁹³ Riccardo Lombardi, *Una ‘Mano Tesa’, Minacciosa: A Proposito Del Discorso Togliatti*, (Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1945, Google Scholar): 5.

²⁹⁴ Lombardi, *Una ‘Mano Tesa’*, 6.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 6. ““Secondo tale sistema l’elemento centrale e fondamentale di tutto ciò che esiste è la materia, e la sola materia; non c’è un’anima spirituale dell’uomo destinata a superare la morte, non esiste.”

Lombardi's second point is on historical materialism ascribed to Marxist communism. This he described as the implementation of dialectic materialism on historical analysis and quotes Stalin in saying the application is mostly on society as it progresses forward.²⁹⁶ He reasoned that only the economic decision would be a motivator and effective ideological interpretations would be shunned unless they had to do with the economic sector.²⁹⁷ Of course, from an international standpoint, this would make sense, and if the PCI were to follow the exact interpretation of Marx, this would also be applicable for their party. Togliatti, however, seems to have changed the perspective to include a more socially focused party platform. Economics and the working class were, of course, the main focus for their party platform, but the gradual speed at which he wished to move forward was different than the international consensus. Lombardi argued that it is the goal of the communist party to move as fast as it can toward the end of historical development predicted by historical materialism: "The communist program is nothing more than the set of measures designed to implement in the most radical and rapid way the socialist order, the last stage of human evolution foreseen by historical materialism."²⁹⁸ This, however, contradicts Togliatti's true desire for a slower political implementation of the PCI's ultimate goal, but does align with the Stalinist perspective.

The final political tactic of the international communist movement, Lombardi argued, is one that speaks on the variation of political goals of each individual party—such as the PCI—in different countries. It is here that he mentioned the speed at which each party implements its intentions: "Finally, in communism there is a political tactic that varies according to time and

²⁹⁶ Lombardi, *Una 'Mano Tesa'*, 7.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁹⁸ Lombardi, *Una 'Mano Tesa'*, 8 "Il programma comunista non è altro che il complesso di provvedimenti destinati ad attuare nel modo più radicale e rapido l'ordinamento socialista, l'ultimo stadio dell'evoluzione umana previsto dal materialismo storico"

place, distinct from the general theoretical synthesis and the general program of the party; It is the set of expedients required by the infinite change of circumstances, in order for the communist program to succeed in the most effective way in triumphing in the different spheres..”²⁹⁹ What, then, he asks, should be the responsibility of the church in combatting this evil? The first step would be to pronounce the evils of their philosophical understanding of both religion and history; in essence, denying the validity of dialectic materialism and proclaiming the existence of a human soul.³⁰⁰ Secondly, the church must reason that communism understands man, who has no soul, and a slave to economic decision and to his own desire, has no freedom of thought or choice.³⁰¹ The church must then understand it is these types of men who cannot understand the divine grace and historical development of the church outside of economic progress, because the two are not intertwined.³⁰² It is this statement specifically that underscores the plight of the church and of the missions minded focus that Pius XII sets forth in his various encyclicals. It is because the communists in Italy cannot understand the church that the church must make them see the divine grace attributed to its mission as well as the reason for its creation—to save souls.

Thirdly, in terms of the PCI and their political agenda, Lombardi argued that the best way to combat it is by showing them the Christian origin of humanity’s need to end suffering through the medium of social justice, something the church and Christianity is uniquely focused on irradiating.

Here it is immediately necessary to adhere to the generic fundamental aspiration that feeds In Un mina, and which could easily be shown to be of Christian origin: it is the desire nourished by every good soul to see the painful co-editions of the existence of the

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 9. “C’è finalmente nel comunismo una tattica politica variabile secondo i tempi ed i luoghi, distinta dalla sintesi teorica generale e dal generale programma del partito; è l’insieme degli accorgimenti richiesti dall’infinito mutare delle circostanze, perchè il programma comunista riesca nel modo più efficace a trionfare nei diver.”

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 10.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 11.

³⁰² Ibid., 11.

proletariat improved, and the greatest possible social justice established, making it as definitive as possible through a general renewal of the collective organism.³⁰³

In his conclusion, he argued that even the church acts as both savior of Rome, of Sheppard of the lost on earth, and as the last beacon of hope for the world—especially after the horrors of the war—all while offering peace.³⁰⁴ It is clear that his writings are a call to arms, so to speak, in combatting the rising tide of communism and with it, atheistic materialism, and secularism.

The rising tide of secularism had begun well before the battle between the church and the PCI. Throughout every century, the church has had to fight off what it deemed to be the ideological and physical threat of its time. Preceding the war, however, the media and spread of information regarding the horrors of the communist world would mightily damage the image of the PCI. Though the PCI was the second largest communist party in the western world, within Italy itself, because of the conflict that had essentially not ceased since the mid nineteenth century, many were wary of its semi-violent nature, and others concerned with its economic agenda. With regard to its violent nature, the church only had to point to the various murders of priests in the name of communism. According to the Benedictine Institute, murders of the faithful—now categorized as martyrs—occurred in Russia, China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Ukraine (as well as other areas).³⁰⁵ The first martyr mentioned is Father Josef Toufar, who was killed in the former Czechoslovakia. In 1949, as he was giving a sermon, a reported miracle occurred, making his church marked by the Communist regime.³⁰⁶ The brutality of the

³⁰³Lombardi, *Una 'Mano Tesa'*, 12. “Qui viene subito da aderire alla generica aspirazione fondamentale che alimenta in un' anima, e che facilmente si potrebbe mostrare addirittura di origine cristiana: si tratta del desiderio nutrito da ogni anima buona, di vedere migliorarle le penose condizioni di esistenza del proletariato, e instaurata la maggiore possibile giustizia sociale, rendendola quanto più si può definitiva attraverso un generale rinnovamento dell'organismo collettivo.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 31.

³⁰⁵ Charlotte Allen, “The Martyrs of Communism,” The Benedict XVI Institute, last modified March 1, 2022, https://benedictinstitute.org/2022/03/martyrs_of_communism/.

³⁰⁶ Allen, “The Martyrs of Communism.”

communist movement in Czechoslovakia is seen in their imprisonment, severe beatings, and short film in which they persuade Fr. Toufar to reenact how he falsified the miracle.³⁰⁷ This reported miracle came just after the defeat of the PCI in Italy at the elections. The news of this martyrdom a year later must have sent mixed messages to the Holy See. On one hand, it may have furthered their resolve to continue combating international communism. On the other hand, it may have caused confusion on why God had allowed this to happen when communism had been politically defeated in Rome. The institute argues the basis of the church's belief in communism: "Father Toufar is, of course, only one of tens of thousands of Christians murdered, executed, or tortured to death in nearly every country in the world where Communists have seized power—because Communism cannot tolerate allegiance to a kingdom that is not of this world."³⁰⁸

It would be Russia whom the church focused on next, especially as the country is the epicenter of religious persecution and allegiance to the Stalinist regime. During the middle of Stalin's reign, and before the war, the institute measured around 106,000 Christians killed during the Great purge.³⁰⁹ Predating even Hitler, this would mean the beginning of communist rule in and around Europe was on track for persecuting and murdering more than the Nazi's would during the war itself. According to a thesis written by Isaac Walsh at Tyndale University, the suppression of Christians from 1917-1941 under the Bolshevik regime was one of the bloodiest in all of church history.³¹⁰ Most of these were, of course orthodox Christians, but seen as brothers and sisters to the Catholic church. Pius XI had even called for prayer to be sent to those

³⁰⁷ Allen, "The Martyrs of Communism."

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Isaac Walsh, "Christianity in Russia: Surviving the Communist Persecution under Lenin and Stalin, 1917-1941." (Honours Thesis, Tyndale University, 2021) 3-4, Google Scholar.

persecuted by Stalin.³¹¹ It would be the years during Stalin's reign that would increase the numbers of Christian martyrs in the name of communism, estimated to be between twelve and twenty million people, making his reign even more bloody and targeted than even Hitler.³¹²

The anti-religious laws within the USSR were worded in such a way as to offer true freedom of religion and worship, as long as there was no religious propagandizing.³¹³ The reality of that freedom is written by the Wilson center as such: "Militant atheism, or the state-sanctioned assault against religious believers and institutions, including the looting and destruction of houses of worship and executions of priests, characterized Soviet antireligious policy of the 1920s and 1930s under both Lenin and Stalin."³¹⁴ During the war, this type of militancy was halted as most, including Christians, supported the war effort.³¹⁵ What made Stalin more apprehensive of the Pope and the Catholic church was its transnational effect and lack of legal ramifications within the USSR.³¹⁶ Stalin attempted to deal well with the Vatican, but due to the combative nature and constant opposite interpretation of both the world, spirituality, economics, and politics, there might never be true cooperation between the two nations.

Crusade for a better world

It is clear that the relationship between the Vatican and the Soviet Union would continue to be strained, further complicating the political goals of the PCI. The question of how this might force the church to modernize lay in the secularization that the international communist

³¹¹ Walsh, "Christianity in Russia," 60.

³¹² James Nelson, *Psychology, Religion, and Spirituality*, (Berlin: Germany, Springer Press, 2009): 427.

³¹³ Caroline Dunbar, "World War Two and the Intersection of Soviet Anti-religious and Foreign Policies in Soviet-Vatican Relations East of the Curzon Line (1941-46)," The Wilson Center, last modified December 17, 2020, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/world-war-two-and-intersection-soviet-anti-religious-and-foreign-policies-soviet-vatican>.

³¹⁴ Dunbar, "World War Two."

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

movement and the PCI brought up after the war. It is clear that the PCI was attempting to offer another option to the Italian people that did not involve traditional Catholicism, and so, in order to combat this agenda, the church was forced to call out its faults and find a new way to implement its own political ideology that did not include direct involvement. The new focus on social justice which the church interpreted as missions, and that the PCI interpreted as economic equality, would be the foundation by which the church was forced to modernize in the form of the Second Vatican Council, and propagated by priests such as Fr. Lombardi and Father Karol Wojtyla (John Paul II) who lived and understood the reality that communism offered.

Chapter four: Development of Italy's politics and their calls for foreign aid

It was not only the goal of international outreach for the Comintern, but for their Italian branch realized in the PCI, it was to propagandize. The development of post fascist state in Italy would be to create an Italy for the good of the people, and for the case of the PCI, it would be for the good of the common man. Because the PCI was focused on a gradual development of a Communist state, Togliatti, their representative, decided that a compromise was needed. The main issue, however, was that no one could agree on a compromise. Many argued that foreign aid was necessary for the rebuilding of Italy; people like Alcide De Gasperi argued a coalition government was fine, but only up to a point. The Vatican, already focused on their campaign to lay the spiritual ground for rebuilding Italy, wanted the government to follow a strictly biblical, and frankly old-world style. The process of democratization would be filled with many opposing viewpoints and foreign wooing for help.

The process of democratization came when Italy transitioned from a fallen political system around 1943 to a new one, when they passed the 1946/7 referendum.³¹⁷ Turmoil, division, and constantly shifting ideas left an empty place of power that desperately needed filled.³¹⁸ The process of democratization is complicated without the added issues that Italy was having, and the competition between leading coalitions on the right and left were further complicated by the involvement of foreign input—via the United States and the USSR. Robert Dahl writes in his book *On Democracy* about why democracy would be favorable to a nation. He argues that it would produce ten most favorable outcomes: avoiding tyranny, upholding basic rights, upholding universal freedom, allow the people to decide their own form of governance,

³¹⁷ Rosario Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy: Italy 1943-1948*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2019): 19.

³¹⁸ Claude LeFort

give the people moral autonomy—naturally being the most important to the church—as well as allowing for individual progress, protecting personal welfare, giving universal equality, while also providing peace and prosperity for the nation as a whole.³¹⁹ He further argues that leaders within nations where people do not have these things argue its necessity and if that didn't work, they would resort to coercion, something that the USSR practiced first hand.³²⁰

It is interesting then, that Togliatti argued the necessity of a representative government and a democratic process. His idea, however, was perhaps not as advanced as the Soviet Union and his gradual plan of communist utopia did not span beyond the growth of the party. Dahl continues to praise the reasons for a democratic government, giving ten ways in which it is beneficial. A few of the reasons he mentions are perhaps most relatable to the Italians of 1943—the first being prevention of corrupt autocrats.³²¹ The next reason he gives that is directly related to the Italians of 1943 is the ability of the people to choose the laws they wish to live under.³²² This is no better seen than in the referendum of 1946/7 where the people decided on a democratic and representative government. Another reason, most relatable to the Vatican's ideals is that democracy allows the prospect of moral responsibility, which he defines as “[...] you adopt your moral principles and make decisions that depend on these principles only after you have engaged in a thoughtful process of reflection, deliberation, scrutiny, and consideration of the alternatives and their consequences.”³²³ The final reason he gives ties into the rebuilding period that Italy was about to enter into and influenced the decisions that followed, for both the

³¹⁹ Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1998), 45.

³²⁰ Dahl, *On Democracy*, 45.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

³²² *Ibid.*, 53.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 55.

Vatican, the PCI, and the DC.³²⁴ The idea that democratic nations were more prosperous, Dahl says, is connected to the implementation of market economies, and Italy was looking to the United States as the ultimate example.³²⁵ The United States was not only an example of freedom and prosperity, clearly seen during the occupation of southern Italy mentioned in a previous chapter, but they were seen as a beacon of hope in the future of Italy and as a partner who would make Italy another America in Europe.

The reason that market capitalism and representative democracy favor each other are part of a long history, and of a history rooted in Italian tradition.³²⁶

Historical experience shows pretty conclusively that a system in which countless economic decisions are made by innumerable independent but competing actors, each acting from rather narrow self-regarding interests and guided by the information supplied by markets, produces goods and services much more efficiently than any known alternative. What is more, it does so with a regularity and orderliness that is truly astonishing. As a result, in the long run market capitalism has typically led to economic growth; and economic growth is favorable to democracy.

It is thus a significant turning point for Italy in 1943-1947 as they navigate their new reality.

The New Political Reality

Upon landing on the Southern tip of Italy in 1943, the Italians were told by the Anglo-American and Italian leadership to stop fighting, so they naturally assumed the war was over and that they should stop fighting with Germany as well. This was, of course, not reality, and they would continue to fight both the Germans and each other for the next year or so. The complete lack of clarity by the bumbling Italian leadership was incredible, especially as their government fell apart with the death of Mussolini and the country having no real leader (the King, at this

³²⁴ Dahl, *On Democracy*, 59.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 166.

point was useless, as was his son), they were confused and vulnerable. At this point, many of the Italians were ashamed of their country, an extremely new feeling for many.³²⁷ The importance of nationalism in Italian history is an important tenant in the citizens make up, and the next three years would challenge their duty as a united country perhaps more so than it did during the unification period of the 1860's and early 1870's. The country returned to a pre-unification state, so help as well as solid leadership was clearly needed.³²⁸ In essence, they needed the help of foreign armies to help with their "identity crisis"- they needed leadership and wanted one to free them from the past twenty years of fascist control, a blip in Italians minds they desperately wanted to forget.³²⁹ Complicating matters in an already failing nation, were continuous labor strikes by workers who were angry at a regime that had forced them to work to support the war effort but who were now abandoning the war itself, leaving many of the workers without an income.³³⁰ Turning their attention and hopes away from the fascist regime, they turned to Germany first for salvation, and when that failed, they turned to the King, who would be later forced to abdicate and flee the country, leaving them little choice but to riot.³³¹ Their backs turned on the monarchy and the fascist regime, the people of Italy were left with a gaping hole in which they filled with regret, disappointment, and anger.

Their new reality was, essentially, a loss of reality. The Italians, until 1943, were allied with Germany, but were now liberated and relived to be occupied by the Anglo-American army in the South.³³² The leader that they had fought for, and the political ideology they had died for, had now ended and their values lost, however, an end to their pain and suffering under that system

³²⁷ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 25-6.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

³³² *Ibid.*, 27.

and values had come to a swift end. The Italians were completely disillusioned with their society and had no sense of political identity all within the span of a few months.³³³ They were not only ashamed of their country as a whole, but of believing in Mussolini himself and not the regime as a whole.³³⁴ At this point, their country had a serious lack of leadership. Though the Americans and British military provided some sense of stability, they had no way to face a post-war modernity. This is where the church and foreign entities would have to step up and provide their wisdom.

As a result of the loss of leadership and competing foreign interests, a civil war had erupted in the midst of the second world war between the resistance fighters, led primarily by the communist forces, centered in the south, and the German and Italian fascist fighters occupying the north.³³⁵ The German's had moved into the North and traveled into the central regions at this point, completely devastating the lives of the citizens they encountered. Victoria Belco writes about the massacres in her book *War, Massacre, and Recovery in Central Italy: 1943-1948*. The Germans had implemented the same sort of treatment for the POW's and citizens within the region as they had typically done in the prison camps. Typical treatment for prisoners of the Germans, including poor conditions, death marches, and randomized shootings, were documented from those who survived the ordeal. Explaining what would happen to those who attempted escape, Anthony Olender said, "I stumbled over three dead bodies of Allied soldiers in the centre of the road. I saw another body lying by the side of the road."³³⁶ Within the larger

³³³ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 27-8.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 32-3.

³³⁶ Victoria Belco, *War, Massacre, and Recovery in Central Italy, 1943-1948*. (Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2010): 58.

regional cities, the atrocities would continue, turning the people further and further away from trusting in and bowing to the demands of the fascist regime they once followed.

One particular story mentioned occurred in a small village near Florence as the German troops moved further near the Anglo-American occupied south. Four German soldiers had gone into the town of Civitella, their behavior reported to a local resistance fighter named Succhielli.³³⁷ Succhielli and his men went to confront the soldiers, killing two and wounding another.³³⁸ The Germans, known for their brutal retaliations, arrived into the town and began their questioning, taking in men and women not involved in the incident.³³⁹ Days of back and forth between the resistance fighters and the Germans, as well as a raid by the Germans in the citizens homes, finally resulted in an armed invasion into the city on behalf of the Germans.³⁴⁰

When the priest finished blessing the villagers, the Germans took the men's wallets and watches, and then separated them into groups of five. Thus, the men of Civitella were massacred—shot in groups of five, one group at a time, while the others watched. The priest was one of the first group of five and may himself been the first man the Germans shot. They also killed the Fascist Republican podesta and Eliseo Bonechi, political secretary of the Republican fascio who had taken the job no one else wanted.³⁴¹

It was clear that for the Germans, this was no longer about political loyalty, but revenge and desperation to continue the war for the sake of both Hitler and the fatherland.

This particular incident, and the numerous others like it highlights the struggle of the Italian people as they looked to an absent government for leadership and authority, only to find confusion and chaos. The role of the local church was incredibly important, especially within the German occupied regions, as they provided a sense of stability and peace to an area decidedly

³³⁷ Belco, *Central Italy*, 59.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 62.

lacking such attributes. In the central region of Italy, many of the Italians looked to the Church for political and social leadership, stability, and authority. In 1929, the Lateran Pact gave the Pope autonomy over the Vatican, and even though Rome was occupied, he still commanded authority over a small piece. Various news articles show the compassion to the people that the pope desperately preached throughout the war. Rome was still occupied by the Germans, but the Vatican had remained a neutral stronghold for those not in uniform.³⁴² In a letter to President Roosevelt, Pius reiterates his insistence on remaining neutral during the war, though he will be forced later to choose, of course, as well as his heart for those innocents of the fighting.

It is a prayer that everywhere, as far as humanly possible, the civil populations be spared the horrors of war; that the homes of God's poor be not laid in ashes; that the little ones and youth, a nation's hope, be preserved from all harm – how Our heart bleeds when We hear of helpless children made victims of cruel war –; that churches dedicated to the worship of God and monuments that enshrine the memory and masterpieces of human genius be protected from destruction.

His various pleas would reign on deaf ears as the bombings continued, harming the Romans, and displacing millions.

The southern portion of Italy had not been excluded from the same feelings of hopelessness, and it was in the south that the feelings of abandonment had manifested in a more prevalent way. The idea of liberation from either political ties or from a physical presence was heightened, and a true turning point happened when Togliatti returned from exile in Russia.³⁴³ The issue was no longer ideological, Togliatti insisted to the government, it was physical liberation from the terror of the Germans—this would also naturally drive out the allied bombing raids as well.³⁴⁴ The Italian government, however, was not as persuaded as Togliatti—and by

³⁴² “Vatican City Neutrality,” *Aberdeen Journal*, June 6, 1944, 1, *British Library Newspapers* (accessed April 12, 2024).

³⁴³ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 48.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

extension Stalin—had hoped. Many of the coalitions refused to work with other coalitions or parties. The Action party refused to work with the Monarchists, and the Republicans refused to work with the Socialists.³⁴⁵ Others were so disgusted with the reactions and capitulations of the monarchy that they joined the communist party.³⁴⁶ As a result of the fear of communist growth, the King was asked to step down in favor of his son in order to win back support.³⁴⁷ The disgust and shame felt by most all Italians was the biggest unifying force as they were either disgusted with the monarchy, the regime, or themselves for their mistake of following the fascist party line. In the south, many still liked the institution of the monarchy as it represented traditionalism and they argued the monarchy was above the political fighting of the Italian government, making it a lasting institution.³⁴⁸ They were, of course, mistaken, as the monarchy crumbled soon after the war.

As the Italians moved further from the politics of monarchy, they turned their attention to developing a republic. Suffrage was granted for women and men over the age of twenty one, something important for the process of democratization.³⁴⁹ The Church and the allies supported the referendum and many political parties also wanted a constituent assembly.³⁵⁰ Republicanism was, of course, rooted in the Italian tradition, but most changes in the name of republicanism had failed around 1849, so little was known on how to run one successfully. In late 1943, the Italians welcomed the liberation of their country by the Americans with great celebration.³⁵¹ This was not, however, their first taste of republican forms of government. The Germans set up a puppet

³⁴⁵ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 49.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 37-8.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 68.

government in Salò, named it a republic, and many rediscovered what it was like to live in a republican form of government.³⁵² Many believed this to be inevitable because it is what the fascist promised before the war and was a break from the control Mussolini's fascism as his version was too immersed in monarchical tradition.³⁵³ Furthermore, various people's republics had a history within the south, though they were radical and more focused on land allocation.³⁵⁴ In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, southern peasants had their land taken away from them because of the various occupations of nations such as France.³⁵⁵ Under the leadership of Joseph Bonaparte, however, they were promised compensation, but never received it, and still did not receive much after the process of unification.³⁵⁶ This led to mass emigration to the US and South America, so no true reform was ever put in place. Fascism thus promised similar reform but was unable to meet food demands as well as implemented high taxes.³⁵⁷ The state had never provided for their needs, thus sparking deep mistrust in the government and any party who preached government control; this reason is why the south would eventually side with the allied powers and hold strong sway over the DC, being their biggest following away from the PCI.

World War Two had eased the pressure of food shortage, but even after liberation and during the arrival of the allies, the peasants were unable to find relief due to the black market and inflation—thus they began their land occupation campaign.³⁵⁸ They took pastureland from the larger estates and demanded agrarian reform and land distribution from the government, creating for themselves a peasant republic.³⁵⁹ The struggle for land, equality, and a break from old social

³⁵² Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 59.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 59.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

order was the true liberation journey for the southern peasants.³⁶⁰ In the northern and central parts of Italy, the spirit of republicanism and equality flourished in these small republics of Ossola, Carnia, Alba.³⁶¹ Forlenza remarks, “all were willing to adopt democratic rules for election (representative), war votes, control and admin of finances, food, justice, welfare, and public order”.³⁶² It inspired a break from the old social order and an ushering in of a new political citizenry, ready for their voices to be heard.

Strangely, it would not be the DC who helped achieve some form of agrarian reform, but a communist-led Agricultural Ministry who would meet peasants’ demands. Minister Gullo was successful on behalf of the peasants, but he unfortunately did not reach the goals set by the PCI.³⁶³ Togliatti and the PCI never supported Gullo’s reforms or the peasant republics, in fact, as this did not deserve their immediate attention. Their goal at the moment, right after the end of the fascist regime, was collaboration to create a new, specifically Italian, form of government.³⁶⁴ Peace and demonstrations calling for peace occurred even before the peasant revolts, creating a strong sense of political identity that would eventually translate into the more rural areas.

Both the war of words and physical warfare have affected Italian morale. According to a report from Moscow on November 17, at least 3,000 persons accused of “being in opposition to Mussolini” were rested in the course of a few days in Genoa, Turin, Milan and other cities. Many industrial leaders, army officers, and even Fascist party members were said to be among those taken into custody. When King Victor Emmanuel II visited Genoa on November 21 to inspect the damage done by bombs, people in the streets, according to a London source, cried “we want peace.”³⁶⁵

³⁶⁰ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy* 62.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 59.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁶⁵ Carol Thompson and C. E. Black, "The European Scene." *Current History*, Jan 1943, 416.

The peasants struggle for land reform resumed in 1949, but they played an important role in the referendum of 1946 because they now had political awareness, political identity, and an understanding that they had choices they never had previously.³⁶⁶ After 1946, the idea of social order and political subservience was now gone. The upending of social and political class had instilled new ideas, beliefs, and values in how the people understood power that it changed the voting landscape, altering the perception of Italian politics and turning the south more towards a democratic form of government.

Political authority was now in the hands of the people, and their choices were limited. The PCI and DC fronted the two most prominent coalitions and they each represented a very different form of government. Differing from other communist parties, however, the PCI believed that a revolution was not what was needed, but rather, a gradual change to Italian governance, so they too called for a republic. The best way, the government decided, was to hold a referendum, as they had their voices silenced by the fascists and the dictatorship of the anti-fascists as well. The choices for who would lead after the referendum—which successfully moved Italy to a republic—were numerous. There were various forms of conservatism in Italy, and all hated the communists, socialists, and liberal socialists within the action party.³⁶⁷ The DC had won the vote, and even though they were chaotic in and of themselves, they seemed like the strongest force against the action party.³⁶⁸ This was a decisive blow to the PCI in which they would have to build back support.

The American Response

³⁶⁶ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 64.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.

As the American soldiers rolled into the south of Italy in 1943, the Italians had had a year of political and social uncertainty. The New York Times reports on their entry in November of 1943. Germans continued to rain gunfire on both the Americans and the British while the American and British Air Forces took their time bombing the railways in Italy to keep the Germans from mobilizing.³⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the British and American Armies continued their march to the center of Italy. While they moved seventy miles outside of Rome, withstanding their own bombing campaign, the church in Rome was preoccupied with the refugee crisis as a result of both German occupation and the allied bombing campaign. Meanwhile, in the North of Italy, only two years later, the Germans, who had occupied most of the North, were being bombarded by the American Air Force, eventually blocking the Brenner Pass, an important mobilization line for the Germans.³⁷⁰ Within those two years, the Italian government was in complete disarray, coalitions fighting within each other and with other coalitions. Italians must now look toward the liberating American army for hope. Hope was eventually provided in 1945, when the New York Times reports on the looming liberation.³⁷¹ John Steinbeck, at the time a war correspondent, wrote about the American invasion of Salerno, Italy in his book *Once There Was A War*. In it he described the feelings of the soldiers about to invade, but practically, he described the invasion on the beaches of Salerno, and the aftermath, in stark detail. He wrote about the invasion itself and its dangers, all the while local children come up to him begging for food.³⁷²

³⁶⁹ Milton Brakcer, By Wireless to The New York Times, "Americans in Italy Drive Two Miles: Eighth Army Deepens and Broadens Bridgehead as Weather Aids Allies," *New York Times (1923-)*, Nov 29, 1943; 2

³⁷⁰ New York Times, "German Air Force Emerges in Italy: American Relief for War Sufferers in Italy," *New York Times (1923-)*, Feb 07, 1945; 13.

³⁷¹ "Italy's Liberation in Sight, Say Allies: Americans moving up to the front in Italy," *New York Times (1923-)*, Mar 17, 1945; 5.

³⁷² John Steinbeck, *Once There Was A War*, (New York, NY: Bantam Books, 1943/1958), 113

After heavy shelling, the Americans took the beach and secured Salerno from the German army, killing or pushing them out.³⁷³

The reaction of the Italians is described as so enthusiastic that it amounts closely to violent.³⁷⁴ Steinbeck remarked, “The pressures on the Italians must have been enormous. They seem to go to pieces emotionally when the war is really and truly over for them. Groups of them simply stand and cry—men, women, and children. They want desperately to do something for the troops, and they haven’t much to work with.”³⁷⁵ The Germans had completely decimated the southern Italian islands, restocking them for defense against the allied forces, and installing a fascist puppet government that was intensely harsh on the local population. Countless newspapers recall the welcome of American soldiers in the Italian south. The *New York Times* writes of one such welcome in the town of Spigno in May of 1944.³⁷⁶ Like most of the towns Germany had conquered in Italy, Germans soldiers left behind little evidence the town even existed, starving and looting the citizenry.³⁷⁷ In another *New York Times* Article, the author quoted General Patton in his confusion over the reaction of the citizens of Palermo.³⁷⁸ As the troops entered the city, they cheered, throwing flowers and fruit toward the liberating American army.³⁷⁹ The Italian people had been so desperate for stability and peace, and they now looked to America as the mecca of democracy, following their input toward a better political culture and

³⁷³ Steinbeck, *Once There Was A War*, 113.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 120.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 121.

³⁷⁶ “Spigno Welcomes American Troops: Tearful Civilians, Robbed by Germans, Kiss hands of Town’s Conquerors,” *New York Times (1923-)*, May 17, 1944; 3.

³⁷⁷ “Spigno Welcomes American Troops,” 3.

³⁷⁸ Don Whitehead, Associated Press Correspondent., “Palermo Crowds Turn Out to Welcome Seventh Army: Palermo Greet our Men Joyously,” *New York Times (1923-)*, Jul 25, 1943; 1.

³⁷⁹ Whitehead, “Palermo Crowds,” 1.

general future.³⁸⁰ Democracy, they believed, would bring about peace, stability, happiness, and wealth, all things the Italians had little of in the past twenty years under fascism.³⁸¹

In the south, many discussed the possibility of America taking over Italy and addressing their obvious sociopolitical issues, even going as far to suggest Italy become another American state, similar perhaps to Hawaii.³⁸² In a news article from 1946, for example, *The Manchester Guardian* wrote that Byrnes, the US Secretary of State, would aid in Italian reconstruction, giving many a sense of hope.³⁸³ Many conservatives argued this would be the best defense against the rising popularity of the PCI. Rosario Forlenza writes, “America was synonymous with democracy, modernity, freedom, and prosperity all rolled into one.”³⁸⁴ Democracy in America meant wealth and prosperity while in Italy, democracy was contradictory to the practice of democracy exercised by the fascist and monarchist regime.³⁸⁵ The Myth of American individualism became almost a starting point for the hope of many Italians. American propaganda, including many films and campaigns perpetrated by the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and Office of War Information (OWI) was intense and targeted. In the OSS Morale Operations Branch Propaganda Sample Books numbers five and six, they talk specifically on the campaign in Rome.

The Italians had to fill the political power vacuum that had been left when their own government toppled, their king became useless, and the Germans stole their identity. The Vatican, of course, had been courting the favor of the Americans throughout the war, keeping

³⁸⁰ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 68.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 71-2.

³⁸³ Our, Diplomatic Correspondent, "American Offer to Italy: Ready to Co-Operate," *Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*, Oct 14, 1946; 6.

³⁸⁴ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 72.

³⁸⁵ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 70.

them close though they believed them to be just as corrupt as any other government. Throughout the war, the pope wrote many lovely, worded letters to President Roosevelt, underscoring his belief that out of all the foreign occupying armies, perhaps America was the least morally corrupt. They certainly could not tolerate the anti-religious Soviet power becoming the dominant foreign influencer, and so they campaigned for the influence of the DC, the Americans, and for a return to the moral high ground. The PCI, of course, being run by the ideology of the Comintern, did not want any foreign influence other than perhaps the USSR. Even then, Togliatti's actions in setting up a government based on some republican ideals hint at his desire to only have internal influence, and not rely on any foreign interference at all. The speed at which Italy was destabilization and rebuilt was perhaps too fast as the new sociopolitical norms highlighted be the need to simply just survive. This overshadowed traditional morality which the Catholic church was against.³⁸⁶

Italy as the battleground for Europe

The question was no longer about who would win, but what ideological model would win; Forlenza argues it was more of an ideological question as to how they would decide who had the best model for how the individual relates to society.³⁸⁷ To some Italians, and of course the PCI, the USSR was seen as a place of ultimate happiness and freedom. Stalin was seen as a fatherly figure, ready to bestow his good grace on the people of Italy. Stalin was “the priest (the ultimate guardian of Marxism-Leninism), the warrior (the supreme leader of the Red Army), and the builder (the creator of Socialism).”³⁸⁸ But most Italians who supported Marxism were not delving into a political ideology, just a massive reliance on Stalin as an emotional reaction to

³⁸⁶Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 70-1.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 102-3.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 105.

anti-fascism.³⁸⁹ It was, of course, the Red Army who drove out the fascists and whose country propagated the myth that communism was an ideology for the people, run by the working class, creating harmony—a land of employment, equality, and where one never went hungry.³⁹⁰ For those fighting in the resistance, their hopes were not in the American liberation, but of the Soviet liberation.³⁹¹ The resistance believed they had a higher calling, an almost religious interpretation of nationalism and self-sacrifice for the good of the world and for a higher sociopolitical modernity.³⁹² It was necessary for them to move history forward, so they must do so in an almost spiritual way.

It would be this type of ideological conflict between the US and the USSR that would not only shape Italian post-war revitalization and policy, but global policy and growth would forever be shaped by these two hegemonic powers. For Italy, however, it would not just be internal policy that drove change, but foreign intervention needed to rebuild their economy. The question became about what country would win this competition.

US policy toward Italy was shaped by its confrontation with Russia and their focus was three-fold.³⁹³ Firstly, they would need to strengthen their control over the moderates in Italy, who may be easily swayed to the PCI.³⁹⁴ Secondly, they would need to build and maintain a socioeconomic system in Italy connected to free trade.³⁹⁵ Thirdly and finally, they must keep Italy in line with NATO, so as not to rely on the USSR and the rapidly forming eastern bloc

³⁸⁹ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 105.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 103.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 103

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 105-6.

³⁹³ Alan A. Platt and Robert Leonardi, “American Foreign Policy and Postwar Left,” *Political Science Quarterly* 93, no. 2(1978): 197.

³⁹⁴ Platt and Leonardi, “Postwar Left,” 197.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 197.

countries.³⁹⁶ These three-pronged plan would keep Italy securely under the thumb of the United States, keep Italy under the new economic rebuilding plan the US had for Europe, and ensure the containment of communism did not extend so far west. Furthermore, the US did not want the PCI or the socialists to be involved in the newly formed republic government, making this a condition for De Gasperi in forming his new government.³⁹⁷ From 1945 to 1948, US policy was based on containment, not restoration, like the Italians in the south had wanted.³⁹⁸ Italy, and especially the DC party began to have issues during the election season in 1947, and these issues strained the precarious relationship between Truman and De Gasperi, making Italy less of a priority to Truman, and weakening Italy's standing in the US.³⁹⁹

In a 1945 letter from the secretary of state—Edward Stettinius until June of that year until James Byrnes took office—to the Ambassador of Italy (Alexander Kirk), regarding the unsteady institutions that needed propped up, they suggested that Italy have a referendum rather than a parliamentary gathering so that the will of the people was more prevalent⁴⁰⁰ Later the same year, in a letter from Kirk back to the Secretary of State, Kirk outlined his meeting with a seemingly anxious De Gasperi, at the time the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the insistence of Togliatti in bringing up the question of how Italian institutions would be structured in this new government.⁴⁰¹ According to De Gasperi, Togliatti argued that the commitment to fight and submit to the allied troops in 1944 ended with northern Italian liberation, meaning Togliatti

³⁹⁶ Platt and Leonardi, "Postwar Left," 197.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 197.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 197-8.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 198.

⁴⁰⁰ Office of the Historian, "The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Italy (Kirk), No. 129, Washington January 20, 1945," <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d915>.

⁴⁰¹ Office of The Historian, "The Ambassador in Italy (Kirk) to the Secretary of State, Rome, April 11, 1945," <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d916>.

wished to continue with this process, since they had already given this commitment.⁴⁰² It was both De Gasperi and the then Prime Minister Ivanhoe Bonomi who reminded him that all of Italy must be liberated before they even begin to discuss the institutional question.⁴⁰³ De Gasperi, however, asked if the allied powers were keen on building the institutions before liberation, but was immediately shut down by Kirk who wished to stick to the previous agreement made between the allied powers.⁴⁰⁴ This can only be construed as Kirk patiently waiting to see the results of liberation and perhaps even keeping a close eye on who the Italian people would lean more towards after the war was complete. In other words, one crisis at a time. It would be in the best interest of the DC and the conservatives, however, to court the favor of the Americans, and rebuild according to their standards, especially if they needed the financial backing to do so.

Togliatti, however, was proposing a form on interim government—which would, in essence be against the agreement that Kirk advocated.⁴⁰⁵ This plan, consisting of a three person regency, similar to the republic under Caesar, where they would rule as Luogotenente generale del regno (Lieutenant General of the Realm) instead of the Italian Prince whom the allies had already placed in power.⁴⁰⁶ Togliatti argued that the allies putting the monarch in power did, in fact, reopen the question of institutions, however, Kirk reiterated that the monarch was placed in power before the agreement by Bonomi’s government not to talk about institutions was put into place.⁴⁰⁷ The core of the issue that the men were discussing was who would be in charge of instituting a government in Italy after liberation—the Italian people or the allied forces. Togliatti, of course being in line with the wishes of communist ideology, would never have suggested his

⁴⁰² Office of the Historian, “April 11, 1945.”

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

idea without the backing of Moscow, and England would, as seen by earlier statements by Churchill, would wish to keep the Monarchy intact.⁴⁰⁸ The wishes of the United States were more unclear to both Kirk and De Gasperi, and perhaps even to the United States themselves as argument over what to do with Italy seemingly varied between the executive and state department. It was clear that there was growing concern for communist uprising, as Kirk remarked at the end of his letter, “There is evidence of Communist concern arising from the recent increasingly favorable receptions which the *Luogotenente* has had from Italian patriots, regular troops and civilians both at the front and in rear areas. At Taranto, where he was warmly received by the recently repatriated Garibaldi division, this was particularly noticeable.”⁴⁰⁹

In a letter by Kirk the next day, he recommended not giving the Lieutenant General (Umberto II, the son of the former King of Italy) the title of regent, as doing so would reopen the question of institutionalism and lead to chaos in the current Italian coalition government, when, he says, they should focus on full integration of the liberated North and South of Italy.⁴¹⁰ It should be the constituent assembly that makes that decision, not the allied commission.⁴¹¹ It was the Christian democrats and liberal parties who wished for a referendum, being the best way to include the will of the people, while the extreme left wished for the assembly to vote, most likely due to voter turnout.⁴¹² Kirk himself sides with the Christian democrats in implementing a referendum. This, of course, would lessen the impact of a communist friendly coalition government post liberation.

⁴⁰⁸ Office of the Historian, “April 11, 1945.”

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Office of the Historian, “The Ambassador to Italy (Kirk) to the Secretary of State, Rome, April 12, 1945,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d917>.

⁴¹¹ Office of the Historian, “April 12, 1945.”

⁴¹² Ibid.

After a month of apparent deliberation, the Inter-divisional committee in Italy came to an agreement concerning the Italian government and dispatched their decision to Mr. Kirk in May of 1945. The committee argued that throughout all this arguing over regimes, no one had mentioned a plebiscite government in which the people are asked whether a certain course of action or government are legitimate—this would erase the need for political parties’ involvement.⁴¹³ It was clear, the letter states, that this was not the intention of the anti-fascist Italian coalition. The committee argued: “In short, the record is clear that the anti-Fascist parties insisted on a specific pledge that the institutional question would be resolved by means of a constituent assembly as a condition of their taking office under Marshal Badoglio.”⁴¹⁴ The account of the United States has since followed the desires of the Italian people that, after liberation and unification, the assembly would be elected and that they would be in charge of setting up a government.⁴¹⁵ The committee further specified that they followed along as Umberto II was placed as Lieutenant General and Badoglio formed a government.⁴¹⁶ The committee argued the US encouraged full participation of the anti-fascist forces and that the issue of government would be addressed following the war.⁴¹⁷ The committee insisted it will continue to support the wishes of the Italian people while avoiding such conflict that may lead to a civil war. With this in mind, they wrote a cautionary letter.

In this case the efforts of the United States Government, in cooperation with the powers associated with us in the occupation of Italy, would be confined to providing that the elections were free and fair and without violence. Properly supervised and arranged, a single national election of a constituent assembly may be expected to achieve

⁴¹³ Office of the Historian, “The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Italy (Kirk), no. 342, Washington, May 1, 1945,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d918>.

⁴¹⁴ Office of the Historian, “May, 1, 1945.”

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Office of the Historian, “May 1, 1945.”

approximately as free and fair a decision on the institutional question as a referendum or plebiscite.⁴¹⁸

It is thus understandable that De Gasperi would later be conflicted in his approach to the United States, as his discussions with Mr. Kirk may differ from that of the committees, and even President Truman.

Complicating matters further, the Italian government would have to deal with the British, who, by all accounts, were in favor of the return of the monarchy. In a letter from the British embassy to the Secretary of State, they detail out the discussion between Niccolo Cardini—the Italian Ambassador to the UK, and the British Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Oliver Charles Harvey. In the letter, he outlines the beginning of the end to the monarchy in Italy and raises the issue that Togliatti had spoken on in January of that year, that is the issue of governance and the formation of a tripart regency.⁴¹⁹ The Italians said they will not raise this question until full liberation, but the British argue the new issue is if the Allied powers (excluding Russia at this point) would allow Bonomi to continue his governance post-liberation.⁴²⁰ The British are only truly concerned with three things: that communication with Austria remains open, that they do not have to involve themselves in Italian politics, and that the new government fairly represents the will of the people.⁴²¹ The American response to this memorandum is in agreement with the British goals, that the Italian people are able to make “[...] a free and untrammelled choice of their permanent form of government after the termination of hostilities.”⁴²² The new question, since Italy has now been fully liberated, is how

⁴¹⁸ Office of the Historian, “May 1, 1945.”

⁴¹⁹ Office of the Historian, “The British Embassy to the Department of State: Aide-Memoire,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d919>.

⁴²⁰ Office of the Historian, “The British Embassy.”

⁴²¹ Office of the Historian, “The British Embassy.”

⁴²² Ibid.

they will do this. The US argued that the only way the will of the people is fairly represented is through local and national elections and proposes this statement.

For the American and the British to avoid direct intervention, the Italians needed to recognize the 1944 law that stated a constituent assembly be set up following the war for the purpose of creating a new constitution and that in the interim, the secretaries and undersecretaries act in accordance with the law to not endanger this peaceful transfer of power.⁴²³ If a new government is formed, they should undertake the same oath to uphold the integrity of Italian law. Before the national elections and formation of the constituent assembly, the proper electoral machinery be placed in the communes so that the elections are free and fair—something extremely important to the occupying powers—this now included the USSR.⁴²⁴ The British and American governments will aid in the provision of said machinery. The American and British understand that the convening of the constituent assembly assumes the predeceasing campaigning and elections.⁴²⁵ During this time, the Italian Military should be relieved of their monarchist oath so that they may act in a manner of their choosing without coercive force.⁴²⁶ The American, British, and Soviet powers allow whatever government the Italian choose and that a plan for decentralization, a buildup of local governments, and overall democratization—in accordance to previous documents signed—be implemented before the national question arises.⁴²⁷

⁴²³ Office of the Historian, “The Department of State to the British Embassy: Aide-Memoire,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d920>.

⁴²⁴ Office of the Historian, “The Department of State.”

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

Now that the necessary allied statements had been made, it was time to practically consider how the new government was to be formed. In the opinion of Ellery Stone, a referendum would be the most fair and free way of ensuring the people were heard.⁴²⁸ The British insist their hesitations to involve themselves, fearing a lack of confidence in the Italian government to carry out its duties.⁴²⁹ With this in mind, the British do not wish to insist on any form of government organization in Italy, as the Americans and Soviets do, especially concerning local elections. The Americans, upon hearing this, will informally suggest this course of action to the Italians.⁴³⁰

Following Potsdam, and the ascension to office by Secretary Byrnes, the plan for government organization in Italy reached a new level. In a telegram from Byrnes to Kirk in August of 1945, the US and UK believed an expedited and early election should be held by the end of the year and would like to make this suggestion to the Italian government with rapidity.⁴³¹ He urged Kirk to contact the new Prime Minister Parri in setting up free and fair local elections as soon as possible and then, after that was complete and successful, the national elections should take place.⁴³² Byrnes argued this was the best way to ensure a smooth democratic transition in their first post-fascist elections.⁴³³ The reason for the hasty election period, Byrnes argued, was that...“While this Govt is preparing to conclude a peace treaty with Italy on the assumption that that country is a democratic nation, it cannot to date cite a single commune even in territory first

⁴²⁸ Office of the Historian, “Memorandum by the Chief Commissioner of the Allied Commission (Stone) to the Supreme Allied Commander (Alexander), Washington, June 30, 1945,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d921>.

⁴²⁹ Office of the Historian, “The British Embassy to the Department of State: Memorandum of Conversation,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d922>.

⁴³⁰ Office of the Historian, “The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Italy, no.520, Washington, July 31, 1945,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d924>

⁴³¹ Office of the Historian, “The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Italy (Kirk), Washington, August 22, 1945,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d925/>

⁴³² Office of the Historian, “August 22, 1945.”

⁴³³ Ibid.

liberated and returned to Ital administration which has a popularly elected body of government.”⁴³⁴ This, of course, should only be suggested to the Italians vis-a-vi the joint commitment of the US and UK governments to stay out of the Italian elections—barring they are free and fair.⁴³⁵

After Kirk had spoken to Parri, he communicated that the reactions and course of action of the tired Prime Minister were as of yet, unclear⁴³⁶ After a series of rabbit trails of possibilities, Kirk argued it was clear that the Italian government had not decided on when exactly to hold the elections.⁴³⁷ It was De Gasperi who agreed with the Americans and said that if elections were postponed, Parri feared that favor would return to a monarchial restoration.⁴³⁸ Furthermore, De Gasperi argued, Parri’s own party is small and that he was not inclined to see that carried out in local elections, and that if elections started in the south, a moderate government would be favored.⁴³⁹ De Gasperi, it appeared to Kirk, was more preoccupied with what would happen after the constituent assembly was created.⁴⁴⁰ In knowing the Italian people best, De Gasperi argued that the government that followed would not be the same as in the UK or UK

According to majority views of Italian jurists, establishment of *costituente* would automatically put an end to all govt in Italy including Lieutenant General of Realm, Council of Ministers and present Presidents of Senate and Chamber and power would be vested in President named by *costituente* who would then form “provisional government” resembling that in France. This situation De Gasperi added set stage for dictatorship with either Nenni⁵⁵ or Togliatti as probable candidates.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁴Office of the Historian, “August 22, 1945.”

⁴³⁵ Office of the Historian, “The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Italy (Kirk), no. 578, Washington, August 22, 1945,”. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d926>.

⁴³⁶ Office of the Historian, “The Ambassador in Italy (Kirk) to the Secretary of State, Rome, August 25, 1945,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d927>.

⁴³⁷ Office of the Historian, “August 25, 1945.”

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

He seemed to only confirm the views held by Mr. Kirk in establishing a referendum rather than a constituent assembly. In a letter by Kirk to the Secretary of State Byrnes, in September of 1945, he outlined De Gasperi's fears and issues to the implementation a constituent assembly, comparing it to the one formed in 1789 France, essentially calling it an oligarchical or aristocratic rule.⁴⁴² His final opinion is that Russia, the UK, and the US ensure the free and fair elections and the will of the people is implemented as it was agreed to in both Yalta and Moscow.⁴⁴³

During the September months, the Parri and Bonomi government seemed to ignore the wishes of both Mr. Kirk and Admiral Stone in amending their election process and having the elections rapidly. The US response to this was clearly displeasure, but watchful. Finally, on September 11, Parri responded that he would be putting forth the US wishes to the council of ministers, though he did not seem in a hurry to do so, and further argued that being a six-party government made haste and agreement difficult.⁴⁴⁴ The acting Secretary of State responded that the Americans were waiting for Italy to prove, not argue, they were democratic in nature.⁴⁴⁵ Finally, in December of 1945, De Gasperi writes that they will wait for official liberation of the Italian people and that they would make the decisions on when and what type of government they would initiate.⁴⁴⁶ De Gasperi had two goals in which he hoped America would aid. Italy's economy needed to be rebuilt under a free market system, and the increasing presence of

⁴⁴² The Office of the Historian, "The Ambassador in Italy (Kirk) to the Secretary of State, Rome, September 6, 1945," <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d928>.

⁴⁴³ Office of the Historian, "August 25, 1945."

⁴⁴⁴ Office of the Historian, "September 6, 1945."

⁴⁴⁵ The Office of the Historian, "The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Italy, Washington, September 12, 1945," <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d932>.

⁴⁴⁶ The Office of the Historian, "The President of the Italian Council of Ministers (De Gasperi) to the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission (Stone), Rome, 10 December 1945," <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d934>.

communism in his government and Italy as a whole must be eradicated.⁴⁴⁷ He set the groundwork to kick out the PCI in 1947; the supported by church propaganda in the form of pamphlets, letters by the pope to the local church, encyclicals and speeches, as well as US policy was set to bolster DC support.⁴⁴⁸

Italy and their place in post war Europe

By 1945, Alcide De Gasperi, the head of the DC party was elected as Prime Minister. After the referendum, he would now be responsible for the choices of rebuilding the newly formed Republic. Because of its former occupation and status as enemy/ally, all choices for now, however, would be made internationally or in conjunction with the American military leadership.⁴⁴⁹ De Gasperi was extremely proactive and wanted to meet with FDR in 1945 to discuss plans and though initially met with a positive response, he was never able to meet with him as the president fell ill and would eventually pass.⁴⁵⁰ Truman was less inclined to grant De Gasperi an audience. For Truman, Italy was a concern but not his main concern. His attention was on the USSR and their political choices.⁴⁵¹ Issues between US policy makers and planners arose. They knew they needed a plan for both Italy and Europe in general, and the overall issue of economic aid to Europe was supported by Truman, but no one knew how to implement it.⁴⁵² Gasperi focused on the Vatican envoy Myron Taylor who was chairman of the American Relief for Italy board—who sent \$ to Italy during the war—as well as Italian immigrants, US citizens,

⁴⁴⁷ Platt and Leonardi, “Postwar Left,” 198.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 199.

⁴⁴⁹ Kaeten Mistry, *The United States, Italy and the Origins of Cold War : Waging Political Warfare, 1945-1950*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 20.

⁴⁵⁰ Mistry, *Origins of the Cold War*, 20

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 21.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 21.

and private groups.⁴⁵³ De Gasperi knew it was necessary to rely on an international power—the choice was either with the US, who seemed uninterested, or the USSR, who many in Italy were against.

The State department in the US, however, was more interested in aiding Italy and their goal was Italy's independence, not adding them as an imperial holding.⁴⁵⁴ There were three responses and plans laid out by different groups of within the US. The first was cooperation, taking on a classically liberal approach to Italy's issues and being less hands on, letting the invisible hand build up the Italians economy.⁴⁵⁵ This particular plan was headed by William Clayton and inspired by Cordell Hull who wanted to remove barriers from trade.⁴⁵⁶ This plan, however, had a major issue: they had trouble getting money from congress and the treasury, so Clayton created his own new economic agencies, offending the State department, and derailing his plans.⁴⁵⁷ The second plan was more controlled and headed up by the New Deal reformists and American internationals.⁴⁵⁸ Their goal was to spend money to maintain employment, distribute income and look for sociopolitical reform, helping Italy from the ground up.⁴⁵⁹ They would also be unable to secure funding. The final plan was promoted by the State department and expats working in Europe, who knew it was important to promote economic growth and social reform but saw the growing importance of communist opposition.⁴⁶⁰ Their focus was supposed to be on political

⁴⁵³ Mistry, *Origins of the Cold War*, 21.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 22-3.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 22-3.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

stability before economic aid became a priority.⁴⁶¹ The socio-political issues in Italy were compounded by chaos of US politics.

Truman, who greatly differed from FDR, had his own approach to international questions, and his inferiority complex sometimes got the better of him. He was often hesitant at times and made snap decisions in spite of others opinions.⁴⁶² Truly, Truman knew close to nothing about foreign relations, so he improvised, and because of his nationalistic leanings, he typically put foreign issues on the back burner.⁴⁶³ Truman also had to consider the opinion of the British, who had helped in the invasion of Southern Italy and shared in the responsibility of Italian governance.⁴⁶⁴ America had their own interests, and were not keen to capitulate to British Mediterranean desires.⁴⁶⁵

It was the military commanders who really understood the value Italy had in influencing the political battle for Europe. Rear Admiral Ellery Stone said that Italy was ripe for growth and that if they don't win, communism surely would.⁴⁶⁶ Stone argued for military, economic, and political support, eliminating harsh treaty conditions in exchange for the implementation of democratic principles and leadership brought on by England and America.⁴⁶⁷ At the 1945 Council of Foreign Ministry meeting in London, they negotiated these treaty terms: Italy, they argued, should give reparations to states Mussolini attacked (Yugoslavia, France, Austria) and there would be restrictions on Italian armament.⁴⁶⁸ Though these were not horrible conditions,

⁴⁶¹ Mistry, *Origins of the Cold War*, 24.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 25-6.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 25-6.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

Italy was not satisfied. There was backlash against America's soft position considering Moscow, and Italians were irritated at concessions made.⁴⁶⁹ American leadership was angered by this response as well as Admiral Stone who was concerned that support for Italy would wane, and the relationship between the two nations would remain indifferent, turning Italy towards the USSR.⁴⁷⁰ Italy finally argued that the peace treaty was against the Atlantic charter, but the treaty was settled.⁴⁷¹ Italy's future remained unclear.

Politics in Italy swings toward DC

After 1946, the DC started gaining a foothold in leadership in Italian politics with De Gasperi leading in filling important roles within the coalition government.⁴⁷² De Gasperi was a good choice for American partnership as he was cooperative, did not side with Mussolini during the war, and offered a non-religious alternative to Myron Taylor⁴⁷³. Taylor championed the Vatican as the best partner in keeping communism at bay while Gasperi believed that honor belonged to the DC.⁴⁷⁴ Gasperi, Taylor, and Truman were all interested in enlisting the church to fight the communist battle.⁴⁷⁵ The DC was vastly important to American foreign policy, and also enjoyed the nominal support of the Vatican, even though they were reluctant.⁴⁷⁶ The church and DC had a complicated relationship, with the party drawing support from the Vatican, but the Vatican did not directly control the party and only contributed a bit to its success.⁴⁷⁷ The DC had a vast party failing that made it a formative foe against the PCI; this and their open hostility to the fascist

⁴⁶⁹ Mistry, *Origins of the Cold War*, 27-8.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 30

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

regime, and their basis in Christian morality and their ability to work openly with most other parties made them successful.⁴⁷⁸ The Vatican questioned Gasperi's political leadership skills when Gasperi expressed his interest in wanting to build a coalition government, even though it was united by an Italian culture and inspired by Catholicism.⁴⁷⁹ The DC wanted a more moderate centrist government and did not want the church to be directly involved in policy making decisions, making the Pope cautious.⁴⁸⁰ They further had wide array of political viewpoints, making it more inclusive and the centrists were the loudest and most influential part of the party.⁴⁸¹ The centrist Dossettiani party argued that the DC "[...]interwove economic and political thinking with theological and spiritual reflection to advocate political and social action inspired by Christianity"⁴⁸² They were highly nationalistic as well, only advocating foreign intervention out of economic necessity. Gasperi was aware that they needed a coalition government and called on a number of people including Action party member Alberto Tachiani, republican Carlo Sforza, and liberal Luigi Einaudi to help him lead his DC-centrist government.⁴⁸³ They believed in and advocated for Italian internal and global restoration, anti-Marxism, and nationalistic ideals.⁴⁸⁴ Because of Gasperi's prowess on the world stage, he blamed party-conflict on the issues that plagued Italian government (while downplaying his own party issues), weakening his party going into the 1950's and 1960's.

The influence of the Vatican over the grassroots DC party was well known, and so De Gasperi capitalized on this by calling on Christian values to propagate his plan.⁴⁸⁵ Now that DC

⁴⁷⁸ Mistry, *Origins of the Cold War*, 32.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, 33.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

had taken over, and the Vatican had a continued channel in which to influence politics in Italy, they needed to define themselves and how they were going to go up against the PCI, especially as the PCI's ideology and standing in Italy was popular after their major hand in defeating fascism.⁴⁸⁶ For their own part, the PCI focused on aspects on the Italian unification and nationalist movements of the nineteenth century in bringing back the will of the people⁴⁸⁷ In many of the DC circles, they advocated for a middle ground within global politics, where they unite themselves with the Catholic neutral nations and bring a sense of balance and peace to Europe, almost acting as another Switzerland and using the Vatican as a point of unification for the Latin peoples⁴⁸⁸ The DC knew that they were in this game of tug-o-war between America and the USSR, so they used this as a way to play up their own interests while ignoring what was happening in Europe, acting the part of a global victim.⁴⁸⁹ De Gasperi knew that this would not be practical, that Italy needed foreign intervention, and tried to closely ally himself with America in order to rebuild.

De Gasperi sent a DC centrist and seasoned diplomat, Alberto Tarchiani to Washington in 1945 to help build Italian reputation. Tarchiani, who already had a strong foothold in Italy, and despite the apparent lack of interest from the administration, looked at American interest in Italy as favorable and argued the importance of the geographic and politically strategic position of Italy on the world stage.⁴⁹⁰ He was also very strategic in making Washington power players aware of the dangers the PCI posed. Along with his campaign to Washington, Tarchiani was strategic in his approach to Italian sympathizers such as Herbert Hoover, Henry Fletcher (ex-

⁴⁸⁶ Mistry, *Origins of the Cold War*, 34.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

ambassador to Rome), Henry Luce (owner of Time-Life Inc), and Chase National Bank president Winthrop Aldrich, where he pitched the plight of Italy and the precarious position it held in post-war Europe.⁴⁹¹ He argued that if America did not help, Italy would be forced to turn to the USSR.⁴⁹² Italy's position in the immediate aftermath of the war, their reliance on foreign aid, and their government was unstable and precarious. De Gasperi had his work cut out for him and his issues were two-fold, as internal tension within the coalition government was strong, and the need for US aid had proved to be difficult at best. The involvement of the Papacy would prove to be instrumental to his plan with the US as the Vatican enjoyed more diplomatic prosperity than De Gasperi. The Vatican position was to overcome communism and the PCI. To do this, it too would have to unite itself with America—the less evil nation—and promote DC interests, bringing its policies and course of action in the peninsula to the twentieth century. In 1946, people became dissatisfied with the DC all while Tarchiani was trying to negotiate peace treaty with the US.⁴⁹³ This concerned the US as people were starting to lean left toward communism and the PCI.⁴⁹⁴ This was certainly not part of containment that Truman wanted. It would be up to America, as a paternal figure, to help the Italians not fall astray into the path of communism—something the church was also interested in doing.⁴⁹⁵ The question now is how they would do this.

Various letters and memorandum's highlight the clear importance of Italy to all but Truman. In a memorandum written between William Clayton, the Assistant Secretary of Economic Affairs, Tarchiani, a certain Dr. Ortona, and economist at the Italian Embassy, as well

⁴⁹¹ Mistry, *Origins of the Cold War*, 35.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

as a Mr. Fetter, in charge of Economic development and investment in the US, they talk on the importance and possibility of an Export-Import bank loan to Italy.⁴⁹⁶ Their memorandum, in which Italy asks America for a staggering loan of nine-hundred-and forty billion dollars only underscores their desperation.⁴⁹⁷ Of course, the consequences of this not happening would mean that Italy would have to look elsewhere for aid in rebuilding, most likely to the USSR, complicating relations with the US. The response by the US was perhaps not what Italy was hoping for, as they directed them instead to an international bank.⁴⁹⁸ The issues in Italy were further complicated by the food shortages and the looming elections. Italy, for all the resistance of the United States in the beginning, asked for participation in the Bretton Woods agreements.⁴⁹⁹ These conversations would predate the Marshall Plan, highlighting the importance of economic aid in rebuilding Europe, the desperation of the Italian people, and even mentioning—not in words—the reality of what would happen should the US not capitulate to their desires.

Three things happened at the end of 1946 and early 1947 that would push Italy and America together. DC centrists and Washington leadership had to work together as the elections in both areas did not go as planned. Each player needed to play a stronger role in their respective governments.⁵⁰⁰ De Gasperi then travelled to Washington, seeking to continue to strengthen the ties between both nations. The re-establishment of a strong embassy in Rome under James C. Dunn also helped strengthen these international ties.⁵⁰¹ Italy was still in its democratic infancy

⁴⁹⁶ Office of the Historian, “Memorandum of Conversation, by the Chief of the Division of Investment and Economic Development (Fetter), Washington, February 14, 1946,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1946v05/d605>.

⁴⁹⁷ Office of the Historian, “Memorandum.”

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Mistry, *Origins of the Cold War*, 43.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 43.

after the 1946 referendum. This also forced the church to give up their hopes of a sustained monarchy and rely on the new ruling party. Though the DC emerged victorious amongst the political foray, it would be a long road ahead that demanded foreign intervention.

US interaction with the EU

By the beginning of 1948, Italian democracy was just starting out and electing their first post-war parliament. The difficulty would be to elect proper, freedom loving members of parliament, that America deemed appropriate.⁵⁰² The youth of Italy, they reasoned, had never known a time when they had such freedom, as the reigns of both fascism and monarchy weighed heavily.⁵⁰³ Once America had decided in the early stages of the containment of communism, they decided it was appropriate for America to step into Italian politics to guide their elections.⁵⁰⁴ It was, of course, the DC's wish for aid, and the PCI, being the largest communist party outside of the USSR was extremely worrisome to the US government. This was further exacerbated by the fragmented coalition governments arguing from 1946-1947, as well as the post-war inflation and food shortages that plagued Italy.⁵⁰⁵ Riots and letters sent to the PCI encouraging a political insurrection also worried American policy makers.⁵⁰⁶ Not only would this spell disaster for Italy, but it would question the growing hegemonic power of America who had done much to liberate and help establish good governance in Italy.⁵⁰⁷ This would call into question their strength. When people are desperate, they turn to the most practical leadership. If a post-war Italy fell back into this pattern, the US, and even the Vatican had every right to fear for something worse than

⁵⁰² Robert Ventresca, *From Fascism to Democracy : Culture and Politics in the Italian Election of 1948*, 2nd ed., (Toronto, [Ontario] ; University of Toronto Press, 2004), 61.

⁵⁰³ Ventresca, *From Fascism to Democracy*, 61.

⁵⁰⁴ Ventresca, *From Fascism to Democracy*, 62.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

Mussolini. Italy, close to the Eastern Bloc countries falling to communism like Yugoslavia and Greece, was really the boarder for keeping democracy safe in Western Europe.

According to the National Security Council papers dated November 14, 1947, the issues surrounding Italy revolved around the security of American interests in the Mediterranean.⁵⁰⁸ To secure these security interests, they offer a multifaceted plan, proposed by Secretary Dunn, then ambassador to Italy in Rome. With the possibility of Gasperi and the DC losing the vote to leftist forces, Dunn suggests that the US government give twenty million dollars for prisoner of war certificates, more money given to Americans living in Italy, the restoration of Italian gold to the Italian government, and other concessions, amounting to around fifty to sixty billion dollars.⁵⁰⁹ Upon this recommendation, the US government, in addition to the suggested giving, enacted the following to prop up the DC and to safeguard their standing in the Mediterranean: shipments of essential supplies, dollar credit, technical advancements and non-combatant equipment to the Italian military, give them favorable trade status, combat communism propaganda, provide economic aid, and implement a plan for long term aid to help rebuild Italy.⁵¹⁰ If the DC should lose, they would not be recognizing a communist led government and act accordingly. If the DC were to win the 1948 election, they would need to prove their usefulness to the US government by implementing positive changes.

⁵⁰⁸ Office of the Historian, *Reports by the National Security Council: Washington, November 14th, 1947*, (Historical Documents, US Department of State, 2024), <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1948v03/d440>.

⁵⁰⁹ Office of the Historian, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947, The British Commonwealth; Europe, Volume III*, (Historical Documents, US Department of State, 2024), https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1947v03/pg_976

⁵¹⁰ Office of the Historian, *Reports by the National Security Council: Washington, November 14th, 1947*, (Historical Documents, US Department of State, 2024), <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1948v03/d440>.

Communist riots and uprisings continued to occur throughout 1947, further highlighting the importance of this particular election. In various News articles, journalists highlight the dangers of these riots leading up to and following the election season in Italy. In November of 1947, the Manchester Guardian reports of a clash between the workers and the remaining fascists in Milan.⁵¹¹ The workers ran through the city center of Milan and targeted a right-wing newspaper and their headquarters, though their purpose was protesting a potential destroying of the communist headquarters.⁵¹² It turned violent when they blamed both the government (DC led) and the police for arresting and beating five of their compatriots, so they began firing on the right wing headquarters.⁵¹³ After a speech that Togliatti gave in which he encouraged government agitation, many of them were dropped off in the cities of Genoa and Milan and began their riots.⁵¹⁴ This type of violence was not new, and had, in fact, been occurring in various parts of the country. Many were beaten and injured as a result, including those who spoke out against the violence. The riots continued, speeches were made, and bombs were detonated. Most of their anger was not only directed at the Christian Democrats, but also any fascist and monarchist fronts. The journalist argued, "In Bologna, a bomb exploded outside the offices of the Monarchist Front. The unrest was so widespread that the general opinion in Rome was that it formed part of a preordained Communist plan to keep Italy in a state of turmoil until the general election next May."⁵¹⁵ These riots came on the heel of an assassination attempt on Togliatti by a

⁵¹¹ "RIOT IN ITALY: WORKERS CLASH WITH FASCISTS," *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*, Nov 13, 1947; 5.

⁵¹² "Riot in Italy." 5.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Arnaldo Cortesi, Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES, "Communists Widen Riots in Italy: COMMUNISTS WIDEN RIOTING IN ITALY," *New York Times (1923-)*, Nov 13, 1947; 1.

⁵¹⁵ Cortesi, "Communists Widen Riots," 2.

university student in Rome.⁵¹⁶ It was reported that the riots began as a retaliation to force the DC to resign.⁵¹⁷

This was a cause of concern, especially as they had always understood that the communists in Italy could completely upend their democratic work. A particular letter also raised cause for concern. A certain Captain Chanler wrote to the US embassy in Rome about information he had received from an Italian official.⁵¹⁸ In this letter, they claimed Moscow had given order to the PCI to begin their ministrations in order to overthrow the government, as retaliation for the US claiming Italy and Greece as part of the western democratic bloc.⁵¹⁹ Though dismissed by many at the embassy, Ambassador Dunn took this possible threat seriously, especially in popular communist stronghold cities, such as Parma and Bologna.⁵²⁰ According to Dunn, the close watch on the PCI was further compounded by the formation of the Soviet Comintern, as well as the radical speeches given by Togliatti—previously mentioned in starting the November riots.⁵²¹ The fears of the US government culminated in the understanding that the PCI would attempt to build a communist state in the north, dividing the country exactly like Germany.⁵²²

Just as the OSS had been concerned with propaganda technique in Italy following the war, so too was the newly developed National Security Council. The National Security Council was formed in 1947 by an act of congress, deeming it necessary to coordinate foreign policy

⁵¹⁶ Arnaldo Cortesi Special to The New York Times: “Riots sweep Italy After and Assassin wounds Togliatti: Six Dead, Scores hurt as Reds battle police, who are said to be in control General strike is begun Communist chief improves after 3 bullets are removed—Assailant captured after student attempted to assassinate Italian Communist Leader Togliatti is shot; Riots sweep Italy,” *New York Times (1923-)*, Jul 15, 1948; 1.

⁵¹⁷ Cortesi, “Riots sweep Italy,” 1.

⁵¹⁸ Ventresca, *From Fascism to Democracy*, 71.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, 73.

decisions and protect the foreign interests of the United States government.⁵²³ At their meeting considering issues within Italy, it would be Assistant Secretary of State Robert Lovett who would lay out the possibilities of failure on behalf of the US to secure their interests.⁵²⁴ As violence on behalf of the communist party continued to rampage in Italy, Lovett urged military intervention.⁵²⁵ He argued that it would be in their best interest to protect their holdings in Italy, Greece, and Turkey—essentially securing the Mediterranean before the USSR had a chance to intervene.⁵²⁶ This effort culminated in the NCS document *The Position of the United States with Regard to Italy*. What remained important for the United States was not solely focused on aid, but to prevent another civil war, direct influence of the USSR, and the protection of their holdings in the Mediterranean.

This particular election would determine not only America's strength, but the strength and lasting ability of democratic governance in Western Europe. For the Vatican, this meant survival.

The DC

During the war, the Vatican had enjoyed immense influence over relations with the US as their relationship with FDR was strengthened⁵²⁷The Pope himself was surrounded by a mass following after he visited the ruins of a bombed Rome and provided shelter to Italians in Castel Gandolfo during the war. Pius XII was named defender of the city and was seen as a stronger figure than most of the Italian statesmen following the war. The oldest diplomatic institution in the world lived up to its reputation. Following the war, and during the ascendancy of the PCI in

⁵²³ Office of the Historian, *History of the National Security Council 1947-1997*, (US Department of State, 1997).

⁵²⁴ Ventresca, *From Fascism to Democracy*, 73.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵²⁷ John Pollard *Catholicism in Modern Italy: Religion, Society and Politics since 1861*, (London; Routledge, 2008), 108.

Italy, the Pope sent his two diplomats to the US out of concern for the growing popularity that communism was enjoying.⁵²⁸ Pius XII, himself from Rome, was deeply concerned with Christian restoration in Italy but recognized the growing threat of communism in Northern and central Italy as predominating the spread of Christianity; if communism won, then Christianity would also be defeated; this was both offensive and impossible to imagine. Pius XII's efforts concentrated on the Italian political restoration and unity against the dangers of the PCI.⁵²⁹

Though the fighting had officially ended, skirmishes still happened between fascist and anti-fascist forces in 1945-6 mostly in Emilia-Romagna, which were under communist influence.⁵³⁰ The Italian communists, mostly the grassroots communists, believed they would have a revolution like Tito did in Yugoslavia and like what was happening in Greece.⁵³¹ Even though Togliatti continued to pursue his parliamentary option, focusing on a gradual revolution, many lay communists continued to hope. These more militant communist forces thus sparked Catholic Action groups to arm themselves, leading to various protests and assassination attempts on Togliatti's life.⁵³²

Both parties were able to pull out a semi-victory in the 1946 elections with twenty percent of the votes went to the Marxist-socialist coalition, nineteen to the PCI, and twenty-five to the center left, demonstrating a desire in Italy for radical change.⁵³³ The priorities for the Vatican were to beat out the PCI and preserve the Lateran Pact, and thus their own autonomy. In the 1948 elections, the position of America was one of concern as the decline of the DC was prominent.⁵³⁴

⁵²⁸ Pollard, *Catholicism in Modern Italy*, 109.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 110

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 110.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁵³⁴ Mistry, *Origins of the Cold War*, 127.

Any type of victory for the Popular-Democratic vote (communist-socialist alliance) would mean a loss for the new republic and a win for the USSR.⁵³⁵ The church could only do so much, while the US could stabilize all of western Europe by one propaganda campaign, pushing Italian voters to America rather than to the USSR.⁵³⁶ The US, and the church, would then would need to put all their effort into an anti-Marxist propaganda campaign, which they eventually did. It would not be Washington, but the American embassy who would lead this campaign, while the Vatican politicized its movement in helping the DC win over the majority and effectively squashing the People's Democratic Front (PFD)—the coalition of the PCI and the PSI, something they would continue to do throughout the cold war.

Catholic anti-communism

The biggest fear now for the Catholic church was about where the people would turn to for their political guidance. Pope Pius XII was extremely worried about Stalin's antireligious stance, and from past actions concerning the deaths of priests in Eastern Europe, so he announced no one could be both Catholic and communist.⁵³⁷ He continued to reiterate this throughout his pontifical career in various speeches and encyclicals. Pius XII argued that Italians cannot trust the PCI's collaboration with the USSR and then waged a propaganda war on communism, similar to the US government did. Pius justified his campaign by highlighting the historical development of communism and their current political doctrine could not be separated.⁵³⁸ It was never about politics for Pius, only moral superiority. In an article from the New York Times in 1946, Pius urged the Catholic Action and specifically the youth to resist any anti-religious or

⁵³⁵ Mistry, *Origins of the Cold War*, 127.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁵³⁷ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 115

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 116.

anti-Christian party in the poles.⁵³⁹ He argued that it was imperative to choose the best government that would be the least morally corrupt—something the communist party was lacking.⁵⁴⁰ This was highlighted in a New York Times article in 1948. It reports that Priests were telling their parishioners their choices—communism or external salvation—in the spring of 1948.⁵⁴¹ A certain Cardinal Tisserant argued that if communism is not completely understood and combated, then it will lead not only to subversion but the destruction of Italian society.⁵⁴² The continuation of Pius XII predecessor's stance against communism was extremely important to the Pope's political fight. In Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*, Pius XI argued that the fight against communism was simply a continuation of the fight between good and evil. The communist regime was, according to the document, directly attacking the morality of nations, and thus directly attacking the church. Communism before and certainly after the war was more dangerous, however, as it "[...] strips man of his liberty, robs human personality of all its dignity, and removes all the moral restraints that check the eruptions of blind impulse."⁵⁴³ Their fight, though nothing new, would continue well past the end of the second world war, and would spread into every corner of the faithful Italians.

Pius XII's propaganda campaign, typically done through the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano*, was actually the grassroots Catholic movements that proved more effective as they developed their own narratives of communism. The danger to morality, the family, religion, and women were felt on a more personal level. This is highlighted in various

⁵³⁹ "POPE SPEAKS ON VOTING: URGES WISE USE OF THE BALLOT AT ITALIAN ELECTIONS," *The Sun (1837-)*, Apr 21, 1946, 7.

⁵⁴⁰ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 117.

⁵⁴¹ "Communism Foe, Cardinal Says," *The Sun (1837-)*, Mar 24, 1948. 4.

⁵⁴² "Communism Foe," 4.

⁵⁴³ Pope Pius XI, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023) https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19370319_divini-redemptoris.html.

news articles as being the ultimate focus of the Catholic church. In 1948, a in a New York Times article from 1950, the Pope called for full resistance to communism amongst the Italian priests. He calls on both the DC and PRI, and specifically Catholic Action to protect their spiritual heritage and spread the gospel as a way of resistance.⁵⁴⁴ By fighting together with those who had personal experiences with the horrors of communism, he would be more successful in running an anti-communism political campaign than the DC. One of the largest, and more successful, campaigns was the Italian letter writing to their relatives in the United States. In 1948, for example, the Catholic Civil Committees, a nonpolitical Catholic body, wrote to the American Catholics in a bid to help them fight communism.⁵⁴⁵ In this specific campaign, Luigi Gedda, the man in charge of the committee's, wrote asking first for financial assistance, as well as asking for American Catholics to write their relatives in Italy to vote against the PCI and communism in general.⁵⁴⁶ Another representation of the campaign against communism was the response of the former Italian POW's who were captured by the Soviets in the war, and who were against the USSR⁵⁴⁷ Only about five percent of the POW's taken by the Soviets were lucky to return home, and they were not shy in speaking on their experiences of cruelty and disregard for Christian morality.⁵⁴⁸ Forlenza argues, "For Italian Catholics, Communists, the USSR, and the PCI threatened everything: individual dignity, the family, property ownership, the natural socio-political order, customary moral conduct, religion, and the church."⁵⁴⁹ For the Vatican, and for

⁵⁴⁴ A Special to the New York Times, "POPE BIDS PRIESTS WAR ON ATEISM: CALLS FOR ORGANIZING OF LAITY IN THE DRIVE AND ALSO TO COMBAT COMMUNISM," *New York Times (1923-)*, Jan 29, 1950; 12.

⁵⁴⁵ Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES, "ITALIAN ASKS HELP OF U.S. CATHOLICS: RELIGIOUS LEADER SAYS FUNDS ARE NEEDED TO COUNTERACT COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA," *New York Times (1923-)*, Mar 22, 1948; 4.

⁵⁴⁶ New York Times, "Italians Ask Help of U.S.," 4.

⁵⁴⁷ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 119.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

the everyday Catholic, it was about a return to normalcy, stability, and a sense of harmonious peace—not revolution.

Pius, however, was still having issues with the DC as he argued for a more religious and authoritarian political system such as Franco had established in Spain. He further hated the DC collaboration with the PCI, which eventually went away when they were expelled from government.⁵⁵⁰ For the Vatican, the struggle was morally based whereas for the DC, it was simply about liberty and democracy; though both argued that it should be founded on Christian principles, their ideas of how to move forward varied.⁵⁵¹ Later, of course, Pius would recognize the support of the DC was in his best interest for the development and continuation of Catholics in Italy. By 1948, the DC fully represented catholic interests in politics and was also a huge marker for US/Euro relations.⁵⁵² Because of these efforts, and the new ways in which the Vatican was forced to propagandize, Italy would become the prime example for the postwar rebuilding of Europe and the defeat of Communism, providing an example for Truman and the US government on how to move forward in implementing the Marshall Plan. America argued that the DC and the Vatican were instrumental to defeating the PCI.⁵⁵³

Pius had wanted a Catholic, semi-authoritarian monarchial state and a permanent ban on the communist party.⁵⁵⁴ He did not have faith in a parliamentary system or in a Catholic party to run the Italian government, and only De Gasperi and Monseigneur Giambattista Montini, the future Pope Paul VI, could help change his mind.⁵⁵⁵ The politicization of Catholicism in Italy was very

⁵⁵⁰Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 120.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 121.

⁵⁵² Ibid., 121.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 124.

⁵⁵⁴ Pollard, *Catholicism in Modern Italy*, 111

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 111.

pluralistic with most gathered under the leadership of Gasperi and former leaders of the DC predecessor Popolare.⁵⁵⁶ Montini and his followers only differed in their economic approach which was something between communism and capitalism, perhaps closer to socialism. Enrico Mattei, a Catholic activist in the resistance led the Catholic trade union movement believed the state needed to intervene in the economy for the purposes of social justice.⁵⁵⁷ The radical Mayor of Florence, Giorgio La Pira, believed the church needed to be directly involved in politics to transform moral and political life, something more in line with the Vatican's viewpoint.⁵⁵⁸ The Christian Socialists of Livorno, meanwhile, advocated for a workers revolution as a social expression of the gospel.⁵⁵⁹

The focus in 1946, the year of the election, in Pius XII's speeches were directed to the United States. This was, of course, not a coincidence since their shared mission was to drive out the communist-socialist alliance. In an April speech to the American Press, Pius emphasizes the press's ability to sway public opinion and philosophy, and therefore the necessity of only reporting truth, something he equates to fact.⁵⁶⁰ In a later speech to the press, Pius then highlights the importance of access to the truth and freedom of the press and of speech, perhaps a direct remark against the USSR.⁵⁶¹ In a 1947 address to the American press, he gives a report on the status of Italy after the war. He argued that Italy is currently looking for both facts (truth) and freedom from tyranny—something they had experienced tenfold during the war. After fighting

⁵⁵⁶Pollard, *Catholicism in Modern Italy*, 112.

⁵⁵⁷Ibid., 112.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid. 112.

⁵⁵⁹Ibid., 113.

⁵⁶⁰ Vatican Archives, "Address of His Holiness To a Press Delegation from the United States of America, April 27, 1946," https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/speeches/1946/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19460420_stampa-americana.html

⁵⁶¹ Vatican Archives, "To representatives of the press from the United States of America, July 11, 1946," https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/speeches/1946/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19460711_stampa-usa.html.

and aiding in the freedom from tyranny that America had liberated after the Holocaust, Pius argued there is still a type of evil that exists that seeks to snuff out the freedom of religious and civil freedoms. One can only assume he speaks of the PCI. Though this oppression has not stopped, he believed that good men see the issues, and that they will not end up winning. Driving his point forward, he said, “Religion and Morality are the indispensable supports of political prosperity, and that Morality will not be maintained without Religion.”⁵⁶²

It must, of course, be briefly addressed the Pope’s hypocrisy in this speech, and his fight to maintain religious morality. As the Vatican archives continue to release information, it becomes increasingly clear that morality was selective for Pope Pius XII. According to the Smithsonian Magazine, the Pope knew about the horrors and ministrations of the German regime during the Holocaust, staying silent.⁵⁶³ It can only be assumed that he did so to maintain his authority, and thus his influence over the church and all of Europe during the war, and maintain positive relations with Mussolini.

British journalist John Cornwell argued that the religious leader placed the papacy’s supremacy above the plight of Europe’s Jews, winning a modicum of power—and protection from the rising threat of communism—by becoming ‘Hitler’s Pope’ and pawn. Supporters, however, say that Pius’ silence was calculated to prevent German retaliation and ensure the continued success of the Catholic Church’s behind-the-scenes efforts to aid victims of Nazi persecution.

Whatever his motivation, it must be mentioned in light of his incredible moral campaign against the PCI and communist regime as a whole.

In June of the same year, he further referred to the importance of America in Italian life.

⁵⁶² Vatican Archives, “To Many Representatives of the American Press, January 18, 1947,” https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/speeches/1947/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19470118_stampa-usa.html.

⁵⁶³ Theresea Machemer, “Newly Unsealed Vatican Archives Lay Out Evidence of Pope Pius XII’s Knowledge of the Holocaust,” Smithsonian Magazine, 2020, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/researchers-find-evidence-pope-pius-xii-ignored-reports-holocaust-180974795/>.

It is great in its incomparable industrial power, greater still in the whole-souled, unselfish generosity of its people, and great, too, one cannot but feel, in the high destiny God has assigned to it. For wealth and power and virtue inevitably impose the heavy responsibility of leadership. And the world is looking, pleading, hoping to be led out of the morass of petty—but may they not become criminal—jealousies, recriminations, distrust, unholy ambitions, up on the plateau where the pure air blows freely for one and all mankind. Oh pray, as We pray every day, that the world may not see its hopes turn to ashes. [...] Tell America that We are consoled and grateful for all that it has done and is doing to alleviate the sufferings of the world. God's loving and potent blessing, which We, with paternal affection, invoke on you, your dear ones and all your countrymen, will be your rich reward.⁵⁶⁴

Though Pius had made remarks against wealth and leadership (tied to capitalism) in the past, his reliance on it now seems counter to what he had espoused in the past. He now placed the burden of international responsibility on America, pleading for their leaders to provide moral and legal leadership—something he should have also taken on after the war. He knew that it would be impossible for the Vatican to do so alone, however, and there would be no reliance upon the Soviet Union (the only other viable option for help), and so he must plead to America's kindness. It was about necessity to provide for the people, not so much his distaste for American capitalism that moved him.

In June of 1947, Pius further addressed a group of American officials highlighting the importance and never-ending nobility of their work. His focus is on the economic and social—and thus moral—future of Europe. He again takes aim at the PCI when he argued the plight of the working man, an honest one, will not be to stomp on the freedom of others to get to prosperity, but to simply live a comfortable and dignified life.⁵⁶⁵ The church, not the PCI, will be the ones to continue supporting the working class. He argued, “That is why the Church will always defend

⁵⁶⁴ Vatican Archives, “To a Group of High Officials from the United States of America: June 14, 1946,” https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/speeches/1946/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19460614_ufficiali-americi.html.

⁵⁶⁵ Vatican Archives, “To a Group of High Officials from the United States: June 16, 1947,” https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/speeches/1947/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19471116_fedeli-americi.html.

him against any system that would deny his inalienable rights, which derive not from any civil society, but from his own human personality, and would reduce him to the state of complete subjection to the bureaucratic clique holding political power.”⁵⁶⁶ The political group, he was certain, will continue to also support the working man by recognizing their human dignity, their role in the family of man, the role of the common good being greater than personal good, and the service to all mankind.⁵⁶⁷ Though the government can improve their livelihoods, it is only the church and religion that will improve their souls—again a direct hit against the PCI and the Comintern itself.⁵⁶⁸ At the end of 1947, Pius gave a radio message to the US. He applauded the US for their Christian charity in helping Europe, especially the East, weather the cold post-war years. The entirety of his speech seeks to bolster relations with the United States in thanking them for their rescue and their charitable sympathies to those devastated by the war.⁵⁶⁹ In a letter to Myron Taylor, the Pope expressed his great pleasure in Italy’s elections, where he argued that civic freedom, freedom, order, and peace have prevailed and begun the path of restoration to the country, highlighting his support for the justice of the working class.⁵⁷⁰ Here, he asserted the Vatican’s role as ultimate protector of the working man, their freedoms, and of democratic and moral justice as a whole, providing them the alternative to the PCI.

Another important event that helped the Catholic church propaganda was the Cult of the Virgin Mary, popular in the South. Throughout Italian history, in times of extreme conflict, an

⁵⁶⁶ “To a Group of High Officials.”

⁵⁶⁷ Vatican Archives, “To a Group of High Officials from the United States: June 16, 1947,” https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/speeches/1947/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19471116_fedeli-americi.html.

⁵⁶⁸ “To a Group of High Officials.”

⁵⁶⁹ Vatican Archives, “Radiomessage of His Holiness Pius XII: November 16, 1947,” https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/speeches/1947/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19471116_fedeli-americi.html.

⁵⁷⁰ Vatican Archives, “Address of His Holiness Pius XII to the United States Ambassador Myron C. Taylor: April 20, 1948,” https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/speeches/1948/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19480420_ambasciatore-usa.html.

appearance of the Virgin Mary would appear to offer comfort, solace, and hope for the resurgence of Italian strength. This occurred during the first and second world wars, but also manifested itself in the south after the war when political infighting and uncertainty remained in the minds of every Italian. Author Robert Ventresca argues, and rightly so, “The wave of apparitions on both an individual and collective search the part of ordinary Italians who worried for the country of the Popular Fronts bid for power.”⁵⁷¹ Argument that the rumors of the appearances of Mary would have incentivized the faithful to heed her words and defeat communism. According to reports, there was an average of 14 sightings of the Virgin Mary between the years of 1947, 1948, and 1954.⁵⁷² The visions of Mary, and the extreme devotion of these Catholic followers, highlight the duress that most Italians were under in choosing a future political path.

There were still problems with some of the Italians in their response to this propaganda campaign by the church: the PCI were still very Italian.⁵⁷³ Some Catholics were more missions minded and wanted to save the communists, not destroy them.⁵⁷⁴ The DC needed to alienate the PCI by portraying them in a highly negative light: They separated the communist leadership from the people and said the people were being deceived and are victims of communism; this would become key to the implementation of Vatican II.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷¹ Robert A Ventresca, “The Virgin and the Bear: Religion, Society and the Cold War in Italy.” *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 2 (2003): 441.

⁵⁷² Ventresca, *The Virgin and the Bear*, 444.

⁵⁷³ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 133.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 133-4.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 135.

Fighting over the Italian's future

In an article from the Manchester Guardian in January of 1946, they argue that the greatest challenge the Vatican faces is communism.⁵⁷⁶ They quote an article from the *L'Osservatore Romano* that outlines the new international program the church will implement now that the body of cardinals is more diverse.⁵⁷⁷ Because of the prevailing religious harmony that survived during the Holocaust, the Vatican has undertaken a more international mindset in communing with other countries through their bonds of faith.⁵⁷⁸ The Manchester Guardian argues this new program is being challenged by the growing internationalism of the Comintern.⁵⁷⁹ The communists in Rome, the author argued, say the church will need to come to terms with the international spread of communism. This is the first step they took to their modernization efforts in keeping up with and competing with communism. In the March 1946, the New York Times wrote on the continuing and escalating conflict between Moscow and the Vatican. The respective political presses argue the deviousness of the other and that Moscow has continually been deceiving the world as they had enjoyed closeness with Hitler and Germany before the war, a point in which Moscow counters with charging the pope with aiding war criminals—most likely Mussolini—and now, of course, some history recognizes both charges as true.⁵⁸⁰ In September of the same year, the New York Times reported that the Vatican press argued the world was in worse shape than before the war—one can only surmise they mean morally—and that the world was increasingly divided, something that was probably more politically astute than seen during

⁵⁷⁶ Our Diplomatic Correspondent. "THE PARTIES AND THE MONARCHY." *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*, Dec 31, 1943. 8.

⁵⁷⁷ "The Parties and the Monarchy," 8.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁸⁰ By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES. "VATICAN ALLEGES MOSCOW UNTRUTHS: OSSERVATORE ROMANO RESUMES ITS FEUD, STRESSING SOVIET'S CLOSE TIE TO HITLER." *New York Times (1923-)*, Mar 05, 1946. 6

the time.⁵⁸¹ The Vatican press argued that, politics seems to come before the common good and that the rigidity of politicians has increasingly become solid since the war.⁵⁸² They, of course, blame the secularization of society.

For their part, the Catholic church represented their understanding of communist immorality as atheistic materialism represented in *Divni redemptoris*, which argued that their immorality would permeate throughout the community and destroy social life. This was evident in Marx understanding of the family and its application to the USSR, resulting in a large social issue.⁵⁸³ Anti-communism on behalf of the Catholic church was the only focus during early cold war. Their views shaped European/Italian understandings of communism into the 1990s.⁵⁸⁴ There was much focus on how the Americans influenced politics as well. Many oversimplify catholic anti-communism and isolate it from social, political, cultural understanding.⁵⁸⁵ Rosario Forlenza argues that Catholic anti-communism developed from a need for the church to legitimize, make sense of the uncertainty and meaning of life- a way to return to normal and restate their authority over which communism was encroaching.⁵⁸⁶ Focus of anti-communist symbolism grew from anti-fascism, war-time disruptions, instability, and a re-evaluation of values to the emergence of limited experiences where certainty in the political and social world around them dissolved. It was an existential crisis. Catholic anti-communism, first, focused on the foreign pressure, but then looked internally at its Italian roots. It reacted to experiences but also wished to reinstitute

⁵⁸¹ Virginia Lee Warren by Wireless to The New York Times. "Pius Defines Peace: Class Vengeance and Artificial Propaganda as War Elements for Moral Reparations Pontiff Attributes Choice of Cardinals from 19 Countries to Church 'Univerisality' Pope Sees Menace in the Totals State Change by Force Ruled Out Selections Explained Boon to Christianity Seen." *The New York Times*, 1945, 3.

⁵⁸² Warren, "Pius Defends Peace," 3.

⁵⁸³ Pope Pius XI, (Rome, IT: Vatican Archives, 2023) https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19370319_divini-redemptoris.html.

⁵⁸⁴ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 207.

⁵⁸⁵ Forlenza, *On the Edge of Democracy*, 208.

⁵⁸⁶ Pollard, *Catholicism in Modern Italy*, 208.

the normal social balance from pre-war period.⁵⁸⁷ This created a lot of uncertainty for the sociopolitical future of both Italy and the church.

PCI

In early March of 1946, the New York Times writes on the blatant attacks by the Moscow press to accuse the Catholic church of being pro-fascist and sedentary while humanity suffered.⁵⁸⁸ The Vatican, in the views of Moscow is not a religious institution, but a political one and that the internationalization of the cardinals is an effort to reorient themselves to intransigents.⁵⁸⁹ The Vatican is clearly an enemy to the USSR and the Vatican attacks against the PCI could only fuel that belief. Further cardinal appointments in the US and Great Britain continue to fuel the USSR's suspicions of gathering an anti-Russian and pro-Fascist international policy that began with the 1929 Lateran pact.⁵⁹⁰ Moscow specifically cites instances beginning with the Popes close diplomatic relations with Mussolini, the Pope's encouragement to Austria not to fight with Germany, the Pope's role in fueling fascist involvement in Spain, drafted peace agreements between the fascists and the west, as well as the spread of anti-Soviet cardinals abroad.⁵⁹¹

In a May 1946 article in the Baltimore Sun and another in the New York Times, Moscow again accused the Vatican of interfering with the Italian elections by way of propaganda though the same could be said of the PCI and the Comintern.⁵⁹² Moscow argued that the Vatican

⁵⁸⁷ Pollard, *Catholicism in Modern Italy*, 209-10.

⁵⁸⁸ Brooks Atkinson, By Wireless to The New York Times. "Soviet Press hits Vatican: Moscow papers are outspoken in attacking Catholic hierarchy as pro-fascist The new Cardinals specific complaints Franco's approval?" *New York Times (1923-)*, Mar 03, 1946, 1.

⁵⁸⁹ Atkinson, "Soviet Press Hits Vatican," 1.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁹¹ Atkinson, "Soviet Press Hits Vatican,"

⁵⁹² "Moscow aims at Vatican: propaganda interfering with Italian Vote Charged." *The Sun (1837-)*, May 26, 1946, 12.

promises eternal suffering should they vote for the PCI or the FDP and accused the Pope of being outwardly anti-democratic and anti-republican.⁵⁹³ This is not without some form of truth as the Pope spoke to an audience of women to vote for candidates who had respect for God while the *L'Osservatore Romano* published a letter saying that any bishop voting for a Marxist or anti-clerical party would be subject to canon law.⁵⁹⁴ In September of the same year, Moscow again hit out against the Vatican. The New York times covered the Soviet criticism that the Vatican is the largest international capitalist enterprise.⁵⁹⁵ Now blaming the US War department and the Vatican simultaneously, Moscow argued that Bishop Muench, the Apostolic Nuncio to Germany and the American forces chaplain in Germany has been planned by the US War department as an arm of diplomatic and religious subversion.⁵⁹⁶ The Vatican regularly gave favors to the Americans—this has some basis in truth as they were courting American favor for economic aid in rebuilding-and that the Vatican was a monopoly, continually expanding and making deals with American private companies, making its international reach well known into Latin America.⁵⁹⁷

Continued Uncertainty

In an article by The Observer in the Spring of 1947, they argued there is little hope of future reconciliation between the Communists and the church.⁵⁹⁸ The article stated that the communists are currently at the advantage, which follows as the decline of the popularity of the DC was rapidly occurring, and the DC centrists, like Tarchiani, began their international campaign. The communists were pro-inclusion of the Lateran Pacts as well as the establishment

⁵⁹³ “Moscow aims at Vatican,” 12.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁵ Special to The New York Times, "Moscow Hits Vatican: Calls it Major Capitalist Arm-Scores Muench Selection," *New York Times (1923-)*, Sep 09, 1946, 7.

⁵⁹⁶ “Moscow Hits Vatican”, 7.

⁵⁹⁷ “Moscow hits Vatican,” 7.

⁵⁹⁸ A Special Correspondent, “Vatican ‘Peace’ with Moscow Unlikely,” *The Observer (1901-2003)*, May 4, 1947, 5.

of religious schools to be written in the new constitution, undermining both the right and center parties.⁵⁹⁹ The article did argue, however, that these are of little practical significance, as the head of the coalition government, despite the constitution, will make those religious decisions.⁶⁰⁰ The situation in Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Poland also exacerbated the conflict between the two entities.⁶⁰¹

The uncertainty of the political future of Italy also played off of the relationship between Washington and Moscow, which had been in a constant state of deterioration.⁶⁰² Many believed this conflict will never cease, and indeed it continued on into the late twentieth century. While the PCI had many social strings, they were able to pull, they did not culturally identify with a majority of Italians. There was a lot of mistrust rooted in the recent history of Italy from the fall of fascism, the roll of communists in the south, and the many fights between the PCI, Vatican, and the DC. The DC too had its own issues compounded with their fight to bring in American economic aid. Both speeches by Churchill and the Truman Doctrine further heightened hysteria and mystery around the horrors of communism.

⁵⁹⁹ “Vatican ‘Peace’ with Moscow Unlikely”, 5.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² Ibid

Chapter Five: Break from the Italian Past: Propaganda and the Marshall Plan

Political Catholicism

The Holy War that waged between the Vatican and the USSR had emerged as a new form of political intervention via the Vatican. Many scholars and even critics have used this to deride the Vatican for its involvement in modern politics, but the Vatican has been doing this for centuries, and even had its own principality. According to Arvo Manhattan, the reason for the Vatican's involvement (not just because of the rise of cataclysmic world events) was because of the politicians understanding that the Vatican had sway over socioeconomical and political opinion.⁶⁰³ As evident throughout many papal encyclicals, spanning back to the mid nineteenth century, the largest impact to the growth of the Vatican's political involvement has been the growth of antireligious political and reactionary movements such as socialism and communism.⁶⁰⁴ The Vatican itself, however, remained practically ineffective before the first world war, especially as the militantism of both socialism and communism grew into unprecedented heights.⁶⁰⁵ In 1919, the Italian Catholic Party was in its formation and, after many decades of political silence, the Catholics of Italy could exercise their political behavior.⁶⁰⁶ The effectiveness of the newly politically active Catholic and the involvedness of the Vatican was questions until Pius XI became the Pope.⁶⁰⁷ As seen in his various encyclicals, it was important for the Catholic flock in Italy to undermine the political revolution that was enshrined by socialism—and eventually would be by communism. The main political, and not as much

⁶⁰³ Arvo Manhattan, "Fifty Years of Political Catholicism," *The Humanist* (1950): 46

⁶⁰⁴ Manhattan, "Political Catholicism," 46.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

spiritual goals as related to the government, were to eliminate democracy and socialism—the Popes were proponents of monarchy and absolutism—as well as the elimination of the communist party in Russia that had begun to spread its influence abroad.⁶⁰⁸ The church then threw its weight behind authoritarian rule in Europe in order to eliminate any power the left may have had, and especially against the rapidly strengthening USSR.⁶⁰⁹

It was the Atlantic Pact and the Marshall Plan that would keep the communist presence in Europe at bay. Ideologically, the Vatican had its own success with its politization, and so teamed up with the only source of true income that would be able to both resist communism and build back Europe.⁶¹⁰ It would later lead to a more detailed safeguarding of religious and democratic freedoms espoused from the Vatican through the Vatican II, however, it was, at first, motivated by the desire to stomp out communism and a regaining of religious authoritarianism.⁶¹¹ In order to implement its new, modern social and political doctrine, the Vatican decided to side with Mussolini, working with the antidemocratic, but anticommunist Fascist party. They shared their common goal of ridding the world of Marxist-Leninist thought.⁶¹² After a series of politically confounding orders, and the dissolution of the young Catholic party, the Fascists were able to rise to power, and the Vatican sealed its alliance with the signing of the Lateran Pacts, becoming a political institution in itself.⁶¹³ This, of course, set the stage for the rise of the DC and the Vatican as a political enemy to the USSR under Stalin. It was also during these times that the relationship between the Vatican and Nazi Germany become complicated in the eyes of history. Though they shared a common enemy, the Vatican had been reticent to call out the atrocities of

⁶⁰⁸ Manhattan, “Implementing the Marshall Plan,” 47.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 52

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, 53

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, 48.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, 48.

the Nazi regime, something mentioned in previous chapters. After the establishment of both Fascism in Italy and Germany, as well as their relationship with the Pope, world war eventually broke out, pausing any implementation of Catholic Social Doctrine that the Vatican may have wished to contrive.

The death of Pius XI and the ascension of Pius XII could have brought change but did little in the way of practically speaking against the Nazi or Fascists, and only nominally did so after 1943 and the fall of Mussolini. The Vatican, however, had chosen to side with authoritarianism, and the goal of implementing this within Europe while minimizing the effects of the left, had been realized. Their political focus would need to change and did so between 1943-1948 when the PCI had risen to prominence within Italy. The question that appeared to historians, was how the Vatican was able to deftly switch sides, join the allies, and thus be on the winning side. The answer lies in its Pope. Pius, understanding the political and social shifts in the world, became pro-democratic.⁶¹⁴ After 1943, the armistice, and the fleeing of the Italian king, leadership was sorely lacking in the country. Soviet communism continued to grow, reactionary fascist forces clashed with the antifascist forces, a civil war was on the horizon, and the legal framework of Italy had gone up in flames within a matter of months. Togliatti and the USSR began the groundwork in building up the PCI and trying to capture the attention of the emotionally, politically, and physically exhausted Italians. Badoglio proved to be not as effective, and De Gasperi rose to prominence behind the strong forces of the DC, supported by both the Anglo-American forces and the Vatican.

⁶¹⁴ Manhattan, "Implementing the Marshall Plan," 51.

The Vatican would, after 1945, place its weight behind the newly formed Democratica Christiana and began its partnership with America as socioeconomic savior of Europe. Within the first five years of the war, the Vatican's influence was major, and its focus on implementing its social doctrine was the way to win over Italy and help defeat communism both domestically and abroad. It should thus be no surprise that its partnership with the United States would come through various mediums; in order to spread Catholic Social Teaching, it used media, cinema, fairs, partnership, sermons, and encyclicals to infiltrate and help rebuild Italy.

The Foundation of Catholic Social Teaching

In order to understand the Catholic Social Teachings of Pius XII, there must first be an understanding of the tradition and development in which his thoughts were derived. This timeline is directly associated with the foundational ideologies of Thomas Aquinas and Augustine of Hippo. Their ideology, that will carry on throughout even the twenty first century Catholic church, is rooted in the concept of the common good. The concept itself is deeply rooted in not just Catholic teaching, but in democratic and republican teaching as demonstrated by philosophers such as Plato, Cicero, and Aristotle.⁶¹⁵ Plato, for example, argued that the common good was under the responsibility of the state and that it will often clash against the desires and needs of the individual.⁶¹⁶ Aristotle, however, believed them to be united—the common good was both the needs of the individual and the citizenry.⁶¹⁷ Augustine of Hippo, the ancient Bishop of Hippo and founder of systematic theology, greatly differed from both Plato and Aristotle in his understanding of the common good. In Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (The

⁶¹⁵ Anna Horodecka and Andrzej J. Zuk, "The Common Good According to Great Men of Prayer and Economists: Comparisons, Connections, and Inspirations for Economics," *Religions*, no. 14: 1544 (2023): 2.

⁶¹⁶ Horodecka and Zuk, "Common Good," 2.

⁶¹⁷ Further information on these two authors understanding of the common good can be found in Plato's *The Republic* and Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea*.

City of God), he argues it the community that decides what the common good is and how to pursue it.⁶¹⁸ Thomas Aquinas, however, built his ideas off of Aristotle and argued each individual was not apart from the community and thus the individual good would contribute to the shared common good.⁶¹⁹ Each member of the community must accept this as fact and use it to motivate their good works.⁶²⁰ In *Summa Theologiae*, Aquinas argued that the common good was not just the accumulation of everyone's good, and that it counted itself as distinct and was superior, however, it does not threaten the standing of the individual within the society.⁶²¹ It should be seen as a uniter between the both society and the individual as well as society and God.⁶²²

John Finnis, inspired by the ideas of Mortimer Adler, Louis Kelso, and G.K. Chesterson, examines the development of divine economy, another founding principle of Catholic Social Theory that was developed out of the common good theories of Aquinas. Pope John XXIII, the pope during the Second Vatican Council, was a major contributor to furthering Thomistic thought and divine economy. In his anthology, *Catholic Social Teaching: A Volume of Scholarly Essays*, he included an essay that defines Aquinas as the basis of modern Catholic Social Teaching. He began by stating that social teaching is merely a set of principles on faith and morality that embody the principles of virtue and that fall under church doctrine.⁶²³ He argued that by not creating a distinct overgeneralization between the group and the individual, he was regarded as a humanist in that he believed in a “[...]balanced respect for freedom,

⁶¹⁸ Horodecka and Zuk, "Common Good," 2.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 2.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., 2.

⁶²¹ Ibid., 2.

⁶²² Ibid., 3.

⁶²³ John Finnis, "Aquinas as a Primary Source of Catholic Social Teaching," in (Cambridge,)11.

accomplishments, and virtuous fidelities of particular persons.”⁶²⁴ Social doctrine was thus necessary for the moral guidance of a particular body of people.⁶²⁵ Finnis argued that to fully understand this social doctrine, there must be firmer understanding of Aquinas’ definitions of both human dignity, the rational nature of man, and equality.⁶²⁶ This too is necessary for the foundation of Catholic social teaching as it concerns twentieth century socialism, communism, and the twisting of phraseology. As a rational being, created by divinity and being able to freely choose between sensible choices, we are, in essence equal, above every animal and nonrational being.⁶²⁷ Divine freedom of choice thus gives us physical freedom, enabling us to be free from slavery of something or someone.⁶²⁸ After explaining the roles of the family and the roles of men and women, he discusses the roles of the individual within society. The roles of the family are extended out into the community and manifest themselves in the polity which also expands out into individual responsibilities: defense, prevention of just markets, and keeping law and order.⁶²⁹ The distinction between the private and public sector, in providing for the common good, creates a small division. He argued, “[...] public power legitimately and beneficially appropriates to private owners many of the resources of the world [...] subject only to a condition that wealth beyond the owner’s genuine vocational needs is available to persons in genuine need.”⁶³⁰ It is from these observations that the idea of charity comes into the social sphere and becomes the foundation for Pope Leo XIII.

The Development of Catholic Social Teaching

⁶²⁴ Finnis, “Aquinas,” 12.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, 13

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

Traditionally, the Vatican, being the oldest diplomatic institution in the world, has been involved in politics—either directly or indirectly—for the majority of its existence. Once a principality and kingdom itself, the Popes were both temporal and spiritual leaders. After the unification of Italy and the breakdown of that power, the Pope would still, rightly, regard himself as a moral and spiritual leader. This would, of course, develop as Europe continued to expand and progress both socially, politically, and economically. This development was seen in earlier chapters, but the development as it relates to the Just Third Way must be discussed. Throughout Pius XII’s reign, he was quiet with regard to political economics, has vehemently opposed communism, but mainly focused on the moral dignity and social equity of his followers. His introduction of the third way—what will be later known as the Just Third Way—had developed from the history of papal socioeconomics, made especially prevalent during the reign of Pope John Paul II. Pope Leo XIII, however, began the modern observations of socioeconomics in *Rerum Novarum*, which is subtitled *Rights and Duties of Capital and Labor*.⁶³¹ The encyclical can be divided into two spheres, the first looking at the realistic situation of the working class, and the second being a moral analysis of Christian intervention and progress.⁶³²

In it, Leo XIII remarks that he is not surprised by the changes of the political and socioeconomical world of the 1880’s—a time of industrial and political upheaval—and with it the rising poverty and inequality⁶³³ Though he has previously spoken on the political issues associated with the changes, he will now speak on the condition of the working class.⁶³⁴ This, of

⁶³¹ Another important works that observe the issues of socioeconomic policy and equality include *On the Condition of Workers*.

⁶³²Edgardo Bucciarelli, Nicola Mattoscio, and Tony E. Persico “The Christian ethics of socio-economic development promoted by the Catholic Social Teaching,” *The Journal of Philosophical Economics*, no. 5 (1): 10.

⁶³³Vatican archives, *Rerum Novarum March 15, 1891*, Leo XII, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum.html, 1.

⁶³⁴ *Rerum Novarum*, 1.

course, can be seen as something to combat earlier systems of communism and socialism, but it may also address the position of the Vatican concerning the socioeconomic situation of the people in which he takes on responsibility. It is the poor living conditions and inequitable treatment of the poor that is his concern as he deems himself and his institution as replacement of the guild system—put in place for the protection of the commonwealth—arguing that the current system is little better than slavery.⁶³⁵ It is also clear the church's stance is no more adapt to lean toward capitalism than socialism either, as he remarks of his disappointment of the wealth being generated to the few.⁶³⁶ The encyclical speaks on the dignity of humankind and reiterates the Vatican's belief that if one's faith is not rooted in something more powerful than the state, then the state will coerce its beliefs and power on those who are too weak to fight it. He argued, "But we affirm without hesitation that all the striving of men will be in vain if they leave out the church."⁶³⁷ It is only the church that can better the situation of the working poor, not the government, and that any state intervention, though necessary, should be small and focused on the law.⁶³⁸

With this, Pope Leo XIII sets the foundation for the churches modern approach to socioeconomic situations. Though it will evolve to suit generational issues, he makes clear the Vatican's position regarding the intervention of the state should not interfere with the moral, social, and physical duties of the church. This position of the church would continue on through the next five popes, the next being Pius X. Pius X agreed with and expanded on the ideals espoused in *Rerum Novarum* within his Motu Proprio, *Fin Dalla Prima Nostra (From the Very Beginning)*. In it, he spoke out against the social reactionaries and reaffirms the position of Leo

⁶³⁵ *Rerum Novarum*, 2.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

XIII concerning catholic action on behalf of the laity.⁶³⁹ Speaking after the Nineteenth Catholic Congress of Bologna, Pius X took the ideological foundations of Leo XIII and puts them in a practical sense for the movement of the people. Though he believed in moral and spiritual equality, he reiterated the position of the church regarding economic equality. He likens it to a body where, though perhaps varying in purpose, each person must contribute to society: “Hence it follows that, in human society, it is according to God's ordinance that there should be princes and subjects, masters and proletarians, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, nobles and plebeians, who, all united in the bond of love, help each other to attain their ultimate end in Heaven; and here, on earth, their material and moral well-being.”⁶⁴⁰ He then relegated the duties of the state—justice and order—and the duties of the church: charity. It is thus the duty of Catholic Action, particularly in Italy, to relegate themselves to this duty and stay away from influencing politics.⁶⁴¹ In this way, they may set up institutions for those in need, not agitate the political process, as justice will be delegated to church authority, and ultimately, God himself.⁶⁴²

Aquinas is further seen permeating Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*. It was Leo that introduced a new interpretation and revitalization to Catholic Social doctrine through the ideological foundations of Aquinas' work on the common good. Further work by Leo that highlights his reliance on Aquinas is in his *Aeterni Paris*.⁶⁴³ Issued in 1879, Leo began by stating the need for the implementation and deeper understanding for Christian philosophy. The freedom that had set the disciples free needed to be preserved by them, and that is the mission of the

⁶³⁹ Vatican Archives, *Fin della Prima Nostra*, Pius X, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/motu_proprio.index.html.

⁶⁴⁰ *Fin della prima nostra*

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ Finnis, “Aquinas,” 14.

church—to preserve truth, go against lies, teach religion, and provide charity for those in need.⁶⁴⁴ Later on, Leo spoke on Thomas Aquinas as being the ultimate “scholastic doctor,” or someone with supreme knowledge over all other philosophers of the time.⁶⁴⁵ Leo attributed many things to Aquinas’ studies such as, reason and law, God, man, human action and values, that were all clearly stated and understood fully by the church as truth.⁶⁴⁶ Aquinas took up the calling of the church and, through his understanding of moral philosophy, was able to refute those who went against him and the faith, supplying answers for time-constrained inquiries.⁶⁴⁷ Aquinas’s success when it came to social philosophy was his ability to distinguish the rights of man from their inherent worth, so much so that “[...] reason [...] can scarcely rise higher, while faith could scarcely expect more or stronger aids from reason than those which she has already obtained through Thomas.”⁶⁴⁸ In other words, his mastery over reason meant that the expansion of faith became greater.

It was thus important that great men of faith be able to master Aquinas’s teachings, as it would lead to stronger discussion and firm retort against those who value reason over faith. Various orders, as well as great halls of higher learning were taught Aquinas’ philosophy so as to practice good judgement and quick critical thought.⁶⁴⁹ Thomism has thus been central to the social and moral doctrine of the Catholic church, beginning with Clement VI and spanning into modernity.⁶⁵⁰ Urban V, while at university said that recalling the teachings of Aquinas in Church

⁶⁴⁴ Vatican Archives, *Aeterni Patris*, Leo XIII, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_04081879_aeterni-patris.html, 1.

⁶⁴⁵ *Aeterni Patris*, 7.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁵⁰ Encyclicals that Leo XIII mentions are Clement VI’s *Ordinae*, Nicholas V’s “Order of Preachers”, Benedict XIII in *Pretiosus*, Pius V’s *Mirabilis*, Clement XII in *Verbo Dei*, and saints such as Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome.

doctrine was necessary for building up the church, while Innocent XII addressed another university saying much the same.⁶⁵¹ Benedict XIV too said that Aquinas's influence within canon law alone are found without error and only espouses truth.⁶⁵² Though the importance of Aquinas's teachings was made known at various councils within church history, the Council of Trent stands out as the greatest.⁶⁵³ Here, Aquinas's *Summae Theologiae* was held to the same standard, next to the bible, for truth and reason.⁶⁵⁴ In the number twenty-nine, Leo summarizes the greatest contributions of Aquinas regarding the foundation for his modern take on Catholic Social Teaching. Leo summarized seven of Aquinas's points: the meaning of freedom, the divine origin of authority, law and the power of law, the nature of a ruler, obedience to authority, charity, and other related things.⁶⁵⁵ All of these teachings are dangerous to the new order of the world, and will continue to be so in leading up to the cold war, because they have the potential to upend all the sociopolitical doctrines of the modern era.⁶⁵⁶

For, the investigation of facts and the contemplation of nature is not alone sufficient for their profitable exercise and advance; but, when facts have been established, it is necessary to rise and apply ourselves to the nature of corporal things, to inquire into the laws which govern them and the principles whence their order and varied unity and mutual attraction in diversity arise.⁶⁵⁷

It is necessary to question the sociopolitical status quo, and the goal of Catholic Social Teaching, and really of the study of Thomism is to do this very thing and cling to faith-based reason. It is this that sets the tone for *Rareum Novarum*, and encourages the desire for a Christian revolution, of questioning the political authority in the new order.⁶⁵⁸ Leo reiterated this in *Rareum Novarum*

⁶⁵¹ *Aeterni Patris*, 8.

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁵⁵ Finnis, "Aquinas," 15.

⁶⁵⁶ *Aeterni Patris*, 11.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶⁵⁸ Finnis, "Aquinas," 16.

and says, “It is a duty, not of justice (save in extreme cases), but of Christian charity, a duty not enforced by human law. But the laws and judgements of men must yield place to the laws and judgments of Christ the true God [...]”⁶⁵⁹

The development of Catholic Social Teaching takes somewhat of a pause with Benedict XV as the First World War takes precedence, though in *Humani Generis Redemptionem* he furthers the charitable and redemptive nature of the church in carrying Christianity through the war years, agreeing then with Leo XIII’s stated mission. It will then be Pius XI who takes up the cause and writes on the further separation between morality and economics in his *Quadragesimo Anno* just nine years after the rise of Mussolini.⁶⁶⁰ In it, he reiterated his support for Leo XIII’s social doctrine as well as the church’s stance on marriage as the foundation of society, the basis of governmental authority, the relationship between the church and state, as well as the role of the Christian against socialism and its stance on freedom.⁶⁶¹ He made clear his stance is with the common good of the Christian working class—and he made the clear distinction between the Christian and reactionary working class—as they argued change must occur.⁶⁶² Charity, he argued, would only do so much to relieve the vast economic inequality brought on during industrialization.⁶⁶³ The issue that was taken up with Leo XIII was not just his attacks on socialism, but on classical liberalism as well, and so Pius wishes to address and highlight some of the ideals espoused.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁵⁹ *Rarum Novarum*, 7.

⁶⁶⁰ Edgardo Bucciarelli, Nicola Mattoscio, and Tony E. Persico “The Christian ethics of socio-economic development promoted by the Catholic Social Teaching,” *The Journal of Philosophical Economics*, no. 5 (1): 10.

⁶⁶¹ Vatican Archives, *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XII, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno.html, 1.

⁶⁶² *Quadragesimo Anno*, 2.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

He firstly addressed the role of the church—which has been consistent throughout history—in providing moral guidance, spiritual instruction, and physical help to those in need.⁶⁶⁵ While society has continued to progress, so too did the church in providing for these everchanging needs; Leo XIII’s encyclical had provided a solid basis for which those changes needed to be addressed.⁶⁶⁶ It was the church who had similar ideas to the politicians for investigating the cause of the working poor, yet the church continued to focus more on their spiritual and moral well-being by instituting charitable works and helping them to realize their humanity amongst the industrial world.⁶⁶⁷ In terms of how the government runs, Pius stated that “Just freedom of action must, of course, be left both to individual citizens and the families, yet only on condition that the common good be preserved and wrong to any individual be abolished.”⁶⁶⁸ In other words, it must be the governments duty to protect the rights of individuals, but to also protect the common good, with “[...] chief consideration out to be given to the weak and the poor.”⁶⁶⁹ He also stated that governments are hampered by their own ideological foundations as it often limits their charitable actions for certain peoples, but after the Vatican had issued its own stance on socioeconomic policy, there was greater fervor for helping, and so those who followed the Vatican within those governments were urged to act.⁶⁷⁰ Laws had been passed in order to improve the condition of the women, children, and the working man. He, of course, does not mention the labor movements that also heavily influenced those laws to be passed, nor the wave of progressivism that swept Europe and America in the early twentieth century, but owes it to the urging of the church.

⁶⁶⁵ *Quadragesimo Anno*, 4.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

It is now a new era; however, he said, and though the words of Leo are foundational, they need to be adapted to the post war era.⁶⁷¹ They will again be developed in during and after World War two by Pius XII to adapt to the hegemonic cold war struggle and finally settle into the Just Third Way. Pius XI, however, begins his examination and development by stating his authority on socioeconomic issues, believing it was given through both the bible and canonical law., especially since they are rooted in questions of morality⁶⁷² In terms of economic life, it is important to seek the just ends and Godly reason for the actions taken in order for it to be the path that God has set ahead; if this righteous attitude is achieved in the scheme of attaining a just end, then order is achieved successfully and God’s goodness is glorified.⁶⁷³ He then went on to affirm his position concerning private property, calling it twofold, believing in both private and social ownership.⁶⁷⁴ Both have their failings, so to choose between one or the other, he says, it folly, and ends up being unjust.⁶⁷⁵ He further elaborated that private ownership, though lawful, also has a moral objective attached to it to be good stewards, giving it a social character, as he related it to the common good.⁶⁷⁶ In order for the nation to prosper, all must work and labor together to properly utilize its natural resources, for example, so that private ownership cannot and should not exist without considering the common good and social ownership.⁶⁷⁷

Though clearly taking a hard stance against socialism, he also took issue with capitalism—something Pius XII also espoused, but his later predecessors will change as the Cold War progressed. Pius argued that the development of socioeconomics increases capital and

⁶⁷¹ *Quadragesimo Anno*, 7.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

industry, but some of it must be set aside for the common good and that must be kept a priority.⁶⁷⁸ He argued “[...] with all our strength we must strive that at least in the future the abundant fruits of production will accrue equitably to those who are rich and will be distributed in ample sufficiency among the workers—not that these may become remiss in work[...] but that they may increase their property by thrift, that they may bear[...]the burdens of family life with greater security[...].”⁶⁷⁹ His understanding of socioeconomics is clearly not borne of a specific theory or philosopher, but from moral need and observation of suffering. He then went on to explain the issues of social justice—arguing it should be the duty of nature to build up the social body and not tear it down—and reaffirming the duties of the worker, including the distribution of wages. Furthermore, he urged the state to adopt a different social policy, one that established and builds up both industry and profession, and to dissolve the hostility between the classes.⁶⁸⁰

It is not just the product of work that is desirable, but also to recognize the humanity within it., and so treating it as such does harm to the class divisions in society.⁶⁸¹ If focus is placed on both industry and professions, then those divisions will not be as pronounced, and violent class clashes will diminish. His goal is social unity based on the value and dignity of all mankind, a foundational point in later Catholic economic theory. Pius XI’s work on the differences and relationship between economics and moral ethics has been incredibly important in the development of Christian social economics. Progress, he argued, is the economic basis for social instruction.⁶⁸² It was under the pontificate of Pius XI that French liberalism—a distinction must be made here between French and English liberalism—and progress finally came to an

⁶⁷⁸ *Quadragesimo Anno*, 12.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁶⁸² Bucciarelli, “Catholic Social Teaching,” 11.

understanding under the church and gave a clear response to the distribution of goods under a Christian model of teaching.⁶⁸³ Under the leadership of Pius XII, his focus was both on the rebuilding of Europe and the defeat of communism, and so Catholic Social Teaching developed to a propaganda war during the implementation of the Marshall Plan.

Neoclassical economics vs. Keynesian economics

By the time America had revived itself of the Great Depression, they had effectively drifted away from a neoclassical economic system and implemented the popular Keynesian economic theories. Neoclassical economics is based on a simple supply-side system based on the writings of Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*. In Smith's analysis, price and demand is simply reliant upon supply.⁶⁸⁴ If one wants to increase economic growth and prosperity, the key is to increase production.⁶⁸⁵ Smith argued, "The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labor, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which it is anywhere directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labor."⁶⁸⁶ The role of the laborer is thus to increase production, which will in turn, increase standard of living and the circulation of money. This is where his theory of the invisible hand is introduced and is a metaphor for the many hands of labor that guide the economy as they increase the value and amount of productivity. Furthermore, the ever-increasing productivity of a country will produce interdependence that will implement a well ordered and thriving society based on the ideals of private property and equitable exchange.⁶⁸⁷ Smith's ideals do not only encompass the wealthy in

⁶⁸³ Bucciarelli, "Catholic Social Teaching," 11.

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Fleischacker, *On Adam Smith's Wealth of nations : a philosophical companion*, (Princeton University Press, 2004).

⁶⁸⁵ Evensky, *Adam Smith's wealth of nations : a reader's guide*, (Cambridge University Press, 2003) 17.

⁶⁸⁶ Evensky, *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, 17.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

society, but they include the poorest members as well, as he argues his theory of productivity and good governance lead to a secure citizenry who are willing to exchange within the marketplace.⁶⁸⁸ When an individual is able to increase productivity, supply of a good is thus increased, and may even end in a surplus. When this occurs, Smith understood that it is human nature to try and sell the excess product.⁶⁸⁹ This is also a reaction to the demand of a product. If the demand increases, so does price. This creates a market and the interplay between the three are all completely dependent on the other, with the market at the mercy of the division of labor.⁶⁹⁰ Smith's theories are then springboards from which societies progress and change.

Nowhere is neoclassical economic theory more understood than by the works of F.A. Hayek, who, writing at the time of the pre and post war world, understood the economic situation of Europe firsthand. Hayek, a native Austrian, and former professor at the University of London, as well as the University of Chicago, understood the post-war economic problem, and the issues associated with socialist governance that had begun to creep up into European parliaments. In his book, *The Road to Serfdom*, he imparted an economic warning, after having lived through two world wars and experiencing the aftermath.⁶⁹¹ Hayek's opening pages in his first chapter underscore the tonality of his entire work: that as a civilization, we have failed in some way, and there is now a desperate need to reform and progress past the incredulity of societies failures.⁶⁹² He reminded war torn Europe that this is the situation they currently find themselves, but it is the accumulation of competing ideology that was rooted in the same European tradition and that though this is true, it can happen to any place that has ideological conflict.⁶⁹³ In a sense, he is

⁶⁸⁸ Evensky, *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, 19.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁶⁹¹ F. A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944); 1.

⁶⁹² Hayek *Serfdom*, 10-11.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*, 11.

comforting Europe in saying that though this is happening to their present, it is not uncommon, and will eventually come to a close. After the task of winning the war is complete, however, they must look toward the rebuilding of a sociopolitical and economic system. If Europe had these issues where totalitarianism was able to thrive before the war, they would still be present after the war is complete, and so in preventing a continuation of world war, Hayek presented a solution. First, he stressed the importance of understanding that the ideals which classically liberal ideas that had shaped European thought and governance had fundamentally changed over the course of the first and second world war, effectively changing the core of European society.⁶⁹⁴ He argued Europe had abandoned freedom of economic affairs and had in fact, moved to a more controlled economic society in which socialism—and eventually communism—will take over.⁶⁹⁵ He argued that Europe has broken its ties with the theories of Adam Smith, David Hume, Greek and Roman philosophy, as well as Christianity.⁶⁹⁶ There is a profound loss of individualism in Europe. This has also been reiterated, though in the worldview of social change, in the encyclicals of Pius XII.

A classical understanding of individualism grew from the growth of commerce in which mankind could pull him or herself from the poorest mires of society into some sense of comfortability.⁶⁹⁷ Hayek argued this tradition was rooted in northern Italy in the cities and spread to places in France, Germany, and Britain where they were able to flourish.⁶⁹⁸ Hayek further argued that from this social development was the idea that the effort of an individual would progress society forward, fostering individuality, creativity, commercial interdependence, and

⁶⁹⁴Hayek, *Serfdom*, 12.

⁶⁹⁵Ibid., 13.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., 13.

⁶⁹⁷Ibid., 13.

⁶⁹⁸Ibid., 13.

prosperity.⁶⁹⁹ Economic growth was borne from the political freedom cultivated during this time. In contrast, it was in competition with the idea of political and economic freedom that socialism appeared.⁷⁰⁰ Soon, these socialist ideals began to overtake British and American society, planting in their ideals the idea that classical liberalism was something to back away from.⁷⁰¹ It was no longer a freedom to achieve, but a freedom from the worries and constraints of society and the burden of economic concerns.⁷⁰²

As it concerns the Marshall Plan, Hayek and the supporters of classical liberalism (as were some in Rome in the DC), would have balked at the idea of a planned economic system. Hayek even warned of the ideas of planned economies. He stated the myth of many economic planners that it is no longer a question of free competition but is that society has only one of two options and so it is not choice but control over choice that drives the market; planning becomes the new competition.⁷⁰³ Technological advancement, the planners argue, is the driving force behind this change, and to reverse it or stop it means loss of social progress.⁷⁰⁴ Hayek understood their argument: “[...]technological changes have made competition impossible in a constantly increasing number of fields and that the only choice left to us is between control of production by private monopolies and direction by the government.”⁷⁰⁵ This will, of course, be the economic intent of the PCI as well as most of the ECA and thus a foundational concern for the conservative forces in Rome after the war. Economic prosperity in Rome was of course at the forefront of De Gasperi’s mind, as the issues of high and rapidly increasing inflation and the growing influence

⁶⁹⁹Hayek, *Serfdom*, 14.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁷⁰¹*Ibid.*, 23.

⁷⁰²*Ibid.*, 26.

⁷⁰³*Ibid.*, 43.

⁷⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 43.

⁷⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 43.

of the PCI in economics became deep concerns. The ruling DC party, who would eventually have to implement the Marshall Plan, was not as keen on abandoning some of the classically liberal policies it had held close. It would have to relent to the Keynesian New Deal model that America had implemented in the decades previously.

Just as Hayek was, John Maynard Keynes was a respected economist from Cambridge, who, contrary to Hayek, was perhaps more practical in his theoretical implementation. His book *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, was an easier, quicker, and more political way of implementing a demand-side economic system that would put a faster healing on a torn economy than the slower theories introduced by the classical liberals. It was, in fact, the basis for many western political entities for decades after the war. In his chapter, “The Principle of Effective Demand,” Keynes firstly explained that in the game of production, the income of the factory owner is the result of the sum of what he pays for production minus the wages he gives to his laborers.⁷⁰⁶ In his equation, if the aggregate demand function is larger than the aggregate supply function, the employer will want to employ more laborers, increase production, and subsequently raise prices to compete.⁷⁰⁷ Higher employment only results from this equation of higher demand. He then stated that the opposite is true of classical economic theory. This theory is that supply is what creates demand, and that demand will always accommodate itself to supply price.⁷⁰⁸

Upon discussing the need for an international planning committee, Marshall enlisted the help of former National War College President George Kennan.⁷⁰⁹ The Policy Planning Staff

⁷⁰⁶ John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, (University of Adelaide Electronic Texts Collection, 2003): 21.

⁷⁰⁷ Keynes, *General Theory*, 23.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁷⁰⁹ Benn Stiel, *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021): 87.

(PPS) would then become a hallmark of the new world order in helping to both rebuild Europe, American trade, and keeping communism in the east.⁷¹⁰ A central planning body was key to Keynesian theory, essentially letting government involvement run particular business policies, building up financial security and therefore consumer confidence, culminating in sustained aggregate demand. The role of the PPS then would be to plan how to keep Europe, and essentially America, from communist influence.⁷¹¹ Kennan would be the one to practically employ the strategies. Truman seemed keen to continue this practice of intervention as well. In Benn Stein's book *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War*, he said "Truman, like FDR, was receptive to the notion that economic could and should be used aggressively, at times at an alternative to military intervention, to secure vital American national interests."⁷¹² The question of resources would be the next step that the PPS would have to overcome.

The plan to rebuild Europe would start with economic, political, and then social order.⁷¹³ It would be their goal to first build confidence in government within the citizenry of each country through the implementation of economic stability.⁷¹⁴ This, in turn, would keep them from relying on communism and instill some amount of loyalty to the United States. For Kennan, the approach was more psychologically motivated than economically motivated.⁷¹⁵ In putting together the aid program, it would of course be precluded with the conditions that communism is not amongst the options for governmental participation if their respective countries wanted the aid that America was offering.⁷¹⁶ This would affect Italy domestically, as all parties, including

⁷¹⁰ Stiel, *The Marshall Plan*, 87.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, 88.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 92-3.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 98.

the PCI knew aid was necessary, but being excluded from the government was not ideal, nor was it plausible in a democratic society. If Italy did not take the recovery program from America, effectively ending trade and political ties with the west, it would either have to turn to the Soviet Union or figure out a way to dig itself out of the chaos of the post-war world. Neither of these options were plausible for the DC, and the Vatican too understood the need to acquiesce to American demands.

This aid program would further have to be taken on in the understanding that payback was entirely out of the question.⁷¹⁷ Europe was starving as the rapidly rising inflation was killing off the values of their currencies and making a trade system between the urban and rural next to impossible.⁷¹⁸ Revival of a supply-side economic system through the means of a Keynesian style loan program would be the only true way to help European recovery. In doing this, America would be reigniting globalized—or at least westernized—trade. Another stipulation of the aid plan was that the respective European countries draw up their own plans for reconstruction.⁷¹⁹ European stabilization, and their ability to thrive afterwards, would need to also depend on their ability to trade globally.⁷²⁰ They would eventually need to set up trade unions—perhaps a precursor to the European Union.

The option of leaving behind communism, and eventually leaving behind the greed associated with capitalism, would eventually go on to form itself into a movement that would help modernize the Catholic church, ironically preaching the dangers of modernist economic theory and going against both democratic capitalism, socialism, and absolutely against

⁷¹⁷Stiel, *The Marshall Plan*, 99.

⁷¹⁸Ibid., 100.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., 100.

⁷²⁰ Ibid. 100.

communism. The concept of the Just Third Way has now been given a name but was birthed out of the Catholic Social Teachings spanning back to the late nineteenth century. It is a concept that combines the social theories of Pius XI, Pius XII's successor, as well as the economic teachings of Louis Kelso and Mortimer Adler, coming up with a common-good theory.⁷²¹

Implementing the Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan came from the American mind of American Secretary of State George Marshall, who believed the only way to save Europe from the financial ruin of the post-war world, as well as from the grips of looming communism, was to enact an economic recovery program. In 1947, Marshall gave his infamous speech at Harvard, calling for Europe to devise plans for economic recovery. In the commencement speech, Marshall's intelligent understanding of the post war world translated in his opening remarks, reiterating what everyone already knew—the world was in a precarious position.⁷²² Though his motivations came from his fears of a Soviet influence, or domination, of Europe, his speech was similar to Pope Pius's messages in years previous, carrying with it a sense of human solidarity, worried for the post-war European world that had been ravaged not only by fighting, but also by their governments.⁷²³ Not only had Europe been ravaged by the war, but in the pre-war years, its industry and politics were still dedicated to the efforts of building up a war prepped state. He simplified the issues that were especially prevalent in agricultural societies, such as it was in fifty percent of Italy, as says that production of goods and food were not in balance, and domestic trade was no longer viable.⁷²⁴

⁷²¹ Center for Economic and Social Justice, "The Just Third Way," 2024, <https://www.cesj.org/learn/just-third-way/#:~:text=CESJ%E2%80%99s%20philosophy%2C%20concepts%20and%20applications%20derive%20from%20a,ownership-concentrating%20systems%20of%20traditional%20capitalism%20and%20traditional%20socialism.>

⁷²² The George C. Marshall Foundation, "The Marshall Plan Speech", 2024, <https://www.marshallfoundation.org/the-marshall-plan/speech/>.

⁷²³ "Marshall Plan speech."

⁷²⁴ Ibid.

Governments are thus forced to use credit and shift their monetary policies to focus on the cities who are short of food and fuel.⁷²⁵ His solution is to simply restore the economic confidence of the European people in their own futures; in other words, it should be in America's best interest—for its own economic wellbeing—to jump start the European economy.⁷²⁶ Though he does mention the political and economic advantages to America, it seems that his primary concern is for the future physical and mental wellbeing of the average European. It will become apparent that even though this may have been his motivation, the Vatican, and certainly not Pope Pius believed in his moral convictions, and instead rallied against American morality as being greedy and too consumeristic.

The Marshall Plan's implementation in Italy happened shortly after its congressional passing in 1948 in the form of the Economic Cooperation Act, most of which was taken from the text of Marshall's Harvard speech. In the next few years, the American congress allotted the spending of more than thirteen billion dollars for the economic recovery of Europe.⁷²⁷ Italy itself received twelve billion of those funds.⁷²⁸ Its implementation in Italy was much more flexible, however, than in places such as Greece, because it was more adapted to Italy's future plans and sociopolitical priorities.⁷²⁹ In this way, it was only implemented in pieces. The main reason why it was implemented this way was because the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) in Rome, set up to administer the Marshall Plan, believed the Italian government—then run by De

⁷²⁵ "Marshall Plan Speech."

⁷²⁶ Ibid.

⁷²⁷ National Archives, "Marshall Plan (1948)," Milestone Documents, June 29, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/marshall-plan>.

⁷²⁸ Nicola Bianchi and Michela Giorcelli, "Reconstruction Aid, Public Infrastructure, and Economic Development: The Case of the Marshall Plan in Italy," *The Journal of Economic History*, no. 83(2), 2023: 502.

⁷²⁹ Barry Machado, "Implementing the Marshall Plan," in *In Search of a Usable Past: The Marshall Plan and the Postwar Reconstruction Today*, (Lexington, VA: The George C. Marshall Foundation, 2007): 74.

Gasperi and the DC—better able to defend its autonomy and ability to govern itself.⁷³⁰ The Italian government’s loyalty to the American economic plans were clearly solid, and though their cultural and political system was still in its early stages of recovery, America was confident in its implementation of its loaned funds. Specifically, within Italy, the Marshall Plan would be implemented in three categories. The first category was through the means of grants to the Italian government, for the purposes of rebuilding Italian infrastructure, as stated previously. Secondly, the American money would subsidize particular areas of private goods and service sectors.⁷³¹ Finally, America paid direct loans to private companies.⁷³² The Italians also knew that America needed Italian cooperation so that it did not fall prey to the Stalinist communism that was slowly infiltrating Europe.⁷³³ It was further necessary and crucial for implementing the Truman doctrine and the theories of containment that would come to dominate both European and American policies toward Communism in the coming decades.

As for Italy, however, it first needed to overcome its own economic issues that followed the layout of George Marshall’s generalization of Europe and split Italy in half—industry in the North and agriculture in the South. Furthermore, it needed to cease the rampant political infighting that plagued not just the Italian parliament, but many of the parties as well.⁷³⁴ Though not totally immune, the DC had, for the most part been stable, all agreeing on a core ideological structure built on Catholic values, and united by its deep fear of rapid inflation and a communist

⁷³⁰ Machado, “Implementing the Marshall Plan,” 74

⁷³¹ Bianchi and Giorcelli, “The Marshall Plan in Italy,” 502.

⁷³² *Ibid.*, 502.

⁷³³ Machado, “Implementing the Marshall Plan,” 74.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

takeover.⁷³⁵ Their primary goals were thus not entirely in line with the immediate goals of the ECA in Rome who wanted to implement the American economic approach.⁷³⁶

World War Two had only destroyed about eight percent of Italy's economy, only really affecting production, making it slower in the industrial sectors, and instituting high unemployment.⁷³⁷ The Marshall Planers in Rome believed the only way to save it was by investing in productive industries that could raise the GNP and lower unemployment.⁷³⁸ They too believed unemployment to be the biggest issue plaguing Italy. Their plan, however was investiture into these industries and the reliance on foreign trade whereas De Gasperi and Pella argued that rapid industrialization, higher wages, and lower unemployment would only heighten the chances for another round of inflationary policies and issues.⁷³⁹ Because of the DC's loyalty during the latter war years, the ECA gave into their policies and began to encourage a large scale emigration of industrial workers and the reduction of particular taxes, hoping both would incentivize Italians to leave the country, reducing inflationary issues.⁷⁴⁰ The United States offered Argentina and Brazil as options to emigrate, but not American itself as they had already filled their quota on Italian immigrants.⁷⁴¹ The mass of immigrants, however, were not simply moving for a better life, but were spread into places like France, Belgium, and Switzerland to be a labor force in sectors like shipbuilding.⁷⁴² The sending of young, single men to be their foreign labor force was successful until around 1951.⁷⁴³

⁷³⁵ Machado, "Implementing the Marshall Plan," 74.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁷³⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, 76.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*, 76.

The overarching goal for America was to both boost the Italian economy, but to give them confidence in their status as citizens, their investiture in the economy, and to help them boost their standard of living.⁷⁴⁴ This could only be achieved when they controlled inflation, producing and trading more Italian goods and services, and eventually would assist in propagating the image of a paternal figure in America. America was wildly successful in their propaganda efforts as well. Just as the Vatican had used pamphlets, cinema, and private political campaigns, so too did the ECA. The slogan for a modernization campaign in Italy was borne from the mind of Harlan Cleveland: “’Revolution of Rising Expectations.’”⁷⁴⁵ In America, the understanding was, to work harder and more efficiently was to build a better democracy. The ECA and American task at hand, was to build the same expectations for the Italian citizenry. This would not be too difficult a task, as many already associated American democracy with prosperity as demonstrated by the cheering crowds that welcomed the Anglo-American armies in 1943. The psychological battle for Italian minds would not be the issue—the issue would be if they could shape it to the needs of Italy.⁷⁴⁶

The United States remained controlling over the program and its implementation in Italy, even though they wished to let the Italians gain confidence. The US first would collect data on how Italy’s economic stability was after the war.⁷⁴⁷ The *Italy Country Study*, reported that. After their report was finished, the newly formed ECA and the Italian government, at the time headed by De Gasperi and the DC, would work together to dole out the funds.⁷⁴⁸ Though this is keeping rather tight control over the dispersed funds, the inclusion of the Catholic run ECA (by Lt. Col.

⁷⁴⁴ Machado, “Implementing the Marshall Plan,” 77.

⁷⁴⁵ David Ellwood, “The Propaganda of the Marshall Plan in Italy in a Cold War Context,” *Intelligence and National Security*, no. 18(2), 2003: 226.

⁷⁴⁶ Ellwood, “Propaganda of the Marshall Plan,” 226.

⁷⁴⁷ Bianchi and Giorceli, “The Marshall Plan in Italy,” 508.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 508.

Lane) and by De Gasperi would do much to alleviate the fears of any Italian who did not believe that their involvement was necessary. This also ensured that funds would go to the regions that struggled the most in the post-war era, typically the ones in the south. The ECA, however, remained as the oversight into exactly how those funds matriculated. For example, each financial quarter, the ECA had to approve the projects that were funded, and the Italian government had no direct influence.⁷⁴⁹ The Italian news continued to report on the positive influences of the Marshall Plan.⁷⁵⁰ The railroads damaged from North to South from both the war and the allied invasion were the first and most influential project in which the reports garnered more support for the Marshall Plan.⁷⁵¹

In order to further the cause of the Marshall Plan, the Italian census, or the Censimento dell'Industria e dei Servizi was taken in 1951, a few years after the Marshall Plan funds were implemented. Nine major industries stand out: food, paper, chemical, construction, as well as the mining, manufacturing, textiles, metals, and clothing.⁷⁵² Agricultural data was also conducted, impacting the south more so than in the North. Before World War One, the number of industrial firms in Italy was 704, but by the end of World War Two, there were 863, while the number of workers rose by thirty three percent. The number of agricultural workers, however, drastically decreased from 96,447 to 45,206.⁷⁵³ While production, population, and industry grew, it appears that the country faced an issue with workers to produce food. While Italy had also received much more funds, it had been destroyed more intensely by the allied forces during the war as well. According to the Italy Country Study, more than seventy percent of roads and forty percent of

⁷⁴⁹ Bianchi and Giorceli, "The Marshall Plan in Italy," 508.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., 508.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., 508.

⁷⁵² Ibid., 509.

⁷⁵³ Ibid., 510.

railways were destroyed by Anglo-American bombs.⁷⁵⁴ Those provinces that were more heavily effected would receive “[...] more reconstruction grant money at the expense of other forms of aid[...].”⁷⁵⁵ Though the funds received were great, Italians still had their reservations, and it would be up to them to decide whether the receiving of funds from America was a positive or a negative.

Historical Propaganda

Italy’s biggest difference was the attitude and outlook of the market versus that of Americas outlook. In America, the spirit of rising up from poverty was reality, whereas in Italy, there was a larger gap between the rich and poor, and very little hope for social mobility.⁷⁵⁶

Italian conservatives were far too inclined to use force to hold communism down [...] instead of trying the remedy of mass consumption and mass production. Italian industrialists rigged what feeble market there was and encouraged the unemployed to immigrate. If this mentality could be changed, Marshall Plan administrators expected other obstacles such as high interest rates and the obsession with frugality to disappear as a consequence [...].⁷⁵⁷

The biggest challenge that Italy would face was their own preconceived attitude. Americans understood that to win this particular battle, they would need to convince the Italians they could be like the American’s and pull themselves up out of the industrial slums, create an egalitarian society, and eventually thrive both personally and as a country. It was the goal of American and DC propogandists to convey this message. They would need to convince Italians that they were not only the preferable option to the indigenous communist party, but that the Marshall Plan was personal and not just about economic trade.⁷⁵⁸ Most of the preferred American medium for

⁷⁵⁴ Ellwood, “Propaganda of the Marshall Plan,” 513.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., 513.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., 226.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid., 227.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., 227.

convincing the Italian populous was through Hollywood and the movies, especially as it bypassed the need for reading-something that the southern Italian poor did not know how to do.⁷⁵⁹ They wanted to convey the idea of social mobility more than anything, but this looked different within each region of Italy.⁷⁶⁰ The Italians, however, would be incredibly hard to convince. They had just come out of a serious period of heavy Fascist, Nazi, and then domestic political ideology.⁷⁶¹

In order to strengthen their propaganda campaign, Italy aligned itself closely with Germany, making their ideological claims to Europe an applicable alternative to the Western democratic nations.⁷⁶² Their goal during the war was to create a New Europe.⁷⁶³ Both used various strategies to implement this ideal, and one similar was the cult of personality: Il Duce in Italy and the Fuhrer in Germany- both represented by strong, nationalist feelings, and a fatherly figure to their respective nations. Other strategic ideological implementations include the meeting of intellectuals, musicians, and film studios.⁷⁶⁴ The brotherhood between the socialistic nations was further developed by political receptions, academic lectures, and business symposiums.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁵⁹ Ellwood, "Propaganda of the Marshall Plan," 227.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 227.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., 227.

⁷⁶² Benjamin G. Martin, "The European Character of the German-Italian Axis," in *The Nazi-Fascist New Order for European Culture*, (Harvard university Press, 2016): 74.

⁷⁶³ Martin, "German-Italian Axis," 75.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., 75.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., 75-6.



Much of this New European cultural exchange was directed towards the elite. This would provide a niche for further propagandized development within the countries themselves.

The development of propaganda in Italy was highly fictionalized, especially under the Mussolini regime. In his book *Staging the Fascist War: The Ministry of Popular Culture and Italian Propaganda on the Home Front, 1938-1943*, Luigi Petrella details the immense effort the Fascist party took in hiding and making the Italian citizenry see what it believed to be a strong and lasting Italian nation. Though the information may have changed, and the message developed during and after the war, the medium for relaying information was much the same between Mussolini, Germany, America, and the Vatican: media. Mussolini and his propaganda machine utilized two specific strategies: sanitized information and social targeting.⁷⁶⁷ Though they implemented this strategy, it was less than effective, especially as the regime began to fall. One particular group Mussolini attempted to target were women; the propaganda ministry began

⁷⁶⁶ Militaryimages.net, "WWII Military Art," 2024, <https://www.militaryimages.net/media/wwii-art.32461/>.

⁷⁶⁷ Luigi Petrella, *Staging the Fascist War: The Ministry of Popular Culture and Italian Propaganda on the Home Front, 1938-1943*, edited by Pierpaolo Antonello and Robert Gordon, (Bern, SZ: Peter Lang AG, 2016): 145.

targeting them in order to represent both the maternal and strong nature of the fascist party in ruling Italy—trying to relate one to the other.

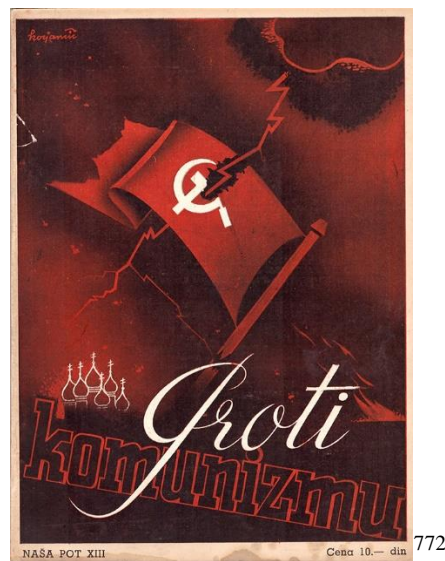


In the image above, it depicts the image of a strong family, one in which the fascists must protect Italian women and the family.⁷⁶⁸ The biggest reason these campaigns failed was due to the inconsistency of its message as well as the patronizing way the ministry depicted women.⁷⁶⁹ In order to combat much of the propaganda pushed by the Fascist Ministry of Information, the Vatican too pushed its own message. Unfortunately for the Vatican, however, it was done mostly through the medium of papal bulls, pulpit messages, and through *L'osservatore Romano*, creating a socioeconomic gap between those who were and were not literate, and relying on church attendance. If control was what they were chasing, their organization would fail as soon as Anglo-American boots hit the southern shores, and with them, a new form of propaganda that was staunchly pro-western democracy, yet again changing the trajectory of Italian loyalty.

⁷⁶⁸ Andrea Dlugos, "Virile, Yet Feminine: Sport, Gender, and Representation in Fascist Italy," *Historical Perspectives: Santa Clara University Undergraduate Journal of History*, no. 17 (12): 148.

⁷⁶⁹ Petrella, *Staging Fascist War*, 134.

After the war, both the DC and the PCI introduced their political propaganda campaigns as well to sway the votes in the 1946 referendum and the 1948 elections. Closely tied to the Vatican, both the DC and the church used media and film to further their electoral hopes. Along with the retelling of the previously mentioned Marian sightings, Catholic anti-communism developed out of the social, political, and cultural experiences in Italy.⁷⁷⁰ Rosario Forlenza explains, “Catholic anti-communism emerged in a situation where individuals and the whole of Italian society were at their limits [...] Catholic anti-communism was [...] a reevaluation of values resulting from a series of limited experiences, or liminal conditions [...]”⁷⁷¹ In other words, their strategy had development from the over information spewed at them before and during the war, and their shared experience under the fascist regime.



⁷⁷⁰ Rosario Forlenza, *The Enemy Within: Catholic Anti-Communism in Cold War Italy*, (Oxford University Press, 2017): 208.

⁷⁷¹ Forlenza, *Enemy Within*, 209.

⁷⁷² Dasa Pahor, “Pope’s Anti-Communist Propoganda: Proti komunizmu. Okroznica Pija XI. Divini redemptoris o brezboznem komunizmu,” 2020, <https://pahor.de/product/popes-anti-communist-propaganda-proti-komunizmu-okroznica-pija-xi-divini-redemptoris-o-brezboznem-komunizmu/>.

Communism had become more than an outside threat—it was now domestic thanks to the rapid rise of the PCI. The Italian people, the DC and Vatican would argue, were in desperate need of social and moral guidance that both entities could provide them.⁷⁷³

Nowhere was this feeling of stability needed more than in southern Italy. In the few years following the end of the fascist regime, the red villages, or people's republics, sprouted all over the south, calling for alarmingly communist political and economic plans.⁷⁷⁴ Not only did this bring social insecurity and imbalance, but it also brought fear of another round of domestic infighting that would continue to wreck destruction on the rural south.⁷⁷⁵ Those who would be particularly effected by a communist takeover in the south were the small business owners, lawyers, and the middle class in general.⁷⁷⁶ Social revolution was the very last thing on Italians minds as they transitioned out of the world war. This left a gap for either the PCI or the DC to fill.

The PCI would have to later resort to a strategy of agrarian land reform—a less emotional and more practical problem that would lessen the south's fear of their leadership. Aside from this, their attempts to influence the more traditional south were not as well received as the tactics implemented by the DC and the Vatican were. The Pope gave many speeches, messages, and encyclicals detailing his support for the DC and a hard pivot away from the dangers that the PCI and communism in general represented. Even under the previous pope, and before the fall of fascism was written *Divini Redemptoris* in 1937. Not only does this highlight the Vatican's fear

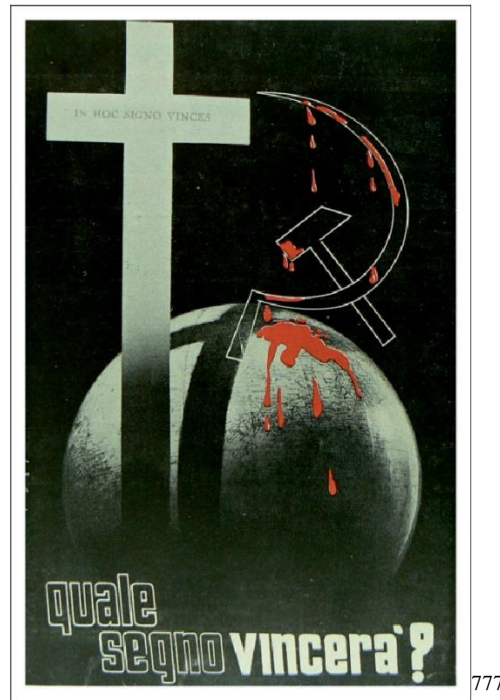
⁷⁷³ Forlenza, *Enemy Within*, 210.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 212-3.

of communism well before the war was finished, but also highlights their political leanings, their support remaining fully behind the DC, even in times of disagreement.



A line would be clearly drawn by the Vatican—something they would also be fighting hard to protect—for the Italian people. The choices were clear: life and salvation through adherence to the church and morality, or eternal death and national destruction by way of the communists and the PCI. After the war, in 1947, Pope Pius XII wrote concerning the issues of social stability—a clear decree against the reigning terror that the communist movements and other revolutionary movements had wrote in Italy. *Optimissa Pax* was most likely a steady written presence itself for those in the south who were concerned with the trajectory of political life in Italy.

Peace, longed for so hopefully, which should signify the tranquility of order [1] and serene liberty, [2] even after the cruel experience of a long war, still hangs in uncertain balance, as everyone must note with sadness and alarm. Moreover, people's hearts and minds are kept in a state of anxious suspense, while in not a few nations - already laid

⁷⁷⁷ Giuliana Chamedes, “The Vatican, Nazi-Fascism, and the Making of Transnational Anti-communism in the 1930s.”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 51 (2016): 261 - 290.

waste by the world-conflict and its sorry aftermath of ruin and distress - the social classes are being incited to mutual hatred as their continuous rioting and agitation plainly threaten to subvert the very foundations of civil society.⁷⁷⁸

It was clear that internal entities would struggle to bring strength and stability to their population.

In the two years following the 1948 election (1949-1950), and in the years that Italian reconstruction began (1950-55), the Americans and the ECA struggled with selling hope in a disheartened, mistrusting, and stagnant political and socioeconomic Italy. Americans and the ECA would also use the same tactics as Mussolini and the DC respectively—cinema, radio, posters, news, and, something different, the use of exhibitions for those in rural areas.⁷⁷⁹ The use of exhibitions was especially important for boosting morale and economic support for those who were illiterate in the more rural areas as it would provide interactive ways to understand the Marshall Plan and build trust between the American government and the Italian people. The Pope, in 1950, called for a clear war on communism and atheism in general, continuing the previous Pope's call to arms. In a special to the *New York Times*, they detail out Pope Pius XII's call to laity and clergy to begin their holy war against atheistic communism.⁷⁸⁰ The Americans would need to hand over the fight for Italian loyalty to the DC and the Vatican in order to build support for their reconstruction plan. Now that they had a solid standing in fighting communism and implementing the Marshall Plan, the ECA had to further weaken the radical labor parties as well as the popularity of the PCI, still stronger than the Catholic workers unions.⁷⁸¹ The ECA went to several fairs and brought films with them. Around thirteen percent of European films for the Marshall Plan were about Italy and they depicted everything from land reform, shipping, rail

⁷⁷⁸ Vatican Archives. *Optatissima Pax* (December 18, 1947). Pius XII. https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/letters/documents/hf_p-xii_lett_19470826_have-just.html.

⁷⁷⁹ Machado, "Implementing the Marshall Plan," 78.

⁷⁸⁰ Special to the *New York Times*. "Pope Bids Priests War on Atheism: Calls for Organizing Laity in the Drive and Also Combat Communism." *New York Times* (1923-), 1950, January 29, 12.

⁷⁸¹ Machado, "Implementing the Marshall Plan," 80.

workers, oil workers as well as targeting certain regions.⁷⁸² Within the thematic films, they showed American economic prosperity and growth to depict true freedom, drawing in the Italians to desire and understand that this was attainable for them as well, but only with American help.⁷⁸³

American freedom equated to everything from higher standards of living, higher employment, and better production as well as a more stable government.⁷⁸⁴ After two years of propaganda, fifty-two percent of Italians favored Marshall Plan.⁷⁸⁵ Unemployment, however, was still high and the World Federation of trade unions was still dominated by the communists.⁷⁸⁶ In order to weaken their control, Truman appointed Lt. Col. Thomas Lane who would spearhead the Italian effort on behalf of the ECA and was now head of the labor division in Italy.⁷⁸⁷ Lane, along with the anti-communist labor leader Giulio Pastore, who wanted to help weaken PCI control, went to US to talk to the AFL and CIO.⁷⁸⁸ Lane and Pastore, both Catholics, received massive funding and formed an anti-communist and nonpolitical labor union in Italy that “ [...] rejected class struggle and embraced collective bargaining”⁷⁸⁹ They then began to use a media offensive to target communism and targeted industrial workers in Turin and Milan, traditionally PCI strongholds.⁷⁹⁰ They further published trade union journals and produced radio programs, releasing anti-communist documentaries every month.⁷⁹¹ Lane and Pastore would then

⁷⁸² Machado, “Implementing the Marshall Plan,” 79.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 79.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., 79.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., 79.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., 79.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., 79.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 79.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., 80.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., 80.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., 80.

arrange for American business and labor leaders to come and talk to the other trade unionists, boosting morale and fostering trust.⁷⁹²

The communists, however, were still pretty solid in their union, highlighting the importance for Lane and Pastore to break that hold. The Communist labor organization CGIL, for example, had six million members, while the nonpolitical sectarian LCGIL, had only one and a half million members.⁷⁹³ Pastore decided to create an anti-communist labor organization, the CISL in 1950. Their goal was to work in weakening communist control of the labor unions and by 1953, they were largely successful.⁷⁹⁴ The CGIL had been cut in half and CISL had over one and a half million members.⁷⁹⁵ Though technically still communists controlled the labor market in Italy until late 1950s, it was considerably less powerful and influential.⁷⁹⁶

For their part, the DC finance and labor policies that had been previously implemented, were not helpful to the ECA nor for the implementation of the Marshall Plan.⁷⁹⁷ The goal of the ECA was to promote an American FDR style economic system in Italy and advance industrial sectors to help increase democracy.⁷⁹⁸ Their division would be their failure.

Their legacy was not a unified, non-communist national union, but three separate labor federations, a greatly strengthened big business, and virtually no improvements in traditional labor-management relations. Unintentionally, they ushered in a long era of fragmented, ineffectual unions, together with low wages and the authoritarian management practices that usually accompany them.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹² Machado, "Implementing the Marshall Plan," 80.

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.

Around 1950, the DC finally undertook some of the American backed reforms but were undermined by their previous interference.⁸⁰⁰

Moving further into the 1950's, the DC was playing the role of mediator between the PCI, who were always agitating the government, and those wealthy socially justice-minded who occupied the conservative side.⁸⁰¹ On top of the political infighting in Rome, there was a lot of pressure placed on the government to act by the ECA.⁸⁰² Togliatti argued that instead of the Marshall plan, the Italian government should force the wealthy to pay more in taxes.⁸⁰³ Many agreed with Togliatti, since the wealthy did not help offset the financial issues that continued to plague Italy, but the consensus was not in favor of the PCI reforms.⁸⁰⁴ The biggest controversy surrounding the PCI, and making many hesitant to side with their cause, was the failed agrarian reforms implemented in the months after the election of 1948.⁸⁰⁵ This did not mean, however, that everyone in Rome was set to follow the advice of the Americans. Many wanted to know how the Marshall Plan would help Italian farming and peasant class, especially in the south.⁸⁰⁶

To help ease fears and draw the regional tension to a close, Rome created a small agency to help facilitate the changes brought on by the Marshall Plan.⁸⁰⁷ In 1950, they created the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno (CASA), whose primary goal was to close the economic gap between the industrial north and agrarian south.⁸⁰⁸ Hollis Chenery, the future World Bank chief economist, wanted to test his input-output theory in Southern Italy, and so between 1950-52, he sought to

⁸⁰⁰ Machado, "Implementing the Marshall Plan," 81.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., 82.

⁸⁰² Ibid., 82.

⁸⁰³ Ibid., 82.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., 82.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., 83.

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid., 83.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid., 83.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid., 83.

“[...] invest counterpart funds in development projects that also improved Italy’s overall balance of payments situation.”⁸⁰⁹ Essentially, his theory meant pouring in money to development projects, most likely industrial or infrastructure projects, improving employment and thus the standard of living, and balancing out the poverty levels in the south. He started by adding tax incentives and low-interest loans to southern companies to help improve infrastructure.⁸¹⁰ His intuition regarding the usefulness of CASA was eventually proved correct, as they were never successful at bridging that economic gap.⁸¹¹ Italy further passed two laws in 1950 for the purposes of land reform in which they broke up and redistributed land to the peasants, setting up a strong foundation by reducing inflation and stabilizing prices.⁸¹²

The implementation of the Marshall plan paid for forty percent of Italian imports and ended up strengthening the global standing of the lire, freeing Italians to invest in other areas and grow their export arena.⁸¹³ They imported American oil, auto, and textiles while Fiat helped double industrial production by 1953.⁸¹⁴ A new problem they faced was the imbalance between mass production and mass consumption—Italians may be producing more and improving their social statuses, but they still very much were scared to spend money.⁸¹⁵ Furthermore, there was still the problem of lower salaries than they worked for, and a lag in certain industries, especially in the steel industry.⁸¹⁶ In the years leading up to the implementation of the Marshall Plan, most money

⁸⁰⁹ Machado, “Implementing the Marshall Plan,” 83.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁸¹² *Ibid.*, 84.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

was coming in from international sales, or exporting goods.⁸¹⁷ This would be important for post-Marshall planners to keep in mind and later learn to fix.⁸¹⁸

Though it would be important for the Marshall Planners to convince Italians to adopt American economics, it did not necessarily translate into the adoption of American social and cultural norms.⁸¹⁹ The largest uniting factor was simply a fear of communism and staunch anticommunist ideology perpetrated by the DC that drove their partnership with America.⁸²⁰ Italian historical development was vastly different than that of America and their relationship with representative democracy, though founded in similar ideals, was not the same; the Italians further relied on the Authoritarian governance and social influence of the Vatican.⁸²¹ Though the church was staunchly on the side of the Americans, it still did not approve of the rampant and immoral consumerism practiced by the US.⁸²² The Catholic church would eventually advocate for a “third Way” as an alternative to both America and Moscow—something uniquely Italian.

Holy War against Stalin

In 1948, Pope Pius XII, though perhaps reluctantly, joined the DC in supporting the American Marshall Plan, mostly out of pure need to defy and weaken the PCI himself. In a special to the New York Times in February of 1948, they describe the Vatican as praising the Marshall Plan, going as far as to call it the salvation of Europe.⁸²³ The Vatican argued that the plan was the best way to combat the plans of the communists by counteracting its economic plan

⁸¹⁷ Machado, “Implementing the Marshall Plan,” 85.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁸¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁸²⁰ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁸²² *Ibid.*, 85.

⁸²³ Special to The New York Times. "Vatican Paper Hails Aid: Calls Marshall Plan ‘Salvation of Europe,’ Countering Reds.” *New York Times (1923-)*, Feb 06, 1948, 11.

but also by providing a sense of unity and stability throughout Italy and Europe at large.⁸²⁴

Peace, and a feeling of normalcy, as the Pope said in *Optatissima Pax*, would only be achieved when there was widespread collaboration.⁸²⁵ Within this news clip is also a deeper rooted call to arms that would eventually provoke a new and modern Holy War with the USSR. The Pope and Stalin would soon continue their smear campaigns of each other's respective religious, nonreligious, and political stances through the news.

It was the intention of the church, and really of Pius XII himself, to follow in the path of Leo, and in understanding his argument to upset the sociopolitical status quo, to do so through the various institutions of the church. This meant through *L'Observatore Romano*, the DC, Catholic Action, through the laity, and papal publications. In 1948, Pope Pius XII, though perhaps reluctantly, joined the DC in supporting the American Marshall Plan, mostly out of pure need to defy and weaken the PCI himself. In a special to the New York Times in February of 1948, they describe the Vatican as praising the Marshall Plan, going as far as to call it the salvation of Europe.⁸²⁶ The Vatican argued that the plan was the best way to combat the plans of the communists by counteracting its economic plan but also by providing a sense of unity and stability throughout Italy and Europe at large.⁸²⁷ Peace, and a feeling of normalcy, as the Pope said in *Optatissima Pax*, would only be achieved when there was widespread collaboration.⁸²⁸ Within this news clip is also a deeper-rooted call to arms that would eventually provoke a new and modern Holy War with the USSR. The Pope and Stalin would soon continue their smear

⁸²⁴ Special to The New York Times. "Vatican Paper Hails Aid: Calls Marshall Plan 'Salvation of Europe,' Countering Reds." *New York Times* (1923-), Feb 06, 1948, 11.

⁸²⁵ Ibid., 11.

⁸²⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁸²⁷ Ibid., 11.

⁸²⁸ Ibid., 11.

campaigns of each other's respective religious, nonreligious, and political stances through the news.

Peace, longed for so hopefully, which should signify the tranquility of order, and serene liberty, even after the cruel experience of a long war, still hangs in uncertain balance, as everyone must note with sadness and alarm. Moreover, people's hearts and minds are kept in a state of anxious suspense, while not in a few nations [...] the social classes are being incited to mutual hatred as their continuous rioting and agitation plainly threaten to subvert the very foundations of civil society.⁸²⁹

Pius felt deeply that his role as father figure of many, is to encourage peace and cooperation and that all these efforts mean nothing unless the favor of God is on their side.⁸³⁰ The crisis to rebuild Europe is deep, difficult, and imminent. He argued, "On the one hand the economic system of many nations, as a result of fabulous military expenditures and enormous destruction wrought by the war, has been dislocated and weakened to such an extent as to be powerless to meet the problems with which it is faced [...]"⁸³¹ Italy, and Europe at large, absolutely does not possess the resources necessary to rebuild itself and its vulnerability leaves it open for exploitation, such as the PCI and Comintern. He argued, "On the other hand, there is no lack of those who, sad to say, embitter and exploit the working man in his distress, following a secret and astute plan, and thus obstruct the heroic efforts which the forces of justice [The Marshall Plan and the US] and order are making to rebuild scattered fortunes."⁸³² It is clear his economic loyalties lie with the US, and the US will use this as propaganda fodder for their implantation plan. The divisions in society that Pius speaks on, clearly a direct hit on the PCI and Comintern, are the reason why unity was, at that current time, impossible to achieve. The common welfare of all, not just the few, was necessary.⁸³³ The first step, he argued, is to heal hearts, make cooperation possible, all

⁸²⁹ *Optatissima Pax*.

⁸³⁰ Ibid.

⁸³¹ Ibid.

⁸³² Ibid.

⁸³³ Ibid.

under the guidance of Christian Social Teaching.⁸³⁴ One such speech that instituted Pius's plan for Christian Social Teaching, while also giving his indirect support to the Marshall Plan, was given in mid-February of 1950. In his speech to the Catholic press, gathered for an international conference, he reiterates the Vatican's stance on directing the press in their telling of the truth, justice, and promotion of peace.⁸³⁵ Though speaking mostly of the Catholic understanding of the necessities of public opinion, it is the last few paragraphs that garner closer attention. Pius argued, "Only in this way will it be possible to evade all false ideas, by excess or by defect, about the mission and possibility of the Church in the temporal order and, in our day, particularly in the social question and in the problem of peace."⁸³⁶ Division and peace, again only under the direct and watchful eye of the Vatican, will be solved if proper report and public opinion are wrapped up in truth—something necessary to spreading both the Vatican and the Marshall Plan agenda.

Foreign affairs official Kees Van Hoek writes about the division in an article for the Washington Post. In it, he first states the global understanding that two ideological camps that exist—two hegemonic powers that dominate the Christian world: The Vatican and communism.⁸³⁷ He granted the pope the distinction of understanding the evils of communism long before the world saw—though this honor should be dedicated to the Vatican itself, not specifically Pius XII, as he was simply a product of deep historical writings that began in the late nineteenth century. It was atheism, spearheaded by the communist international, versus the

⁸³⁴ *Optatissima Pax*.

⁸³⁵ Vatican Archives. *Address of His Holiness Pius XII to Catholic Journalists Gathered in Rome for their Fourth International Congress, February 17, 1950*. Pius XII. https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/it/speeches/1950/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19500217_la-presse.html.

⁸³⁶ *Address of His Holiness Pius XII*.

⁸³⁷ Kees Van Hoek, Foreign Affairs Writer of the Irish Times, "Pope Stated Stand Against Russia Early," *The Washington Post (1923-1954)*, 1950 Apr 08, 1950/04/08/. 1.

traditionally Catholic dominated Christian world.⁸³⁸ Stalin, thinking in terms of power, was alarmed at the forces the church may be able to mobilize, and so directed his smear campaign at the character of Pius XII, as well as attacks on the Catholic higher ups within the realm of the USSR.⁸³⁹ One particular instance of the arrest of the Archbishop Stepinac of Zagreb, taking him in on charges of aiding the Tito regime in Croatia.⁸⁴⁰ Many were also taken to prison in the Soviet Union, beaten, or never heard from again. of aiding the Tito regime in Croatia.⁸⁴¹ Many were also taken to prison in the Soviet Union, beaten, or never heard from again. In previously Catholic dominated countries, like Hungary, religion is all but illegal and absolutely unable to practice, replacing it instead with Marxist atheism.⁸⁴² These reactions of Stalin incentivized the church on further turning her face against the USSR and model itself the moral and spiritual protector of the masses, as reiterated in many of Pius's speeches and letters.

Stalin's paranoia necessitated the close observation of the Vatican, and constant information on the flow of information coming out of the church. In a Washington Post article in 1950, they detailed out the morning observations of both Pius and Stalin in reading the *L'Obsservatore Romano*.⁸⁴³ Most of what is written in the newspaper is a retort against the Moscow radio messages put out by the Kremlin and has been known to be critical of most regimes like Mussolini and Hitler.⁸⁴⁴ In Vienna, 1952, the Pope spoke to a crowd of Catholics who had been persecuted under the antireligious laws of the Soviet Union. Evidence of the pope's importance, especially to those persecuted under communism, is evident too in a speech

⁸³⁸ Van Hoek, "Pope Stated Stand Against Russia Early," 1.

⁸³⁹ Ibid., 1.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., 1.

⁸⁴¹ Ibid., 1.

⁸⁴² Ibid., 1.

⁸⁴³ Brutto, Washington Post, osservatore, b2 Frank Brutto, "Osservatore, Voice of Vatican, is Heard Even Inside Kremlin," *The Washington Post (1923-1954)*, 1950 Sep 03: 1.

⁸⁴⁴ Brutto, Washington Post "Osservatore."

he gave in Rome in November of 1950. In a document from the New York Times, Pius was recorded in his typical routine of receiving an audience—this audience, however, contained twenty-five Italian communists who went as a dare from their priests, but ended cheering his excellency.⁸⁴⁵ In Vienna, 1952, the Pope spoke to a crowd of Catholics who had been persecuted under the antireligious laws of the Soviet Union. The two main points of his speech were the protection of the individual and the family, as well as protesting the persecution of the church under the USSR.⁸⁴⁶

It is clear that at its root, the Vatican has always called for a cease to conflict and has done so through the various mediums given to them—media, news, political parties, encyclicals, etc.—but in upsetting the status quo, something both the Vatican and the communist party of Italy share, the Vatican has never pursued their ends with violence. Instead, calls for peace, implementation of charitable works and institutions, as well as meetings with various world leaders, has been their way of implementing peace and spreading the Catholic Social gospel. The clear switch in practical application, and perhaps not motivation, would be clear when Pius XII died, and Pope John XXIII succeeded the papacy.

⁸⁴⁵ "Communists Visit Pope; Cheer Him at Audience," *New York Times* (1923-), 1950 Nov 19, 2.

⁸⁴⁶ "'True Peace' Call Sounded by Pope Pius: Pontiff Urges a Bridge of Amity Between East and West." *The Sun* (1837-), 1955 Jan 04, 6.

Chapter Six: Vatican I to Vatican II

The transition from Pope Pius XII to John XXIII came with somewhat of a jolt in terms of how the Vatican was now going to approach politics. Pius XII was extremely hands on, drawing inspiration from his predecessors, yet John XXIII took a step back, turning the Vatican not toward the face of politics, but toward the face of social justice. His focus was fatherlier in that he would approach modernization and change with a joyful spirit and an open mind. John's relations with the US government were less involved than Pius' and his letters are taking a step back, giving spiritual advice to the presidents rather than asking for intervention. Though Pius XII had taken steps to modernize the Catholic Church in certain ways and was really forced to do so in his battle against communism, it would be John XXIII who took the final steps toward the Second Vatican Council and updating Catholic Social Teaching.

Vatican relations with the two competing hegemonic powers of the early Cold War inched toward a more neutral ground when John XIII took over the papacy. Rather than engaging in a holy war with the USSR, for example, John took steps to build friendly relations with Khrushchev and his family. The age of totalitarianism in Europe was complete with the death of Stalin, and the Vatican led by John would need to change focus if he wished to spread the Catholic gospel. Pius XII had begun to reach out to the persecuted in Eastern Europe during and shortly after the Second World War, but it would be John who took this further by instituting Ostpolitik and opening up communication with the East. While maintaining good relations with both Eisenhower, and later Kennedy, John also believed in the destruction of militant Catholicism, and that began with an open-door policy toward the USSR. He did this by introducing or updating the doctrine in Vatican II. Though he did not live to see its completion, Vatican II was successful in changing the Catholic Church's focus to a more socially conscious

institution through the implementation of its Dogmatic Constitutions. In doing so, John XXIII was able to make Vatican diplomacy more focused on social justice and less about rooting out communism in both Italy and Europe in general. It was both socially and politically necessary for the Vatican led by John XXIII to move on from the war-time paranoia that had dominated the first half of the twentieth century.

Vatican relations with Italy, America, and the USSR

The ways in which Pope John XXIII interacted with the USSR after Stalin's death was vastly different than his predecessor, who engaged in a war of the press with the Soviet Union. John, who wishes to promote peace and unity both inside the church and amongst nations, even invites the Orthodox Church to the Second Vatican Council. The USSR under the leadership of Khrushchev, however, was more subversive. Ideologically, the Vatican and the communism under the leadership of the USSR were and are completely incompatible; however, this did not stop illegal churches from impacting life in the USSR. With full support of the Vatican, these churches sought to change the lives of the average Soviet citizen but specifically for the working class, making their involvement a national security risk to the USSR.⁸⁴⁷ Author Sean Brennan argues that while liturgical propaganda was being disseminated throughout the USSR by the church, the KGB was also countering with arrests and shutting down certain churches.⁸⁴⁸

Though they were and continually will be at odds, there were at least overt steps at making peace and promoting dialogue. In a piece by the Wilson Center, Pope John XXIII extended an invitation to the daughter of Khrushchev in March of 1963 while the UN delegate

⁸⁴⁷ Sean Brennan, *The KGB and the Vatican : Secrets of the Mitrokhin Files*, 1st ed., (Catholic University of America Press, 2022), 33-4.

⁸⁴⁸ KGB and the Vatican, 33-6.

Antonio Casaroli met with Soviet Bloc leaders to discuss relations with their respective states.⁸⁴⁹ Through these discussions, the Vatican recognized East Germany, setting it on a path of neutrality in world politics, and seeing itself as peacemaker and hope to both sides of the iron curtain.⁸⁵⁰ The Vatican continued this policy toward various countries within the Soviet Bloc throughout the 1960's and 1970's. The various meetings, discussions, and political dealings that came out of this period were known as the Vatican's *Ostpolitik*.⁸⁵¹ It raised the question, especially for America, about where the true loyalty of the Vatican relied. Many questions on the complexity of the changes in politics toward the East in conjunction with the changes in the Second Vatican Council require a more in-depth analysis but are the markings of major change in which the Vatican and Pope John XXIII (and later Paul VI) approach international relations. Perhaps more importantly, it changes the way the Vatican placed political ideology squarely behind its spiritual and moral goals.

The way in which America related to John XXIII, and later with Paul VI, were different under Eisenhower and especially under America's first Catholic President John F. Kennedy. Under Eisenhower, and after the implementation of the Marshall Plan, diplomatic relations between the two entities were not as dire as they were under Pius XII. Instead of focusing on the need for American intervention within Italy, and Europe as a whole, diplomacy to the Vatican and from the Vatican to the US was focused on creating stronger ties in the post-war world. In an article reviewing a book on Catholic diplomacy, Friar Robert A. Graham seeks to clear up the matters of political diplomacy on behalf of a spiritual institution. His first point is

⁸⁴⁹ Wilson center, *The Vatican and Ostpolitik, September 13, 2013*. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/the-vatican-and-ostpolitik>.

⁸⁵⁰ *The Vatican and Ostpolitik*.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid*.

that diplomacy on behalf of the Vatican is not necessarily a religious or theological pursuit.⁸⁵² This goes in hand with John's mission of open dialogue and promotion of peace to all people, not just Catholic's. The article argues, "Separation of Church and State does not do away with the fact that, in the present state of world affairs, there exist certain areas of common interest, partly political and partly religious in character, on which negotiations through regular channels are unavoidable, to the advantage both of the Holy See and of secular governments."⁸⁵³ Fr. Graham makes it clear that the Popes are still subject to international law and as such should be part of their discussions.⁸⁵⁴ A December sixth meeting between Eisenhower and John XXIII further underscores the necessity of American diplomacy to the Vatican in promoting religious stability in America, and peace abroad. In a 1959 article for American magazine, the editors write that this particular meeting underscored an era of peace and good will with various nations in Europe.⁸⁵⁵ Eisenhower is quoted as being impressed with John's understanding of the need for universal freedom while Pope John expressed his gratitude for material aid given by America and assured Eisenhower of the future giving of American Catholics.⁸⁵⁶ Under Kennedy's presidency, peace continued through diplomacy, however, the reliance on papal gratitude and good will was more of a spiritual experience for the President himself, as he was the first openly Catholic American president. There was, of course, condemnation on behalf of the Vatican with regard to the arms race and the Cuban Missile Crisis, but much support was given on behalf of

⁸⁵² "The Pontiffs and their Ambassadors," *America.*, 102, no. 12, (1959): 379.

⁸⁵³ "The Pontiffs," 379.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 379.

⁸⁵⁵ "Current Comment," *America.*, 102, no. 12, (1959)366

⁸⁵⁶ Current comment, 366.

Kennedy's administration concerning his attempts at furthering the causes of democracy in Italy.⁸⁵⁷

Unlike Pius, who had to deal with six Christian Democratic prime ministers as well as the transition from fascist state to republic, John only had to deal with three prime ministers: Amintore Fanfani, Antonio Segni, and Fernando Tambroni. Though all were nominally Christian Democrats, their popularity was not as it was under Alcide De Gasperi, and their relationship with the Holy See was much different. Giuseppe Saragat details the confusion that surrounded the Italian government. He argued that the oscillating leadership between the DC and the PSI, as well as their eventual coalition government, all while the PCI vied for power as the largest communist party in a western nation, creating a complicated situation.⁸⁵⁸ He explained that this confusion dates back to 1948 when there was a split in the PSI in which the anti-communist PSDI unified with the DC against the more liberal PSI who were set to at least communicated with the PCI in forming a new government.⁸⁵⁹ This centrist government was headed by De Gasperi, who had died in 1954, and who was succeeded by Giuseppe Pella, Amintore Fanfani, Antonio Segni, and Fernando Tambroni. The issues under this coalited government, Saragat argues, consisted of unemployment and low standards of living in the Southern portion of Italy.⁸⁶⁰ Further complicating matters was the election of Fanfani who was willing to form a government with the Social Democrats but not liberals.⁸⁶¹ He was more socially led, something that perhaps lined well with John's new policies and eventually with Vatican II.

⁸⁵⁷ Mykhailo Samofatov and Odessa I. I, "Italian Vector of US Politics during the Presidency of John Kennedy," *Amerikans'ka Istorija I Politika (online)* 16 (2023): 70-79.

⁸⁵⁸ Giuseppe Saragat, "Italian Politics Today: Left-of-Center Democratic Coalition May Emerge from Current Period of Internal Party Dissensions and Conservative Government Policies," *The New Leader.*, 42 (1959): 9.

⁸⁵⁹ "Italian Politics Today," 9.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

Transition of Popes

The death of Pius XII occurred in 1958 at Castel Gandolfo. Known as the last of the monarchical popes, he had done most of the Vatican's diplomacy since his confirmation and even before, was an ambassador for two former popes, the secretary of state for Pope Pius XI, and finally, pope himself.⁸⁶² He took steps toward modernization by supporting a modern approach to scripture and liturgical reforms, however, he was still staunchly anti-modernist, something that was consistently repeated in his last few years.⁸⁶³ With the end of his papacy, "An era was closing,"⁸⁶⁴ especially as it concerned political Catholicism. Every pope, until John XXIII, believed communism would be the ideology to tear apart civil society.⁸⁶⁵ The constant attacks from both the USSR and Stalin himself on the Church only heightened the tension. Pius XI, and Pius XII, believed Nazis were the only way communists could be defeated.⁸⁶⁶ They also believed that communist beliefs about private property and class warfare were moral and spiritual attacks.⁸⁶⁷ Pius XII was eventually elected because he was an experienced diplomat as well as a staunch anti-communist. His so-called neutrality, however, came in the form of not actually blessing the German or Italian troops for morale purposes, and instead deciding to declare neutrality during the war, hoping instead to focus on Catholic unity, securing the Church's role in world events after the war, and playing the role of peacemaker when the war did come to an end.⁸⁶⁸ It seems that his long-term goals were to secure the place of the Catholic Church, and even boost its worldwide popularity, after the war. Pius, however neutral he may

⁸⁶² Paul O'Shea, "Eugenio Pacelli--Man and Pope," *Harvard Theological Review* 106, no. 3 (Jul 2013): 357.

⁸⁶³ O'Shea, "Man and Pope," 357.

⁸⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 357.

⁸⁶⁵ Paul Higginson, "The Vatican and Communism from 'Divini Redemptoris' to Pope Paul VI," *New Blackfriars* 61, no. 719 (1980): 159.

⁸⁶⁶ Higginson, "The Vatican and Communism," 159.

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁸⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 160-1.

proclaim the church to be, was not pleased with Americans early on in the war when they sold arms to the USSR.⁸⁶⁹ In fact, he proclaimed that the best result for the war was a weakened Nazism (to defeat later) and a completely defeated communism.⁸⁷⁰ Fascism was seen as lesser of two evils as the church was allowed to practice in fascist countries but not in communist ones.⁸⁷¹ After the war, Pius became more hostile toward communism and the USSR when churches in Eastern Europe and China churches fell, where they were viewed as imperialistic.⁸⁷² Italian and French communist parties grew rapidly too. In Eastern Europe, there was no chance for co-existence, and many priests became captors or martyrs, celebrated for their steadfast support of the faith.⁸⁷³ Neutrality was no longer possible.

The death of Stalin changed things and relationships started to improve between the USSR and the Vatican.⁸⁷⁴ Still, Pius denounced progressivism in the Church, and Khrushchev would go on his political journey of getting rid of religion within the USSR. In his Christmas message in 1956, just two years before his death, Pius would denounce communist ideals that started to influence French clergy and reiterate that still no coexistence was possible between the church and communism.⁸⁷⁵ Pius understood communism as “atheistic materialism” not as a political, social, and economic way to reform.⁸⁷⁶ He furthermore saw any social movements as immediately communist and perhaps as a missed opportunity for the Church.⁸⁷⁷ He wanted peace but had a harsh sense of justice.⁸⁷⁸ In his Christmas message of 1948, he again took aim at the

⁸⁶⁹ Higginson, “The Vatican and Communism,” 161.

⁸⁷⁰ Higginson, “The Vatican and Communism,” 161.

⁸⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁸⁷² *Ibid.*, 161-2.

⁸⁷³ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁸⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁸⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 163.

USSR, and reiterated his hopes for a better year, one in which the faithful will take heart and be comforted. It seems that Pius is ever only really concerned when Catholicism was under attack.⁸⁷⁹ For example, he never truly mentioned any of those living under the fascist German or Italian regimes in most of his speeches, and only ever addressed his encyclicals, messages, or speeches to “the faithful,” whereas John XXIII changed his vision and begin addressing not just the faithful, but “to all men of good will”. The election of John would furthermore change things between the Vatican and USSR.⁸⁸⁰ John would no longer recognize Poland and Lithuanian pre-war governments and instead recognized the dominance and puppet governments of the USSR.⁸⁸¹ There was also a rumor that he blessed the Italian President’s visit to USSR, and even if it were true, this would change the way the Vatican would deal with politics in the future.⁸⁸² While there was debate within the Italian government whether or not to align themselves with the Left, the Vatican was silent, something that would never have happened under Pius XII.⁸⁸³ The publication of *Mater et Magistra* would finally change everything concerning the Vatican’s stance on communism, politics, and the future of its involvement in world affairs as it stays somewhat silent on communism, expresses John’s views on social welfare, and states true neutrality.⁸⁸⁴

How to become a Pope

The pope is a spiritual ruler, elected through a democratic process, bound by the “strongest constitution” or the law of God. He works for divine truth, justice, love, and mercy in a temporal

⁸⁷⁹ Higginson, “The Vatican and Communism,” 164.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid., 165.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., 165.

⁸⁸² Ibid., 165.

⁸⁸³ Ibid., 165.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., 165.

realm.⁸⁸⁵ His job is to serve others in Christ's place as well as act as the primary spiritual authority on earth and in so doing, must be able to speak freely.⁸⁸⁶ He also has temporal power over the Vatican and so, should not be politically controlled by others.⁸⁸⁷ He is further seen as the successor of Peter and is chosen through either electoral or representative methods, revealing himself to be the oldest democratically chosen person in the world.⁸⁸⁸ If the popes fell into temptation or wrong doing, they would not be carrying out their mission. According to the Roman Catholic Church, Christ would never give the keys to the kingdom to just anyone, meaning the pope must be exact in his mission and morality—since he is the head of the Church—God will make sure the Pope is not wrong (it does happen, but not often).⁸⁸⁹

In order to become pope, one must be, of course, a Catholic male who has “reached the age of reason”.⁸⁹⁰ Practically speaking, whoever is chosen must also be someone with experience and education; typically, it falls to a cardinal.⁸⁹¹ After the death of a pope, the cardinals go into conclave.⁸⁹² Their meeting is extremely secret to ensure that there is no influence on their vote, and, after eighteen days, they meet for mass in St Peter's, renew their vow of secrecy, sing a hymn, and finally process back into conclave, where they are isolated from the world.⁸⁹³ After Pius XII died, October 25 was scheduled as the first day of conclave.⁸⁹⁴ Each day, two ballots were cast in the morning and two in the afternoon until a pope is chosen.⁸⁹⁵ Each ballot is

⁸⁸⁵ Joseph Anthony Breig, *The Story of Pope John XXIII*, (Minnesota: Summit Press, 1959): 1.

⁸⁸⁶ Breig, *John XXIII*, 2.

⁸⁸⁷ Breig, *John XXIII* 2.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*, 8-9.

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

⁸⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

⁸⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

dropped in a chalice, a wooden ball removed to account for the correct number of votes; votes are then counted and read aloud by various people to ensure the correct name is read.⁸⁹⁶ In order to be elected, there must be a two-thirds vote plus one (instituted by Pius XII).⁸⁹⁷ The delegation then goes up to the would-be pope and asks if he will accept; if he does not, they continue voting. There are two other, less popular ways, in which a pope is selected. The first is election by acclamation in which a unanimous choosing by the cardinals must occur.⁸⁹⁸ It is considered a movement of the holy spirit.⁸⁹⁹ The second is election by compromise in which the cardinals have to vote to give their votes to a committee of three to seven cardinals who choose the new pope.⁹⁰⁰

Once he accepts, the other cardinals pledge love and loyalty, burn their ballots—white smoke above the Sistine chapel indicates the successful election of a new pope while black denotes no one has been chosen—and the new pope is dressed in papal regalia.⁹⁰¹ He then goes to the balcony above St. Peters to bless the people, thus beginning his reign.⁹⁰²

Pope John XXIII

Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli was born to a poor family in an old village, Sotto Il Monte, in the north of Italy. He went to school to join the church at age eleven and was extremely smart and well read, which annoyed many of the people around him.⁹⁰³ He was consistently made fun of in his home village, but was impervious to their menestrations, and after he left for seminary, it

⁸⁹⁶ Breig, *John XXIII*, 17.

⁸⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁸⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹⁰² *Ibid.*, 22.

⁹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 31.

would matter little.⁹⁰⁴ He continued with his studies, also serving as a medical Sargent in the First World War, and eventually moved up in rank to work for the Vatican as a diplomat.⁹⁰⁵ In 1944, Pius XII chose him to be the apostolic diplomat to France, making his path to ultimate Vatican diplomat—the pope—easier. The difficulty lay, however, in the Vatican support for a regime that did not defy Hitler as the people believed it should.⁹⁰⁶ To say that Cardinal Rancalli was apprehensive about his posting was an understatement—something he would also express upon his papal election. Rancalli stayed in Paris until 1953 when he left to become the Patriarch of Venice and became instrumental in restoring Vatican-French relations.⁹⁰⁷ Author Joseph Anthony Breig states, “The new Pope is a man who can be firm, when necessary, but flexible and yielding when no inviolable principle is involved.”⁹⁰⁸ He did not, for example, allow entrance into Venetian holy places if not dressed appropriately and rejected the notion that politically, it would be difficult to work with the communists in the government since they rejected God.⁹⁰⁹ This, of course, would be changed later on in his papacy as relations with the USSR became stronger.

His demeanor would eventually lead him to the papacy. Monsignor Gino Spavento said about him, “His simple manner [...] is the result of his holiness. But there is more to him than simplicity. He is a very complex and profound personality, keen and alert.”⁹¹⁰ Perhaps this is what made him truly different from Pius. Though both well-educated and learned men, it appears Pope John was less passionate about conflict and slower to emotional responses. John, for

⁹⁰⁴ Breig, *John XXIII*, 32.

⁹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 33-6.

⁹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

example, was described as being humble and warm-hearted, while Pius could be described as intimidatingly intelligent (see the staggering output of encyclicals and discourses he put out), as well as devoted to his cause. Though neither a negative thing, the approach of each Pope is vastly different to his calling. Perhaps this was due to their upbringings, John XXIII being the son of a farmer and Pius XII the son of a dean of law.

As a young priest, Rancalli became the right hand of an important Bishop, the Bishop of Bergamo Monsignor Giacomo Count Radini-Tedeschi, and received a more liberal education, meeting many of Italy's important church members.⁹¹¹ While serving Bishop Radini-Tedeschi, he was able to also publish five historical research volumes concerning the life of Saint Charles Borromeo.⁹¹² In 1915, he was drafted to into the Italian army, serving as a medical sergeant and then a chaplain.⁹¹³ When the war had ended, he placed much of his attention toward Catholic Action, founding a student home to help poorer Italian students receive basic needs while in school, all while writing for the Bergamo Catholic news.⁹¹⁴ In 1921, he was called to Rome by Pope Benedict XV and was named a monsignor, put in charge of the restructuring of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.⁹¹⁵ Traveling around Europe, he was able to organize many missionary circles.⁹¹⁶ His desire to become a pastor was put on the wayside when Pius XI named him the Apostolic Visitor to Bulgaria, making him an archbishop.⁹¹⁷ A decade later, he was sent to Turkey and Greece, and finally he was sent to France where, in 1953, Pius XII named him a

⁹¹¹ Breig, *John XXIII*, 40.

⁹¹² *Ibid.*, 40.

⁹¹³ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁹¹⁶ Vatican Archives, *Bibliography of Pope John XXIII, 1958-1963*. https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/biography/documents/hf_j-xxiii_bio_16071997_biography.html.

⁹¹⁷ Breig, *John XXIII*, 41.

cardinal and sent to Venice.⁹¹⁸ While in Venice, his popularity as a humble man rose, as many Venetians knew him personally and many laymen even shared dinner with him.⁹¹⁹ He is further described as being extremely personable, knowing many of the villagers in his hometown by name.⁹²⁰ The choosing of his papal name, for instance, shows his humble roots and close ties to his family; his father and brother both being named John, as well as the church in Sotto Il Monte being named St. Johns.⁹²¹

When John XXIII was chosen, and when all popes are finally chosen, they are coronated as pope. Breig argues though, that “The coronation itself, however, is a kind of jubilation, a welcome to the new Holy Father from the people” and even takes place in St. Peters Square in front of thousands.⁹²² There are many customs that have accumulated throughout the centuries with regard to this coronation ceremony, one of which is that the newly elected pope is brought into St. Peters Basilica on a chair, carried by chair bearers, in order for his flock to gather and welcome him in as the new successor of Peter.⁹²³ The ceremony in itself is a celebration before the intense work ahead. Pope John XXIII remarked “It is the Pope’s duty, said John XXIII, to go before his sheep; to do battle with the world for them is necessary, to be the open door of the sheepfold, inviting all to enter, and even to die for his sheep, if it comes to that.”⁹²⁴ Soon after, the new pope gives a consecration mass, a sort of communion, as the new head of the church.⁹²⁵ The particular mass that John gave was one of the first to be broadcast via Eurovision to fourteen

⁹¹⁸ Ibid., 41.

⁹¹⁹ Ibid., 49.

⁹²⁰ Breig, *John XXIII*, 50.

⁹²¹ Ibid., 50.

⁹²² Ibid., 51.

⁹²³ Ibid., 52.

⁹²⁴ Ibid., 53.

⁹²⁵ Ibid., 55.

European countries, inviting in millions more to watch the crowning of the new pope.⁹²⁶ It was further broadcast in various languages through Radio Vatican.⁹²⁷

What John seems to be remembered for, other than the implementation of the Second Vatican Council, is his spirit of simplicity, his open and inviting personality, and his ability to promote dialogue with non-Christians, and especially to those not within the Catholic faith. His popularity and warm spirit lead to his canonization by Pope Francis in 2014. During his lifetime, and really his short tenure as pope, he is remembered as being comfortable, fatherly, and decisive, owing to his strong sense of responsibility.⁹²⁸ Though considerably less political than Pius XII, John XXIII did write two encyclicals that would shape his papacy, as well as shape the upcoming Second Vatican Council.

Politics seemed to be still important to the Vatican as a whole, but to John XXIII and to Paul IV, it seemed more of a priority to maintain peace and advocate for human rights—or furthering the Catholic Social Teachings—in the age of nuclear development. Their understanding of the role of the Pope, as a pastor, was much different than what Pius had practiced—a diplomat pope. As a whole, Pope John did not spend nearly as much time on the dangers of communism as his predecessors, however, much of what he did say was centered within his, arguable most important, encyclical *Mater et Magistra*, published in 1961. Most of his papacy was focused on Catholic Social Teaching, human rights, and pastoral work. Of course, he also had the intention of organizing a Second Vatican Council, which he announced in 1959. His goal was to promote discourse between the faiths, and especially with the Patriarchs in Moscow. This would be

⁹²⁶ Ibid., 55.

⁹²⁷ Ibid., 56.

⁹²⁸ Breig, *John XXIII*, 61.

difficult to do if he was heard constantly battering communism or going head-to-head with the USSR.

In his speech as Patriarch of Venice, in 1955, shortly before his election, then Cardinal Rancalli, spoke about his passion for social justice, something that would shape his papacy. Three areas of social issues drew his attention: poverty, unemployment, and unfair firing of workers.⁹²⁹ This, of course, would have drawn the attention of some of the communist workers, industrial and agricultural workers, all over Italy, but especially in the north where the PCI held a stronghold. In this particular address, he called not on the workers, but on the employers, the factory owners, to remember their humanity when dealing with these men, and especially their families.⁹³⁰ In another message to his diocese in 1957, on the issue of Christianity and politics, he said, “It is painful for a pastor of souls to see that some people ignore the fact that the evangelic doctrine has given life to twenty centuries of history, science, and art which have been the glory of the world, and they think they can rebuild the economic, civil and social orders on a basis other than the Gospel of Christ.”⁹³¹ It is then clear that, even before he became pope, he understood politics to be lacking the wisdom and instruction of God and perhaps the church. His practical approach, however, would be less on influencing the government of Italy, or the United States to get rid of left-leaning parties, but to open up dialogue and advise.

Mater et Magistra (1961)

Mater et Magistra (Mother and Teacher) was John XXIII’s first major encyclical written to explain the history of *Rerum Novarum* and the church’s new doctrine on social teaching and

⁹²⁹ Breig, *John XXIII*, 85.

⁹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*, 86.

order. Though some political stances are mentioned, it really is a doctrinal piece that developed the Catholic Social Teaching to fit a new, more modern world. The church, he argued, is the mother and teacher of every nation and that it is her duty to love people in order for them to find their salvation. Christianity, he said, is ground zero between heaven and earth, “It lays claim to the whole man, body and soul, intellect and will, inducing him to raise his mind above the changing conditions of this earthly existence and reach upwards for the eternal life of heaven, where one day he will find his unending happiness and peace”.⁹³² Essentially, it seems that John desired to reiterate the position of the church and perhaps distance itself from the war and the aftereffects, instead wanting the church to focus on what he believed truly mattered—salvation of the lost. It was difficult for the church, however, since their ultimate duty is to care for the souls of man, but in so doing, they must take care of the temporal realm and the basic needs of man as well.⁹³³ This, he argued, is in direct mimicking of Christ in his ministry on earth.⁹³⁴ Charity, he believed, was the ultimate goal of Catholic Social Teaching, and the way in which the church can attain its goal of salvation.⁹³⁵ The best example, and really the starting point for Catholic Social Teaching, began with *Rerum Novarum*.⁹³⁶

John spoke of the history and social upheavals that took place during the time of Leo XIII (author of *Rerum Novarum*). During the late nineteenth century, the dominant theory concerning economics was based on the naturalistic theory, meaning that morality and economics were not linked—of course Marxism had just made itself known, and socialism was dominating parts of Europe while capitalism held the US economy together. Competition, individual gain, and the

⁹³² Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra: Mother and Teacher*, (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2017) 7.

⁹³³ Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 7-8.

⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

laws of nature, theories proposed by economists like Adam Smith in the previous century, were what drove markets. John argued, “Every precaution was to be taken to prevent civil authority from intervening in any way in economic matters”.⁹³⁷ This, he argued, also prevailed amongst the businessmen of the time as well. Monopolies over various industries rose, and the gap between rich and poor was widening. “Especially inhuman were the working conditions to which women and children were sometimes subjected. There was also the constant specter of unemployment and the progressive disruption of family life”.⁹³⁸ Leo’s understanding of the world, therefore, would be somewhat more dire than perhaps John’s, which is why, perhaps, he felt led to update CST.

Both popes, however, would underscore the absolute necessity of the church and of religion in general. The first issue John spoke of was the issue of work.⁹³⁹ Work, or really the ability and opportunity to work, is a purely human endeavor, not simply a product.⁹⁴⁰ Work provides a way of life and should not be left up to the ebb and flow of the market, but instead put under the jurisdiction of justice and equality.⁹⁴¹ Furthermore, private property, he argued, is a natural right, bringing with it a social obligation to provide mutual benefits for the community.⁹⁴² The state, barred from interference in both private property and in work, is only to be working for the common good—a hallmark of CST.⁹⁴³ In doing so, the state must have ample provision for its people, better their people’s lives, and protect their rights—especially of those considered socially weak.

⁹³⁷ Ibid., 10.

⁹³⁸ Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 10.

⁹³⁹ Ibid., 12.

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid., 12.

⁹⁴¹ Ibid., 12.

⁹⁴² Ibid., 12.

⁹⁴³ Ibid., 12.

The final paragraphs of his first large section points toward his attitude on socialism, communism, socioeconomics, and politics as a whole. He spoke at length on what, perhaps, he believes was foundational to society: human solidarity.⁹⁴⁴ This is, of course, the basis on which he carried out his papacy-open dialogue. In terms of workers and their employers, however, he argued that there should be solidarity between them—they are both united in bonds of human brotherhood—and that there should never be unrestricted market competition nor difficulties between the classes.⁹⁴⁵ In one sentence, John has made allegiance with neither capitalism or communism—something wholly different than Pius XII who hated communism, and though he was not a fan of capitalism, believed it to be at least tolerable in comparison. John argued that human solidarity must be the building blocks of a thriving socioeconomic society.⁹⁴⁶

Not only did he regard *Rerum Novarum* as a foundational document concerning Catholic Social Teaching, but he also mentioned briefly *Quadragesimo Anno*. He summarized that the document confirms the rights of the Catholic church to work towards the issues that plague society.⁹⁴⁷ In this document are the founding aspects of Catholic positions on private property, the wage system, as well as socialism that were large issues for the turn of the century.⁹⁴⁸ In this paragraph, it appears that John praised Pius's efforts in updating Catholic doctrine to fit the time period in which the church finds itself. It again sets him up perfectly for the rest of his modern papal efforts in opening up communication with non-Christians, and not simply putting focus on shutting out one group of people, like perhaps Pius XII did in his crusade against the USSR.

⁹⁴⁴ Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 13.

⁹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

With John, although it is clear he does not appreciate the anti-religious stance of the USSR, there is absolutely less hostility and more focus on how the church may support those in need.

The way that John understood private property was the same way in which his predecessor understood it—rooted in natural law and placing the weight of social responsibility with the owner.⁹⁴⁹ The way that wages are appropriated is in and of themselves unjust and wanted these processes rectified.⁹⁵⁰ For example, he suggested that the employers be part of the management system, giving them a sense of responsibility in ownership.⁹⁵¹ He further argued the social justice point of view when he said, “In determining wages, therefore, justice demands that account be taken not only of the needs of the individual workers and their families, but also of the financial state of the business concern for which they work, and of ‘the economic welfare of the whole people.’”.⁹⁵² It is therefore more of a socialist stance that John was taking, and, in a sense, condemning both communist and capitalist ways of regulating the economy. Communism would be too harsh in not considering the market and only the individual, perhaps not considering the employer, while capitalism would be too harsh in only taking the side of the market and not considering the individual. What he seemed to be advocating for is for a middle way, something perhaps uniquely Catholic. What John has to say about socialism itself as a political system also highlights the option of a third middle way. In his section *On Socialism*, he shows the development of communism from socialist origins, saying that his predecessors both argued one could not be Catholic or a communist, the same goes for any type of socialist, because they are fundamentally temporal and does not account for any part of humanity other

⁹⁴⁹ Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 14.

⁹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹⁵² *Ibid.*, 15.

than its contribution to the economic order.⁹⁵³ He argued, “Since, therefore, it proposes a form of social organization which aims solely at production, it places too severe a restraint on human liberty, at the same time flouting the true nature of social authority.”⁹⁵⁴ The problems that arose because of the rising tide of both socialism and communism during the late nineteenth century, and the early twentieth century, focused not on the whole human race, but only on a small sector in which their needs rose above the common good. Class warfare is in and of itself selfish, each class only thinking about the needs of their specific community. The only way to rectify such a focused economic society was to reintroduce morality and to place the good of the whole above individual needs.⁹⁵⁵ The next two chapters focus on how Pius XI understood how that could be introduced in society. The last two sections, or chapters, are John’s interpretation.

John argued that it is not just harmony between the classes that needs fixed, but also the ways in which economy relates to politics, productivity, and how each country interacts with each other on a socioeconomic level.⁹⁵⁶ He addressed the issues within agricultural production, something that dominated the southern portion of Italy, and something the government had yet to remedy. The problems of industrialization, he argued, translated into a rise in urbanization and, of course, the issues that follow it; however, he also believed that there were other reasons why people may move into the cities.⁹⁵⁷ These include the desire for a more comfortable life, to make money more easily, sense of adventure, and having more things to do in a city that offers more enjoyment.⁹⁵⁸ The biggest issue with this mass movement to the cities is the decline of

⁹⁵³ Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 15.

⁹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

agricultural production and efficiency.⁹⁵⁹ All countries who experience this must find a way to remedy the issue—something the PCI was unable to do when they controlled the Ministry of Agriculture in the late 1940’s and early 1950’s. One seemingly obvious solution is to put more money into the infrastructure surrounding the more rural areas.⁹⁶⁰ “Agriculture,” John argued, “therefore, must be allowed to make use of the same reforms in the method and type of production and in the conduct of the business side of the venture as are permitted or required in this economic system as a whole.”⁹⁶¹ Logically, it follows that if a country wishes the entire country to produce a higher GDP and GNP, then they should focus not only on the industrial output of the cities, but also on the agricultural output of the rural areas.

This, of course, means that they need a new way of economic development, rather than, for example, the one that either the DC or the PCI had wished to implement. John argued “[...] this must take into account tax policies, credit, social insurance, prices, the fostering of ancillary industries and the adjustment of the structure of farming as a business enterprise.”⁹⁶² Taxes should thus be balanced in accordance with those contributing to the society in which they live—this of course, would exempt certain people—with special consideration to the farmers who must wait longer to see a return on their investment.⁹⁶³ He also argued for two forms of insurance for the farmer as well as price protection so that the farmer is not continually in a state of socioeconomic depression.⁹⁶⁴ In order to further the plight of the farmer, John suggested respective countries should focus not just on the production of the farmer but also the industries

⁹⁵⁹ Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 39.

⁹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁹⁶² *Ibid.*, 41.

⁹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 42-3.

that aid in this production, including transportation and equipment.⁹⁶⁵ He continued to argue the absolute necessity in both society and economic development for the farmer and other industries that contribute, relating this back to vocational calling and balanced economic systems.⁹⁶⁶

To have a balanced domestic economy, the government must intervene to tip the scales in which no one sector of the economy is better or more developed than the other—all of this is done for the common good.⁹⁶⁷ He argued, “Public authority, therefore, must bear in mind the interests of the state as a whole, which means that it must promote all three areas of production—agriculture, industry and services—simultaneously and evenly.”⁹⁶⁸ Again, John makes a solid point toward the Catholic idea of a third way concerning politics and economics, one that considers the whole rather than the few. It is interesting that he both breaks with the past while still also retaining historical justification for his points. He used, for example, the major doctrinal encyclicals of Pius XI but modernized them to fit the world in which he lives. It is no longer a world at or between wars, but a postwar world that he had to navigate, making him wholly different than Pius XII who theoretically had to do both. John’s interpretation of international aid is thus vastly different than Pius XII who, almost begrudgingly, took the side of America concerning the Marshall Plan, because he knew that if Italy did not, it would succumb to the communist USSR. John XXIII argued that when it comes to international aid, is not only necessary but almost a social duty of countries that have excess in production.⁹⁶⁹ There is no doubt that were he pope during the time of the Marshall Plan that he would have welcomed the intervention wholeheartedly. In fact, he argued, “It is nothing less than an outrage to justice and

⁹⁶⁵ Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 43.

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

humanity to destroy or squander goods that other people need for their very lives.”⁹⁷⁰ It is thus the duty of the state and the international community to provide for the common good when one country is unable to do so.

Though he argued the necessity of international aid to developing countries, it is also necessary that those developing countries retain their individuality.⁹⁷¹ For example, when Britain colonized certain territories in Africa and Asia, and forced them to assimilate, this would have not been acceptable to Pope John XXIII as he wished those countries to keep their traditions, customs, and history. Italy too, during the implementation of the Marshall Plan, had to have been able to keep its sense of identity, though it could be argued—and was by the USSR—that Italy, and Europe as a whole, were becoming too Americanized or Westernized. It is thus the responsibility of the developed nation giving aid to focus on the charity of helping the developing country and not interfere with their political systems.⁹⁷² He would most likely be referring to the USSR and the formation of the Soviet Bloc countries. He could also be referring to Western Europe under the direction of the United States after the implementation of the Marshall Plan, though, of course, it was not as overt as the USSR. In doing this, the developed country would be acting in a “[...] new form of colonialism—cleverly disguised, no doubt, but actually reflecting that older, outdated type from which many nations have recently emerged. Such action would, moreover, have harmful impact on international relations, and constitute a menace to world peace.”⁹⁷³ The goal must be charity rather than domination and if this is the focus, then universal harmony is achievable.⁹⁷⁴

⁹⁷⁰ Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 49.

⁹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁹⁷² *Ibid.*, 52.

⁹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

The question that a Catholic of this time might ask is how they may contribute to both universal harmony and the common good. The church itself has done much for the betterment of both social and economic development as they strive for the salvation of souls.⁹⁷⁵ The church invites in all, as she sees herself as universal, meaning that there is no foreign person part of the church.⁹⁷⁶ John stated, “Her presence brings about the rebirth, the resurrection, of each individual in Christ [...]”⁹⁷⁷ The church frees individuals by way of their souls and reaffirming their own dignity.⁹⁷⁸ It is the role of the church to provide a place of unity, but not, John argued, uniformity in which every person is the same.⁹⁷⁹ He quoted Pius XII: “Every nation has its own genius, its own qualities, springing from the hidden roots of its being. The wise development, the encouragement within limits, of that genius, those qualities, does no harm; and if a nation cares to take precautions, to lay down rules, for that end, it has the Church’s approval. She is mother enough to befriend such projects with her prayers.”⁹⁸⁰ Therefore, it is the role of Catholic’s, especially within these developed countries to contribute to the development of the struggling nations, for example, through missions, scientific development, or education.⁹⁸¹

John spoke about the sanctity of human life and of the importance of the family unit before moving onto the cooperation of international communities in economic and social development. Though a country may be vast and highly developed, they may have similar issues and problems that facilitate the need of the international community.⁹⁸² Even though the

⁹⁷⁵Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 52.

⁹⁷⁶ Ibid., 53.

⁹⁷⁷ Ibid., 53.

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid., 53.

⁹⁷⁹ Ibid., 53.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid., 53.

⁹⁸¹ Ibid., 53.

⁹⁸² Ibid., 58.

interconnectedness of the world continued to develop, there was still distrust.⁹⁸³ He argued that this is the root of unsolvable problems in the world and translates into fear and this is what is responsible for the arms race.⁹⁸⁴ He argued that were the international community to come together through diplomacy, most issues may be solved without the building up of defense and that resources would not be exhausted.⁹⁸⁵ He then argued the real foundation lost is the understanding that God is the root of morality, and this is what has been lost and the way to rebuild society is not through certain political ideologies, but through a return to the true divine source of justice and truth.⁹⁸⁶

Mater et Magistra is the beginning of major change for the Vatican. In it, social and economic responsibility are not the duties of one class, but of the whole. He argues for peace and charity rather than focus on political domination and the defeat of one particular political party. It further develops and modernizes Catholic Social Teaching, building the foundation for the Second Vatican Council. John's next major encyclical will build on the arguments laid in *Mater et Magistra*.

Pacem in Terris (1963)

In order to promote future dialogue between those who are in and out of the faith, John starts his encyclical by greeting the Catholic world and all good men.⁹⁸⁷ He first argued that there is an order to the universe and that man as well as new technology has proven this order.⁹⁸⁸ In other

⁹⁸³ Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, 58.

⁹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 60-1.

⁹⁸⁷ Vatican Archives, *Pacem in Terris: An Encyclical of Pope John XXIII on Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity, and Liberty*, April 11, 1963, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem.html, 1.

⁹⁸⁸ Vatican Archives, *Pacem in Terris*, 1.

words, the greatness of God has been proven through new science and technology.⁹⁸⁹ There is, however, a disunity between man and nations that interrupts this divine order.⁹⁹⁰ Laws, he said, that bind men are not the same that govern the universe.⁹⁹¹ They are different in that they indicate how man behaves toward society and how the relationship between state and its officials are to be conducted.⁹⁹² They should show principles on how to govern states and interpret the relationship between states and demonstrate how the world should be.⁹⁹³ He began by arguing that there was and should be order among men within society and it is based on one fundamental rule, that each man is a person, given by God an intelligence and free will; the man has rights and duties that are universal and absolute.⁹⁹⁴ Furthermore, man has dignity as given through divine revelation and is also given the gifts of both grace and salvation.⁹⁹⁵

The rights and duties of man are different. Man has the right to live, the right to have food, clothing, shelter, medical care, rest, and social services (if ill, fired, old, widowed, etc).⁹⁹⁶ These rights are to be respected by both individuals and the state. Furthermore, man has the right to be respected, even if it's just as another human, the right to his name, right to freedom in investigating the truth, and "within the limits of the moral order and the common good" to freedom of speech, press, publication, or to choose a job.⁹⁹⁷ Man has the right to be accurately informed, get a good education or training in which the country or state must be able to give an affordable education/training.⁹⁹⁸ He has the right to worship God (or not) and acknowledge his

⁹⁸⁹Vatican Archives, *Pacem in Terris*, 1.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid., 1.

⁹⁹¹ Ibid., 1.

⁹⁹² Ibid., 1-2.

⁹⁹³ Ibid., 2.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid., 2.

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid., 2.

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid., 2.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid., 2.

⁹⁹⁸ Ibid., 2.

beliefs both privately and publicly.⁹⁹⁹ Man has the right to choose how they wish to live their lives- men and women equally- and the family should be understood as the primary example of how human society should be formed, and that the family is important when considering moral, spiritual, economic, and social affairs.¹⁰⁰⁰ Men need to be able to have the opportunity to work but also to find motivation in their work, while women should be able to have the opportunity to be fulfilled in their jobs of pursuing marriage and motherhood.¹⁰⁰¹

In order to participate in economic life, men have the right to a livable wage, which he connects to human dignity.¹⁰⁰² In further connection, the right to private property should be ensured by the state.¹⁰⁰³ This means that men have both a private and social obligation to provide for themselves, their family, and the common good, giving them a sense of responsibility and contribution.¹⁰⁰⁴ Men have the right to meet and form associations and the right to exercise whatever they think necessary to further the results of their association, ensuring personal dignity and personal freedom.¹⁰⁰⁵ Men have the right to become a citizen of the country of his choosing- if reasonably motivated—while still also being a citizen of the world.¹⁰⁰⁶ Finally, they have the right to contribute to common welfare, which is protected by legal rights that are fair.¹⁰⁰⁷

The duties of man are derived also from natural law and tied together with rights. For example, one has the right to life but also the duty to protect life.¹⁰⁰⁸ While rights are more directed to self, it appears that John understands duty as being directed toward other men and

⁹⁹⁹ Vatican Archives, *Pacem in Terris* 2.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

¹⁰⁰² *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁰³ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

collaboration toward a better community. In man's duty toward other men, they are to recognize and respect the whole rights of man.¹⁰⁰⁹ Furthermore, men must live together and perform rights and duties; this means a well-ordered society.¹⁰¹⁰ He argued, "Society must both be ordered and provide for resources for all men to achieve their rights/duties."¹⁰¹¹ Man must act in accordance with his own decision to participate in society: "There is nothing human about a society that is welded together by force."¹⁰¹² In fact, a well-ordered society must first be based on truth; this means that everyone in society must recognize his own rights and duties toward others. John stated, "Human society, as we here picture it, demands that men be guided by justice, respect the rights of others and do their duty."¹⁰¹³ It cannot be forced but instead must be motivated by love of humanity and an understanding of the inherent value of men.¹⁰¹⁴ John further stated, "Now the order which prevails in human society is wholly incorporate in nature. Its foundation is truth, and it must be brought into effect by justice. It needs to be animated and perfected by men's love for one another, and, while preserving freedom intact, it must make for an equilibrium in society which is increasingly more human in character."¹⁰¹⁵ This comes from the Thomist understandings of both CST and the roots of a God-ordained society.

John then looks at the modern age, giving it characteristics that either need to be changed or tweaked. He argues that society has made progressive socioeconomical improvements for the working men.¹⁰¹⁶ He is perhaps talking about the positive changes that have occurred throughout the industrial revolutions and through the implementation of the Marshall Plan. John then states

¹⁰⁰⁹ Vatican Archives, *Pacem in Terris* 3.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

¹⁰¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰¹² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰¹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

that more workers are beginning to claim economic, social, and political rights, as well as claiming more cultural benefits.¹⁰¹⁷ Two benefits have thus occurred because of these changes: an increase in political rights for women—which he claims have gained faster traction in Christian nations—as well as the formation of new sociopolitical spheres. People are either citizens of a state, about to become one, or refuse to be dominated by another state.¹⁰¹⁸ Another benefit from the modern age is the convictions associated with equality. The conviction that men are all equally dignified and must exercise rights and duties to understand or express this argues that there should be no question as to what truth, justice, charity, and freedom mean.¹⁰¹⁹ Once they become members of society who are inspired, they come to know God on a deeper level.¹⁰²⁰

As it relates to how they interact with the state, society must have those who preserve the interest of the citizens.¹⁰²¹ Authority, however, is still bound by moral order (derived again from God); if authority is derived from intimidation and fear, men cannot be motivated to work for the common good.¹⁰²² The common good works when individuals and groups make contributions to society.¹⁰²³ They must combine their own needs with the needs of others and offer their goods and services to the state as long as the state is acting within the limits of their authority.¹⁰²⁴ Authority must be morally good and always acting to promote the general welfare; their only goal is to ensure the common good.¹⁰²⁵ The basic fundamentals of the common good include the characteristics of the individual and consider humanity at all times.¹⁰²⁶ Authority must pay

¹⁰¹⁷ Vatican Archives, *Pacem in Terris*, 4.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰²⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰²¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰²² *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰²³ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰²⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰²⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

attention to the basic nature of the common good, which everyone has a right to attain.¹⁰²⁷ This means that authority must try to attain it for everyone without any favor to group or class.¹⁰²⁸ It is thus necessary to protect the weak via modes of justice.¹⁰²⁹ In terms of the spiritual elements of the common good, it always connects to the mind, body, and spirit, so the state authority must also aim to ensure both the spiritual and physical needs of their citizens.¹⁰³⁰

The rights of the individual directly correlate to their spiritual and physical needs. John argued, “it is generally accepted today that the common good is best safeguarded when personal rights and duties are guaranteed. The chief concern of civil authorities must therefore be to ensure these rights are recognized, respected, coordinated, defended and promoted, and that each individual is enabled to perform his duties more easily.”¹⁰³¹ It makes logical sense that if a state wants to be productive and have their citizens perform and provide, they must protect their rights. There are thus three ways in which individual rights are protected. The first is that the exercise of rights of one man does not prohibit another person from exercising his rights too.¹⁰³² For example, the exercise of one man’s freedom to assemble does not impede another person’s right to assemble. Secondly, when exercising his rights, an individual does not prohibit another person from performing societal duties.¹⁰³³ For example, the right of one man to assemble should not prevent another person from performing his job. Thirdly, the rights of all should be protected and when they are not, they should be restored.¹⁰³⁴

¹⁰²⁷ Vatican Archives, *Pacem in Terris*, 6.

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰³⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰³² *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰³³ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰³⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

In order to promote the rights of the individual, the state needs to make an environment in which an individual can safely exercise his rights and perform his duty.¹⁰³⁵ Inequalities become more emphasized when political authority does nothing to safeguard political, economic, or cultural freedom and the consequences violate and make null basic human rights.¹⁰³⁶ In order to keep a productive and thriving society working (infrastructure, housing, medical needs, water, religion, and recreation) and making sure there is help when standard of living is lowered greatly for an individual, the state must also provide ample opportunities for employment, pay a good wage to its workers, and allow for a sense of unity and responsibility in the workplace, ensuring cultural benefits and vibrant social life.¹⁰³⁷ In order to protect the citizens' rights as well as to promote their efforts, there needs to be balance.¹⁰³⁸ If the state becomes too weak, John argued, various citizens could monopolize industries but if the opposite is true, the state stands in the way of free exercise of rights.¹⁰³⁹

To further promote and maintain the common good, there must be recognition of moral order and the observance of its teachings.¹⁰⁴⁰ The law, he argued, must be founded on moral order and the ties between states must be founded on truth, which he defines as the absence of racial discrimination and the recognition of universal human dignity.¹⁰⁴¹ Just because someone is different does not mean they are superior in any way to another person.¹⁰⁴² The man who has more also has more responsibility to the common good; the same is required of states.¹⁰⁴³ Each

¹⁰³⁵ Vatican Archives, *Pacem in Terris*, 7.

¹⁰³⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰³⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰³⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁰⁴² *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁰⁴³ *Ibid.*, 9.

state must then spread impartial news to promote equal understanding; news that violates truth and justice should be rejected.¹⁰⁴⁴ States should not seek to injure other states but act in accordance with the principle of justice—this means no oppressive behavior.¹⁰⁴⁵ John believed in mutual diplomacy, and his calls for such diplomacy are fascinating and strong during the time of extreme tension between east and west, just on the heels of the Cuban Missile Crisis. In order to further mutual diplomacy, nations should collaborate to spread equal distribution of land and resources to facilitate growth.¹⁰⁴⁶ John stated, “bringing work to the workers rather than bringing workers to the scene of the work”.¹⁰⁴⁷ Here, he emphasized human rights, the dignity and rights of refugees, and the state’s responsibility toward them. There should be ample opportunity to work and if there is a lack of opportunity in one state, another should step in to help. Though perhaps presenting itself as a social doctrine, and really it has the tinge of socialism to it, his message, it seems, was rooted in love and concern for the downtrodden. His position as pastor of the nations and leader of the oldest diplomatic institution in the world should also make his message clear to the states listening.

What he found most distressing in the wake of the early cold war, right after the end of the Korean war, is the heightening tensions between the US and USSR over military and nuclear arms. He found it distressing to see a rise in economic focus on building of arms in peacetime, especially because it places a burden on the people while other peoples of differing nations who don’t have help with their socioeconomic growth.¹⁰⁴⁸ This perhaps could point to countries in Southeast Asia and Latin America. People, he argued, live in constant fear because of the arms

¹⁰⁴⁴ Vatican Archives, *Pacem in Terris*, 9.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

race. If the arms race does not stop, justice, reason, and human dignity may be lost: “nuclear weapons must be banned” and there must be an agreement on how to do that and maintain stable control in which every country must cooperate.¹⁰⁴⁹ Everything John had discussed comes is rooted in man’s natural right, which extends to those who are not part of the catholic faith—they are still reasonable and have some amount of moral integrity.¹⁰⁵⁰ This builds up his argument for the need of a Second Vatican Council.

Vatican I and the approach to Vatican II

The first Vatican Council was called under the papacy of Pius IX in 1868 when he wrote *Aeterni Patris*. Within this bull he states that after Christ gave the Great Commission to the apostles, he entrusted Peter specifically with the keys to the kingdom and to build a church in which Christ’s kingdom may be governed on earth.¹⁰⁵¹ The church thus has carried on this responsibility in furthering salvation, but it has been the pontiffs specifically who have borne the greater share of this burden.¹⁰⁵²

Everyone knows with what continual care the Roman Pontiffs themselves have been solicitous for the preservation of the deposit of faith, for the discipline of the clergy, and for the holy and wise education of the same; to defend the sanctity and dignity of marriage; to promote more and more every day the Christian education of the faithful of both sexes; to spread religion, piety and customs among peoples; to uphold justice and to provide for the benefit of civil society itself and public prosperity.¹⁰⁵³

When the world has turned toward destruction, it has been the popes who have fought for consistency both in doctrine and in temporal matters.¹⁰⁵⁴ Because both of these sectors of society

¹⁰⁴⁹ Vatican Archives, *Pacem in Terris* 12.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰⁵¹ Vatican Archives, *Bull Aeterni Patris, June 29 1868, Pope Pius IX*, <https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-ix/it/documents/litterae-apostolicae-aeterni-patris-29-iunii-1868.html>.

¹⁰⁵² Vatican Archives, *Aeterni Patris*.

¹⁰⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

were being violated repeatedly, there is great misery and sadness in the world.¹⁰⁵⁵ It is the duty of the church to right moral wrongs that it sees in the world and Pius IX said as much when he argued that the Vatican's duty is three-fold. It must restore the church internally, work for the salvation of the whole (unbelievers), as well as work against those who wish to crumble the church itself.¹⁰⁵⁶ John's mission is truly reminiscent of Pius IX, with both taking on a fatherly crusader role in instituting both the first and second Vatican councils.

In protecting the church and its responsibilities, Pius IX called for a council of bishops who, in agreement with the Pope, are "[...] solicitous for the salvation of souls and performing for wisdom, doctrine and erudition, and together with Us grieved for the most sad condition of both sacred and civil things, Nothing has long desired more keenly than to communicate and compare with Us their counsels for the salutary remedy of so many calamities."¹⁰⁵⁷ Many things must be addressed such as discipline, the way in which missions and salvation are achieved, education, peace, the observance of divine law, and most importantly, the eradication of evil from both church and society.¹⁰⁵⁸ He further gathered strength and justification from the gospels where Christ addresses Peter and the church specifically, and in Matthew eighteen where Christ exhorts the body of believers, saying "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."¹⁰⁵⁹ He then called for the First Vatican Council to be held in December of 1869.¹⁰⁶⁰

¹⁰⁵⁵Vatican Archives, *Aeterni Patris*.

¹⁰⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid.

As a result of the council, two constitutions were passed: the *Dogmatic Constitution on the Catholic Faith* and the *First Dogmatic Constitution on the church of Christ*. Both come at an integral time in European history as not only was war in Germany and France going on, but nationalist movements in Italy and Germany had been growing since 1848 and culminating later in the unification movements of the 1860's and 1870's.¹⁰⁶¹ According to papal encyclicals online, the Franco-Prussian war stopped the First Vatican Council, not actually allowing it to close.¹⁰⁶² Similarly to John, who wished to include the orthodox section of the church, Pius IX also, unsuccessfully, invited the patriarchs to Rome.¹⁰⁶³ Four sessions commenced between early December 1869 through July of 1870, ending with the two doctrinal statements. The third session is where the first constitution was proclaimed. In the *Dogmatic Constitution on the Catholic Faith*, there are four chapters that deal with faith generally, faith and reason, revelation, creation and the God of creation.

Historically, councils had been strong in proclaiming doctrine, such as in the Council of Trent. In the introduction of the *Dogmatic Constitution on the Catholic Faith*, the council writes, rather harshly, the divine support that the church has been shown throughout its primacy, beginning especially with the council of Trent.¹⁰⁶⁴ Within these councils, the Church's power has only grown and shown the true devotion of its followers, to the point of death, in spreading the message of salvation.¹⁰⁶⁵ It is the world who has strayed far from the church's teaching, only to bring destruction. The council argued, "[...] we cannot subdue the bitter grief that we feel at

¹⁰⁶¹ John Breuilly, 'Nationalism and National Unification in Nineteenth-Century Europe', in John Breuilly (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism* (online ed, Oxford Academic, 1 May 2013).

¹⁰⁶² Papal Encyclical online, *Decrees of the First Vatican Council Council Fathers-1868 A.D.*, <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum20.htm>.

¹⁰⁶³ Papal Encyclical Online, *Decrees*.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Catholic Library.org, *Vatican I-Magisterium, First Vatican Council*, <https://catholiclibrary.org/library/view?docId=/Magisterium-EN/XCT.288.html;chunk.id=00000003>.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Catholic Library.org, *Vatican I*.

most serious evils, which have largely arisen either because the authority of the sacred synod was held in contempt by all too many, or because its wise decrees were neglected.”¹⁰⁶⁶ It was therefore time for the church to act again as a whole movement. The modernization of the world and its reliance on nature and reason has further plunged nations to war and destruction.

Thereupon there came into being and spread far and wide throughout the world that doctrine of rationalism or naturalism, - utterly opposed to the Christian religion, since this is of supernatural origin, - which spares no effort to bring it about that Christ, who alone is our Lord and Saviour, is shut out from the minds of people and the moral life of nations. Thus they would establish what they call the rule of simple reason or nature. The abandonment and rejection of the Christian religion, and the denial of God and his Christ, has plunged the minds of many into the abyss of pantheism, materialism and atheism, and the consequence is that they strive to destroy rational nature itself, to deny any criterion of what is right and just, and to overthrow the very foundations of human society. With this impiety spreading in every direction, it has come about, alas, that many even among the children of the catholic church have strayed from the path of genuine piety, and as the truth was gradually diluted in them, their catholic sensibility was weakened.¹⁰⁶⁷

The church was now primed to offer the solution to international issues and outlines them in the following chapters.

One thing each pope, no matter what era he sees himself facing, has always asserted is that the role of Christ is the ultimate moral authority, the only way to true salvation, and is the source of all truth, justice, and goodness in the world. It is no different with Pius IX nor John XXIII in either Vatican One or Two. In the next section of the *Dogmatic Constitution on the Catholic Faith*, titled *On Revelation*, it spoke really of the gospels revealed through Christ to the apostles and the supremacy of the given bible, and of church doctrine as extension of that revelation, for the teaching and salvation of the world.¹⁰⁶⁸ *On Faith* describes exactly what it

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Catholic Library.org, *Vatican I*.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibid.

says, that faith belongs to those who proclaim the revelation and supremacy of the scriptures.

There are, however, specific things of faith that are exclusive to the Catholic church itself.

Wherefore, by divine and catholic faith all those things are to be believed which are contained in the word of God as found in scripture and tradition, and which are proposed by the church as matters to be believed as divinely revealed, whether by her solemn judgment or in her ordinary and universal magisterium. Since, then, without faith it is impossible to please God [21] and reach the fellowship of his sons and daughters, it follows that no one can ever achieve justification without it, neither can anyone attain eternal life unless he or she perseveres in it to the end. So that we could fulfil our duty of embracing the true faith and of persevering unwaveringly in it, God, through his only begotten Son, founded the church, and he endowed his institution with clear notes to the end that she might be recognized by all as the guardian and teacher of the revealed word. To the catholic church alone belong all those things, so many and so marvelous, which have been divinely ordained to make for the manifest credibility of the Christian faith.¹⁰⁶⁹

The church itself is a restful foundation where those who belong are assured of their salvation. In terms of faith and reason, the council declares that reason is given by God to assure the faithful, but that reason is not always the answer when looking at the mysteries of the world or the mysteries of Christ; faith must accompany reason.¹⁰⁷⁰

Furthermore, part of the council's third session and building off of the *Dogmatic Constitution on the Catholic Faith*, three canons were given. The first says that if anyone denies God as creator, that nothing exists apart from matter, that God is the same as the universe, argues the case for evolution, and denies the authority, love, and free will give by God, that person is in anathema, or someone set apart from the church.¹⁰⁷¹ The second canon states that if anyone denies Christ because his existence cannot be proven through reason, that humanity is responsible for the revelation of reason, or if they elevate humanity above Christ, they too are in anathema.¹⁰⁷² Finally, in the third canon, they argue that if anyone proclaims faith separate from

¹⁰⁶⁹ Catholic Library.org, *Vatican I*.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷² Ibid.

reason, that divine and natural reason are separated, that divine reason is not provable, that miracles are impossible, that Christians are bound to slavery while human reason is the answer to freedom, and that the eternal existence of the unfaithful and faithful are the same, that person is also in anathema.¹⁰⁷³ In the *Dogmatic Constitution on the church of Christ*, the supremacy and authority of the Pope is justified through the gospel where Christ hands the keys of the kingdom to Peter, and as such, the popes, as inheritors of the keys, are the sole authority responsible for the church and its flock.¹⁰⁷⁴

In all of the first Vatican Council documents, there is a sense of severity and dogmatism. Anything apart from what is written is not acceptable or permissible within the church. There seems to be little room for peace, missions, or dialogue. These constitutions ruled the Vatican and guided the popes from 1870-1962, closing off the Vatican from modernization, and seemingly sticking it firmly in the past. As the world wars raged and dictators ruled in Europe, there had to be change in how the Vatican saw the world, and indeed how anyone saw the world. Technology, the advance of ideological militancy, and the depression within both Italy and the world provided an opportunity for the Vatican to move past Vatican One and focus not on condemnation but rather peace, pragmatism, and open dialogue. In beginning the process for the Second Vatican Council, John XXIII's focus was mercy and not condemnation or anathema, making him not only revolutionary, but divisive.

Upon the election of John XXIII, the need for change was evident as the world moved into a post-war system. In Italy especially, there was tremendous need for peace, stability, and communication. Though Pius XII had attempted to do so, his focus on squashing communism

¹⁰⁷³ Catholic Library.org, *Vatican I*.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ibid.

both internally and externally stole opportunity away from the church to be the beacon of hope. John was the one to modernize the church into this new era and establish the Vatican less as a political force but more of a light for social change. The Second Vatican Council sought to do this very thing. Many argue the practical impact of Vatican Two, arguing that it was more of an ideological argument between the Thomists and the Augustinians that weakened its impact.¹⁰⁷⁵ Many argue that it was successful in liberating Catholics from an oppressive church that ruled with an iron fist, while others accuse it of breaking unity between more reformed and traditional Catholics¹⁰⁷⁶ Either way, Vatican Two resulted in four constitutions, three declarations, and nine decrees, changing the face of the Vatican in the modern world. These documents span over the course of two papacies as John XXIII, who opened the convocation in 1962, died in 1963 before the closing of the council. Pope Paul VI took it over and saw it to completion, all documents being published during the early years of his reign.

Focus must be particularly paid to the constitutions as they appear to hold the most weight and directly correlate to the doctrine of Vatican One. The first constitution is *Dei Verbum* or Divine Revelation in which it prefaces by arguing its intentions, “Therefore, following in the footsteps of the Council of Trent and of the First Vatican Council, this present council wishes to set forth authentic doctrine on divine revelation and how it is handed on, so that by hearing the message of salvation the whole world may believe, by believing it may hope, and by hoping it may love.”¹⁰⁷⁷ In its next six chapters, it argues that Christ revealed truth to mankind and only

¹⁰⁷⁵ Christopher M. Bellitto, “Vatican II Forty Years Later. College Theology Society Annual Volume 51, 2005. Edited by William Magdes. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2006. Xxvi + 373 Pages. \$30.00 (paper),” *Horizons (Villanova)* 34, no. 2 (2007): 376.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Avery Dulles, "Vatican II: The Myth and the Reality." *America*, (2003): 7.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Vatican Archives, *Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation **Dei Verbum** Solemnly Promulgated by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on November 18, 1965.*

through him salvation and truth are possible.¹⁰⁷⁸ Throughout centuries, God has manifested Himself in various ways but most importantly through his death and resurrection and any need for continued revelation is rendered useless as it has already been completed.¹⁰⁷⁹ This section both reaffirms the revelation of Christ mentioned in Vatican One but also adds that any need for further revelation (even through the church) is unnecessary. In the second chapter, the council reaffirms the responsibility of the church in handling the church, and through contemplation, preach the words of Christ in a manner in which the church deems appropriate.¹⁰⁸⁰ The rest of this document delves deeper into the interpretation of scripture through divine tradition and the supremacy of the Holy Spirit, in which Christ has entrusted to the Bishops of Rome.¹⁰⁸¹ Most of this document does not stray far from the teachings of Vatican One.

In the second document, *Lumen Gentium*, the structure and mysteries of the church, as well as the role of its people are discussed. As Christ completed His earthly mission, so too must the church follow in this path. In one statement in particular, the tone of the Vatican II sets itself apart from Vatican I and takes on a more missions-minded outlook. The council stated, “The Church is a sheepfold whose one and indispensable door is Christ. It is a flock of which God Himself foretold He would be the shepherd, and whose sheep, although ruled by human shepherds; are nevertheless continuously led and nourished by Christ Himself, the Good Shepherd and the Prince of the shepherds, who gave His life for the sheep.”¹⁰⁸² The role of the

https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651118_dei-verbum_en.html.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Vatican Archives, *Dei Verbum*.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Vatican Archives, *Dei Verbum*.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸² Vatican Archives. *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church **Lumen Gentium** Solemnly Promulgated by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on November 21, 1964*,

https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html.

church is the protection and caretaking of the poor, sick, and the hurting. As the people of God, and of the church, there is a bond of unity. All peoples of the messianic faith are bonded in faith and priesthood; the church calls for continuation of this unity and further development of the mission of salvation and peace.¹⁰⁸³ This is wholly different from Vatican One in which the Catholic church and its people are completely set apart from both unbelievers and other denominations. It completely changed the way the church decided to view humanity as a whole and how it saw its future in the world—no longer was it a fortress, protecting the one true faith, it was now a revolving door, inviting any with questions or in need of kindness. It argued, “All men are called to belong to the new people of God. Wherefore this people, while remaining one and only one, is to be spread throughout the whole world and must exist in all ages, so that the decree of God's will may be fulfilled.”¹⁰⁸⁴ Everyone is thus invited into this fold and each person has his or her own role within the church to promote universal peace. The rest of the document goes into detail the roles of the church hierarchical structure and how each person plays his or her own role.

In the third constitution, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, perhaps the most controversial, aims to underscore the role of the sacred liturgy. The council stated, “it desires to impart an ever-increasing vigor to the Christian life of the faithful; to adapt more suitably to the needs of our own times those institutions which are subject to change; to foster whatever can promote union among all who believe in Christ; to strengthen whatever can help to call the whole of mankind into the household of the Church.”¹⁰⁸⁵ It is thus necessary to reform. This will, of course, impact

¹⁰⁸³ Vatican Archives, *Lumen Gentium*.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Vatican Archives, *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy Sacrosanctum Concilium Solemnly promulgated by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on December 4, 1963*, https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html.

every service under the Catholic church and the way that people worship, making it a major modern change for the church as a whole. The church argues it is necessary to make these reforms because it has encountered disunity and interruption to the divine messages.¹⁰⁸⁶ Six reforms are thus instituted; the first titled “General Norms.” They stated that any change to the liturgy can be made only by the council of Bishops and that any other change would be against canon law and any changes must be made in accordance with tradition and development of changes already instituted and must also be made by those educated in possession of proper biblical knowledge.¹⁰⁸⁷ In the next section, “Norms drawn from the hierarchic and communal nature of the Liturgy,” they argued that just because there are certain parts of the liturgy given to specific people, it should be a celebration of scripture, thus providing a sense of unity amongst the believer.¹⁰⁸⁸ What is most interesting is the promotion of the liturgy amongst differing nations and cultures. The liturgy should be adaptable to culture and tradition.¹⁰⁸⁹ It draws its inspiration from Acts 22 and justifies adaptation with the use of scripture. This, of course, would be most controversial as it means that changes to the way in which scripture is understood and spread invites modern change and goes against the tradition of Catholic uniformity. The rest of the document goes into detail on how and to what sectors of liturgy and of worship in general should be manifested and what changes are adaptable.

The final constitution, *Gaudium et Spes*, detailed how exactly these changes are to be instituted in the modern Catholic church and in the modern world. It argues that whether or not man is a believer, the spectrum of human emotions concerning the world unites them in a sense

¹⁰⁸⁶ Vatican Archives, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Ibid.

of human brotherhood, and the church stands behind this to promote peace and hope.¹⁰⁹⁰ Changes in the modern world have absolutely impacted the moral, spiritual, and social realms and any imbalance felt in these sectors reflects an imbalance of the human spirit and thus begs the intervention of the church.¹⁰⁹¹ Much of the next section is a direct reflection of John XXIII's encyclical work in either *Mater et Magistra* or *Pacem in Terris*. Firstly, the dignity of man is reflected in his creation and manifested through his being, his freedom, and his consciousness.¹⁰⁹² Secondly, there is a brotherhood of humanity that begs equality, respect, forgiveness, and the pursuance of the common good.¹⁰⁹³ This of course, follows in the development of Catholic Social Teaching and puts the focus of the church on social justice. Thirdly, because of technological advancement, man's human experience is valued higher than his possessions.¹⁰⁹⁴ Fourthly and finally, the council asserts its missionary attitude in being the bridge between modernity and heaven, providing a family for the kingdom on earth.¹⁰⁹⁵ There is a new sense of humanism that *Gaudium et Spes* speaks of and a new culture arising from the development of both knowledge and through labor.¹⁰⁹⁶ Christians must recognize this development and possess a freedom in which they are allowed to question their role in the world through a lens of humility and an understanding of the worth of mankind.¹⁰⁹⁷ This will naturally translate to the socioeconomic world in how people contribute to the common good and how others understand the humanity of economics. In terms of economic development, *Gaurdium et*

¹⁰⁹⁰ Vatican Archives, *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World Gaudium Et Spes Promulgated by His Holiness, Pope Paul VI on December 7, 1965*, https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html.

¹⁰⁹¹ Vatican Archives, *Gaudium Et Spes*.

¹⁰⁹² Ibid.

¹⁰⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ibid.

Specs repeated the ideals of *Mater et Magistra* when it asserted that the focus should not be on economic production but on the services rendered by the human in its entirety.¹⁰⁹⁸ Secondly, labor inequalities must be eradicated, and the needs of the worker must be seen in light of his or her dignity as a human.¹⁰⁹⁹ This means that neither communism or capitalism are correct in their focus. In communist doctrine, the means of production and the value of one particular class is elevated above society as a whole while in capitalism the movement of capital and the development of the market are the sole focus. The focus, the church has argued, should be on the needs of the people as a whole.

The words of Pope John XXIII are again echoed in the final section of *Gaudium et Specs*. The modern world in the mid-1960's, was in a race for nuclear and military supremacy. The church looked down upon this and argued for world peace saying that the arms race was an affront against human goodness.¹¹⁰⁰

Peace is not merely the absence of war; nor can it be reduced solely to the maintenance of a balance of power between enemies; nor is it brought about by dictatorship. Instead, it is rightly and appropriately called an enterprise of justice. Peace results from that order structured into human society by its divine Founder, and actualized by men as they thirst after ever greater justice. The common good of humanity finds its ultimate meaning in the eternal law. But since the concrete demands of this common good are constantly changing as time goes on, peace is never attained once and for all, but must be built up ceaselessly. Moreover, since the human will is unsteady and wounded by sin, the achievement of peace requires a constant mastering of passions and the vigilance of lawful authority.

Christians are thus called to strive for peace, abandon this militant attitude, and establish an international brotherhood of humanity.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Vatican Archives, *Gaudium Et Specs*.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Conclusion

Throughout the history of World War Two, the Vatican employed a system well-known to itself, following in the footsteps of its predecessors. Under the leadership of Pope Pius XII, the Vatican employed every weapon in its proverbial arsenal to combat the forces of modernism and, more importantly the coming of the communist tide. The use of modern technology and such a harsh viewpoint on the political ideology of a quarter of Italy, however, as well as the Vatican's reliance on the economic and ideological aid of America forced the church to modernize into what is commonly known as Vatican II. With the world he had lived in, and the decisions of other world leaders, Pius had focused on what had been traditionally the enemy of the church, atheistic communism. His decision was, in some ways, understandable, as his path to papacy had been politically driven, and the work of his mentors in the Vatican, including Pius XI, was focused on defeating communism, and before that, defeating socialism. Pius XII's decision to only focus on this, while spending some of his time helping the Italian people take refuge against the war-torn country, as well as his decision to secretly deal with Hitler while also appeasing Mussolini, was clouded in poor judgment. The focus especially on such harsh condemnation of the PCI and communism as a whole would later on force John XXIII to break the bonds of catholic militantism that permeated Pius's church. In an article published by *L'Osservatore Romano*, Friar Antonio Messineo wrote a condemning stance that criticized La Pira, the Catholic Major of Florence, for being too open to dialogue with the left.¹¹⁰¹ The Pope was dissatisfied and believed the church needed to reply with messages befitting its stance on issues concerning politics, namely that there should not be criticism but open communication. In fact, in 1961, he

¹¹⁰¹Atila Sinke Guimarães, *Destruction of Catholic Militancy by John XXIII*, Tradition in Action (2012): https://www.traditioninaction.org/bev/151bev12_28_2012.htm.

was the first Pope to openly communicate with the Soviet Union. According to the Catholic News Agency, the Soviet Ambassador to Italy wrote to the Pope:

On behalf of Khrushchev, I have been entrusted with the task of communicating to His Holiness, Pope John XXIII, on the occasion of his 80th birthday, my congratulations and sincerest wishes for good health and success in the continuation of the noble aspiration of contributing to the strengthening and consolidation of peace on earth and the solution of international problems through candid pronouncements.¹¹⁰²

The Pope responded with thought of gratitude and the hope for universal peace and brotherhood.¹¹⁰³ This simple exchange of communication broke decades of hostility that had been perpetrated by both the Vatican and the USSR, ushering in a new period for the modern church within a modern age.

America's choice to intervene was also built on precedence. They, of course, had no choice but to intervene to help Europe defeat fascism, but in so doing, they may have made the divide between the USSR and the West deeper, especially as the war came to an end. Though history cannot know the whole motivation of the entire US government at the time, it appears their intervention in the European financial situation was more to defeat the influence of Stalin's USSR. Had their motivations been more focused on actual aid, and had the Vatican also backed the US in actually administering aid for the humanitarian aspect of it, perhaps the political divisions in Italy would not have been as deep. Italian politics, though already deeply divided and really disillusioned from a period of rapid political change and betrayal, could have been better served if the defeat of communism was not the sole focus.

¹¹⁰² "John XXIII and the beginning of the Fall of the Iron Curtain," Catholic News Agency, Last Modified April 15, 2014, <https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/29441/john-xxiii-and-the-beginning-of-the-fall-of-the-iron-curtain>.

¹¹⁰³ "John XXIII and the Fall of the Iron Curtain."

Good things, however, did come out of this period of change. The reliance on American aid, and America as a whole, in the immediate post-war world ushered in a new age of thought, partnership, and diplomacy for the Vatican and for the new Italian republic. Italy relied on some aspects of American capitalism, but because of the collationed government, were able to make a system of socio-economic governance that worked for their traditions and culture. Italy would eventually join with other European countries who also benefitted from the Marshall Plan to create the European Union, creating a new European political order that could stand up to the Eastern Bloc. As for the Vatican, they were able to maintain relations with the United States while opening up communication with the USSR, as America would later do, and cooling of tensions between the two superpowers was achieved, narrowly avoiding nuclear war and slowing down the arms race. A new system of political diplomacy would reach its heights between the Vatican, Europe, and the US later under Pope John Paul II, who inherited the traditions of Pope John XXIII and who was a staunch advocate of Vatican Two. Under his leadership, the Vatican, the US, and Europe would enter a new age of politics, still aimed at the defeat of communism, but approached with an understanding of past mistakes and successes. Without these movements of both stagnation and progress in the church's political, social, and economic life, modernization and efforts to change the church into eventually adopting Vatican II and paving the way for figures such as Pope John Paul II (a Polish pope who grew up under communism) would have been rendered useless.

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