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Box 5, Folder 33, "Vatican, Zionism and Israel - Myths and Realities" [draft], Undated.

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THE VATICAN? ZIONISM, AND ISRAEL - MYTHS AND REALITIES

by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

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It is impossible to understand the current state of Vatican-Israeli relations without having a sound, balanced knowledge of the history of the Vatican's attitudes and policies toward Judaism, the Jewish people, Zionism and the State of Israel.

Contrary to some conventional wisdom, that history has not been static. ~~As perceived in some Jewish quarters,~~ The Vatican's views and actions have not been one of unrelieved anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, nor of unambiguous opposition to the creation of the State of Israel. And in one of the areas of greatest emotion and misunderstanding - the Vatican's policies have not been fixed on the territorial internationalization of the entire city of Jerusalem.

This paper intends to sketch the evolution and changes of Vatican policies toward Zionism and Israel, suggesting that such comprehension is essential for any realistic, ^{and constructive} responsible strategy for ~~constructive~~ dealing with the present situation.

I - PHASE I - VATICAN'S FIRM OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM AND ISRAEL

From the inception of the Zionist movement in the late 1890s down to the creation of the State of Israel in 1947-48, the Vatican was mainly opposed to Zionism and its central objective - the establishment of a Jewish State in the Holy Land. The word "mainly" is intended as a qualifier because, in the context of general opposition during this period, there were some Papal and Vatican statements which were sympathetic to Zionism's purposes of creating a Jewish state in Palestine.

That historic pattern of ambivalence - denial/affirmation - becomes important for an understanding of the later evolution of Vatican policies toward the State of Israel, and in particular, to the status of the city of Jerusalem.

It seems clear that the Vatican's early opposition to Zionism and to the Jewish State was based on (a) theological reasons, (b) historical reasons; *Constantine* i.e., Christian claims to "own" Palestine since the days of ~~of Crusader invasion and domination~~; and (c) socio-political reasons; i.e., the intense pressures from Arab Christians and their fear of reprisals from the Arab-Muslim world.

THEOLOGICAL REASONS FOR OPPOSITION

On May 19, 1896 - three months after the appearance of The Jewish State, Theodor Herzl had an interview with Msgr. Antonio Agliardi, the Papal Nuncio in Vienna, for the purpose of enlisting the support of the Catholic Church for the Zionist movement. Herzl explained to Agliardi that he did not want a Jewish "kingdom" in the Holy Land and that he would be prepared to accord extraterritorial status to the holy places. According to Herzl's Diaries, the Nuncio gave him a cold reception.

Herzl persisted in his efforts to win Catholic support. On January 22, 1904, he was received by Rafael Cardinal Merry del Val, the Papal Secretary of State. The Cardinal made it clear ~~that~~ to Herzl that the Church could not allow the Jews to take possession of the Holy Land as long as they denied the divinity of Jesus Christ.

In response to Herzl's assurances that the holy places could have extraterritorial status, Cardinal Merry del Val said that the holy places could not be regarded as entities separate from the Holy

Land. Three days later on January 25, Herzl held a lengthy audience with Pope Pius X (1903-1914), who had assumed the Papacy the year before. While Pius X had good personal relations with the Jews, he too told Herzl that the Church could not favor Israel's return to Zion as long as the Jews did not accept Jesus as the Savior. In his Diaries, Herzl quotes the Pope as having said:

"We cannot prevent the Jews from going to Jerusalem but we could never sanction it....The Jews have not recognized our Lord; therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people."

Herzl then pointed to the fact that the Ottoman overlords of Palestine also were not Christians. The Pope replied:

"I know, it is not pleasant to see the Turks in possession of our Holy Places. We simply have to put up with that. But to support the Jews in the acquisition of the Holy Places, that we cannot do."

"If you come to Palestine and settle your people there," the Pope then said to Herzl, "we want to have churches and priests ready to baptize all of you."

Quite possibly to soften the effect of Vatican rejection, Cardinal Merry del Val, in a meeting several weeks later, promised Herzl's close associate Heinrich York-Steiner that if all the Jews wanted ~~to~~ ^{was} to be "admitted" to the land of their ancestors, he would regard that as a "humanitarian" endeavor and would not impede their efforts to found colonies in Palestine.

The Vatican's general opposition to Zionism and to a Jewish State - based primarily on theological grounds - thus dominated the Holy See's policies from the late 1890s until the end of World War I.

A HISTORIC REASONS FOR OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM/ISRAEL

The Holy See's opposition to the establishment of Jewish sovereignty over the Holy Land has been traced by some scholars to "a Catholic nostalgia for the Crusades." In his landmark study, *Israel and the Holy Places of Christendom*, Dr. Walter Zander (Praeger Publishers, 1971), cites the writings of a Catholic authority, Pascal Baldi, "who considered it providential that 'Jerusalem was held under the domination of Italy, France and England (in this order!),' 'the three nations who had played so great a part in the Holy Wars', and who looked forward to 'the renewal of the splendours of the first century of the Crusades.' "

Zander observes that "of the twin ideals which had dominated the Crusades," one was "the liberation of the Christian sanctuaries" from the ruling Moslem "infidels and heathens." That goal had been realized by the combined efforts of the Allies through their defeat of the Ottoman Turks in World War I. The second goal: Rome set itself to the task of ~~fulfilling~~ reestablishment of Latin Christianity in Palestine.

Originally, ~~Rome~~ the Vatican officially entrusted France with the role of protector of Catholic interests in the Levant, and urged France to become the protector over the Holy Land. When the Palestine Mandate was ultimately given to (Protestant) Great Britain, the Vatican attempted to secure a leading influence of Catholic countries in the control of the Holy Places.

Ironically, the Gospels do not contain any obligation for the Christian to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or the Holy ~~Land~~ Land. There is no connection between Christian salvation and Christian control or domination of the Holy Land. As Dr. Zander documents, many of the Church Fathers denied that pilgrimages to the Holy Land established a special spiritual link with Christ which could not be achieved elsewhere, and therefore such linkage with Palestine was not a special way to salvation.

Thus, among numerous references cited, St. Augustine (354-430 CE) proclaimed: "God is indeed everywhere, and He who created all things is not contained or shut in by any one place."

The Church Fathers were debating the spiritual value of pilgrimages at the time when Jerusalem was part of the Byzantine Empire and belonged, therefore, to the Christian world. Since Constantine the Great had accepted Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire, the Government which controlled the Holy Places had been Christian. ~~The~~ C.E. (1000)

The situation changed, however, in 638 (when the Arabs conquered Jerusalem under Caliph Omar. For the first time the Christian world was faced with the fact that its most sacred shrines were in the hands of "infidels." The response of the Crusaders was that the Holy Land had to be reconquered by force and to be ruled by a Christian kingdom.

It took several centuries for this attitude to develop. The struggle between the Arabs and the West which extended from

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Spain, over the Mediterranean, to the borders of the Byzantine Empire, was not conceived at first in religious terms. In the East, a change occurred in the tenth century when the Byzantine armies under the Emperors Nicephorus and Jean Tzimesces, advanced into Syria and Galilee, taking Tiberias, Nazareth, and Caesarea.

In "The History of the Crusades," Sir Steven Runciman wrote:

"Up to that time, there was no greater merit in dying in battle for the protection of the Empire against the infidel Arab than against the Christian Bulgar; nor did the Church make any distinction. But both (Emperors) Nicephorus and John declared that the struggle^{was} now for the glory of Christendom, for the rescue of the Holy Places, and for the destruction of Islam... Nicephorus emphasized that ~~xxx~~ his wars were Christian wars...he saw himself as a Christian champion, and even threatened to march on Mecca to establish there the throne of Christ."

In the West, up to the beginning of the 11th century, the Christian princes in the North of Spain were hardly conscious of the fact that 'they were involved in the sacred task of defending the Church'. It was the Order of Cluny that brought about a change. Under its influence a Christian renaissance spread through France and Spain, uniting all forces and giving them the dynamic conviction that war against the infidels was a sacred duty for the Christian. The idea developed of a Christian Holy War ~~again~~ against the unbelievers, a war which would give the soldiers of Christ forgiveness for their sins and eternal reward.

PHASE II - VATICAN'S AMBIGUOUS SUPPORT OF ZIONISM/ISRAEL, 1917-

Sir Mark Sykes, the British diplomat who negotiated the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 with France, and himself a distinguished Catholic layman, went to Rome to sound out the Vatican on its attitude toward having Protestant Britain rather than France - which was officially entrusted by the Vatican as protector of Catholic interests in the Levant - assume the protectorate over the Holy Land. On April 11, 1917, Sykes met with Msgr. Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII, 1939-58), who was then Under-secretary for Extraordinary Affairs at the Papal Secretariat of State. A few days later, he had an audience with Pope Benedict XV (1914-22). From these talks Sykes assumed that the Vatican was ready to accept Britain as the mandatory power in Palestine.

According to the Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel (p.1083), "Sykes used his influence as a distinguished Catholic layman to explain to Vatican authorities that Zionism would not clash with Christian or Catholic wishes concerning the holy places in Palestine."

At Sykes' suggestion, Pacelli received Nahum Sokolow on April 29, 1917, when Sokolow came to Rome on behalf of the Zionist Executive to seek Vatican support for the planned Jewish National Home in Palestine. Pacelli was interested but insisted that the Zionists stay clear of an area extending well beyond the holy places. On May 1, Sokolow was received by the Papal Secretary of State, Pietro Cardinal Gasparri. Gasparri also discussed the holy places and claimed for the Church a "reserved zone" (similar to the one provided for in the Sykes-Picot Agreement), including not only Jerusalem but also Bethlehem, Nazareth, and its environs,

Liberias and Jericho. AS LONG AS THE VATICAN'S REQUIREMENTS WERE MET, GASPARRI SAID TO SOKOLOW, THE HOLY SEE WISHED THE ZIONISTS WELL IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO SET UP A STATE IN PALESTINE. When Sokolow said that the Zionists wanted only an "autonomous home," GASPARRI ASSURED HIM THAT HE MIGHT COUNT ON THE SYMPATHY OF THE CHURCH.

On May 8, 1917, Sokolow was received in private audience by Benedict XV. Aware of Britain's interest in Zionism, the Pope listened attentively to Sokolow and declared that THE RETURN OF THE JEWS TO PALESTINE WAS A MIRACULOUS EVENT AND IN KEEPING WITH GOD'S WILL. As for the holy places, he said he had no doubt that a satisfactory arrangement could be worked out. "YES, YES," he told Sokolow, "I BELIEVE WE SHALL BE GOOD NEIGHBORS."

The Pope also said

"The problem of the Holy Places is for us of extraordinary importance. The holy rights must be protected. We will settle this between the Church and the Great Powers. It is necessary that you respect those rights in all their extent."

Q Sokolow gave assurance that the Zionists would respect the holy places and the audience ended with mutual assurances of understanding.

On the strength of Sokolow's report, Chaim Weizmann felt justified in telling a Zionist conference in London that the Church would not oppose Zionist aims in Palestine.

The issuance of the Balfour Declaration in November 1917 - due in large measure to Sir Mark Sykes' "faith and energy" - and Gen. Edmund H. H. Allenby's conquest of Jerusalem apparently stirred misgivings in the Vatican concerning the safety of the holy places under the new regime in Palestine. The Vatican was apprehensive that Palestine would not be placed under INTERNATIONAL RULE, as envisioned in the Sykes-Picot Agreement. By December 1917, Pope Benedict XV had expressed his concern to De Salis, the British Representative to the Holy See, lest THE JEWS GAIN DIRECT CONTROL OVER PALESTINE'S AFFAIRS TO THE DETRIMENT OF CHRISTIAN INTERESTS.

When Sykes revisited Rome in the winter of 1918, he noted a marked change in the Vatican's attitude toward Zionism. HE NOW FOUND CARDINAL GASPARRI THOROUGHLY UNSYMPATHETIC. On March 1, 1919, the Tablet published a denial of reports that the Pope had ever supported Zionism. On March 10, 1919, while the peace conference was meeting in Paris, Pope Benedict told a secret consistory in Rome that "IT WOULD BE FOR US AND ALL CHRISTIANS A BITTER GRIEF IF UNBELIEVERS IN PALESTINE WERE PUT INTO A SUPERIOR OR MORE PRIVILEGED POSITION. Although the Pope did not specify who the "unbelievers" were, he was evidently seeking to influence the peace conference to the end that JEWS WOULD NOT BE GIVEN A PREEMINENT POSITION IN PALESTINE.

The Vatican was probably ready to accept a British Mandate, BUT WITH NO PRIVILEGES FOR THE ZIONISTS AND, PREFERABLY, WITH INTERNATIONAL STATUS FOR THE HOLY PLACES. The Pope had probably been influenced by the reports sent to him from England by Francis Cardinal Bourne, who had visited Palestine in that period and wrote anti-Zionist letters also to Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour and Prime

Minister David Lloyd George. The British government gave assurances to the Vatican on the safeguarding of Catholic interests in the Holy Places, in case Britain were to receive the mandate, but it seems that the VATICAN STILL PREFERRED THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF PALESTINE.

(The ^{signed} secret Sykes-Picot Agreement signed by ~~Kranke~~ Britain and France in ^{May} 1916, proposed the division of the Ottoman Empire between the three principal Entente powers, Britain, France, and Russia. Russia claimed Constantinople and the straits, France claimed Mosul and Greater Syria (which it understood to include all Palestine), while Britain wanted to create an independent Arab state in the interior of Syria and Mesopotamia. The Sykes-Picot Agreement provided that Palestine, south of French-controlled Lebanon down to a line running from Gaza to the Dead Sea, was to be set apart as an "international zone" whose administration was to be decided after consultation with Russia and other Entente allies. The Vatican supported this plan for the internationalization of Palestine - at least for several years.)

In April 1920, the San Remo Conference awarded the Palestine Mandate to Great Britain, subject to the approval of the League of Nations. On April 26, 1920, the Vatican made known its fears that JEWISH ELEMENTS MIGHT BECOME PREDOMINANT IN PALESTINE UNDER BRITISH RULE. These fears were discussed in Catholic circles even in England, where the anti-Zionist Cardinal Bourne told a nationwide Catholic conference in Liverpool that "A NEW NON-CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE WAS BEING DELIBERATELY SET UP IN THE LAND WHERE COUNTLESS GENERATIONS OF CHRISTIANS HAD LONGED AND STRIVEN TO CAST A NON-CHRISTIAN POWER."

By this time the Vatican appeared to have been influenced by the FEAR OF COMMUNISM. In 1921 representatives of the Zionist movement visiting Rome were informed by a Vatican spokesman that the Holy See did not wish to "ASSIST ALL JEWISH RACE, WHICH IS TEEMING WITH A REVOLUTIONARY AND REBELLIOUS SPIRIT," TO GAIN CONTROL OVER THE HOLY LAND. The Pope clearly had been ^mimpressed by anti-Semitic reports that the Jewish pioneers were Bolsheviks who were seeking to establish a Communist regime in Palestine.

In June 1921, Pope Benedict XV protested that THE CHRISTIANS IN PALESTINE WERE NOW WORSE OFF THAN UNDER TURKISH RULE AND CALLED ON

AND GOVERNMENTS OF ALL CHRISTIAN FAITHS, CATHOLIC AND NON-CATHOLIC TO MAKE A JOINT PROTEST TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE HOLY SEE IN THE HOLY PLACES. He did this despite repeated assurances from the British that they would afford ample protection to the holy places and that, as Sir Ronald Storrs put it to the Pope, THE SEE WOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED TO "DOMINATE" THE HOLY PLACES.

Popes Benedict XV and Pius XI (1922-39) were further influenced against the British and the Jews by lurid reports from Msgr. Luigi Barlassina, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. Barlassina, WHO OVERLOOKED NO OPPORTUNITY TO SIDE WITH THE ARABS, TOLD ROMAN AND VATICAN AUTHORITIES THAT THE BALFOUR DECLARATION HAD ENABLED THE JEWS TO CARRY OUT OPENLY IN THEIR PLAN TO SET UP "THE EMPIRE OF ZION," that some kibbutzim in Palestine were run according to extreme Communist principles, and that Jerusalem alone now had 500 prostitutes.

In the spring of 1922, Weizmann arrived in Rome to help undo the damage caused by Barlassina's reports. He had two interviews with Cardinal Gasparri, who was still Papal Secretary of State. GASPARRI ASSURED WEIZMANN THAT THE VATICAN DID NOT OPPOSE A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE, PROVIDED THAT THE INTERESTS OF NON-JEWISH COMMUNITIES THERE WERE SAFEGUARDED AND THAT THE JEWS WERE NOT GIVEN A "PRIVILEGED POSITION" IN THE COUNTRY.

According to Weizmann's memoirs, Trial and Error, it seemed to him that Gasparri somehow considered the World Zionist Organization a branch of Britain's Palestine government. After Weizmann had reported to Gasparri on Jewish settlement and reconstruction work in Palestine, Gasparri remarked that he was not worried about Jewish settlement in the Holy Land. "It is your university that I fear," the Cardinal said, referring to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In a note to the British Embassy, Gasparri stressed again that "THE HOLY SEE DOES NOT OPPOSE THE ACQUISITION BY THE JEWS IN PALESTINE OF EQUAL CIVIL RIGHTS" BUT THAT IT COULD NOT CONSENT TO GIVE THE JEWS A POSITION OF PREPONDERANCE LET ALONE AGREE TO THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE.

In May 1922, Gasparri submitted a memorandum to the League of Nations Council, which was then about to ratify the British Mandate

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^{for}
~~from Palestine~~ Palestine, protesting that the CREATION OF A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE UNDER THE BALFOUR DECLARATION GAVE THE ZIONISTS "A PRIVILEGED POSITION." The theme was REPEARED ON June 1 by L'Osservatore Romano, the semiofficial Vatican paper, which agreed to the British Mandate in principle but DEMANDED MODIFICATIONS IN THE DECLARATION BECAUSE ZIONISM WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO PEACE IN PALESTINE AND WOULD ROB THE NATIVE POPULATION OF ITS RIGHTS...

On Dec. 11, 1922, Pope Pius XI (1922-39), in an allocution at a secret consistory made a special reference to the question of the holy places and the rights of the Holy See, which SHOULD BE PROTECTED NOT ONLY AGAINST JEWS AND UNBELIEVERS BUT ALSO AGAINST ALL OTHER NON-CATHOLIC RELIGIONS. At a secret consistory on May 23, 1923, he declared that the Church would DEFEND THE "UNDEANIBLE, OBVIOUS AND OVERWHELMING RIGHTS OF CATHOLICISM TO THE HOLY PLACES IN PALESTINE." In a papal bull of May 1924, he again called for the solution of the problem of the holy places IN ACCORDANCE WITH CATHOLIC INTERESTS.

When Benito Mussolini's Fascist Party first assumed power in Italy (October 1922), its attitude toward Zionism was cool. ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS, THE VATICAN EXERTED PRESSURE ON THE MUSSOLINI GOVERNMENT TO TAKE AN ANTI-ZIONIST STAND. Later, Marchese Alberto Theodor, the Italian Representative to the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission assumed an ANTI-ZIONIST POSITION, claiming to PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE CATHOLICS IN PALESTINE. In 1927 Mussolini told Victor Jacobson that he had to take into account the feelings of his "neighbor" (i.e., the Vatican), WHICH WAS IMPLACABLY OPPOSED TO ZIONIST ASPIRATIONS.

Meanwhile, VATICAN OFFICIALS AND HIGHLY PLACED CHURCH CIRCLES CONTINUED THEIR CAMPAIGN AGAINST ZIONISM. Bassilina, now a cardinal and papal representative in Jerusalem, alleged that the ZIONISTS WERE DRIVING ARAB WORKERS OUT AND REPLACING THEM WITH THOUSANDS OF THEIR CORELIGIONISTS FROM RUSSIA.

Late in November 1929, L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO CARRIED AN EDITORIAL HEADLINED, "THE JEWISH DANGER THREATENING THE ENTIRE WORLD." The Oct. 3, 1936, issue of the Jesuit paper, Civiltà Cattolica, which was close to the Holy See, said that "THE JEWS CONSTITUTE A SERIOUS AND PERMANENT DANGER TO SOCIETY..." Another issue of that year said, "Zionism might offer a way out, but the creation of A JEWISH STATE WOULD INCREASE THE JEWISH MENACE." IN AN EDITORIAL (APRIL 2, 1938) THE SAME PAPER SUGGESTED THAT THE BEST THING FOR THE JEWS TO DO WAS TO RELINQUISH THEIR CLAIMS ON PALESTINE AND, IF POSSIBLE, LEAVE THE COUNTRY ALTOGETHER.

*
half p.m. - CIVILTA CATTOLICA WAS TO BE SINGLELY CONSISTENT IN ITS OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM AND LATER TO ISRAEL. (IT HAD A RECORD OF ANTI-SEMITISM, GOING BACK TO THE 1880s, WHEN IT PUBLISHED OUTRIGHT ACCUSATIONS OF RITUAL MURDER AGAINST THE JEWS.) outright

to Amleto
caps The Vatican's firm opposition to a Jewish National Home in Palestine was reiterated forcefully between the summer of 1943 and the summer of 1944, when the Second World War was clearly going the Allies' way. According to Prof. Silvio Ferrari*, Cardinal Luigi Maglioni, Vatican Secretary of State, wrote a letter ~~to~~ on May 18, 1943, ~~to~~ Amleto Cardinal Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate in Washington, instructing him to inform the U.S. Government that Catholics throughout the world "could not but be wounded in their religious pride SHOULD PALESTINE BE HANDED OVER ~~to~~ TO THE JEWS OR BE PLACED VIRTUALLY UNDER THEIR CONTROL." caps

In what will come as a surprise to many Jews (and Christians), Msgr. Angelo Roncalli, then Apostolic Delegate to Istanbul and later Pope John XXIII (1958-63), held similar but less hawkish opinions as expressed in a letter to Cardinal Maglioni, Sept. 4, 1943. This would show that the Vatican Secretary of State's line met with the approval of the Vatican diplomats most actively involved in helping save Jews during the Nazi holocaust. Prof. Ferrari comments that "this leads us to the conclusion backed by other documents* that the Vatican's OPPOSITION TO THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE IN THE HOLY LAND WAS NOT CAUSED BY ANTI-SEMITIC FEELING BUT RATHER BY THE VATICAN'S DETERMINATION TO PROTECT CATHOLIC INTERESTS IN PALESTINE. VATICAN OPPOSITION TO ARAB DOMINATION IN PALESTINE

The Vatican's resistance to a "Jewish Home" did not mean it favored Arab domination in the Holy Land. In April 1944, the Vatican's Secretary of State, Cardinal Maglione, expressed to Myron C. Taylor, President Roosevelt's personal representative to the Pope, the Vatican's concern over the plan to create a Pan-Arab confederation (the Arab League) in the Middle East, which they felt would put the Christian community's future in "an uncertain and precarious position."x

The Vatican urged that the Great Powers intervene to insure clearly that "the basic legislation of the planned confederation would clearly give non-Muslims freedom of opinion, freedom of worship and parity with Muslims as regards civil rights and duties." Maglione said

that these conditions were a sine qua non for making this plan "at least partly acceptable."

The Vatican feared that either Arab or Jewish domination would prejudice Catholic interests in Palestine. These interests, the Holy See believed, would be better protected by a solution where "neither Jews nor Arabs, but a Third Power, should have control in the Holy Land." The Vatican thus favored either a continuation of the British Mandate (or a mandate given to another "Christian power") or the INTERNATIONALIZATION OF ALL PALESTINE UNDER UN SUPERVISION. Either solution meant that control of the Holy Land would be safely in Christian hands. They believed this would avert the danger of the Arab-Jewish conflict degenerating into open war and the possible threat of irreparable destruction to the Holy Places.

Between 1945 and 1947, this proposed solution to the Palestine question was supported by Archbishop Spellman of New York and his adviser on "Palestinian affairs," Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon. The Vatican shared ~~their~~ their views but decided to make no public statement about a plan which was firmly opposed by both the Arab countries and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The Vatican followed an extremely reserved line and avoided any official statement of its position on the Palestine conflict.

During the final years of the British mandate, the Vatican had apparently become impressed with the humanitarian work the Zionists had performed in Palestine, particularly in the resettlement of refugees from the Nazi holocaust. As indicated above, the Holy See now favored the "status quo", namely, the continuation of the Jewish National Home under the British Mandate, or the internationalization proposal. Some circles in the Vatican showed signs of supporting the Zionist "establishment" under Weizmann, whom they regarded as the link between the Zionist movement and the British authorities. They were, however, deeply worried about the civil strife waged by splinter groups such as the Stern group (Lohame Herut Israel) which they feared might result in damage to holy places.

On April 10, 1945, Moshe Shertok (Sharett), then head of the Jewish Agency's Political Department, had an audience with Pius XII (1939-1958.) Shertok told the Pope that the murder of 6 million Jews by the Nazis had been possible only because the Jews had no state of their own, that a radical change must take place in the life of the Jewish people after the war. Shertok said that he knew of no conflict of interest between Zionist aspirations in Palestine and the interests of Christianity and Catholicism there, and that the Jewish State to be set up in Palestine would

undertake to protect the Christian holy places. He then told Pius XII that the Jews hoped for the "moral support" of the Catholic Church for "our renewed existence in Palestine." The Pope's questions and answers were reportedly courteous but noncommittal.

Arab countries were now beginning to exert heavy pressure on the Pope Pius XII to mobilize the Catholic Church against the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. On Aug. 3, 1946, Pius XII was visited by a delegation from the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, which requested intervention against the Zionists. The Pope's reply was as follows:

"We deplore all resorts to force and violence from whatever quarter ~~xxx~~ they come. Thus we also deplored repeatedly in the past the persecution that fanatic anti-Semitism unleashed against the Hebrew people.

"WE ALWAYS OBSERVED (AN) ATTITUDE OF PERFECT IMPARTIALITY... AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO CONFORM TO IT IN THE FUTURE.

"But it is clear that this IMPARTIALITY, WHICH OUR APOSTOLIC MISSION IMPOSES ON US AND WHICH PLACES US ABOVE ~~xxx~~ THE CONFLICTS THAT ARE ARE RENDING HUMAN SOCIETY ESPECIALLY AT THIS DIFFICULT MOMENT, CANNOT SIGNIFY INDIFFERENCE. (We will) endeavor that justice and peace in Palestine may become a constructive reality, that the order springing from the efficient cooperation of all interested parties may be created and each of the parties now in conflict may have a guarantee of security of ~~xxx~~ existence as well as physical and moral living conditions on which may be established a normal situation of material and cultural welfare."

VATICAN'S VIEWS TOWARD PARTITION PLAN, 1947

In April 1947, Great Britain submitted the Palestine issue to the United Nations. There was now no chance that Britain's mandate in the Holy Land would be extended. Among other factors, doubts arose regarding the wisdom of entrusting Palestine to UN administration for fear of inviting Soviet penetration into the Middle East. The Vatican was now faced with an alternative: (a) a divided Holy Land resulting from the creation of a Jewish state and an Arab state, or (b) the creation of a single state in Palestine representing both sides but with an Arab majority.

The first proposal was clearly unacceptable to major Catholic leadership. Archbishop Spellman openly criticized the "Partition Plan," saying, "The Catholic Church strongly opposes any form of partition, primarily on the ground that the whole land is sacred to Christ." (Cited in a memorandum from U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, George Wadsworth, in a memorandum to Loy W Henderson, Jan. 13, 1947.)

Key officials in the Vatican Secretary of State's office agreed in principle ~~with~~ these opinions but withheld making them official. That was due to the fact, according to Prof. Ferrarri, the Vatican followed its traditional policy of "reserve," which counseled against any explicit public statements that ~~might~~ well have conflicted with Jewish aspiration for national independence."

At the same time, Middle Eastern Catholic communities and, more discreetly, missionary organizations working in the Holy Land, advocated the creation of a single Arab-controlled state in Palestine. In the Vatican, these positions were welcomed warmly in some ecclesiastical circles close to the Sacred Oriental Congregation, which was particularly aware of the implications of the Palestine issue for the future of Catholic missionary activities throughout the Middle East. Despite the pressure placed on the Pope and the Holy See by these groups, and despite "the existence of objectively significant factors favoring the Arabs," (Ferrarri), The Vatican Secretary of State's Office did not declare itself in favor of an Arab State in Palestine.

The reluctance to do so is explained (a) by the belief that the Arab proposals, opposed both by the United States and the USSR, would not have been approved by the UN General Assembly, and (b) most especially, by the Vatican's hopes for the INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM. The latter proposal was an important feature of the UNSCOP (United Nations Special Committee on Palestine) plan to divide Palestine approved in the summer of 1947.

From the official statements made to UNSCOP by the Custodia di Terra Santa, the most important Catholic organization working in Palestine, and by the Catholic Near East Welfare Association (whose president was ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{Archbishop} Spellman and whose national secretary was Msgr. McMahon) on June 5, 1947, the Vatican at first appeared to be seeking safeguards that did not necessarily mean making Jerusalem a "corpus separatum." But clearly the Vatican was extremely pleased when this solution was supported by the majority of UNSCOP. The Vatican believed that a "corpus separatum" gave the best protection possible for the Holy Places as well as the Catholic community in Palestine. In addition, the Holy See indicated that it provided a legal and institutional framework incorporating the universal meaning of the Holy Places, and prevented Jerusalem from becoming part of a Jewish or Arab State. These principles it was asserted, were deeply rooted in the Catholic world.

The possibility of obtaining an international status for the City of Jerusalem led the Vatican Secretariat of State not to oppose the plan to divide the Holy Land in 1947. (At the same time, the Vatican did not openly oppose the idea of creating a single Arab-controlled State in Palestine, fearing that would compromise good relations with Arab countries or would expose Catholic communities to dangerous reprisals from Arabs should the UN favor the latter solution.) In this decisive year in the Middle East question, it is therefore correct to say that THE VATICAN WAS NOT OPPOSED TO THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE, IF THE DIVISION OF PALESTINE ENSURED JERUSALEM'S INTERNATIONALIZATION.

When the partition of Palestine came to a vote at the United Nations on Nov. 29, 1947, MOST OF THE CATHOLIC COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD BODY APPROVED THE ACTION THAT CLEARED THE WAY FOR THE CREATION OF THE JEWISH STATE. The Latin American countries, together with other Catholic countries like Belgium, France, Luxembourg, and the Philippines, were hardly likely to vote so overwhelmingly for the partition of the Holy Land unless they knew that the Vatican did not oppose this solution. This position was never subsequently abandoned - despite some interim uncertainty in 1947-48 caused by the Vatican's interest in the U.S. proposal to drop the Partition Plan and to place the whole of Palestine under UN "temporary trusteeship."

THE VATICAN, ISRAEL, AND JERUSALEM - 1947-19

On December 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly, acting on the proposal by the UNSCOP majority, approved the division of Palestine into an Arab and Jewish state. The UN body also established that Jerusalem and its environs were to constitute a "corpus separatum" directly under UN control. As a result of the attack by five Arab nations on the newly-proclaimed Jewish State, these provisions for the Partition Plan and for Jerusalem and the Holy Places were not implemented. During the hostilities, Jordanian and Israeli troops respectively took up positions in the "old city" - where the majority of Holy Places were located, and the "new city" - where much of the city's administration was situated.

The protracted Jordanian and Israeli occupation challenged the plans for Jerusalem's internationalization advocated in the Nov. 29, 1947, UN Resolution. In the face of that reality, and with a debate imminent in the UN on the Palestine question, the Holy See decided to

end its STRATEGY OF SILENCE and to make public its position.

Pope Pius XII, who ~~xxx~~ scrupulously avoided taking sides in the conflict and who is said to have favored the continuation of ~~thax~~ a mandatory regime in order to assure the safety of the Holy Places, issued his official reaction to the war in three Papal encyclicals. The first, Auspicia quaedam, (May 1, 1948), expressed concern for the Holy Places and offered a prayer that the "situation in Palestine be at long last settled justly."

The second, In multiplicibus curis (Oct. 24, 1948), was promulgated when it was clear that the Israelis were winning. Pius XII urged the giving of "an international character to Jerusalem and its vicinity (...) as a better guarantee for the safety of the sanctuaries under the present circumstances. In that encyclical, the Pope mentioned that, speaking before a delegation of distinguished Arabs "who "came to render us homage," that

"Once war was declared, without abandoning the attitude of impartiality imposed on us by our apostolic mission, which places us above the conflicts which agitate human society, we did not fail to bend our efforts...for the triumph of justice and peace in Palestine and for the respect and safeguarding of the holy places."

(The Rev. J.M.D. Kelly, chairman of the Anglican Commission on Roman Catholic relations, has written in his just-published, The Oxford Dictionary of Popes, that "Pius XII saw himself as the Pope of peace...(but) his efforts to remain 'strictly neutral' during World War II led to sharp criticisms of his failure to speak out strongly against the Nazis. Despite the claims of Pius defenders that he did speak out, what remains clear, Father Kelly writes, "is that the veiled or generalized language traditional to the curia was not a suitable instrument for dealing with cynically planned world domination and genocide.")

In his third encyclical, In redemptoris nostri (April 15, 1949) which appeared two days after the signing of the armistice agreement, the Pope sought to "persuade the rulers of nations, and those whose duty it is to settle this important question, to accord to Jerusalem and its surroundings a juridical status." He then pleaded that

Cap (...all rights to the holy places which Catholics during many centuries have acquired and time and again defended valiantly, and which our predecessors have solemnly and effectively vindicated, should be preserved inviolate..."

On May 14, 1948, L'Osservatore Romano declared:

On May 14, 1948, L'Osservatore Romano, declared

"MODERN ZIONISM IS NOT THE TRUE HEIR OF BIBLICAL ISRAEL, BUT A SECULAR STATE... THEREFORE THE HOLY LAND AND ITS SACRED SITES BELONG TO CHRISTIANITY, THE TRUE ISRAEL." ~~Inxxxx~~

In reporting on the War of Independence, the official Jesuit publication, Civiltà Cattolica, made its sympathies clear. It referred to Israeli setbacks as "Arab victories" and to Israeli victories as "advances." Only Egyptian and Jordanian communiqués were quoted in full. In its June 19, 1948, issue the paper reported that "two Zionist emissaries" had been caught trying to poison the wells in Gaza.

The publication of the Papal encyclicals at this time, according to Prof. Ferrarri, resulted from acute concern over the damage suffered by the Catholic sanctuaries and institutions in the Holy City. They were also animated by the hope that, once internationalized~~xxxxxxx~~, Jerusalem might become the place where thousands of Palestinian refugees - including a sizeable contingent of Palestinian Christians - would wish to settle.

France now exerted pressures on the Vatican expecting that it would be able to exploit opportunities opened up by the international administration of Jerusalem as a means of regaining its influence it once had in the Middle East as "watchdog of Catholic interests." The French Ambassador to the Vatican thus was given instructions by Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, to "demand that the Pontiff take an official position favoring the internationalization of Jerusalem and the Holy Places."

In September 1948, two Israeli emissaries - Dr. Jacob Herzog and Dr. Chaim Wardi - undertook a mission^{to Rome} to discuss the future of Jerusalem and the Holy Places. In January 1949, Msgr. McMahon visited Palestine to pursue these discussions. Both missions failed to reach any agreements. This led the Vatican to renew its demands for an international regime for Jerusalem. These failures also stimulated Pope Pius XII to publish his second encyclical, In Redemptoris Arc Nostris, (see p. 15), in which he invited the CATHOLIC WORLD TO RUSH TO THE DEFENSE OF THE HOLY PLACES AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM.

The Pope's appeal was taken up by the Catholics in many parts of the world, particularly in the United States and France. In the United States Cardinal Spellman approached President Truman directly and from May to August 1949, there was a lengthy exchange of letters between the two

through which Spellman hoped to convince Truman of the "necessity of placing Jerusalem and its environs beyond the control of any local group." (Italics mine.)

Despite a second mission by McMahon to Palestine in the summer of 1949 and a final attempt in Rome in November 1949 undertaken by Jacob Herzog, the Vatican and Israel failed to reach agreement and they began the 4th session of the UN General Assembly in open disagreement on the Jerusalem issue.

Following a fiercely contested debate, the UN adopted on Dec. 9, 1949, an Australian resolution calling for the ~~territory~~ TERRITORIAL INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM. The resolution was opposed by Jordan and Israel, the United States and the United Kingdom, among the Great Powers. It was supported by the Arab bloc (excepting Jordan), the Communist bloc (which Prof. Ferrarini said "saw internationalization of Jerusalem as a CHANCE TO ENTER MIDDLE EAST POLITICS") and the majority of Catholic countries, "no doubt heavily influenced by the Vatican."

That action further stiffened Israel's and Jordan's positions. They intensified their negotiations to find an agreement based on Jerusalem's division and accelerated the integration of the sections of Jerusalem they controlled into their respective states.

In the spring of 1949, when the State of Israel sought admission to ~~the~~ the United Nations, several Catholic countries opposed its application on the ground that Israel had "failed to carry out the full internationalization scheme" proposed by the United Nations for Jerusalem. No such accusation was made against Jordan, which had MOST OF THE HOLY PLACES IN ITS TERRITORY AND HAD REFUSED EVEN TO CONSIDER RELINQUISHING ITS RULE OVER THESE PLACES AND OVER THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM.

The Israeli Parliament proclaimed Jerusalem its capital and transferred its headquarters and main government offices there. The King of Jordan, worried about the rise of dangerous opposition to his rule from Amman, appointed a Supreme Custodian of the Holy Places in Jerusalem.

The Holy See refused to recognize any part of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, or the State of Israel itself. The Papal Delegate ~~of~~ to Palestine resided in the Arab sector of Jerusalem, and the VATICAN EXERTED PRESSURE ON CATHOLIC STATES TO ESTABLISH THEIR EMBASSIES AND LEGATIONS IN OR NEAR TEL AVIV, RATHER THAN IN JERUSALEM.

Q (As recently as July 2, 1986, the head of the U.S. Catholic bishops called on President Ronald Reagan to convince the U.S. Senate to drop legislation that could ~~forxxxxxxx~~ result in the moving of the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Bishop James Malone, ~~of~~ preesident or the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, in a letter to President Reagan, urged him to ask Sen. Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina, to withdraw an amendment on the embassy transfer. The amendment has been proposed for pending legislation on strengthening diplomatic security in the face of terrorism.

(Terming the Helms' amendment "very dangerous," Bishop Malone wrote: "The effect of the amendment could force the transfer of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. I know that previous efforts to achieve this objective have been opposed by your administration and I write to request your leadership in opposing this very dangerous amendment.

(The U.S. Catholic Conference, the bishops' public policy arm, in 1984 opposed measures to move the embassy "because we believed such a unilateral move would fail to address the special significance Jerusalem holds for Moslems, Jews and Christians and it would present yet another obstacle to progress toward a Middle East peace. Our position, then as now," he wrote, "has been guided by the overall position of the Holy See on Jerusalem.") (National Catholic News Service, July 7, 1986.

In 1950 new discussions and negotiations took place, at first centering on the Garreau plan which proposed internationalization of a limited area of Jerusalem, but including all the Christian Holy Places. Subsequently, a draft statute was drawn up the Trusteeship Council based on guidelines in the Dec. 9, 1949 resolution which had reaffirmed the internationalization of all Jerusalem. Neither proposal received sufficient support of the UN General Assembly which completed its work in Dec. 1950 without adopting any resolution regarding Jerusalem.

Only after it became obvious that the Jewish State was viable and vigorous, and that the United Nations was incapable of enforcing its resolutions regarding the internationalization of Jerusalem and the holy places, did THE VATICAN MAKE ITS FIRST TENTATIVE ATTEMPTS AT A RAPPROACHMENT WITH THE ISRAELIS, IF NOT WITH THE STATE OF ISRAEL. On March 27, 1952, Pope Pius XII received Moshe Sharett, now Israel's Foreign Minister, in a private unofficial audience. (See p. 11 for report on first audience.) Sharett assured the Pope that Israel would respect Christian rights. The Pope did not take any stand on the subjects

raised by Sharett. In the years that followed, Israel was visited by a number of eminent Catholics including some Latin American prelates, who subsequently spoke in highly complimentary terms of ~~wa~~ what they had seen in the country. A growing number of Catholic priests began the serious study of modern Hebrew. In 1955, a group of Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans spent six months in an intensive Hebrew-language course, studying side-by-side with new Jewish immigrants.

Vatican authorities were impressed by Israel's attitude toward the holy places. In November 1955, Israel's Ministry of Religious Affairs presented to Msgr. Antonio Vergani, the Latin Patriarchal Representative in Israel, a check in final compensation for war damage to Catholic institutions. In a formal letter to the Israel government (Nov. 16, 1955) Vergani thanked the government for the "CONSTANT ASSISTANCE I WAS GIVEN IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE VARIOUS QUESTIONS OUTSTANDING BETWEEN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL WITHIN THE LATTER'S TERRITORY."



(X) The Church Fathers - St. Augustine, St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and even St. Jerome (who spent 30 years of his last days in Bethlehem where he translated the Vulgate based on Hebrew scholarship) agreed that ultimately the place is irrelevant for salvation, and that "the Kingdom of God is within us and that the Gates of Heaven are open over Britain as over Jerusalem, and that the true pilgrimage is from the flesh to the spirit and not from Cappadocia to Palestine." (St. Gregory, 335-394 CE).

In spite of this teaching, the Holy Places took on an increasingly strong hold on the Christian imagination. Even if pilgrimages could not lead to salvation, many felt that in the Holy Land they were nearer to the person of Christ. Thus, over the centuries pilgrimages to the Holy Land became an essential part of Christian life.

continue, p. 7 - The Church Fathers were debating the spiritual value...

The situation changed...

It took several centuries

p. 8 - In The History of the Crusades,

In the West, up to the beginning of the 11th century ...for their sins and eternal reward."

INSERT B, P. 8

(Y) The theology of the Crusaders passed through various stages. As summarized by Zander (pp.18,19),

"In the beginning the thoughts of the Crusaders were directed to the liberation of the Holy Land for the sake of men's salvation... with apocalyptic overtones about the Second Coming. After the conquest (July 1099), when Jerusalem was threatened again with onslaughts of the unbelievers, the period of the Sanctuaries was conceived as a unique opportunity, 'the acceptable time,' for a supreme sacrifice. When Jerusalem was lost (October 1187) again to the Muslims, its fall was felt as an insult to God, and the Crusaders were called upon to revenge the injury. Some even saw in the loss of Jerusalem a new Crucifixion, and the reconquest of the earthly Jerusalem appeared as a Jacob's ladder to the heavenly city of salvation.

"Lastly the Crusaders claimed the land as their heritage, seeing themselves as the spiritual successors of Israel and the beneficiaries of Christ's sacrifice..."

The Dominican Stephan of Bourbon wrote, "We are the descendants of the Holy Land both according to the flesh and the spirit...here our mother the Church had its origin. Likewise the land is ours by the RIGHT OF SUCCESSION AS FAR AS WE ARE THE TRUE CHILDREN OF GOD..."

In Valmar Cramer's compendium, a Crusader is quoted as saying:

"This land belong to us by the right of purchase and acquisition; for Christ bought it for us by his blood, HAS EXPELLED THE JEWISH PEOPLE FROM IT BY THE MIGHT OF THE ROMAN AND HAS HANDLED IT TO CHRISTENDOM."

The religious basis of the Crusades had been the conviction that the Holy Places of Christendom could not be left in the hands of a non-Christian power, and therefore had to be restored by force to Christendom. But this conviction was soon attacked by many sides - by mystics, and by Reformation leaders.

For mystics such as Meister Eckhart (1260-1327), "the true and best penitence is when man turns away from everything which is not God." For Thomas a Kempis (early 1400s), and others, pilgrimages ~~for~~ to spiritual perfection required no outward travel, even to Jerusalem.

Martin Luther, father of the Protestant Reformation, declared in his "Appeal to the Christian Nobility of German Nationality," that pilgrimages are "evil deeds and God has not decreed them. They are devilish ghosts and the money and the work which are being spent on a pilgrimage should be used a thousand times better for the maintenance of one's family and for the poor."

Similarly, Calvin fulminated against pilgrimages, asserting that pilgrimages favored by the Papacy were without value, and that they had no foundation in Scriptures.

After the Ottoman Turks had conquered Constantinople in 1453, and in 1517, took Jerusalem from the Egyptian Mameluks, there was no longer any question of a reconquest of the Holy Places. European Christians no longer believed that the liberation of the Holy Land was essential for their salvation or happiness. The European mind turned to other ventures of discovery and commerce. Palestine was seen not so much as the Holy Land but as part of the Levant.

The Turks were no longer the "accursed race" described by Pope Urban, "utterly alienated from God, degenerate and despised," but had become a member of the family of nations. In 1535, Francis I, King of France, concluded an alliance between France ("the eldest daughter of the Church"), and the Ottoman Empire, the leading Islamic power of that time. It opened a new era in the relationship between the Christian Powers and Islam, and became the pattern for a long series of treaties or "capitulations" ("little chapters") extending over several centuries.

Most of these treaties revealed a new attitude toward the Holy Places. They were concerned with commerce and politics, and indicated that Western Christians were no longer interested in the reconquest of the sanctuaries. As the treaty of 1535 revealed, the Western Christian powers ~~xxxx~~ desired only the right of trading ~~merchandise~~ to practice their own religion; that was all that remained of the far-reaching aims of the Crusades. The Holy Places were not mentioned in the treaty, nor were Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

Similar changes were reflected in treaties between the Republic of Venice, ⁽¹⁵⁹⁸⁾ the Netherlands (1612), and Britain (1675) with Turkey. Between 1535 and the French Revolution in 1789, not a single treaty concluded by a Western Power with Turkey contained a single clause about the Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire. (Zander, p. 25.)



Thus, among numerous references cited, St. Augustine (354-430 C.E.) proclaimed: "God is indeed everywhere, and He who created all things is not contained or shut in by any one place."

INSERT 7A - (X)

The Church Fathers were debating the spiritual value of pilgrimages at the time when Jerusalem was part of the Byzantine Empire and belonged, therefore, to the Christian world. Since Constantine the Great had accepted Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire, the Government which controlled the Holy Places had been Christian.

✓ The situation changed, however, in 638 C.E. when the Arabs conquered Jerusalem under Caliph Omar. For the first time the Christian world was faced with the fact that its most sacred shrines were in the hands of "infidels." The response of the Crusaders was that the Holy Land had to be reconquered by force and to be ruled by a Christian kingdom.

It took several centuries for this attitude to develop. The struggle between the Arabs and the West which extended from Spain, over the Mediterranean, to the borders of the Byzantine Empire, was not conceived at first in religious terms. In the East, a change occurred in the tenth century when the Byzantine armies under the Emperors Nicephorus and Jean Tzimescas, advanced into Syria and Galilee, taking Tiberias, Nazareth, and Caesarea.

See Guide
to the Holy
Land

cf
p. 342

342 c

In The History of the Crusades,^d Sir Steven Runciman wrote: "Up to that time, there was no greater merit in dying in battle for the protection of the Empire against the infidel Arab than against the Christian Bulgar; nor did the Church make any distinction. But both ✓ (Emperors) Nicephorus and John ^d Declared that the struggle was now for the glory of Christendom, for the rescue of the Holy Places, and for the destruction of Islam... Nicephorus emphasized that ^{these} ~~this~~ wars were Christian wars....he saw himself as a Christian champion, and even threatened to march on Mecca to establish there the throne of Christ."¹

In the West, up to the beginning of the 11th century, the Christian princes in the North of Spain were hardly conscious of the fact that "they were involved in the sacred task of defending the Church". It was the Order of Cluny that brought about a change. Under its influence a Christian renaissance spread through France and Spain, uniting all forces and giving them the dynamic conviction that war against the infidels was a sacred duty for the Christian. The idea developed of a Christian Holy War against the unbelievers, a war which would give the soldiers of Christ forgiveness for their sins and eternal reward.

INSERT - 8 7A (Y)

See H. Sachse, Hist. of Israel - pp 92-93 ft
 Cabinet - undersecret for ME Affairs
 P 99 - undersecret for ME Affairs
 Served as "messenger" between Britain and Zionist leadership
 See Bruhn - 1922 - Britain leads intl trade (1970) / Pre 1870 - France protected Pope, secular states

PHASE II - VATICAN'S AMBIVALENT SUPPORT OF ZIONISM/ISRAEL, 1917-1947

Sir Mark Sykes the British diplomat who negotiated the Sykes-Picot

Agreement of 1916 with France, and himself a distinguished Catholic

1 - A History of The Crusades, by Steven Runciman, Vol 1, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 32-3

At Sachar p 99
 "British protectorate
 over a Jewish
 homeland"
 p 98- Prot
 mystical veneration
 for OT

layman, went to Rome to sound out the Vatican on its attitude toward having Protestant Britain rather than France - which was officially entrusted by the Vatican as a protector of Catholic interests in the Levant - assume the protectorate over the Holy Land. On April 11, 1917, Sykes met with Msgr. Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII, 1939-58), who was then Under-secretary for Extraordinary Affairs at the ^{Vatican} ~~Papal~~ Secretariat of State. A few days later, he had an audience with Pope Benedict XV (1914-22). From these talks Sykes assumed that the Vatican was ready to accept Britain as the mandatory power in Palestine.

Sachar p 551
 1930-3

See
 N Cath
 Encycl
 + notes

(According to the Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel) (p. 1083), "Sykes used his influence as a distinguished Catholic layman to explain to Vatican authorities that Zionism would not clash with Christian or Catholic wishes concerning the holy places in Palestine."

Weizmann's most intimate collaborator in Alliance discussions (Sachar p 100)

See "The Question
 of Palestine, 1914-1918"
 by Is Friedman
 (1991)

At Sykes' suggestion, Pacelli received Nahum Sokolow on April 29, 1917, when Sokolow came to Rome on behalf of the Zionist Executive to seek Vatican support for the planned Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Pacelli was interested but insisted that the Zionists stay clear of an area extending well beyond the holy places. On May 1, Sokolow was

Named by Pacelli ~~IV~~

McCaughey p 281
 Merry del Val
 became Sect of
 Holy Office

received by the Papal Secretary of State, Pietro Cardinal Gasparri.

Gasparri also discussed the holy places and claimed for the Church a "reserved zone" (similar to the one provided for ⁱⁿ the Sykes-Picot Agreement), including not only Jerusalem but also Bethlehem, Nazareth, and its environs, Tiberias and Jericho. AS LONG AS THE VATICAN'S

1922-3

REQUIREMENTS WERE MET, GASPARI SAID TO SOKOLOW, THE HOLY SEE WISHED THE ZIONISTS WELL IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO SET UP A STATE IN PALESTINE. When Sokolow said that the Zionists wanted only an "autonomous home," GASPARRI ASSURED HIM THAT HE MIGHT COUNT ON THE SYMPATHY OF THE CHURCH. ^{\$}

*19 Sachwe - p. 101
P. Benedict XV evinced
a cordial friendship
was as tactical
as it was cynical
- a Brit-Sponsored
J. enclave in Palest.
at (erst) would forestall
a Russ C. in the
primacy*

On May 8, 1917, Sokolow was received in private audience by (1914-1922) Della Chiesa - trained diplomat from the XIII school/noble lineage - ^{wide contacts in Europe}
Benedict XV. Aware of Britain's interest in Zionism, the Pope listened attentively to Sokolow and declared that THE RETURN OF THE JEWS TO PALESTINE WAS A MIRACULOUS EVENT AND IN KEEPING WITH GOD'S WILL. As for the holy place, he said he had no doubt that a satisfactory agreement could be worked out. "YES, YES," he told Sokolow, "I BELIEVE WE SHALL BE GOOD NEIGHBORS."

The Pope also said:

"The problem of the Holy Places is for us of extraordinary importance. The holy rights must be protected. We will settle this between the Church and the Great Powers. It is necessary that you respect those rights in all their extent."

Sokolow gave assurance that the Zionists would respect the holy places, and the audience ended with mutual assurances of understanding. ¹

On the strength of Sokolow's report, Chaim Weizmann felt justified in telling a Zionist conference in London that the Church would not

L. Nathan Sokolow, History of Zionism, 2 Vol. (London: McMillan, Green & Co., 1919) Vol II, p 53.

Sir Mark Sykes (Herzl Yrbuch, 1958) p-4

Weizmann said 5 weeks after publication of the Balfour Declaration that "Sir Mark Sykes was the man who has done more than anybody else to obtain the (Balfour) Declaration from the Government" (p-4) (Speech in Manchester, Dec 9, 1917)

- Leopold M.S. Amery who like Sykes was a member of the War Cabinet in 1917, agreed with this evaluation when he said that "it was Sykes who by his restless vigor & profound faith brought us to a definite conclusion"

- General ^{Smyth} ~~Amery~~ in 1917 - Lord Milner

- RESULT OF GREAT COLLECTIVE EFFORT & DECISION OF BRITAIN'S LEADING STATESMEN AT THE TIME / Collective decision & responsibility

- HERZL who in England laid the foundations upon which Weizmann, Solomon & other Zionist leaders were able to obtain in 1917 the Balfour Declaration
In fact, this very assurance that Balfour & Weizmann could not have been possible without Herzl's ~~insistence~~ 2 & 3 yrs previously in Balfour's ^{first}

oppose Zionist aims in Palestine.

(Ambassador Menorah suggests that Sokolow, among other Zionist leaders, was "oversanguine" regarding the Vatican's attitude toward Zionism, suggesting that Sokolow missed the signals at his 1917 meeting with Pope Benedict XV.)

The issuance of the Balfour Declaration in November 1917 - due in

large measure to Sir Mark Sykes' "faith and energy" - and Gen. Edmund H. Allenby's conquest of Jerusalem (an energetic, hard-bitten cavalry officer) apparently stirred misgivings in the

Vatican concerning the safety of the holy places under the new regime in Palestine. The Vatican was apprehensive that Palestine would not be

placed under INTERNATIONAL RULE, as envisioned in the Sykes-Picot Agreement. By December 1917, Pope Benedict XV had expressed his concern to De Salis, the British Representative to the Holy See, lest THE JEWS

GAIN DIRECT CONTROL OVER PALESTINE'S AFFAIRS TO THE DETRIMENT OF CHRISTIAN INTERESTS.

When Sykes revisited Rome in the winter of 1918, he noted a marked change in the Vatican's attitude toward Zionism. HE NOW FOUND CARDINAL

GASPARRI THOROUGHLY UNSYMPATHETIC. On March 1, 1919, the Tablet published a denial of reports that the Pope had ever supported Zionism.

On March 10, 1919, while the peace conference was meeting in Paris, Pope Benedict told a secret consistory in Rome that "IT WOULD BE FOR US AND ALL CHRISTIAN A BITTER GRIEF IF UNBELIEVERS IN PALESTINE WERE PUT INTO A SUPERIOR OR MORE PRIVILEGED POSITION." Although the Pope did not

specify who the "unbelievers" were, he was evidently seeking to influence the peace conference to the end that JEWS WOULD NOT BE GIVEN A

✓ PERDOMINANT POSITION IN PALESTINE.

H. Sachar, Hist of Israel
p. 21 - British
millenarism

p. 48 - Weizmann's
efforts were
but successful, by mystical
veneration w. which
many devout Anglo-Saxon
Prot regarded OT
traditions, the children
of Israel & the
the Holy Land itself
- Lloyd George - 1914
- Balfour
- Jan Van Seters

Aug 1, 1917 -
P. Benedict XV
7 - pt. peace plan
to Allied powers, politically
repeated, great disappointment (N. C. H. Aug - P. Benedict XV - p. 286)

see Herzl
p. 2, 6
p. 4 - W

zone
of
conflict
Soviet

The Vatican was probably ready to accept a British Mandate, BUT WITH NO PRIVILEGES FOR THE ZIONISTS AND, PREFERABLY, WITH INTERNATIONAL STATUS FOR THE HOLY PLACES. The Pope had probably been influenced by the reports sent to him from England by Francis Cardinal Bourne, who had visited Palestine in that period and wrote anti-Zionist letters also to Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour and Prime Minister David Lloyd George. The British Government gave assurances to the Vatican on the safeguarding of Catholic interest^s in the holy places, in case Britain were to receive the mandate, but it seems that the VATICAN STILL PREFERRED THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF PALESTINE.

see H Sachar p 94

(The secret Sykes-Picot Agreement signed by Britain and France in May 1916, proposed the division of the Ottoman Empire between the three principal Entente Powers ^{Greece} Britain, France, ^{and Russia} claimed Mosul and Greater Syria (which it understood to include all Palestine), while Britain wanted to create an independent Arab state ^{within the former Ottoman territory} in the interior of Syria and Mesopotamia. The Sykes-Picot Agreement provided that Palestine, south of French-controlled Lebanon down to a line running from Gaza to the Dead Sea, was to be set apart as an "international zone" whose administration was to be decided after consultation with Russia and other Entente allies. The Vatican supported this plan for the internationalization of Palestine - at least for several years.)

²⁵
In April 1920, the San Remo Conference awarded the Palestine

Mandate ^{to} Great Britain, subject to the approval of the League of

Sachar - p 116 - there was no disagreement that Syria was to be allocated to France as a special mandatory responsibility, that Iraq was to be awarded to Britain, and that Palestine, too, now would become a British mandate. The Supreme Council of the Peace Conference formally validated this understanding at San Remo on April 25, 1920.

- p 119 - In entrusting Palestine to Britain, the Allied statesmen at San Remo incorporated into their allocation ^{over} the verbatim text of the Balfour Declaration. The basic moral support of the Western world appeared firmly established as a result.

Sacher-8-117- British wanted enlarged Palestine -13-

Nations. On April 26, 1920, the Vatican made known its fears that JEWISH ELEMENTS MIGHT BECOME PREDOMINANT IN PALESTINE UNDER BRITISH RULE. These fears were discussed in Catholic circles even in England, where the anti-Zionist Cardinal Bourne told a nationwide Catholic conference in Liverpool that "A NEW NON-CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE WAS BEING DELIBERATELY SET UP IN THE LAND WHENCE COUNTLESS GENERATIONS OF CHRISTENDOM HAD LONGER⁸ AND STRIVEN TO OUST A NON-CHRISTIAN POWER."

By this time the Vatican appeared to have been influenced by the FEAR OF COMMUNISM. In 1921 representatives of the Zionist movement visiting Rome were informed by a Vatican spokesman that the Holy See did not wish to "ASSIST THE JEWISH RACE, WHICH IS PERMEATED WITH A REVOLUTIONARY AND REBELLIOUS SPIRIT," TO GAIN CONTROL OVER THE HOLY LAND. The Pope clearly had been impressed by anti-Semitic reports that the Jewish pioneers ^{were} Bolshevists who were seeking to establish a Communist regime in Palestine.

In June 1921, Pope Benedict XV protested that THE CHRISTIANS IN PALESTINE WERE NOW WORSE OFF THAN UNDER TURKISH RULE AND CALLED ON THE GOVERNMENTS OF ALL CHRISTIAN STATES, CATHOLIC AND NON-CATHOLIC, TO MAKE A JOINT PROTEST^{TO} THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE HOLY SEE IN THE HOLY PLACES. He did this despite repeated assurances from the British that they would afford ample protection to the holy places and that, as Sir Ronald Storrs put it to the Pope, THE JEWS WOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED TO "DOMINATE" THE HOLY PLACES.

* The fear of Bolshevism in this period resulted in the Vatican's guiding the ^{Catholic} Central Party in Germany, under the influence of Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Nuncio to Berlin, ^{and} and Monsignor Ludwig Kaas of Bonn, Papal prelate, to ally themselves with the German National Party, ^{and} the most fanatical German imperialists who opposed democracy, liberalism, and supported dictatorship by the generals, specifically, General Ludenau, the first of modern dictators. Pope Pius XI, who developed a deep horror of socialism and Bolshevism while in Warsaw during WWI had 15,000 French soldiers, it formed an alliance with Mussolini in 1922 and steered the

Popes Benedict XV and Pius XI (1922-39) were further influenced against the British and the Jews by lurid reports from Msgr. Luigi Barlassina, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. Barlassina, WHO OVERLOOKED NO OPPORTUNITY TO SIDE WITH THE ARABS, TOLD ROMAN AND VATICAN AUDIENCES THAT THE BALFOUR DECLARATION HAD ENABLED THE JEWS TO COME OUT OPENLY WITH THEIR PLAN TO SET UP "THE EMPIRE OF ZION," that some kibbutzim in Palestine were run according to extreme Communist principles, and that Jerusalem alone now had 500 prostitutes.

In the spring of 1922, Weizmann arrived in Rome to help undo the damage caused by Barlassina's reports. He had two interviews with Cardinal Gasparri, who was still ^{Vatican} ~~Papal~~ Secretary of State. GASPARRI ASSURED WEIZMANN THAT THE VATICAN DID NOT OPPOSE A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE, PROVIDED THAT THE INTERESTS OF NON-JEWISH COMMUNITIES THERE WERE SAFEGUARDED AND THAT THE JEWS WERE NOT GIVEN A "PRIVILEGED POSITION" IN THE COUNTRY.

According to Weizmann's memoirs, Trial and Error, it seemed to him that Gasparri somehow considered the World Zionist Organization a branch of Britain's Palestine government. After Weizmann had reported to Gasparri on Jewish settlement and reconstruction work in Palestine, ~~Gasparri on Jewish settlement and reconstruction work in Palestine,~~ Gasparri remarked that he was not worried about Jewish settlement in the Holy Land. "It is your university that I fear," the Cardinal said, referring to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In a note to the

British Embassy, Gasparri stressed again that "THE HOLY SEE DOES NOT OPPOSE THE ACQUISITION BY THE JEWS IN PALESTINE OF EQUAL CIVIL RIGHTS" BUT THAT IT COULD NOT CONSENT TO GIVE THE JEWS A POSITION OF PREPONDERANCE LET ALONE AGREE TO THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE. ^{1) *}

In May 1922, Gasparri submitted a memorandum to the League of Nations Council, which was then about to ratify the British Mandate for Palestine, protesting that the CREATION OF A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE UNDER THE BALFOUR DECLARATION GAVE THE ZIONISTS "A PRIVILEGED POSITION." The theme was repeated on June 1 by L'Osservatore Romano, the semiofficial Vatican paper, which agreed to the British Mandate in principal but DEMANDED MODIFICATIONS IN THE DECLARATION BECAUSE ZIONISM WOULD BE DETERIMENTAL TO PEACE IN PALESTINE AND WOULD ROB THE NATIVE POPULATION OF ITS RIGHTS...

1925 (w. Wynn, keeper of keys, p 100) "Roman question was not yet solved, pope still did not recognize legitimacy of secular monarchy that replaced papacy as sovereign in Rome"

On Dec. 11, 1922, Pope Pius XI (1922-39) in an allocution at a secret consistory made a special reference to the question of the holy places and the rights of the Holy See, which SHOULD BE PROTECTED NOT ONLY AGAINST JEWS AND UNBELIEVERS BUT ALSO AGAINST ALL OTHER NON-CATHOLIC RELIGIONS. At a secret consistory on May 23, 1923, he declared that the Church ^{WOULD} defend the "undeniable, OBVIOUS AND OVERWHELMING RIGHTS OF CATHOLICISM TO THE HOLY PLACES IN PALESTINE." In a papal bull of May 1924, he again called for the solution of problem of the holy places IN ACCORDANCE WITH CATHOLIC INTERESTS.

N. Cath. Ency
Pax Christiana
(humanity united under scepter of X)
Catholic Action
vs totalitarian systems?
Fascism, Communism
Anti-ecumenical
New era of CONCORDATS
Sovereign State of V. City

Persuit of RC, Spain, Mexico

The protection of the interests of the Roman Catholic Church was the central concern of the Holy See. Thus, on January 20, 1923, Cardinal Gasparri struck an agreement with Mussolini that the Vatican would disband the Partito Popolare, the Catholic party organized by Sicilian priest Don Sturzo, which opposed Fascist dictatorship, in return for the protection of the rights of the Church in Italy. Mussolini agreed and Don Sturzo's party was disbanded by the Vatican on June 9, 1923. The Vatican then pledged complete support to Mussolini, declaring he a "true man sent by Providence." Three years later, in 1926, Pope Pius XI began negotiations with Mussolini on the Lateran Concordat. Signed on February 11, 1929, the Lateran agreement recognized Catholicism as "sole religion of the state." It also provided that the Vatican City would be recognized as an independent sovereign state, and that Catholicism would be the official religion in the schools. Mussolini also promised large financial compensation to

When Benito Mussolini's ^{S/}Facist Party first assumed power in Italy (October 1922), its attitude toward Zionism was cool. ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS, THE VATICAN EXERTED PRESSURE ON THE MUSSOLINI GOVERNMENT TO TAKE AN~~A~~ ANTI-ZIONIST STAND. Later, Marchese Alberto Theodol, the Italian Representative to the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission, assumed an ANTI-ZIONIST POSITION, claiming to PROTECT THE
✓ RIGHTS OF THE CATHOLICS IN PALESTINE. In 1927 Mussolini^told Victor
✓ Jacobson that he had to take into account ^ethe feelings of his "neighbor" (i.e. the Vatican), WHICH WAS IMPLACABLY OPPOSED TO ZIONIST ASPIRATIONS.

Meanwhile, VATICAN OFFICIALS AND thNIGHTLY PLACED CHURCH CIRCLES CONTINUED THEIR CAMPAIGN AGAINST ZIONISM. Barlassina, now a cardinal and papal representative in Jerusalem, alleged that the ZIONISTS WERE DRIVING ARAB WORKERS OUT AND REPLACING THEM WITH THOUSANDS OF THEIR
✓ "CORELIGIONISTS ¹⁶FROM RUSSIA."

of ✓ Late in November 1929, L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO CARRIED AN EDITORIAL HEADLINED, "THE JEWISH DANGER THREATENING THE ENTIRE WORLD." The Oct. 3, 1936, issue ^{of}the Jesuit paper, Civiltà Cattolica, which was close to the Holy See, said that "THE JEWS CONSTITUTE A SERIOUS AND PERMANENT DANGER TO SOCIETY..." Another issue ^{of}to that year said, "Zionism might offer a way out, but the creation of A JEWISH STATE WOULD INCREASE THE JEWISH MENACE." IN AN EDITORIAL (APRIL 2, 1938) THE SAME PAPER SUGGESTED THAT THE BEST THING FOR THE JEWS TO DO WAS ^{to}THE RELINQUISH

THEIR CLAIMS ON PALESTINE AND, IF POSSIBLE, LEAVE THE COUNTRY ALTOGETHER. CIVILIA CATTOLICA WAS TO BE SINGULARLY CONSISTENT IN ITS OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM AND LATER TO ISRAEL. (IT HAD A RECORD OF ANTI-SEMITISM, GOING BACK TO THE 1880s, WHEN IT PUBLISHED OUTRIGHT ACCUSATIONS OF RITUAL MURDER AGAINST THE JEWS.)

The Vatican's firm opposition to a Jewish National Home in Palestine was reiterated forcefully between the summer of 1943 and the summer of 1944, when the Second World War was clearly going the Allies' way. According to Prof. Silvio Ferrari*, Cardinal Luigi Maglioni, Vatican Secretary of State, wrote a letter on May 18, 1943, to Amleto ~~to~~ Cardinal Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate in Washington, instructing him to inform the U.S. Government that Catholics throughout the world "COULD NOT BUT BE WOUNDED IN THEIR RELIGIOUS PRIDE SHOULD PALESTINE BE HANDED OVER TO THE JEWS OR BE PLACED VIRTUALLY UNDER THEIR CONTROL."

In what will come as a surprise to many Jews (and Christians), Msgr. Angelo Roncalli, then Apostolic Delegate to Istanbul and later Pope John XXIII (1958-63), held similar but less hawkish opinions as expressed in a letter to Cardinal Maglioni, Sept. 4, 1943. This would show that the Vatican Secretary of State's line met with the approval of the Vatican diplomats most actively involved in helping save Jews during the Nazi holocaust. Prof. Ferrari comments that "this leads us to the conclusion backed by other documents' that the ^{Crisis} Vatican's OPPOSITION TO THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE IN THE HOLY LAND WAS NOT CAUSED BY

* "The Vatican, Israel, and the Jerusalem Question (1943-1984) by Silvio Ferrari, The Middle East Journal, Vol 39, No. 2, Spring 1985.

ANTI-SEMITIC FEELING BUT RATHER BY THE VATICAN'S DETERMINATION TO PROTECT CATHOLIC INTERESTS IN PALESTINE. VATICAN OPPOSITION TO ARAB DOMINATION IN PALESTINE ✓

→ The Vatican's resistance to a "Jewish Home" did not mean it favored Arab domination in the Holy Land. In April 1944, the Vatican's Secretary of State, Cardinal Maglione, expressed to Myron C. Taylor, President Roosevelt's personal representative to the Pope, the Vatican's concern over the plan to create a Pan-Arab confederation (the Arab League) in the Middle East, which they felt would put the Christian community's future in "an uncertain and precarious position."

The Vatican urged that the Great Powers intervene to insure that "the basic legislation of the planned Confederation would clearly give non-Muslims freedom of opinion, freedom of worship and ^{parity} ~~parity~~ with Muslims as regards ^{SING} ~~civil~~ rights and duties." Maglione said that these ^{SING} ~~conditions~~ were a ^{single} ~~single~~ ^{one} ~~one~~ non for making this plan "at least partly acceptable."

The Vatican feared that either Arab or Jewish domination would prejudice Catholic interests in Palestine. These interests, the Holy See believed, would be better protected by a solution where "neither Jews nor Arabs, but a Third Power, should have control in the Holy Land." The Vatican thus favored either a continuation of the British Mandate (or a mandate given to another "Christian power") or the

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF ALL PALESTINE UNDER UN SUPERVISION. Either solution meant that control of the Holy Land would be safely in Christian hands. They believed this would avert the danger of the Arab-Jewish conflict degenerating into open war and the possible threat of irreparable destruction to the Holy Places.

Between 1945 and 1947, this proposed solution to the Palestine question was supported by Archbishop^{Francis} Spellman of New York and his adviser on "Palestinian affairs," Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon. The Vatican shared their views but decided to make no public statement about a plan which was firmly opposed by both the Arab countries and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The Vatican followed an extremely reserved line and avoided any official statement of its position on the Palestine conflict.

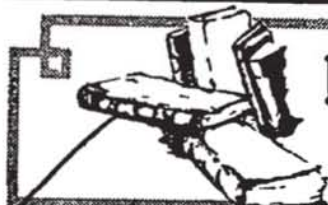
During the final years of the British mandate, the Vatican had apparently become impressed with the humanitarian work the Zionists had performed in Palestine, particularly in the resettlement of refugees from the Nazi holocaust. As indicated above, the Holy See now favored the "status quo," namely, the continuation of the Jewish National Home under the British Mandate, or the internationalization proposal. Some circles in the Vatican showed signs of supporting the Zionist "establishment" under Weizmann, whom they regarded as the link between the Zionist movement and the British authorities. They were, however, deeply worried about the civil strife waged by splinter groups such as

the Stern group (Lohame Herut Israel) which they feared might result in damage to holy places.

✓ On April 10, 1945, Moshe Shertok (Sharett), then head of the Jewish Agency's Political Department, had an audience with Pius XII (1939-1958.) Shertok told the Pope that the murder of 6 million Jews by the Nazis had been possible only because the Jews had no state of their own, that a radical change must take place in the life of the Jewish people after the war. Shertok said that he knew of no conflict of interest between Zionist aspirations in Palestine and the interests of Christianity and Catholicism there, and that the Jewish State to be set up in Palestine would undertake to protect the Christian holy places. He then told Pius XII that the Jews hoped for the "moral support" of the Catholic Church for "our renewed existence in Palestine." The Pope's questions and answers were reportedly courteous but noncommittal.

Arab countries were now beginning to exert heavy pressure on Pope Pius XII to mobilize the Catholic Church against the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. On Aug. 3, 1946, Pius XII was visited by a delegation from the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, which requested his intervention against the Zionists. The Pope's reply was as follows:

"We deplore all resorts to force and violence from whatever quarter they come. Thus we also deplored repeatedly in the past the persecution that fanatic anti-Semitism unleashed against the Hebrew people.



JEWISH PRESS

Book Review

***Collusion Across The Jordan:
King Abdullah, The
Zionist Movement
And The Partition Of Palestine***

By Avi Shlaim

Published By Columbia University Press

Reviewed by Prof. Howard L. Adelson

This is a long volume which tells us nothing that was not well known before it was written. Nevertheless it is written in an interesting and lucid style even though it suffers from a somewhat unsympathetic treatment of the Zionist movement.

Abdullah was clearly a very devout individual who was also a puppet of the British in the Near East. His control of the Transjordanian region of mandatory Palestine was engineered by the British to the detriment of Jewish claims to the entire mandatory territory. Abdullah, however, had a scenario of his own for the development of the Near East. The rivalry between the Hashemites, who had led the Arab revolt against the Turks during the First World War, and the Saudi rulers of Nejd in the Arabian peninsula was one of the stimuli for Abdullah's policy. When Ibn Saud expelled Abdullah's father from his kingdom in the Arabian peninsula, Abdullah became the senior Hashemite ruler. It was impossible to eject Ibn Saud from his conquest of the Arabian peninsula, but Abdullah had an alternate plan which had originated after the First World War for the creation of a Greater Syria which would include most of man-

datory Palestine, Transjordanian Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and perhaps even Iraq. Such a state would dominate the Arab world, and Abdullah never lost sight of that goal. His relationship with the Zionists was motivated solely by his desire to achieve that aim.

For the Zionists, on the other hand, the goal, at least after the adoption of the Biltmore Program in 1942, was the establishment of a sovereign Jewish state in a portion of Palestine. Zionist leadership at the Jewish Agency was desperately searching for any Arab leader who would be willing to envision the creation of such a Jewish state. Abdullah wanted support for his plans in terms of money and public relations, and he felt that the Zionists could provide that assistance. Even on the basis of the material presented by Shlaim, which, as I have said, was well known, there was no real collusion to achieve a common goal. There were a series of individual short term agreements, most of which failed as far as the Zionist goal was concerned, which eventually led to King Abdullah seizing control of the bulk of the territory intended for the Palestinian Arab state. The establishment of Israel was never dependent upon the agreement of King Abdullah. That was clear from the beginning. Abdullah merely used the Jews for his purposes.

Collusion is clearly the wrong word to use in describing the relationship between Abdullah and the Zionists. Each was following its own plan. There was never a complete, full understanding and plan to be carried out jointly.

"WE ALWAYS OBSERVED (AN) ATTITUDE OF PERFECT IMPARTIALITY... AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO CONFORM TO IT IN THE FUTURE.

"But it is clear that this IMPARTIALITY, WHICH OUR APOSTOLIC MISSION IMPOSES ON US AND WHICH PLACES US ABOVE THE CONFLICTS THAT ARE RENDING HUMAN SOCIETY ESPECIALLY AT THIS DIFFICULT MOVEMENT, CANNOT SIGNIFY INDIFFERENCE. (We will) endeavor that justice and peace in Palestine may become a constructive reality, that the order springing from the efficient cooperation of all interested parties may be created and each of the parties now in conflict may have a guarantee of security of existence as well as physical and moral living conditions on which may be established a normal situation of material and cultural welfare."

VATICAN'S VIEWS TOWARD PARTITION PLAN, 1947

In April 1947, Great Britain submitted the Palestine issue to the United Nations. There was now no chance that Britain's mandate in the Holy Land would be extended. Among other factors, doubts arose regarding the wisdom of entrusting Palestine to UN administration for fear of inviting Soviet penetration into the Middle East. The Vatican was now faced with an alternative: (a) a divided Holy Land resulting from the creation of a Jewish state and an Arab state, or (b) the creation of a single state in Palestine representing both sides but with an Arab majority.

The first proposal was clearly unacceptable to major Catholic leadership. Archbishop Spellman openly criticized the "Partition Plan," saying, "The Catholic Church strongly opposes any form of partition, primarily on the ground that the whole land is sacred to Christ." (Cited in a memorandum from U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, George Wadsworth, in a memorandum to Loy W. Henderson, Jan. 13, 1947.) Key officials in the Vatican Secretary of State's office agreed in principle with these opinions but withheld making them official. That was due to the fact, according to Prof. Ferrarri, the Vatican followed its traditional policy of "reserve," which counseled against any explicit public statements that "might well have conflicted with Jewish aspirations for national independence."

At the same time, Middle Eastern Catholic communities and, more discreetly, missionary organizations working in the Holy Land, advocated the creation of a single Arab-controlled state in Palestine. In the Vatican, these positions were welcomed warmly in some ecclesiastical circles close to the Sacred Oriental Congregation, which was particularly aware of the implications of the Palestine issue for the future of Catholic missionary activities throughout the Middle East. Despite the pressure placed on the Pope and the Holy see by these groups, and despite "the existence of objectively significant factors favoring the Arab" (Ferrarri), the Vatican Secretary of State's Office did not declare itself in favor of an Arab State in Palestine.

The reluctance to do so is explained (a) by the belief that the Arab proposals, opposed both by the United States and the USSR, would not have been approved by the UN General Assembly, and (b) most especially, the Vatican's hopes for the INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM. The latter proposal was an important feature of the UNSCOP (United Nations Special Committee on Palestine) plan to divide Palestine approved in the summer of 1947.

Sachar - p. 293

From the official statements made to UNSCOP by the Custodia di Terra Santa, the most important Catholic organization working in Palestine, and by the Catholic Near East Welfare Association (whose president was Archbishop Spellman and whose national secretary was Msgr. McMahon) on June 5, 1947, the Vatican at first appeared to be seeking safeguards that did not necessarily mean making Jerusalem a "corpus separatum." But clearly the Vatican was extremely pleased when this solution was supported by the majority of UNSCOP. The Vatican believed that a "corpus separatum" gave the best protection possible for the Holy Places as well as the Catholic community in Palestine. In addition, the Holy See indicated that it provided a legal and institutional framework incorporating the universal meaning of the Holy Places, and prevented Jerusalem from becoming part of a Jewish or Arab State. These principles, it was asserted, were deeply rooted in the Catholic world.

from

The possibility of obtaining an international status for the City of Jerusalem led the Vatican Secretariat of State not to oppose the plan

to divide the Holy Land in 1947. (At the same time, the Vatican did not openly oppose the idea of creating a single Arab-controlled State in Palestine, fearing that would compromise good relations with Arab countries or would expose Catholic communities to dangerous reprisals from Arabs should the UN favor the latter solution.) In this decisive year in the Middle East question, it is therefore correct to say that THE VATICAN WAS ~~OPPOSED~~ ^{NOT} OPPOSED TO THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE, IF THE DIVISION OF PALESTINE ENSURED JERUSALEM'S INTERNATIONALIZATION.

When the partition of Palestine came to a vote at the United Nations on Nov. 19, 1947, MOST OF THE CATHOLIC COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD BODY APPROVED THE ACTION THAT CLEARED THE WAY FOR THE CREATION OF THE JEWISH STATE. The Latin American countries, together with other Catholic countries like Belgium, France, Luxembourg, and the Philippines, were hardly likely to vote so overwhelmingly for the partition of the Holy Land unless they knew that the Vatican did not oppose this solution. This position was never subsequently abandoned -despite some interim uncertainty in 1947-48 caused by the Vatican's interest in the U.S. proposal to drop the Partition Plan and to place the whole of Palestine under UN "temporary trusteeship."

THE VATICAN, ISRAEL, AND JERUSALEM - 1947-49

On December 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly, acting on the

proposal by the UNSCOP majority, approved the division of Palestine into an Arab and Jewish State. The UN body also established that Jerusalem and its environs were to constitute a "corpus separatum" directly under UN control. As a result of the attack by five Arab nations on the newly-proclaimed Jewish State, these provisions for the Partition Plan and for Jerusalem and the Holy Places were not implemented. During the hostilities, Jordanian and Israeli troops respectively took up positions in the "old city" - where the majority of Holy Places were located, and the "new city" - where much of the city's administration was situated.

The protracted Jordanian and Israeli occupation challenged the plans for Jerusalem's internationalization advocated in the Nov. 29, 1947, UN Resolution. In the face of that reality, and with a debate imminent in the UN on the Palestine question, the Holy See decided to end its STRATEGY OF SILENCE and to make public its position.

Pope Pius XII, who scrupulously avoided taking sides in the conflict and who is said to have favored the continuation of a mandatory regime in order to assure the safety of the Holy Places, issued his official reaction to the war in three Papal encyclicals. The first, Auspicia Quaedam, (May ¹⁰~~25~~/1948), expressed concern for the Holy Places and offered a prayer that the "situation in Palestine be at long last settled justly."

The second, In multiplicibus curis (Oct. 24, 1948), was promulgated when it was clear that the Israelis were winning. Pius XII urged the giving of "an international character to Jerusalem and its vicinity (...) as a better guarantee for the safety of the sanctuaries under the present circumstances." In that encyclical, the Pope mentioned that, speaking before a "delegation of distinguished Arabs" who "came to render us homage," that

"Once war was declared, without abandoning the attitude of impartiality imposed on us by our apostolic mission, which places us above the conflicts which agitate human society, we did not fail to bend our efforts... for the triumph of justice and peace in Palestine and for the respect and safeguarding of the holy places."

(The Rev. J.M.. Kelly, chairman of the Anglican Commission on Roman Catholic relations, has written in his just-published, The Oxford Dictionary of Popes, that "Pius XII saw himself as the Pope of peace... (but) his efforts to remain 'strictly neutral' during World War II led to sharp criticisms of his failure to speak ~~out~~ strongly against the Nazis. ^{Despise} ~~During~~ the claims of Pius defenders that he did speak out, "what remains clear, "Father Kelly writes, "is that the veiled or generalized language traditional to the curia was not a suitable instrument for dealing with cynically planned world domination and genocide.")

In his third encyclical, In ~~R~~edemptoris ~~N~~ostri (April 15, 1949)

which appeared two days after the signing of the armistice agreement, the Pope sought to "persuade the rulers of nations, and those whose duty it is to settle this important question, to accord to Jerusalem and its surroundings a juridical status." He then pleaded^d that

"...ALL RIGHTS TO THE HOLY PLACES WHICH CATHOLICS DURING MANY CENTURIES HAVE ACQUIRED AND TIME AND AGAIN DEFENDED VALIANTLY, AND WHICH OUR PREDECESSORS HAVE SOLEMNLY AND EFFECTIVELY VINDICATED, SHOULD BE PRESERVED INVIOLE..."

On May 14, 1948, L'Osservatore Romano, declared:

"MODERN ZIONISM IS NOT THE TRUE HEIR OF BIBLICAL ISRAEL, BUT A SECULAR STATE...THEREFORE THE HOLY LAND AND ITS SACRED SITE BELONG TO CHRISTIANITY, THE TRUE ISRAEL."

In reporting on the War of Independence, the official Jesuit publication, Civiltà Cattolica, made its sympathies clear. It referred to Israeli setbacks as "Arab victories" and to Israeli victories as "advances." Only Egyptian and Jordanian communiques were quoted in full. In its June 19, 1948, issue the paper reported that "two Zionist emissaries" has been caught trying to poison the wells in Gaza.

The publication of the Papal encyclicals at this time, according to Prof. Ferrarri, resulted from acute concern over the damage suffered by

the Catholic sanctuaries and institutions in the Holy City. They were also animated by the hope that, once internationalized, Jerusalem might become the place where thousands of Palestinian refugees - including a sizeable ⁿcontigent of Palestinian Christians - would wish to settle.

France now exerted pressures on the Vatican expecting that it would be able to exploit opportunities opened up by the international administration of Jerusalem as a means of regaining its influence it once had in the Middle East as "watchdog of Catholic interests." The French Ambassador to the Vatican thus was given instructions by Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, to "demand that the Pontiff take an official position favoring the internationalization of Jerusalem and the Holy Places."

In September 1948, two Israeli emissaries - Dr. Jacob ^HPerzog and Dr. Chaim Wardi - undertook a mission to Rome to discuss the future of Jerusalem and the Holy Places. In January 1949, Msgr. McMahon visited Palestine to pursue these discussions. Both missions failed to reach any agreements. This led the Vatican to renew its demands for an international regime for Jerusalem. These failures also stimulated Pope Pius XII to publish his second encyclical, In Redemptoris Nostri, (see p. 15), in which he invited the CATHOLIC WORLD TO RUSH TO THE DEFENSE OF THE HOLY PLACES AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM. ^S

The Pope's appeal was taken up by the Catholics in many parts of

the world, particularly in the United States and France. In the United States, Cardinal Spellman approached President Truman directly and from May to August 1949, there was a lengthy exchange of letters between the two through which Spellman hoped to convince Truman of the "necessity of placing Jerusalem and its environs beyond the control of any local group." (Italics mine.)

Despite a second mission by McMahon to Palestine in the summer of 1949 and a final attempt in Rome in November 1949 undertaken by Jacob Herzog, the Vatican and Israel failed to reach agreement and they began the 4th session of the UN General Assembly in open disagreement on the Jerusalem issue.

Following a fiercely contested debate, the UN adopted on Dec. 9, 1949, an Australian resolution calling for the TERRITORIAL INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM. The resolution was opposed by Jordan and Israel, the United States and the United Kingdom, among the Great Powers. It was supported by the Arab bloc (excepting Jordan), the Communist bloc (which Prof. Ferrarri said "saw internationalization of Jerusalem as a CHANCE TO ENTER MIDDLE EAST POLITICS") and the majority of Catholic countries, "no doubt heavily influenced by the Vatican."

That action further stiffened Israel's and Jordan's positions. They intensified their negotiations to find an agreement based on Jerusalem's division and accelerated the integration of the sections of

Jerusalem they controlled into their respective states.

THE VATICAN AND ISRAEL - 1949-~~1966~~ 1967

In the spring of 1949, when the State of Israel sought admission to the United Nations, several Catholic countries opposed its application on the ground that Israel had "failed to carry out the full internationalization scheme" proposed by the United Nations for Jerusalem. No such accusation was made against Jordan, which had MOST OF THE HOLY PLACES IN ITS TERRITORY AND HAD REFUSED EVEN TO CONSIDER RELINQUISHING ITS RULE OVER THESE PLACES AND OVER THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM.

The Israel Parliament proclaimed Jerusalem ^{as} its capital and transferred its headquarters and main government offices there. The King of Jordan, worried about the rise of dangerous opposition to his rule from Amman, appointed a Supreme Custodian of the Holy Places in Jerusalem.

The Holy See refused to recognize any part of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, or the State of Israel itself. The Papal Delegate to Palestine resided in the Arab sector of Jerusalem, and the VATICAN EXERTED PRESSURE ON CATHOLIC STATES TO ESTABLISH THEIR EMBASSIES AND LEGATIONS IN OR NEAR TEL AVIV, RATHER THAN IN JERUSALEM.

(As recently as July 2, 1986, the head of the U.S. Catholic bishops called on President Ronald Reagan to convince the U.S. Senate to drop legislation that ^{u/} could result in the moving of the U.S. Embassy in Israel

& see Dean Acheson on U.S. diplomatic representation to Holy See - "no evidence of anything substantive"

from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Bishop James Malone, ^{then} president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, in a letter to President Reagan, urged him to ask Sen. Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina, to withdraw an amendment on the embassy transfer. The amendment has been proposed for pending legislation on strengthening diplomatic security in the face of terrorism.

(Terming the Helms' amendment "very dangerous," Bishop Malone wrote: "The effect of the amendment could force the transfer of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. I know that previous efforts to achieve this objective have been opposed by your administration and I write to request your leadership in opposing this very dangerous amendment.")

(The U.S. Catholic Conference, the bishops' public policy arm, in 1984 opposed measures to move the embassy "because we believed such a unilateral move would fail to address the special significance Jerusalem holds for Moslems, Jews and Christians and it would present yet another obstacle to progress toward a Middle East peace. Our position, then as now," he wrote, "has been guided by the overall position of the Holy See on Jerusalem.") (National Catholic News Service, July 7, 1986.)

In 1950 new discussions and negotiations took place, at first centering on the Garreau plan which proposed internationalization of a limited area of Jerusalem, but including all the Christian Holy Places.

Subsequently, a draft statute was drawn up ^{by} the Trusteeship Council based on guidelines in the Dec. 9, 1949 resolution which had reaffirmed the internationalization of all Jerusalem. Neither proposal received sufficient support of the UN General Assembly which completed its work in Dec. 1950 without adopting any resolution regarding Jerusalem.

Only after it became obvious that the Jewish State was viable and vigorous, and that the United Nations was incapable of enforcing its resolutions regarding the internationalization of Jerusalem and the holy places, did THE VATICAN MAKE ITS FIRST TENTATIVE ATTEMPTS AT A RAPPROACHMENT WITH THE ISRAELIS, IF NOT WITH THE STATE OF ISRAEL. On March 27, 1952, Pope Pius XII received Moshe Sharett, now Israel's Foreign Minister, in a private unofficial audience. (See p. 11 for report on first audience.) Sharett assured the Pope that Israel would respect Christian rights. The Pope did not take any stand on the subjects raised by Sharett. In the years that followed, Israel was visited by a number of eminent Catholics including some Latin American prelates, who subsequently spoke in highly complimentary terms of what they had seen in the country. A growing number of Catholic priests began the serious study of modern Hebrew. In 1955, a group of Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans spent six months in a intensive Hebrew-language course, studying side-by-side with new Jewish immigrants.

Vatican authorities were impressed by Israel's attitude toward the holy places. In November 1955, Israel's Ministry of Religious Affairs

presented to Msgr. Antonio Vergani, the Latin Patriarchal Representative in Israel, a check in final compensation for war damage to Catholic institutions. In a formal letter to the Israel government (Nov. 16, 1955), Vergani thanked the government for the "CONSTANT ASSISTANCE I WAS GIVEN IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE VARIOUS QUESTIONS OUTSTANDING BETWEEN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL WITHIN THE LATTER'S TERRITORY."



~~8184/IRD-8~~

~~August 4, 1986 /smm~~

THE official ~~XXXXXX~~ Vatican, however, still seemed reluctant to mention the State of Israel by name. In May 1955, several months prior to Vergani's letter, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra had been granted an audience by Pope Pius XII and had given him a private concert as "a gesture of gratitude for the help the Church had given to Jewish victims of Nazism." In its review of the concert, L'Osservatore Romano simply said that the Pope had addressed "Jewish musicians of fourteen different nationalities." Not a word was mentioned about the actual nationality of the players.

The accession of Pope John XXIII in 1958 (1963) inaugurated an era of liberalization in the attitudes of the Catholic Church. The new Pope, formerly Angelo Cardinal Roncalli, had maintained cordial relations with Jews, and, on his election, exchanged messages of goodwill with the President and Chief Rabbi of Israel. His coronation was attended by Eliyahu Sasson, then Israel's Ambassador to Italy, who participated in the ceremonies as a "special delegate of the government of Israel." In 1962 Saul Colbi, Director of the Department for Christian Communities of the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs, attended the opening ceremonies of the Vatican Council.

The Vatican still did not establish official diplomatic relations with the State of Israel. To no small extent, this was motivated by FEAR OF ARAB REPRISALS AGAINST CATHOLIC COMMUNITIES OR INSTITUTIONS IN ARAB LANDS. The extent of the pressure the Arab states were capable of exerting can best be seen from what transpired during the Vatican Council, which, begun by POPE John XXIII and continued by his successor, Paul VI, met in four separate sessions from 1962 to 1965. (See my paper on Vatican Council II and JEWISH-Christian Relations, available from the American Jewish Committee.)

See NT paper on AJH ch 4 & v II

When the 1963 session discussed a proposed "Declaration on the Jews" repudiating the deicide charge of collective Jewish guilt for the Crucifixion, the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, United Arab Republic, warned that such a statement were ^{approved} ~~approved~~. "we shall have to face the music from the Arab nations." He asserted that to admit that the Jews had not been guilty in the death of Jesus would mean that they had a right to their Homeland after all, and this the Arabs could not tolerate. Such warnings, combined with religious opposition from conservative and several openly anti-Semitic clerics, prevented that session from taking up the statement.

During the October 1964 session, when the statement was discussed again, the Arab League countries instructed their diplomatic representatives in Rome to contact the cardinals and bishops and make plain to them the political implications of a pro-Jewish declaration on the part of the Council. Arab newspapers warned that the matter of the Jewish declaration would be raised at the conference of leaders of nonaligned nations that was meeting in Cairo at the time. When the Council gave preliminary approval to a strongly worded statement condemning anti-Jewish discrimination and declaring that the Church rejected the deicide charge against the Jews, Foreign Minister Kadri Toukan of Jordan said that the act would encourage Israel to "continue its aggressive policy." Ten Christian members of the Jordanian Parliament sent a message to Pope Paul calling the statement a "stab in the heart of Christianity."

Two days after the passage of the pro-Jewish statement, the Pope, in an effort to pacify the Arabs, arranged to meet with Charles Helou, the Christian President of Lebanon. Augustin Cardinal Bea, President of the Vatican Secretariat of Christian Unity, in

a front-page editorial in L'Osservatore Romano, stressed the purely religious significance of the declaration, denying that it had any political aims or intentions. The statement was finally ratified when the Vatican Council closed in October 1965, and was a modified version of the draft declaration passed the year before.

In January 1964, Pope Paul made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. After arriving in Jordan on January 4, he spent January 5 in Israel, visiting Megiddo, Nazareth, Tiberias, and Capernaum, repeatedly announcing that he had come strictly as a pilgrim to worship at the holy places there. The Arab world exploited the occasion for propaganda purposes. Reporters arriving in Jordan from all over the world to cover the Pope's visit were given kits from the Jordanian Office of Information containing violently anti-Jewish material. The Arabic version of the Jordan radio's response to the Pope's message declared that "two thousand years ago the Jews crucified Christ and fifteen years ago they attacked the people of PALESTINE...THE Jews are the enemies of God and of all religions in the world."

In his response to an address of welcome from President Zalman Shazar, who met the Pope as he entered Israel, Pope Paul referred to the President as "Your Excellency" and expressed his thanks to the "authorities" who had been kind to him, but he never referred to "Israel" or to a "Jewish State." At the same time, he instructed Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, who had accompanied him on the journey, to kindle memorial lights and to recite a prayer in the Memorial Chamber in Yad Vashem. When he left, Pope Paul VI told the Israeli Chief of Protocol that "we saw today a living people at work, a calm and serene people." He also accepted a medallion with the words "State of Israel" engraved upon it in Hebrew, and said,

"Shalom, shalom" in Hebrew.

THE VATICAN AND JERUSALEM - AFTER 1967

Jerusalem's unification under Israeli control in 1967 led to a resumed debate which had produced no significant result since the beginning of the 1950s. Following Israel's victory in the Six-Day War, Pope Paul VI at a consistory held on June 28, 1967, called for the INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM. According to the Vatican spokesman who released the report of the consistory to the New York Times, Israel's assurance that it would afford all faiths free access to the holy places was not enough to satisfy the Vatican. On June 9, 1967, Mgr. Vallance the Vatican's official spokesman, forcefully and clearly reaffirmed its traditional position based on the TERRITORIAL INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE ENTIRE CITY. He stated that "the UN resolutions of November 1947 were and are in accord with the wishes of the Holy See." A few days later the Vatican observer at the UN circulated a document declaring that the Vatican was "convinced that the only solution which offered a sufficient guarantee for the protection of Jerusalem and of its Holy Places is to place the city and its vicinity under an INTERNATIONAL REGIME." He further stated that "the term 'internationalization' in its proper sense means a SEPARATE TERRITORY, A 'CORPUS SEPARATUM' SUBJECT TO AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME." (caps mine.)

On June 30, 1967, a group of Latin American countries inspired by the Vatican, presented a draft resolution designed to support the INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM, but this did not obtain a sufficient majority to be accepted by the General Assembly. That failure indicated that the majority of the nations represented at the UN no longer considered this solution viable.

The Vatican apparently was now willing to come to terms with the new situation created by Israel's victory. A number of meetings were held in Rome between Ehad Avriel, Israeli Ambassador to Italy, and Vatican

officials, including the Pope, which led to the decision to receive an Israeli emissary in the Vatican bearing a message from Eshkol for Paul VI. It was also agreed that a Vatican representative would be sent immediately afterwards to Israel "to get first-hand knowledge of the situation and the attitude of the local authorities."

In July 1967, a series of meetings was ^{held} had in Jerusalem between Prime Minister Eshkol and Msgr. Angelo Felici, the Vatican Under-Secretary for Extraordinary Affairs. At the end of this mission a joint communique, signed by Msgr. Felici and Dr. Jacob Herzog, Director General of the Prime Minister's Office, on July 11, recorded that ~~the~~ discussion had taken place regarding "a number of possible formulae that might be taken into consideration for the purposes of an acceptable solution of the important issue connected with the Holy Places."

Shortly after a statement circulated by the Israeli Foreign Ministry further stated that the parties had discussed the possibility of drawing up a STATUTE FOR THE HOLY PLACES "without prejudice to the acquired rights of the various communities" based on "a satisfactory legal formula designed to give the Holy Places status comparable, in rights and immunity, to that of diplomatic missions." The joint communique described the talks as having been marked by "cordiality and mutual understanding."

VATICAN RECONSIDERATIONS

The failure of the Latin American resolution at the UN, and the Israeli government's willingness to open negotiations regarding the status of the Holy Places led the Vatican to reconsider its position.

From August 1967, the Vatican's position became more elastic and indefinite. Its demand for a specially ^{ry} internationally guaranteed statute for Jerusalem and the Holy Places was no longer accompanied by the usual references to the territorial internationalization of the city.

Pope Paul VI appeared to make this explicit in an important allocution on December 22, 1967, which stressed the two features that the Vatican considered "essential and impossible to evade" in any solution to the problems of Jerusalem and the Holy Places:

"The first concerns the Holy Places properly so-called and considered as such by the three great monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. It is a matter of guaranteeing freedom of worship, respect for, preservation of, and access to the Holy Places, PROTECTED BY SPECIAL IMMUNITIES THANKS TO A SPECIAL STATUTE, WHOSE OBSERVATION WOULD BE GUARANTEED BY AN INSTITUTION INTERNATIONAL IN CHARACTER, TAKING PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORIC AND RELIGIOUS PERSONALITY OF JERUSALEM. The second aspect of the question refers to the free enjoyment of the legitimate civil and religious rights of persons, residences and activities of ALL COMMUNITIES present on the territory of Palestine."

Thus, the Pope spelled out the three features needed to be incorporated in any formula replacing that of Jerusalem's territorial internationalization - on which the Vatican no longer insists:

- (1) the protection of the Holy Places and the HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE CITY,
- (2) the INTERNATIONAL NATURE OF THE STATUTE which would have to be applicable to both the Holy Places and Jerusalem, and
- (3) guarantees regarding the civil and religious rights of the communities in Palestine.

The first feature - "the historical and religious character" of the city - indicates a refusal to accept a solution based ~~on~~ only on the extraterritorial nature of the Holy Places, which, although protecting adequately the Holy Places themselves could not provide any guarantee against changes resulting, for example from town-planning and architectural innovations which might change the sacred character of the entire city.

(UNESCO Resolution 3.343, adopted October 1968, reflected these Vatican concerns by referring to "patrimoine culturel" consisting not only of the Holy Places but ^{the} the entire Holy City as well and which stressed its value "pour l'humanité tout entière.")

This December 22, 1967, speech of Pope Paul VI clearly wished to clarify that while the Vatican was prepared to abandon Jerusalem's territorial internationalization and consider alternative solutions (which, however, were not specified), it was not prepared to compromise on the basic requirements that had led it in 1948-50 to request a "corpus separatum", namely, the need to ensure the presence of a significant Christian community in Palestine, and the need to protect the Holy Places. These requirements would apparently have to be satisfied in any new formula put forward.

The Israeli position clearly diverges from this Vatican view in that Israel regards Jerusalem firstly as the capital of the Jewish State, and the interests of the ~~international~~ international community are restricted to the Holy Places. As expressed by then Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban in a letter to the UN Secretary General on April 30, 1968, and in a speech before the UN General Assembly on Sept 19, 1969, "the international interest in Jerusalem has always been understood to ^{be} derive from the presence of the Holy Places", the problem was therefore "to assure the universal character of the Holy Places" by means of mechanisms guaranteeing control by the various religious communities. This is the basis for Israel's proposals for the extraterritoriality of the Holy Places discussed in the 1967 negotiations.

The Vatican considers this unsatisfactory because it gave no guarantee regarding (a) the survival of the ~~Christian~~ Catholic community in Palestine; and (b) the protection of the sacred character of Jerusalem

from which, in the Vatican's view, the problem of the Holy Places could not be isolated. Seeking to mobilize Islamic opinion Pope Paul VI sent a message in September 1969 to the Islamic Summit Conference in Rabat, Morocco, in which he proposed ~~thrtx~~ an agreement between Jews, Christian and Muslims to recognize the sacred character of Jerusalem and the other holy places.

On October 6, 1969, Foreign Minister Abba Eban met with Pope Paul VI, and said: "I found an atmosphere of esteem and profound respect for our sovereignty and for our historical evolution." He also noted that he had seen an Israeli flag on display in a corridor in the Vatican. But despite this irenic spirit, the core difficulties were obviously not overcome.

In early 1971, the Pope sent a letter to the Israeli President in which he bluntly stated that he could not subscribe to any agreement with a country that he could not recognize ~~the Vatican did not recognize~~ while a state of war existed in the Middle East and rejected an ~~if~~ apparent Israeli offer to acknowledge "the Pope as the representative of all the Christian groups." (The World Council of Churches and other Christian bodies expressed concerns that an agreement between the Vatican and Israel might be at their expense, and several protested. See W. Zander's book p. 111 ff.)

In later years, Paul VI's statements on Jerusalem aroused the growing concern for the fate of the Christian communities in Palestine engaged in an exodus criticized by Catholic Church leaders. These criticisms seem oblivious to the fact that some 14,000 Christians emigrated from Jerusalem during the period of Jordanian occupation from 1948 to 1967, and that it has come to a halt since 1967. Against the background of the departures of Christians from such Arab countries as Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Libya, it seems that ~~that the~~ Christian community in Israel has become one of the most stable and flourishing. (See my Testimony on Jerusalem before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, July 28, 1971, available from the American Jewish Committee)

The Pope's statements - linked to progress in ecumenism and interreligious relationships that had occurred in the 1960s and 1970s - also developed more fully the theme of religious pluralism in Jerusalem, the Holy City for the three great monotheistic religions. Both of these concerns led to the underscoring of the Vatican's basic demand, a special internationally guaranteed statute which would ensure the sacred and universal character of Jerusalem.

The 1970s passed with no particularly significant change in the Vatican's position on Jerusalem while relations between the Vatican and Israel - although undergoing periods of tension - slowly but steadily improved and were strengthened by the positive outcome of the return of the

Archbishop

Notre Dame de France Convent to the Vatican, by the visit of Msgr. (Kof Kers, p 82) undersecretary of State, functioned as Secretary of State, longtime Montini intimate Giovanni Benelli of the Vatican Secretary of State to Israel in 1972,

and by Menachem Begin's visit to the Vatican a few years later.

In November 1977, Egypt's President Sadat made his historic journey to Jerusalem and with Menachem Begin, and President Jimmy

Carter signed the breakthrough Camp David agreement. Pope John Paul II welcomed the Camp David agreement, while Egypt and Israel did not resolve their differences over Jerusalem. In a confidential message to both sides, the Vatican reiterated its position

Pope John Paul II in a speech before the UN General Assembly in 1979, reaffirmed in keeping with Paul VI's previous statements the "hope for a special statute that under international guarantees...would respect the particular nature of Jerusalem."

In October 1979, the Vatican's Permanent Observer to the UN distributed a detailed document reaffirming the Holy See's demand for "a special statute internationally guaranteed for Jerusalem." Using specifically religious language, the document gave priority to "the

intention ..to preserve and guarantee to the Holy City its identity as a religious center unique and outstanding in the history of the world, in such a way that may become a stable place of encounter and concord for the three great monotheistic religions." According to the Vatican, this implied "above all, the recognition of an historical and religious pluralism, to be put into practice by according to all of the three religions, in their particular expression as communities, full enjoyment of their respective rights, EXCLUDING POSITIONS OF PREDOMINANCE, (capitane), and, indeed, favoring the prospect of a useful human and religious dialogue "

The final part of the document concentrated on the theme of equal rights, both religious and civil, for all three communities present in Jerusalem. It specifies the need "to define the territory and list the Holy Places, as well as provide for the guarantees and for the supervision which the international community will have to give to the 'statute' and for the juridical form of this commitment and of the accord of the interested parties."

By concentrating on religious pluralism and equal rights the Vatican now seems to reduce the former paramount significance of the Holy Places as if they were now a detail in a larger design aimed at making Jerusalem the place where the three major monotheistic religions could work together in the future in light of the historical memories of the past.

Shortly before the Israeli Knesset declared Jerusalem to be the "whole and united capital" of the Jewish State, L'Osservatore Romano warned against the unilateral initiatives by one state and the inadequacy of "bilateral agreements between one or more states." That seemed to be an indirect reference to a possible solution negotiated between Israel

and a number of Arab countries, excluding "Christian" countries. The Vatican journal again stressed the need for an "appropriate legal system, guaranteed by some higher international authority" meaning quite likely the UN.

While today the Vatican seems to be flexible about the legal framework of the special statute for Jerusalem and perhaps will not require its extension to the entire city, the Holy See does firmly demand that it should be international in nature and be designed to have three purposes:

- (1) protection with complete equality of the religious and civil rights of the communities in Palestine
- (2) the safeguarding of the sacred character of Jerusalem and protection of the Holy Places, and
- (3) the encouragement of dialogue and collaboration between the believers in the three monotheistic religions.

Reasserting Israel's commitment to extra-territoriality of the Holy Places, Abba Eban has summarized Israel's policies in these words.

"The city (Jerusalem) is open to the constructive initiative of Jews, Christians and Moslems the world over in the furtherance of its development, especially of its cultural and spiritual assets, and in increasing the number of institutions and enterprises testifying to the city's historical uniqueness and special mission of promoting faith, progress and peace. Should Christian and Moslem circles, to whom Jerusalem is dear, manifest initiative of their own, it will be welcome and they will benefit from Government support, just as they have been benefitting up to now."

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

~~Almost impossibly~~, Israeli diplomats and Jewish interfaith leaders have been undergoing a fundamental and far-reaching change in their attitudes toward the Vatican's ~~aggravating~~ refusal to establish full de jure diplomatic relations with the State of Israel.

Since the creation of Israel in 1948, the general approach of Israeli and Jewish spokesmen has been one of either seeking to persuade or to pressure the Holy See into moving from de facto recognition toward full normalization of diplomatic ties with the Jewish State. Increasingly, Israeli and Jewish representatives have been coming to the conviction that the Vatican needs normal diplomatic relationships with Israel, far more than Israel requires it.

In many ways, the Holy See is in a geo-political box not unlike that of the Soviet Union in relation to Israel and Jordan. Not having ambassadors assigned to Jerusalem (and Amman), neither the Holy See nor the Kremlin are in a position at present to become real factors in Middle East peace negotiations. Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet's ~~imaginative~~ ^{aggressive General Secretary} prime minister, apparently recognized these brute facts of Middle East realpolitik, and ^{made tentative} ~~is making~~ probes for correcting ^{the USSR's} ~~their~~ anomalous status. The Holy See seems to be content with a delusional alternative, namely, that having an Apostolic Delegate assigned to "Jerusalem and Palestine" who commutes between the Holy City and Amman in delivering messages is sufficient for establishing the Vatican as a real actor in the Middle East drama. In the judgment of a number of Jewish and a ^{growing} group of Catholic experts, the Vatican's ^{illusions} ~~fantasies~~ ^{are} ~~is~~ courting a diplomatic disaster for the Holy See.

At the core of the revised Israeli and Jewish understanding of this question is the dawning of a realization that the Jewish world has been approaching the Vatican through its own delusions. To put it bluntly, the accepted scenario for decades has been that the Vatican has been the winner, and Israel (and world Jewry) the loser in the Middle East game. And consequently

the loser has felt compelled to beseech the ~~winner~~ winner to help the ~~loser~~ loser cut his losses by making a generous gesture of conferring full diplomatic ties with Israel. Apart from other moral and political defects, that beseeching posture has fed the Holy See's delusion that it is in some superior condition in relation to Israel's compelling need and that the Vatican might well drag its feet, using its reluctance to bestow moral ties as leverage to extract certain fundamental concessions from Israel regarding the ~~status~~ status of Jerusalem, ^{the holy places,} a Palestinian Homeland, tax benefits for Catholic institutions, among other ~~concessions~~ accommodations.

The fatal flaw in both the Vatican and the Israeli (Jewish) delusions is that the actual history of events in the Middle East dictate an altogether different scenario. A careful study of the record of the Vatican's foreign policy in relation to Israel - from the very beginnings of Zionism until the present day - suggests that in fact the Vatican's ~~policy~~ policies toward the Jewish State have been virtually an unbroken ^(chain) record of diplomatic failures, and that Israel has emerged as consistent victor in its geopolitical objectives. Thus, it makes little sense for the winner to behave toward the loser as if the loser has some special benefit to grant ~~the winner~~, without which the winner could not conceivably survive. Let me make the case for the revised scenario.

There have been roughly four periods in the evolution of the Vatican's policies toward Zionism and the State of Israel:

I - 1896 to 1917 - From the inception of the Zionist movement in the late 1890s down to the creation of the State of Israel in 1947-48, the Vatican was mainly opposed to Zionism and its central objective - the establishment of a Jewish State in the Holy Land. The word "mainly" is intended as a qualifier because, in the context of general opposition during this period, there were some Papal and Vatican statements which were sympathetic to Jewish resettlement in Palestine for "humanitarian" reasons.

1896,
On May 19, ~~1896~~ three months after the appearance of The Jewish State, Theodor Herzl had an interview with Msgr. Antonio Agliardi, the Papal

York-Stainer, 'a 1° all the Jews wanted us to be 'admitted' to the land of
- 1 - and stones, he could regard that as a "missionary" endeavor and would not
impute their efforts to found "colonies" in Palestine.

Such "sympathetic" expressions were subthemes to the mainline policies
of the Holy See which opposed Zionism and the Jewish State during this period —
primarily for theological and historical reasons.

See "Demonization of Jews"

The Vatican's anti-Zionism was a corollary of Catholic theological anti-
Judaism. It was rooted in the classic Christian "teachings of contempt" which
demonologically portrayed the Jews as an accursed race both because they rejected
Jesus as their savior as well as for their being allegedl y "Christ-killers."
Exile from Palestine was God's punishment, and the precondition for their return
to the Promised Land was their conversion to Christianity.

This theological opposition to the establishment (or reestablishment)
of Jewish sovereignty over the Holy Land was reinforced by Catholic historiography.
In that view, Constantine the Great had accepted ~~the~~ Christianity as the religion
of the Roman Empire in 342 CE, and therefore the government which controlled
the Holy Land, Jerusalem, and the Holy places had been Christian.

The Arab conquest of Jerusalem under Caliph Omar in 638 CE faced the
Christian world with the fact that its most sacred shrines were in the hands of
"infidels." The Crusades were launched beginning in 1099 for ~~the~~ twin purposes:
first, the liberation of Christian sanctuaries from the ruling "Moslem infidels
and heathens;" and then, the reestablishment of Latin Christianity in Palestine,
perceived in Christian imagination solely as "the Land of Christ."

That exclusive vision was expressed typically ^{by} one crusader, the Dominican
Stephan of Bourbon who wrote: "We are the descendants of the Holy Land both according
to the flesh and the spirit...here our ~~mother~~ the Church had its origin. Likewise the
land is ours by the right of succession as far ~~as~~ as we are the true children of
God." In Valmar Cramer's compendium, another crusader is quoted as saying:

"This land belongs to us by the right of purchase and acquisition, for
Christ bought it for us by his blood, has expelled the Jewish people from it by the
might of the Romans and has handed it to Christendom."

B. Z. 2000-1/514
Roman Empire
See "Demonization of Jews"
and "Crusades"
of Europe

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Thus, the evidence is abundant that the Vatican's policies during this period - and for some time beyond - was dominated by what Dr. Walter Zander describes in his study, Israel and the Holy Places of Christendom (Prager Publishers, 1971), as "a Catholic nostalgia for the Crusades" which looked forward to "the renewal of the splendours of the first century of the Crusades."

These theological and historical views undergirded the Holy See's support

See
H. Sachar

of the Sykes-Picot Agreement ~~was~~ signed by France and Britain in 1916 which called for the internationalization of Palestine. During this period, the Vatican officially entrusted France - "the eldest daughter of the Church" with the role of protector of Catholic interests in the Levant, obliging France to become the protector over the Holy Land. The issuance of the Balfour Declaration to Protestant Great Britain in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in November 1917 marked the beginning of the end of the internationalization of Palestine. The Holy See did not survive its first major geopolitical defeat in its struggle against Zionism.

II - 1914/1947 - The Holy See continued its policy of internationalization of Palestine. It sought to achieve this through two main methods: (a) the internationalization of the Holy Places under the control of "Catholic authorities," and (b) the internationalization of "Jewish Palestine" and the holy places.

G. Brown

- 1) After 1815 Congress of Vienna, temporary ascendancy of the four victorious powers - Britain, Austria, Russia, & Prussia. With France in eclipse after Napoleonic wars, these four powers adopted a policy of Europe in almost any form they could agree on as mutually acceptable. Equally significant in stopping any revolutionary settlement was the power of Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, & Russia on which was there a strong moral alliance of these four powers strong enough to defy British Ministry of Foreign Affairs, & its disavowal of Prussia's annexation of Poland.
- 2) Political reconstruction of Germany by Austria, Prussia, & Russia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia.
- 3) Austria, Prussia, & Russia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia.
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- 5) Austria, Prussia, & Russia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia.
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- 14) Austria, Prussia, & Russia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia.
- 15) Austria, Prussia, & Russia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia.
- 16) Austria, Prussia, & Russia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia.
- 17) Austria, Prussia, & Russia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia.
- 18) Austria, Prussia, & Russia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia.
- 19) Austria, Prussia, & Russia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia.
- 20) Austria, Prussia, & Russia. The Holy See's policy was to maintain the status quo of the German Empire, which included Germany, Prussia, Poland, & the Polish provinces of Austria, & the Polish provinces of Prussia.

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II - 1917-1947 - In the aftermath of World War I, the Holy See sought opportunities to reestablish its influence in the Holy Land unattainable during the Moslem rule from 638 CE down to 1917, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed. In 1915, the Vatican's hopes were raised when the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, proposed a

post-war "neutral Palestine" to be supervised by European powers, the United States, and Britain's preoccupation w/ Holy Land was not less extensive than that of France or of Russia. But the concern admittedly was dictated less by religious than by military considerations. From the Vatican. Brit. standpoint, terrain of this strategic proximity to Suez Canal simply could not be allowed to fall into hands of another power. Grey - not to alienate allies, proposed JOINT ALLIED CONDOMINIUM over largest part of Holy Land. The Holy See worked consistently to have the mandate granted to a Roman Catholic

power. France collaborated with the Vatican at first for Roman Catholic Belgium to be awarded the mandate, with France to remain the primary influence. The Vatican was bitterly disappointed when Protestant Great Britain was assigned the mandate.

While the Holy See continued to press for the internationalization of Palestine, it began to shift its focus to two primary objectives during this period:

- (a) The internationalization of the holy places under the control of "Christian countries;" and
- (b) The prevention of "Jewish domination" over Palestine.

Ironically, it was a distinguished Catholic layman, Sir Mark Sykes, the British diplomat, who negotiated the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 with France. Sykes went to Rome in 1917 to persuade the Vatican to accept Protestant Britain rather than France - ~~which was officially entrusted by the Vatican as protector of the Holy Land.~~ as the protector of the Holy Land. On April 11, 1917, Sykes met with Msgr. Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII, 1939-58), who was then Under-

secretary for Extraordinary Affairs at the Vatican Secretariat of State. A few days later, he had an audience with Pope Benedict XV (1914-22). From these talks, Sykes understood ~~xxxxxxxx~~ that the Vatican was ready to accept Britain as the mandatory power in Palestine.

(According to the Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel (p.1083), Sykes used his influence to explain to Vatican authorities that Zionism would not clash with

Christian or Catholic wishes concerning the holy places in Palestine.

(^② had high connections, contacts all over Europe, his wise counsel increased respect for paying on both sides w/ E. (SEE CAP file))

Sachar
p.96
Britain
defeated
Turks,
Victory
France's
pre-occupation
with Holy Land
in attack
against
Turks

See
p. 279
of
Encyclopedia

(^② trained diplomat from school of Leo XIII, of noble lineage, kept at hand)

It seems clear that the Vatican's early opposition to Zionism and to the Jewish State was based on (a) theological reasons; (b) historical reasons; i.e., Christian claims to "own" Palestine since the days of Constantine; and (c) socio-political reasons; i.e., the intense pressures from Arab Christians and their fear of reprisals from the Arab-Muslim world.

THEOLOGICAL REASONS FOR OPPOSITION

1896

On May 19, 1896 - three months after the appearance of The Jewish ✓

State, Theodor Herzl had an interview with Msgr. Antonio Agliardi, the

importance of "charter" in Europe for 3 centuries / Bozeman - p 197 - idea of 'contract' appeals more to men in West: societies than to those in East. Societies whose domestic legal system leave only scant room

that he did not want a Jewish "kingdom" in the Holy Land and that he would be prepared to accord extraterritorial status to the holy places.

According to Herzl's Diaries, the Nuncio gave him a cold reception. ¹ For contractual relations

Roman law (ius gentium) in intl relations has stimulated all nations to think of world govt in terms of a contractual relationship (Bozeman, p 197)

Herzl persisted in his efforts to win Catholic support. On January 22, 1904, he was received by Rafael Cardinal Merry del Val, the Papal Secretary of State. The Cardinal made it clear to Herzl that the Church ✓ could not allow the Jews to take possession of the Holy Land as long as they denied the divinity of Jesus Christ.

In response to Herzl's assurances that the holy places could have

1- cited from The Diaries of Theodor Herzl, January 1904, edited by B.M. Lowenthal (N.Y., Dial Press, 1956) pp 429-430

See 1902 - After 1900, modernism flourished - got under way in France, England, 6 lines (Chenais)
1907 - Pius X new Syllabus ordered abandonment of modernism as guarantee of ultra-conservative on Bible St Thomas, attached Pater reformer (Garry, p 18)
VATICAN/ISRAEL

M. Tanenbaum

-4-

extraterritorial status, Cardinal Merry del Val said that the holy places could not be regarded as entities separate from the Holy Land.

Three days later on January 25, Herzl held a lengthy audience with Pope Pius X (1903-1914), who had assumed the Papacy the year before. ~~While~~

~~Pius X had a good personal relations with the Jews, He too told Herzl that the Church could not favor Israel's return to Zion as long as the Jews did not accept Jesus as the Savior.~~ In his Diaries, Herzl quotes the Pope as having said:

"We cannot prevent the Jews from going to Jerusalem but we could never sanction it...The Jews have not recognized our Lord, therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people."

✓ Herzl ^E then pointed to the fact that the Ottoman overlords of Palestine also were not Christians. The Pope replied:

"I know, it is not pleasant to see the Turks in possession of our Holy Places. We simply have to put up with that. But to support the Jews in the acquisition of the Holy Places, that we cannot do."

"If you come to Palestine and settle your people there," ^{PIUS X} ~~the~~ Pope then said to Herzl, "we want to have churches and priests ready to baptize all of you."

2- In his diocese of Mantua, before he became Pope Pius X, he has prohibited the celebration of a sole mass on the King's birthday because the city council which asked for it had attended a celebration in the Synagogue

Quite possibly to soften the effect of Vatican rejection, Cardinal Merry del Val, in a meeting several weeks later, promised Herzl's close ^{WAS} associate, Heinrich York-Steiner, that if all the Jews wanted to be "admitted" to the land of their ancestors, he would regard that as a "humanitarian" endeavor and would not impede their efforts to found colonies in Palestine.

The Vatican's general opposition to Zionism and to a Jewish State - based primarily on theological grounds - thus dominated the Holy See's policies from the late 1890s until the end of World War I.

1. Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel (Herzl Press and McGraw-Hill,

1971)

- HA-VATIKAN, ERETZ HAKODESH VEHA-TZIYYONUT (The Vatican, the Holy Land and Zionism) by Sergio Itzhak Minerba, Jerusalem, Yad Ben-Zvi Institute, 256 pp. [Vatican & Zionism]

HISTORIC REASONS FOR OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM/ISRAEL

The Holy See's opposition to the establishment of Jewish sovereignty over the Holy Land has been traced by some scholars to "a Catholic nostalgia for the Crusades." In his landmark study, Israel and the Holy Places of Christendom,¹⁰⁰ Dr. Walter Zander (Praeger Publishers, 1971), cites the writings of a Catholic authority, Pascal Baldi, "who considered it providential that Jerusalem was held under the domination of Italy, France and England (in this order!)", 'the three nations who had played so great a part in the Holy Wars', and who looked forward to

in

'the renewal of the splendours of the first century of the Crusades.'

Zander observes that "of the twin ideals which had dominated the Crusades," one was "the liberation of the Christian sanctuaries" from the ruling Moslem "infidels and heathens." That goal had been realized ✓ by the combined efforts of the Allies through their defeat of the Ottoman Turks in World War I. The second goal: Rome set itself to the task of reestablishment of Latin Christianity in Palestine.

Originally, the Vatican officially entrusted France with the role of protector of Catholic interests in the Levant, and urged France to become the protector over the Holy Land. When the Palestine Mandate was ultimately given to (Protestant) Great Britain, the Vatican attempted to secure a leading influence of Catholic countries in the control of the Holy Places.

Ironically, the Gospels do not contain any obligation for the Christian to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or the Holy Land. There is ✓ not a connection between Christian salvation and Christian control or domination of the Holy Land. As Dr. Zander documents, many of the Church Fathers denied that pilgrimages to the Holy Land established a special spiritual link with Christ which could not be achieved elsewhere, and therefore such linkage with Palestine was not a special way to salvation.

- "the eldest daughter of the Church"

1099 - JERUSALEM RITE, CARMELITES (N. Coll. Ency., p. 124 Vol 31)

- Jerusalem rite was too local in character, it could hardly be followed outside the Holy City itself
- when Carmelites moved to Europe their rite changed from eremitical to a mendicant one, the new situation brought a need for uniform liturgical celebration
- ordinals made probably in England, greatly reduced local elements of Jerusalem Rite
- Proper reproduced Jerusalem rite - with an important difference - FROM BEING A MEMORIAL TO THE HOLY LAND, RITE BECAME AN EXPRESSION OF CARMELITE SPIRITUALITY, esp in devotion to Mother of God / after 1544, Carmelite Order tended to follow Roman Rite more closely

VATICAN, JEWS, AND ISRAEL -MYTHS AND REALITIES

P19th CENTURY

1903 - death of P. Leo XIII (ARADI, p 69)-peace pope died before WWI, his view of temporal power of papacy over state may have been desperate alternative to impending chaos, "lights went out all over Europe"

Leo's sect of state, Cardinal Rampolla, was expected to succeed him, CARDINAL PUSZYNA, archbishop of Cracow (then Austria) intervened "Venerable brethren, Lord Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church," said he had been instructed by his august sovereign, His Imperial Majesty, Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, that if Cardinal Rampolla received the number of votes necessary to elect him, the King Emperor would "EXERCISE HIS POWER OF VETO."

This right of exclusion (veto) actually existed and was occasionally exercised by Catholic powers but the custom has been discontinued long since.

Cardinal Rampolla protested against Austrian interference but Cardinal Puszyina was firm Conclave could not and did not elect Rampolla. In his stead, it elected GIUSEPPE SARTO, Patriarch of Venice (bought round-trip tickets at railway station)

ST. PIUS X. One of his first acts was to abolish all-but-forgotten veto right.

Conclave witness wrote (p. 70) Bishop MERRY DEL VAL TALKED to PUSZYNA as probably no cardinal had ever before been spoken to in the Vatican, even Borgia rooms had never echoed to such language.

HERZL 9A.Bein) p.3)Acc. to family tradition, father descended from Spanish maranos, far back in the line two brothers compelled by the Inquisition to abjure Judaism and enter a monastic order, but cling in secret to Judaism. Held important positions, sent abroad, in Turkey, renounced Xty, Herzl's father descended from one of brothers/

p.8)1860, May 2- born in Budapest of Jacob (merchant) and Jeanette Diamant (married 1858)

p.14) Herzl's messiah drama (exodus story)/ bar mitzvah, sense of mission/ anti-semitism in Herzl's school, birth of modern political anti-S. in Germany, Austria-Hungary

1882-TISZA ESZLAR ritual murder trial, p.19) as grown man teacher defined "Heathens" - "such as idolators, Mohammedans, and Jews, 1876, Feb. Evangelical high school, majority Jewish students, 0

p.24)UNIV OF VIENNA LAW FACULTY ROMAN LAW MADE DEEPEST IMPRESSION, small minority can exercise the right of talking on behalf of an entire people (Romans?) 0

p.25) attended lectures in Vienna on new Austro-Hungarian empire of NATIONALITIES/ mature views profoundly affected by what he learned /p.26) strong growth of internal nationalisms/ recognition of national rights of Hungarians in Compromise Arrangement of 1867, had given a powerful impetus to similar demands in other national groups, Germany intensified its own spirit, Poles, Czechs struggling, suppressed nationalisms,

1881-THEODOR HERZL (l. LEWISOHN, P. 29)- READ Eugen

Duhring, troubled by "scientific racialism"- Jews were undermining and corrupting cultures and states of Aryans (see A. Bein, also Israel Bloch, Israel Among the Nations) OA. Bein, p. 36, Herzl read Duhring's book "The Jewish Problem as a Problem of Race, Morals, and Culture"- Jewish race was without any worth whatsoever Since Jews could not be settled in state of their own, they had to be dealt with on basis of special enactments.

p.36) complete reversal of emancipations, return to the ghetto. Blow between the eyes for Herzl.

p.38) Duhring had merely presented the legend of the middle ages in modern dress "The sacrificial Christian child became sacrificed Xan capital. Jewish poisoning of wells, in modern talk about Judaization of press which poisons the sources of public opinion." Since religion played no role in modern conflicts, field shifted to racial. Modern gasoline poured on medieval stakes.

p. 39) Herzl deeply moved and shaken in belief that Jewish question was on point of disappearing

READING OF DUHRING'S WORK BEGINNING OF DEEP PROCESS OF CHANGE, experience remained with him rest of his life, Herzl said later that his serious and troubled preoccupation with Jewish problem dated from that point. Veil of illusion had been violently torn away before his eyes

p.44) 1884, May-DHerzl graduated Dr. of Laws, went to Paris, July 30, 1884 admitted to bar in Vienna

p.73) 1892 March - Paris correspondent, Wiener Neue Freie Presse. 1894-DREYFUS AFFAIR (Bury p. 75)-Catholic monarchists moral standing brought low, fresh tide of anti-clericalism in France (see 1871), also see Herzl, A. Bein)/1894, Dec. 19-DREYFUS TRIAL BEGAN (A. Bein, p.109)/P.112- JAN 5, 1895-Sat., public degradation of Captain Dreyfus, MAY 1895-(P.123, BEIN)HERZL WRITES LETTER TO BARON DE HIRSCH (BARON MORITZ DE HIRSCH, FREIHERR VON GEREUTH, was one of richest men of his time, foremost symbol of Jewish philanthropy. 1891-founded Jewish Colonization Assoc, L 2 m. Russian Jews to Argentina, 1895, June 2- Herzl met de Hirsch in his palace

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L. LEWISOHN, HERZL; A Portrait For This Age, p.20- resurgence of Judeophobia broke the untenable compact of emancipation. This phenomenon was characterized by Herzl alone as a fragment of medievalism dragged into the Age of Enlightenment ("Ein verschlepptes stück mittelalter")

p. 92, Bein-November 1892 PANAMA SOCIETY TRIAL- Max Nordau, "this blood libel of a Jewish Panama" prepared France for grand climax of Dreyfus case (p.93)

1894, NDov. 8 - Herzl wrote the New Ghetto .30)

00(A. Bein, Herzl) 1881, March/1896-HERZL'S 'THE JEWISH STATE', 01896-MAY L9-MSGR AGLIARDI (HERZL, a BEIN), P. L97) anti-Semitism, motive for RC meetings (p 234) First Zionist Congress-It was not through the contemplation of the...

methods, with no basis of legal recognition that the Jewish problem was to be solved. The form which an agreement guaranteeing this recognition to the Jews would take was a matter for future negotiation. This much had to be set down as an indispensable condition precedent "The basis can be only that of recognized right, and not of sufferance. We had our filk of experience with toleration and the protected Jew. Our movement can be logical and consistent only in so far as it aims at the acquisition of a publicly recognized legal guarantee."

d.. 1904), 1897-First Zionist Congress, Basel, 1903-British offer East Africa, 1905-KZionist confress rejected east africa plan, 1914-18-WWI set back for Zionism. Turks suscepctaed Jews of sympathy with British, Zionism declassared illegal, 12,000 Jews were deported from Palestine because they were not Turkish citizens/Jerusalem beset by famine and plague, population sank to less than 50,000. 1917-Nov. 2 -Balfour Declaration, Dec. 9-Sir Edmund Allenby marched into Jerusalem, except for crusaders, Moslems domination 1300 years

VON SCHOENERER, Pan-German anti-Semite, member of Reichstag, addressed it, won great following among sons of small bourgeoisie. Herzl joined Albia, student fraternity duelling org.

1882-VIENNA, Pan-German Anti-Semitic org (A.Bein,p.40) founded in Vienna, Der Verein deutscher studenten in Wien;

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1890 (J. Parkes, Anti-S, p.34) Austrian Anti-Sparty was formed led by nationalist GEORGE VON SCHOENERER, pan Germanism, together with Xan Socialist (Catholic Conservative elements) Party leaders were PRINCE LOIS VON LIECHTENSTEIN AND DR KARL LUEGER 1895 -on eve of elections SECURED PAPAL BENEDICTIONS ON ITS POLICY AND NEWSPAPER (to indignation of moderate RCs), Anti-S party won 2/3 of Vienna municipal council seats, LUEGER BECAME VIENNA BURGOMASTER FOR 14 YEARS. Hitler took Lueger

seriously.

GERMAN ANTI-SEMITISM-(Pulzer,p.33) 19th and 20th century German anti-S is history of German Right (1880), same anti-S vocabulary as G left.

Wars of liberation against Napoleon -German nationalism sought inspiration in political, ILLIBERAL PAST, opposed ideals of Napoleon's armies carried through Europe of French Revolution

Romantic German nationalism was therefore cultural and opposed to idea of nation-state, authoritarian, opposed to constitutionalism, also to Caesarism, pluralist and corporatist, opposed to INDIVIDUALISM, EGALITARIANISM, ROMAN LAW, SUPPORTED PRIMACY OF NATIONAL COMMUNITY, SO VIRTUE LAY IN BEING A GERMAN. Anti-parliamentary' anti-western/rejected political moral tradition of anglo-saxon world, Switzerland, Netherlands, France Italy

Ranke on 1815 restoration, "a reaction of nordic-German world

emancipation, liberalism, and Jews' emancipation of 1860s.
p.34) second German empire nationalism, popular self-determination, constitutional nation-state, different from Fichte, Armin, Herder - Grossdeutsch looking back to German greatness of Holy Roman Empire. / Romantic conservative nationalism recoiled from Bismarck's cavalier treatment of dynasties, privileges of legitimacy, written constitution creating new sovereignties'

1870s-German nationalism was liberal/anti-liberal was anti-national/ 1890s conservatives and anti-semites joined national liberals in promoting imperialism, with which anti-S was connected

p.57) H. on Jewish ghetto in Rome "With what base and persistent hatred these unfortunates have been persecuted for the sole crime of faithfulness to their religion."

1884- BISMARCK (Bury, p.44) - in the Reichstag said to German Catholic Centre party "You are fighting, you say, for the freedom of the Church! What do you mean by freedom of the Church! YOU REALLY MEAN THE RULE OF THE CHURCH. AS SOON AS YOUR RULE ENDANGERED, YOU TALK OF A DIOCLETIAN PERSECUTION, slavery, and oppression, RULING IS BORN IN YOUR BONES FROM OLD TRADITIONS." 1898 (see 1870 GERMANY) Bury, p.178 - Bismarck's anti-RCC policies changed

1890- OTTO VON BISMARCK (Adenauer book, Terrence Prittie, p.22) B's diplomacy based on understanding that Germany sitting in middle of Europe, always needed strong and steady allies, 1863 convention with Russia, safeguarded Prussia's earlier frontier, divided Austria from France by stimulating rivalry in Italy. kept France and England apart by playing on England's suspicion of French designs in Belgium. Whenever he went to war, he ensured that Prussia had at least one major ally in Europe and two other principal powers were neutral. Bismarck's military policy-creation of huge army & navy still central, moved toward Armageddon (Bury p.178), see 1870 Germany/ vast industrial prosperity, Alliances formed, trade agreements supported by military commitments

p.179) Drang nach Osten- proposed takeover of Balkans, South Russia, Turkey, Mesopotamia, build Berlin to Baghdad railway/WWI to achieve this - mania of Schrecklichkeit and planned terrorism to achieve plan

1888- GERMANY - Emperor William I died at 90

Frederick III succeeded, reigned 99 days, died of throat cancer.

1897-announced Kaiser to dedicate Evangelical Church of Redeemer, establish protectorate over German Catholics in Palestine. BUT FRANCE HAD ALWAYS LOOKED UPON HERSELF AS PROTECTOR OF RIGHTS OF ASIA MINOR

p.280) dKaiser's inclination to protect Jewish migration, to receive Herzl as head of delegation in Jerusalem,

p.295-296) Meeting with Kaiser - "a chartered company under German protection"

1898-Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, "Der Reiter-Kaiser" (*the

traveling kaiser) visited Jerusalem, apparently to be present at a consecration of Protestant church. He presented German Catholics plot of ground on Mt. Zion on which was built CHURCH OF DORMITION OF HOLY VIRGIN. The VICTORIA AUGUSTA HOSPICE ON MT SCOPUS, named for Kaiser's wife, a daughter of Queen Victoria of England, was constructed after this state visit. WILHELM, though claiming to be leader of Xendom, visited Turkish sultan in Constantinople and declared himself PROTECTOR OF MUSLIM WORLD. 1899-this strategy paid off- German-Turkish alliance was formed at 1914 WWI Turkey sided with Germany and Austria (A.Bein, Herzl, p 276)

1885-FRENCH ANTI-SEMITISM (Herzl, A. Bein, p. 80) revival of ancient instinct in new forms and with new rationalizations, it was the parallel phenomenon to German anti-Semitism which began to surge up in 70s and was baptized with that new name in 1879. French anti-Semitism was based at least ostensibly on German books, though these in turn had taken as their point of departure THE RACE THEORIES OF THE FRENCHMAN GOBINEAU. GOBINEAU WAS LIKEWISE THE INSPIRATION OF EDOUARD DRUMONT WHOSE LA FRANCE JUIVE APPEARED IN 1885 and in the course of one year ran through 100 editions, one of the greatest book selling successes of the 1880s. Drumont's book goes much further than his predecessor's, it provides the foundation for a definite rounded-out system of anti-Semitism sees all history under the aspect of anti-Semitism. Jews possess no real fatherland, subject to no real bonds, a state within a state, a nation within a nation, their emancipation was to be withdrawn.

July 15, 1892-Burdeau-Drumont trial - "A bas les Juifs!"

1892, June 243 - duel anti-Semitic Marquis de Morès & French Prof. Mayer.

1893-98-GEORGE SOREL, expositor of Marx (Lichtheim, p 328), 1900-exponent of SYNDICALISM (workers control) found Pelloutier, 1905-nationalist and anti-semitic color to his utterances, reverting to PROUDHON, GS absorbed in Henri Bergson's philosophy

1905-SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE WAS CATASTROPHIC, mystical side of French patriotism

1914-joined alliance with Charles MAURRAS AND ACTION FRANCAISE, a Conservative royalist for whom Catholicism was a necessary fiction, not literally true, but vital for the continued existence of Latin civilization and therefore had to be defended against Jews, Protestants, and foreigners.

RESPONSIBLE FOR TRIUMPH OF FACISM IN ITALY AND FRANCE IN 1930s and 1940s.

1908-14-CIRCLE PROUDHON-fusion of PROUDHON'S views and nationalism, hated liberal democracy.

mO142-Herzl writes to Bismarck, June 22, 1896, no reply from Bismarck (desperate for confirmation, is that why he sought audience with Pope, also charter-ROMAN LAW)

KBeinEWISOHN, HERZL, A Portrait For This Age, p.20- resurgence of Judeophobia broke the untenable compacts of emancipation. This phenomenon was characterized by Herzl alone as a fragment of medievalism dragged into the Age of Enlightenment ("Ein verschlepptes stück mittelalter")

p 92, Bein-November 1892 PANAMA SOCIETY TRIAL- Max Nordau, "this blood libel of a Jewish Panama" prepared France for grand climax of Dreyfus case (p.93)/ 1893-April-CONVERSION SCHEME 9 Bein, p.94) after the blood libel of Jewish Panama, the solution of the Jewish question in Germany would be found in the Jewish espousal of socialism, while in Austria, it would be found in the Jewish conversion to Catholicism, radical dissolution of world Jewry, extraordinary plan/ Jewish question at least in Austria was to find its solution with help of Catholic Church. Herzl's hierarchy of Austria and say "Help us against anti-S, and I will lead a great movement amongst the Jews for voluntary and honorable conversion to Xty./ adult converts with Herzl at their head were to remain Jews, while agitating for conversion among the Jewish people. p.95) a Moritz Benedikt, Herzl's editor chief, naturally refused to have anything to do with the plan. Father and son (special appeal to Herzl), 100 generations, "That is something which you cannot and may not do." Herzl gave up baptism plan, dreamer who was trying to become man of action.. 1894, NDov. 8 - Herzl wrote the New Ghetto .30)

ZIONISM (H Sachar, p.9) as envisaged by Haskalah writers became a kind of mythic idyll in the words of Micah Joseph Lebensohn-"the land where the muses dwell, where each flower is a psalm, each cedar a song divine, each stone a book, and each rock a tablet 6-HERZL'S 'THE JEWISH STATE'), 01896-MAY 19-MSGR. AGLIARDI (HERZL, a. BEIN), P, L97) anti-Semitism/, motive for RC meetings (p.234) First Zionist Congress-It was not through the continuation of the old, slow colonization methods, with no basis of legal recognition that the Jewish problem was to be solved. The form which an agreement guaranteeing this recognition to the Jews would take was a matter for future negotiation. This much had to be set down as an indispensable condition precedent. "The basis can be only that of recognized right, and not of suffering. We had our fill of experience with toleration and the protected Jew. Our movement can be logical and consistent only insofar as it aims at the acquisition of a publicly recognized legal guarantee "

Bein, p 172) various proposals for Jewish state, p.175) Dr. Leon Pinsker, in Auto-Emancipation, "Jeerie figure of a corpse wandering among the living"--ghostly phenomenon of a wandering corpse" inspired fear, a source of ghostly terror, JUDEOPHOBIA p.233} "Zionism is the return of Jews to Judaism even before their return to the Jewish land" - Herzl, 1st Zionist Congress, Sun. Aug. 29, 1897

238) Dr. Max Nordau-program of Zionism "seeks to establish for the Jewish people a legally secure homeland (Heimstatt) in Palestine"/ p. 239) Herzl- "publicly recognized, legally secured" - "öffentlich, rechtlich" - Basle program

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BALFOUR, to, evcinced a lieflonga intaesrest in the holyland and its ttraditrons, as had Jan Xan Smutas, South Afarican membveara of tahe War CXabineta.

These men felt a deeply Xty's histaoric obligations to the Jews. Debt was compounded not merelyhbe Weizmann's personal services to Allied wara effort, but also byu his uncompromising devotion to Britain, repeated insistence that fate of Zionism inexorbly linked to that of Allies.

(A.Bein)Herzl, p263) From the beginning, Herzl looked upon England as the Archimedean point on which to rest his lever. As fdar back as July (87) he had discussed in Djie JWelt an arataicle which had appjedaread in tahe Quarataarlkj JRAJeviewe and which advocaated the partition of Turkey, with the assignment of Egypt and Syria (Palestine included)

to England. England needed desperately this short cut to India. But eh Powers begrudged each other tahis little land. TAhe French claimed it, the Kaisera was congtemplating a visit tao Palestine in tahe near future (see Kaiser visit) 1917-Nov. 2 -Balfour Declarationration, Dec 9-Sir Edmund Allenby marched into Jerusalem, exzcept for crusaders, Moslems domination 1300 years/

VON SCHOENERER, Pan-German anti-Semite, member of Reichstag, adressed it, won great following among sons of small bourgeoisie. Herzl joined Albia, student fraternity duelling org.

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Semitism as means for mass movement, Christian Social Party until 1934 rooted in deep veneration of RC and Imperial House, socialists organized trade unions, 1906-universal suffrage, workers vote, post-1917-socialists controlled 47% municipalities

./1900-"Vienna and its Jews" by Dr. George E. Berkely/xiii-Paradise of fools (Dr Harry Zohn)/ self-bestowed "golden heart of Viennese" was of baser stuff

Sigmund Freud, prime exemplar of Hassliebe (love-hate) for Vienna, reluctant refugee in 1938, situation was desperate but not serious

xiv) great fascination exerted upon Jews by German language, especially Viennese variant, and intellectual, cultural, spiritual, ideological, aesthetic values embodied in German language and this dialect (Charles Morley-K "The writing on the wall grew so large that finally the wall fell down"/Viennese Jews preferred to avert eyes

1921-Jacob Wasserman severely criticized Jews of Vienna for their servility, lack of dignity, and self-serving opportunism - multinational aspirations and cooperation replaced by atavistic, crude, know-nothing nationalism and particularism.

-xv) after Empire's dissolution, unbearable anti-S in provinces of truncated post-war Austria, Jews were perforce limited to Vienna (Joseph Roth- novelist, Catholic with a Jewish brain" letter, "Moshe Christus", synthesis between imperium and shtetl

xv) "Juden auf Wanderschaft", Roth viewed Zionist movement as DIRECT RESULT OF INTERNAL CONFLICTS WITHIN HAPSBURG REALM-died in Paris 1939, drunk)

Isak Low Hofman, born 1759, cloth merchant, changed to Edler von Hofmannsthal (1835), founded KULTUSGEMEINDE, son baptized, great grandson HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL, great modern Austrian literature, a Catholic man of letters without vestige of Jewish sensibility

DOS GEBENSTSHTE ESTREICH (Yiddish writer, Avraham Goldfaden) HEBREW WRITERS SMOLENSKY, brainin, BIALIK flourished in Vienna, Rabbis Jellinek, Gjudeman, Chajes Grunwald, Taglicht, 600 Jewish writers of one or more books (many suicides), Jews made no great contribution to art or architecture, AUSSCHUSS (EXCLUSION)

of 200,000 Jews in first Austrian Republic zu wenig Gerechte (too few righteous people)- "Holocaust from Mitteleuropa was more of an Austrian phenomenon than a German one" (Berkeley)/ story of Jews of Vienna is story of what may be the most tragically unrequited love in world history"

1988- 6,000 to 10,000 Jews, put itself on map of world Jewry, Versunkene Welt (sunken world) Traum und Wirklichkeit (Dream and Reality) p xvi) exhibit - viciously anti-S posters and handbills dated during Hitler period by many years provided a necessary context and motivation for Herzl's Zionist quest, Vienna does not mind celebrating its Jews provided there are safely dead

Kurt Waldheim-a man right after an Austrian heart

Heshbon hanefesh-from Moscow deal of 1943 (which in effect exculpated the Austrians) to Russian state treaty of 1955 and beyond has salved its conscience without coming to terms

with its past

xx)Austrians were ten times better Nazis than Germans were/ HOW COULD JEWS OF VIENNA BECOME SO ENCHANTED WITH CITY THAT HATED THEM SO MUCH/

AUSTRIA(pULZER,p 13)before 1914, Jews complete domination of Viennese cultural life-Arthur Schnitzler, Stefan Zweig, Franz Werfel, Gustav Mahler,(1898-opera director, musical dictator of city), Burgtheater, Heinrich Friedjung (doyen of historians), Freud, Arnold Schonberg

GERMAN ANTI-SEMITISM-(Pulzer,p.33) 19th and 20th century German anti-S is history of German Right (1880), same anti-S vocabulary as G left.

Wars of liberation against Napoleon -German nationalism sought inspiration in political, ILLIBERAL PAST, opposed ideals of Napoleon's armies carried through Europe of French Revolution

Romantic German nationalism was therefore cultural and opposed to idea of nation-state, authoritarian, opposed to constitutionalism, also to Caesarism, pluralist and corporatist, opposed to INDIVIDUALISM, EGALITARIANISM, ROMAN LAW, SUPPORTED PRIMACY OF NATIONAL COMMUNITY, SO VIRTUE LAY IN BEING A CONSCIOUSLY A

GERMAN. Anti-parliamentary' anti-western/rejected political moral tradition of anglo-saxon world, Switzerland, Netherlands, France Italy.

Ranke on 1815 restoration, "a reaction of nordic-German world against revolutionary Latin nations," conservative opposition to emancipation, liberalism, and Jews' emancipation of 1860s.

p.34) second German empire nationalism, popular self-determination, constitutional nation-state, different from Fichte, Armin, Herder - Grossdeutsch looking back to German greatness of Holy Roman Empire./Romantic conservative nationalism recoiled from Bismarck's cavalier treatment of dynasties, privileges of legitimacy, written constitution creating new sovereignties'

1870s-German nationalism was liberal/anti-liberal was anti-national/ 1890s conservatives and anti-semites joined national liberals in promoting imperialism, with which anti-S was connected

p 57) H. on Jewish ghetto in Rome "With what base and persistent hatred these unfortunates have been persecuted for the sole crime of faithfulness to their religion."

1884- BISMARCK (Bury, p 44) - in the Reichstag said to German Catholic Centre party "You are fighting, you say, for the freedom of the Church! What do you mean by freedom of the Church! YOU REALLY MEAN THE RULE OF THE CHURCH. AS SOON AS YOUR RULE ENDANGERED, YOU TALK OF A DIOCLETIAN PERSECUTION, slavery, and oppression, RULING IS BORN IN YOUR BONES FROM OLD TRADITIONS.' 1898 (see 1870 GERMANY) Bury, p.178 - Bismarck's anti-RCC policies changed

1890- OTTO VON BISMARCK (Adenauer book, Terence Prittie, p.22) B's diplomacy based on understanding that Germany sitting in middle of Europe, always needed strong and steady allies, 1863 convention with Russia, safeguarded Prussia's earlier frontier, divided Austria from France by stimulating rivalry in Italy. kept France and England apart by playing on England's suspicion of French designs in Belgium. Whenever he went to war, he ensured that Prussia had at least one major ally in Europe and two other principal powers were neutral. Bismarck's military policy-creation of huge army & navy still central, moved toward Armageddon (Bury p.178), see 1870 Germany/ vast industrial prosperity, Alliances formed, trade agreements supported by military commitments p.179) Drang nach Osten- proposed takeover of Balkans, South Russia, Turkey, Mesopotamia, build Berlin to Baghdad railway/WWI to achieve this - mania of Schrecklichkeit and planned terrorism to achieve plan

1888- GERMANY - Emperor William I died at 90

Frederick III succeeded, reigned 99 days, died of throat cancer.

1897-announced Kaiser to dedicate Evangelical Church of Redemption, establish protectorate over German Catholics in Palestine BUT FRANCE HAD ALWAYS LOOKED UPON HERSELF AS PROTECTOR OF RCs OF ASIA MINOR.

p.280) dKaiser's inclination to protect Jewish migration, to receive Herzl as head of delegation in Jerusalem,

p.295-296) Meeting with Kaiser - "a chartered company under German protection"

1898-Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, "Der Reiser-Kaiser" (*the traveling kaiser) visited Jerusalem, apparently to be present at a consecration of Protestant church. He presented German Catholics plot of ground on Mt. Zion on which was built CHURCH OF DORMITION OF HOLY VIRGIN. The VICTORIA AUGUSTA HOSPICE ON MT SCOPUS, named for Kaiser's wife, a daughter of Queen Victoria of England, was constructed after this state visit. Wilhelm, though claiming to be leader of Xendom, visited Turkish sultan in Constantinople and declared himself PROTECTOR OF MUSLIM WORLD. 1899-this strategy paid off- German-Turkish alliance was formed at 1914 WWI Turkey sided with Germany and Austria (A.Bein, Herzl, p. 276)

1885-FRENCH ANTI-SEMITISM (Herzl, A. Bein, p. 80) revival of ancient instinct in new forms and with new rationalizations, it was the parallel phenomenon to German anti-Semitism which began to surge up in 70s and was baptized with that new name in 1879. French anti-Semites based at least ostensibly on German books, though these in turn had taken as their point of departure THE RACE THEORIES OF THE FRENCHMAN GOBINEAU. GOBINEAU WAS LIKEWISE THE INSPIRATION OF EDOUARD DRUMONT WHOSE LA FRANCE JUIVE APPEARED IN 1885 and in the course of one year ran through 100 editions, one of the greatest book selling successes of the 1880s. Drumont's book goes much further than his predecessor's, it provides the foundation for a definite rounded-out system of anti-Semitism. sees all history under the

aspect of anti-S 81) Jews possess no real fatherland, subject to no real bonds, a state within a state, a nation within a nation, their emancipation was to be withdrawn
July 15, 1892-Burdeau-Drumont trial - "A bas les Juifs!"
1892, June 243 - duel anti-Semitic dMarquisa de Mores & French Prof. Mayer.

1893-98-GEORGE SOREL, expositor of Marx (Lichtheim, p. 328),
1900-exponent of SYNDICALISM (workers control) found Pelloutier,
1905-nationalist and anti-semitic color to his utterances, reavertaing to PROUDHON, GS absorbed in Henri Bergson's philosophy
1905-SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE WAS CATAACLYSM, mystical side of French patriotism
1914-joined alliance with Charles MAURRAS AND ACTION FRANCAISE, a Conservatavce royalist for whom Catholicism was a necessary fiction, not literally true, but vital for the continued existence of Latin civilization and therefore had to be defended against Jews, Protestants, and foreigners.
RESPONSIBLE FOR TRIUMPH OF FACISM IN ITALY AND FRANCE IN 1930s and 1940s.
1908-14-CIRCLE PROUDHON-fusion of PROUDHON'S views and nationalism, hated liberal democracy

p.12)-1902-MODERNISM (Bury, p180) it was in France and to only a less degree in England, that modernism, got under way after the turn of the century ALFRED LOISY, prof in College de France, was its leader, famous book, L'Evangile et l'Eglise,, the Gospel and the Church (1902), a reply to Adolf Haranack's Das Wesen des Christentums (The Essence of Christianity") or in English translation, "What is Christianity?" (1900)

p.181) Loisy widely read and quoted, thesis, "What Christ announced was the Kingdom of God, what came was the Catholic Church." Loisy's chief followers in France was priest, Albert Houtin. In Italy, Romolo Murri, Antonio Fogazzaro scholars Ernesto Buonaiuti, leaders of modernism In England, Fr. George Tyrrell, S J, popular book, "Christianity at the Crossroads" (1910, unfavorable hearing for modernism)

p 181(Bury) Eminent religious philosopher and biblical critic, baron Friederick von Hugel, no modernist, but sympathized with many modernist views, influenced William Sanday, foremost New Testament critic in Great Britain to renounce Johannine authorship of John. Von Hugel's "Mystical Element in Religion" (1908), "Eternal Life," (1913), famous "Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion" (1921-26) left deep impression on two generations of English scholars.

19th CENTURY (g. BRUNN, P.2)-POPULATION OF EUROPE INCREASED AT average of 3/4% per year, a ratio of growth never before sustained for so long a period/demographic increase most significant index of progress, phenomenal growth of population was major clue to Europe's supremacy 1815-200 million European population, by 1914- 460 million, 1/5 of world's total popul., by

1914, 1/4 of pop.

1902-P PIUS X (1903-1914) (Bury p.183) new Syllabus, Lamentabili sane exitu, Encyclical Pascendi dominici gregis (?) ordered ABANDONMENT OF MODERNISM AS QUINTESENCE OF ALL HERESIES, ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE ON BIBLE, ST. THOMAS, LITURGICAL EDITORIAL, CENTENARY OF ST. CHARLES BORROMEO, to attack PROTESTANT REFORMERS AS 'ENEMIES OF THE CROSS OF CHRIST' WHO 'MIND EARHTLY THINGS', 'WHOSE GOD IS THEIR BELLKY' WOE TAO THOSE WHO CALL EVIL GOOD AND GOOD EVIL' AND HAVE UNLEASHED A PLAGUE OF ERRORS--a thunderbolt among Evangelical leaders in Germany.

1902 (Bury, p.11) SYLLABUS OF ERRORS (1864) popular diffusion among German Catholics by a little book of Jesuit Brs, called "Modern ABC for Catholics of all Classes., Short Replies to Modern Attacks on Catholicism" (Berlin)

RECEIVED HERZL AND SOME OTHER JEWS IN AUDIENCE, BUT IN HIS DIOCESE OF MANTUA, BEFORE HE BECAME POPE, HE HAD PROHIBITED THE CELEBRATION OF A SOLEMN MASS ON THE KING'S BIRTHDAY BECAUSE THE CITY COUNCIL WHICH ASKED FOR IT HAD ATTENDED A CELEBRATION IN THE SYNAGOGUE (Popes, Z. Aradi, p.25) conclave on first ballot showed preference for Cardinal Rampolla (did not have 2/3 majority), 2nd ballot brought majority to Cardinal SARTO who implored to be saved from burden of papacy, lived simplest life, in 1954, 32 years after death, canonized, first pope to sainthood since 1712. (Vatican and World Politics? p225) Pius X, good-hearted reactionary, Patriarch of Venice, (Aradi, p.25) Pius X refused Austrian ambassador's appeal to bless the armies of Hapsburg Empire at outbreak of WWI. "Please leave! Leave immediately! I do not bless wars. I bless peace." /died 1914--after 1954 canonization carried to St Mary Major, venerated 10 days, then returned to St. Peter's (Aradi) p.88--simple, saintly priest, uninvolved in secular politics (Bury, p.179)--reigned during fatal 11 years, Aug 4, 1903 to Aug 20, 1914 up to WWI/gentle, saintly man aim 'OMNIA INSTAURARE IN CHRISTO' (to renew all things in Christ), died while "Guns of August" were destroying half the world, suffered grief from RCC misfortunes in France, growing militarism, threat of dissension, schism within church, (Bury, p.180) MODERNISM--modern science, historical and Biblical criticism, beginnings trace to liberal RC scholars in Germany after 1850s--Herman Schele (theologian), RC HISTORIANS (JOHANNES JANSSEWN, HEINRICH DENIFLE (?), FRANZ KRAUS, hoped to set RC free from overwhelming inheritance from M. Ages, cultural burdens of Age of Baroque VATICAN--HERZL (A. Bein, p.490, also 314, 94, 95, 467,)--On January 19, Herzl set out for Italy, remained in Venice for one day and continued to Rome. In Jan 22, he was received by C. Merry del Val, the Papal sectr, and on Jan 25, by the Pope himself, who accorded him a lengthy audience. The outcome of these negotiations was that Merry del Val promised to take under consideration the matter of supporting Zionist aspirations. A few weeks later, York-Steiner succeeded in obtaining from Papal Sect promise that the Apostolic See would place no obstacles in the way of COLONIZATION OF PALESTINE which he regarded as humanitarian work. Saintly Pius X (who 6 months before had succeeded combative Leo XIII, declared he could not support the return of all the infidel Jews

to Holy Land .if you come to Palestine and settle your people there, we want to have churches and priests ready to baptize all of you "NEW CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA, VOL. XI, p 408" PIUS X, ST 'Aug 9, 1903-Aug 20, 1914 Giuseppe Melchiorre Sarto, at Riese (Treviso), Italy) As bishop of Mantua, 1884) he revitalized the diocese by his energy and numerous contacts with priests and laity. Transferred to Venice as patriarch and cardinal (1893), he was noted for his spirit of poverty, apostolic zeal, concern for divine worship, directives in the field of Catholic action, and also for his professional, social and POLITICAL interests His pastoral letters of this period afford a glimpse of his future work. Thus a letter to the Mantuans (1887) reproved the principles and tendencies of what was later termed MODERNISM. His first pastoral to the Venetians solemnly affirmed that in matters concerning the Vicar of Christ, "there should be no questions, no subtleties, no opposing of personal rights to his rights, but only obedience." His reforms as pope reflected in good part the needs and aspirations he had experienced and expressed as pastor and bishop.

The conclave of 1903 (July 31-Aug 4) elected him successor to LEO XIII, despite his entreaties. (see above, Aradi) Cardinal Merry del Val, secretary of the conclave, became his secretary of state. His first encyclical, E SUPREMI APOSTOLATUS (Oct 4) together with his allocution to the Sacred College (Nov 9) formulated the GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF HIS PONTIFICATE, TO BATTLE AGAINST ESTRANGEMENT FROM GOD AND AGAINST APOSTASY, WHICH WAS BECOMING EVER MORE RUINOUS TO SOCIETIES. TO THIS END HE WOULD SEEK 'TO RESTORE ALL THINGS IN CHRIST, IN ORDER THAT CHRIST MAY BE ALL AND IN ALL.' He desired to be merely the minister of the Most High, but this position he intended to fill completely. In no area of human activity, he promised, would he fail to affirm the authority of God, the rigorous obedience due his church, and the limitless extent of the papal mission. EVEN POLITICAL AFFAIR SO FAR AS THEY CONCERN FAITH AND MORALS, MUST NOT ESCAPE THE NEED FOR UNIVERSAL RESTORATION AS WAS REITERATED IN THE ENCYCLICAL JUCUNDA SANF (MARCH 12, 1904) commemorating the 13th centenary of Pope St Gregory the Great. PIUS ALSO RESOLVED "TO TEACH the Christian truth and law," and to defend them with circumspection against "the insidious maneuvers of a type of new science" He further aimed to promote social justice and charity, the sole guarantee of real order and peace among individuals and groups.

MODERNISM (N CATH ENCYCL, vol 11, p409) Modernism provided the gravest problem with which Pius X had to contend in the philosophical, theological, and exegetical realms. For some years this new trend had been infiltrating intellectual circles in Christian nations and gaining entrance into some periodicals in the U.S. As a result several works of unequal importance had been on the INDEX including writings by LOISY, HOUTIN, LABERTHONENNIERE, FOGAZZARO, and others. The Pontiff revealed his attitude on several occasions notably in the encyclical PIENI L'ANIMO (July 28, 1906) and even more clearly, in the Sconsistory of April 17,

1907) OFFICIAL condemnation came with the publication of LAMEN-
 TABILI SANI EXITU (July 3, 1907) a decree of the Holy Office
 approved by the Pope which reprobated 65 propositions
 containing in summary form the errors imputed to Modernism. The
 encyclical PASCENDI DOMINICI GREGIS (Sept 8) completed the
 repression of what it termed the "resume of all the heresies."
 Pius X enacted in its series of measures destined to protect
 the faith of the laity and still more of the clergy. The motu
 proprio (Nov 18, 1907) PRAESENTIA confirmed Lamentabili and
 Pascendi under a penalty of grave censures.

Despite these measures, supplemented by a number of excommuni-
 cations and several additions to the Index of Forbidden
 Books, resistance did not disappear. This led to the imposition
 of an oath against Modernism (Sept 1910) that created difficul-
 ties in Germany (see Modernism, OATH AGAINST). TO THE END OF HIS
 PONTIFICATE THE POPE CONTINUED TO DENOUNCE the Modernist peril
 and the "circuitous means" by which it maintained itself.

Excesses unfortunately accompanied the repression of Modernism.
 They were caused chiefly by the supporters of INTEGRALISM partic-
 ularly Msgr BENIGNI and his SOLIDARITUM PIANUM (League of KSt.
 Pius V). As a result numbers of Catholics, savants among them,
 found themselves unjustly denounced. Ecclesiastical studies
 suffered a setback. Three Papal letters encouraging the Sodalitum
 were published but these did not mention all of its numerous
 secret activities. Never did the Pontiff accord it a "formal and
 definitive approval."

ENCYCLICAL, p 409) Unfavorable by nature to alliance with groups
 hostile or even foreign to Catholicism, Pius desired Catholics to
 form a great union to effect a program of just and prudent social
 reforms. From the beginning of his pontificate he issued instruc-
 tions of this tenor to the Italian Opera dei Congressi. His motu
 proprio Fin dalla prima (Dec. 18, 1903) tried to remove Italian
 popular action groups from the ardent political involvements in
 which Romolo Murri and others were trying to engage them,
 contrary to the directives of the Holy See. After dissolving
 the internally divided Opera dei Congressi, P. Pius X di-

rected his attention to the followers of Christian Democracy
 led by Murri. In two encyclicals, Il fermo proposito (June 11, 1905)
 and Pienil'animo he affirmed the great social role (actually the
 role of prudent political preparation) which devolved on Catholic
 Action under the control of the heads of the Church. He also
 opposed the spirit of insubordination shown by some ecclesiastics
 which menaced young clerics (SEE ITALY) THIS INSUBORDINATION HAD IN
 THE POPE'S mind ties with Modernist errors. The Holy Office's
 condemnation (Feb 13, 1908) of the journal of Abbe Naudet, La
 Justice Sociale and that of Abbe Dabry, a Vie Catholique,
 manifested Roman disquietude concerning the activities

of French Christian Democracy, which had oriented itself
 toward politics in the framework of the Ralliement as recom-
 mended by Leo XIII. The letter to the French episcopacy Notre
 charge (Aug 25, 1910) condemned the Sillon, directed by Marc
 Sangnier, a man to whom the Pope was at first attracted. But the
 interconfessional Sillon freed itself from ecclesiastical author-
 ity

ity, adopted social, civic, and even religious theses in opposition

at time to pontifical directives, "enforced religion" to the party of democracy, and formed alliances that compromised the defense of the Church in a grave hour.

Distaste for interconfessional groups appeared again in the encyclical *Singulari quadam* (Sept 24, 1912), which authorized under certain conditions Protestant membership in some groups, but preferred in principle purely Catholic associations.

RELATIONS WITH GOVTS.-The Apostolic Constitution *COMMISSUM NOBIS* (Jan. 20, 1904) ended the veto power of Catholic governments raised by the Austrian Cardinal Puzyna at the 1903 conclave to defeat Cardinal Rampolla. (see Israel and the nations, by Dr. Israel S. Bloch, p. XX, "Ernest Schönbauer, the Vienna member of Parliament said in Vienna meetings 'Jewry was opposed to this clear-eyed man of realistic judgment (Rampolla), so he sacrificed because some Polish Jews objected to his becoming pope") and cheered the orator. Pathological condition of the orator found a corresponding mentality in the mob.

Pius X's pontificate coincided with the growth of anticlericalism in France, especially during the ministry of Emile Combes which saw the prohibition of all teaching by religious congregations, and conflicts over episcopal nominations. It witnessed the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Holy See (July 30, 1904) subsequent to the note of Cardinal Merry del Val concerning the visit of President Loubet of France to the king of Italy, and also the summoning to Rome of the bishops of Dijon and Laval. A FRENCH LAW (Dec. 9, 1905) annulled unilaterally the Concordat of 1801, separated church from state, and transferred the church's goods to lay associations. Pius X condemned the legislation in the encyclical *VEHEMENTER NOS* (Feb 11, 1906). Despite the wish of the French bishops who were concerned for the existence of their dioceses, the Pope opposed all projects for bettering the lay associations in the encyclical *GRAVISSIMO officii munere* (Aug 10, 1906). In his solicitude for the rights of God and the Church he repeatedly displayed his hostility to the new legislations which had been enacted in violent circumstances and which included expulsions and violations of the archives of the nunciature.

French Catholics were advised by the Holy See not to continue to identify the defense of their religion with union of church and state. PIUS X WAS REMARKABLY INDULGENT TOWARD THE LEADER OF THE ACTION FRANÇAISE, CHARLES MAURRAS, WHEN HE LEFT UNPUBLISHED FOR A TIME THE DECREE CONDEMNING SEVERAL OF MAURRAS' BOOKS.

IN HIS RELATIONS WITH THE GOVT OF ITALY PIUS X UPHOLD THE TEMPORAL RIGHTS OF THE HOLY SEE, WHILE PREPARING THE WAY LITTLE BY LITTLE IN DIVERSE ACTS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE ROMAN QUESTION. He felt compelled to protest against the anticlerical violence of Ernesto Nathan, Mayor of Rome. Consideration for the country's general welfare dictated his encyclical *Il fermo propositum* (June 11, 1905) which allowed bishops in certain cases to remove the papal prohibition that kept the faithful from political elections.

One of the pope's commemorative encyclicals, *Editae saepe* (May

26,1910) dedicated to St Charles Borromeo roused some ill feeling in Germany because one passage was interpreted as being severe toward the Reformation. Sympathy for the Poles won for the pontiff the hostility of the Russian govt. Similarly the mission of Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli as legate to Ireland was viewed amiss in London. Catalan revolutionaries plunged the Spanish church into mourning (1909), and the anticlerical govt of Canalejas caused it extreme distress. The young republic of Portugal was reproved in the encyclical Jamjudum in Lusitania (May 24, 1911) for its law separating state from church which led to violent religious persecution.

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE U.S. DEPLORED THE REFUSAL OF A PAPAL AUDIENCE (1910) to FORMER PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT IN ROME, BECAUSE HE INTENDED TO SPEAK IN THE METHODIST CHURCH IN ROME. On the other hand, Pius X praised the liberalism of the govt of the US. He also approved (June 11, 1911) the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Frequently he praised and aided the fervor of North American Catholics.

Antireligious legislation in Ecuador merited papal disapproval (1905). Bolivia was reminded of certain ecclesiastical laws. The HOLY SEE'S PRESTIGE MOUNTED WITH THE ARBITRATION OF THE POPE'S DELEGATE MONSIGNOR BAVONA IN THE CONFLICT INVOLVING BRAZIL, BOLIVIA, AND PERU. ENCYCLICAL LACRIMABILI STATU (June 7, 1912) invited the Latin American bishops to do their utmost to improve the lot of the Indians.

Pius X's grief at the outbreak of World War I appeared in his exhortation Dum Europa ferebatur (Aug 2, 1914) a congregation ended his life soon after (Aug 20). Christendom recalled in manifold ways the sanctity of this pontiff of luminous faith and compassionate humility. The cardinals of the Roman curia requested (Feb 24, 1923) the introduction of his cause. After long investigations (1923-46) the approval of the required miracles, and the ritual formalities, PIUS X was beatified (June 3, 1951) and canonized (May 29, 1954). Since then his cult has continued to spread across the world. (see biblio)/INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH-Pius X profoundly reformed the Church's interior life, while favoring its missionary expansion. Interest in public prayer and public divine worship, weekly recitation of entire psalter, codification of the Code of Canon Law (March 19, 1904), central govt simplified, harmonized and strengthened, removed from jurisdiction of the Congregation for Propagation of the Faith, the U.S., Canada, Newfoundland, England, IRELAND, HOLLAND and Luxemburg/Pius X commended development of studies that conformed to spirit of the establishment (May 7, 1909) PONTIFICAL BIBLICAL INSTITUTE promoted despite some criticisms, scientific knowledge of Sacred Scripture/zealous champion of St. Thomas Aquinas/importance of religious instruction and catechism/exalted priesthood, Virgin Mary, eucharist, (see p. 410)

BENEDICT XV (1914-22) Della Chiesa, Bury p. 188) succeeded Pius X, trained diplomat from school of Leo XIII, WWI involved millions of RCS on both sides, PAPAL POLICY WAS NEUTRALITY AND IMPARTIAL FRIENDLINESS TO BOTH SIDES. Benedict was of noble lineage, Vatican representative at Madrid, had high connections, contacts all

over Europe His wise counsels increased respect for papacy on both sides 1914-only 20 foreign govts represented at HolyS/1917 there were 31/pportCatholic Hapsburg dynasty,Emperor medieval monararch, 1870s-Trafe govt-14 years-fought hereasy of libearal-ism, supportead by RC, 1848 revolution-pious fervor to fight democracy

CONCORDAT-VATICAN-AUSTRIA, new privileges, counteract liberalism, educational system given to RC, used for countaera-revolution(rural),ANTI-CLERAICALISM TRIGGERED BY CONCORDAT

1907- ARABS-ISRAEL 9H Sachar, p.163)-dR yITZCHAK ePSTEIN, NOTED zIONIST EDUCATAORA, IN hashILOACH, "among the GRAVAE QUESTIONS LINKED IN THE CONCEPT OFour people's renaissance on its own soil there one question which is more weighty than all the others combined. JThis is lkthe questions of our realtaions with the Arabs OJur own national aspirations depend upton the corarectva sjolution of this question...(yet) it has simply been forgootten by the Zionists and is hardly referred to at all in its true form in Zionist litearature."

1908-ARAB ANTI-ZIONISM 9H Sachar, 1650 THE YOUNG tURK REVOJLU-TIOIN, SEEKING NEW OPPORTUNITIES OF SELF-RULE, aRAB-mUSLIM MEM-BERS OFL TAHE oTTOMAN pARALIAMENT EMBARKED for tahe first time on an anti-Zionist campaign. Charges of two self-govtrs in Palestine touched ofaf repercussioins among Palestainian Arabs.

1910-HUNGARY 9Pulzer,p.10) Budepest grew faster in 1800s than any other European capltal, lk910-Jews,203,687, one quarter of jplopulation, called "JUDAPEST", 1920-agraiculture labvor 1%, 7 3%industgrial worakers, acxtors, musicians-23%Authors 34%, lawyers-51%, Doctores 60%, commerce, kfinance -0 overwhelming majority Jewwish,journalism dominataed vby Jews

1914-1939-(Bury,p184)APOCALYPTIC QUARATAER CENTURY,PERIOD ZWIS-CHEN DEN ZEITEN

1914-1922-BENEDICT XV-(Della Chiesa)Bury p 188), succeeded Pius X,trained diplomat from school of Leo XIII,WWI involved millions of RCs on lbotdh sides, PAPAL, POLICY WAS NEUTRALITY AND IMPARA-TIAL FRIENDLINESS TO BOTH SIDES/ Benedict of noble lineage, Vatican representative at Madrid, had high connections, con-tactds all over Europe,l His wise counsels increased respect for papacy on both sides.

1914-only 20 foreign govts represented at Holy See , 1917, there were 31,1921,Japanese crown prince visits Vatican Benedict pleaded with rulers on botqh sides to settle differences at conferencetable, not on battlefield.Tried to jp[revent Italy-Austria conflict, both "RC" countries but unsuccessful/reabuiked violation of Belgium's neutrality, 1917-tried to mediatæ bea-tween belligereants.

Despite war, promoted world-wide missioins of church(Nov. 1919 -Apostolic Epistle)

ENCYCLICAL, AD BEATISSIMI APOSTOLORUM (1922) ON THEOLJOGICAL STUDY, INSISTED BY ITS NATURE CATHOLIC FAITH IS UNCHANGING, neither supplemented nor diminished "One must maintain it as a

whole, or reject it as a whole " (p.189) "No innovation except from tradition" (p Stephen, 256 AD)

no new church-state arrangements with govts , disturbed

-succeeded by P PIUS XI (1922-39)

1920s-p Benedict XV sent pontifical mission to USSR duringx terrifying famine of 1920s,wlfare mission led by Rev. EJdmund Walsh of Georgetown Univ., afteara mission left, kPRAVDA, instead of expressing gratitude, stataead thatP.PIUS XI should be condemned to death

Benedict ran into difficulties because in Treaty of London, kconcluded in 1915, France, Greata Britain, andRussia agxareed to support Italy in preventing representative of Holy See jkfrom taking anyh stepljs whataevear in regard to the conclusion of peace or the settlement of questions connected with the pjresent war KBenedict did not abandon his effortsd to end the bloodshed His nuncio in Berlin, Archbishop Pacelli (later Pius XII) presented peace proposals from the Pojntiff to the Kaiser ..nothing happened and the war continued.

P.BENEDICT XV-sEPT. 3,L9L4 TO JAN 22,L922-GIACOMO DELLA CHIESA, PEGLI(GENOA), B NOV 21,1854 Parents belonged to patrician class of Genoa.

deliccate health as child, studious habits and solidtude and introspection/private tutors/secondary schooling diocesan priests/FATHER FEARING CURRENT ANTI-CLERICALSIM CAUSED HIM TO DEFER HIS PRIESTLY AMBITION,ATTENDED ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF GENOA, RECEIVED DOCTORATE IN CIVIL LAW(1875) after writing thesis jon "The Interpretation of laws"/persistent request to study for priesthood/In Rome resided at Capranica College, classes at Gregorian University, ordained (Dec 21,1878)DoctoratP in theogy (1879) in Canon Law(1880)

PAPAL DIPLOMAT- ARCHBISHOP RAMPOLLA, REPRESENTATAIVE OF P LEO XIII AT SEMINARS HELD IN THE ACCADEMIA DEI NOBILI ECCLESIASTICI, invited the young priest to join the staff of the papalsecretari-at of state as APPRENDISTA When Rampolla became apostolic nuncio to Spain (1882), HE TOOK DELLA CHIESA AS SECRETRY.In Spain a violent extraordinary cholera epidemic broke out The nuncio and his secretary organized primitive relief agencies and worked as male nurses This expereince proved helpful later, when Benedict XV demonstraed ax practical grasp of the needs in WWI by directing personally the organizataion of Vatican relief agencies. IN 1887 RAMPOLLA WAS NAMED PAPAL SECRETARY OF STATE AND CARDINAL. After serving as MINUTANTE ora secretary, DELLA CHIESA WAS AP-POINTED SOSTITUTO OR UNDERSECRETARY (1901) HIS NATURAL SENSE OF GRACIOUS DIPLOMACY OFTEN WON LEO XIII's approval of projects that the somewhat CHOLERIC RAMPOLLA was unable to achieve.

With accession of PIUS X(1903) RAFAEL MERRAY DEL VAL replaced Rampolla as secretary of state, but DELLA CHIESA remained as UNDERSECRETAARY. Although he enjoyed favor with Pius X, the years from 1903 to 1907 were increasingly difficult for him THE CRISIS OVER MODERNISM HAD GIVEN RISE TO AN EXTREME RIGHTIST MOVEMENT CALLED INTEGRALISM . DELLA CHIESA DISCREETLY BUT REPEATEDLY CAUTIONED AGAINST UNWARRANTED CONDEMNATIONS OF WELL-MEANING SCHOLARS So far was Della Chiesa from espousing Modernists,

however, that Pius X once referred to him as his "right arm in fighting modernism "

Archbishop of Bologna-When the position of nuncio to SPAIN fell vacant (1907), Della Chiesa seemed destined for the post. Merary del Val however felt that his policies would be better executed if Della Chiesa were removed from the diplomatic service. With some embarrassment Pius X summoned Della Chiesa and asked him to accept the See of BOLOGNA. The pontiff himself consecrated him bishop in the Sistine Chapel (Dec 22,1907)

Although disappointed in not realizing his desire of returning to Spain, Della Chiesa went to Bologna, A SEE BRISTLING WITH DIFFICULTIES. THE CITY WAS THEN IN TURMOIL BECAUSE OF SOCIALIST AGITATORS Preceding archbishop, Cardinal Svampa, had governed the see with a relaxed hand Della Chiesa, trained in ROMAN LEGALISTIC PRECISION, MEANT TO INSTITUTE SYSTEM AND ORDER Svampa had been impressive in external appearance and his successor was not, THE BOLOGNESE DID NOT CONCEAL THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT HOWEVER, THE NEW ARCHBISHOP'S INSTINCTIVE KINDNESS, HIS PASTORAL SOLICITUDE, AND HIS GENEROSITY SOON CANCELLED THEIR FIRST IMPRESSION. He made a thorough episcopal visitation of every church, institution, and chapel in his see, often traveling on horseback to the most remote mountain villages this project occupied his first 4 years and elicited from Pius X a very laudatory autograph. Bologna had long been a cardinalatial see, but PIUS X WAITED 7 YEARS BEFORE CONFERRING ON DELLA CHIESA THE RED HAT (1914).

PONTIFICATE, within 3 months of this elevation, Pius X died (Aug 20) At this time THE QUALITIES DEMANDED IN HIS SUCCESSOR INCLUDED A DIPLOMATIC SKILL IN COPING WITH WORLD WAR I WHICH HAD ERUPTED ON JUN 28, AND A COMBINATION OF STRENGTH AND JPLRUDENCE IN DEALING WITH INTEGRALISM. CONCLAVE WAS BRIEF. DELLA CHIESA WAS NOT RAISED AT ITS OPENING AS ONE OF THE LEADING PAPABILI, BUT HE WAS ELECTED ON THE TENTH BALLOT (sept 3) He took the name Benedict principally to honor the last pope elected from the See of Bologna, Prospero Lambertini, BENEDICT XIV, WHO HAD ALSO BEEN AN EXPERT IN JURISPRUDENCE. Coronation took place Sept 6 in Sistine Chapel on a very modest scale because of the widespread misery caused by WWI.

CURIAL APPTS Benedict XV made extensive changes in the personnel of the Roman Curia Cardinal Ferrata was named sect of state but died within 2 weeks P GASPARRI SUCCEEDED HIM. MERRY DEL VAL BECAME SECRETARY OF THE HOLY OFFICE

CHARITIES-especially in the alleviation of human misery became the leitmotiv of the pontificate. For example, Benedict XV instituted an international MISSING PERSONS BUREAU in the Vatican to reestablish contact between prisoners of war and their families /He prevailed on Switzerland to accept ailing soldiers who had fallen prey to tuberculosis, then very prevalent. He personally selected ecclesiastics to visit the sick and the wounded and to extend to them his sympathy and blessing

PEACE-HIS SEVEN-POINT PEACE NOTE WAS SENT TO THE HEADS OF THE CENTRAL AND THE ALLIED POWERS 9 AUG 1, 1917) IT CALLED FOR (1) SUBSTITUTION OF THE 'MORAL FORCE OF RIGHT' FOR THE LAW OF MATERIAL FORCE, (2) SIMULTANEOUS AND RECIPROCAL DECREASE OF ARMAMENTS, (3) INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, (4) TRUE FREEDOM AND COMMUNITY OF THE SEAS, (5) RECIPROCAL RENUNCIATION OF WAS

INDEMNITIES, (6) EVACUATION AND RESOTROATION OF ALL OCCUPOIED TERRITORIES, AND (7) EXAMINATION 'IN A COONCILIATORAY SPIRIT' OF THE RIVAL TERRITORIAL CLAIMSD.

MOST OF THE BELLIGERENTS RETURNED POLITE BUT EQUIVOCAL REPLIES AUSTRIA WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT THE TERMS GREAT BRITAIN SHOWED GOOD WILL BUT FRANCE EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS. FOREIGN SECTAX RICHARAD VON KUHLMANN IN GERMANY DID NOT FAVOR A V ATICAN MOTIVATED PEACE ROBERT LANSING, US SCT OF STATAE, ISSUED A SOMEWHAT DIDACTIC REFUSAL /

THE DEBACLE OF THIS PEACE EFFORT WAS PERHAPS THE GAREATAST DISAPPO9INTMENT THAT A BENEDICT XV SUFFEREAD DURING HIS JPJOINT-AIFICATAE. HE HAD TAO CLOSE HIS MISSINGH PERSONS BUREAU BECAUSE OF THE CALUIMNIES THAT IT WAS A FACADE FORL ESPIONAGAE. IN HIS INTROUDCTION TO TAHE PJAACE NOTE, THE POPE REVEALED THAT IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS ELECTION TO THE PAPACY, HE HAD RESOJLVED TRO OBSERAVE ABSOLUTE IMPARATIALITY BUT NOT DISINTERESTED NEUTRALITY. BUT caluimnies did not cease The Central powers referared to him as "'DER FRANZO'SICHF PAPST', THE ALLIED POWERS CALLED HIM 'LE PAPE BOCHE'. HE DID NOT RAISE HIS VOICE AGAIN UNTIL THE CLOSE OF THE WAR WHEN HIS ENCYHCLICAL PACEM DEI MUNUS (May 23, 1920) PLEADED FOR THE RESTPORATION OF BROTHERLY LOVE. /DIJPLOMAZTIC RAEALTIONS- THE POPE WORKED ASSIDUOUSLY TO RESTORE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE THAT HAD BEEN RUPTURED BY THE WAR. HE WAS ESPEDCIALLY ANXIOUS TO HFAL LTHE BREACH WITH FRANCE His allocution kata tahe canaonizataion of Joan of Arac did much to accomplish this When he was elected, 14 COUNTRIES WERE REPRESENTED ATA THF VATAICAN, WHEN HF DID THE NUMBFR HAD RISEN TO 26

ROMAN QUESTION The Roman question remained important Reportedly P Benedict protested against the LAW OF GUARANTEES Owing to his careful planning, a secret meeting took place between BENITO MUSSOLINI AND CARDINAL GASPARRI in the home of Count Carlo Santucci, and old friend of the Pope Here tahe first decisive steps were taken that culminated in the LATERAN (PACT 1929)

CANON LAW, CODIFICATION OF CURCH LAW INAUGURATED BY PIUS X AND PLSCED UNDER DIRECTION OF CARDINAL GASPARRI, was completed much earlier than at first envionsed The success of the project rose laragely from Benedict XV's special interest and close supervision CODSE OF CANON LAWA WAS PUBLISHED ON JUNE 28, 1917

ORIENTAL CHURCHES-(p 280)-Benedict XV paved tghe way for a better understanding between the Oriental and the Latin Churches. On May 1, 1917,, he announced establishment of SACRED CONGREGATION FOR THE ORIENTAL CHURCH, WITH POPE AS PREFECT a MOTU PROPRIO, oRIFNTIS CATHOLICI (oct. 15, 1917) ESTABLISHED THE PONTIFICAL ORIENTAL INSTITUTE IN ROMF PRONOUNCEMENTS,

CHARACTFRISTICS- AS THE RESULT OF A BIRTH INJURY, ONE EYE, ONE EAR, AND ONE SHOULDER OF BENEDICT XV WEARE NOTICEAABLY HIGHER THAN THE OTHER. HE WAS SHORT, EXTREMELY THIN, STOOP SHOULDERED, SOMEWHAT BLUISH IN COMPLEXION AND LIMPED PERCEPTIBLY. HIS TEMPERAMENT WAS KIND AND SYMPATHETIC HE WAS INVARIABLY APPROACHABLE AND GREQUENTLKY ASSERTAED, 'EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO SEE THE POPE.' HE WAS GAENEROUS ALMOST TO A FAULT. THE HOLY SEE HAD TO

BORROW MONEY TO BURY HIM, SO MUCH HAD HE DEPLETED THE TREASURY WITH HIS ALMSGIVING AT TIMES HIS NATIVE NERVOUSNESS SHOWED ITSELF IN ERUPTIONS OF TEMPER, AGAINST WHICH HE ADMITTED HE HAD TO FIGHT ALL HIS LIFE WHEN HE FAILED, HE MADE REPARATION BY PROFUSE APOLOGIES AND ACTS OF KINDNESS HE WAS INCAPABLE OF SUSTAINING RANCOR OR OF HARBORING GRUDGES. HIS HUMOR TOOK THE FORM OF A GENTLE KINDLY IRONY HIS FINAL ILLNESS LASTED ONLY A FEW DAYS AND WAS CAUSED BY INFLUENZA WHICH DEVELOPED INTO PNEUMONIA (SEE BIBLIO, P 280).

PROGNOUNCEMENTS- Benedict XV wrote 12 encyclicals His inaugural one, AD BEATISSIMI APOSTOLORUM (nov. 1, 1914) was a blueprint of what he hoped his pontificate would accomplish IT DEALT WITH PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS, AMONG SOCIAL CLASSES, AND WITHIN THE CHURCH. He dealt with the Integralists without using the name, stating merely that a label had been affixed to the word Catholic, but that there was no need to qualify it by "fresh epithets" Spiritus Paraclitus *(Sept 15, 1920) marking the 15th centenary of the death of St. Jerome, appealed for a return to the study of Holy Writ It built on the principles laid down by Leo XIII, explaining them or contracting the latitude of their application Maximum illud, an apostolic letter (nov 30, 1919) called for a better spiritual and intellectual preparation of missionaries and also for the formation of native clergies

P PIUS XI, Feb 6, 1922, to Feb 10, 1939 b. AMBROGIO DAMIANO ACHILLE RATTI, at Desio near MILAN, May 31, 1857 (82 yrs.) After ordination (1879) and studies at the Gregorian Univ Rome, (PhD, DD, JCD) he became (1882) a professor at the major seminary in Milan and was appointed to the staff of the Ambrosian library, Milan (1888-1911, after 1907 director). During this period he became known especially for his work in paleography and published Acta Mediolanensis (4 v. Milan 1890-99) and Missale Duplex Ambrosianum (Milan 1913). FROM 1911 to 1918 RATTI WORKED AT THE VATICAN LIBRARY, FIRST AS PREFECT UNDER F.X. EHRLE AND AFTER 1914 as prefect

In April 1918, Benedict XV entrusted Ratti with the difficult task of apostolic visitor to the young POLISH REPUBLIC WHICH HAD JUST ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE RATTI WAS APPOINTED NUNCIO TO POLAND IN JUNE 1919 and titular archbishop to Lepanto on Oct. 28, 1919. HIS MISSION EXTENDING TO THE AREAS THAT HAD FORMERLY BEEN PART OF THE CZARIST EMPIRE ACQUAINTED HIM WITH THE DIFFICULTIES IN RECONSTRUCTING THE STATE AND CHURCH IN POLAND AND IN THE BALTIC STATES (LITHUANIA, LATVIA, ESTONIA) HE WAS ALSO DRAWN INTO THE RIVALRIES AND BORDER DISPUTES OF THESE YOUNG STATES. STILL MORE DELICATE WAS HIS TASK AS PAPAL DELEGATE ON THE INTER-ALLIED COMMISSIONS FOR THE PEWISCH AREAS IN UPPER SILESIA WHERE HIS SYMPATHIES WERE WITH POLISH CATHOLICISM. AS NATIONAL PASSIONS HEIGHTENED, THE NUNCIO'S SITUATION BECAME SO UNSTAINABLE THAT BENEDICT XV TRANSFERRED HIM (June 13, 1921) MAKING HIM ARCHBISHOP OF MILAN AND A CARDINAL. AFTER THE DEATH OF BENEDICT XV, ACHILLE RATTI WAS ELECTED POPE ON THE 14TH BALLOT ON FEB 6, 1922 PIUS XI's pontificate was devoted to achieving the great task of

peace and the reordering the Church After the collapse of the old systems in WWI, he strove for the PAX CHRISTIANA in a world which had not reestablished genuine peace. IN THE AGE OF JUDICIAL-APPEARING MONARCHIES HE REFERRED THE NATIONS, WARS, WEARS AND KYET FILLED WITH UNREST TO THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST. FOR HIM THE HIGHEST GOAL WAS THE UNIFICATION OF HUMANITY-A HUMANITY SEEKING TRUE PEACE AND COMMUNITY--UNDER THE ROYAL SCEPTRE OF CHRIST.

In his programs of religious renewal, the Pope's encyclicals were of special significance. The first, UBI ARCANO (Dec. 23, 1922) inaugurated Catholic Action or "the participation of the layman in the hierarchical apostolate" for the purpose of restoring a society animated by Christian spirit and of permeating all manifestations of public life with the Catholic doctrines of faith and morals. Although the organization of Catholic Action in all countries was very close to the heart of Pius XI, it took on special importance for ITALY where it was linked up with existing organizations. The Pope stressed repeatedly its nonpolitical, purely religious character. The encyclical on Christian education, Divini Illius Magistri, (Dec 31, 1929) lays the foundation for a genuinely Christian theory of education, OPPOSES THE MODERN STATE'S MONOPOLY OF SCHOOLS, AND UNDERTAKES THE DEMARCATION AND COORDINATION OF EDUCATION RIGHTS OF THE FAMILY, THE CHURCH, AND THE STATE. Marriage encyclical Casti connubii (Dec 30, 1930) treats of the properties of marriage (children, mutual trust, holiness) warns against contemporary false solutions (marriage for a specified duration, trial marriage, marriage of comradeship, abortion, sterilization, infidelity, mixed marriage, divorce, birth control) and asks for respect for the divine commandments and esteem for the graces conferred by the Sacrament of matrimony. Besides the primary purpose (children), the "mutual and harmonious development of the partners" is recognized as "primary reason for marriage" (Catechismus Romanus 2 8, 13).

THE ENCYCLICAL ON THE SOCIAL ORDER, QUADRAGESIMO ANNO (May 15, 1931) - 40 YEARS AFTER LEO XIII'S RERUM NOVARUM, IS THE SECOND GREAT SOCIAL ENCYCLICAL. Going beyond the demands of Leo XIII, it presses for social reform, and under this aspect develops the idea of the principle of subsidiarity and of the "corporate order". As a supplement to QUADRAGESIMO ANNO, the encyclical NOVGA IMPDET (Oct 2, 1931) treats of the financial crises of FINANCIAL DISTRESS, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY ARMS RACE. The Pope's concern over the growing distress after the 1929 world economic crisis found expression in the encyclical CARITATE CHRISTI (May 3, 1932). TO OFFSET THE WIDESPREAD MISERY IN THE WORLD, THE POPE CALLED FOR THE CHRISTIAN ACTIVITY OF LOVE, PRAYER, PENANCE AND DEVOTION TO THE DIVINE HEART OF JESUS. IN THE FACE OF GROWING DANGERS FROM THE TOTALITARIAN SYSTEMS OF VARIOUS STATES, PIUS XI, IN NUMEROUS ADDRESSES AND WRITINGS, WARNED URGENTLY AGAINST A WAY OF THINKING THAT ALIENATED MEN FROM GOD, AND HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL MAN, THE SANCTITY OF THE FAMILY AND THE ORDER AND SECURITY OF SOCIETY WOULD BE SECURED ABOVE ALL BY RELIGION AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CHURCH. THESE PAPAL EFFORTS CULMINATED IN NON ABBIAMO BISOGNO (July 5, 1931) AGAINST ITALIAN FASCISM, MIT BRENNENDER SORGE (March 1937) AGAINST

NATIONAL SOCIALISM, AND DIVINI REDEMPTORIS (March 19, 1937), A DEFENSE OF HUMAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE AGAINST ATHEISTIC COMMUNISM. THE encyclical Ad Catholicum Sacerdotium (Dec. 20, 1935) was devoted to the priesthood of the Church

Also directed to the goal of renewing and deepening religious ecclesiastical life were the World Eucharistic Congresses, the Jubilee Years of 1925, 1929, and 1933, the encyclicals Quas primas (Dec 11, 1925) instituting the feast of Christ the King, Misericordissimus Redemptor (May 8, 1928) Caritas Christi (May 3, 1932) and Mens Nostra (Dec 20, 1929) and a decree concerning catechetical instruction of Jan. 1, 1935.

BEATIFICATIONS AND CANONIZATIONS_SEDE P 412 (ROBERT BELLARMINE, PETER Canisius, Albert the Great, St. Thomas More,)

WORLD MISSION-In the realization of the purposes of P Benedict XV's Maximum illud (Nov 30, 1919) PIUS XI indicated new paths to the world mission of the Church by urging RENUNCIATION OF THE PREVAILING EUROPEANISM BY THE PLANNED TRAINING OF A NATIVE CLERGY AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE INTELLECTUAL CULTURAL INDIVIDUALITY OF THE PEOPLES TO BE MISSIONIZED, BY THE 1925 MISSIONS EXHIBIT IN THE VATICAN (thereafter housed in the Lateran as a missions and ethnological museum,) and by the encyclical Rerum Ecclesiae (Feb 28, 1926) Notwithstanding considerable opposition, the Pope consecrated the FIRST SIX CHINESE BISHOPS IN ST PETER'S Oct. 28, 1926, and the FIRST JAPANESE AS BISHOP OF NAGASAKI on Oct 28, 1927. Additional episcopal consecrations of native priests from India, Southeast Asia, and China took place in 1933. AT THE BEGINNING OF PIUS XI's pontificate there was no mission diocese under native direction, at the Pope's death there were 40. In addition a number of native priests in mission lands rose from 2,670 to more than 7,000, and about 200 apostolic vicariates and prefectures were established. THE CATHOLIC POPULATION IN MISSION COUNTRIES INCREASED FROM 9 MILLION TO 21 MILLION. MOREOVER, THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION DEUS SCIENTIARUM DOMINUS (May 24, 1931) officially included missiology among the subjects of theological study in colleges. A faculty of missiology was established at the Gregoriana and an institute in the same field at the Roman Propaganda College, now housed in a new building on the Janiculum

EASTERN CATHOLIC CHURCHES-(see details, p 413)-Oriental Institute founded by Benedict XV was promoted .. Encyclical Rerum Orientalium (Sept 8, 1928) called for greater understanding of Eastern churches, reviewing the past and planning for the future. /In 1929, work was begun on codification of EASTERN CHURCH LAW, under the direction of CARDINAL PIETRO GASPARRI. In 1935 SYRIAN RITE PATRIARCH TAPPOUNI WAS ELEVATED TO CARDINALATE.

NON-CATHOLIC CHRISTENDOM-On invitation of learned Belgian Primate and Cardinal DESIRE MERCIER, conversations on subject of union took place between 1921 and 1926, at first with the knowledge and toleration, later with express approval of the Holy See and the archbishop of Canterbury. HOWEVER, THE HOLY SEE TOOK A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT OF NON-CATHOLIC CHRISTENDOM, WHICH RAPIDLY ACQUIRED STRENGTH SPECIALLY THROUGH THE SUPPORT OF THE PROTESTANT ABP. NATHAN SODERBLOM OF UPPSALA.

ART AND SCIENCE-(p 413)

CHURCH DIPLOMACY- It was only in the pontificate of PIUS XI that the catastrophic consequences of WWI became clear. In the states deranged by the aftereffects of war and revolution, the Pope strove for Church consolidation. HIS PONTIFICATE WAS A NEW ERA OF CONCORDATS IN PART THE PREPARATORY WORK EXTENDED BACK INTO THE TIME OF BENEDICT XV AIDED BY HIS TWO CARDINAL SECRETARIES OF STATE, PIETRO GASPARRI (till 1930) and eugenio PACELLI (1930-1939) PIUS XI CONCLUDED CONCORDATS WITH FOLLOWING STATES--LATVIA (Nov 3, 1922), BAVARIA (March 29, 1924), POLAND (Feb 10, 1925), RUMANIA (May 10, 1927), LITHUANIA (Sept 27, 1927), ITALY (Feb. 11, 1929), PRUSSIA (June 14, 1929), BADEN (Oct 12, 1932), AUSTRIA (June 5, 1933), GERMANY (July 20, 1933) and YUGOSLAVIA (1935, not ratified). In addition he signed agreements with Czechoslovakia (1926, 1928) FRANCE AND PORTUGAL (1928) and ECUADOR (1937). WORLD WAR II AND ITS CONSEQUENCES CAUSED MANY OF THESE TREATIES TO LAPSE.

ROMAN QUESTION-THE MOST SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL EVENT OF THE REIGN OF PIUS XI WAS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ROMAN QUESTION WHICH HAD FESTERED SINCE 1870. THIS SETTLEMENT MEANT RECONCILIATION OF THE PAPACY WITH THE ITALIAN STATE, SINCE 1922 UNDER THE dictatorial leadership of Benito Mussolini. After 2 1/2 YEARS OF DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS THE LATERAN PACTS WERE SIGNED ON FEB 11, 1929. THEY COMPRISED (1) A TREATY ON THE FOUNDING OF THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF VATICAN CITY (STATO DELLA CITTA' DEL VATICANO, 44 HECTARES IN AREA) AS A GUARANTEE OF THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE PAPACY IN THE GOVERNANCE OF THE CHURCH, (2) A CONCORDAT OF THE HOLY SEE WITH THE ITALIAN STATE WHEREBY THE CATHOLIC RELIGION WAS CONFIRMED AS THE STATE RELIGION IN ITALY WITH FREEDOM OF PASTORAL WORK AND OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE SCHOOLS, AND WITH STATE RECOGNITION OF CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE AND RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND SOCIETIES, (3) A FINANCIAL AGREEMENT AWARDDING THE HOLY SEE A LUMP-SUM PAYMENT OF 1,750,000,000 LIRE AS COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES SUSTAINED FOR ITALY. THIS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT MEANT THE IDEAL CONCLUSION OF THE RISORGIMENTO, FOR THE CATHOLICS, ROME WAS MADE SECURE AS THE CENTER OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. AFTER THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY (1946) THE LATERAN PACTS WERE INCORPORATED INTO THE NEW REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF ITALY.

TOTALITARIAN STATES -In the aftermath of WWI and against the background of dictated peace treaties, powerful upheavals in economic life, and changes in social structure that affected all the Christian churches, there grew up in extensive parts of the world a completely new form of national life THE TOTALITARIAN STATE. Three principal forms developed RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM, OF MARXIST-COMMUNIST ORIGIN, ITALIAN FASCISM, and GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALISM.

Between the Papacy and the Soviet Union there was no direct liaison whatever. In 1922 PIUS XI made a vain effort, through diplomatic mediation, to achieve the CESSATION OF RUSSIAN PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS. An attempt through the Jesuit Michael d'Herbigny and the secret consecration of bishops to strengthen the Catholic Church in Soviet Russia also miscarried. D'Herbigny was expelled, and the bishops were sent to penal camps. In the encyclical Divini Redemptoris (March 19, 1937) PIUS XI issued a sharp condemnation of atheistic communism.

Mindful of the stable power of Catholicism the Italian "Duce" Benito Mussolini sought to avoid conflict with the Church. In the Lateran Pact of 1929 he made a satisfactory arrangement with the Holy See. In 1931 serious difficulties in the interpretation of the Italian concordat were compromised, though Catholic organizations were gravely damaged. The Vatican's relations to Fascist Italy worsened considerably in 1938, when the National Socialist race doctrine was introduced.

In 1933 IT APPEARED THAT THE WAY WAS BEING PAVED FOR A SETTLEMENT WITH THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST REGIME OF ADOLF HITLER. ON THE STRENGTH OF HIS REPEATED AND SOLEMN ASSURANCES AS REICH CHANCELLOR, THE GERMAN BISHOPS BELIEVED THAT THEY HAD TO MODIFY THEIR HITHERTO SHARPLY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE AND THAT THEY COULD NOT WITHHOLD FROM THE NEW STATE THE COOPERATION OF THE CATHOLICS. ON JULY 20, 1933, THE HOLY SEE CONCLUDED A CONCORDAT WITH THE HITLER GOVT. THE INITIATIVE FOR WHICH HAD COME FROM THE GERMAN REICH GOVT. THE RAPID CONCLUSION OF THE CONCORDAT GAVE HITLER A CONSIDERABLE GAIN IN PRESTIGE IN THE EYES OF MISTRUSTFUL FOREIGN STATES AND PARALYZED TO A LARGE EXTENT A CATHOLIC OPPOSITION IN GERMANY. THE HOLY SEE SOUGHT TO BIND THE SUSPECT NEW SYSTEM TO FORMAL LAW AND THEREBY TO CAUSE IT TO ADOPT MODERATION. THE GERMAN CONCORDAT WAS 'THE ATTEMPT TO SAVE THE CONCORDATS WITH CERTAIN GERMAN STATES BY MEANS OF TERRITORIAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ENLARGEMENTS AS GERMANY MOVED INTO A QUITE UNCERTAIN FUTURE (plus 111 ON July 19, 1947) AFTER ITS BRIEF INITIAL CAMOUFLAGED NATIONAL SOCIALISM SOON SHOWED ITS ATHEISTIC FACE. AGAINST THE GROWING OPPRESSION SUFFERED BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN GERMANY, PIUS XI DIRECTED BETHLEHEM 1933 AND 1936, THIRTY FOUR NOTES OF PROTEST TO THE REICH GOVT. MOST OF THESE WERE UNANSWERED. IN THE ENCYCLICAL ARDENTI CURA (March 1, 1937) WHICH WAS WRITTEN WITH THE HELP OF CARDINAL MICHAEL VON FAULHABER, ARCHBISHOP OF MUNICH, AND WAS READ FROM ALL CATHOLIC PULPITS IN GERMANY, THE POPE CONDEMNED WITH UNUSUAL SHARPNESS THE CONSTANT VIOLATIONS OF LAW AND THE UNCHRISTIAN TEACHINGS AND PRACTICES OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM. FROM THEN ON THERE BEGAN AN INTENSIFIED PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH IN GERMANY WHICH WAS MODERATED SOMEWHAT ONLY IN WWII.

FRANCE-The relationship of the Holy See to France was substantially improved under PIUS XI. In the encyclica MAXIMUM GRAVISSIMUM (Jan 18, 1924) a practical accommodation on the vexing issues consequent on the Law of Separation (1905) was confirmed. PIUS XI extended the efforts of BENEDICT XV TO FIND A PLATFORM OF ACCOMODATION with the government of the FRENCH THIRD REPUBLIC, which had been facilitated by the resumption of FRENCH-VATICAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS in Dec 1921. His primary objective was to encourage those elements in the French Church that wished to work constructively within the democratic framework. HE OPPOSED ALL EXTREMIST POLITICAL STATEMENTS AND CONSISTENTLY APPOINTED CONCILIATORY CANDIDATES TO THE EPISCOPACY AND OTHER KEY POSTS. The climax to this vigorous policy, properly termed the SECOND RALLIEMENT, CAME WITH THE STRICT CONDEMNATION OF THE NATIONALISTIC AND MONARCHISTIC ACTION FRANCAISE (letter to Archbishop and Cardinal Andrieu of Bordeaux, Sept 5, 1926) which led to severe shocks for the Catholic Church in France. THE POPE AFTER LONG EXAMINATION EXCOMMUNICATED THE ADHERENTS OF THIS MOVEMENT AS ATHEISTIC AND NEOPAGAN. THE CONSEQUENCE WAS A

RELEASE OF THE PENTUP ENERGIES OF FRENCH CATHOLICS AND THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA IN THE FRENCH CHURCH
 SPAIN-Under the republican government (after 1931) ANTI-CATHOLIC EXCESSES OCCURRED, INCLUDING WILD ATTACKS ON CHURCHES AND MONASTRIES AGAINST THE HARSH ANTI-CHURCH SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE DECREED IN 1931 ON THE FRENCH MODEL, PIUS XI RAISED A PROTEST IN THE ENCYCLICAL DILECTISSIMAE NOBIS (June 3, 1933). THE CIVIL WAR, BEGUN IN JULY 1936, LED TO FRIGHTFUL ATROCITIES ON BOTH SIDES AND THE MURDER OF MANY BISHOPS, PRIESTS, MEMBERS OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS, AND CATHOLIC LAYMEN IN PORTUGAL THE SITUATION OF THE CHURCH VISIBLY IMPROVED AND THERE WAS EVEN A RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE HOLY SEE.

MEXICO-DURING PONTIFICATE OF PIUS XI Mexico witnessed a harsh and bloody persecution of the Church there as Pres. P. Calles executed the harsh anti-Church provisions of the Constitution of 1917. In the encyclical INIQUIS AFFLICTISSIME (Nov 18, 1926) the Pope described "the Diocletian persecutions" of the Church in Mexico. In several addresses he repeated his complaints and protests and censured the "CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE" in the world press toward the atrocities. After a temporary improvement PIUS XI again (1932, 1937) strongly protested the persecution in Mexico. Only after the 1930s did the situation of the church gradually improve.

CHARACTER- A man of simple, sober character and strong integrity, PIUS XI was averse to all ostentation. Quite conscious of the fragility of peace in the interwar years, he made every effort to strengthen the will to peace, to encourage international organization, and to contain racialism, and excessive nationalism which he saw as the major threats to peace. DESPITE THE EXTERNAL MISFORTUNES OF HIS PONTIFICATE, PIUS XI APPEARS AS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT AND MOST ABLE OF THE POPES OF MODERN TIMES. HE DIED SHORTLY BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF WW II AND WAS INTERRED IN THE GROTTO UNDER ST. PETER'S. (SEE BIBLIO, p 414)

POPE PIUS XII - Pontificate, March 2, 1939 to Oct 9, 1958 - EUGENIO MARIA GIUSEPPE GIOVANNI PACELLI, ROME, MARCH 2, 1876 (82 YEARS), second of four children of FILIPPO PACELLI, a lawyer, and Virginia Graziosi.

He was educated in Rome, studying philosophy at the Gregorian Univ., and theology at Sant' Appollinare (today the Lateran Univ.) After ordination (April 9, 1899, 23 years) he studied Canon Law and won a doctorate IN UTROQUE JURE 1902. ENTERING THE PAPAL SECRETARIAT OF STATE (1901), HE BECAME (1904) THE CLOSE COLLABORATOR OF PIETRO GASPARRI IN THE GIGANTIC TASK OF DRAWING UP THE CODE OF CANON LAW. HE WAS PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL DIPLOMACY (1909-14) AT THE PONTIFICIA ACADEMIA DEI NOBILI ECCLESIASTICI. HE BECAME ASST SECRETARY OF STATE (1911), PRO-SECRETARY OF STATE (1912), AND SECRETARY OF THE CONGREGATION FOR EXTRAORDINARY ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS (1914).

NUNCIO-Consecrated titular archbishop of Sardes by BENEDICT XV he was at the same time appointed nuncio to BAVARIA representing the VATICAN IN ITS PEACE EFFORTS WITH GERMANY. HE DEALT WITH THE GERMAN CHANCELLORS VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG AND MICHAELIS AND WITH

KAISER WILLIAM II PIUS XII REVEALED LKIN LATAKER LKYUJFARS THATA THE ABSENCE IN THE GERMAQN REPLY OF ANY ASSURAANCI THAT THE INETEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF BELGIUM WOULD BE REESTABLISHED WERE ENOUGHT TO FRUSTRATAE PAPAL MEDIATION

HE BECAME NUNCIO IN GERMANY JUNE 22, 1920, and DSEAN OFL THE BDRLIN DIPLOMATAIC CORPS HE SIGNED LTXHE CONCORDATS WITH BAVAR-AIA (march 29, 1924) AND PRUSSIA (JUNE 14, 1929) SECRETARY OF STATE- CREATED CARDINAL (Dec. 16, 1929), HE REPLACED CARDINAL GASPARRI AS SECRETARY OF STATE (Feb 7, 1930) AND CONCLUD-ED THE CONCORDAT WITH BADEN (Oct 12, 1932). Cardinal Pacelli went as papal legatae to the Eucharistic congress in Buenos Aires (Oct 1934), to the ubilee celebration in Lourdes (April 1935), to Lisieux to dedicate the basilica of St Therese4 (July 1937), and taxo tahe Eucharistic Congress in Budapest (May 1938) HE TRAVELED (Oct 1936) IN AN UINOFACIAL CAPACITY TO LTHE U S MAINLY TO EXPLFRIENCE AT FIRST HAND ITS CATHOLIC LIFE Covering more than 9,000 miles by land and air he visited 12 of the 16 ecclesiastical provinces, met 79 bishops, and ob seraved Cathol-icism at work in educartion as well as in social and chavritable endeavors. Hew was invited by PLresident JRAojoosevelt toj dine at Hyde Park

CONCORDATA WITH GERMANY-SOON AFTERA THE CONCORDQAT (June 3, 1933) WITH AUSTRIA, WHOSE CHANCELLOR WAS DOLLFUSS, LANOTHER WAS CON-CLUED WITH THE GERMAN REPUBLIC JULY 20, 1933. THE HITLKER REGAIME FIRST PROPOSFD IT AT EASTER, IT WAS THE GERMAQN GOVJERNMEN THAT INITIATED THE PROCEEDINGS PREVIOUSLY (March 24) THE CENTER PARTY AND THE BAVARAIJAN JPEOPLE'S PARTY WHOM GERMAN CATHOLICS LJRIGHT-LY CONSIDERED REPRESENTATIVES OF THEIR INTERESTS, KLHAD AXPJL-PROAJVED TAHE ENABLING ACTA THAT GAVE HITLERUNLIMITAED POWAERS. ALSO TXHE GAEARMAN BISHOPS HAD DECLARXAED UNEQUIVOCALLY (March 28) THAT CATAHOLICS COULD COOPERATE WITH THE NEW STATE DESPLITE OBVIOUSLY IRRECONCILABALE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM. CARDINALK JPLAXCELLI HAD IN NO WAY INFLUENCES EITHER OF THESE EVENTS, YET HE HAD TO TAKE THEM INTO CONSIDERATION SINCE THE NEW CONCORDAT AGREEAD TO ALL THE DEAQMNDs OFL THE JHOILY SFE, KLEVEN TO THE CONTINUATION OF CATAHOLIC SCHOOLS AND FARLIER CONCORDATS WITH THE GERMAN STATES, ROME WOULD HAVE PUT ITSELF IN THW WRONG KLAND KJPLACED GXERMAN CATHOLICS IN DANGAEROUS SITUATION BY REFUSING TO SIGN. JKATA THIS TAIME ALSO GERMAN CATHOLICS EXPECTED TAHE HOLY SEE JTO INTERCFDEDC E DIN THEIR BEHALF, BECAUSE GUARANTEES OF THEIR RIGHTS HAD BECOME QUESTIONABLE SINCE HITLER'S ACCESSION TO POWER (JAN. 30, 1933). THE HOLY SEE COULD FULFILL THESE FXPECTIONS ONLY BY NEGOTIJATION AND A TRJATYJ WITH BERLIN. DURING THESE NEGOTIATIONS TGAHF JDISSJJO-LUTION OF LTHE CENTER JPLJARATY WAS NOT DISCUSSED. CARDINALK PJACELLI REGRETTEED VERY MUCH THIS PARTY'S DISSOLUTION OF ITSELF (July 5, 1933) DURING THE CCONCORDATGA NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE FOR GAOOD REASON HE WANTAED TDO SEEA IT SURAVIVE UNTIL THE SIGNING OF THE CONCORDAT

LATER NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PACELLI AND THE HITLER GOVT (1933-39) ARE CONTAINED IN SOME 60 MEMORANDA, WRITTEN IN PACELLI'S OWN HAND, WHICH MAKE CLEAR HIS STRUGGLE TO HAVE THE GERMAN GOVT

OBSERVE THE CONCORDAT THE ENCYCLICAL MIT BRENNENDER SORGE (March 14, 1937) CLIMAXED THIS CONTROVERSY.

PONTIFICATE-Cardinal Pacelli was elected pope March 2, 1939, and crowned March 12./WWII-for the following months until Sept. 1, he sought to prevent war. The climax of these efforts was his diplomatic move (May 3) proposing that existing differences between Italy and France and between Germany and Poland be settled peacefully by a conference attended by these four powers and England. Many considered his proposal premature. Hitler thought it pointless. In August, with war imminent, the Pope kept uninterrupted contact with both sides until the last moment, hoping to prevent the catastrophe. His appeal to the world (Aug. 24) declared "Nothing is lost by peace, everything is lost by war."

PIUS XII relayed messages (Nov 1939-Feb. 1940) between the German resistance movement and the Allies. The former wanted to know if the Allies would be ready for an armistice and peace negotiations in the event of a German general strike. Pius XII had at that time offered to leave nothing undone to end the war. As an important English official observed in 1944, he went as far as a pope could possibly have gone. In these communications it was presumed and understood that POLAND WOULD REGAIN ITS FORMER STATUS AND THAT AUSTRIA WOULD DECIDE ITS OWN FUTURE, WHETHER OF INDEPENDENCE OR ANNEXATION TO GERMANY. Myron Taylor was named by President Roosevelt as his personal

envoy to Pius XII (Dec. 25, 1939). THE MEETING BETWEEN PIUS XII AND HITLER'S FOREIGN MINISTER, JOACHIM VON RIBBENTROP (March 10, 1940) COULD HAVE NO BEARING ON WAR OR PEACE, SINCE RIBBENTROP REFUSED ANY CONVERSATION OF THIS TOPIC /POPE'S EFFORTS TO KEEP ITALY OUT OF THE CONFLICT KEPT INCREASING FROM LATE 1939 AND INCLUDED PERSONAL MEETINGS WITH KING VICTOR EMMANUEL III (Dec 21, and 28, 1939) and CORRESPONDENCE WITH MUSSOLINI. WITH ITALY'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR (June 10, 1940) PIUS XII INTERVENED TO SAVE ROME. HE WANTED IT DECLARED AN OPEN CITY, RECOGNIZED AS SUCH BY THE Warring Nations, and kept free of troops and commandos. This goal was realized in good part, although not perfectly and only after the greatest difficulties. When Ernst von Weizsäcker was asked who saved Rome, he replied, 'Above all others it was the Pope, who merely by staying in Rome forced the opposing armies to spare the city.' PIUS XII ALWAYS DETERMINED NOT TO LEAVE ROME SAVE UNDER DURESS. CONTRARY TO RUMORS, HE DID NOT LEAVE ROME DURING THE ENTIRE WAR. PAPAL MEDIATION-The Allies declined to negotiate with Hitler under any circumstances. It was inconceivable that Hitler would make any move to save the German people. This situation blocked the move to any kind of mediation of the two systems, National Socialism and Communist Bolshevism, PIUS CONSIDERED THE LATTER MORE DANGEROUS. BUT HE NEVER APPROVED HITLER'S WAR WITH RUSSIA NOR DID HE CONSIDER IT A CRUSADE. HE REGRETTED VERY MUCH THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER TERMS PROMULGATED AT CASABLANCA (1943) BECAUSE THEY WOULD ONLY LENGTHEN THE HOSTILITIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, BERLIN WOULD NOT AGREE TO LET ROME INTERVENE FOR THE CESSATION OR EVEN LESSENING OF AERIAL WARFARE BECAUSE IT HOPED

TO DEVELOP A MORE LETHAL WEAPON THAN THE ENEMY POSSESSED ITALIAN FASCISTS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMB THAT FELL ON THE VATICAN (March 1, 1943)

PAPAL CHARITIES-Assistance for needy individuals and jlkcdoun-tries was organized by tghe PONTIFICIA COMMISSIONE ASSISTENZA (PCA) which since 1952 has operated undera tahe lnam,e PONTIFICIA OPERA DI ASSISTENZA (POA) Aid was extended without discrimina-tion to all sufferingf persons during the waar, prisoners of wara, deportaees, insternees, refugees, the hungry and tahe homeless, the politically and kracially perssecuted Sums were also expended for lihejporote tion of buildings, kespleciallky churches aqnd libraries./ Papal kitchenbs during 1944 served 3,600,000 pjojrtons of soup monthly , Of tahe raefugees who pjoured into Rome throughout the war, kthe PCA helped 52,000 to return to their homes Tahe Pontifical information service re-ceived 9,981,000 inquiries about missing jpersons and in turn sent 11,293,511 inqauraes of its own Many of tahese appeals were hbndled lkundeara unusual circumstances (SEE ROBERT EXEL MS)

HELP TO JEWS- JEWS RECEIVED EXTENSIVE AID / FROM THE VERY START OF HIS POONTIFICATAE, PIJUIS XII CONTINUED PIUS XI'S PROGRAM OF AID TO JEWS, ESPECIALLY TO GERMAN JEWS JEWISH RAEFUGEES RECEIVED FINACIAL AID, AND PIUS CONTRIBUTED HIS TOTAL PRIVATE FUNDS TO THEM IN CASES OF EXTRAORADINARY URAGENCY. AFTER THE GERMAN OCCU-PATION OF ROME (Sept 1943), THE JPJOPE REWSPONDED TO JFWISH PLEAS BY OFFERING THEM 15 KILOS OF LJGODL IN THE EVENTG THAT THEY WERE UNABLE TO RAISE THE 50 KILKOS DEMANDED OF LTAHEM, KBUKT IN THIS CASE HIS JHJFLP PROVED UNNECESSARY CLOISTER REGULATIONS JIN RELIGIOJUS HOUSES ERE LIFTED TO SUJPPLYH REFUGE TO 4,447 JEWS, EXCLUSIVE OF THE LARGE NUMBER IN THE LATERAN AND VATICAN ALONG WITH NON-JFWS A SPECIAL AGENCY OF THE JJPOONTIFICAL INFORMATION SERVICE SEARCHED FOR JEWS, ESPECIALLY IN GERMANY AND HANDLED 37,000 CASES CLOSE COOPERATION EXISTED BETWEEN THE PONTIFICAL ST. JRAPHAEL SOCIETY AND THE JEWISH DELASEM TO HELP JEWS ESCAPE OVERSEAS (SEF FXEL).PIUS XII'S FINANCIAL AID TO JEWS FAR EXCEEDED \$4 MILLION THE CATHOLIC REFUGEE COMMITTEE IN THE U.S SUPPLIED THE POPE WITH PLENTIFUL FINANCIAL MEANS

IN HIS APPEALS FOR THE HUMANIZING OF WAR AND ABOLISHING ITS BRUTALITIES AND ATROCITIES, PIUS XII TWICE CONDEMNED UNEQUICOB-VALLY THE EXZTERMINATION OF JWS, IN HIS CHRISTMAS MESSAGE (DRecf. 24,1942) AND IN HIS SPEECH TO THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS (JUNE 2,1943)>. ONE REASON FOR A CERTAIN CAUTION ON THE POPE'S PART WAS THE BELIEF, WHICH PROVED ILL-FOUNDED THATA A CLAS OF EUROPEAN JEWS, FOR EXAMPLE LTHOSE IN THERESIENSTADT, WOULD MERELY BE RESTARICTED TO THFIRA GHETTOES, BUT NOT EXTERRMINATED. HE DID NOT WANT TO ENDANGER THESE PEOPLE. ALL QUALIFIED JUDGES, EVEN THOSE LESS FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO THE POPE, DENY THAT ANY FURTHER FORMAL PAPAL MOVE LWOULD LHAVE DETERRED HITLER FROM ANNIHILATING THE JEWS.

VATICAN EXCAVATIONS -under St Peter's bvasilica, MSGR LUDWIG KAAS (see German central party) and aarcheologists (named) waere in charge . .Among important discoveries fixed with certainty LOCATION OF ORIGINAL GRAVE OF APOSTLE OF ST. PETER (SEE VATI-

CAN)

PIUS XII AS TEACHER- in volume and scope teachings of P.XII surpassed those of any of his predecessors His oral allocutions alonenumbered nearly 1,000. He spoke 36 times to Catholics from the U>S and on 5 occasions asked hjelp forl hungry children from Catholic students of the US.Fuindamental theme of hnis principal speecheswas kthe CONFRONTATION OF CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATIION AND CULTURE WITH THE CATHOLIC OUTLOOK ON LIFE HE DEFENDEAD CATHOLIC SCHOOLS STRONGLY BECAUSE EXPERIENCXE HAD EVERYWHERE PJROVED THE PLURALISTIC SCHOOL SERIOUSLUY DISADVANTAAGEOUS FOR CATHOLICS.

TOPICS common to the nedicalk jjprofession and Catholic mofral ltheolkogy received thorough treatment.Although dininclined to lbe HYPERSPIRITUAL he opposed the erroneous opinion that POLI-TICS HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH RELIGION HE HELD IT A MORAL OBLIGA-TION AND A SERIOIUS ONE UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS TO EXFRCISE THE RIGHT TO VOTE



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VATICAN, JEWS, AND ISRAEL -MYTHS AND REALITIES

19th CENTURY

1903 - death of P Leo XIII (ARADI, p 69)

Leo's sect of state, Cardinal Rampolla, was expected to succeed him, a CARDINAL PUSZYNA, archbishop of Cracow (then Austria) intervened "Venerable brethren, Lord Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church," said he had been instructed by his august sovereign, His Imperial Majesty, Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, that if Cardinal Rampolla received the number of votes necessary to elect him, the King Emperor would "EXERCISE HIS POWER OF VETO."

This right of exclusion (veto) actually existed and was occasionally exercised by Catholic powers but the custom has been discontinued long since

Cardinal Rampolla protested against Austrian interference but Cardinal Puszyina was firm. Conclave could not and did not elect Rampolla. In his stead, it elected GIUSEPPE SARTO, Patriarch of Venice (bought round-trip tickets at railway station). ST PIUS X. One of his first acts was to abolish all-but-forgotten veto right.

Conclave witness wrote (p 70) Bishop MERRAY DEL VAL TALKED TO PUSZYINA as probably no cardinal had ever before been spoken to in the Vatican, even like the Borgia rooms had never echoed to such language "

1881-THEODOR HERZL (1 LEWISOHN, P. 29)- READ Eugen

Duhring, troubled by "scientific racialism-" Jews were undermining and corrupting cultures and states of Aryans (see A Bein, also Israel Bloch, Israel Among the Nations) OA Bein, p 36, Herzl read Duhring's book "The Jewish Problem as a Problem of Race, Morals, and Culture"- Jewish race was without any worth whatsoever. Since Jews could not be settled in state of their own, they had to be dealt with on basis of special enactments.

p.36) complete reversal of emancipations, return to the ghetto. Blow between the eyes for Herzl

p.38) Duhring had merely presented the legend of the middle ages in modern dress. "The sacral Christian child became sacrificed to capital. Jewish poisoning of wells, in modern talk about Judaization of press which poisons the sources of public opinion." Since religion played no role in modern conflicts, field shifted to racial. Modern gasoline poured on medieval stakes.

p. 39) Herzl deeply moved and shaken in belief that Jewish question was on point of disappearing

READING OF DUHRING'S WORK BEGINNING OF DEEP PROCESS OF CHANGE, experience remained with him rest of his life, Herzl said later that his serious and troubled preoccupation with Jewish problem dated from that point. Veil of illusion had been violent-

p 44) 1884, May-DHerzl graduated Dr of Laws, went to Paris, July 30, 1884 admitted to bar in Vienna

p 73) 1892 March - Paris correspondent, Wiener Neue Freie Presse
1894-DREYFUS AFFAIR (Bury p. 75)-Catholic monarchists moral standing brought low, fresh tide of anti-clericalism in France (see 1871), also see Herzl, A Bein)

L LEWISOHN, HERZL, A Portrait For This Age, p.20- resurgence of Judeophobia broke the untenable compacts of emancipation. This phenomenon was characterized by Herzl alone as a fragment of medievalism dragged into the Age of Enlightenment ("Ein verschlepptes Stück Mittelalter")

p. 92, Bein-November 1892 PANAMA SOCIETY TRIAL- Max Nordau, "this blood libel of a Jewish Panama" prepared France for grand climax of Dreyfus case (p 93)

1894, NDov 8 - HDerzl wrote the New Ghetto .30)
(A. Bein, Herzl) 1881, March

VON SCHOENERER, Pan-German anti-Semite, member of Reichstag, addressed it, won great following among sons of small bourgeoisie
Herzl joined Albia, student fraternity duelling org.

1882-VIENNA, Pan-German Anti-Semitic org (A Bein, p 40) founded in Vienna, Der Verein deutscher Studenten in Wien,

1883-March 5 - arranged memorial demonstration for Richard Wagner, Herman Bahr of Albia spoke with approval of "Wagnerian anti-Semitism", called self convert to Pan-German anti-S movement, enthusiastically received

1890 (J Parkes, Anti-S, p.34) Austrian Anti-Sparty was formed led by nationalist GEORGE VON SCHOENERER, pan Germanism, together with Xan Socialist (Catholic Conservative elements). Party leaders were PLAINCE LOIS VON LIECHTENSTEIN AND DR. KARL LUEGER. 1895 - on eve of elections SECURED PAPAL BENEDECTIONS ON ITS POLICY AND NEWSPAPERS (to indignation of moderate RCs), Anti-S party won 2/3 of Vienna municipal council seats, LUEGER BECAME VIENNA BURGOMASTER FOR 14 YEARS Hitler took Lueger seriously

p 57) H on Jewish ghetto in Rome "With what base and persistent hatred these unfortunates have been persecuted for the sole crime of faithfulness to their religion "

1884- BISMARCK (Bury, p.44) - in the Reichstag said to German Catholic Centre party "You are fighting, you say, for the freedom of the Church! What do you mean by freedom of the Church! YOU REALLY MEAN THE RULE OF THE CHURCH. AS SOON AS YOUR RULE ENDANGERED, YOU TALK OF A DIOCLETIAN PERSECUTION, slavery, and oppression, RULING IS BORN IN OUR BONES FROM OLD

TRADITIONS ' 1898 (see 1870 GERMANY) Bury, p 178 - Bismarck's anti-RCC policies changed

1890- OTTO VON BISMARCK (Adenauer book, Terence Prittle, p 22) B's diplomacy based on understanding that Germany sitting in middle of Europe, always needed strong and steady allies, 1863 convention with Russia, safeguarded Prussia's earlier frontier, divided Austria from France by stimulating rivalry in Italy. kept France and England apart by playing on England's suspicion of French designs in Belgium Whenever he went to Paris, he ensured

principal powers were neutral

1888- GERMANY -Emp William I died at 90

Frederick III succeeded, reigned 99 days, died of throat cancer

1885-FRENCH ANTI-SEMITISM (Herzl, A Bein, p. 80) revival of ancient instinct in new forms and with new RATIONALIZATIONS, it was the parallel phenomenon to German anti-Semitism which began to surge up in 70s and was baptized with that new name in 1879 French anti-Semitism based at least ostensibly on German books, though these in turn had taken as their point of departure THE RACE THEORIES OF THE FRENCHMAN GOBINEAU

GOBINEAU WAS LIKEWISE THE INSPIRATION OF EDOUARD DRUMONT WHOSE LA FRANCE JUIVE APPEARED IN 1885 and in the course of one year ran through 100 editions, one of the greatest book selling successes of the 1880s Drumont's book goes much further than his predecessor's, it provides the foundation for a definite rounded-out system of anti-Semitism sees all history under the aspect of anti-Semitism Jews possess no real fatherland, subject to no real bonds, a state within a state, a nation within a nation, their emancipation was to be withdrawn.

July 15, 1892-Burdeau-Drumont trial - "A bas les Juifs!"

1892, June 243 - duel anti-Semitic dMarquis de Mores & French Prof Mayer

1893-98-GEORGE SORL, expositor of Marx (Lichtheim, p 328),

1900-exponent of SYNDICALISM (workers control) found Pelloutier,

1905-nationalist and anti-semitic color to his utterances, reverting to PROUDHON, GS absorbed in Henri Bergson's philosophy

1905-SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE WAS CATASTROPHIC, mystical side of French patriotism

1914-joined alliance with Charles MAURRAS AND ACTION FRANCAISE, a Conservative royalist for whom Catholicism was a necessary fiction, not literally true, but vital for the continued existence of Latin civilization and therefore had to be defended against Jews, Protestants, and foreigners.

RESPONSIBLE FOR TRIUMPH OF FASCISM IN ITALY AND FRANCE IN 1930s and 1940s

1908-14-CIRCLE PROUDHON-fusion of PROUDHON'S views and nationalism, hated liberal democracy

NATIONALISM - (Politics and Culture in Intl History, Adda B Bozeman, pp 438)

The nations that had commingled in the medieval societies of Byzantium, Western Christendom, and Islam shared a rather solid substratum, of affinities when they organized themselves as MULTINATIONAL THEOCRACIES. However, the three commonwealths had deduced different values from their joint inheritance, and three totally different political systems had emerged within the contours of broadly similar structures. These systems were put to

that time it was realized throughout the Mediterranean region that THEOCRATIC DESIGNS WERE OUTDATED, SINCE HUMAN INTERESTS WERE SHIFTING TO SECULAR CONCERNS, AND THAT MULTINATIONAL SOCIETIES were unable to maintain themselves as effective international govts, since the loyalties of people were being attracted to local or national centers of power

P.439) The medieval Muslim authorities had succeeded in creating what Oswald Spengler had called a MAGICAL COMMUNITY OF NATIONS but they had failed to suggest a political framework within which believers, let alone unbelievers, could find political security in their domestic and foreign relations.

Over most of the area that had been comprised in the medieval theocracies of the Byzantines and Muslims, the OTTOMAN TURKS exercised control from the middle of the 15th to end of 19th century (1450-1800s) And their administrative system, strongly impregnated by PERSIAN and BYZANTINE principles of statecraft, was effective in providing a long period of relative tranquility after the turmoil associated with preceding regimes However, the new Asian governors failed to break the bondage in which Islamic traditions had held the thoughts of the faithful throughout the preceding centuries HOSTILITY TO INTELLECTUAL INITIATIVE AND SOCIAL CHANGE THUS CONTINUED TO CHARACTERIZE LIFE IN THE ASIAN PROVINCES (as H.A R Gibb observes

" a stationary or retrograde civilization, and herein lay its essential weakness...

p 441) The medieval RC realm from which modern Western Europe issued had also been conceived as a MULTINATIONAL THEOCRACY, and the Western Europeans had been haunted by the same double image of a unified and powerful realm that had controlled the evolution of the two rival Mediterranean societies. /challenged from its inception by a great variety of secular interests and traditions as well as by constantly operative, speculative and corrective thought (unlike Byzantium and Islam)

p.442) the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation possessed sovereignty over Germany, Italy, the Low countries, and the Two Burgundies, it exercised suzerainty over Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, it claimed a theoretical lordship over France, England, Spain, Denmark, and Scandinavia But the actual territorial outlines of the Empire were always hazy at best, for sovereignty, suzerainty, and lordship were fluid concepts, changing their meanings from one administration to the next. The continuity of the imperial govt was not assured by firmly established institutions, that the imperial representative did not possess the prerogatives associated by other intl govts with the office of a supreme executive, and that the material power of the Empire was seldom superior to that of less exalted and nominally subordinated Western European sovereignties such as the kingdoms of France and England. Formless, powerless, its substance indefinable and its nomenclature meaningless - for what really could be attached to the words "Holy," "Roman" "empire" and "German"? - the Holy Roman Empire definitely lacked the attributes commonly found in an international administration It is not surprising then that

mere figment of the medieval imagination.

442) The European commonwealth may have been an artifice even in medieval terms but it was real nevertheless. For lines separating reality from myth were not drawn as harshly then as they are today. Visions and dreams were part of everyday life, and men responded to them as if they were true. Impressed above all by the logic of a conceptual design, contemporaries were apt to overlook the weaknesses of the actual institutions that had been set up to realize the design. PEACE AND UNITY WERE THE CONTROLLING POLITICAL MYTHS IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE. THEY WERE accepted as the supreme norms by which life ought to be governed, however great the turmoil in actual inter-European affairs. The Empire was real because it symbolized these values. Since it stood for peace, its imperial agent was regarded as the peacemaker, expounder of justice, and chief legislator, even though he lacked the power to uphold peace and law. AND SINCE IT HAD BEEN CONCEIVED AS A CONTINUATION OF ROME'S UNIFIED COSMOPOLITAN SOCIETY, THE EMPEROR WAS VIEWED AS A 'ROMAN' AND THEREFORE AS AN IMPARTIAL INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE, EVEN THOUGH HIS OFFICE WAS FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES COEQUAL WITH THE GERMAN THRONE.

444) The Europeans began to think of unity in nonterritorial terms since the Empire did not have fixed territorial frontiers. Having to dispense with the notion of geographic contiguity as a prerequisite of union, they developed, instead, intangible criteria to unite heterogeneous political organisms. And being unable to rally around a central seat of transnational power, they proceeded to formulate principles of voluntary association and cooperation. In other words, they solved the medieval paradox of myth and reality as it appeared in European politics by evolving a totally new order of political references. (RC, Roman law, p.444) The conclusion that law was the most effective carrier of political values received further emphasis from the experience, also recorded in the Roman and Christian traditions, that law had been a tested arbiter between conflicting interests.

A normative legal order thus appealed to all who felt the need for peace and security and the lack of an integral system of secular government, capable of enforcing compliance with centrally established principles of conduct. A plurality of legal systems, each designed to guarantee the integrity of a special group or region, was thus brought into being as like-minded people rallied in cities, provinces, and states, or in guilds, universities and other voluntary associations. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, ITSELF DEFUNCT AS A COLLECTIVE SECURITY ORGANIZATION, BECAME A MAZE OF CONFLICTING JURISDICTIONS DURING THE FIRST PHASE OF THIS DEVELOPMENT.

Movements toward legal concurrence had the gradual effect of lessening the divisions and furthering the cause of Western European concord. Feudal courts accept each other's decisions as generally valid statements of the law in point. Maritime law became the model for many seafaring communities, constitution of an established university was emulated freely by new institutions of learning, and a municipal franchise or a set of provincial customs commended itself frequently because of its excellence to

These voluntary and involuntary movements toward the EUROPEANIZATION OF DISPARATE LEGAL CUSTOMS WERE QUICKENED UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THREE NORMATIVE LAW SYSTEMS THAT WERE TRANSNATIONAL AND TRANSTERRITORIAL IN THEIR VERY INCEPTION - THE CANON LAW, THE LAW MERCHANT, AND THE ROMAN LAW. THE LATTER IN PARTICULAR HAD A CONTINUOUSLY PERVASIVE EFFECT AFTER THE 12TH CENT (1100) WHEN THE JURISTS IN THE LAW SCHOOLS OF BOLOGNA AND RAVENNA HAD ASSIMILATED AND REFORMULATED THE SECULAR PRINCIPLES OF JURISPRUDENCE FOUND IN THE DIGEST OF JUSTINIAN AND OTHER ANCIENT LEGAL TEXTS. As feudal and ecclesiastical influences decayed, it spread northward rapidly, penetrating the entire commonwealth until its supremacy was acknowledged openly by secular practitioners and judges who had been trained in the law faculties of the universities and proceeded, as a matter of course, TO ROMANIZE THE SUBSTANCE OF THE LOCAL LAW THAT THEY WERE SUPPOSED TO ADMINISTER. After the establishment of the Reichskammergericht in 1495 the Roman law entered the highest imperial court of justice and by the first half of the 1500s it had become decisive in the practice of the courts.

"With much less noise but more effect than than the Holy Roman Empire, Roman law in the Middle Ages filled the part of an INTERNATIONAL UNIFYING AGENT, APPEALING TO AND ENSURING A WILING ACCEPTANCE OF THE SAME IDEAS OF EQUITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, OF DISCIPLINE, AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER" (Edouard Meynial, "Roman Law" in Crump and Jacob, p. 387) In this context, then, it could be said that Roman law stood in the place of what was later called international law, for it was generally assumed by German lawyers that the relations of the commonwealth, whether inside or outside the Empire, ought to be regulated by the pure law of Rome, whether they were actually susceptible to such regulations or not. And these developments in the field of secular jurisprudence were paralleled by the findings of generations ecclesiastical lawyers

446) Before actual establishment of modern state system, Europeans had become convinced it was necessary and possible to institute peace and unity in local and inter-European affairs, goals best attained by the creation of normative principles of individual conduct, and these normative principles, susceptible to objective definition in each phase of their evolution, could be channelled into the life stream of nations by propagating their meanings through appropriate forms of legal symbolism.

By the time Western Europe had become intellectually and politically dominant in world affairs, these conclusions accumulated slowly in the course of Western European history, had hardened into the firm assumption that POWER SHOULD NOT BE CONDONED UNLESS ITS USE WAS LAWFUL AND RIGHT, THAT PEACE AND UNITY WERE NOT ACCEPTABLE UNLESS THEY WERE ANCHORED IN A JUST AND LOGICAL CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER, THERE WERE LEGAL CONCEPTS FOR WHICH UNIVERSAL VALIDITY COULD BE CLAIMED, IT WAS POSSIBLE, BY THE EMPLOYMENT OF LEGAL PROCEDURES TO CREATE EXTRATERRITORIAL CONCERTS IN BEHALF OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE. Endeavors to execute the mandates implicit in these references were fraught with ambiguities, but they produced a consensus to the effect that LAW, RIGHTLY UNDERSTOOD WAS THE ONLY PROPER AND RELIABLE MEASURE

LEVEL, AND THAT THE INDIVIDUAL WAS THE CHIEF SUBJECT OF THE LAW'S CONCERN

These pivotal values survived the disintegration of the medieval commonwealth and could accommodate new and different truths because they had become independent of particular political framework within which they had originated. Objectively defined in a variety of legal systems and constitutional forms of govt, they had become extraterritorial, as it were. And deeply imbedded in the minds of successive generations, they had generated a particular disposition to question all appearances, whether in the realm of image or reality, to identify the universals in any field of human experience, and to express conclusions in abstract legal terms. This fund of accumulated traditions and aptitudes sustained the momentum of Europe's intellectual ascendancy in intercultural relations. It also generated the powers of political renewal and regeneration that enabled Western nations to evolve new sets of political references down to the local and intl levels.

THE MODERN STATE (p. 447) - An attempt to mark the beginning of the modern state is as arbitrary as an attempt to date the beginning of the modern era. .. IT IS POSSIBLE TO FIND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MODERN STATE IN THE DECAYING FRAMEWORK OF THE MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN COMMONWEALTH, AND TO SUGGEST, IN PARTICULAR, THAT THE FORMAL ATTRIBUTES AND OPERATIVE IDEALS COMMONLY ASSOCIATED TODAY WITH THE NATION-STATE WERE ESTABLISHED GRADUALLY, BETWEEN THE 1200 (13th cent) and 1900 (20th cent) BY THE NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE, NOTABLY ENGLAND AND FRANCE. HOWEVER, THE STORY OF THIS ARCHETYPAL ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS BECOME THE PIVOTAL POLITICAL REFERENCE FOR ALL PEOPLES IN THE WORLD, HAS A PROLOGUE THAT WAS COMPOSED IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN BETWEEN 1100 and 1200 IN RESPONSE TO SUGGESTIVE INFLUENCES EMANATING NOT ONLY FROM THE OCCIDENTAL, BUT ALSO FROM DIFFERENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATIONS. FOR THE OUTLINES OF THE SOVEREIGN SECULAR LAW STATE WERE DRAWN BY EUROPEAN DYNASTIES IN SOUTHERN ITALY, WHEN THIS SMALL AREA WAS A UNIVERSE OF CULTURES. AND THE PRINCIPLES THAT WERE TO YIELD THE MODERN DIPLOMATIC METHOD WERE FORMULATED FIRST BY THE VENETIANS AFTER THEY HAD ABSORBED THE LESSONS THAT BYZANTIUM HAD TAUGHT THEM (also Spain, Franco's 20th cent dictatorship customarily reviewed as a mere variety of European fascism, in actuality many of the hallmarks were typical of an Islamic caliphate.) p. 448) - Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria had been the crossroads of all Medit cultures since the dawn of history when the NORMANS arrived on the scene in 1060 AD, intent upon consolidating this multinational region as a base for further conquests in Africa and the eastern Medit. As conquerors the Normans were as insatiable in their desire for power as their Muslim and Byzantine predecessors, BUT AS POLITICAL ORGANIZERS THEY REVEALED TALENTS AND SKILLS THAT NO PREVIOUS DYNASTY IN THE AREA HAD POSSESSED. WIDELY TRAVELED, AT HOME IN MANY PARTS OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE, AND ASTUTE IN RECOGNIZING REGIONAL REALITIES IN THEIR FULL COMPLEXITY, THEY WERE ABLE IN THE COURSE OF A FEW DECADES, TO WELD THE FORMER PROVINCES OF BYZANTINE, ISLAMIC AND ITALIAN RULERS INTO A POLITICAL SOCIETY THAT HAD MOST OF THE CHARACTERIS-

SECULAR IN ITS ORIENTATION AND INDEPENDENT OF THE GREAT THEOCRACIES OF THE DAY, THE NORMAN ESTABLISHMENT WAS ALSO AUDACIOUSLY COSMOPOLITAN IN THE CONDUCT OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Political institutions that had proved their worth in the history of other civilizations and seemed adaptable to the Norman scheme were borrowed and integrated freely, local customs, languages, and religions that did not inhibit the exercise of central power were respected, and men known to be competent and knowledgeable were employed regardless of their religious or ethnic affiliation.

448) Fusion of cultures fostered deliberately in the interests of the state. Royal power anchored in the Norman ideas of kingship, but the symbols denoting a theocracy and functions of the sovereign, were taken from all civilizations to which the Mediterranean peoples had been attuned in the past. King appeared in a royal robe that incorporated in its design Byzantine, Western, and Muslim motifs of leadership, and he was attended by two bodyguards, one composed of European knights, the other of African Negroes (blacks). French remained the language of the court, but Greek, Latin, and Arabic were used freely in oral and written communications. Norman laws, amplified by borrowings from various legal systems, especially the Byzantine, were binding on Arabs, Greeks, and Lombards, but they were applied "without prejudice to the habits, customs, and laws of the peoples subject to our authority, each in its own sphere..." A CURIA REGIS OF COUNCILLORS was the principal advisory body, but Saracen emirs and Byzantine logothetes worked side by side with Norman justiciars, while local subordinates, representing the various ethnic groups, were permitted to retain their old Greek, Lombard, and Arab titles. In administration merger of civilizations was complete, scholars today not certain whether so fundamental a department of the Sicilian state as finance was modelled upon the diwan of the caliphs, the fiscus of the Roman emperors, or the exchequer of the Anglo-Norman kings.

The profile of the centralized secular, multinational state that the Normans had delineated so boldly became even more distinct when southern Italy was administered by Frederick II of Hohenstauffen, heir of the Norman kings through his mother. His experimental approach to knowledge and international politics, unsuccessful in attempts to reorganize the Holy Roman Empire, transferred his attention to this royal patrimony as a politically effective and progressive society.

Sicily-Apulia workshop for testing new administrative principles and policies, projected clearly the personality of its royal governor. Frederick loved wealth and power, kingdom was to become a thriving, independent political community which would take dictation from no authority except its sovereign. IN IMPERIAL VISION THIS STATE WAS TO BE AN END IN ITSELF. Frederick sought to encompass wisdom of all ages and cultures, Sicily was to become center of all learning. Just as Frederick's mind had been moulded by influences from classical and Christian, Roman and Byzantine, Islamic and Indian sources, so was the government of his state to be shaped to perfection by methods that had proved their superiority in mankind's collective

nies in Sicily, ancient Oriental empires, Roman and Byzantine principates, Muslim caliphates, and Catholic papacy were thus explored assiduously by a cosmopolitan elite of scholars under Frederick's direction until they yielded the ideas, symbols and institutions best suited to buttress the imperial conception of a secular despotism. In this new secular strategy incorporated many constitutional aspects of Byzantine theocracy which had been the implacable enemy of the Normans, and of the Roman church whose representatives opposed Frederick II with relentless enmity throughout his life.

Indeed, the systems of reference that these two ecclesiastical establishments had evolved in order to capture and retain the loyalties of their multinational flocks provided, paradoxically the protective framework within which ambitious policies of secularization were being carried out in southern Italy. The ultimate aim of Frederick's policies was the same as that which the Normans had pursued, namely, the MAINTENANCE OF UNLIMITED SOVEREIGNTY. ALTHOUGH THE EMPEROR FOUND IT POLITICALLY ADVISABLE TO GOVERN SICILY AS A NOMINALLY CHRISTIAN STATE, HE HELD TO THE THEORY THAT THE KINGDOM WAS THE POLITICAL EQUIVALENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THAT ITS INTERESTS SHOULD BE REFLECTED IN ITS LAWS. THIS COMMITMENT TO LAW AS THE PRINCIPAL GUARDIAN OF SOVEREIGNTY REVEALS THE IMPACT THAT WESTERN EUROPEAN, ESPECIALLY ROMAN, TRADITIONS HAD UPON THE EMPEROR'S THINKING. . . purposes of the law and administrative methods were borrowed from East, unmindful of LIBERTIES OF CITIZENS AS WAS THEIR IMPERIAL SPONSOR, THEY ACCOMPLISHED THE SINGLE PURPOSE FOR WHICH, THEY HAD BEEN DRAFTED, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOUTHERN ITALY AS A SECULAR, IMPERIAL LAW STATE. / Experiment in state-making in which the Normans and the HOHENSTAUFENS engaged reflected the Medieval spirit in its reliance upon theocratic principles as well as in its evocation of the universalist norms that had distinguished life in the Med region for many centuries. It projected a new order of political organization, however, in its espousal of secularism and political independence.

453) During the 1500 and 1600 centuries Europe was being transformed into a galaxy of separate sovereignties, and its new identity was recognized officially in the multinational treaties of Westphalia (1648), WHICH STIPULATED THAT STATES, NOT GOVERNMENTS, WERE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS, THAT STATES WERE SECULAR POLITICAL ORGANISMS, AND THAT ALL STATES WERE SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT AND EQUAL. / STATE was the expression of the nation, rather than extension of the ruler's personality and interests, and that the concept of the nation was meaningless unless it was understood as signifying a conglomeration of individual human beings who had political rights and obligations.

453) Individualism was the primary characteristic of the idea of the modern state, a corollary of complex intellectual movements that had been confined to the European and American scenes. Early intellectual revolt against the authority of traditional beliefs had emphasized the creative and critical mind of the individual as the ultimate determinant of all myth and reality. The pattern thus set was followed in subsequent centuries.

THE GREAT RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS WAS THE CONSCIENCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL, THE FOCUS OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONS WAS THE INDIVIDUAL GENIUS AND THE INDIVIDUAL'S ABILITY TO THINK IN SECULAR TERMS AND THE CENTER OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION WAS THE NEW URBANIZED, COMMERCE-MINDED MIDDLE CLASS WHICH ADAPTIVELY, BY ITS VERY EXISTENCE THE MERITS OF INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE (453) Individuals' claim to political representation proceeded in the context of these new realities. New realities were in essence modern responses to truths to which many earlier generations of Europeans had also attached great importance. Not surprising therefore to find that these residual values were reactivated during the 1700 and 1800s when the nations of Western Europe and North America identified the modern democratic state in terms of the SUPREMACY OF LAW AND THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF MAN. Similar logic of a history of the West explains the new theories and practices of constitutionalism gave rise to many "new forms of federalism. For political experience as accumulated in this civilization had registered the fact that a system of objectively defined norms was persuasive extraterritorially, and that it could therefore accommodate voluntary political unions of separate areas or groups of peoples.

Modern democratic state as it had been developed by the Atlantic nations was thus in effect an archetypal organization, translated into other regions, expanded, eventually and practically, to world dimensions.

NON-WESTERN SOCIETIES- (454)- vocabulary of political terms that is at present in use throughout the world as composed during the histories of the Western European and North American nations. Words such as SELF-DETERMINATION, SELF GOVT, DEMOCRACY, INDEPENDENCE, AND NATIONALISM acquired the meanings they convey today only slowly in that intricate process of defining the particular ideals and historical experiences that had produced the concept of the modern European state. Most states founded in Asia and Africa have been formed in the image of this western model (insert, p 456)

(p.457) EUROPEAN PATTERNS OF DIPLOMACY _ Place of Venice in International Relations

The HISTORY OF MODERN DIPLOMACY PARALLELS THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN STATE OF WHICH IT IS AN INTEGRAL PART. SINCE THE PROTOTYPE OF THE MODERN WESTERN STATE WAS DEVELOPED IN ITALY, WHERE THE DECAY OF THE UNIFYING MEDIEVAL STRUCTURE BECAME APPARENT EARLIER THAN ELSEWHERE, IT WAS ALSO IN ITALY THAT THE NEW FORMS OF CONDUCTING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES WERE FIRST ELABORATED AND TESTED. AMONG THESE NONE WAS DESTINED TO ACHIEVE GREATER IMPORTANCE IN SUBSEQUENT CENTURIES THAN THAT OF DIPLOMACY.

THE ITALIAN MODE (p. 458) OF CONDUCTING DIPLOMACY, WHICH SET THE PATTERN FOR ALL OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN STATES, ORIGINATED IN VENICE. . TWO RATHER PARADOXICAL FACTS IN DIPLOMATIC THEORIES AND PRACTICES OF THE VENETIANS. AT PEAK OF ITS DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS VENICE WAS NEITHER A TYPICAL ITALIAN CITY-STATE, I E SMALL AND DEPENDENT UPON ALLIANCES WITH OTHER ITALIAN STATES, NOR

TRUE, WAS ITALIAN AND CATHOLIC, BUT THESE GEOGRAPHIC AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS WERE NOT THE PRIMARY DETERMINANTS OF ITS DESTINY. AN EXAMINATION OF VENETIAN HISTORY SHOWS, ON THE CONTRARY, THAT THE STATE WAS FOR CENTURIES A GREAT POWER, INDEPENDENT FOR THE MOST PART OF THE PATTERN OF ALIGNMENTS THAT HAD IMPOSED ITSELF UPON ALL OTHER ITALIAN STATES, AND THAT ITS HISTORY WAS TIGHTLY LINKED WITH THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES OF THE EASTERN CHRISTIAN EMPIRE RATHER THAN WITH THOSE OF THE WEST.

FOR VENICE, IT MUST BE NOTED, BEGAN ITS METEORIC RISE AS A SATELLITE OF BYZANTIUM AND THUS LEARNED ABOUT DIPLOMACY UNDER CONDITIONS OF TUTELAGE SIMILAR TO THOSE THAT HAD ATTENDED THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF KIEVAN RUSSIA. (458) In terms of history one can maintain that the diplomatic systems of modern Russia and of the contemporary Western world are variations on the same original theme. (In terms of current international politics, however, one finds between the Russian and the Western techniques of diplomacy few if any such similarities as would reveal their common origin. Indeed the view is widespread today that all the existing international tensions in the world are exacerbated by the fact that diplomacy occupies a different place in the political thinking on the one hand of the Russians and on the other of the Western Europeans and Americans.)

The transformations of the Byzantine pattern were less marked in Russian than in Venetian diplomacy. Whereas the former continued to develop in the relatively homogeneous context of Russian national history from Kievan to Soviet days, the latter was denaturalized and internationalized as it were in a process of gradual diffusion first over Italy and subsequently throughout Western Europe. THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN WESTERN DIPLOMACY IS THUS A PARTICULARLY COMPLEX STORY AND THIS STORY BEGINS WITH THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF VENICE.

THE VENETIAN STATE WAS FOUNDED WHEN ITALY BELONGED TO BYZANTIUM, AND THOUGH A CATHOLIC COMMUNITY, IT REMAINED IN THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ORBIT OF THE ORTHODOX EMPIRE AFTER THE REST OF THE PENINSULA HAD BEEN REORGANIZED BY CONQUERING GERMANIC NATIONS.

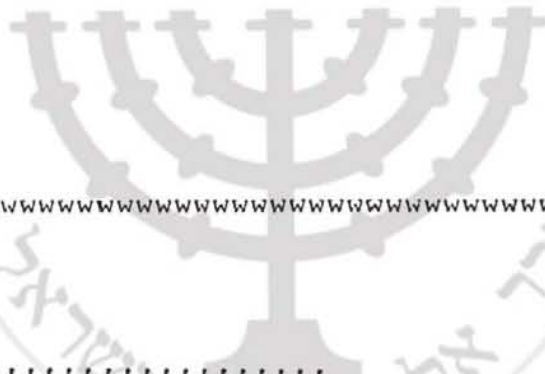
(458) The small island republic in the northern Adriatic thus existed midway between the Western and Eastern Christian empires. It was able to overcome the precariousness of its military and economic situation, transcend its religious and territorial affiliations, and profit from the ambivalence of its geographic and historical origins by developing a close relationship to the sea. The Venetians built a fleet and became a mobile adventurous nation, making contact with ports and peoples throughout the Med. However, within the vast radius of the commercial connections that linked this small nation with distant countries and civilizations, Venice was tied to Byzantium in a very special way.

Not only did Byzantine influences pervade the Venetian way of life, but it was the Byzantine protectorate that permitted Venice to engage in its far-flung naval and economic operations. The Eastern Empire was interested in the city both because its harbor was the most important in Italy and had to be controlled if the imperial Mediterranean trading system was to function smoothly, and because the Venetian fleet was indispensable

tuated, kurthermore, aftaeat the empire lost tothe Muslims its
 in Asia Minor UKp to lthata jperaioid -0 in facta kup 'o the
 beginning of 700s (8th cent) - Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and
 Jews hadfunctioned las the chief Byzazntine kagaents in the
 East-West trade. But when the momentous shift ofpjower in the
 eastern Medit area made necessary a choice of new middlemen,
 Venice was already there to fill the vacancy The city-state,
 shrewdly utilizing its new opportunities, succeeded in greatly
 advancing the cause of its independence.

The autonomy of Venice ihad been racognized since 742, yet the
 city had remained under Byzantine control occupying a jpposition
 analogous, pperhaps to that of a British dominion in the first
 quaratear of the 1900s

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES



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On January 19, 1904, Theodor Herzl left Vienna and set out for Italy. He remained in Venice for one day and then continued to Rome. He was determined to win the support of the Vatican and the universal Catholic Church for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine.

Three days later, on January 22, Herzl was received in Vatican City by Cardinal Rafael Merry del Val, the recently-appointed Papal Secretary of State. It was the first encounter between the 44-year-old aristocratic prince of the Jews and the youthful, versatile and highly respected Spanish prince of the Church.

As he had earlier done in the chancelleries and foreign ministries of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Turkey, Herzl made an impassioned plea for Vatican support. He described the sufferings inflicted on Jews through poverty, pogroms, and anti-Semitic attacks in virtually every country in Christian Europe. Only a sovereign Jewish state in their ancient homeland in Palestine, he told del Val, could put an end to the Jewish plight - which he had witnessed first-hand during his travels through Europe - by restoring control over their own fate and destiny.

Cardinal del Val responded forthrightly. He declared that the Church could not allow the Jews to take possession of the Holy Land as long as they denied the divinity of Jesus Christ.

Herzl avoided the theological issue and concentrated on the pragmatic. The holy places, he told the Secretary of State, could have extraterritorial status. The Cardinal stiffly responded that the holy places could not be regarded as entities separate from the Holy Land.

Three days later, on January 25, Herzl held a lengthy audience with the saintly, good-hearted, but reactionary Pope Pius X (1903-1914) who had assumed the papacy six months before, succeeding the combative Pope Leo XIII. The former patriarch of Venice told Herzl with even greater force than del Val that the Church could not favor Israel's return to Zion as long as the Jews did not accept Jesus as the Savior.

In his Diaries, meticulously kept by Herzl, he quotes the Pope as having said:

"We cannot prevent the Jews from going to Jerusalem but we could never sanction it. ... The Jews have not recognized our Lord, therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people."

Herzl sought to reason with the Pope pointing to the fact that the Ottoman overlords of Palestine also were not Christians.

Pius X replied

"I know, it is not pleasant to see the Turks in possession of our Holy Places. We simply have to put up with that. But to support the Jews in the acquisition of the Holy Places, that we cannot do. ... If you come to Palestine and settle your people there," Pope Pius X then said to Herzl, "we want to have churches and priests ready to baptize all of you."

(Cited from The Diaries of Theodor Herzl, January 1904, edited by B.M. Lowenthal, N.Y. Dial Press, 1956;pp. 429-30).

Undoubtedly, in an effort to soften the effect of the Vatican rejection, Cardinal Merry del Val, in a meeting several weeks later, promised Herzl's close associate, Henrich York-Steiner, that if all the Jews wanted was to be "admitted" to the land of their ancestors, he would regard that as a "humanitarian" endeavor and would not impede their efforts to found "colonies" in Palestine.

These exchanges between the founder of the Jewish State and the Supreme Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church have become established in the public consciousness of many as the archtypical encounter between Catholicism and the Jewish people. Popes, Vatican authorities, and Catholic leaders generally, in this perception, are constitutionally anti-Jewish for theological reasons and can never be expected to modify their hostility either to Jews or to the Jewish State. So Vatican-Jewish (or Catholic-Jewish) relations are at worst a delusion, and at best a waste of time.

Is that really the truth of the matter?

For many Catholics, and other Christians as well, the Herzl-Papal-Vatican exchanges are baffling, if not embarrassing. Vatican Council II took place between 1962 and 1965, and on October 28, 1965, adopted the much heralded Vatican Declaration on Non-Christian Religions. That historic declaration, adopted overwhelmingly by 2,500 Catholic bishops from throughout the world

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ROMAN EMPIRE (p 162) POLITICS AND CULTURE IN INTERNATIONAL HISTORY (ADDA B BOZEMAN) Princeton Univ Press, 1960)

Rome (and China) was a great and independent state at the turn of the era that began AD 1. It pretended to be the world's sole sovereign, arguing its claim to omnipotence by referring to cosmic principles or the will of providence. Philosophers and administrators defended such claims. (In actual fact, China and India were ancient empires that had claimed supreme world power long before Rome was born.)

Rome had achieved mastery over the Mediterranean world after emerging from the Second Punic War (see Columbia History of the World) 218-216 BC. Her imperial frontiers ran from Gibraltar in the West, northward along the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, etc.

Like China, Rome pretended to hold unique and undisputed world power. It also developed a pantheon of images to sustain that pretension, and built institutions that gave concrete form to those images.

From the first century onward, the archetypal figure of the "UNIVERSAL MONARCH" EMERGED. He prevailed over the universe by virtue of divine investiture, his power, and excellence of character. (Glover) p 6-Octavian Augustus became PONTIFEX MAXIMUS. The Emperor wished to be called "the eldest son of the church." After defeat of Anthony and Cleopatra at Battle of Actium on Sept. 2, 31 BC, Octavian was the commander, IMPERATOR, whence the title "EMPEROR" (col hist, p 208). Octavian made himself leader of the Senate (after purging 28 of its "unworthy" members), the remaining governors voted him the title AUGUSTUS - the revered. This was not quite deification. Octavian had had Caesar deified by the senate in 42 and had since been officially "THE SON OF GOD" by adoption. The new title brought him's step nearer deity. HE REFUSED OFFICIAL DEIFICATION-it would have offended the senators, who would have had to participate in the official worship-but he made himself, even for the senate an object of religious awe. PROVINCIALS WERE PERMITTED TO WORSHIP HIM. FOR THE SENATE, however, the MOST IMPORTANT OBJECT OF RELIGIOUS AWE WAS ROME ITSELF. AUGUSTUS THEREFORE MADE HIMSELF THE PROTECTOR OF THE ROMAN TRADITION AND ABOVE ALL OF RELIGION (SEE P 208, col HIST.)

Whenever the illusion of unique grandeur was contested or challenged by unexpected or untoward events, Rome took refuge in futurist dreams of a distant but resplendent time to come when a "UNIVERSAL STATE" would blissfully envelop all humanity. ROMAN CIVILIZATION WAS DESTINED TO BE REJUVENATED THROUGH THE ABSORPTION OF A RELIGION OF UNIVERSAL APPEAL THROUGH ITS ACCEPTANCE OF XTY AS ITS OFFICIAL STATE RELIGION (China incorporated Buddhism) For the most part, they were unaware of their indebtedness to that cradle of all political life, the ancient Near East, where generations of men before them had entertained and

forfeited similarly ambitious expectations. The exchanges of ideas and fusions of thought that were thus stimulated during the first centuries of our era, in defiance of existing boundaries, were perhaps nowhere as manifest as in the field of religion (Buddhism, Islam, 1100 years - Bazeman, . 163) All of the world's new existing great religions presented their first offering to the soul of man. The original constituencies of these religions were rather closely identified with specific territories and races (Buddhism-India, Confucianism-China/Zoroastrianism-Persia) Christianity as well as Judaism to Palestine (Islam-Arabia). But between the second and seventh centuries (100-600 AD) all of these creeds, with the exception of Confucianism, became as it were TRAVELING RELIGIONS. This was because each included doctrines that appealed to salvation-seeking individuals everywhere, regardless of their race or place of domicile, and because each could rely on the fervor of some of its missionaries to propagate abroad the universal truths that had been found at home.

p.165) They penetrated each other's original domains and the encounters resulted, as a matter of course, in interreligious disputations and competitions, which in turn often made for interreligious adjustments in the form of doctrinal borrowings and syncretisms / (Buddhism blended with native religions and Zoroastrianism.

THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF MITHRAISM (A CULT THAT HAD ORIGINALLY ISSUED FROM INDIA AND ZOROASTRIAN SOURCES) IT AFFECTED THE THOUGHT OF PEOPLES IN ARMENIA, ASIA MINOR, AND THE WESTERN PART OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND IT MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED CERTAIN THEMES TO THE NEW TESTAMENT OF THE CHRISTIANS. (Mithraism was first transplanted to the Roman world by the Cilician pirates whom Pompey captured in his campaign, and it gained a firm hold over ITALY in the following centuries.

ITALIAN JOURNAL, No. 5, Vol. III, 1989 - p. 43f DAWN OF THE ETERNAL CITY (Archeologists illuminate shadowy origin of Rome) by ALBERT J. AMMERMAN

One of antiquity's most enduring legends is the story of ROMULUS AND REMUS, twin grandsons of NUMITOR, king of the ancient Latin city of Alba Longa. 28 centuries ago, according to tradition, Numitor was overthrown by his younger brother, AMULIUS, who moved quickly to safeguard his new power by forcing Numitor's daughter, REA SILVIA, to become a Vestal Virgin, which meant taking vows of CHASTITY, to prevent her from bearing heirs to the throne. The measure proved useless, though for REA SILVIA gave birth to Romulus and Remus, who were fathered by MARS, the god of war. Incensed, Amulius ordered the twins drowned and they were placed in a BASKET AND ABANDONED IN A SWAMPY BACKWATER OF THE TIBER RIVER. The basket, however, soon came to rest on dry land. The Roman historian LIVY describes what takes place next in the fable.

"A she-wolf, coming down out of the surrounding hills to slake her thirst, turned her steps towards the cry of the infants, and with her teats gave them suck so gently, that the keeper of the

royal flock found her licking them with her tongue "

Taken in and raised by FAUSTULUS, the keeper of the royal flock, Romulus and Remus grew up TO KILL THEIR UNCLE AND RESTORE NUMITOR TO THE THRONE. They also were seized by the desire to found a city along the Tiber, near the shore where they had been rescued, as a tribute to their good fortune. To decide which of them should be the founder, each chose a hill upon which he hoped his city would be built (ROMULUS SELECTED THE PALATINE, REMUS, THE AVENTINE) and left a task to augurs - to take reading of omens, by observing the flight of birds.

When 12 vultures appeared over the Palatine hill the matter was resolved in Romulus' favor. Dutifully, he performed the rites deemed essential to the founding of a city. Chief among these was the tracing of a BOUNDARY LINE, CALLED A --POMERIUM, which more than anything else, distinguished a city from other kinds of settlements. THE POMERIUM WAS SACRED, ONLY WITHIN ITS LIMITS COULD AUGURY-WHICH WAS THOUGHT CRUCIAL IN ALL DECISION MAKING BE PRACTICED.

Romulus used a team of cattle to plow a furrow. At three points in the circuit, the plow was lifted and carried a few feet, to designate the sites of the city gates. In his discussion of the meaning of pomerium, the Roman antiquarian VARRO, a contemporary of Julius Caesar's, writing in the first century BC, explains that the place from which the earth was removed symbolized a FOSSA, or ditch, and the dirt piled up, inside the furrow was the MURUS, or wall. In practice, when a city's fortifications were built, they ran along the line of the murus. So only after the pomerium was completed could Romulus begin to build the city called ROME.

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT ROME UNFOLDED IN THREE STAGES. THE FIRST, THE REGAL PERIOD, LASTED TWO AND A HALF CENTURIES, DURING WHICH SEVEN SUCCESSIVE KINGS, BEGINNING WITH ROMULUS, ARE THOUGHT TO HAVE RULED THE CITY. NEXT CAME THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD, DATING FROM 509 BC WHICH SAW THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT AND THE FLOWERING OF ROME AS A WORLD POWER. FINALLY CAME THE IMPERIAL PERIOD, STARTING WITH THE ASCENSION OF AUGUSTUS IN 27 BC throughout which emperors of widely varying stripe reigned, AND ROME EXPERIENCED THE PEAK, THE EROSION AND ULTIMATELY IN 330 AD (WHEN CONSTANTINE MOVED THE IMPERIAL CAPITAL TO CONSTANTINOPLE) THE END OF ITS DOMINANCE.

THROUGH HISTORICAL TEXTS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS HAVE COMBINED TO PAINT A FAIRLY DETAILED PICTURE OF REPUBLICAN AND IMPERIAL ROME, THE REGAL PERIOD REMAINS Mired IN OBSCURITY. FOR THE MOST PART THE ORIGINS OF WHAT WAS TO BECOME THE GREAT SUCCESS STORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD ARE CLOAKED IN TRADITIONS -SUCH AS THE TALE OF ROMULUS RATHER THAN ESTABLISHED FACTS.

Tradition is the leitmotiv that runs through much of Rome's early history. Fables, customs, and religious rites were handed down from generation to generation and eventually became incorporated into the histories of such ancient authors as Livy.

and Dyonisus of Halicarnassus, both of whom wrote during the reign of AUGUSTUS. These writers usually treated such legends as the Romulus myth with the same winking indulgence that Americans grant the story of George Washington and the cherry tree. As Livy notes in the introduction to his 142 volume history of Rome:

"Such traditions as are rather adorned with poetic legends than based upon trustworthy historical proofs. I purpose neither to affirm nor to refute. It is the privilege of antiquity to mingle divine things with human and so add dignity to the beginnings of cities."

In general, traditions about early Rome that the city was founded when a POMERIUM was traced on the Palatine Hill, for instance - were thought to have at least a core of truth. But inevitably, because of the lag of seven centuries, the texts are marked by frequent, if usually minor differences in detail. For example, though the ancient historians following the tradition that ROME WAS FOUNDED SOMETIME AROUND 750 BC, THEY DISAGREED ABOUT THE PRECISE DATE. FABIVS PICTOR who in the third century BC wrote is deemed to be the earliest history of Rome, proposed 747 BC. Later historians suggested a range of years, until over time VARRO'S CHOICE OF 753 BC became canonical.

