

**Abbé JEAN BOULIER**

Former Professor of International Law at the Catholic Institute of Paris

**A Priest Took a Stand against Cold War Anti-Communism (1948): Political Theology for Present-Day NATO Criticism**

"You shall not kill"

Translated from the French with Explanatory Notes  
by Toby Terrar

**CWPublisher  
Silver Spring, MD  
Red Star Publishers  
New York, N.Y. 10027**

Translated and reprinted with permission of copyright owner Éditions de Minuit. All rights reserved.

*Publishers Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Boulier, Jean, 1894-1980

A Priest Took a Stand against Cold War Anti-Communism (1948): Political Theology for Present-Day NATO Criticism

p. cm

Includes bibliographical references, appendix, index, and illustrations.

ISBN 0-9764168-5-9: \$9.00.

Library of Congress Subject Headings

1. Boulier, Jean, 1894-1980.
2. Catholic Church--Clergy.
3. Catholic Church--Foreign relations.
4. Church and state--Catholic Church.
5. Cold War--Religious aspects--Catholic Church.
6. Communism and Christianity--History--20th century.
7. Europe--Politics and government--1945-
8. Liberation theology--Europe--History--20th century.

D844 .B65

LCCN: 49028789

Originally published as: *Un prêtre prend position* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1949)



15405 Short Ridge Ct.  
Silver Spring, Md. 20906  
<http://angelfire.com/un/cwp>

*To Order: (301) 598-5427*  
*E-Mail: Cathwkr@aol.com*

## Table of Contents

Translator’s Preface ..	v
[Ch. I]: To The Reader of Good Faith [p. 7] <sup>1</sup> .....	1
[Ch. 2]: In Poland (April 1946) [p. 13].....	11
<i>Le Monde Illustré</i> Poland (June 29, 1946) [pp. 14-28].....	11-24
Presence of the USSR [p. 18] .....	15
English Presence [p. 21] .....	17
French Presence [p. 23].....	20
[Ch. 3]: Absence of the United States [p. 26].....	25
End of <i>Le Monde Illustré</i> Article [p 28] .....	27
[Ch. 4]: In Rome (September 1946) [p. 30].....	29
<i>Le Monde Illustré</i> Vatican (November 2, 1946) [pp. 30-47] 29-58...	
[Ch. 5]: Defense of Democracy [p. 34].....	35
[Ch. 6]:The Vatican and the Italian Republic [p. 36] .....	39
[Ch. 7]: The Vatican and the Christian Democracy [p. 39].....	45
[Ch. 8]: The Fight Against Communism [p. 41] .....	49
[Ch. 9]: The Holy See and International Relations [p. 43] .....	51
[Ch. 10]: Legacy of Counter Reformation: A Fighting Catholicism [p. 45] .....	55
End of <i>Le Monde Illustré</i> Vatican Article [pp. 30-47] .....	58
[Ch. 11]: Wroclaw I: The Warsaw Communique of June 24, 1948 [p. 53] .....	65
Start of <i>Peuples Amis</i> Warsaw Article (June 24, 1948) [p. 54] 66	
End of <i>Peuples Amis</i> Warsaw Article [p. 59] .....	70
[Ch. 12]: Wroclaw II: World Congress Peace, Aug 1948 [p. 60].....	71
Start of Gilson’s article in <i>Le Monde</i> (June 10, 1948) [60] .....	71
End of Gilson’s article [62] .....	73
Start of Boulier’s Wroclaw statement (Aug. 26, 1948). [p. 63-70] 74	
End of Wroclaw Statement [p. 70] .....	82
[Ch. 13]: And Now? [p. 73].....	85
 Appendix 1: Fr. Jean Boulier’s Biography .....	 95
Appendix 2: Fascism.....	99
Appendix 3: Holy See - Yugoslavia Diplomatic Relations. ....	105
Appendix 4: Italian Political History (1900-1946). ....	107
Appendix 5: Italian Post-World War II Peace Movement (1946-1950s). ....	111

---

<sup>1</sup>Bracketed page numbers [p. 1, etc.] refer to the pagination in the original French language edition.

Appendix 6: Marshall Plan (1947-1951).....	115
Appendix 7: Italian Trade Unions .....	117
Appendix 8: Yugoslav History (World War II - 1960s).....	119
Appendix 9: Cominform (Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties).....	123
Appendix 10: Declaration Warsaw Conference, Foreign Ministers (June 1948).....	127
Appendix 11: June Days uprising (June 23-26, 1848) and Archbishop Affre ..	135
Appendix 12: The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte .....	137
Appendix 13: Post-World War II Peace Movement.....	141
Appendix 14: Boulrier's Essay on Communism, Intrinsic Evil and Christianity	145
Appendix 15: Nuremberg Trials.....	157
Appendix 16: Fr. Boulrier's Essay on the History of International Law 159.....	159
Appendix 17: Papal infallibility .....	163
Appendix 18: <i>Non Expedit</i> (Not Expedient) .....	165
Appendix 19: Persons.....	167
Bibliography .....	191
Index-Subjects .....	193
Index-Persons .....	203

## List of Figures<sup>2</sup>

Figure 1: Publisher Gruenthal labeling AT anti-NATO demonstration.....	vii
Figure 2: Fr. Brémond: good faith is critical faith, the metaphysics of the saints.	10
Figure 3: Emmanuel Mounier at 1946 Polish conference .....	23
Figure 4: Map of Eastern Europe .....	24
Figure 5: US war-mongering.....	28
Figure 6: Pope Pius XII's anti-war doctrine.....	34
Figure 7: Pasquino (critical) Catholicism.....	44
Figure 8: Fr. Luigi Sturzo (1871-1959) anti-fascist supporter of the Italian left	.47
Figure 9: Palmiro Togliatti leader of the Italian Communist Party .....	48
Figure 10: Bolshevik intellectual Alexander Fadeyev ..	54
Figure 11: The Church of the Gesù in Rome .....	64
Figure 12: Fr. Boulrier at 1963 prosecution of Nazi war criminal Hans Globke. ....	97
Figure 13: Dorothy Day and Fr. Boulrier's collaboration with the communists....	98
Figure 14: Fr. Boulrier's preaching against anti-Semitic fascism .....	104
Figure 15: Fr. Boulrier speaking at Wroclaw Peace Congress (August 1948).....	126
Figure 16: Fr. Boulrier's audience at the 1948 Congress .....	126
Figure 17: Bp. Affre gave his life in helping the workers in 1848 uprising.....	136
Figure 18: Thomas Aquinas taught the church's doctrine on war and peace.....	164
Figure 19: Marcel Prenant: Communist Peace Movement Leader .....	178

---

<sup>2</sup>The front cover graphic is from the German Federal Archives, online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org>.

## Translator's Preface

The reason for the translation and republication of Fr. Jean Boulier's book after 75 years is that the class forces that were behind the cold-war anti-communism of his day, continue to dominant the West.<sup>1</sup> Marxists study and oppose these forces, but the analysis based on Christian authority is just as compelling and Westerners have been better conditioned to the Christian argument than the Marxist.

But the dominate forces suppress Christian class analysis. NATO turns on their head Thomas Aquinas, the jurists Francisco de Vitoria, and Francisco Suarez, the scriptures and the papal encyclicals.<sup>2</sup> This is the reason that Fr. Boulier's book needs to be in print. Nothing since his time compares to it both in the mastery yet popular presentation of Christian authority and at the same time in being honest in class analysis.

The occasion for this book's first publication was the direct result of class analysis suppression. At the end of World War II, Fr. Boulier was appointed to the chair of the department of Christian Principles of the Law of Nations at the Catholic University of Paris (ICP). The institution was under the control of the French Episcopate and they fired him from the position in 1948 because of his class-based analysis and support of the international peace movement. This book, which he titled *A Priest Takes a Stand (Un prêtre prend position)* was his response to the firing. It explained in class terms his activism.

For Fr. Boulier the main international peace issue that faced believers was the American-led cold war to take back the advances made by the working class as a result of capitalism's World War II debacle. More specifically, the priest-professor took a stand, first against anti-communism when he spoke at and later wrote about several conferences in Poland and Rome. Second, he took a stand against America's atomic policy because it violated the Christian principles of war and peace. Third, he took a stand on the side of social Christianity.

In composing this book Fr. Boulier incorporated articles that he had earlier published about his international visits and observations. These included essays that had appeared in *Le Monde Illustré* in June and November 1946 that were about trips to Poland (Chapter 2-3) and Rome (Chapters 4-9). Then there were two

---

<sup>1</sup>A biographical summary of Fr. Boulier's life is in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup>Recently Pope Francis criticized NATO as "barking at Russia's door" (l'abbaiare della NATO alla porta della Russia). See Pope Francis, quoted in Luciano Fontana, "Interview with Pope Francis," *Il Corriere della Sera* (Milan, May 3, 2022), online at [https://www.corriere.it/cronache/22\\_maggio\\_03/intervista-papa-francesco-putin-694c35f0-ca57-11ec-829f-386f144a5eff.shtml](https://www.corriere.it/cronache/22_maggio_03/intervista-papa-francesco-putin-694c35f0-ca57-11ec-829f-386f144a5eff.shtml).

articles that were incorporated that had been published in *Peuples Amis* in 1948. The first was about the Warsaw Communiqué of June 24, 1948 (Chapter 11). The second was about the World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace (Chapter 12) in Wrocław, Poland in August 1948, where he gave a presentation.

To tie the essays together, Fr. Boulier wrote an introduction (Chapter 1), conclusion (Chapter 13) and middle section (Chapter 10). He also used an essay by the theologian Étienne Gilson, which supported the peace conferences and which had appeared in *Le Monde* on June 10, 1948.

Fr. Boulier's book did not have footnotes, figures or appendixes. They have been added to this translated edition to benefit an English-speaking audience that may not be familiar with the people, places and events discussed. The appendixes also include several selections from Fr. Boulier's 1977 autobiography, *I was a Red Priest*, that add insights about his peace movement stand. The figures are from open-source *Wikipedia* webpages.

Concerning the copyright: according to the copyright page of the 1949 French edition of *Un prêtre prend position*, the publisher, which was Minuit Editions SAS, Paris, France, was also the copyright owner. Minuit Editions still exists. In response to a request from the translator for permission to re-publish the work in English, the Rights Department of Editions de Minuit, stated in an email on November 29, 2022, that it no longer had use for the book or claimed a copyright, which may make it an "orphan" work under the French copyright law.<sup>3</sup> If you are the rights holder, please contact [Cathwkr@aol.com](mailto:Cathwkr@aol.com).

Also concerning the copyright, as mentioned above, the 1949 Minuit publication largely consisted of Fr. Boulier's earlier-published newspaper articles. Whatever rights those newspapers claimed apparently passed to Minuit. Finally, Fr. Boulier had no children, but his brother and sister, whose heirs might have a

---

<sup>3</sup>Below is a copy of the November 29, 2022 email from Editions de Minuit S.A.S. about the copyright:

RE: Autorisation de traduire en anglais et de publier une brochure

From:., Direction <[direction@leseditionsdeminuit.com](mailto:direction@leseditionsdeminuit.com)>

To:., tobyterror@aol.com <[tobyterror@aol.com](mailto:tobyterror@aol.com)>

Date:., Tue, Nov 29, 2022 6:38 am

Cher Monsieur,

Nous n'exploitons plus ce texte et n'en détenons plus les droits.

Avec nos regrets.

Bien cordialement,

Service des droits

LES EDITIONS DE MINUIT S.A.S.

7, rue Bernard-Palissy

75006 Paris / France

tel. 00.33.(0)1.44.39.39.22

fax 00.33.(0)1.44.39.39.23

[www.leseditionsdeminuit.fr](http://www.leseditionsdeminuit.fr)

copyright claim. His sister was Rose Eugénie Marie (b. 1897), who married Etienne Honore Leroy and lived in Pas-de-Calais. His brother was Pierre Georges Boulier (1899-1966), who lived in Paris.

### Dedication

This translation is dedicated to George Gruenthal, without whose help this would not have been translated and published.



**Figure 1: George Gruenthal, publisher of Red Star Books.**  
Tabling at a White House anti-NATO “demonstration against the war machine” on  
February 19, 2023.



**[Ch. I]**  
**To The Reader of Good Faith [p. 7]<sup>1</sup>**

I beg you, my dear reader, not to look in these pages for what I have not put there. I am not presenting you with an apology or an indictment, but a legitimate defense.

In the self-righteous newspapers: *L'Aurore*, *L'Epoque*, *Le Monde*, *La France Catholique*, and, I regret to add, *L'Aube*, not to mention such papers as *Aspects de la France* or *Paroles Françaises*, I have been the object of attacks which have gravely injured my honor as a priest invincibly attached to the doctrine of the Church and my situation as a professor at the Catholic Institute.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The page numbers in brackets throughout the text correspond to the pagination of the original French text.

<sup>2</sup>*L'Aube* (Dawn) was a French daily newspaper founded by Francisque Gay. It presented a Christian Democratic viewpoint. The newspaper struggled in the period before World War II (1939–1945), and was closed from 1940 to 1944. After the liberation of France it was relaunched, and at first had considerable success as the organ of the Popular Republican Movement. With changes in the political mood in the post-war period it went into decline and was forced to close in 1951. See Anonymous, “*L'Aube*” (newspaper), *Wikipedia*.

*L'Aurore* was a French newspaper first sold on September 11, 1944, soon after the Liberation of Paris. Its name refers to the previous, unrelated publication, *L'Aurore* (1897–1914). Publication ended in 1985 when it was integrated into *Le Figaro*. In 1951, Marcel Boussac, a powerful textile industrialist in the capital, owned a 75% controlling stake in the paper. Under his guidance, the paper's political slant leaned towards the causes of the middle, working, and artisan classes, and during the Algerian Independence Movement, the paper preferred the rights of the Pieds-Noirs (imperialists). In the 1960s, in a Gaullist political climate, the paper served as a voice of opposition for centrism. See Anonymous, “*L'Aurore*” (newspaper), *Wikipedia*.

*France Catholique* is a French Catholic weekly created in 1924, as the organ of the National Catholic Federation (FNC), a protest movement founded by General Édouard de Castelnau against what he perceived as the takeover by the Left Cartel of the anticlerical policy of the years 1904-1905. In 1945, his successor was designated by the bishops of France who were at the head of the FNC - which

When I examined whether I had any means of defense, I saw that there was none available to me except to address myself directly to the public. That is the whole purpose of this brochure..

*Audiat et altera pars* [let the other side be heard as well], listen also to the defense: it is the first requirement of all justice.

Now this is what the troop of barkers wants to take away, by creating (at first) such a scandal that any defense is drowned in the noise. A reader of *L'Époque*, who knows me only through his newspaper, shouted the other day at the exit of the eleven o'clock mass: "My, that priest is a communist! And [p. 8] he is a professor at the Catholic Institute, and we entrust our young people to him, our young girls!"...<sup>3</sup> This statement was vehemently addressed to a lady friend of

became FNAC (National Federation of Catholic Action) before being called Action Catholique Générale des Hommes in 1955, and VEA (Living together the Gospel today) in 1976. It is considered a conservative (royalist) newspaper. See Anonymous, "*France Catholique*" (newspaper), *Wikipedia*.

*L'Époque* was a Parisian daily published between 1937 and 1950. Back issues are online at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb327682922/date>.

<sup>3</sup>The Institut Catholique de Paris (ICP, Catholic University of Paris) was established in 1875 and is a private university. The university is famous for its liberal theology. The Faculté de Théologie is a pontifical institution with the canonical authorization to educate men for the Catholic priesthood. The Faculté de Lettres is a school of the humanities with no explicit religious orientation. During the summer, the Institut opens the Faculté de Lettres to international students for month-long terms. Professors at the university are recruited from sacred (i.e., theology, canon law, etc.) and secular disciplines (i.e., literature, philosophy, education, social sciences, economics). The ICP awards state degrees recognized at the National and European levels (Bachelor, Master and Doctorate Degrees) and canonical diplomas.

The university charges tuition, because the state does not pay the wages of professors at Catholic institutions of higher learning, as authorized under the Debré Law of 1959. However, the institute receives a state subsidy which covers 34% of its financial needs. The amount of the subsidy, derived from the Ministry of National Education, is independently fixed each year by the government within the framework of the national budget, without any obligation or contract.

The university belongs to the network of the UDESCA (Union of the Catholic Higher Educational Establishments) which includes the five French Catholic institutes - Paris, Lille, Lyon, Angers and Toulouse - and is a member of the International Federation of Catholic Universities (FIUC), comprising 200 Catholic universities throughout the world.

The main library, known as Bibliothèque de Fels, is home to 600,000 volumes including 60,000 ancient volumes and 800 manuscripts. The library collection is mostly due to donations made by Edmonds de Fel. Other libraries on campus

mine. Such remarks and coming undoubtedly from considerable characters have besieged these days the bishoprics.

The Catholic Institute, like Cesar's wife, must not be suspected, at least not of flirting with Stalin, because for Hitler we know enough... In short, my presence in this illustrious house was deemed intolerable.

I am not a judge myself and neither is the public; the Catholic Institute may or may not tolerate. But, tolerable or not, I have the right to make known exactly the position I have taken, weighing my duty and my responsibilities.

Especially since this position, I continue to face the pack of insulters. They won't make me take a step back.

I hope, my dear reader, that you will take an interest in knowing it, even if you do not approve of it, and that it will seem to you tolerable, if not in a professor of the Catholic Institute forced to do many tasks, at least in a priest committed all his life to giving his testimony to the truth.

It is about freedom of speech and it is about the freedom of the Church. This is the freedom of the word of God. Will the Word of God be chained? There are chains of gold, and then links of silk, there are also strings. [p. 9]

The Church knows all these servitudes. She keeps her youth insofar as she frees herself from them... Then she is holy, *sancta mater Ecclesia* [Holy Mother church]. She is the "pillar of truth" or, as said Maurras, the "temple of the definitions of duty".<sup>4</sup>

include the Jean-de-Vernon Library of Theology and Biblical Sciences, the Library of the Faculty of Canon Law which publishes *L'Année Canonique* (The Canon Year). In addition there was the Documentation Center of the Institute of Education and the Library of the French Institute of Byzantine Studies. See Anonymous, "Institut Catholique de Paris," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>4</sup>Charles Maurras (1868-1952) was an author and politician. He organized and was the principal philosopher of *Action Française*, a political movement that was monarchist, anti-Jewish, anti-parliamentarist, and counter-revolutionary. Maurras' ideas influenced National Catholicism and "nationalisme intégral". A major tenet of integral nationalism was stated by Maurras as "a true nationalist places his country above everything". He was one of the few eminent and probably the most important of all French ethnic nationalists, being naturally opposed to republican universalism and liberalism, advocating for corporatism, order, hierarchy and an organically decentralized France.

A political theorist and a major intellectual influence in early 20th-century Europe, his views influenced several far-right ideologies; it also anticipated some of the ideas of fascism. He collaborated with Philippe Pétain's Vichy France. After the liberation he was arrested, convicted of complicity with the enemy and sentenced to life imprisonment. At the same time, the movement continues to exist and promotes an hereditary, anti-parliamentary, decentralized monarchy and is anti-European Union. See Humberto Cucchetti, "Communism, French Patriotism, and Soviet Legitimacy in France: Social Trajectories and Nationalism (1945-

For this word, in his thought, very equivocal, he was crowned formerly "a beautiful defender of the faith" and the alliance with this atheist was carried to the nines, until finally it appeared for what it was, a collusion, and with sordid interests.

But for forty years, the Maurassian press has exercised in the Church a dictatorship that speaks blackmail and denunciation. And it is beginning again. Let's say that it continues, because it never stopped, except for a few months after the liberation.

*Loquirnini nobis placentia*, seers, tell us things that please us. Preach to us, certainly, the duties of money, because it has some: *nobility obliges*. But count on us to fulfill them. Do not mix your sublime ministry with social struggles. It would come out weaker. Say well, repeat that "communism is intrinsically perverse".<sup>5</sup>

1954)," *History of Communism in Europe* (Bucharest: Zeta, 2012), vol. 3, pp. 109-129, at p. 123; see also, Anonymous "Charles Maurras," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>5</sup>The *Divini Redemptoris* (Latin for the [promise] of a Divine Redeemer) is an anti-communist encyclical issued by Pope Pius XI. It was published in March 1937. In this encyclical, the pope sets out to "expose once more in a brief synthesis the principles of atheistic Communism as they are manifested chiefly in bolshevism".

Mariano Cordovani OP (1883-1950) professor of dogmatic theology at the College of Saint Thomas, the future Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Angelicum* from 1912 to 1921 and Master of the Sacred Palace under Pope Pius XI contributed to the encyclical and afterward published his *Appunti sul comunismo moderno* treating the Church's position on communism. See Anonymous, "*Divini Redemptoris*," *Wikipedia*.

The *Decree Against Communism* was a 1949 document issued by the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, and approved by Pope Pius XII, which declared Catholics who professed communist doctrine to be excommunicated as apostates from the Christian faith. The document, as published in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, bears the heading *Decretum* (Decree), and is presented in the form of a *dubium*: that is, in question-and-answer format. It presents four questions, together with the Holy Office's replies: (1) Is it licit to join or show favor to communist parties? (2) Is it licit to publish, distribute, or read publications that support communist doctrine or activity, or to write for them? (3) May Christians who knowingly and freely commit the acts in parts 1 and 2 be given the sacraments? (4) Do Christians who profess, defend or promote materialistic communist doctrine incur the penalty of excommunication as apostates from the Christian faith, with the penalty reserved so that it may only be lifted by the Holy See?

The decree was published in the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* on July 16, 1949. A commentary followed on July 27, 1949, explaining reasons for its condemnation of Communist activity and doctrine. It also made clear the scope of the excommunication stated in the decree: it did not apply to all people who voted

For us, this is obvious. But don't go any further in reading the Encyclical, you will find some painful passages which, for the sake of Pius XI's memory, we would like to strike out. Are you worried about the threat of war? How right you are. These worries paralyze trade. Not all money can have steel values. But who's talking about war now? If it weren't for the abominable Russians, the world would be a world of peace. Do you know, Reverend Fathers, that the red tanks are two hundred kilometers [125 miles] away from Strasbourg [France]? The defense of the West is being organized. But if our American allies did not have [p. 10] the atomic bomb, the future of civilization would be in jeopardy. God save us from the horrors that happen behind the iron curtain.

Just as the Nazis directed the Vichy press and prescribed the height of its headlines, so do we have the themes of our preaching on the evil of the times. So, every morning the self-righteous newspaper suggests to us the words that we repeat during the day to those who ask us for the consolations of our ministry.<sup>6</sup>

---

for Communists or supported the party, but only to people who held the materialistic and atheistic doctrines of Communism. As a result, Bishop Jan Dechet (1908-1968) of Czechoslovakia was excommunicated in 1950 because he was pro-communist. See Anonymous, "Decree Against Communism," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>6</sup>France's Vichy government ruled from July 1940 to December 1944. After being appointed Premier by President Albert Lebrun, Marshal Philippe Pétain's (1856-1951) cabinet agreed to end the war and signed an Armistice with Germany on June 22, 1940. On July 10, 1940, the Third Republic was effectively dissolved as Pétain was granted full powers by the National Assembly. While Paris remained the *de jure* capital of France, the government chose to relocate to the spa town of Vichy, a distance of 220 miles in the south central part of metropolitan France. This was part of the unoccupied "Free Zone" (*zone libre*) of metropolitan France, which included French Algeria. It remained responsible for the civil administration of France as well as the French colonial empire. From 1940 to 1942, the Vichy regime was the nominal government of all of France except for Alsace-Lorraine, the Germans and Italians militarily occupied northern and south-eastern France.

At Vichy, Pétain established a government that began tight supervision of the economy, calling for "National Regeneration", with central planning a key feature. Labour unions came under government control. Conservative Catholics became prominent and clerical input in schools resumed. The media was controlled and stressed anti-Jewish, and, after June 1941, anti-Bolshevism. The occupation was to be a provisional state of affairs, pending the conclusion of the war, which at the time (1940) appeared imminent. The occupation also presented certain advantages to the French ruling class, such as keeping the French Navy and French colonial empire under French control, and avoiding full occupation of the country by Germany, thus maintaining a degree of French independence and neutrality. Despite heavy pressure, the French government at Vichy never joined the Axis alliance and even remained formally at war with Germany.

All this, in the time of Father Constantine, was already comical, nicely outdated, and the worthy priest was the only one who did not notice it.<sup>7</sup> But woe betide the one, priest or layman, who gets nauseous and vomits these lukewarm instructions. He will be broken and first dragged through the mud.

But it is not ink stains, but blood that Maurras has at his fingertips. But for having said this, Bernanos was considered an oddball and we know with what compassionate sighs the good souls pronounce the name of François Mauriac.<sup>8</sup>

Germany kept two million French soldiers prisoner, carrying out forced labor (*service du travail obligatoire*). They were hostages to ensure that Vichy would reduce its military forces and pay a heavy tribute in gold, food, and supplies to Germany. French police were ordered to round up Jews and other "undesirables" such as communists and political refugees. Much of the French public initially supported the government.

Following the Allied landings in French North Africa in November 1942, southern France was also militarily occupied by Germany and Italy to protect the Mediterranean coastline. The *zone libre* ended. This led to the disbandment of the remaining army and the sinking of France's remaining fleet and ending any semblance of independence, with Germany now supervising all French officials. Pétain's government remained in Vichy as the nominal government of France, one that collaborated with Nazi Germany. In late 1944 it lost its de facto authority due to the Allied invasion of France and the government was compelled to relocate to the Sigmaringen enclave in Germany, where it continued to exist on paper until the end of hostilities in Europe. See Anonymous, "Vichy France," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>7</sup>*The Abbot Constantine* is an 1882 novel by the French writer Ludovic Halévy. In 1887 it was turned into a play by Pierre Decourcelle and Hector Crémieux. The plot centers on an old priest, Abbot Constantine, who has been serving for 30 years as a spiritual father and protector of the peasants, when he is suddenly informed that the heir of a deceased good friend of his, the Marquise de Longueval, turns out to be Ms. Scott, a former American actress and a "heretic" (a Protestant), who, by a special whim, bought the Castle of Longueval from the heirs of the marquise and along with it almost the entire village. The worst part was that the heretic actor, who had already received the admiration of a young man, decided to settle in the Longueval Castle and "poison" in the most insidious way, the honest and pure customs of that local community of peasants. Abbot Constantine, quite desperate, expects the fatal catastrophe. But, despite all his fears, fatal Ms. Scott ultimately conquers him, and even more easily, since it is later proven that not only is she graceful, merciful and generous; she is also revealed to be Catholic, originating from Catholic parents of Canada, and not heretical as everyone thought. See Anonymous, "*The Abbot Constantine*," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>8</sup>Georges Bernanos (1888-1948) was a writer with Catholic with monarchist leanings. He was critical of elitist thought and was opposed to what he identified as defeatism. He believed this had led to France's defeat and eventual occupation by Germany in 1940 during World War II. His two major novels *Sous*

I am not surprised by it and I do not manage to be indignant about it. Here I am, like so many others, an unemployed intellectual and for the same reasons. An article on the new Poland, another one on the policy of the Holy See have given rise to complaints about which I am not yet well informed. This was enough to put an end to my teaching at the Catholic Institute. The chair of Christian Principles of the Law of Nations has been abolished. At the higher instance, it was declared to me that after [p. 11] my participation in the Wroclaw Congress, the decision was final.

And so things are perfectly clear: Warsaw, Rome, Wroclaw, three places in the world where I had to take a stand in the conflict of forces that are fighting for the future. Faced with the threatening presence and policy of the United States, I applied to this policy the Christian principles of the law of nations which I was charged to teach. For it is not a question of stating in the abstract the law of nations of the thirteenth century, but that which our time recognizes and that to which it aspires. I do not think that an atomic policy can claim Christian principles of war and peace. So I take a stand.

I am asked to take a stand against communism as well. I cannot speak about everything at once. Theologians have abundantly refuted Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism... I would only like to hear their answer when a "Stalinist" asks them what they think about the current salary of a mine worker or about the activity of the engineers of the American military mission on the side of Kars and Ardahan.<sup>9</sup>

---

*le soleil de Satan* (1926, *Under the Sun of Satan*) and the *Journal d'un curé de campagne* (1936, *The Diary of a Country Priest*) both revolve around a parish priest who combats evil and despair in the world. Most of his novels have been translated into English. See Anonymous, "Georges Bernanos," *Wikipedia*.

François Mauriac (1885-1970) was a novelist, Catholic and Action Française supporter. He turned to the left during the Spanish Civil War, criticizing the Catholic Church for its support of Franco. He briefly supported Pétain after France's fall, but joined the resistance as early as December 1941. He had a dispute with Albert Camus, who said newly liberated France should purge all Nazi collaborator elements, but Mauriac warned that such disputes should be set aside in the interests of national reconciliation. Mauriac also had a dispute with Roger Peyrefitte, who criticized the Vatican in books such as *Les Clés de saint Pierre* (1953). Mauriac threatened to resign from the paper he was working with at the time (*L'Express*) if they did not stop carrying advertisements for Peyrefitte's books. See Anonymous, "François Mauriac," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>9</sup>Ardahan and Kars are areas in eastern Turkey that adjoined the Georgian and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics. They had been in Russian hands between 1878 and 1917. In seeking to establish peace, Lenin was forced to cede them to Turkey in the Soviet-Turkey Treaty of 1921. After World War II the Soviet sought to regain the area in behalf of the Georgian and Armenian republics. In response President Truman in April 1946 sent the battleship Missouri to the Bosphorus as a warning to Moscow. See Blair Bolles, "NATO An American View," *International*

I belong to a generation for whom Count de Mun wrote *My Social Vocation*, when we were twenty-years old.<sup>10</sup> I have never reread this book and, without doubt, today many pages would make me smile. But I remember de Mun's account of the terrible hours of the Paris Commune, whose flag enveloped Lenin in his mausoleum in the Kremlin. I remember that at that time, as in the past in the heart of Albert de Mun, resounded in me the cry which sprang from the heart of the Master and which will always raise his true disciples: [p. 12] "I pity these

---

*Journal* (Autumn, 1951), vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 281-291, at p.283; and Anonymous, "Kars" *Wikipedia*.

<sup>10</sup>Adrien Albert Marie, Comte de Mun (1841-1914) was a social reformer. He wrote *Ma vocation sociale* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1908, 289 pp, online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k55600v>) to explain and justify his career. He had fought during 1870 in the Franco-Prussian War and while a prisoner of war met René de La Tour du Pin. They both were determined to respond to the dilemma of the working class upon their release from prison. The following year they organized a Catholic workers' club, under the name "L'Oeuvre des Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers" (Society of Catholic Worker Circles). He also assisted in the capture of Paris from the Paris Commune. He advocated Social Catholicism. His attacks on the Third French Republic's social policy ultimately provoked a prohibition from the Minister of War. He thereupon resigned his commission in 1875, and in the following year stood as the Royalist and Catholic candidate for Pontivy. The influence of the Church was exerted to secure his election. For his work, he was awarded the Order of Saint Gregory the Great by Pope Pius IX. For many years he was the most conspicuous leader of the anti-Republican party.

De Mun was also a resolute opponent of Socialism: "Socialism is logical Revolution and we are Counter-Revolution. There is nothing in common between us." He was a prominent anti-Dreyfusard as well as an anti-Semite. It was chiefly through his influence that the support of the Royalist party was given to Georges Boulanger. But he obeyed the modernizing encyclical of 1891, *Rerum novarum*, and declared his readiness to rally to a Republican government, provided that it respected religion. In the following January he received from Leo XIII a letter commending his action, and encouraging him in his social reforms. See Anonymous, "Adrien Albert Marie, Comte de Mun," *Wikipedia*.)

François René de La Tour du Pin Chambly (1834–1924) was a military officer, politician and social reformer. In 1885 he talked to Pope Leo XIII about social Catholicism. In 1891, unlike Albert de Mun, he worked to have French Catholics support the Third Republic. In 1892, he met Charles Maurras and they became friends. Once the Action Française was founded in 1899, he assisted the movement. See Anonymous, "François René de La Tour du Pin Chambly," *Wikipedia*.

crowds”<sup>11</sup> And I also remember the practical advice that after de Mun all the “social Catholics” repeated to me: save a revolution, that is to say, generously give them the share of justice that they claim, if you don't want them to take it.

Only the words of Lenin are true: “I cannot make a revolution without a revolutionary situation”. This situation is created by war and already, before our eyes, prepares for it, as its threat grows and becomes more precise.<sup>12</sup>

So I take a stand. In what terms, in the face of what realities, this is what the reader will soon know.

---

<sup>11</sup>Fr. Boulier may be referring to *Mt.* 9:36, “At the sight of the crowds, his heart was moved with pity for them because they were troubled and abandoned, like sheep without a shepherd.”

<sup>12</sup>In Marxist terminology, a revolutionary situation is a political situation indicative of a possibility of a revolution. The concept was introduced by Vladimir Lenin in 1913, in his article “May Day Action by the Revolutionary Proletariat,” *Lenin Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), vol. 19, pp. 218-227, online at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1913/jun/15.htm>. In the article two conditions for a revolutionary situation were described, which were later succinctly phrased as “the bottoms don't want and the tops cannot live in the old way”. In later works Lenin postulated a third condition: high political activity of the working masses, their readiness to revolutionary actions. See Anonymous, “Revolutionary Situation,” *Wikipedia*.



**Figure 2: Fr. Henri Brémond: good faith is critical faith.  
the metaphysics of the saints.**

Fr. Boulier quoted historian and sometime Jesuit Brémond about good faith being critical faith. Criticism of religious knowledge was the metaphysics of the saints.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>Jean Boulier, *I was a Red Priest* (Silver Spring, MD: Red Star-CW Publisher, [1977] 2022), p. 57.

[Ch. 2]  
In Poland (April 1946) [p. 13]

In April 1946 a small delegation of French Catholic intellectuals was invited to visit Poland. It included: Father Glasberg, director of the Center for Social Orientation of Foreigners, R.P. [Reverend Father] Boisselot OP, Emmanuel Mounier, director of *Esprit*, Ambroise Jobert, professor of modern history at the University of Grenoble, Stanislas Fumet ; then director of *Temps Present*, and Marek Szwarc, the well-known sculptor.<sup>1</sup> I represented the Catholic Institute there

---

<sup>1</sup>Information about Marek Szwarc is in the Persons section of the Appendix.

Fr. Alexandre Glasberg (1902-1981), a Ukrainian Jew, converted to Catholicism in his youth and became a priest in France. He played an active role in the Resistance during the Second World War, contributing to the rescue of many Jews, and worked after the war in the establishment of networks of migration of the Jews towards Israel, participating in the operations Exodus and “Ezra and Nehemiah.” In the 1947 Exodus episode, about 4,500 concentration camp survivors were prevented by Britain from migrating to Israel. The British ruled the area at the time and wished to prevent tensions with the Arabs. It was only after the British recognized the state of Israel in 1949 that migration became easier. Operation “Ezra and Nehemiah” brought most of the Jews (110,000 people), from Iraq to the newly independent State of Israel. See Anonymous, “Alexandre Glasberg,” *Wikipedia*.

Emmanuel Mounier (1905-1950) was a philosopher, a guiding spirit of the French personalist movement and founder of *Esprit*, the magazine which was the organ of the movement. He attended the Sorbonne and came under the influence of Charles Péguy, to whom he ascribed the inspiration of the personalist movement. Personalism became an influence of the non-conformists of the 1930s. In 1939, he criticized the newly-elected Pope Pius XII for remaining silent on the Italian invasion of Albania. Some have attributed this with indirectly originating the black legend about Pius XII's silence on the Holocaust. See Anonymous, “Emmanuel Mounier,” *Wikipedia*.

Fr. Pierre Boisselot, OP (1899-1964) was trained as a lawyer and went to work in 1932 as an editor at the Dominican publisher, Éditions du Cerf in Paris, which had been established in 1929. It published a magazine, *La Vie Intellectuelle* (The Intellectual Life), which sought to create an alternative belief system in response to

and I left with letters of recommendation from the Rector, Mgr. Calvet for their Eminences Cardinals Hlond and Sapieha.<sup>2</sup>

---

those of Charles Maurras and his movement Action Française and also to Marxist ideologies. Assisting him was the Catholic convert, Ella Sauvageot. By the 1940s and 1950s Boisselot was called the gray eminence of the editorial lobby of the Catholic left. He was twice sanctioned by the hierarchy, first in 1943 and again in 1954. This reflected the hierarchy's preference during the Vichy and cold war period for Action Française and Mauritanian nationalism. The tide had turned by the time he died in 1964: several of the reformist movements supported by the Editions du Cerf were recognized by Vatican Council II. See Étienne Fouilloux, "Boisselot Pierre" *Dictionnaire biographique des frères prêcheurs*, online at <http://journals.openedition.org/dominicains/1206>.

Ambroise Jobert (1904-1988) was a French historian specializing on Poland. His publications included *La Tolérance religieuse en Pologne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Firenze: G. C. Sansoni Editore, 1957), *L'état polonais, la liberté religieuse et l'Église orthodoxe au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955). 243 pp. and *Histoire de la Pologne* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974). See Anonymous, "Ambroise Jobert," *Wikipedia*.

Stanislas Fumet (1896-1983) was a writer and leader of social Catholicism. In 1937, he became editor of the weekly *Temps Présent* (Present Times) in which François Mauriac and Jacques Maritain participated. It was banned by the Vichy government in 1941 and in a clandestine manner he continued to publish it under another name, *Les Cahiers du Témoignage Christianien*. In September 1943 during the German occupation he was jailed for seven months. At the Liberation, he resurrected *Temps Présent*. Among his writings were *Life of St. Martin de Porres, patron saint of interracial justice* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964, 119p) and *Joan the saint* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1937; 70 p.). See Anonymous, "Stanislas Fumet," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>2</sup>Information about August Hlond is in the Persons section of the Appendix.

Fr. Jean Calvet (Calvert) (1874-1965) was a priest and professor, who sometimes wrote under the pseudonym Jean Quercy. In the interwar period he was director of the review *L'Enseignement chrétien: Bulletin of secondary education*. In 1941 he helped establish in Paris the Higher Institute of Pedagogy (ISP). He also served as rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris. Among his writings were *Mémoires de Mgr Jean Calvert*, intro. M. l'abbé Charles Molette (Lyon: Éditions du Chalet, 1967), LCCN 67097191, 150 pp.; *L'abbé Gustave Morel: professeur at l'Institut Catholique Paris* (London: G. Allen, 1913), online at HathiTrust; and *Saint Vincent de Paul: textes choisis et commentés* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1913), online at HathiTrust.

Fr. Stefan Sapieha (1867-1951) served as Archbishop of Kraków. In 1946, Pope Pius XII made him a Cardinal. He came from the Polish nobility, his family being landowners in Lithuania. See Anonymous, "Stefan Sapieha," *Wikipedia*.

Our stay in Poland lasted almost five weeks and we were given every opportunity to meet the most interesting personalities of all parties in Warsaw, Lodz, Wroclaw, Katowice, Krakow, Chestochowa, Gdansk, during our stay in each of these cities.

I note that R.P. Boisselot and myself always paid a long visit to the Bishop of the place wherever we passed. I also note that three of us spoke perfect Polish, two being from [p. 14] the country, and the third before made a long stay at the French Institute in Warsaw. Their comments and their explanations were of fascinating interest to us, in order constantly to perfect our first impressions in a country quite new for the most part.

Naturally, on our return, we were invited to declare that behind the iron curtain we had noticed everywhere the traces of Muscovite tyranny and witnessed a painful religious persecution.

I recorded my observations in the following article:

**[Fr. Boulier's Polish article in *Le Monde Illustré* is below  
(June 29, 1946)]<sup>3</sup>**

What happens behind the iron curtain? That is the question posed by the traveler who goes to Poland. And as soon as he gets off the plane, he realizes that the Iron Curtain is a myth.

People circulate in Poland like in any other country in the "Oxidantal" world and the police for foreigners there are no less curious, certainly, nor more indiscret. In 1946, each state thinks it has good reason to be wary of those who visit it. There is no shortage of reasons for refinement in the Polish state. The authorities have all the more merit in remaining faithful to their traditional courtesy. It is appropriate to acknowledge them.

Poland has nothing to hide from its laborious life, from its immense effort to recover. It would be to be hoped that many French people could be the amazed witnesses.

A trip to Poland is a bath of optimism for those who believe in the spirit. And for those who do not believe in it, it is a test of realism. These two views coincide, because in Poland the reality is not sad. [p. 15]

It is easy to enumerate the faults of the Poles. No one has hitherto reproached them for lacking courage. That courage has been crushed

---

<sup>3</sup>Fr. Boulier "Polish Article," *Le Monde Illustré* (The Illustrated World, Paris: June 29, 1946, LCCN 48024276). The editor in 1946 was Pierre Naquet, an aeronautical engineer and a journalist, who Fr. Boulier worked with in the resistance. The magazine was a leading illustrated news magazine in France. It existed from 1857-1940 and again from 1945 to 1956. It was similar to its contemporary English-language newsmagazine *The Illustrated London News* and should not be confused with the French newspaper *Le Monde*.

many times under brute force. But if Europe finally decides for peace, the courage and faith of the Poles will build the new Poland as a great nation.

**New from Poland [p. 16]**  
**[Continuation of Polish article]**

But what's new in Poland? Two facts of considerable importance: the advent of democracy and the resurrection of a sovereign state.

That is enough to immediately raise heated discussions. The new Poland is denied its sovereignty and its democratic character. And the reason is simple. In Bournemouth, Mr. Leon Blum gave as a reason for the lasting opposition of the Socialists to the Communists, the doubt on the sincerity of their democratic convictions and on their freedom of action vis-à-vis Moscow.<sup>4</sup> Poland encounters exactly the same doubt in the opposition made to it.

In our opinion, this opposition is not admissible. Polish democracy shows its detractors its agrarian reform, its nationalizations, its army. And as for becoming the seventeenth republic of the USSR, no one in Poland dreams of it. When I say nobody, it is because I have encountered this explicit denial in the most diverse and qualified circles. And, moreover, the same applies to the Kremlin. **[p. 17]**

The Polish state is faced with two essential tasks: to build democracy in Poland and to ensure its independence. Our belief is that it is being done honestly. By formulating this simple adverb, I know that I am going

---

<sup>4</sup>Léon Blum (1872-1950) was a French socialist politician and three-time Prime Minister. In an address to the British Labor Party Congress at Bournemouth, England on June 13, 1946, criticized them for their policy of supporting reactionary governments in Spain, Greece and the Middle East. The British hated the Soviets and feared that the overthrow of the fascists would start upheavals to Russia's advantage. See Anonymous, "Blum Addresses British Laborites: Party Congress Hears French Socialist Criticize Bevin's Policy Toward Spain," *New York Times* (June 14, 1946).

As a Jew, Blum was heavily influenced by the Dreyfus affair of the late 19th century. He was a disciple of French Socialist leader Jean Jaurès and after Jaurès' assassination in 1914, became his successor. As Prime Minister in a Popular Front government of the left 1936-1937, he provided a series of major economic reforms. He declared neutrality in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) to avoid the civil conflict spilling over into France itself. Once out of office in 1938, he denounced the appeasement of Germany. When Germany defeated France in 1940, he became a staunch opponent of Vichy France. Tried (but never judged) by the Vichy government on charges of treason, he was imprisoned in the Buchenwald concentration camp. After the war, he resumed a transitional leadership role in French politics, helping to bring about the French Fourth Republic, until his death in 1950. See "André Léon Blum," *Wikipedia*.

to arouse furious shouts, but, in truth, Poland is quiet, the government has the situation well in hand everywhere people work, in the fields and in the cities. On the social and economic level, we therefore find ourselves in the presence of a great revival. The new Polish state is carrying out with zeal and success its essential task: reconstruction in order and security.

**Presence of the USSR [p. 18]**  
**[Continuation of Fr. Boulier's Polish article]**

It will be said that this government is not free and that the Polish nation is not either. The government takes instructions from Moscow which the Polish people reject and which the government imposes on them. The people are not communists and they hate Russians. But the social evolution of Poland is a march towards communism and everywhere the Russians command. Shall we say that Poland is an "alien" people? A Marxist will rather say that this submission to an inexorable necessity is for Poland the beginning of its liberation. Marxist humor would be fierce were it not ingenuous.

But the Poles, on this count, are in no mood to joke. A whole underground opinion complains about the political situation and declares bluntly: "We have changed occupiers."

For a Frenchman, the complaint is not new. We have heard it since the Liberation. All the circles in France accepted without pride extremely ticklish foreign activity because of the military necessity of battle on our territory and then the obligation to ensure through our [p. 19] country, their communications with the zones of occupation in Germany.

One certainly sees fewer Russians in Warsaw than Americans or Englishmen in Paris. As long as the Red Army is on the Elbe and beyond - I don't think any Frenchman regrets it - it is obvious that Poland will be encumbered with an international servitude, more precisely "interallied."<sup>5</sup> Insofar as the Allies maintain a common policy, at least vis-à-vis Germany, the presence of Allied troops in Poland, if the Poles are loyal allies, is nothing that should shock or worry.

Thus reasons the ingenuous, Marxist or not. We then ask him if he is really in good faith.

But the good faith is reciprocal and it is a question of knowing if the Red Army is always our ally and if its victories are always our victories.

---

<sup>5</sup>Near the end of the war on April 25, 1945, the Western Allies and the Red Army linked up near Torgau, on the Elbe. Elbe River. What was east of the Elbe was under Soviet control and the river became the border between East Germany and West Germany. See Anonymous, "Elbe River," *Wikipedia*.

How far Stalingrad seems for some short memories!<sup>6</sup> However, Stalingrad was not only the decisive turning point of the war for the Allies; the fate of the new Poland was at stake. The Polish army, by the will of the London government, was absent from Stalingrad. If Anders' army, instead of expending its heroism at Monte Cassino, where Poland had nothing to do, had recaptured Stalingrad alongside the Red Army, most of the political difficulties of the new Poland would not arise.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>The Battle of Stalingrad (August 23, 1942-February 2, 1943) was the main battle of World War II. It remains the largest (nearly 2.2 million personnel) and bloodiest (1.8-2 million killed, wounded or captured) battle in the history of warfare. As Fr. Boulier perceived, it was the end of Nazism. Hitler personally rewrote the operational objectives for the 1942 campaign, greatly expanding them to include the occupation of the city of Stalingrad. Both sides attached propaganda value to the city, based on it bearing the name of the leader of the Soviet Union. Hitler proclaimed that after Stalingrad's capture, its male citizens were to be killed and all women and children were to be deported because its population was "thoroughly communistic" and "especially dangerous". It was assumed that the fall of the city would also firmly secure the northern and western flanks of the German military. See Anonymous, "Battle of Stalingrad," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>7</sup>The Polish military hero General Władysław Sikorski (1881-1943) was the leader of the London Poles after the Nazis occupied their country. He negotiated the Sikorski-Mayski Agreement signed in London on July 30, 1941 and other agreements to establish diplomatic and military ties between Poland and the USSR. Later in 1941, he went to Moscow with a diplomatic mission. He accepted that Poland's post-war borders would be along the lines of the Versailles concept of the Curzon Line.

Despite the agreement, most of the exile government posts were hold-over members of the former *sanacja* regime, who were hostile to the Soviets. Within a year Sikorski was killed in an "accident." The anti-Soviets forces then ended diplomatic relations with the USSR. Contrary to their agreement the Anders (Polish) Army created by the Soviets was used not to fight on the German-Soviet front, but sent to the Middle East under the command of General Władysław Anders (1892-1970). Anders had been an officer in the Polish military under the Piłsudski regime. The Anders' army totaled 76,000 troops. Had it stayed in the USSR, it could have raised 300,000 from the POWs taken by the Russians in September, 1939. See Anita J. Prazmowska, *Britain and Poland, 1939-1943: The Betrayed Ally* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1995), LCCN 94026412, 233 pp.; Sarah Meiklejohn Terry, *Poland's Place in Europe: General Sikorski and the Origin of the Oder-Neisse Line, 1939-1943* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 260; and Tadeusz A. Kisielewski, *Zamach: Tropem zabójców Generała Sikorskiego* (Assassination: On the trail of the killers of

It was a big mistake. General Sikorski hesitated a long time before committing it. He finally gave in, realizing the irreparable harm that this secession of the Polish army, abandoning the battlefields of Russia to rejoin the western front through Asia Minor, was doing to Poland. A short time later, an aviation accident, which still gives [p. 20] food for thought, made him disappear with his remorse. For the first time in its history, Poland abandoned an ally on the battlefield. It is conceivable that the leaders responsible for this maneuver can no longer return to their country liberated by the Red Army without them and in spite of them.

But must Poland pay for their lack of political intelligence? They thought Russia was crushed. Germany, they thought, would be beaten next after an exhausting victory, an illusory triumph like that of Brest-Litovsk in 1918.<sup>8</sup> They believed that they would return to Poland from the West following the Anglo-Saxon armies which would return Poland to its eastern border of 1772.

The awakening from these insane dreams is harsh. The Red Army is on the Elbe and for a long time. England will never guarantee Poland any other frontier in the East than the present line, which substantially follows the Curzon line. There is no future for Poland except in an unreserved acceptance of this situation. The Poles who question it are enemies of their country, enemies of Europe. For are they thinking of the terrible conflagration which they call for? And besides, who do they find to help them defend this lost cause?

**English Presence [p. 21]**  
**[Continuation of Fr. Boulier's Polish article]**

Great Britain enjoys in Poland, more precisely in certain Polish circles, a singular popularity. After all, neither on the Bug nor on the Oder, England - and she has expressly said this many times - is disposed

---

General Sikorski), (Poznań: Dom Wydawniczy Rebis, 2005), LCCN 2005473249, 320 pp. at pp.169-170.

<sup>8</sup>Because the Soviets wanted to pull out of World War I and because of their military weakness they were forced on March 3, 1918 in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to cede the Baltic states to Germany and the tsarist claims to Poland were renounced. This involved giving up 1,300,000 square miles and 62 million people, a third of the Russian population, a quarter of its territory, around a third of the country's arable land, three-quarters of its coal and iron, a third of its factories (totaling 54 percent of the nation's industrial capacity), and a quarter of its railroads. By 1945 the Soviets were no longer weak and it was Germany that lost out. See Anonymous, "Treaty of Brest-Litovsk," *Wikipedia*.

to support the wishes of the Poles.<sup>9</sup> This is because there is a game being played out in Poland, around the armed opposition, the stakes of which are nothing less than a civil war and of which unhappy Poland risks paying the costs with her blood.

Armies criss-cross the country. Their importance is difficult to assess. They are recruited from the remnants of the Wehrmacht, the Waffen SS, the Vlasov army, the LVF, finally the Polish secret army and they are reinforced every day by men from the Anders army who have returned to Poland.<sup>10</sup> They operate in dispersed order and are sometimes hostile to each other. But little by little the unity is gaining step by step.

---

<sup>9</sup>The historian Magdalena Hulas at Warsaw's Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History summarized the British government's rejection of the Polish-anti-communists. From 1939 forward the British sought an alliance with the Soviets against the Germans. The government-in-exile, with its pretensions of military strength was an embarrassment. What military strength the exile government did have, they squandered in Iran and Italy:

Great Britain, whose interests in Central Europe were negligible, had other priorities, such as the alliance with the USSR and the Soviet participation in the war. Poland was considered to be the stumbling block in British-Soviet relations. His Majesty's Government not only declined to support the Polish government in their dealings with the Soviet Union but put them under pressure to give in to the Soviet claims.

Even after 1946 with the cold war the British gave little help to the anti-communists. See Magdalena Hulas in "Review of *Britain and Poland, 1939-1943: The Betrayed Ally* by Anita J. Prazmowska," *The Slavonic and East European Review* (July, 1997), vol. 75, no. 3, pp. 585-586, at p. 585.

<sup>10</sup>The Vlasov army, also known as the Russian Liberation Army was named after its commander Andrey Vlasov. It was composed of Russians who fought under German command during World War II. Vlasov, a Soviet general, agreed to collaborate with Nazi Germany after having been captured on the Eastern Front. The soldiers under his command were mostly former Soviet prisoners of war but also included White Russian émigrés. See Anonymous, "Russian Liberation Army," *Wikipedia*.

The LVF or Legion of French Volunteers Against Bolshevism was formed in 1941 and led by Jacques Doriot. Over the course of its existence it had some 6,000 members. See Philippe Carrard, *The French Who Fought for Hitler: Memories from the Outcasts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

The Secret Polish Army (Tajna Armia Polska, TAP) was founded in November 1939 in German-occupied Poland (Warsaw, Podlasie, Kielce and Lublin). It had up to 19,000 members at its peak. In 1941 it became part of the Armia Krajowa (AK, Home Army). See Anonymous, "Secret Polish Army," *Wikipedia*.

Connections are established. The same hatred of communism, the same methods of brutal suppression of the Jews, the same fascist conception of the State lead them to organize themselves with a view to a common clandestine action: resistance against the occupier. They are not insulted by being called Hitlerites; what other name to give them? When one of these bands [p. 22] stops a train or a coach, the passengers are ordered to get off and the search begins. All Jews, all holders of a Workers' Party card, all political functionaries are shot on the spot and without trial. Elsewhere, it is the mayors or the main peasants who are assassinated, as soon as they do not favor this maquis.<sup>11</sup>

What civilized state would deny the Polish state the right and the duty to reduce this intolerable agitation as soon as possible? How can this be

---

<sup>11</sup>Professor Markus Krzoska at the University of Jena in Germany notes that the 400,000-member Home Army (AK) was not a homogeneous anti-Soviet force, but a coalition of working class, peasant and Pilsudski hold-overs. Sectors of it from the top down collaborated with and joined the Red Army during the war. For them there was good reason for this, beginning with the leader of the Soviet Red Army's Northern Group of Forces. This was led by Marshall Konstantin Rokossovsky (1896-1968), who was from Warsaw. He joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917. During World War II he headed the Operation Bagration campaign in Soviet Byelorussia during the summer of 1944. Under his command, the communists destroyed 28 of 34 divisions of Germany's Army Group Centre. It was the biggest defeat in German military history and the fifth deadliest campaign in Europe, killing around 450,000 soldiers. The working-class Poles, if not the London exiles, were part of it. See Anonymous, "Konstantin Rokossovsky," *Wikipedia*; and Markus Krzoska, "Review of *Civil War in Poland, 1942-1948: Studies in Russia and East Europe* by Anita J. Prażmowska," published in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (Yearbooks for the History of Eastern Europe, new series, 2007, JSTOR), vol. 55, p. 626.

After the war a majority of the Poles supported what in 1948 became the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP). Two amnesty bills significantly reduced the resistance. As historian Krzoska argues, it was a minority who took up arms against the government. In discussing Professor Anita Prażmowska's analysis of the 1942-1948 Polish civil war he comments:

Her clear assessment of the failed Warsaw Uprising as the clear end of any chance of restoring a "bourgeois" Polish statehood after 1945 is very welcome in view of its glorification, which has continued to the present day.

See Krzoska, *ibid.*; and Anonymous, *Dziennik ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland), Warsaw: Druk. Państwowa, 1919-1952), LCCN 51030770, nr. 28 poz. 172 (1945); and nr. 20 poz. 78 (1947), online at <https://dziennikustaw.gov.pl/D1945028000001.pdf>. (amnesty legislation).

achieved if not by declaring a state of siege and the suspension of democratic guarantees by martial law?

There are undeniable proofs that Great Britain favors these bands, that emissaries and weapons were parachuted to these new Denikin, to these future Wrangel.<sup>12</sup> However, Great Britain maintains diplomatic relations with the Polish government: it has recognized it *de facto* and *de jure*. She insists that "free elections" take place as soon as possible. Is this serious? We have been able to observe in Syria a certain lack of coordination between the English services, a convergent lack of coordination, so to speak. A similar inconsistency is noticeable in Poland. It is easy to see what relief a civil war in Poland, a new Spanish war, would bring to British diplomacy, directly on the back of the Red Army. It is difficult to conceive the end of such a policy, which is the definitive erasure of the Polish State from the map of Eastern Europe. And what kind of help could one Polish insurrection expect from the English armies! Never has the courage of the Poles backed down to defend a lost cause. But is it appropriate to make the temptation of it glow in their eyes?

### **French Presence [p. 23]**

#### **[Continuation of Fr. Boulrier's Polish article]**

It is during a trip to Poland that one realizes the very great place that our country holds in Europe - in a Europe which through all its wounds aspires to Peace. France ignores the psychosis of fear, because it doesn't even want to consider the idea of a barbaric threat. The atomic nightmare must be sent back to Hollywood. It is unacceptable that Washington should even hint at it. It was the mistake of two cruel days - two criminal days - two particularly heinous war crimes to add to an already long

---

<sup>12</sup>For information about Anton Denikin see the Persons section of the Appendix.

Pyotr Nikolayevich Wrangel (1878-1928) was a Russian officer of Baltic German origin in the Imperial Russian Army. In April 1920 he took over leadership of the White Army after Denikin was forced to resign. He recognized and established relations with the new (and short-lived) anti-Bolshevik independent republics, the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Georgia, among others. But by that stage in the Russian Civil War, such measures were too late. The White movement lost support, both domestically and overseas. After being outnumbered and facing defeat in Northern Tavria and in Crimea, Wrangel organised a mass evacuation on the shores of the Black Sea. See Anonymous, "Pyotr Nikolayevich Wrangel," *Wikipedia*.

list.<sup>13</sup> It would be out of the question. And from now on, it is necessary to build peace between honest people, to cause people to talk from principles of reason and not from appetites to satisfy.

France was the first to recognize that the inclusion of Poland in the political system of the USSR was a reasonable necessity, and that from this recognized necessity, an independent Polish state could establish its own program of peace inside and collaboration outside.

This honest and sound policy is served in Warsaw by a man to whom one would not do justice by saying of him that he is a very great [p. 24] diplomat, because he is also a director of happy audacity and a leader in the full and noble sense of the word. Mr. Garreau entered Warsaw with the Polish government, in the midst of smoking ruins, and since then he has never ceased to be an enlightened and beneficent friend to Poland.<sup>14</sup> Around the French Embassy and the villas where its departments and its hospital are located, a bit like around an Asian concession, Praga has risen from its ruins.<sup>15</sup> In Warsaw, France is betting on peace, on work, on harmony between Poles. These generous and optimistic views seemed to us on the spot more realistic than the visions of the Apocalypse evoked by those whose despair, not without excuses, alas, clouds their minds.

France has kept its old friendships in Poland and the cloudy days of time of the “Colonels” are a thing of the past.<sup>16</sup> The France of the Resistance is admired by all those Poles who remind us, with a pride that makes us wonder, that *Poland didn't have a Quisling*.<sup>17</sup> But also

<sup>13</sup>Fr. Boulrier seems to be referring to the United States detonation of two atomic bombs over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945, respectively. The two bombings killed between 129,000 and 226,000 people, most of whom were civilians, and remain the only use of nuclear weapons in armed conflict. See Anonymous, “Atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki,” *Wikipedia*.

<sup>14</sup>For information about Roger Garreau, the French ambassador to Poland in 1945-1946, see the Persons section of the Appendix.

<sup>15</sup>Praga is a district of Warsaw, Poland. It is on the east bank of the river Vistula. Unlike the central parts of Warsaw, Praga remained relatively untouched during World War II and in the postwar period of reconstruction, it was home to many ministries and public facilities. See “Praga,” *Wikipedia*.

<sup>16</sup>Józef Piłsudski's colonels or the colonels' regime (in Polish called simply “the colonels”), dominated the government of the Second Polish Republic from 1926 to 1939. In some contexts, the term refers primarily to the final period, 1935-1939, following the death of their mentor and patron, Józef Piłsudski. See Anonymous, “Piłsudski's colonels,” *Wikipedia*.

<sup>17</sup>Vidkun Quisling (1887-1945) was a Norwegian military officer, politician and Nazi collaborator who nominally headed the government of Norway

thousands of Polish workers, good soldiers of the Resistance on French soil, coal-mine and field companions, have returned to Poland and the youngest speak French as their mother tongue. They recall with emotion their days in France. In the middle of the street in Warsaw, I heard four young soldiers in the uniform of the Rhine and Danube army speaking French very loudly. I approached them to strike up a conversation with my compatriots: they were Poles, soldiers of this battalion of the First Army who returned to their country with their flags and their arms, as victors. These do not forget France; they religiously carry in their portfolio their insignia that they [p. 25] immediately showed me. Later, in the middle of the countryside between Warsaw and Lodz, getting off the bus in a meeting village, we saw two inhabitants come to meet us, both speaking French, happy to speak it with us. The same surprise in Katowice at the bottom of the mine. In the midst of the Polish people, and not only among its elites, French thought now has a diffuse but faithful audience.

Unfortunately, these thousands of possible readers receive neither books, nor periodicals, nor newspapers from France, and they lack TSF [wireless telegraphy] stations. It is inadmissible that in Warsaw in the

---

during the country's occupation by Nazi Germany during World War II. In 1933, he left the Farmers' Party and founded the fascist *Nasjonal Samling* (National Union). Although he gained some popularity after his attacks on the political left, his party failed to win any seats in the Storting, and by 1940, it was still little more than peripheral. On April 9, 1940, with the German invasion of Norway in progress, he attempted to seize power in the world's first radio-broadcast *coup d'état* but failed since the Germans refused to support his government. From 1942 to 1945, he served as Prime Minister of Norway and headed the Norwegian state administration jointly with the German civilian administrator, Josef Terboven. His pro-Nazi puppet government, known as the Quisling regime, was dominated by ministers from *Nasjonal Samling*. The collaborationist government participated in Germany's Final Solution, a genocidal program targeting Jews.

Quisling was put on trial during the legal purge in Norway after World War II. He was found guilty of charges including embezzlement, murder and high treason against the Norwegian state, and was sentenced to death. He was executed by firing squad at Akershus Fortress, Oslo, on October 24, 1945. Since his death, Quisling has become one of history's most infamous traitors due to his role in selling out Norway. The term "quisling" has become a byword for "collaborator" or "traitor" in several languages and reflects the contempt with which Quisling's conduct has been regarded both at the time and present day. See "Vidkun Quisling," *Wikipedia*.

lobby of the Polonia, the only hotel still standing, one encounters only English publications.<sup>18</sup>

The lack of our propaganda is complete and one wonders to what tasks a cultural attaché can devote his activity, as long as this one, which is essential, is not accomplished. Universities are short of scientific books; technical institutes are crying out for them.

The future of cultural relations between France and Poland is at stake. The shipment of French books must be the obsession of all those who wish to strengthen the friendship between these two countries which, at last, are finding each other again, after having looked for each other for so long.



**Figure 3: Emmanuel Mounier at 1946 Polish conference with Fr. Boulrier** Catholic personalist leader Mounier and Fr. Boulrier were fellow members of a French Catholic delegation that in the spring of 1946 spent five weeks visiting Poland. Boulrier contributed to *Esprit*, which was a journal edited by Mounier.

---

<sup>18</sup>The Polonia Palace Hotel, built in 1913, is on Jerusalem Avenue in Warsaw. Its history includes, in 1927, the holding by the painter Kazimir Malevich of his first foreign exhibition outside the Soviet Union at the hotel. The hotel was used by the German military during World War II, when it was renamed Hotel Der Reichshof and accommodated German officers. It served as a hospital and supply base during the Warsaw Uprising and survived the almost complete destruction of the city of Warsaw. The hotel was renamed the Hotel Polonia during the Communist era. Many diplomatic representatives had their offices there. Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai visited the hotel for a banquet in 1953. In 1955, during the Fifth International Chopin Piano Competition, the entire fourth floor was emptied and refurnished with over a dozen pianos for the competitors, including Adam Harasiewicz. The Hotel Metropol was built next to the Polonia in 1965, and the two hotels operated together. The Polonia was made a protected monument in 1965 and renovated in 1968-1973. See Anonymous, "Polonia Palace Hotel," *Wikipedia*.



Figure 4: Eastern Europe

**[Ch. 3]**  
**Absence of the United States [p. 26]**  
**[Continuation of Fr. Boulier's Polish article]**

We know that the United States has firmly refused Poland's request for credits. The reason? Poland would have to give democratic guarantees to those who would vouch for Franco's Spain before the UN.<sup>1</sup> Isn't this mocking? The first democratic guarantee is to reduce the fascist gangs

---

<sup>1</sup>The Spanish question centered on the UN's refusal in 1945 to admit Spain to the organization due to Francoist Spain's sympathy for the Axis powers, defeated in World War II. When the war began on September 1, 1939, Spain had proclaimed that it would remain neutral. The German victories over Holland, Belgium and France in June 1940 and Italy's entry into the war on the German side (on June 10), however, changed the situation. Thus, on June 13, 1940, when the Germans were about to enter Paris, Franco abandoned "strict neutrality" and declared himself "non-belligerent", which was the status that Italy had before entering war. The next day the Spanish troops occupied Tangier, an international city that was incorporated in fact to the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco. In late June 1941, the Francoist regime decided to participate in the "anti-communist crusade," that is, the invasion of the USSR by the Axis, by sending a Spanish infantry division composed of volunteers, known as the Blue Division, to the Russian front.

However, in November 1942 British and American troops landed in North Africa to dislodge the German Afrika Korps and the Italian troops. For Franco it was the end of his putative aspirations of conquest and a possible risk of invasion by the allies given his alignment with Germany and Italy. At the same time, it was not until the fall of Mussolini in July 1943, after the allied landing in Sicily, when General Franco returned to "strict neutrality" against his wishes, ordering in November the withdrawal of the Blue Division from the Russian front.

At the Potsdam Conference (July 17-August 2, 1945), the Soviets led the decision that Spain would not be allowed into the UN until the Franco regime was eliminated. Within several years however, the US was seeking to have Spain admitted to the UN as an ally against the communists. See Anonymous, "Spanish question (United Nations)," *Wikipedia*.

and to make security reign from one end of the country to the other. The US doesn't seem affected by this aspect of the question.

But the refusal of credits has cruel consequences for Poland. Millions of cubic meters of ruins must be raised. Without machines, millions of hours of manual labor will be required. Slave labor. Either these hours of work will thus be subtracted from productivity, and the people will remain in their present misery, or Poland will produce and export amidst its ruins, and the people will wait for their homes during long winters. The UNRRA remedies the effects of poverty, the refusal of credits perpetuates its causes.<sup>2</sup>

Poland has made a considerable effort in its technical schools to give itself the [p. 27] skilled labor which it lacks. In a few years, if foreign credits would allow it to acquire the necessary equipment, it would be one of the leading industrial countries in Europe. A prosperous Poland would be a peaceful Poland and a decisive element of peace in a troubled Europe. A miserable Poland, reduced to seeking in malaise and disorder an economic equilibrium, will not find it before years which may be decisive for its future and for that of all Eastern Europe. Here again, obscure designs betray themselves, when the actions are so little in keeping with the reasons they invoke. So let us stop shouting against the Iron Curtain, if we are also trying hard to make it fall hermetically into place.

In its new borders, more compact, more united, better balanced in its industrial and agricultural production, widely open to the sea, rid of

---

<sup>2</sup>The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was an international relief agency, largely dominated by the United States but representing 44 nations. Founded in November 1943, it was dissolved in September 1948. It became part of the United Nations in 1945. Its purpose was to co-ordinate the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services. Its staff of civil servants included 12,000 people, with headquarters in the US. Funding came from many nations, and totaled \$3.7 billion, of which the United States contributed \$2.7 billion. It cooperated closely with dozens of volunteer charitable organizations, who sent hundreds of their own staff to work alongside UNRRA.

The UNRRA operated in occupied Germany, primarily in camps for Displaced Persons, especially the 11,000,000 non-Germans who had been moved into Germany during the war, but did not render assistance to ethnic Germans. In 1948 many of the UNRRA functions were transferred to several UN agencies, including the International Refugee Organization and the World Health Organization. As an American relief project, it was replaced by the Marshall Plan, which began operations in 1948. See Anonymous, "United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration," *Wikipedia*.

minorities that were not very loyal and that it once treated without mercy, the new Poland would find in itself, in its mining resources, in its optimism, in its generosity, in its Christian faith, in this happy impetus that characterizes it, the secret of a magnificent future that is already taking shape.

But placed in Europe, at a crossroads of peoples, torn between East and West as so many times in its history, Poland is threatened to become again the bloody stake in the struggles for the domination of Europe and of the world.

More for her than for any other European people, peace will be a continuous creation, a creation in pain and patience, in tearing apart and difficult reconciliations; but she [p. 28] turns all her strength towards peace with wholehearted ardor and faith.

The beautiful work that the Polish artist Marek Szwarc is currently exhibiting at the Salon des Tuileries, Création, seems to us to be an admirable image of this painful but powerful people of indomitable fecundity.

Despite the clouds of the present hour, the Polish State is solid. She is committed to a constructive effort which deserves respect today, which tomorrow will ensure her the recognition of the nation. What one brings back from a trip to Poland is the vision of a comforting spectacle, the creation of a new Poland, in full life. May God help her”.

**[Above marks end of Fr. Boulier's Polish article  
in *Le Monde Illustré*, June 29, 1946]**

I admit having reread these lines after two years with some satisfaction.

I see nothing to change. Poland has continued its admirable work of reconstruction. The whole country is booming in agriculture and industry. Schools are being built by the hundreds. Technical education is multiplied. If only the future granted Poland twenty years of peace! For the international situation weighs with all its weight on Poland. The clandestine opposition continues its harmful work, supported by English and American agents. The maquis capitulated and surrendered their weapons. But a whole fifth column is at work. The murders committed by the Fascists since the Liberation amount to 15,000, the figure in the files of the Ministry of Pensions.<sup>3</sup> I ask that we meditate on this figure, thinking about what the situation in France would be if, since the Liberation, [p. 29] 15,000 communists or those suspected of communist sympathies had disappeared,

---

<sup>3</sup>Grzegorz Berendt, “Violence against Jews in Poland, 1944–47: The State of Research and its Presentation,” *New Directions in the History of the Jews in the Polish Lands*, ed. Antony Polonsky, et al, (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018), footnote 1; Richard Staar, *Poland: 1944-1962, The Sovietization of a Captive People* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1962), p. 166.

assassinated. As the Minister of National Economy told me: "We will not be a Weimar Republic: we will not allow the enemies of freedom to do harm".

The characteristic of this opposition is that it calls for the third world war. Recourse to the abyss. And such unhealthy, it must be said, criminal fantasies are commonplace in religious circles. "When the Americans come" is whispered in sacristies and convents.

This is the situation which must be borne in mind when the Polish state is reapproached for the rigors of its police force.

Before speaking of religious persecution, it is necessary to define the legitimate requirements of national security.

Before calling in the Americans, we should weigh the tons of explosives that they would dump on the country to "liberate" it.

It would be best to think of the German divisions as the US Army's advance guard. Will the survivors of Aushwitz and Dachau come to see them again? Will the settlers of the recovered lands welcome them with flowers?

As a professor of the *Christian Principles of the Law of Nations*, I find no justification in the doctrine for this policy of suicide. I have no regrets in denouncing it. I hope with all my soul that I will eventually be heard by all the true patriots of Poland, for the salvation of their country and of Europe.



**Figure 5: US General MacArthur by Polish artist Eryk Lipiński (1950).**<sup>4</sup> Fr. Boulrier condemned America because of its call for the third world war and the suicide of Poland.

---

<sup>4</sup>Eryk Lipiński, Antoni Marianowicz and Jan Szeląg (eds), *Satyra polska w walce o pokój* (Polish satire in the fight for peace, with an introduction by Jan Szeląg) (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1950), 119 p. LCCN 59041454

[Ch. 4]  
**In Rome (September 1946) [p. 30]**

Wishing to inform its readers about the situation in Italy, *Le Monde Illustré* sent me to Rome on a mission in September 1946. I grouped my observations in three articles entitled: *The politics of the Vatican*, *The remains of fascism* and *The chances of the Republic*. They appeared from November 1946.

Here is the article on Vatican politics:

**[Starts Fr. Boulier's Vatican Politics article  
in *Le Monde Illustré*, November 2, 1946]**

After the disappearance of the House of Savoy, Rome has once again become the city of the Popes.<sup>1</sup> The third Rome sank into the past.<sup>2</sup> It will have lasted seventy-six years. Like an unchanging river that covers a child's sand pile without a wrinkle, the Papal City continues its secular destiny. It is the center of the world and any political thought that forgets it becomes ephemeral. Moscow must not forget this. In Rome, one feels the presence of Moscow as the invisible interlocutor of a dialogue on the scale of history and the world. The tomb of Simon Peter of Bethsaida, the first bishop of Rome, a few steps from the Vatican Palace, is the center of an international community of three hundred million believers, just as Lenin's mausoleum, in the shadow of the Kremlin, remains a tangible

---

<sup>1</sup>The House of Savoy was a royal dynasty that was established in 1003 in the historical Savoy region. Through gradual expansion, the family grew in power and led the Italian unification in 1860. It ruled the Kingdom of Italy until 1946. The Savoyard kings of Italy were Victor Emmanuel II, Umberto I, Victor Emmanuel III, and Umberto II. The last monarch reigned for a few weeks before being deposed following the institutional referendum of 1946, after which the Italian Republic was proclaimed. See Anonymous, "House of Savoy," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>2</sup>"Third Rome" referred to Mussolini's doctrine that the fascist movement had brought back the Roman empire of antiquity. See Aristotle Kallis, *The third Rome, 1922-1943* (New York, NY; Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), LCCN 2014019312, 324 p ; Jan Nelis (ed.), *Catholicism and fascism in Europe 1918-1945* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2015), LCCN 2015417391, 418 p.

reminder of a thought that has not finished stirring the crowds. [p. 31]

Since the proclamation of the infallible Pope by the Vatican Council, the Catholic International, the universal Church, has been increasingly concentrated around Rome, through an internal process of administrative centralization which, while respecting the divine constitution of the Church, places in the hands of the Pope the effective control of the administration of each diocese, down to the smallest detail.<sup>3</sup>

This impulse is exercised by the appointment of ecclesiastical dignitaries in each diocese and by an incessant financial and disciplinary control. No act of subordinate authority of notable importance can have any effect without authorization from Rome. Moreover, each member of the faithful is directly and immediately placed under the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, who thus becomes his own bishop in the same way as the head of the diocese to which the person belongs. Rome is the source of all spiritual power in the universal Church. It is also the tribunal to which every question, every dispute of an intellectual, religious or temporal nature, comes to be decided without appeal.

Thousands of consciences, scattered throughout the world, look to Rome as to the mystical home whose energy, like an invisible Radar, guide them through the seas of the world towards the spiritual port. From this point of view, every political power is, in the eyes of its Catholic subjects, only an "occupier", at the mercy of a secret radio station whose uncontrollable propaganda leaves it [the occupier] in control of consciences only to the extent that Rome allows it. [p. 32] In every catholic conscience, the voice that speaks in the last resort is the Vatican: This is Rome. . .

This is why the teachings of Pius XII from a simple daily political point of view, are of sovereign importance by the sudden surge that they can operate in an opinion, otherwise quite remote.<sup>4</sup> The surprise of the

---

<sup>3</sup>For information about the doctrine of papal infallibility, see the essay about it in the Appendix.

<sup>4</sup>Pope Pius XII, born Eugenio Pacelli (1876-1958), ruled from March 1939 to 1958. Before his election to the papacy, he was the secretary of the Department of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, papal nuncio to Germany, and Cardinal Secretary of State, in which capacity he worked to conclude treaties with European and Latin American nations, such as the *Reichskonkordat* with Nazi Germany.

While the Vatican was officially neutral during World War II, the *Reichskonkordat* and his leadership of the Catholic Church during the war remain the subject of controversy - including allegations of public silence and inaction about the fate of the Jews. After the war, he advocated peace and reconciliation, including lenient policies towards former Axis and Axis-satellite nations.

MRP in France, the successes of the Christian Democracy in Europe, oblige to give attention to the voices which come to us from Rome.<sup>5</sup>

When speaks Pius XII, the voice of Rome takes in its voice particular inflexions. The Pope is Roman, he was born and grew up in this city where every stone has his history, where civilization is not the dry lesson of a professor, but the living incarnation that emanates from a column, in the golden light of the Forum, or from the pure facade of a palace, emerging at the bend of a sordid alley.

And Pius XII has conquered the heart of Rome by his honor, one would say better, by his tenderness. When the Romans speak of the Pope, tears wet their faces. The evening of the first bombing, St. Lawrence was in flames, Pius XII came out of the Vatican during the night and before any police presence, was the first to arrive on the scene, kneeling in the middle of the smoking ruins, he prayed for the dead buried under the rubble and, looking at the gaping wounds of the ancient basilica, the Pope wept over the dead and the ruins.<sup>6</sup> Never will the people of Rome, so

---

During the papacy of Pius XII, the Church issued the *Decree against Communism*, declaring that Catholics who profess Communist doctrine are to be excommunicated as apostates from the Christian faith. In turn, the Church experienced persecution and deportations of Catholic clergy in the Eastern Bloc.

The pope explicitly invoked *ex cathedra* papal infallibility with the dogma of the Assumption of Mary in his apostolic constitution *Munificentissimus Deus*. His magisterium numbered almost 1,000 addresses and radio broadcasts. His forty-one encyclicals included *Mystici corporis*, the Church as the Body of Christ; *Mediator Dei* on liturgy reform; and *Humani generis*, in which he instructed theologians to adhere to episcopal teaching and allowed that the human body might have evolved from earlier forms. He eliminated the Italian majority in the College of Cardinals in 1946. After he died in 1958, he was succeeded by John XXIII. See Anonymous, "Pius XII," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>5</sup>Mouvement Républicain Populaire (MRP, Popular Republican Movement), which was France's postwar Christian Democrat party during the Fourth Republic (1946-1958). Its base was the Catholic vote. It helped form governing coalitions, emphasizing compromise and the middle ground. It had charge of the Foreign Office for ten years and launched plans for the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community, which grew into the European Union. Its voter base gradually dwindled in the 1950s and it had little power by 1954. See Anonymous, "Popular Republican Movement," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>6</sup>The bombing of Rome in World War II took place on several occasions in 1943 and 1944, primarily by Allied and to a smaller degree by Axis aircraft, before the city was liberated by the Allies on June 4, 1944. The first Allied bombing of Rome was on May 16, 1943 (three months before the German Army occupied the city). Pope Pius XII was initially unsuccessful in attempting to have Rome

sensitive and so humane, forget this scene. To return to the Vatican, it was necessary to borrow a car, the pontifical car having been disabled by the pressure of the crowd. And since then, on the evenings of the bombings, St. Peter's square, crowded with people, welcomed thousands of Romans [p. 33] who came there to seek shelter in the open air, sure of finding themselves, between the two arms of Bernini's colonnade, in an inviolable enclosure, under the protection of the Father of all.<sup>7</sup>

Over all the unfortunate, the maternal tenderness of the Pope has been unstinting in the years of hardship. Rome still lives on the soup kitchens organized by the Vatican commissaries. But the Pope's gifts cannot be counted, or rather they should be counted in the millions, spread throughout the world to the prisoners, the deportees, the disaster

declared an open city, through negotiations with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt via Archbishop (later Cardinal) Francis Spellman.

The bombing which Fr. Boulier mentions above was on July 19, 1943. It was larger than the May 16 bombing. Called Operation Crosspoint, some 690 aircraft of the United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) flew over Rome and dropped 9,125 bombs on the city. More specifically, between 11 a.m. and 12 noon, 150 Allied B-17 Flying Fortresses attacked the San Lorenzo freight yard and steel factory. In the afternoon, the second target was the "Scalo del Littorio" on the northern side of Rome. The third target was the Ciampino airport, on south-east side of Rome.

Though the raid targeted the freight yard and steel factory in the San Lorenzo district, bombs also struck the district's apartment blocks, damaging the Papal Basilica and killing 1,500 people. After the raid, Pius XII, along with Msgr. Montini (the future Pope Paul VI), travelled to the Basilica of Saint Lawrence outside the Walls, which had been badly damaged, and distributed 2 million lire to the crowds.

In the 110,000 sorties that comprised the Allied Rome air campaign, 600 aircraft were lost and 3,600 air crew members died; 60,000 tons of bombs were dropped in the 78 days before Rome was captured by the Allies on June 4, 1944. See Anonymous, "Bombing of Rome in World War II," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>7</sup>Vatican City maintained an official policy of neutrality during the war. Both Allied and Axis bombers made some effort not to attack the Vatican when bombing Rome. However, Vatican City was bombed on at least two occasions, once by the British and once by the Germans. On November 5, 1943, a single plane dropped four bombs on the Vatican, destroying a mosaic studio near the Vatican railway station and breaking the windows of the high cupola of St. Peter's, and nearly destroying Vatican Radio. There were no fatalities. Damage from the raid is still visible. The other bombing was by a British plane March 1, 1944. It was an accidental bombing when one of its aircraft on a bombing raid over Rome dropped its bombs too close to the Vatican wall.. See Anonymous, "Popular Republican Movement," *Wikipedia*.

victims, to all those destroyed or scattered homes of which he spoke with an accent of pain that sprang from his broken heart. Before Pius XII crying over humanity devastated by war, one evokes Virgil: "*Nos patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arva, nos patriam fugimus.*" [We leave the confines of our native country and our delightful plains].<sup>8</sup>

The doctrinal condemnation of the war of aggression came from the painful soul of the Pontiff:

If ever a generation has had to appreciate in the depths of its conscience the call: "war on war," it is certainly the present generation. Having passed, as it has, through an ocean of blood and tears in a form perhaps never experienced in past ages, it has lived through the indescribable atrocities with an intensity such that the recollection of so many horrors must remain stamped in its memory, and even in the deepest recesses of its soul, like a picture of a hell against which anyone who cherishes a sense of humanity desires more than anything else to close the door forever.<sup>9</sup>

Thus is expressed the last message of Christmas. This is certainly one of the constellations of papal policy.

---

<sup>8</sup>This is from Virgil's (70-19 BC) *Eclogue* I, 1 (also called the *Bucolics*), written c. 44-38 BC.

<sup>9</sup>Pope Pius XII, *Benignitas et humanitas: Radio Message of His Holiness Pius XII to the People of the Entire World on the Subject of Democracy and a Lasting Peace*, (December 24, 1944), paragraph 61, online at <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/1944-christmas-message-8963>.



**Figure 6: Pope Pius XII.**

Fr. Boulvier quoted the pope's 1944 doctrinal condemnation against wars of aggression and his call: for "war on war."

**[Ch. 5]**  
**Defense of Democracy [p. 34]**  
**[Continues Vatican article (1946)]**

Another constant is the defense of democracy.<sup>1</sup> But here Pius XII was anxious to bring some precisions that should be recalled. First of all, in the thought

---

<sup>1</sup>Pope Pius XII in *Benignitas et humanitas: Radio Message of His Holiness Pius XII to the People of the Entire World on the Subject of Democracy and a Lasting Peace*, (December 24, 1944), remarked positively about democracy:

11. Moreover—and this is perhaps the most important point - beneath the sinister lightning of the war that encompasses them, in the blazing heat of the furnace that imprisons them, the peoples have, as it were, awakened from a long torpor. They have assumed, in relation to the state and those who govern, a new attitude - one that questions, criticizes, distrusts.

12. Taught by bitter experience, they are more aggressive in opposing the concentration of dictatorial power that cannot be censured or touched, and call for a system of government more in keeping with the dignity and liberty of the citizens. These multitudes, uneasy, stirred by the war to their innermost depths, are today firmly convinced at first, perhaps, in a vague and confused way, but already unyieldingly - that had there been the possibility of censuring and correcting the actions of public authority, the world would not have been dragged into the vortex of a disastrous war, and that to avoid for the future the repetition of such a catastrophe, we must vest efficient guarantees in the people itself.

13. In such a psychological atmosphere, is it to be wondered at if the tendency towards democracy is capturing the peoples and winning a large measure of consent and support from those who hope to play a more efficient part in the destinies of individuals and of society?

14. It is scarcely necessary to recall that, according to the teaching of the Church, "it is not forbidden to prefer temperate, popular forms of government, without prejudice, however, to Catholic teaching on the origin and use of authority," and that "the Church does not disapprove of any of the various forms of

of the Pope, democracy must triumph over two dangers which threaten it: the absolutism of the State and the tyranny of the masses.<sup>2</sup> The sovereignty of the people [the state] must have a barrier, the rights of the citizen, the natural liberties which it is forbidden to violate. As for the tyranny of the masses, the Pope opposes it to the organization of the people in balanced classes, united in the unity of the nation and the mutual respect of their legitimate aspirations.

This reminder of the principles is necessary and beneficial at a time when, under the guise of democracy, the proletariat openly aspires to dictatorship. Nevertheless, the danger of seeing the pontifical teaching taken up and disguised

government, provided they be per se capable of securing the good of the citizens" (Leo XIII: Encyclical "Libertas," June 20, 1888).

<sup>2</sup>Pope Pius XII in *ibid.*, while positive about democracy, warned against anarchism:

35. The democratic state, whether it be monarchical or republican, should, like any other form of government, be entrusted with the power to command with real and effective authority.

36. The absolute order itself of beings and purposes, which shows that man is an independent person, namely the subject of inviolable duties and rights, who is the source and end of his own social life, comprises the state also as a necessary society endowed with authority, without which it could neither exist nor live.

37. And if men, using their personal liberty, were to deny all dependence on a superior Authority possessing coercive power, they could by this very fact cut the ground from under their own dignity and liberty - by violating, that is, the absolute order of beings and purposes.

38. As they are established on this same foundation, the person, the state, the government, with their respective rights. are so bound together that they stand or fall together.

39. And since that absolute order, in the light of right reason, and in particular of the Christian Faith, cannot have any other origin than in a personal God, our Creator, it follows that the dignity of man is the dignity of the moral community willed by God, the dignity of political authority is the dignity deriving from its sharing in the authority of God...

41. Only a clear appreciation of the purposes assigned by God to every human society, joined to a deep sense of the exalted duties of social activity, can put those in power in a position to fulfill their own obligations in the legislative, judicial and executive order with that objectivity, impartiality, loyalty, generosity, and integrity without which a democratic government would find it hard to command the respect and the support of the better section of the people.

by the reactionary parties is not chimerical. In war-torn Europe, reconstruction is only possible through a vigorous impulse of the state, which will overcome the egoisms and the will to profit of the possessing classes. It is easy to try to prevent this in the name of a suspect liberalism. [p. 35] And in the same way the defeated facisms loudly claim to be democratic. Is it not a principle that they have developed in common, from Hitler to Salazar, passing through Mussolini and Dollfuss, not to mention Franco, that the nation and its traditional civilization must be defended against the savagery of the masses, the true people against the rabble?<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, the real people, the workers with hard-working morals, all imprinted still with Christian tradition, even without their knowledge, were machine-gunned, tortured, deported massacred by a golden scoundrel, in the name of the nation. There is a bloody equivocation here which weighs on a Europe barely freed from facism and it cannot seek refuge in the teachings of the Holy See without distorting them.

---

<sup>3</sup>Information about Engelbert Dollfuss, Francisco Franco, Adolph Hitler, Benito Mussolini and António Salazar is in the Appendix (persons section).



**[Ch. 6]**  
**The Vatican and the Italian Republic [p. 36]**  
**[Continues Vatican article (1946)]**

If we descend from the serene region of principles into the analysis of the concrete objectives of pontifical policy, we encounter Italy, the "Italian Republic," as the referendum of June 2 decided.<sup>1</sup> How many Republicans were in the Vatican on the eve of the vote? The question is indiscreet, but the answer in Rome is not in doubt for anyone. Among the prelates of the Secretariat of State, only one is

---

<sup>1</sup>On June 2-3, 1946 an institutional referendum (*referendum istituzionale*) was held in Italy to decide which form of state - monarchy or republic - to give to the country. Some 12 million Italians (54%) were for the republic and 10 million (45%) for the monarchy. The northern, industrial part of the country tended to be for the republic; the southern agrarian part for the monarchy. The referendum brought the end of the monarchy. This referendum vote had been called following a civil war and the Liberation of Italy from Axis troops in 1945. A Constituent Assembly was elected on the same day.

Until 1946, Italy had been a kingdom ruled by the House of Savoy, which was the reigning royal house of Italy since the national unification in 1861 and previously rulers of the Duchy of Savoy. However, in 1922 the rise of Benito Mussolini and the creation of the fascist regime, which eventually resulted in engaging Italy in World War II alongside Nazi Germany, considerably weakened the role of the monarchy.

While Italy had been a kingdom, it also had a Republican tradition going back to the Roman Republic and the Medieval communes, in which a wide spectrum of people took part in the business of government. The struggle for a Republican Italy independent of foreign powers had been started by Giuseppe Mazzini in the 19th century. The movement *Giustizia e Libertà* (Justice and Freedom), which continued the traditional Mazzinian ideology, was the second important force during the Resistance. It posed the question of the form of the state as a fundamental precondition to developing any further agreements with the other parties. *Giustizia e Libertà* joined the *Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale* (National Liberation Committee, CLN). The various competing political factions agreed that a popular referendum would be held to determine the future institutional form of the Italian State.

See the Anonymous *Wikipedia* articles, "Festa della Repubblica," and "1946 Italian institutional referendum." See also the "Italian Political History" section in the Appendix.

known to have considered without regret the departure of the House of Savoy. It is true that this single exception is of importance.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the Vatican kept in the election a meritorious reserve; it was not the same of the Italian episcopate and clergy who in the South, in particular, took openly the side of the Monarchy. This partisan attitude was in flagrant contradiction with article 66 of the electoral law and has awakened more than a rancor in the winning parties, because it attributed to it the small gap by which the Republic triumphed in the country and the massive contributions of votes that went to the monarchy in the southern provinces.<sup>3</sup> [p. 37]

---

<sup>2</sup>The Secretary of State (Italian: *Segretario di Stato di Sua Santità*) is the oldest dicastery (department) of the Roman Curia. The Secretariat of State performs all the political and diplomatic functions of the Holy See and the Vatican City and is sometimes described as the prime minister of the Holy See. Pope Pius XII, who was elected in 1939, did not name a new secretary in 1944 after the death of Cardinal Luigi Maglione (1877-1944), the former secretary.

Instead the duties of the secretary were divided between two priests, Domenico Tardini (1888-1961) and Giovanni Battista Montini (1897-1978). In 1952 they were both named Pro-Secretary of State, for Extraordinary and Ordinary affairs respectively. In 1954 Montini (the future Pope Paul VI) left the Roman Curia to become Archbishop of Milan. In Milan Montini was a “progressive” member of the clergy.

See the Anonymous *Wikipedia* articles, “Pope Paul VI,” “Domenico Tardini” and “Cardinal Secretary of State” and also, Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), LCCN 93006475, 749 pp. at p. 275; Giulio Nicolini, *Il Cardinale Domenico Tardini* (Edizioni Messaggero, Padova, 1980); Domenico Tardini, *Diario di un cardinale (1936-1944): la Chiesa negli anni delle ideologie nazifascista e comunista* (Diary of a Cardinal (1936-1944): the Church in the years of Nazi-Fascist and Communist ideologies), ed. Sergio Pagano (Cinisello Balsamo, Milano: San Paolo, 2020), LCCN 2020401647, 244 pp.

<sup>3</sup>McMaster University professor, Ezio Cappadocia, in “The Christian Democratic Party in Italian Politics,” *International Journal* (Autumn, 1961), vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 383- 398, p. 388, commented about the election law:

The election bill drawn up by the temporary Assembly made it a penal offence for the clergy to preach political sermons, to deliver political speeches at ecclesiastical meetings or to influence voters in their choice of candidates. But this provision was dropped before the elections of 1946, after the Pope had declared it "the essential duty and right" of the Church to instruct the faithful in everything concerning "faith and behavior".

This bad mood seems to have dissipated by now, and no doubt it will not endanger the Concordat which the Holy See wishes to be sacred.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult, however, that the question should not be asked. The Lateran treaties between the Holy See and the Fascist regime can only be understood as the defense of a minimum of freedom for the Church in a totalitarian regime, determined to use religious influence for its own benefit, while controlling it closely. The Church paid a very high price for the privileges thus granted in a subjugated country. The common law of a free democracy offers to the action of the Church more dignified facilities, but also more risk.

On the other hand, the maintenance of the Concordat seems to be linked to the political success of the Christian Democracy, and it is, in fact, the only party that the clergy supports openly in the whole country.<sup>5</sup> There is a danger for

---

The professor also noted that “the Catholic Church has used every weapon at its disposal, including the threat of excommunication, to influence voters to vote for the anti-Left parties and especially for the Christian Democrats.”

<sup>4</sup>The Concordat was a 45-article agreement between the Kingdom of Italy under King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy and the Holy See under Pope Pius XI. It was one of three treaties in the Lateran Pacts of 1929. The Italian parliament ratified them in June 1929.

The Lateran Pacts settled the long-standing Roman Question. Vatican City was recognized as an independent state under the sovereignty of the Holy See. The other two treaties were the 27-article agreement of conciliation and a three-article financial convention that covered the 1870 loss of the Vatican’s territories and property. See Anonymous, “Lateran Pacts of 1929,” *Wikipedia*.

<sup>5</sup>Christian Democracy (Italian: *Democrazia Cristiana*, DC) was a Christian democratic political party in Italy. The DC was founded in December 1943 in the Italian Social Republic (Nazi-occupied Italy) as the successor of the Italian People's Party, which had the same symbol, a crusader shield. The Italian Communist Party was the largest opposition party.

As a Catholic-inspired, centrist, catch-all party comprising both centre-right and centre-left political factions, the DC played a dominant role in the politics of Italy in the post-war era. For fifty years it was part of the government until its final demise in January 1994 amid the *Tangentopoli* scandals. The DC originally supported liberal-conservative governments, along with the moderate Italian Democratic Socialist Party, the Italian Liberal Party, and the Italian Republican Party, before moving towards the Organic Centre-left involving the Italian Socialist Party.

The ideology of the DC was Christian democracy. That is a current of political and religious thought that has been expressed in Europe since the late nineteenth century. As one author summarized:

Christian democracy seeks to promote, within a democratic society, the values conveyed by the Church, such as freedom, respect for the human being, human rights, fraternity and assistance to the more

tomorrow, that of a new *dissidio*, not this time with the government, but, what would be much more serious, with the Italian people.<sup>6</sup> The Italian people have remained deeply religious, but independent of their priests, in the good tradition of Pasquin.<sup>7</sup> There is no anticlericalism in Italy in the sense that we understand it.<sup>8</sup>

destitute. Specifically, the Christian Democrats place the human being at the center of the concerns and consider that the State must maintain a power of intervention in the society, in particular in the economy. After World War II, the Protestant and Catholic movements of the Social Gospel and Neo-Thomism, respectively, played a role in shaping Christian democracy.

See the Anonymous *Wikipedia* articles, “Christian Democracy” and “Christian Democracy (Italy).”

<sup>6</sup>“Dissidio,” meaning disagreement, refers to the dispute between the Church and Italy that was waged for the 59-year-period from 1870 when the forces of the Kingdom of Italy took Rome until the Lateran Treaty of 1929. Prior to the 1870 conquest, the Papal States had resisted the nationalists who wanted to unify the Italian Peninsula under a single government. The Papal States were able to fend off efforts to conquer them largely through the pope's influence over the leaders of stronger European powers such as France and Austria.

With the city's capture in 1870 came the end of the millennium-old temporal rule of the popes over central Italy. The capture allowed the nationalist to designate Rome as the capital of their nation. Although the Italian military did not occupy the territories of Vatican Hill, which was delimited by the Leonine walls and offered the creation of a city-state in the area, the popes from Pius IX to Pius XI refused the proposal and described themselves as prisoners of the new Italian state and resisted. Those who voted or took part in the new Italian government, including the king, were excommunicated. Among those who advocated for reconciliation between church and state was Fr. Carlo Maria Curci (1810-1891), a Jesuit from Naples. The section on *Non Expedit* in the Appendix has further information about excommunication. For information about Fr. Curci, see the Persons section of the Appendix. See also, Anonymous, “Prisoner in the Vatican,” *Wikipedia*.

<sup>7</sup>Pasquino refers to the “talking statue” in the Piazza Pasquino, Rome, Italy. The statue's fame dates to the early sixteenth century, when Cardinal Oliviero Carafa draped the marble torso of the statue in a toga and decorated it with Latin epigrams on the occasion of Saint Mark's Day. The Cardinal's actions led to a custom of criticizing the pope or his government by the writing of satirical poems in broad Roman dialect - called “pasquinades” from the Italian “pasquinate” - and attaching them to the statue “Pasquino”.

The statue spoke out about the people's dissatisfaction, denounced injustice, and assaulted misgovernment by members of the Church. Before long, other statues appeared on the scene, forming a kind of public salon or academy, the “Congress of the Wits” (*Congresso degli Arguti*), with Pasquino always the leader,

But the kind of monopoly acquired by the Christian Democracy, from the favors of the hierarchy, risks sooner or later to bring the Church on the political level to an isolation that, by identifying it with social and economic positions discussed and debatable, would encourage the anticlericalism. Originally a simple defense of the left-wing parties, it [the anti-clericalism] would find nourishment in the privileges inherited [by the clergy] from fascism, the principle of which remains vulnerable in a democracy. [p. 38]

It seems that the situation of the Church in Italy will only be secure when her cause has united the sympathy of millions of Italian voters, all faithful, if not fervent, Catholics, with the support of all the Italian parties, impartially welcomed by her to the extent, and it is very broad, in which they refer to the social doctrine of the encyclicals.<sup>9</sup> From this point of broad conformity with the requirements of a

and the sculptures that Romans called Marphurius, Abbot Luigi, Il Facchino, Madama Lucrezia, and Il Babbuino as his outspoken colleagues.

The *cartelli* (posters) on which the epigrams were written quickly, passed around, and copies were made, too numerous to suppress. These poems were collected and published annually by the Roman printer Giacomo Mazzocchi as early as 1509, as *Carmina apposita Pasquino*, and became well known all over Europe. The lampooning tradition was ancient among Romans.

From this tradition are derived the English-language terms pasquinade and pasquil, which refer to an anonymous lampoon in verse or prose. The subject of the Pasquino statue is Menelaus supporting the body of Patroclus. It is a battered Hellenistic-style statue perhaps dating to the third century BC, which was unearthed in the Parione district of Rome in the fifteenth century. See Anonymous, "Pasquino," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>8</sup>Anti-clericalism is opposition to religious authority, typically in social or political matters. Historical anti-clericalism has mainly been opposed to the influence of Roman Catholicism. It is related to secularism, which seeks to separate the church from public and political life.

Anti-clericalism became violent during the French Revolution because revolutionaries claimed the church played a pivotal role in the systems of oppression which led to it. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy that was passed in July 1790, required all clerics to swear allegiance to the French government and, by extension, to the increasingly anti-clerical National Constituent Assembly. All but seven of the 160 bishops refused the oath, as did about half of the parish priests. The revolutionaries nationalized church property, exiled 30,000 priests, killed hundreds more and abolished the Catholic monarchy. Many churches were converted into "temples of reason."

Anti-clericalism in various forms appeared in Catholic Europe throughout the 19th century and later in Canada, Cuba, Latin America and the United States. See Anonymous, "Anti-clericalism," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>9</sup>The social doctrines of the encyclicals had their roots in the social teachings of the New Testament, the Church Fathers, and the Old Testament and

Christian social order, the monopoly of Christian Democracy alone is not justified. It harbors more than one danger for the future.



**Figure 7: Pasquino Catholicism.**

The “talking statue” in the Piazza Pasquino at Rome. It criticizes the pope or his government with satirical poems that are attached to the board to the right that express the people's dissatisfaction with the injustice and misgovernment. Fr. Boulier commented, “The Italian people have remained deeply religious, but independent of their priests, in the good tradition of Pasquin,”

Hebrew scriptures. The Church responded to historical conditions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe with philosophical and theological teachings on social justice considering the nature of man, society, economy and politics.

The social encyclicals began in 1891 with Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum*. It was written amidst the Industrial Revolution and concerns about the deteriorating working and living conditions of urban workers. It was influenced by German Bishop Wilhelm Emmanuel Freiherr von Ketteler (1811-1877). The encyclical set the tone for the Catholic Church's social teaching. It rejected socialism as well as laissez-faire capitalism, advocating the regulation of working conditions. It argued for the establishment of a living wage and for the right of workers to form trade unions.

Pope Pius XI carried the theme forward in 1931 in his encyclical *Quadragesimo anno* ("Forty years later"). Pius XI concentrated on the ethical implications of the social and economic order. He called for the reconstruction of the social order based on the principle of solidarity and subsidiarity. He noted major dangers for human freedom and dignity, arising from unrestrained capitalism and totalitarian communism. See the Anonymous *Wikipedia* articles, “Social teachings of the papacy,” and “Catholic social teaching.”

**[Ch. 7]**  
**The Vatican and the Christian Democracy [p. 39]**  
**[Continues Vatican article (1946)]**

Moreover, the support given by the Vatican to Christian Democracy is accompanied by many reservations. It seems that the Holy See would like more frequent and detailed consultations, that it regrets especially the acceptance, on the fascist model, of the principle of single unions in professional organizations.<sup>1</sup> The Holy See regrets, as well the support given in the country to the Committees of the Liberation.<sup>2</sup> On the question of the Concordat itself, Christian Democracy has not

---

<sup>1</sup>Mussolini's trade union policy did not allow power for church-controlled unions. There was a Fascist but not Catholic Teachers' Association, Civil Servants' Association, Railwaymen's Association and Postal-Workers' Association. The policy was enacted in the Labour Charter of 1927, which was promulgated by the Grand Council of Fascism and publicized in the *Lavoro d'Italia* (Work of Italy) newspaper. Article 3 of the charter stated:

There is freedom of professional or union organization. But only the union legally recognized by, and subject to, the control of the State has the right to legally represent the entire category of employers or employees by which it is constituted [...]; or to stipulate collective labor contracts binding on all those belonging to the category; or to impose on them dues, or to exercise on their behalf delegate functions of public interest.

Italy's Fascist unions and associations in 1935 had 12 million members. The syndicalist Edmondo Rossoni headed the General Confederation of Fascist Syndical Corporations. It followed a line of "fusing nationalism with class struggle" or, as the communists saw it, of being instruments of class collaboration, rather than class conflict. See Anonymous, "Labour Charter of 1927," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>2</sup>The National Liberation Committee (CLN) was a political umbrella organization and the main representative of the Italian resistance movement fighting against Nazi Germany's forces during the German occupation of Italy in the aftermath of the armistice of Cassibile, while simultaneously fighting against Italian Fascists during the Italian Civil War. It was a multi-party entity, whose members were united by their anti-fascism. The CLN coordinated and directed the Italian resistance and was subdivided into the Central Committee for National Liberation (CCLN) based in Rome and the later National Liberation Committee for Northern Italy (CLNAI) based in Milan.

explained itself with all the clearness that was expected. Not even the attempts to reach an agreement with Tito's Yugoslavia, in order to liquidate the irritating questions, have raised worries and criticisms.<sup>3</sup>

The line that the Vatican will follow in the internal politics of Italy does not appear yet with clarity to the observer from outside. It is not impossible that alternative allies are being sought outside the Christian Democrats. But where to find them? On the right of the Democrats? [p. 40] Attempts have been made, which the Vatican has so far discouraged. Perhaps one day they will be better received. To the left? It's unlikely.

The return of Don Sturzo, the decided adversary of fascism, the undisputed master of Catholic sociology, applauded by the universities of so many countries,

---

The CLN was formed on September 9, 1943, following Italy's armistice and Germany's invasion of the country. The member parties were the Italian Communist Party, the Italian Socialist Party, the Action Party, the Christian Democracy, the Labour Democratic Party, and the Italian Liberal Party. With the backing of the Royal government and the Allied powers, CLN gained official recognition as the representative of the Italian resistance movement, and had several leaders operating underground in German-occupied Italy.

The partisan formations controlled by the CLN were primarily divided between three main groups, Communist Garibaldi Brigades, the Action Party's Justice and Freedom Brigades, and Socialist "Matteotti" Brigades. Smaller groups included Catholic and monarchist partisans. There were partisan units not represented in the CLN, including the *Brigata Maiella* and anarchist, republican and Trotskyist formations.

The CLN led the government of Italy from the liberation of Rome in June 1944 until the first post-war general election in 1946. See Anonymous, "National Liberation Committee," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>3</sup>Among the irritating questions between the Vatican and Yugoslavia was the retribution taken against the clergy because of their misconduct in World War II. They collaborated with the Ustaše in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), a Nazi puppet state created on the territory of Axis-occupied Yugoslavia. As a result, after the war new regulations prohibited teaching of the catechism in state schools, expropriated much church property and outlawed some religious press.

The Vatican was particularly upset with the handling of Archbishop Zagreb Aloysius Stepinac (1898-1960). After the war he was convicted by a Yugoslavia court of high treason for having led the collaboration with the fascist Ustaše regime, as well as with complicity in the forced conversion of Orthodox Serbs to Catholicism. He was sentenced to 16 years in prison, but served only five. When in 1952 Pope Pius XII made him a cardinal, Yugoslavia cancelled its relations with the Holy See. See Anonymous, "Stjepan Radić," *Wikipedia*. There is also more information about the history of the relations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia in the Appendix.

surrounded by the respect of his faithful friends and spurred on by the expectations of young democrats, will give a voice to the left.<sup>4</sup>

The unofficial organs of the Vatican sponsor another policy: the isolation of communism and its rejection in the opposition. But the latter saw the danger and the statements of its leader, Togliatti, showed a remarkable moderation in the face of the attacks and polemics that the Catholic press never stopped pursuing.<sup>5</sup>



**Figure 8: Fr. Luigi Sturzo (1871-1959)**

The Italian priest Don Sturzo, a long-time adversary of fascism, helped give a voice to the left.

---

<sup>4</sup>For information about Fr. Luigi Sturzo, see the Persons section of the Appendix.

<sup>5</sup>After having been minister without portfolio in the Pietro Badoglio Italian government, Palmiro Togliatti, the PCI leader, acted as Italy's vice-premier under Alcide De Gasperi in 1945. In opposition to the dominant line in his own Italian Communist Party, he voted for the inclusion of the Lateran Pacts in the Italian Constitution. See Anonymous, "Palmiro Togliatti," *Wikipedia*; see also, the Palmiro Togliatti essay in the Persons section of the Appendix.



**Figure 9: Palmiro Togliatti leader of the Italian Communist Party.**

Fr. Boulier pointed out that Togliatti “showed a remarkable moderation in the face of the attacks and polemics that the Catholic press never stopped pursuing.” As Italy’s vice-premier under Alcide De Gasperi in 1945, he voted for the inclusion of the Lateran Pacts in the Italian Constitution. This allowed Vatican City to retain political independence from Italy.

**[Ch. 8]**  
**The Fight Against Communism [p. 41]**  
**[Continues Vatican article (1946)]**

The fight against communism represents, in fact, the third constant of the Pontifical policy on the internal level of nations as well as in international relations. In Italy, Catholic Action, which has powerful means at its disposal, including a daily newspaper in Rome itself, *Il Quotidiano* [The Daily], which doubles and prolongs the action of the unofficial *Osservatore Romano*, considers that to attack atheistic communism is not to go beyond the rules of its statute, which prescribes abstention from party politics.<sup>1</sup>

For their part, the bishops of the province of Benevento [near Naples] have just taken a decision with serious consequences. They ordered that the rules of the canon law be applied to the communists with regard to the members of societies condemned by the Church: the faithful must abstain from contracting marriage with them and the priest can bless such marriages only with the express permission of the bishop; in case of death, they will be deprived of ecclesiastical burial and they are henceforth subjected to the excommunication reserved to the Holy See.

The communists won 4,342,749 votes in the last elections. The bishops did not [p. 42] want to throw these crowds out of the Church and it is doubtless only

---

<sup>1</sup>Catholic Action was the name of many groups of lay Catholics who were attempting to encourage a Catholic influence on society. They were especially active in the nineteenth century in historically Catholic countries that fell under anti-clerical regimes such as Spain, Italy, Bavaria, France, and Belgium. Adolf Hitler ordered the murder of Erich Klausener, head of a Catholic Action group in Nazi Germany, during the Night of the Long Knives. Catholic Action is not a political party, although in many times and places this distinction became blurred. Since World War II the concept has often been eclipsed by Christian Democrat parties that were organized to combat Communist parties and promote Catholic social justice principles in places such as Italy and West Germany. Catholic Action generally included various subgroups for youth, women, and workers. In the postwar period, the various national Catholic Action organizations for workers formed the World Movement of Christian Workers (WMCW) which remains active today as a voice within the Church and in society for working class Catholics. See Anonymous, "Catholic Action," *Wikipedia*.

a matter of militants.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, such rigors show to what degree of bitterness the struggle has reached in Italy. This attitude of the Church has important political consequences on the internal level. A stiffening of positions within the tripartism threatens to shatter it at any moment due to the impossibility of a compromise.<sup>3</sup> Thereby the instability of Italian political life is dangerously increased and its future rendered more uncertain.

---

<sup>2</sup>Fr. Boulier's observation that the bishops did not want to excommunicate the communists is reflected in canon law. The canon law professor Fr. Brendan Daly, after discussing the law, summed up, "It is not possible to make a simple, blanket statement encompassing all Communists that one can or cannot be a member of the Communist Party." See Brendan Daly, "The Situation of Communism in Canon Law," *The Canonist* (2017), vol. 8, no. 2, , 214-234, at p. 334; see also, Richard J. Murphy, *The Canonico-Juridical Status of a Communist* (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1959), LCCN 59016834, 187 pp.

<sup>3</sup>Tripartism refers to the Italian government coalition communists, socialists and monarchist-fascists that ruled for several years following the overthrow of the Mussolini dictatorship. The coalition started to come about with the invasion of Italy by Allied forces in 1943. The Grand Council of Fascism, with the co-operation of the King, overthrew Mussolini on July 25, 1943 in a coup. The Grand Council then set up a new government headed by Marshal Pietro Badoglio as prime minister. On September 3, 1943, the Badoglio government signed the armistice with the antifascist coalition and, on October 13, 1943, declared war on fascist Germany. In March 1944 it renewed diplomatic relations between Italy and the USSR.

Badoglio followed an antidemocratic policy. Owing to the upsurge of the democratic movement in Italy, he was forced to include members of the antifascist parties, including communists and socialists, in the government in April 1944, and to retire on June 9, 1944. He was followed as prime minister by Ivanoe Bonomi (1873-1951), who headed the National Liberation Committee (CLN) in Rome. In June 1945 Bonomi was replaced by Ferruccio Parri who lasted six months, and then came Alcide De Gasperi from December 1945 to August 1953.

The rupture of Italy's tripartite government that concerned Fr. Boulier, came in May 1947. Pressure by the USA on the socialist and other leaders resulted in the communist members of the government being expelled. In the words of PCI leader Togliatti, the USA was an "aggressive empire," carrying with it a "massive wave of plain idiocy."

See Boris Lopukhov, "Ivanoe Bonomi," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New York: Macmillan, 1979), (31 vols.), online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Ivanoe+Bonomi> and the note on the CLN in Chapter 7.

**[Ch. 9]**  
**The Holy See and International Relations [p. 43]**  
**[Continues Vatican article (1946)]**

On the international level, Vatican policy has original characteristics that will mark the pontificate of Pius XII. The Pope was a diplomat by training. He is, therefore, more interested in the documents of the chancelleries than in the movements of the crowds or the agitation of the press and opinion.

In the midst of the courtly congratulations and the heap of carefully chosen press clippings, how could the Pontiff measure the abyss of silence and indifference in which most papal documents are lost? In order to act on a world prey to horns, sirens, jazz and loudspeakers, the Pope's voice would have to resound like a thunderclap to wake the dead. Discreet diplomatic notes, in a language of admirable classical form, are appreciated by connoisseurs, but the people have ears only for the sensational and the colossal.

The Peace Conference showed us exhibitions of fairground wrestlers, when we expected courteous controversies between well-bred people.<sup>1</sup> If the small

---

<sup>1</sup>An example of "fairground wrestling" at a later conference was the World Congress of Intellectuals in Defense of Peace, which was held August 25-28, 1948 at Wrocław Poland. Fr. Boulier gave a presentation at the conference. The Soviet delegation leader, writer Alexander Fadeyev (1901-1956) and Ilija Erenburg, the Kiev-born, Lithuanian-Jewish-Soviet novelist were "wrestlers."

Fadeyev, who was also chair of the Union of Soviet Writers, in his presentation attacked US policy sharply, saying that "The shackles of the American imperialists are to turn the world into a police station and its population into slaves of capital." Criticizing writers who he believed had betrayed the proletariat, Fadeev stated: "If jackals could learn to write, if hyenas could use a pen, what they would create would certainly resemble the books of Millers, Eliots, Malraux and other Sartres." Included in his list were John Dos Passos, T. S. Eliot, André Malraux, Eugene O'Neill and Jean-Paul Sartre.

The final act of that 1948 conference was a resolution to defend world peace. The resolution applauded democracy which saved the world from fascism, and criticized the governments (but explicitly, not the people) of United States and United Kingdom, arguing that a small group of greed-motivated individuals in America and Europe "inherited" the evils of fascism, and are planning a coup d'état against the world's peace. Only 11 delegates voted against (7 out of 32 from the

nations are [p. 44] invited to pick up the crumbs that fall from the plate of the Great One under the table, what place will be given to the Pope whose gentleness presents itself without any other weapons than reason? And what audience can he expect, in a world cut in two, where the harbingers of a gigantic shock are multiplying, if he stubbornly reminds us, right to the edge of the abyss, that the only salvation is in the peace?

It would, moreover, be to misunderstand the realism of papal policy to believe that the Pope is at this moment advocating peace at all costs. The coolness with which Wallace's speech was received at the Vatican is a sign worth pondering and understanding.<sup>2</sup> How could the Pope resign himself to the consecration of

US, and 4 out of 32 from the UK). Another source notes that 371 out of 391 delegates voted in support.

See Anonymous, "World Congress of Intellectuals in Defense of Peace," *Wikipedia*; Anonymous, "60 lat temu we Wrocławiu obradował Światowy Kongres Intelktualistów" (60 years ago, the World Congress of Intellectuals held in Wrocław), in *Historia i kultura* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego [Ministry of Science and Higher Education], PAP [Polish Press Agency], August 25, 2008), online at <https://web.archive.org/web/20121116150951/http://naukawpolsce.pap.pl/aktualnosci/news,203868,60-lat-temu-we-wroclawiu-obradowal-swiatowy-kongres-intelektualistow.html>; Jean Boulrier, *I was a Red Priest* (Silver Spring, MD: Red Star-CWPublisher, [1977] 2022), p .332; and Anonymous, *Americans, Russians and peace: American and Soviet cultural leaders meet at the American Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, New York, 1949 / addresses by Fadeyev, Shostakovich, Oparin* (San Francisco: American Russian Institute, 1949), LCCN 2020475108, 27 pages (illustrations).

<sup>2</sup>Fr. Boulrier is referring to a speech given at New York's Madison Square Garden by the popular front leader Henry Wallace (1888-1965) in September 1946. He attacked the reactionaries' containment doctrine, stating, "we should recognize that we have no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, Western Europe and the United States,"

The conservatives, including the Vatican, were cold warriors. Wallace wanted peace. He was the secretary of commerce in the Truman administration, and as a result of his stand, was fired on September 20, 1946. Earlier, from 1933 to 1940 he had been secretary of agriculture in the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt, and from 1941 to 1945 he was the US vice-president. He supported Roosevelt's left-wing policies in domestic and foreign affairs. In 1945-1946 he was secretary of commerce.

After World War II ended in September 1945 with the surrender of Japan, the right-wing no longer needed the USSR. Their thinking was verbalized by George F. Kennan in February 1946. He called for the US to resist the spread of communism. Wallace feared that confrontational policies toward the Soviets would

zones of influence, as proposed by the pacifist leader? To the east of a Stettin-Vienna-Trieste line, considerable Catholic masses would be abandoned to a regime which, sooner or later, would evolve into bloody persecution.<sup>3</sup> What is happening in Yugoslavia should serve as a warning. "The last time I saw Bishop Stepinac," a prelate told us a few days before we learned of his arrest, "he said goodbye to me. I'm going back there, he told me, and you won't see me again."<sup>4</sup> In Rome one can't forget that the Via del Impero, the totalitarian road, leads straight to the Colosseum, the arena of martyrs.<sup>5</sup>

---

lead to war, and urged Truman to "allay any reasonable Russian grounds for fear, suspicion, and distrust". Historian Tony Judt wrote that Wallace's "distaste for American involvement with Britain and Europe was widely shared across the political spectrum."

See Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin Press: 2005), LCCN 2005052126, 878 pp, at p. 110; Anonymous, "Henry Wallace," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>3</sup>Fr. Boulier was quoting from Winston Churchill's (1874–1965) "Iron Curtain" speech on March 5, 1946 at Westminster College in Missouri. The Iron Curtain was a term describing the 4,300-mile political boundary dividing Europe into two separate areas from the end of World War II in 1945 until the end of the Cold War in 1991. On the east side of the Iron Curtain were the communist countries that were connected to or influenced by the Soviet Union, while on the west side were the capitalist countries that would, after 1949, be NATO members or nominally neutral. The nations to the east of the Iron Curtain were Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and the USSR. The use of the term "Iron Curtain" dated back to the early 19th century. It originally referred to fireproof curtains in theaters."

In his speech, Churchill stated:

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an "Iron Curtain" has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow.

See Anonymous, "Iron Curtain," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>4</sup>Information about Archbishop Aloysius Stepinac was noted in Chapter 7.

<sup>5</sup>In the urban planning regulations for the city of Rome of 1873, 1883 and 1909 it was planned to open a road between Piazza Venezia and the Colosseum, therefore on the route of the present Via dei Fori Imperiali (Road of the Imperial Forum). The project was finally built under Fascism, in the period between 1924 and 1932. It is 2,700 feet long. The tentative name of the road during its



**Figure 10: Bolshevik Intellectual Alexander Fadeyev**

Alexander Fadeyev (1901-1956) was one of the “fairground wrestlers” who Fr. Boulier worked with in the peace movement. They attacked US policy sharply, saying that “The shackles of the American imperialists are to turn the world into a police station and its population into slaves of capital.” Criticizing writers who he believed had betrayed the proletariat, Fadeyev stated: “If jackals could learn to write, if hyenas could use a pen, what they would create would certainly resemble the books of Millers, Eliots, Malraux and other Sartres.” Included in his list were John Dos Passos, T. S. Eliot, André Malraux, Eugene O'Neill and Jean-Paul Sartre.

---

construction was *Via dei Monti*, but was named *Via dell'Impero* when it was inaugurated. Mussolini, on horseback, cut the ribbon opening the road on April 9, 1932 and led a military parade with veterans of World War I. After the end of World War II, the road was renamed to its present name. Each year on June 3, it hosts a parade in celebration of the founding of the modern Italian Republic. The road was a celebration of the glories of ancient Rome. Its construction rediscovered and made visible the Imperial forums of Trajan, Augustus, Caesar, Nerva and Trajan's Market, previously hidden under the demolished buildings. See Anonymous, “Via dei Fori Imperiali,” *Wikipedia*.

[Ch. 10]

**The Legacy of the Counter-Reformation: A Fighting Catholicism [p. 45]**  
**[Continues Vatican article (1946)]**

It is true that, throughout Central and Balkan Europe, the Church possesses a temporal situation which binds her closely to the soil, to the nation and, consequently, to the political struggles which are the sad legacies of a past, often glorious, where priests and bishops played a decisive role in the councils of the State and sometimes on the front lines of the armies. The long stays of Pius XII in Germany, his contacts with American Catholics of Central Europe or of Irish origin, made him familiar with this form of armed Catholicism which always surprises our liberals in France, as well as the Anglo-Saxon Protestants. This “political Catholicism” which was Hitler's *bête noire* and which remains, for the States which have taken over from defeated Nazism, is a force to be defeated.

Our French Catholicism has substance. Above all, it is a faith, a philosophy, a style of life offered freely to consciences from all political horizons and which preserve their differences in the unity of a spiritual adhesion. [p. 46] A political Catholicism is not conceivable in France except in the purely negative line of religious defense, which is no longer applicable.<sup>1</sup>

On the contrary, in all the countries affected in Europe by the struggles of the Reformation - Germany, the former Austrian Empire, Poland, Ireland,

---

<sup>1</sup>Fr. Boulrier may be referring to Charles Maurras and his *Action Française* movement, which was noted in Chapter 1. Maurras was given a sentence of life imprisonment for his collaboration with Vichy and the Nazis during World War II. Political Catholicism taught the doctrine that “Error has no rights” (*Error non habet ius*), meaning that it is the responsibility of governments to suppress non-Roman Catholic religions. Pope Gregory XVI in his 1832 encyclical *Mirari vos* rejected religious liberty, freedom of the press and separation of church and state, as based on indifferentism. Liberty of conscience, Gregory wrote, was “a pestilence more deadly to the state than any other”. The arguments condemning freedom of religion were reiterated by Pius IX in his 1864 *Syllabus of Errors*. See Gerhard Zecha and Paul Weingartner (ed.), *Conscience: an interdisciplinary view / Salzburg Colloquium on Ethics in the Sciences and Humanities* (Dordrecht [Netherlands]: Kluwer Academic Publishers, c1987), LCCN 87004343, 304 pp. at p. 255; Tom Buchanan and Martin Conway, eds. *Political Catholicism in Europe, 1918-1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) and the Anonymous *Wikipedia* articles, “Catholic Church and politics” and “Error has no rights.”

Catholicism is an establishment, the very form of the fatherland; faith is expressed as a resistance of the ancestral tradition to the invasion of the new forces of the revolution, sometimes from abroad.

The Vatican cannot ignore this historical form which is still alive and which today finds itself threatened; it seeks to defend it. The political action of the Holy See, through the interplay of alliances and hostilities, was once situated somewhere between Bishop Kaas and von Papen, in those regions of where the "democracy" of the center negotiated with the right wing of Nazism.<sup>2</sup> If the

---

<sup>2</sup>Fr. Ludwig Kaas (1881-1952) was a German Catholic priest and politician of the Centre Party during the Weimar Republic. He brokered the 1933 Concordat between the Holy See and the German Reich, which was signed by the Vatican Secretary of State Eugenio Pacelli, who later became Pope Pius XII and Vice Chancellor Franz von Papen on behalf of President Paul von Hindenburg and the German government. It sought to eliminate the Church's political influence by restricting its organizations to purely religious activities.

Fr. Kaas had opposed the German Revolution of 1919 when the federal constitutional monarchy was replaced with a democratic parliamentary republic, later known as the Weimar Republic. As a result he joined the Centre Party and was elected in 1920 to the Reichstag, of which he was a member until 1933. At the same time he collaborated with Pacelli, who in the 1920s was the Papal Nuncio to Germany. In 1928 Kaas was elected chairman of the Centre Party and in 1932 he campaigned for the re-election of Hindenburg, who had first been elected as German president in 1925. Hindenburg was re-elected in 1932 and appointed Papen as Chancellor. He ruled by presidential decree and launched a coup against the Social Democratic government of the Free State of Prussia. .

Hindenburg had to dissolve the Reichstag twice in 1932 because with its Social Democrats against him, he could not gain its support. To gain support he appointed Hitler in January 1933 as Chancellor because Hitler's Nazi party had won a plurality in the 1932 elections (no party achieved a majority). This was followed by Hindenburg approving the Reichstag Fire Decree, which suspended various civil liberties and by his signing the Enabling Act of 1933, which gave the Hitler regime arbitrary powers. Only the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and Communist Party (KPD) opposed the Act. Hindenburg died the following year, after which Hitler declared himself Führer.

In 1932 Fr. Kaas had led the Centre Party in trying to re-establish a working parliament by cooperation with the National Socialists (Nazis). When Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933 he was supported by a coalition of parties, including National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP), German National People's Party (DNVP) and independent conservatives which excluded the Centre Party. Fr. Kaas felt betrayed and in the campaign leading up to the March 5, 1933 election, he campaigned against the new government. But after the government parties succeeded in attaining a majority, Fr. Kaas supported the government and the Hitler administration's Enabling Act. At the same time a group in the Centre

Vatican was expelled from it and relegated to positions that seemed more democratic, it was not its doing, but the result of fascist attacks. The agreement with these regimes always seemed easy to it, at the cost of a little mutual goodwill. Its own has never failed.

Such a political position places the Vatican today very far from the men of the Resistance in the liberated countries, but very close to the circles which, in the United States and in England, as well as in the British Empire, think that, after the disappearance of the dictators, they could usefully resume a good part of their program, and who are ready to approach the Church for this task of social defence. This is exactly the political line that the Kremlin is constantly denouncing under the name of fascism. [p. 47]

And here we are brought back to this opposition between Rome and Moscow, the outcome of which will decide the future of humanity for centuries. If we consult the diplomatic chessboard, there is no conciliation in sight. Nor in terms of thought, is there. I found on the desk of a Roman theologian the works of Lenin open and annotated. Behind him, on the shelves, the works of J.-P. Sartre and Merleau-Ponty showed their tired spines.<sup>3</sup> For the moment, he was dissecting Lenin with patience and gentleness. "Do you see where you can get a little Christian thought through this materialistic barrier," I asked the unexpected reader of the Moscow thinker." "Sincerely," he replied, "I don't see."

But peace between men will not be drawn by the pen of diplomats, nor in the ink of scholars; it will spring from the tears of the mystics and from the blood of the martyrs. Invisible forces are at work, the calculation of which escapes us. I have not seen the crowds of Saint Peters on a solemn feast day. As a faithful pilgrim, I have visited many churches in Rome. The Gesu alone gives the impression of an asylum of prayer where the soul, in silence, encounters its God. The other shrines are empty, tourists wander through them. In Moscow. the crowd of believers besieges the churches and overflows onto the sidewalk...

"God will know how to gather his own."<sup>4</sup>

---

Party opposed collaboration with Hitler. They argued that Catholic social teaching ruled out participating in an act of revolution. See Anonymous, "Ludwig Kaas," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>3</sup>For information about Maurice Merleau-Ponty see the Persons section of the Appendix.

<sup>4</sup>This may be a quote from *Isaiah* 34:16, "He will gather them by His Spirit." The phrase may also be related to a comment made during the Albigensian Crusade or the Cathar Crusade (1209–1229), which was a 20-year military campaign initiated by Pope Innocent III to eliminate Catharism in Languedoc (southern France). The Cathars had originated from an anti-materialist reform movement within the Bogomil churches of the Balkans calling for a return to the Christian message of perfection, poverty and preaching, combined with a rejection of the physical to the point of starvation. The reforms were a reaction against the

(*Le Monde illustré*, November 2, 1946).

[Above ends Vatican article]

I see nothing to add to this Roman chronicle, except that the anticommunism that it insisted upon in 1946 became a major factor in Italy's internal politics in 1948. [p. 48] The diagnosis, made at a time when the communists were still participating in the government, has been confirmed.

On the level of international politics, it is enough to note it. But a priest anxious for souls, preoccupied with problems of law, has worries of another order..

Italy saw the election campaign of [April] 1948 and the anti-communism was given a career. Indulgent spectators smiled at the carnival buffoonery where Pasquino and Marforio, resurrected and equipped with loudspeakers, exchanged taunts during a whole Lenten period, and even during Holy Week. .

But can we get rid of the problems posed by this campaign with an indulgent smile? I'll pass over the details that are in the domain of Aristophanes, on those sermons where women were reminded...well! yes, all the means they have to force their husbands to vote well... Then, in front of the confessionals, baskets were tied up, waiting for the communist party cards that the penitents had to throw in to obtain an absolution.<sup>5</sup>

dissolute lifestyles of the Catholic clergy in southern France. Their theology was neo-Gnostic.

During one of the battles that were part of the crusade at the town of Beziers, some 15,000 men, women and children were slaughtered wholesale, many of them in the sanctuary of the church. When an officer inquired of the pope's representative how he might distinguish heretics from true believers, the reply was, "Kill them all. God will recognise His own." The Dominican Order promulgated Rome's message. See Anonymous, "Albigensian Crusade," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>5</sup>Aristophanes (446-386 BC) was a Greek playwright. His comedies contained a criticism of the war policy, of the worsening social inequality, and of the ideological tendencies that were undermining the traditional foundations of Athenian democracy. It was characteristic for Aristophanes to utilize individual traits of specific historical persons who were his contemporaries (the tanner Cleon and the philosopher Socrates).

The scourging, satirical boldness of Aristophanes' comedies was highly valued during the Renaissance by Erasmus of Rotterdam and François Rabelais; in the 18th century by Henry Fielding; in the 19th century by Heinrich Heine, Vissarion Belinskii, Nikolai Gogol, Alexander Herzen, and Nikolay Chernyshevskii; and in Soviet criticism by Anatoly Lunacharskii. Jean Racine's *The Litigants* is an adaptation of *Wasps*; there is a reworking of *Birds* by Johann Goethe and of *Peace* by Lion Feuchtwanger (1917). *Lysistrata* was staged in the musical studio of the Moscow Art Theater (1923) as well as in the Sergei Radlov Theater (1924). See Anonymous, "Aristophanes," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New

In the past, the Church, by *non expedit* [It is not expedient], had forbidden Catholic consciences to take part in the elections in Italy, the king of which was solemnly excommunicated.<sup>6</sup> But this *dissidio* (disagreement) adapted to all the temperaments of Roman wisdom.<sup>7</sup>

Today, the spirit that passes in gusts over Italy no longer retains anything of the sweetness of this land of humanity; it is the passionate ardor of Irish Sinn Fein, it is the implacable harshness of the new Crusaders of Castile, it is a return of Fascism.<sup>8</sup> [p. 49]

---

York: Macmillan, 1979), (31 vols.), online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Aristophanes>.

<sup>6</sup>For more on *Non Expedit* (It is not expedient) see the note on that subject in the Appendix.

<sup>7</sup>Information about the 59-year disagreement between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Italy from 1870 until the Lateran Treaty of 1929 was noted in Chapter 6.

<sup>8</sup>Sinn Fein is an Irish political party founded in 1905 that united nationalists from the petite and middle bourgeoisie and the radical intelligentsia. The party advocated the emancipation of Ireland from English colonial supremacy. In 1919, after the party won 73 of the 105 Irish seats in the British Parliament, the Sinn Feiners met in Dublin and formed an Irish parliament (Dáil), which proceeded to proclaim Ireland's independence. Subsequently independence was achieved through the compromise Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. The right-wing leaders of the Sinn Fein concluded the treaty, which led to a split in the Irish national liberation movement and to the civil war of 1922–1923.

After being defeated in the war, many of the Sinn Feiners, refusing to acknowledge the treaty, went underground. It was not until the 1950's that the Sinn Feiners reentered the political arena, reconstructing a party that promoted an anti-imperialistic program for the unification of Ireland. In the early 1970's the party split into the official wing, which favors the reunification of Ireland by political means, and the provisional wing, which adheres to methods of armed terrorism. In January 1977 the official wing adopted the name Sinn Fein Workers' Party.

During the Troubles in Northern Ireland (late 1960s to Good Friday Agreement in 1998), Sinn Féin was associated with the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA). Although the party sat on local councils, it had a policy of abstentionism for the British House of Commons and the Irish Dáil Éireann. In the 1990s, Sinn Féin negotiated the Good Friday Agreement and created the Northern Ireland Assembly. In 2006, it co-signed the St Andrews Agreement and accepted the role of the Police Service of Northern Ireland. It is the largest party in the Northern Ireland Assembly. See Anonymous, "Sinn Fein," *Wikipedia*; Anonymous, "Sinn Fein," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New York: Macmillan, 1979), (31 vols.), online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Sinn+Fein>.

I know it is not appropriate to judge foreign situations by the standards of one's own country. No one, I think, dreams of renewing in France, with regard to the communists, the painful scenes to which the rebellion of the *Action Française* gave rise.<sup>9</sup> The difficulty arises from the fact that for us, faithful Catholics, Rome is not a stranger. It is the homeland of our souls. But respect for everything that has to do with Rome demands that we take great care when we want to analyze the exact content of the pontifical directives.

The Pope very rarely speaks as an infallible doctor of the universal Church.<sup>10</sup> Most often he asks for his teachings a respectful docility, and not the absolute adherence of faith. But he vivifies every day that as bishop of Rome and head of the Italian episcopate, he only considers Italian situations.

There would be abuse - and we, Frenchmen of the 20th century, in reaction against a defunct Gallicism, we often fall into this trap - it would be an abuse, I say, to try to make his words go over the mountains.<sup>11</sup> They are addressed only to

The term Crusaders of Castile refers to the *Reconquista* (reconquest), which was the 781-year period during which the Christian governments on the Iberian Peninsula fought the Muslim governments for control. It began with the Muslim Umayyad conquest of Hispania in 711 AD and ended with the fall of the Muslim Nasrid kingdom of Granada in 1492. The concept of a *Reconquista* emerged in Western and especially in Spanish historiography in the 19th century, and was a fundamental component of Spanish nationalism.

The main Christian reconquests were Córdoba in 1236, Seville in 1248 and Granada in 1492. In addition, as a result of the Alhambra Decree, all the Jewish community, some 200,000 people, were forcibly expelled. The conquest was followed by a series of edicts (1499-1526) which forced the conversions of Muslims in Spain, who were later expelled from the Iberian peninsula by the decrees of King Philip III in 1609. See Anonymous, "*Reconquista*," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>9</sup>Information about *Action Française* was noted in the Chapter 1 discussion of Charles Maurras.

<sup>10</sup>Information about the Papal infallibility doctrine was discussed in Chapter 4 in the Appendix note on that subject.

<sup>11</sup>Fr. Boulier used the word "gallicisme" and may be referring to Gallicanism, which is the belief that popular civil authority, often represented by the monarch's or the state's authority, over the Catholic Church is comparable to that of the Pope. Gallicanism is a rejection of ultramontanism; it has something in common with Anglicanism, but is nuanced, in that it plays down the authority of the Pope in church without denying that there are some authoritative elements to the office associated with being *primus inter pares* (first among equals).

University of Notre Dame professor John McGreevy defines it as "the notion that national customs might trump Roman (Catholic Church) regulations." The doctrine originated in France (the term derives from *Gallia*, Gaul). In the 18th century it spread to the Low Countries, especially the Netherlands. It is unrelated

his dioceses, although the others, scattered throughout the world, who are also, from another point of view, the Pope's dioceses, can hear them and be edified by them.

Finally, as head of pontifical diplomacy, among the governments of the earth, he enjoys, like other statesmen, the personal authority which comes to him from his experience, or, if you will, from his eye, of his character and of the value of his information. That's all and that's a lot. But the Nuncios have never claimed a privilege of infallibility from their colleagues in the diplomatic corps in the instructions they receive from their department. **[p. 50]**

As we can see, it is advisable to be particularly circumspect before compromising papal authority on points where, in fact, it does not engage.

But, to come back to the antics of this humiliating campaign, it must be remembered that Italian Catholic Action, which, according to its definition, is “mandated”, in the broad sense, by the hierarchy, took part in the struggle under the direction of a notorious fascist of the name of Gedda, and according to strictly fascist tactics.<sup>12</sup> Each building block of flats was placed under the supervision of a block leader and the opinions of each of the inhabitants are carefully recorded. Intimidation was opposed to intimidation, propaganda to propaganda. Seminarians in civilian clothes supplied the electoral agents and, by superior order, the courts were closed to provide them with this pious leisure.

---

to the first-millennium Catholic Gallican Rite. See John McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom* (New York: Norton and Co., 2003), p. 26; Anonymous, “Gallicanism,” *Wikipedia*.

<sup>12</sup>Luigi Gedda (1902-2000) was a leader in the Catholic Action and the Catholic youth movement from the 1920s until the 1960s. In the interwar era, he and other church leaders helped Italian Catholics to collaborate with fascism, militarism and nation-building. As a result, as Professor Renato Moro of the Rome’s Third University (Tre University comments, they were against peace movements:

Even though they insisted on the primary value of peace, Italian Catholics were hostile to peace movements and the League of Nations; they were fully committed to ‘the nation’ and national interest as the key parameters in international relations and they agreed with the theory of *bellum justum* (just war).

The role of Gedda in the post war era as president of the Youth Movement of the Italian Catholic Action (GIAC, *Gioventu di Azione Cattolica*) was to support the cold war and NATO. See the note “Italian Post-World War II Peace Movement” in the Appendix for information about the peace movement that Gedda opposed. See Renato Moro, “A Peaceful Europe? Negotiating Peace in the Twentieth Century,” *Contemporary European History* (Aug., 2008, in JSTOR), vol. 17, no. 3), pp. 365-390, at p. 366; and Marco Invernizzi, *Luigi Gedda e il movimento cattolico in Italia* (Luigi Gedda and the Catholic movement in Italy) (Milano, Italy: Sugarco, 2012).

Shrewd accomplices presented themselves as Communists in so-called contradictory meetings where their horrible declarations or their calculated blunders were easily refuted by a complacent colleague. Let us say, however, that unlike the fascist methods, neither castor oil nor truncheons came into play. Paved with American gold, carefully graded by an advertising technician, the head of Roosevelt's electoral propaganda in person, illustrated posters "dressed" the Christian Democracy on all the walls according to the commercial procedures of scientifically induced obsession: drink Coco-Cola.

Only, these posters, signed by Catholic committees, some of which were sex appeal, some of which were kindergarten, most of which provoked fear and hatred. In particular, Togliatti, the undisputed leader of the [p. 51] Italian Communist Party, a man whose culture, poise and political sense command the admiration of his adversaries, was pointed out to the masses as an agent from abroad, the man who planned to bring the specters to Italy of misery and hunger. When he fell some time later under the bullets of a fanatic, I hope that Fr. Lombardi will have felt in the evening, in his cell, at the moment of the examination of conscience, some obscure remorse, he who, the day of the consecration of Rome to the Immaculate Heart of Mary, in front of the immense crowd amassed on the slopes of the *Ara Caeli*, denounced the Resistance fighters as murderers.<sup>13</sup> The Sicilian fascist who shot Togliatti was perhaps vibrating that day with his unguarded words.<sup>14</sup>

Why evoke all this baseness? Because Italy does not have a monopoly on this kind of anti-communism. In France we have all the elements for such a campaign and we will not lack American money. I am thinking of *La France Catholique*, the official organ of the parish unions, where an impartial study would show that 70 to 80% of its columns are devoted to purely internal and external political statements, the theme of which is almost exclusively anti-communism.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>Fr. Riccardo Lombardi (1908-1979) was a Jesuit cold-war evangelist, whom Communist MP Pietro Ingrao described as a "Jesuit from Salò," that is, one who had collaborated with the Nazis during the period that Italy was a German puppet state from September 1943 until May 1945. See Davide Artico, "Retention of Power in Italy: On the Anti-Communist Coalitions between the 'Upper Church' and the State," *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* (2012), vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 355-375, at p. 361.

<sup>14</sup>For information about PCI leader Palmiro Togliatti who was shot in July 1948 during an assassination attempt, see the Persons section of the Appendix.

<sup>15</sup>*France catholique* is a French Catholic weekly newspaper created in 1924. Originally, the weekly was the organ of the National Catholic Federation (FNC), a protest movement founded by General Édouard de Castelnau, against what he perceived as the resumption, by the cartel of the left, of the anticlerical policy of the years 1904-1905. In 1945, his successor (appointed by the bishops of France) at the head of the FNC, which is now called *Vivre ensemble l'Évangile*

I am thinking of Father Fillère and his movement *For Unity*, where the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal seems to me to be barely suspected.<sup>16</sup> “As they have Stalin as their leader in the Kremlin,” I heard this professor of the Catholic Institute explain to his students, “we have Pius XII as our leader in Rome.” This proposal seems to me to require several distinctions in order to be understood “according to the analogy of faith”.<sup>17</sup> The vicar of Christ does not reign over our souls like Caesar over our purses and our life. [p. 52] *Vos autem non sic*. [But you are not to be like that (*Lk. 22:26*)]. A spiritual end commands spiritual means. A spiritual authority does not oppress, it liberates the soul which freely accepts it, opening up to the truth. Compared to the constraint that the State exercises on our wills bound to temporal goals, the action of the spiritual authority does not present a resemblance, but a contrast. *Vos autem non sic*. Moreover, the faith is neither defended nor spread by a technique of publicity for shaving soap in front of which the religious spirits can only shrug their shoulders. *Vos autem non sic*.

Now, at the last Congress of Parish Unions, of which *La France Catholique* reports, an Italian Dominican came, for our use, to explain the procedures and draw the conclusions of the Italian electoral campaign. So they are not ashamed of it, they are proud of it and they talk about exporting it.

---

aujourd'hui (VEA) was Jean Le Cour Grandmaison, a naval officer and former deputy from 1919 to 1942. *France catholique* is considered as a conservative newspaper. Its columnists include the royalist Gérard Leclerc. See Anonymous, “*France catholique*” *Wikipedia* and *La France catholique* (FNAC, Weekly periodical), LCCN 80642560 (Library of Congress microfilm 1949-1972).

<sup>16</sup>Fr. Marcellin Fillère (1900-1949) was a Marist religious and professor of psycho-pedagogy at the Catholic Institute of Paris. See J. Damblans, et al, *Le Père Fillère, ou, La nostalgie du future* (Father Fillère, or, Nostalgia for the Future) (Paris: OEIL, 1989), LCCN 90128337, 260 pp.

<sup>17</sup>The phrase *analogy of faith* is biblical. In *Romans 12:6* Paul maintains that the gift of prophecy must be exercised “according to the proportion (Gk. *analogian*) of faith.” No prophet is to be accepted who proclaims anything opposed to the “one faith” proper to the “one body in Christ.” Such preaching would be out of proportion to, or beyond, the objective truth entrusted to the Christian community. See *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Among those who criticize the concept is Professor Walter Kaiser, who maintains Luther and others read meanings into the Old Testament that were not there. See Walter Kaiser, *Toward an Exegetical Theology*, p. 82. Along similar lines, the historical-critical school argues that scripture had multiple writers and editors, reflecting conflicting traditions and interests. The contradictions in scripture are there because they reflect the reality of the early church, which God permitted, just as with the present contradictions.

It is precisely against this lowering of the ministry of the word, against this plan to fight against communism "by all means", as Maurras said, and not, as St. Paul teaches us, "by means of the light" that I took the position of Wroclaw.<sup>18</sup>



**Figure11: The Church of the Gesù in Rome**

The Gesù is the mother church of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), of which Fr. Boulier was a member for 20 years (1912-1932) before becoming a diocesan priest. After his 1946 peace mission to Rome, he commented that “the Gesu alone gives the impression of an asylum of prayer where the soul, in silence, encounters its God. The other shrines are empty, tourists wander through them. In Moscow. the crowd of believers besieges the churches and overflows onto the sidewalk... "God will know how to gather his own.”<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>See Jesus, “the Light of the World” (*Jn.* 9:5).

<sup>19</sup>See above, p. 57.

**[Ch. 11]**  
**Wroclaw: I<sup>1</sup>** [p. 53]

Since 1946 the international situation has steadily worsened to the point where we see it now. President Truman's policy of "containing Russia" was to have as its inevitable consequence the abandonment of the Potsdam clauses and the rise of German power.<sup>2</sup>

The so-called Berlin blockade is only the answer of the USSR to the London agreements which, under the name of Western Germany, aim to put back in the hands of the Germans the formidable arsenal of the Ruhr, rebuilt by priority on the devastated Europe.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>A copy of the "Warsaw Communiqué of June 24, 1948" is in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup>The Potsdam Agreement was the agreement between three of the Allies of World War II: the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union on August 1, 1945. A product of the Potsdam Conference, it concerned the military occupation and reconstruction of Germany, its borders, and the entire European Theatre of War territory. It also addressed Germany's demilitarisation, reparations, the prosecution of war criminals and the mass expulsion of ethnic Germans from various parts of Europe.

Executed as a communiqué, the agreement was not a peace treaty according to international law, but recognized accomplished facts. As De Gaulle had not been invited to the Conference, the French resisted implementing the Agreements within their occupation zone. In particular, the French refused to resettle any expelled Germans from the east or to accept anything that they feared might lead to the emergence of an eventual unified German government. See Anonymous, "Potsdam Agreement," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>3</sup>The Berlin Blockade (June 24, 1948-May 12, 1949) was one of the first major international crises of the Cold War. During the multinational occupation of post-World War II Germany, the Soviet Union blocked the Western Allies' railway, road, and canal access to the sectors of Berlin under Western control. The Soviets offered to drop the blockade if the Western Allies withdrew the newly introduced Deutsche Mark from West Berlin. The Reichsmark German currency had been introduced after the 1920s German inflation. The Soviets continued using the Reichsmark. However, in early 1948 the Allies transported 250,000,000 Deutsche marks into the city and it became the standard currency in all four

Gathered in Warsaw on June 23 and 24, 1948, the foreign ministers of the USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and Hungary signed a joint declaration on the subject of the London Accords, of which the world had become aware by a laboriously prepared statement and published on June 7 [1948].<sup>4</sup>

I commented on this declaration, of extreme importance, in the review *Peuples Amis* of August-September [1948]. Two months before the Wroclaw Congress, it is an anticipated commentary. Here it is: [p. 54]

**[Start of Fr. Boulier's article in *Peuples Amis* (Aug.-Sept., 1948) concerning USSR et al Warsaw Communiqué of June 24, 1948]<sup>5</sup>**

By the majority vote, on June 17, the [French] National Assembly approved the Government of having signed the London Accords. The reservations which accompanied this vote were purely stylistic clauses and no one could be under any illusion about them. This vote put an end to French hopes of adopting a policy towards Germany which would take account of the Nazi experience, which would do justice to the victims of that experience and which would, at the same time, fulfil the legitimate wishes of the German people.

The London agreements represent in reality a diktat of the United States and its will to rebuild Europe, and first of all Germany, without taking into account the needs of the Europeans, but only according to the appetites of the businessmen and the claims of the American taxpayers.<sup>6</sup>

The occupation is a ruinous operation. Rather than ending it by hastening the conclusion of a peace treaty, it is planned to continue it indefinitely. It must therefore pay. That is to say, German industry must be over-equipped as soon as possible to meet these enormous costs. In the face of this stubborn American resolve, it is clear that neither the dismantling of war factories nor even reparations can be taken into account.

The London agreements set aside the most solemn commitments on this point, so that Germany, in spite of current appearances, has definitively won the

sectors. The USSR looked to force the Western nations to abandon Berlin, but found the blockade did not work. It was lifted in May 1949. See Anonymous, "Berlin Blockade," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>4</sup>The London Agreement or London Debt Agreement was the result of two meetings of the US, Britain and France in London in the first half of 1948 to discuss the future of Germany. They approved the extension of the Marshall Plan to Germany. See "Anonymous," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>5</sup>*Peuples amis* (Paris: Amitié franco-polonaise, 1947-1978) LCCN 52020677 was a monthly review of the French-Polish Friendship Society.

<sup>6</sup>See the note on the Marshall Plan in the Appendix; and also, Anonymous, "London Six-Power Conference," *Wikipedia*.

war. According to Hitler's predictions, which have now been realized, Germany will emerge from the war with a larger population, a significantly stronger industry than in 1939 and a currency which will soon be the most highly valued in Europe and which is now the only one, [p. 55] alone, with the Swiss franc, whose parity with the dollar is indisputable.

The [French] National Assembly approved.<sup>7</sup>

And still according to Hitler's program, anti-communism led us here. The France of the Liberation had concluded with the USSR an alliance conforming to its most reliable traditions, with its obvious interests. The France of 1948 allowed itself to be embarked, hand and foot, in a crusade of Western Europe, for which the volunteers of the LVF law were once recruited and which is led today, under the folds of the star-spangled banner, by the same men who once supported it, behind the Nazi swastika.<sup>8</sup>

If it is a question, up to now, of a gigantic game of poker where the adversaries try to hold the bluff as long as possible, one can be satisfied to look at the game and to score the points.

But before 1952, perhaps much sooner, the cards will have to be laid down. In any case, when the American rearmament is completed, when, with American help, Western Europe will be ready to equip its forces with the huge German production of war material conforming to American standards, what will be the East-West dialogue, if already today, when war is out of the question, it has risen to the tone where we see it?

As it is, however, the dialogue continues.

The USSR is seeking to renew the talks between the four foreign ministers and its concern is to come to the talks with its hands full in order to give in as little as possible. How far would it yield? The break with Tito shows that it was prepared to give in on the Trieste side.<sup>9</sup> What would it give up on Germany itself?

---

<sup>7</sup>See Anonymous, "London Six-Power Conference," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>8</sup>Information about the LVF or *Legion of French Volunteers Against Bolshevism* was noted in Chapter 2.

<sup>9</sup>In June 1949 Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform by its members. Among the reasons given was that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) was giving to the communist insurgents in the Greek Civil War and because of Yugoslavia's decision to station troops in Albania. The USSR and other communist parties supported the Greek communist struggle politically, as demonstrated in several assemblies of the UN Security Council. However, the Cominform was opposed to the KPJ's military provocations, as they did not want to face the West in open war so soon after the losses of World War II. At the same time, they did not want to make war on Yugoslavia. Other reasons for the expulsion are listed in the "Cominform" section of the Appendix. For information about Josip Broz Tito, see the Persons section of the Appendix.

[p. 56] No one can answer such a question before seeing the result of the negotiations, the principle of which has yet to be accepted by the United States.

The latter, dismayed by the consequences of the concessions they signed at Yalta and Potsdam, have since tried in vain to rectify a policy they regret, by a whole series of even more regrettable innovations.<sup>10</sup> Germany, in its economic and political unity, was to be governed by the agreement of the four occupying powers, along well-defined lines of denazification, democratization and demilitarization. With the help of the unanimous Allies, a revolution, led by the Germans themselves, was to overthrow all traces of the Nazi regime and first of all to remove all strength, in the new German state, from the reactionary powers which, without always accepting them willingly, had brought the Nazis to power, had maintained them there and had supported them in every way until their fall.

Outside the Russian zone, where was this program carried out? In the Western Alliance, who will govern? Certainly not the working masses, nor the peasants, nor their representative organizations. Germany in Frankfurt has hardly one more democrat or one less Nazi than at the time of defeat. All observers are unanimous on this.

It is in this general situation that the Warsaw communiqué takes on its full meaning as a solemn and tragic warning. Naturally, our press has passed almost completely under silence. The Tour de France or the Night of Paris demand much more public attention.<sup>11</sup> [p. 57]

---

<sup>10</sup>At the Yalta Conference held February 4–11, 1945, the heads of government of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union met to discuss the postwar reorganization of Germany and Europe. The three states were represented by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and General Secretary Joseph Stalin. It was held near Yalta in Crimea, Soviet Union.

The aim of the conference was to shape a postwar peace that represented not only a collective security order but also a plan to give self-determination to the liberated peoples of Europe. It was intended mainly to discuss the re-establishment of the nations of war-torn Europe.

Within a few years, with the Cold War dividing the continent, the conference became a subject of controversy. Yalta was the second of three major wartime conferences among the Big Three. It was preceded by the Tehran Conference in November 1943 and was followed by the Potsdam Conference in July 1945. It was also preceded by a conference in Moscow in October 1944, not attended by Roosevelt. See Anonymous, “Yalta Conference,” *Wikipedia*.

<sup>11</sup>The “Night of Paris,” may refer to a gala held on June 16, 1949 at the Palais de Chaillot in the Trocadéro area (16th arrondissement) of Paris. Its purpose was to raise funds for a clinic that served students suffering from tuberculosis. See Anonymous, “Maurice Chevalier,” *Wikipedia*; and also, Anonymous, “Paul Colin (artist)” *Wikipedia*.

However, it seems to us that a careful study of this document and above all a rectification of our policy, according to the very lines which are indicated there, should be the concern of all French patriots who keep their eyes fixed on the future of their country and that of Europe.

This document comes from the governments of the European countries which have suffered the most from the Nazi invasions and which are determined not to see the German danger threaten them again.

But the lines of a security policy such as they have defined are in no way directed against the German people and there is nothing in this regard to speak of a spirit of vengeance or revenge. The liberation of Europe from the fascist nightmare presupposes first and foremost the liberation of the German people themselves. From whom and from what? But precisely as the [Warsaw] communiqué says:

[The German people need liberation] from the German elements which are suitable for the Western occupation powers and which are linked by close relations to the American and English capitalist monopolies. These elements have no ties to the German people, and they are hostile to democratic efforts. These elements maintain the domination of both the American and British industrial and financial monopolies over the Ruhr industry. Thus, instead of transferring the coal and metallurgical trusts and cartels to the German people as their property, the governments of the USA and Great Britain retained control of the Ruhr heavy industry, without France and the USSR participating in the control of production and without the German democratic organizations being able to exert any influence... This is how the German war potential is being re-established and [p. 58] how a new focus of German aggression is being created.

This is what we must free Germany and Europe from.

The peoples who raise these complaints and who testify to this concern are those who bear the most loyal and disinterested friendship with France. They are Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, all states with which our relations are excellent and our interests are linked.

Why did this solemn protest against the London agreements not have any effect on us? "We refuse," say the signatories, "to recognize the legal validity or any moral authority of the decisions taken at the London Conference." Such a

---

The Tour de France is an annual bicycle race primarily held in France. It started in 1903 to increase sales for the newspaper *L'Auto*. It consists of 21 stages, each a day long, coinciding with the Bastille Day holiday. The route changes each year, but the format of the race stays the same, including a passage through the mountain chains of the Pyrenees and the Alps, a finish on the Champs-Élysées in Paris and a coverage of 2,200 miles. See Anonymous, "Tour de France," *Wikipedia*.

protest is serious and its scope can heavily engage the future. Can Europe be made against the Europeans, or without them? And how can one even imagine the freedom of Europe when the United States seizes the most formidable apparatus of economic expansion, the one that had been forged by Germanism, and proposes to put it back into perfect working order, in the same criminal hands that had turned it into the enslavement of the peoples of Europe??

At the time of Munich, French opinion, duped, greeted with joy the seal affixed to the destiny of servitude of France.<sup>12</sup> The uneasiness, the reluctance, the protests which welcomed the London agreements show that French opinion today feels obscurely that French interests are again in danger. But, no more than at the time of Munich, no lively, decisive, liberating reaction is emerging. The people who speak in Warsaw and who, more than we do, have a very strong feeling that France is in danger, [p. 59] still bear in their living flesh the deep traces of fascist barbarism, see more clearly and further. For the sake of justice, for the sake of the future of peace, for the sake of the fair unity of Europe, we must hope that their voice will be heard.”

(*Peuples Amis*, August-September 1948.)

**[End of Warsaw Communiqué article in *Peuples Amis*]  
(June 24, 1948)**

---

<sup>12</sup>The Munich Agreement was concluded at Munich, Germany on September 30, 1938 between Nazi Germany, the United Kingdom, the French Third Republic, and the Kingdom of Italy. It provided cession to Germany of the Sudeten German territory of Czechoslovakia. It resulted from an emergency meeting of the main European powers – not including Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union, an ally to both France and Czechoslovakia, which took place in Munich on September 29-30, 1938. Militarily, the Sudetenland was of strategic importance to Czechoslovakia as most of its border defenses were situated there to protect against a German attack. The agreement between the four powers was signed on the backdrop of a low-intensity undeclared German-Czechoslovak war that had started on September 17, 1938. Meanwhile, Poland moved its army units towards its common border with Czechoslovakia after September 23, 1938.

After the Munich Agreement, Poland issued an ultimatum to Czechoslovakia for the territory of Zaolzie, which Poland annexed. Shortly thereafter Hungarian inhabited territories in southern Slovakia and southern Subcarpathian Rus separated from Czechoslovakia. In March 1939, the First Slovak Republic was proclaimed, and shortly by the creation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia Germany took full control of the remaining Czech parts. As a result, Czechoslovakia disappeared. See Anonymous, “Munich Agreement,” *Wikipedia*.

**[Ch. 12]**  
**Wroclaw: II.**  
**The World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace**  
**in Wroclaw, August 25-28, 1948 [p. 60]**

I now come to my participation in the Wroclaw Congress, which has earned me so many insults.

In an article in *Le Monde*, dated June 10, [1948] Mr. Etienne Gilson, of the French Academy, presented the congress to the public in the following terms.<sup>1</sup>

**Start of Gilson's article in *Le Monde***  
**(June 10, 1948)**

Happy news is rare enough to be welcomed with gratitude. The project of a World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace, which would meet from August 25 to 28 in Wroclaw (Poland), is one whose importance is immediately perceptible in our minds. Polish and French intellectuals have taken the initiative; it is therefore natural that the organizing committee should be composed of personalities belonging to these two countries, but it is to the whole world that their appeal is addressed, and we hope that it will be heard.

Wroclaw is Breslau, a city that was once Polish, then German, and is now Polish again [**p. 61**] and which, in spite of the destruction it has undergone, can still host such a congress. This is

---

<sup>1</sup>Étienne Gilson (1884-1978) was a French philosopher and historian of philosophy. In the First World War he took part in the battle of Verdun, was captured and spent two years in captivity. During this time he devoted himself to new areas of study, including the Russian language and St. Bonaventure. From 1921 to 1932, he taught the history of medieval philosophy at the University of Paris. He also taught for three years at Harvard and helped set up the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto in conjunction with St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto. Following World II Gilson was a well-known Catholic scholar. He served on the Council of the Republic as a member of the Christian Democratic *Mouvement Republicain Populaire*, (MRP), the Party which was the most steadfast advocate of close collaboration with the United States and of the policy of European integration which the United States favored. See Anonymous, "Étienne Gilson," *Wikipedia*.

not where the difficulties come from. Mr. Iwaszkiewicz, president of the Polish Society of Men of Letters, hopes that these conversations can create the atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill which we so cruelly lack.<sup>2</sup> It is to be feared that the very distrust which they propose to dissipate, but which exists, will harm their success in the first place.

That would be a great pity. It would be naive to expect more from a congress of intellectuals than it can give. Even if it is true that, in the long run, ideas are stronger than the sword, national and international politics determine, at each moment, the conditions of fact which the spirit must accommodate in the exercise of its rights. It is not intellectuals but politicians who will make peace, and scholars, writers and artists know this too well for some of them not to fear being involved in an adventure in which politics would once again use the mind for ends that are not its own.

To tell the truth, not everything is vain in this fear, but giving in to it would be the surest way to justify it.

The Wroclaw congress will be a communist demonstration, if only communist intellectuals attend. As for the others, the questions that are put to them are such that one does not see what could deter them from answering them publicly and freely in whatever country they are addressed. Can the peoples not collaborate in peace, whatever the economic and social regime under which they live? Shouldn't effective freedom extend to all countries without distinction of [p. 62] race and condition? Is it not necessary to ensure the free development of culture and the unfettered dissemination of works, discoveries and inventions?

Certainly; and all that can be blamed on these questions is their somewhat academic character, for the intellectuals of the whole world are already agreed on all these points in the

---

<sup>2</sup>Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz (1894-1980, pen name Eleuter) was a Polish writer. In 1970 he received the Lenin Peace Prize and was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature four times. In 1988, he was recognized as a Righteous Among the Nations for his role in sheltering Jews during World War II. His house was a hub of underground activities. Among his writings translated to English is *The Birch Grove and Other Stories*, introduction by Leszek Kołakowski (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2002), LCCN 2002003353, 268 p. (contents: A New Love; The Wilko Girls; The Birch Grove; The Mill on the River Utrata). See Rachel Feldhay Brenner, *The Ethics of Witnessing: the Holocaust in Polish Writers' Diaries from Warsaw, 1939-1945* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2014), LCCN 2014001058, 198 p. (Iwaszkiewicz: the Holocaust and the struggle for humanism); see also, Anonymous, "Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz," *Wikipedia*.

affirmative, as they have already done in London, Paris and Mexico City, at the congresses of the UNESCO, whose very charter includes precisely these theses. The real interest of the Wroclaw congress will not be to reveal these first truths, but to establish to what degree of longitude. It will be possible for intellectuals from all countries to freely make a public profession of it. The day, which France does not despair of, when the same invitation will come to them from Moscow, a great step will be taken in the direction of peace. Going all the way to Wroclaw will not make it possible to reach it, but it will at least be an effective effort to get closer to it.

### **End of Gilson's article**

Reassured by such a patronage, I was about to register among the participants, when I learned that the French delegation, like all the others, would be composed by invitations and that the names of the delegates had already been fixed. I was therefore satisfied with an adherence of principle. The request of Mr. René Cassin, President of the Council of State, decided otherwise.<sup>3</sup> I met him at the meetings of the Consultative Commission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge of preparing the draft conventions under discussion at the UN concerning human rights; he is the president of this Commission; he asked me to replace him in Wroclaw, as he was detained at the Congress of Democratic Lawyers in Prague at about the same time. [p. 63]

What motive could I have for not attending such an honorable event? As soon as they became known, no one spoke any more about complaining about my presence in Wroclaw.

As for my participation in the work of the Congress, my impression is that I exposed to the delegates some primary truths, to use the word of Mr. Gilson.

Judge for yourself.

Mr. Marcel Prenant having read a remarkable report on the idea of progress, asked me to speak at the next day's session, it seemed to me that it could be interesting to underline the points of meeting of his thought with the Christian thought, as well as of this thought with the major concerns of the congress.<sup>4</sup> I did so in these terms:

---

<sup>3</sup>René Cassin (1887-1976) was a French jurist known for co-authoring the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The son of a Jewish merchant, he served as a soldier in World War I. Afterwards he formed the Union Fédérale, a leftist, pacifist organization for veterans. During the Second World War he served in the Free French government-in-exile in London and between 1944 and 1959 was a member of the Council of State. As a member of the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1946, he was responsible for the first full draft of the Universal Declaration. See Anonymous, "René Cassin," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>4</sup>Information about Marcel Prenant is in the persons section of the Appendix.

**Fr. Boulier's statement at Wroclaw  
(August 26, 1948).<sup>5</sup>**

In taking the floor at this congress, I present myself as a Catholic priest, but, obviously, without any mission or commission of any kind, however, I am sure to find in your assembly delegates whose presence shows that they are aware of the responsibility they have assumed in accepting to work here to liberate humanity from the nightmare and the horrors of war, and who are aware of which Master, which Gospel, which Tradition they claim. In a humanity divided by thought and belief, peace can only be the work of a human thought that takes into account, in order to build humanity, all humanities. One world, yes, but a world where cohabit peacefully men whose diversity is due to [p. 64] their very nature and whose unity, if ever it is realized, will be a partial, patient, precarious but continuously progressive work of reason like all the works of reason.

The object of this intervention is to bring the adhesion of Christian thought, more precisely of Catholic thought, consequently of a thought held under the control of a particularly vigilant authority, to the thesis that M. Prenant exposed to us yesterday with a talent whose elegance you have appreciated, as well as with his authority as a man of science, the thesis of the convergence - and not the opposition - of technical progress, moral progress and social progress.

If we reflect on the conditions of appearance of Christianity and its first diffusion, we see that the progress of Christianity was linked to the social progress. That is the Roman peace was a condition of this diffusion and the peace supposed that the Mediterranean was free of pirate fleets, and it was the work of Pompey that ended piracy.<sup>6</sup> Under the imperium of Augustus, this

---

<sup>5</sup>Fr. Boulier's statement was published soon after the conference in an Italian review as "Dichiarazione d'un Abate Francese al Congresso di Wroclaw" (Declaration by a French Abbe to the Wroclaw Congress," *Belfagor* (Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki s.r.l., Vallecchi Editore, November 30, 1948) vol. 3, no. 6, pp. 716-719, in JSTOR Journals.

<sup>6</sup>Pompey (106-48 BC) was a Roman general and statesman. He played a significant role in the transformation of Rome from a republic to an empire. A member of the senatorial nobility, he rose to prominence serving the dictator Sulla as a commander in the civil war of 83-82 BC. He also celebrated three Roman triumphs: the Sertorian War, the Third Servile War, the Third Mithridatic War. However, his main career as a general began in 67 BC, when he was commissioned to destroy the pirates in the Mediterranean. Because of much war-

federation of cities where the free men learned the civic sense of a fraternity at first local, then extended little by little to all those who glorified themselves of the Roman name.<sup>7</sup> As for the moral progress, it is enough to pronounce the word of stoicism to evoke the greatness of the ancient soul that Tertullian saluted by saying of it that it was "naturally Christian."<sup>8</sup> Technical progress contributed

---

making by the Romans, a large number of fugitives had joined them. They pillaged coastal fields and towns.

Pompey was given dominion over the waters of the entire Mediterranean and up to fifty miles inland for three years and empowered with 200 ships and allowed to collect as much money from the tax collectors and the public treasuries as he wished. He divided the sea and the coast into thirteen districts, each assigned to a commander with his own forces. The western Mediterranean was cleared in forty days. He proceeded to Brundisium (Brindisi) and cleared the eastern Mediterranean in the same amount of time. See Anonymous, "Pompey," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>7</sup>Caesar Augustus, also known as Octavian, was officially the first Roman emperor. He reigned from 27 BC until his death in 14 AD. He is known for being the founder of the Roman Principate, which was the first phase of the Roman Empire. See Anonymous, "Caesar Augustus," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>8</sup>Stoicism was an ancient Greek school of philosophy founded at Athens by Zeno of Citium (334-262 BC). The school emphasized goodness and peace of mind gained from living a life of virtue in accordance with the divine Reason (also identified with Fate and Providence) that governs nature. Stoics were indifferent to the vicissitudes of fortune and to pleasure and pain.

Tertullian (155-220 AD) was a Christian from Carthage in the Roman province of Africa. He wrote as an apologist and a polemicist against heresy, including contemporary Christian Gnosticism. He was first writer in Latin known to use the term *trinity* (*trinitas*). He was never recognized as a saint by the Eastern or Western Catholic churches. They did not care for his teachings on issues such as the clear subordination of the Son and Spirit to the Father, or his condemnation of remarriage for widows or the fleeing from persecution.

Tertullian was a Montanist, which was a Christian movement of the late 200s AD. It held views about the basic tenets of Christian theology similar to those of the wider Christian Church, but it was labeled a heresy for its belief in new prophetic revelations. The prophetic movement called for a reliance on the spontaneity of the Holy Spirit and a more conservative personal ethic. It originated in Phrygia, a province of Anatolia (Asia Minor, now Turkey). The movement spread rapidly to other regions in the Roman Empire before Christianity was generally tolerated or legal. They did not separate themselves from the wider Christian church. Tertullian recorded where a bishop declared Montanism as orthodox, however later the bishop changed his mind. See the Anonymous *Wikipedia* articles on "Tertullian," "Stoicism," and "Montanism."

to this religious event since the social unit of the empire could be carried out only with the shelter of the technical superiority of the legions which looked after the borders exposed to the pressure of the barbarians, and that - Celse teaches us to be indignant - it is among the craftsmen in the back-shops [p. 65] of the shoemakers, perfumers, cloth merchants that Christian propaganda was carried out, in a working class, halfway between ease and misery, where Christianity has since then always found its most authentic adherents and from which the revolutionaries who reformed it in the course of the long history have always emerged.<sup>9</sup>

But we are in 1948 and we are asked to define what can be the contribution of the Christian to the progress of humanity today and his attitude towards the threats that put in peril.

I think that, in a humanity that has never been so trembling towards a universal progress, of which it senses that it suddenly carries within itself the possibility, perhaps very rapid, the Christian finds in his faith no reason to be afraid.

*Put all things to the test and hold fast what is good* [1 Th. 5:21]. But do not be in a hurry to proclaim the decisive experience and the evil without remedy, for the weeds must not be uprooted, but allowed to grow among the good grain until the harvest, the time of which no one is allowed to advance forward or announce [Mt. 13 vs. 29-30]. Even the wick that still smokes, why extinguish it? Even the broken reed, why trample it? [Isaiah 42 vs. 3 (no trample broken reed)].

"Who is not against you is with you," said the Master to the disciples who were anxious to reserve for themselves the monopoly of good [Lk. 9:50; Mk 9:40].

This is why Christianity does not relieve Christians of their human task; Christian are not escapees, they must take their place alongside their brothers and sisters in the construction site where humanity is struggling to build its destiny. But their own vocation, which distinguishes them, is to announce to men and women the

---

<sup>9</sup>Celsus (c. 180 AD) was a Platonic, anti-Christian philosopher. His book, entitled *The True Discourse*, was written during the fifth persecution (175 AD), in the reign of Marcus Antoninus (161-180 AD). The latter was known as one of the Five Good Emperors, and the last emperor of the Pax Romana, an age of relative peace and stability for the Roman Empire lasting from 27 BC to 180 AD. See Celsus (Platonic philosopher), c. 180, *On the true doctrine: a discourse against the Christians*, trans. R. Joseph Hoffmann (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), LCCN 86008619, 146 p.; and Louis Rougier (1889-1982), *Celse contre les chrétiens:(la réaction païenne sous l'empire romain)*. (Celsus against the Christians: (the pagan reaction under the Roman Empire), LCCN 77557127, 252 p.

good news: that the kingdom of God is here, within reach, without doubt at the end of time, [p. 66] but already in the depths of their heart, but this reign is not of this world [Lk. 17:21].

This is why it is not up to Christians to draw up a plan for the future city, nor to oppose the social engineers who have devised a better plan for the production and distribution of wealth. Apart from a few great principles which are linked to the very idea of justice, Christian citizens owe it to themselves, to the high idea they have of their mission, to liberate the spiritual, the secret impulse from which springs the joy of the delivered soul, from all the implications of the temporal. Christian citizens give back to Caesar what is Caesar's: that eminent domain over the goods and life of each one that society claims for the salvation of all, and to which it subjects its members. [Mk. 12:17]. The social bond, the social constraint, the social discipline, the social regulation, the laws, in a word, can regulate the life of Christians in a more or less narrow way, threaten them with more or less rigorous sanctions, enclose them in a network of more or less harassing surveillance - Christians obey the laws, not only out of fear, but also out of conscience, because the authority that promulgates the law signifies to them the very will of their God [Rm. 13:5].

Christians will therefore be good citizens of the modern city. And here it is well understood that if this city is communist, they will work with all their heart for the socialist order, such as it is proposed to them, such as it is possible for them to collaborate in the factory, in the agricultural enterprise, in the higher councils where the order is regulated.

But if this society is bourgeois, how can Christians accept its fundamental law, the one to which all others finally [p. 67] give in: *make money* [in English] or, as Guizot said: get rich?<sup>10</sup> "You cannot serve two masters: you cannot serve God and money" [Mt. 6:24]. For Christians, the only truly authentic Godless person is the worshipper of money. A heart in which God reigns, how could money reign in it? But since this bourgeois society where money is king calls itself democratic, Christian will use all the freedoms, as long as they are offered, to fight against the yoke of money and its threat.

And let it not be said that charity will suffice to define the Christian's duty. One hundred years ago, in 1848 Ozanam, the

---

<sup>10</sup>In the French text, Fr. Boulier wrote "make money" in English; he did not use the French, "faire de l'argent." He did this perhaps to emphasize American support for it. For the history of Guizot's advice about getting rich, see the note about him in the Persons section of the Glossary.

propagator in the world of this great movement of charity towards the poor which he placed under the patronage of M. Vincent, fixed at the same time its precise limits.<sup>11</sup> "Charity," he said, "pours oil and wine on the wounds of the unfortunate man robbed by robbers, but it is up to justice to prevent the attacks."<sup>12</sup> In Ozanam's mind, this unfortunate man robbed by robbers was the proletarian, the factory worker, and at the same time Karl Marx was analyzing the processes of violence by which the worker is constantly frustrated of the fruit of their labor in a society built on profit, that is to say, the seizure of the social surplus value by the capitalist.<sup>13</sup> The

---

<sup>11</sup>The Society of St Vincent de Paul is an international voluntary organization in the Catholic Church, founded for the sanctification of its members by personal service of the poor. Catholic parishes have established "conferences", most of which affiliate with a diocesan council. Among its varied efforts to offer material help to the poor or needy, the Society also has thrift stores which sell donated goods at a low price and raise money for the poor. See Anonymous, "Society of St Vincent de Paul," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>12</sup>For this quote, see Frédéric Ozanam (1813-1853), *Mélanges 2* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1872), OCLC 1073892838, 679 pp., at p. 514; see also, Alfred J. Rahilly, "Ozanam's Ideal of Social Work. Part II," *The Irish Monthly*, vol. 46, no. 539 (May, 1918), pp. 245-251, at p. 251.

Ozanam was a lawyer who helped establish the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul in 1833 and the newspaper *Ère nouvelle* in the late 1840s. At the same time he was a professor of foreign literature at the Sorbonne and wrote for *L'Univers*, a French Catholic daily newspaper that adopted a strongly ultramontane (Roman) position. Nevertheless, he advocated Catholic democracy and the view that the Church should adapt itself to the changed political conditions consequent to the French Revolution. He denounced the old alliance of "Throne and Altar" and pleaded with the Pope to adopt more liberal positions. He advocated the separation of church and state as conducive to liberty, and he was frequently impugned by reactionaries who accused him of deserting the Church. See Anonymous, "Antoine-Frédéric Ozanam," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>13</sup>Soviet economist Vitali Vygodski, summarizing Marx, stated:

Surplus value is value created by the unpaid labor of wage workers, over and above the value of their labor power, and appropriated without compensation by the capitalist. Further, surplus value is a specific expression of the capitalist form of exploitation, in which the surplus product takes the form of surplus value. The production and appropriation of surplus value constitute the essence of the fundamental economic law of capitalism.

See Vitali Vygodski, "Surplus Value," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*; on line at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Surplus+Value+Theory>;

Christian does not wait for the poor to be deprived before leaning on him with charity: he demands justice, he wants exploitation to cease and social progress to come. On the barricades of "48" how many authentic Christians died for justice.<sup>14</sup> It was to these victims, promised by Cavaignac to the machine gun, that Mgr. Affre, their archbishop, carried, at the risk of his life, the olive branch.<sup>15</sup>[p. 68]

And then came "the eighteenth brumaire of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte", the first realization of fascism, and the first alliance of the Church with reaction.<sup>16</sup> Since then we have known others. But it should be noted that since then, in France, in Germany, in Belgium, in Ireland, in Italy, in the United States, each time the religious authority, crossing the limits of its spiritual charge, wanted to prescribe to the Catholics a social or political attitude which, as such, did not fall within its magisterium, . . . it found before it respectful, but invincibly determined Christians, to say to it like

---

Karl Marx, *Capital: a critical analysis of capitalist production*, trans. Samuel Moore, et al. (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1887), OCLC 2024556, 2 vols., at vol. 1, ch. 25, p. 436, online at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Capital-Volume-I.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup>The Revolutions of 1848 were bourgeois democratic in nature, with the aim of removing the monarchical structures and creating independent nation-states. The revolutions spread across Europe after an initial one in France in February, 1848. Over 50 countries were affected.

Some of the major contributing factors to the revolutions were dissatisfaction with political leadership, demands for more participation in government and democracy, demands for freedom of the press, demands made by the working class for economic rights, the upsurge of nationalism, the regrouping of established government forces and the European Potato Failure, which triggered mass starvation, migration, and civil unrest.

The uprisings were led by temporary coalitions of reformers, the bourgeoisie and workers. Tens of thousands of people were killed, and many more were forced into exile. Significant lasting reforms included the abolition of serfdom in Austria and Hungary, the end of absolute monarchy in Denmark, and the introduction of representative democracy in the Netherlands. The revolutions were most important in France, the Netherlands, Italy, the Austrian Empire, and the states of the German Confederation that would make up the German Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. See Anonymous, "Revolutions of 1848," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>15</sup>Information about the June Days uprising (June 23-26, 1848) and Archbishop Affre is given in Appendix.

<sup>16</sup>Information about the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is given in the Appendix.

O'Connell: *Our faith from Rome but our politics from home* [Boulier quoted using English], or like Spahn at the Zentrum Congress of 1913: "Up to here, my brothers, up to here and no further."<sup>17</sup>

In this way, the reality of the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal, an essential idea in which Fustel de Coulanges recognized a characteristic Christian contribution to human history, has been constantly affirmed in the Church, and the last affirmation, which was not the least deserving, was the Resistance.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup>Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847) was a political leader of Ireland's Catholic majority in the first half of the 19th century. His mobilisation of Catholic Ireland through to the poorest class of tenant farmer helped secure Catholic emancipation in 1829 and allowed him to take a seat in the United Kingdom Parliament to which he had twice been elected. At Westminster O'Connell championed liberal and reform causes.

For more about the statement which Fr. Boulier quoted, see Thomas Clarke Luby, *The life and times of Daniel O'Connell* (Glasgow: Cameron, Ferguson & Company, 1870), p. 418; Fegus O'Farrell, "Daniel O'Connell and Henry Cooke: The Conflict of Civil and Religious Liberty in Modern Ireland," *Irish Review* (1986), no 1 (1), pp. 20–27; and Anonymous, "Daniel O'Connell," *Wikipedia*.

Peter Spahn was a lawyer of Rhenish origin and parliamentary leader in Germany's Catholic Center Party starting in 1912. His son, Martin Spahn was an historian. Another historian, John K. Zeender comments about Spahn's conservative leadership of his party:

Spahn refused to sponsor policies which would weaken the existing monarchical, aristocratic, and federal institutions, although he was by no means a static conservative. Yet he could not formulate any policy which would reconcile the social and political aspirations of the masses with the existing constitutions of the German and Prussian states.

See John K. Zeender, "The German Center Party during World War I: An Internal Study," *The Catholic Historical Review* (January, 1957), vol. 42, no. 4, pp. 441-468, at p- 445-446.

The Centre Party had been formed in 1870 by the Catholics to battle the *Kulturkampf* waged by Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. It is still in existence and was influential mainly in the German Empire (1871-1918) and Weimar Republic (1918 to 1933). It held a quarter of the seats in the Reichstag (Imperial Parliament), and its middle position on most issues allowed it to play a decisive role in the formation of majorities. See Anonymous, "Centre Party," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>18</sup>Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges (1830-1889) was a French historian. Among his writings that have been translated to English is *The ancient city: a study on the religion, laws, and institutions of Greece and Rome*, foreword by A.

Now, since Hitler's war continues, the Resistance continues. And that is what I have to say, as a Christian, about the internal threats to social progress.

And about the external threats, this is how I see the situation. Russia has bled hard in a war that was imposed on her and which, whatever the Machiavellian negotiations that preceded it, was obviously a war of aggression and therefore an international crime. The common victory and our liberation cost [p. 69] Russia millions of deaths. It wants to rebuild its ruins, to heal its wounds. It does not want to devote a considerable part of its budget to war expenses; it knows that this would be to the detriment of its people, who have been so badly hit and who have not yet regained their pre-war standard of living. Russia has repeatedly declared, through Stalin's mouth, that two different economic systems can coexist in a world where their peaceful emulation and collaboration in all fields would provide humanity with the means to quickly repair the ruins of war and to make new progress.<sup>19</sup> No doubt Russia has a program of expansion of her frontiers, but it is not by war that she intends to realize it, but by negotiations or, if you like, bargaining and compromise. There is nothing there but what is natural, yet laborious.

Where does the threat come from? Where does this program of peace come from that appears chimerical? You know it well. And

---

Momigliano and S. C. Humphreys (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, c1980), LCCN 79003703, 388 p. See also, Jane Herrick, *The historical thought of Fustel de Coulanges* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1954), LCCN a 55008608, 144 p. (discusses how Fustel de Coulanges was not a defender of an established church, despite Charles Maurras's claims to the contrary).

Concerning the resistance, various scholars argue that the claims of the hierarchy that Catholics and their clergy contributed positively to the fight against Nazism are true - but that their fight was in spite of the hierarchy, which was on the otherside of the barricades. See Susan Zuccotti, *Under His Very Windows: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), LCCN 00043307, 408 p.; Michael Phayer, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930-1965* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 301 p.

<sup>19</sup>Many of Joseph Stalin's statements on peaceful coexistence are contained in Joseph Stalin, *For peaceful coexistence; postwar interviews* (New York, International Publishers, 1951), LCCN 52006883, 48 p.; online at <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1074&context=prism>. In addition, the web page titled "J V Stalin Archive: On Peaceful Coexistence" has 14 statements on peaceful coexistence by Stalin made between 1946 and 1951. See <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/subject/peace/index.htm>. See also the note in the Appendix on the Post-World War II Peace Movement.

you also know how it is possible to fabricate an opinion and to maintain in millions of human creatures, by way of reasoned and critical political thought, a quasi-hysterical psychosis, a panic fear, that of the Hun, the Ogre or the Mongol of the twentieth century, the man with the knife between his teeth.

“Let your yes be yes and your no be no” [Mt. 5:37]. In the face of this general conspiracy against truth, in the face of the danger of war that it carries with it, it seems to me that a Christian can only give one answer, and that is: no.

It remains to say yes to a world that is searching for itself, to a humanity that comes from very far away, from the depths of multi-millennial life and is still [p. 70] at the beginning of its course. It has already freed itself from civilizations whose ruins mark out history. The Christian has better things to do than to “seek among the dead one who is among the living” [Luke 24:5]. Medieval civilization is dead. The civilization that succeeded it prolongs its agony before our eyes. At the decline of the Roman Empire, Christian hope sprang from the blood of martyrs, from the tears of saints. The Christian is always the bearer of the same hope. If humanity still has twenty thousand more years to go,” said Mauriac, “we are the first Christians.”<sup>20</sup> Like them, we say yes to hope.

**[Above marks end of Address at Wroclaw]  
(August 26, 1948).**

What has been objected to in this text? First of all, that there are truly authentic Godless people who are not money lovers. That is understood. There is Le Dantec.<sup>21</sup> And then? I do not intend to discuss the theological problem of

---

<sup>20</sup>François Mauriac (1885-1970) was a French Catholic novelist and a member of the *Académie française*. The source of the “first Christians” is obscure. The literary critic Fidus in 1933 commented about Mauriac and the “first Christians” phrase, “There is a very singular line from him somewhere: ‘If the world lasts twenty thousand years, we will be the first Christians.’” See Fidus, “Silhouettes Contemporaines: M. François Mauriac” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. 15, no. 4 (June 15, 1933), pp. 787-806, at p. 805, online at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44847686>; see also See Anonymous, “François Mauriac,” *Wikipedia*.

<sup>21</sup>Félix-Alexandre Le Dantec (1869-1917) was a French biologist and philosopher of science who taught at the Sorbonne. He was characterized as “fanatically Lamarckian, atheist, monist, materialist and determinist.” In 1900-1901 he was stricken by tuberculosis, forcing a lengthy stay at the Hauteville sanatorium, where he engaged in long discussions with a priest on the subjects of

atheism. I leave those who feel comforted by the thought that there are millions of atheists and reprobates in Russia to explain themselves to the theologians for whom God can be known with certainty by reason and even demonstrated, *adeoque demonstrari etiam posse* [can be proved]

I place myself in a different perspective. I know how human history will end: by a judgment of God, after which men will be definitively established with God or without God. Who will be then "the only truly authentic Godless", if not the cursed ones to whom it will be reproached: *I was hungry and you did not give me food; I was thirsty and you did not give me drink?* [Mt. 25:42]. It seems to me that this is clear. What else has been objected? **[p. 71]**

You *seem*, I have been told, to authorize communism, you invite people to join it. I *seem* to... This is a trial of bias.

But you, who reject communism, by repeating with satisfaction that it is "intrinsically evil", have you ever wondered what was the duty of millions of Christians behind the Iron Curtain, towards the powers constituted by the communists, with regard to the general reconstruction of the country, that they have taken charge of?<sup>22</sup> Is it to wait for the third world war, to enlist in the secret services of foreign embassies, to build a fifth column, to prepare the future maquis,

---

religion and atheism. The result was a book by Le Dantec, *Le conflit; entretiens philosophiques* (Paris: A. Colin, [1901] 1921), LCCN, 255 p.; see also, Le Dantec, *L'athéisme ...* (Paris: E. Flammarion, 1907), LCCN 35031057, 319 p.

As a positivist, Le Dantec found the approach of scientism useful. He wrote:

I believe in the future of Science: I believe that Science and Science alone will solve all the questions that make sense; I believe that it will penetrate to the mysteries of our emotional life and that it will even explain to me the origin and the structure of the hereditary anti-scientific mysticism that coexists with me in the most absolute scientism. But I am also convinced that men ask themselves many questions that mean nothing. Science will show the absurdity of these questions by not answering them, which will prove that they do not have an answer.

See Le Dantec, *Grande revue* (Paris: 1911), Microfilm 06243, LCCN sn 94095119. This is quoted in Anonymous, "Scientisme," *Encyclopédie de L'Agora* (Quebec), online at <http://agora.qc.ca/Dossiers/Scientisme>; see also, "Anonymous, "Félix-Alexandre Le Dantec," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>22</sup>In the Appendix is an excerpt from Fr. Boulier's autobiography *I was a Red Priest*, in which he elaborated further on the subject of communism, intrinsic evil and Christianity.

and all this in the middle of peace?<sup>23</sup> Is it to slow down, or sabotage the reconstruction plans? On all your criminal activities you remain silent.

In the past, too, to save England from the "inherently evil" heresy, English Catholics have staged conspiracies. They simply compromised the cause of the Roman Church for a long time. No popery, down with papism! This cry is still alive in the hearts of the English crowds...

I stand by my text in its entirety:

The Christian will therefore be a good citizen of the modern city. And here it is clearly understood that if this city is communist, then he or she will work with all their heart for the socialist order such as it is proposed to them, such as it is permitted for them to collaborate in the factory, in the agricultural enterprise, in the superior councils, even where the order is regulated.

The socialist order to which I refer is not a closed system, an abstract plan imposed from above *ne varietur*, [it must not be changed] by a tyrannical bureaucracy. Socialism is also a democracy and it wants to be, it is built with the consent and the [p. 72] cooperation of all workers. But on the spiritual level, on which I placed myself, I did not have to enter into these details on which, moreover, all the Marxists agree, at least theoretically.

---

<sup>23</sup>Maquis means a thicket of evergreen shrubs and small trees common in the Mediterranean region. During World War II the French called their partisan units maquis. The units were first formed from those who evaded labor service and deportation to fascist Germany by hiding in the mountains and in areas covered with growths of maquis. The Committee for Coordination and Struggle Against Deportation, headed by Yves Farger, led in the formation of the maquis. The maquis were an important part of the French Resistance Movement. See Anonymous, "Maquis," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*.

**[Ch. 13]**  
**And Now? [p. 73]**

The reader who has had the patience to read me up to this point can now see what this is about and where I stand.

It is about peace, and nothing else. It is about World War III, and nothing else. It is about those who are waiting for it, those who want it, those who are preparing it, those who are willing to start it. They are criminals. Conscious or not, they do not know what they are doing.

It is also about those who do not want this slaughter, who are determined to block its way and who, in this struggle, commit their lives. Those from wherever they gather, the peaceful ones, are blessed, for they will be called children of God [Mt. 5:9].

I have taken sides for them and with them and against the others.

To those who are scandalized by this, I answer: there is a theology of just war and of criminal war, and I am in the business of teaching it.

It is possible that in the past, theoretically, there were just wars. Suarez teaches us that, in his time, they were already rare.<sup>1</sup> What would he say about our wars of hell?

---

<sup>1</sup>Fr. Francisco Suárez (1548-1617) was a Spanish Jesuit member of the School of Salamanca movement. Some consider him the leading scholastic philosopher after Aquinas and the principal Jesuit theologian. In his lengthy work, *Tractatus de legibus ac deo legislatore* [Legal Treatise on God as Legislator] (1612), he held that all legislative as well as all paternal power was derived from God, and that the authority of every law stemmed ultimately from God's eternal law. He denied the patriarchal theory of government and the divine right of kings founded upon it, doctrines popular at that time in Protestant England and to some extent on the Continent.

Along the same lines Fr. Suárez maintained that human beings had a social nature bestowed upon them by God, and this included the potential to make laws. However, when a political society was formed, the authority of the state was not of divine but of human origin; therefore, its nature was chosen by the people involved, and their natural legislative power was given to the ruler. Because they had given this power, they had the right to take it back and to revolt against a ruler, only if the ruler behaved badly towards them, and they must act moderately and justly. In particular, the people must refrain from killing the ruler, no matter how tyrannical he may have become. If a government was imposed on people, on the

As a professor in charge of teaching the Christian principles of the law of nations, [p. 74] I cannot shirk my responsibilities.<sup>2</sup> I had to take a stand in the face of the threat of a world war.

How does it [world war] look? Some would like to make it look like a crusade. Crusade apologists have a difficult task. They do so by saying that they were defensive wars. Is it a defensive war that we are talking about? How is an atomic bomb a defensive weapon?

But I don't teach apologetics, I teach international law. In international law, Hitler's crusade against the USSR was a war of aggression, an international crime, and the international tribunal of Nuremberg condemned the survivors of the Nazi leaders to be hanged for this crime. It is *res judicata* and well decided.<sup>3</sup>

There is currently talk of taking up Hitler's crusade, and even of adding Franco to it. The idea of a crusade in defense of Christian civilization in 1948 is

other hand, they had the right to defend themselves by revolting against it and even kill the tyrannical ruler.

For more on the history of international law, see Fr. Boulier's essay on the subject in the Appendix. See also Francisco Suárez, *Selections from three works of Francisco Suárez, S.J.: De legibus, ac deo legislatore, 1612; Defensio fidei catholicae, et apostolicae adversus anglicanae sectae errores, 1613; De triplici virtute theologica, fide, spe, et charitate, 1621* (Buffalo, N.Y.: W.S. Hein, 1995), LCCN 95077184; originally published: Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944, the classics of international law; no. 20, publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law); and Anonymous, "Francisco Suárez," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>2</sup>In 1945 Fr. Boulier was appointed to be a professor at the Catholic Institute, Paris (ICP, chair of its Christian Principles of International Law, Christian Principles of the Law of People). The university belongs to the network of the UDESCA (Union of the Catholic Higher Educational Establishments) which includes the five French Catholic institutes - Paris, Lille, Lyon, Angers and Toulouse - and is a member of the International Federation of Catholic Universities (FIUC), comprising 200 Catholic universities throughout the world.

In September, 1948 Fr. Boulier was fired from the professorship because of his anti-cold war politics. Cardinal Suhard, who was able to protect priest-workers and other anti-cold warriors from Rome, was not able to help Fr. Boulier against the bishop-protectors. The latter were the French bishops who govern and fund the ICP. Earlier in the century, Pius X, worried that the bishop-protectors might reduce the budget of the school in an effort to economize, reminded them that Thomism was "of the very great importance for the maintenance and protection of the faith." See Fr. Boulier, *I was a Red Priest*, pp, 183, 189, 208; Anonymous, "Institut Catholique de Paris," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>3</sup>For information about the Nuremberg, see the Nuremberg Trials section of the Appendix.

not sustainable. What is still Christian about Western civilization, or what is called by that name in 1948? Civilization is not defended with atomic bombs; it is buried under the ruins. Civilizations are being proposed to humanity at this moment to give shape to its future. The American civilization, *the American way of life* [in English], and communism are confronting each other in Asia. The Asian crowds have already chosen. Americanism and its allies inspire only disgust. Should we include Christianity among these allies? Should we despair of the Christian future of millions of Chinese and Indians because they reject the West *made in the USA* [in English]?

But do we have any idea what this crusade will be? At the siege of Jerusalem the horses had [p. 75] blood up to the chest.<sup>4</sup> At least women and children were sometimes spared. Who was spared in Guernica?<sup>5</sup> Who was spared

---

<sup>4</sup>The siege of Jerusalem was waged by European forces of the First Crusade from June 7 to July 15, 1099). It resulted in the capture of the Holy City of Jerusalem from the Muslim Fatimid Caliphate and laid the foundation for the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem, which lasted almost two centuries. The capture was the final major battle of the first of the Crusades to occupy the Holy Land.

The siege led to the mass slaughter of some 40,000 thousand Muslims and Jews and to the conversion of Muslim holy sites on the Temple Mount into Christian shrines. A number of eyewitness accounts of the siege were recorded. According to Raymond of Aguilers, writing of the Temple Mount area, "in the Temple and porch of Solomon men rode in blood up to their knees and bridle reins."<sup>4</sup>

The first crusade had begun with the Council of Piacenza in 1095, where Pope Urban II (ruled 1088-1099) received envoys from Byzantine Emperor Alexios I (ruled 1081-1118) asking Western Christians for assistance in liberating large parts of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Seljuk Turks who had conquered large parts of the region since 1070. The pope then gave a sermon at the Council of Clermont in November 1095 which included a call for a holy war for God and the return of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem to Christian hands.

<sup>5</sup>Guernica is a city in northern Spain, in the Basque country (Biscay Province) with a population of 5,000. During the Spanish Civil War and the Italo-German intervention of 1936-1939, it was subjected on April 26, 1937 to a lengthy and devastating bombardment by the Condor Legion of Nazi Germany's *Luftwaffe* and the Italian *Aviazione Legionaria*. Some 1,654 civilians were killed. The raid was requested by Francisco Franco to aid in his overthrowing the Basque Government and the Spanish Republican government. It is considered the beginning of the *Luftwaffe* doctrine of terror bombing civilian targets in order to demoralize the enemy.

The war was between the Republicans and the Nationalists. Republicans were loyal to the left-leaning Popular Front government of the Second Spanish

in Hiroshima?<sup>6</sup> Japan was exhausted and was asking for mercy. What is most revolting about this crime is that it was useless and that nothing justified it. The atomic bomb only ended a finished war.

But if it starts another one, we have to say that this war will not stop. What can the atomic bomb do against mobile divisions? And when these divisions are deprived of their heavy armament by the destruction of the factories in the rear and when they have broken out into the wilderness in maquis, and when these maquis, swollen by the survivors of the bombed cities, will extend to all of Europe, the "fresh and happy" crusade will change into an immense war of Spain, atrocious, fanatical, inexpiable like the other one, sterile and cursed like it. It will be a civil war on a planetary scale, an interminable war like the one that has ravaged China since 1927, a new war of secession for the unity of the United States of the world. Human beings will be swallowed up by the millions, pell-mell the guilty and the innocent.<sup>7</sup>

---

Republic, and consisted of various socialist, communist, separatist, anarchist, and republican parties, some of which had opposed the government in the pre-war period. The opposing Nationalists were an alliance of Falangists, monarchists, conservatives, and traditionalists led by a military junta among was whom General Francisco Franco. See Anonymous, "Guernica," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>6</sup>Without any military necessity, the United States detonated two atomic bombs over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945, respectively. The two bombings killed between 129,000 and 226,000 people, most of whom were civilians, and remain the only use of nuclear weapons in armed conflict. The atomic attack was preceded by a conventional and firebombing campaign that devastated 64 Japanese cities. The war in the European theatre had concluded when Germany surrendered on May 8, 1945.

By July 1945, the Allies' Manhattan Project had produced atomic bombs and had called for the unconditional surrender of the Imperial Japanese armed forces in the Potsdam Declaration on July 26, 1945, the alternative being "prompt and utter destruction". The Japanese government ignored the ultimatum.

Japan surrendered to the Allies on August 15, six days after the Soviet Union's declaration of war and the bombing of Nagasaki. The Japanese government signed the instrument of surrender on September 2, effectively ending the war. See Anonymous, "Atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>7</sup>The Chinese Civil War was fought between the Kuomintang-led government (KMT) of the Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). It is generally divided into two phases with an interlude. The first part went from 1927 to 1937. Then there was a KMT-CCP Alliance from 1937 to 1945, which they formed against the Japanese invasion of China. The civil war resumed as soon as it became apparent that the Japanese defeat was imminent, and the CCP gained the upper hand in the second phase of the war from 1945 to 1949, generally

*Non sunt facienda mala ut eveniant bona*: one cannot unleash crime in the service of a good cause.<sup>8</sup> I know that behind the iron curtain - ah, that metaphor has already been harmful! - thousands of Catholics are waiting for the third world war as a liberation.<sup>9</sup> They cannot rely on Christianity to justify their attitude. They look at Stalin as a cruel Herod, but do they forget what the Church sings: **[p. 76]**

Crudelis Herodes régum  
Regem venire quid times?  
Non eripit mortalia

---

referred to as the Chinese Communist Revolution. See Anonymous, "Chinese Civil War," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>8</sup>St. Paul in *Rm.* 3:8 and Aquinas, in *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* (Disputed Questions on Truth) discuss this maxim. See Servais Pinckaers, *The Pinckaers reader: renewing Thomistic moral theology*, ed. John Berkman, trans. Mary Noble (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), LCCN 2004003344, 422 p., at p. 236.

<sup>9</sup>Winston Churchill used the "Iron Curtain" term in the context of Eastern Europe during a speech on March 5, 1946 at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had announced at Yalta that after the defeat of Germany, that U.S. forces would withdraw from Europe within two years. Churchill feared that this would leave the European bourgeoisie unable to resist working class demands.

Stalin took note of Churchill's speech and responded in *Pravda* soon afterward. He accused Churchill of warmongering, and defended Soviet "friendship" with Eastern European states as a necessary safeguard against another invasion. Stalin further accused Churchill of hoping to install right-wing governments in Eastern Europe with the goal of agitating those states against the Soviet Union.

Andrei Zhdanov, a Soviet leader, used the iron curtain term against the West in an August 1946 speech:

Hard as bourgeois politicians and writers may strive to conceal the truth of the achievements of the Soviet order and Soviet culture, hard as they may strive to erect an iron curtain to keep the truth about the Soviet Union from penetrating abroad, hard as they may strive to belittle the genuine growth and scope of Soviet culture, all their efforts are foredoomed to failure.

See Andrei Zhdanov, "Report on the Journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad* (1947)," *On Literature, Music and Philosophy* (London: Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., 1950), online at <https://www.revolutionarydemocracy.org/archive/zhdanovlit.htm>; Anonymous, "Iron Curtain," *Wikipedia*; see also, Joseph Stalin. "Interview to *Pravda* Correspondent Concerning Mr. Winston Churchill's Speech," (March, 1946), *J. V. Stalin on Post-War International Relations* (Soviet News, 1947, online at <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1946/03/x01.htm>

Qui regna dat caelestia.

"Cruel Herod, why dost thou fear the coming of the Divine King! He taketh not away earthly kingdoms, who bestoweth heavenly ones." [*John* 18:36]

"Communism must be contained," said President Truman.<sup>10</sup> But by what means? For the Christian, to fight communism is to open souls to a better justice and a more beautiful fraternity. For the politician, it is to push back the Russian divisions on the map. It is not the same fight and it is not decided by the same weapons. To call for atomic bombs on Moscow is really to want, like the "sons of thunder", to bring down fire from the sky on the godless and to deserve the Master's anathema: "You don't know what kind of spirit you are."<sup>11</sup>

In reality, fascism has intoxicated us for a long time with these Maurassian slogans: politics first and by all means. While we think of getting rid of communism by terror, we do not see that all its roots are in our own bad conscience. "There would be no pagans," said St. John Chrysostom to his listeners,

---

<sup>10</sup>As noted in the Marshall Plan section of the Appendix, the Truman Doctrine of containment was an American foreign policy to support capitalism in Western Europe, which had been shaken by the war. The doctrine required preventing the realization of progressive social changes in the countries of Europe through the creation of a united imperialist front against the growing liberation movement in the world. The Truman Doctrine preceded and contributed to the creation of the aggressive NATO bloc (1949).

The doctrine was announced to Congress by President Truman on March 12, 1947 and further developed on July 4, 1948, when he pledged to contain the communist uprisings in the Greek Civil War (1946–1949) and the Turkish struggle. For years, the United Kingdom had supported royalist Greek government, but was bankrupt and forced to end its involvement.

Direct American military force was usually not involved, but Congress appropriated financial aid to support the economies and militaries of Greece and Turkey. The result was that in 1952, both Greece and Turkey joined NATO. Historians often use Truman's speech to date the start of the Cold War.

See Anonymous, "Truman Doctrine," *Wikipedia*; and D. S. Asanov, "Marshall Plan," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*.

<sup>11</sup>*Mark* (3:14-17) states that Jesus gave the name Boanerges, that is, "Sons of Thunder" to James the *son* of Zebedee and John the brother of James. About the brothers, *Luke* (9:51-56) mentions that when Jesus was going up to Jerusalem, a Samaritan village refused to receive him. When the brothers saw this, they said, "Lord, do You want us to command fire to come down from heaven and consume them?" In response Jesus rebuked them, stating, "You do not know what kind of spirit you are of; for the Son of Man did not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

"if you were Christians."<sup>12</sup> How many communists would there be if, for a century, in industrial life, from the board of directors to the last foreman, the practitioners, in possession of authority, had shown themselves to be Christians, not only at Holy Mass, but at the dividends and the workshop regulations. Christianity at first. [p. 77]

And then, let us use the "weapons of light" - To count on the bombs they armored and the tear gases to be able to get the better of the communists, it is not to believe in the spirit. It is to oppose to their materialism a much more unpardonable materialism. Theirs is a dialectical antithesis to an idealism that is handed to them as a deception. Their materialists die smiling at the "Brighter Future". Our materialists only see recourse in the unleashing of brutal force, and this is a betrayal. For we have believed in Love. It is our reason for being among other men who believe only in the earth. And the testimony takes all its strength when the witnesses let their throats be cut. But when we crush the enemy, when we force his words down his throat, we think we have triumphed and we have become worthless.



To touch ideas is to handle explosives. Those who accept this perilous mission must expect laboratory accidents. This is what Péguy called: the situation of intellectuals before the accidents of temporal glory.<sup>13</sup> It is their peril and it is

---

<sup>12</sup>John Chrysostom (347-407 AD) served as archbishop of Constantinople. He is known for his preaching, his denunciation of abuse of authority by both ecclesiastical and political leaders, his *Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom*, and his ascetic sensibilities. He is honoured as a saint in the Oriental Orthodox, Eastern Orthodox, Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran churches.

Chrysostom's extant works are vast, including many hundreds of exegetical homilies. See Anonymous, "John Chrysostom," *Wikipedia*; And JP (Jacques-Paul) Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (PG or *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*) (Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1857–1866), vols. 47-64, online at [http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/20\\_30\\_0345-0407-](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/20_30_0345-0407-)

*\_Iohannes\_Chrysostomus,\_Sanctus.html*. An extensive source for translations (French) of Chrysostom and other patristic texts is "Sources Chrétiennes" (SC), which provides bilingual texts (Greek or Latin on the left with French on the facing page). The SC series was founded in Lyon in 1942 by the Jesuits Jean Daniélou, Claude Mondésert, and Henri de Lubac. The collection is now edited by the *Institut des Sources Chrétiennes* and published in Paris by Les Éditions du Cerf.

<sup>13</sup>Charles Péguy (1873-1914) was a French poet and editor. He joined the Socialist Party in 1895. He took the side of Alfred Dreyfus, the French army officer, a Jew whose false imprisonment for treason (1894), was caused by conservative anti-semitism and militarism. From 1900 until his death in 1914, Péguy was the

their honor. It is a great honor to enter the Catholic Institute. For some, in the past, the honor was sometimes greater to have left it.

An intellectual worthy of the name must be a free man who commits himself solely to the service of truth. "We are free," says Denis de Rougemont, "if we are ready to pay the price [p. 78] of freedom, which will always be: to pay with one's person."<sup>14</sup> A free man is a courageous man; in the Church, the Christian is free, the priest is free, except for sinning. *Ratio peccati* [reason of sin]. I am aware that I have not committed any fault for which men can ask me to account. I have written and spoken according to my conscience, without offending either morality or the creed. I am a citizen and I was a teacher. I have the double responsibility to participate in the future of the city and to enlighten the minds on the international realities. I think I have made the necessary effort to know them enough to justify what I have said about them. And I do not believe that my opponents have taken the same trouble. I do not see that I have to recognize their authority in a field where the facts are within the reach of everyone and where no one accuses me of having betrayed the principles.

I have taken a free position on free questions.

When Abbé Haegy began the political action in Alsace which was to lead to the constitution of the Alsatian *Zentrum*, such as it still exists today, the German authorities, whose plans for assimilation were considerably hindered by this policy,

main contributor to and the editor of the literary magazine *Les Cahiers de la Quinzaine* (The Fortnight Notebooks) which at first supported the Socialist Party director Jean Jaurès. By 1908 Péguy's politics had become French nationalist Catholicism.

The quote by Fr. Boulier is to the title of Peguy's book, *De la Situation faite au parti intellectuel dans le monde moderne devant les accidents de la gloire temporelle* (On the Situation of the Intellectual Party in the Modern World in the Face of the Accidents of Temporal Glory) (Paris: Cahiers de la quinzaine, 1er cahier de la IXe série, 1908), OCLC 459199154, 145 p. A shorter version of this book, with a shorter title, was published two years earlier: *De la situation faite au parti intellectuel dans le monde moderne* (On the situation of the intellectual party in the modern world) (Paris: Cahiers de la quinzaine, 1906), LCCN 49031983, 71 p.

<sup>14</sup>Denys (Denis) de Rougemont (1906-1985) was a Swiss-born writer who in the 1930s was part of the personalist movement associated with Emmanuel Mounier and the magazines *Esprit* and *L'Ordre Nouveau*. He also co-founded a magazine on existential theology, *Hic et Nunc*. In 1940 he went to the United States and administered French broadcasting for the Voice of America. He likewise taught at the École Libre des Hautes Études in New York before returning to Europe in 1946.

Fr. Boulier's quote is from Rougemont's "Les quatre libertés" [The Four Freedoms], *Le Figaro littéraire* (Paris: March 30, 1946), no. 2, p. 1, online at <https://www.unige.ch/rougemont/articles/1941-1946/ddr19460330figlitt>.

made strong complaints to the Bishop of Strasbourg and demanded the disavowal of this cumbersome priest.<sup>15</sup> The bishop, who did not like the abbot and who, for his part, had adopted a rather complacent attitude toward the Allètagne [Germans], was content to say in reply: "Mr. Haegy is a good priest. - But, Monsignor ... - Mr. Haegy is a good priest." We could never get anything out of him but these words, which put an end to the discussion. [p. 79]

Father Haegy was involved in politics. For me, I don't do politics. But in front of those who speak of a crusade against the USSR, of a preventive war, of a war of aggression, of an atomic war, I call them, in the name of the Christian principles of the law of nations, by their real name: assassins.

Formerly, Francisco de Vitoria, my predecessor in Salamanca, was ordered by the advisors of Charles V to stop teaching in his chair in Prime that denounced the conquistadors, the executioners of the Indians, and the warlike designs of the Emperor.<sup>16</sup> His lessons remain however. The *De Indis*, the *De Jure belli* are the

---

<sup>15</sup>Fr. Xavier Joseph Haegy (1870-1932) was of peasant origin, a proponent of Alsatian regionalism and an elected deputy of the Zentrumspartei in 1913–1918. He sided with progressive social interests and Catholic syndicalism. He had little regard for the French and the Strasbourg bourgeoisie. See Anonymous, "Xavier Joseph Haegy," *Wikipedia*.

At the time, Strasbourg was part of Germany. Its history is as follows: after a struggle for power between its citizens and the bishops in the Middle Ages, it became a free city within the Holy Roman (German) Empire. In 1681 Louis XIV of France seized the city. In the Franco-German War (1870-1871) the Germans annexed it. The city reverted to France in 1919 after World War I.

Bp. Adolf Fritzen (1838-1919) was the bishop of Strasbourg, Germany from 1891 to 1919. He was born in Münster, Germany. During his rule Strasbourg had the "Work of the mixed churches," a church building fund to raise money for the building of Catholic churches. It allowed for the Catholic simultaneous use of about 120 church buildings belonging to the Lutherans.

The bishop campaigned for the replacement of the simultaneous use of new Catholic. He also promoted church singing and liturgy in his diocese; soon every parish in Alsace also had a church choir. He was popular with the Alsatians who turned to France, they called him "un évêque en vitrail - a bishop like in a church window". As bishop he was automatically a member of the first chamber of the state parliament of the Reich state of Alsace-Lorraine from 1911. See Anonymous, "Adolf Fritzen," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>16</sup>Francisco de Vitoria/ (1483-1546) was a Dominican theologian and jurist of Renaissance Spain and a founder of the tradition in philosophy known as the School of Salamanca or Spanish School of international law, which was concerned with questions of territorial acquisition, the law of war, and international exchange. His principal work is *Theological Discourses* (published post-humously in 1557).

foundations of modern international law. Who still worries about the concerns of the Council of all Spains?<sup>17</sup> We are only dwarfs in comparison with these great men who carry us on their shoulders. But carried by them who saw only their century, we can see and judge ours and it is our honor not to remain silent, when they did not remain silent.

Paris, October 31, 1948  
On the feast of Christ the King.

---

In contributing to the theory of just war Fr. Vitoria attacked the Spanish Empire's war on the Native Peoples because it violated the Scholastic understanding of the intrinsic dignity of humans. This dignity he found being violated by Spain's policies in the New World. In his view neither the pope nor Charles V had a rightful claim over Indian lives or property. He denied that the native peoples could be understood as slaves by nature in Aristotelian terms. He adopted from Aquinas the Roman law concept of *ius gentium* ("the law of nations").

See Francisco de Vitoria, *De Indis et De ivre belli relectiones* (ed. Ernest Nys, Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), online at <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001638891>; Vitoria, *Relectiones Theologicae* [Theological Rereadings], (Lugduni: Apud Jacobum Boyerium, 1557), 2 vols, online at [http://www.prdl.org/author\\_view.php?a\\_id=922](http://www.prdl.org/author_view.php?a_id=922); and Anonymous, "Francisco de Vitoria," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>17</sup>Charles V (1500-1558) was the Holy Roman Emperor from 1519 to 1556, king of Spain, lord of the Netherlands and head of the House of Habsburg. In addition he oversaw the Spanish colonization of the Americas.

He spent most of his time defending the Holy Roman Empire from the Protestant Reformation, the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, and a series of wars with France. Charles V borrowed money from German and Italian bankers and, in order to repay such loans, he relied on the proto-capitalist economy of the Low Countries and on the flows of gold and especially silver from South America to Spain, which caused widespread inflation.

In order to consolidate power in his early reign, Charles overcame two Spanish insurrections (the Comuneros' Revolt and the Brotherhoods' Revolt) and two German rebellions (the Knights' Revolt and Great Peasants' Revolt). Ultimately, he conceded the Peace of Augsburg and abandoned his multi-national project with a series of abdications in 1556 that divided his domains. In 1557, he retired to the Monastery of Yuste in Extremadura and died there a year later. See Anonymous, "Charles V," *Wikipedia*.

## **Appendix 1: Fr. Jean Boulier's Biography**

Fr. Jean Boulier (1894-1980) summarized his life in a 1977 autobiography, *I was a Red Priest*.<sup>1</sup> This note is based on the biography, which is now translated and published in English. He was born into an artisan family at Boulogne-sur-Mer, an English Channel seaport. In 1912 he entered the Jesuits and in the early 1920s he helped in Belgium and Paris with the foundation of the Young Christian Workers (JOC) movement. He was ordained in 1925 and then did graduate study in Paris at the Sorbonne's Faculty of Law and its Institute of Advanced International Studies. After the Sorbonne, he ministered and taught at Nancy (Lorraine) in northeastern France. In 1932 he left the Jesuits and became a diocesan priest at Rosary Church, a working class parish in Paris's 14th arrondissement.

In 1938 Fr. Boulier was appointed to be the pastor at St. Devote in Monaco. At the beginning of World War II, he joined the resistance and was fired by his bishop for defending the Jews. The Gestapo sought his arrest but he was able to hide. Because of his witness, his case is currently under consideration in Israel by *Yad Vashem* to be honored by the title, Righteous among the Nations.<sup>2</sup>

After the war and his work at and being fired from the Catholic Institute, Fr. Boulier continued to work in the peace movement. He joined the Freedom Fighters, which was a continuation of the Resistance movement, but in broad daylight. This involved teaching in parishes and schools, national and international conferences, rallies and publishing. As a delegate to the meeting of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Council congress at Stockholm, Sweden in March 1950, he took part in drafting the text of and launching the Stockholm Appeal. The Appeal sought to promote nuclear disarmament and prevent atomic war. It included a petition and signature campaign. Some 273,000,000 people signed the petition. In Paris Fr. Boulier obtained the support of Cardinal Feltin for Catholic involvement in the movement. As a result, a majority of its supporters were Catholics, not communists. It was non-sectarian.

Combined with his peace work, Fr. Boulier ministered in a working class parish that included priest-workers. For some 40 years the district was governed by a Communist mayor. Like his counterpart in New York City, Dorothy Day, he did

---

<sup>1</sup>Jean Boulier, *I was a Red Priest* (Silver Spring, MD: Red Star-CWPublisher, [1977] 2022).

<sup>2</sup>Toby Terrar, "A Red Priest Fighting Anti-Semitism," *Doctrine & Life: Religious Life Review* (Dublin: July-August, 2022), vol. 72, no. 6, pp. 53-60.

### Fr. Jean Boulier's Biography

not join the Communist Party (PCF), but he published his writings in their press, spoke at their events, advised them on Church matters and was active in their auxiliary organizations, such as Red Aid and their seashore summer youth camp. In 1950 the campers named one of their groups, the Fr. Boulier Group. Another group was named after party head Maurice Thorez. Fr. Boulier counted PCF leader Jacques Duclos among his friends and in 1954 they jointly planned a national, year-long birth centenary celebration for Jean Jaurès, the trade-union and peace movement leader. As a result of his activism, he became known as a "Red Priest."

Fr. Boulier's work was known in America. Dorothy Day, who is currently being considered by the church authorities to be named a saint, wrote of him when her friend, Fr. Clarence Duffy, came under attack for addressing a 1949 peace demonstration in Lawrence, Massachusetts. In defending her friend, Day quoted Fr. Duffy's use of Fr. Boulier's example as a justification for collaborating with the Communists. Day wrote:

But as Fr. Duffy likes to point out with Abbé Boulier who was rebuked for being on the platform with communists, "Your Eminence, the Communists are on the platform with me, not I with them." There is a clerical touch to this little joke, not an arrogance, but a realization of the dignity of the priesthood. Fr. Duffy epitomizes the hunger of many young priests throughout the country, for freedom to throw themselves into active work with the poor, and with organized labor.<sup>3</sup>

Like Dorothy Day, who was arrested in 1955 because of anti-war activism, Fr. Boulier in 1958 was convicted of a felony for defaming the French military concerning its conduct in the Algerian War. The PCF helped pay the fine. Because of his support of the peace movement at a time when Rome required collaboration with the Cold War, he was suspended from practicing as a priest multiple times and over lengthy periods. This included a "secular reduction" from 1962 to 1971.

From within the peace movement in the early 1960s during the Second Vatican Council, Fr. Boulier worked with theologian Fr Marie-Dominique Chenu, OP (1895-1990) and with Cardinal Leo Jozef Suenens (1904-1996) to help it support the peace movement. The language in the constitution *Gaudium et Spes* contained the essence of Fr. Boulier's proposed text, "Every act of war which tends indiscriminately to the destruction of entire cities or vast regions with their inhabitants is a crime against God and against man himself and it must be condemned firmly and without hesitation."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup>Dorothy Day, "The Case of Father Duffy," *The Catholic Worker* (New York: December 1, 1949), vol. 16, no. 7, pp. 1, 4 at p. 4; online at <https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/>. Grateful appreciation to historian Rosalie Riegle for pointing this passage out.

<sup>4</sup>Boulier, *I was a Red Priest*, pp. 253-255.

Also from within the peace movement in the early 1960s Fr. Boulier helped in the identification and prosecution of Nazi war criminals such as Dr. Hans Globke, who had been allowed to become a leading member of the Federal Republic of Germany (West German) government. In this work, Fr. Boulier published several books.<sup>5</sup>

When Fr. Boulier died in 1980, he was lucky to simply be in good standing as a member of the Parisian clergy. Viewing his coming death and the problems in the Church, he commented in his biography:

The Church will survive. How? I do not know. And I'm going to die having experienced too much. Before sinking, I seal this story of my life in a bottle and entrust it to the sea. I hope someone will find it and perhaps will learn from it. I only ask him for a prayer and to soothe my poor soul in pain at the peril of the waves.<sup>6</sup>



**Figure 21: Fr. Boulier at 1963 prosecution of Nazi war criminal Hans Globke.**

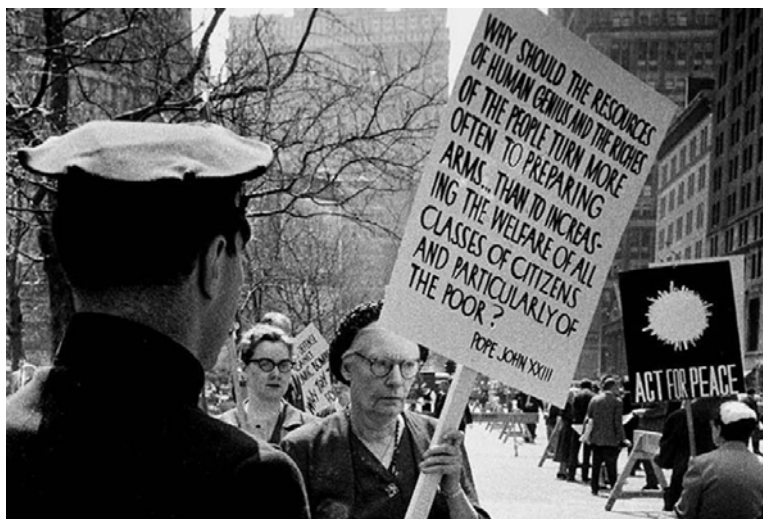
As a member of the Association of Democratic Lawyers, Fr. Boulier acted as a trial observer in the Supreme Court of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany, GDR).<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>Jean Boulier, *Les juges nazis dans l'appareil d'Etat de la Republique federale allemande* [Nazi judges in the state apparatus of the Federal Republic of Germany] (Bruxelles: Editions de l'Association internationale des juristes démocrates, 1962) 126 pp. and Jean Boulier, *Der Prozess gegen Dr. Hans Globke* (Dresden: Verlag Zeit im Bild, 1963) 47 pp.; (English edition titled, "The Trial of Dr. Hans Globke," OCLC: 72011167).

<sup>6</sup>Boulier, *I was a Red Priest*, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.* p. 249. See also "Jean Boulier," *Wikidata* online at <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q3170908>; the original is in the German Federal Archives (German: *Bundesarchiv*) online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv\\_Bild\\_183-B0708-0014-011,\\_Oberstes\\_Gericht,\\_Globke\\_Boulier.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv_Bild_183-B0708-0014-011,_Oberstes_Gericht,_Globke_Boulier.jpg).



**Figure 34: Dorothy Day and Fr. Boulier's collaboration with the communists.**

Dorothy Day was an American writer and activist who co-founded with Peter Maurin both a monthly publication, the *Catholic Worker* and also, a number of apostolic communities to serve the poor. One of her fellow Catholic Workers, Fr. Clarence Duffy, came under attack for addressing a 1949 peace demonstration in Lawrence, Massachusetts. In defending the priest, Day quoted Fr. Duffy's use of Fr. Boulier's example as a justification for collaborating with the communists. Day wrote about Fathers Duffy and Boulier:

But as Fr. Duffy likes to point out with Abbe Boulier who was rebuked for being on the platform with communists, "Your Eminence, the Communists are on the platform with me, not I with them." There is a clerical touch to this little joke, not an arrogance, but a realization of the dignity of the priesthood. Fr. Duffy epitomizes the hunger of many young priests throughout the country, for freedom to throw themselves into active work with the poor, and with organized labor.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>The source for the Dorothy Day quote and more about Fr. Duffy see "Fr. Clarence Duffy," in Boulier, *I was a Red Priest*, Appendix 15: Persons, p. 523.

## Appendix 2

### Fascism<sup>1</sup>

Fascism is a political trend that arose in the capitalist countries at the time of the general crisis of capitalism in the 1920s. It reflected the interests of the aggressive sections of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Fascist rule consists of a dictatorship for the purpose of preserving the capitalist system.

The word “fascism” came from the Latin *fasces* (bundle). In the Roman era, a bundle of sticks with an axe blade protruding was a symbol of the state’s penal power. Lictors (attendants to magistrates) held such a bundle. Fasci groups organized for political purposes were a feature of Sicily since 1895.

The major distinguishing features of fascism are the application of violence to suppress the working class and all those who labor. Fascism is also distinguished by militant anticommunism, chauvinism, and racism; extensive use of state-monopoly methods to regulate the economy; maximum control over all aspects of citizens’ public and private lives.

Fascism establishes a system of connective links with that sizable portion of the population which does not belong to the ruling classes; and the capacity to mobilize that same portion of the population through nationalistic and social demagoguery, activating it politically to promote interests of the exploitative class. Fascism, in fact, has its mass base principally among the middle strata of capitalist society. Fascism’s foreign policy is one of imperialist conquest.

**Ideology.** In its struggle to create a mass social base, fascism promoted the “fascist ideology,” which made extensive use of previously existing reactionary views and theories, including the racist ideas of Arthur Gobineau (1816-1882), Georges de Lapouge (1854-1936) and Houston Chamberlain (1855-1927), the antidemocratic concepts of Friedrich Nietzsche and Oswald Spengler, and such ideologies as anti-Jewish, geopolitics, and Pan-Germanism.

The central ideas in fascist ideology are military expansionism, racial inequality, “class harmony” (the theory of the “folk community” and the “corporate state”), the “*Führer* principle,” and the omnipotence of the state machine (the “total state” theory). These ideas were expressed in their most concentrated form in Adolph Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* (1925). An essential trait of the ideology of fascism is the blatant demagoguery it uses to mask its true contents, as

---

<sup>1</sup>See Aleksandr Abramovich Galkin, “Fascism,” *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New York: Macmillan, 1979), (31 vols.), online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/fascism>.

was done - to cite a particular example - in the case of fascism's exploitation of the popularity enjoyed by socialism among the masses.

**Italy.** Having originated as a reaction to the revolutionary upsurge heralded by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, fascism became a fierce and dangerous enemy of progressive mankind and, above all, of the international revolutionary workers' movement. The first organized fascist groups, which arose in Italy in the spring of 1919, were semimilitary squads of nationalist-minded veterans. In October 1922 the fascists - by now a major political force staged an armed "march on Rome." The march was used as a pretext by Italy's ruling circles, who on Oct. 31, 1922, named to the post of prime minister the *duce* (leader) of the Italian fascists, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945). Over the succeeding four years the fascist leadership gradually abolished bourgeois-democratic liberties, establishing an all-powerful fascist oligarchy.

During the 1930's, Italy was transformed into a corporate state, which facilitated the militarization of the Italian economy. The liquidation of the democratic trade-union movement was accompanied by the loss of hard-won economic and political gains on the part of the working class. Mussolini's government turned more and more toward a policy of imperialist expansion. In 1935, fascist Italy went to war against Ethiopia. After occupying that country in 1936, Italy allied itself with the interventionists and fought against republican Spain from 1936 to 1939. In 1939 it seized Albania, and in October 1940 it attacked Greece, having already declared war on France in June of that year and having thereby entered World War II (1939-1945). In the course of the war, Italy's fascist regime suffered a crushing defeat in 1943.

**Germany.** The fascist National Socialist Party of Germany was formed in 1919. Officially called the National Socialist German Workers' Party, it reflected the attempt on the part of its organizers to exploit the German workers' socialist leanings in the interest of extreme reaction. The political situation was becoming critical when Hitler, the *Führer* (leader) of the German fascists - with the support of a group of large monopolies and in alliance with influential German Army circles - was given a mandate to form a government in late January 1933. Having staged the Reichstag fire and thrown the blame on the Communists, the German fascists in the course of a few months achieved complete "unification" of the country by imposing a bloody reign of terror over all democratic and liberal movements and imprisoning and physically eliminating all actual and potential enemies of the Nazi regime. The Communist Party was banned first, to be followed by the Social Democratic Party and all the traditional bourgeois parties. All public organizations, and above all the trade unions, were dissolved; the parliament was deprived of its prerogatives, and all forms of public control over state administration were abolished.

The instruments of the Nazi-created dictatorship included a terrorist apparatus that became known for its extreme cruelty (the *Sturmabteilungen*, or SA, the *Schutzstaffel*, or SS, the Gestapo, the "people's court," and other fascist judicial bodies), an organizational apparatus that controlled all forms of public activity

(through such organs as the National Socialist Party, the National Socialist Women's League, the Hitler Youth, the German Labor Front, and the "Strength Through Joy" movement), and a mass propaganda apparatus (headed by the Ministry of Propaganda). In close alliance with the generals, Hitler's government carried out the forced militarization of Germany. The course was rapidly set toward a militarized economy, to be accompanied by various forms of state-monopoly regulation - for example, state capital investment (chiefly for military purposes), tax policies, a policy of credits and planned inflation, administrative control of economic development, compulsory syndicalization or cartelization of industry, and creation of new types of monopolists' associations.

Breaking the international agreements that limited rearmament, Germany undertook a series of aggressive actions designed to strengthen the strategic military position of German imperialism in its struggle for world domination. From 1936 to 1939, Germany joined Italy on the side of the interventionists against republican Spain. Austria was forcibly annexed by the *Anschluss* of 1938, and Czechoslovakia was seized and partitioned in 1938-1939. With its attack on Poland in September 1939, Germany launched World War II.

**Eastern and Central Europe.** From their position of power in Italy and Germany, the fascists placed under their aegis the many fascist and profascist organizations existing abroad. In some countries these organizations came to represent a serious danger for the bourgeois-democratic regimes. Between the two world wars, fascistic regimes were established in several Eastern and Central European states, including Hungary (the Horthy regime), Austria, Poland (the *sanacja* regime), Rumania, and the Baltic states. Assisted by Italy and Germany, the fascist movement was growing stronger in Spain; after the bloody Civil War of 1936-1939, Franco's fascist dictatorship was installed in March 1939 with the military and political support of the Italian and German interventionists. Salazar's fascist dictatorship was by this time firmly established in Portugal.

**Resistance.** By the mid-1930's fascism posed a deadly threat not only for various countries' labor and democratic movements but for all mankind as well, endangering the very existence of entire peoples. Recognizing the gravity of the threat, all those political forces that were prepared to offer resistance to fascism came together in a broad antifascist coalition. A major role in the organization of resistance was played by the Communist parties, in accordance with the resolutions adopted in 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. In carrying out the Comintern's decisions, which called for a unified workers' and popular front, the Communists took into account the particular circumstances facing them in each country. In the countries that were under fascist rule, the Communists assumed leadership in the antifascist underground movement.

While World War II was in progress, the fascist occupation forces implemented a meticulously worked-out program of mass extermination of people in the captured territories. It has been estimated that approximately 18 million persons, representing all the nationalities of Europe, passed through the Nazi concentration and death camps; 11 million of them were bestially murdered. The

fascist terror in the occupied territories and the intentional genocide of millions of people revealed the essential and total inhumanity of fascism, drawing upon it the hatred of all the world's peoples. The resistance movement, which arose behind the fascist lines, in the occupied territories and within the fascist countries themselves, was to undermine the military might of the fascist army and the stability of the fascist regimes.

Fascism was dealt a heavy blow in 1945, when Germany and its allies were routed by the anti-Hitler coalition—a defeat in which the USSR played a decisive role. In the postwar years, however, the ruling classes in some of the capitalist countries succeeded in keeping the rule of fascistic dictatorships alive, as they did in Spain and in Portugal. In the countries that had led the fascist bloc, the eradication of fascism was incomplete. After the end of World War II, the “cold war” led to the revival of reactionary extremism - including the fascist variety - even in those capitalist states that had been members of the anti-Hitler coalition. No less important is the continued existence in capitalist society, in our own time, of those social and political processes out of which fascism was born and which transformed it, at a given historical stage, into a highly influential force—namely, the development of state-monopoly capitalism, the growing general crisis of capitalism, and the economic and political upheavals that take place in the capitalist world.

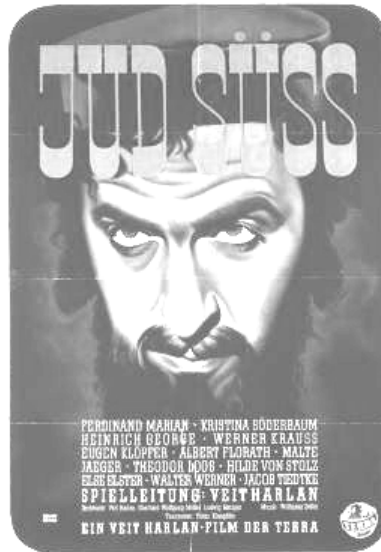
**Post World War II.** In the capitalist countries where the ruling circles cling to traditional methods of government, the extreme right-wing opposition, at times openly fascist or semifascist in nature, has achieved varying degrees of influence; the extent to which it is effective depends on changing economic conditions as well as on the international situation. Frequently such opposition grows stronger at times of acute crisis on the national or international level, diminishing in strength during periods of lesser tension.

Fascist and semifascist elements have sometimes allied themselves with militarist forces for the purpose of seizing commanding positions by means of military coups. A coup d'état was carried out in Greece in April 1967, and another one in Chile in September 1973. The regimes established in these countries were terrorist military-fascist dictatorships. Much earlier, in 1954, a terrorist dictatorship had firmly established itself in Paraguay. In many other Latin American countries, too, the reactionary military cliques are highly influential in both domestic and foreign policy.

Under today's new conditions, the fascist forces not unexpectedly have adopted a new image, often seeking to divorce themselves from a compromising association with former fascist movements. “Neofascism” is therefore the term more commonly used in speaking of fascism today. As the general crisis of capitalism becomes more acute, the neofascist forces make extensive use of the so-called strategy of tension by instigating terrorist actions and other types of subversion. The chief goal of this strategy is to create a given impression among the politically unstable segments of public opinion—namely, the impression that the parliamentary governments are completely incapable of guaranteeing public

order; this belief on the part of moderately conservative voters would presumably push them into the embrace of the “legal” neofascists.

On the whole, however, fascism was in a much weaker position after World War II than it was in the prewar period. Its overthrow in Portugal in April 1974 and in Greece in July 1974, together with the collapse of Francoism in Spain, are convincing evidence of the weakness of fascist regimes under existing conditions. The array of class forces in the industrially developed capitalist countries does in many cases limit the absolute rule of the monopolist bourgeoisie. The tendency to shift to the right, enforced by the powers that be, is balanced by the countervailing tendency to shift to the left and toward greater democracy as a result of the persistent struggle of the masses, and of the working class above all. As antifascist attitudes become more widespread and as socialism gains in magnetic force, the ruling classes of the capitalist countries often find it dangerous to shift from bourgeois-democratic forms of government to overtly fascistic methods. A united front of democratic forces is the greatest obstacle that can stand in the path of fascism.



**Figure 14: Fr. Boulrier’s preaching against anti-Semitic fascist propaganda.**

In 1941 when this Nazi-made film *Jew Süß* was shown in Monaco, where Fr. Boulrier was a parish priest, he preached from the pulpit against it, “this show leads to lust, cruelty and hatred among citizens.” As a result of his preaching and resistance work, he was fired from his ministry, deported and unsuccessfully hunted by the Gestapo. Because of this witness, his case is currently under consideration in Israel by *Yad Vashem* to be honored by the title, Righteous among the Nations.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

### **Appendix 3**

#### **Holy See - Yugoslavia Diplomatic Relations.**

The Holy See and the now split-up Yugoslavia had official bilateral diplomatic relations which preceded the country's existence. Yugoslavia as a country was formed as part of the Versailles peace conference in 1918 after World War I. It was called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and was formed by the union of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs and of the Kingdom of Serbia.

The Yugoslav idea had emerged among the Croat (Catholic) intelligentsia in the early nineteenth century. By the time of the First World War, which was sparked in part by the "Yugoslav Question," the Serbians (Orthodox) also agreed with the Yugoslav ideology. When the state was created, the Serbs were its dominant and most "pro-Yugoslav" group. But it could only exist if both wished to maintain the union.

Before the creation of Yugoslavia, the Holy See had signed a concordat with the Kingdom of Serbia in 1914. Regular diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the new Kingdom of Serbs Croats and Slovenes were established in 1920. At the time of the 1921 census 48% listed themselves as Eastern Orthodox and 39% as Catholic. The kingdom signed a new concordat with Vatican in 1935. Some Catholic Croatians, including Stjepan Radić, the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, had opposed the concordat as he accused the pope of support for Italian irredentism and advocated the idea of an independent Croatian Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup>

As noted in the text, during World War II a majority of the Catholic clergy collaborated with the Nazis. This led to new regulations after the war that restricted their activity. In 1967 Yugoslavia normalized its relations with Holy See and Pope Paul VI together with President of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito worked together to achieve peace in Vietnam. The Catholic Church maintained an active role in society of Yugoslavia. In March 1971, president Tito visited the Holy See and Pope Paul VI.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>See Anonymous, "Stjepan Radić," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>2</sup>See Anonymous, "Yugoslavia," *Wikipedia*.



## **Appendix 4**

### **Italian Political History (1900-1960s).**

While Italy had been a monarchy until 1946, democracy was not a new concept in the country. The Kingdom of Piedmont had become a constitutional monarchy with the liberalizing reforms of King Charles Albert's Albertine Statute in 1848. Suffrage, initially limited to select citizens, was gradually expanded. In 1912 Giovanni Giolitti's government introduced universal suffrage for male citizens. Essential issues that needed to be resolved included the relationship of the Kingdom with the Roman Catholic Church.

However, there was a crisis as a result of the First World War, the social inequalities, and the consequent tension between Marxist and other left-wing parties on one side and conservative liberals on the other. This crisis led to the advent of fascism. The support of the ruling class and especially of the monarchy was crucial for the seizure of power by Mussolini. After Mussolini's March on Rome in October 1922, King Victor Emmanuel III refused to sign a decree to declare a state of siege and instead asked Mussolini to form a new government. The King's decision was within his powers under the Albertine Statute, but contrary to the parliamentary practices of the Italian liberal state, as the National Fascist Party had only a small minority of the parliamentary deputies.

After the invasion of Italy by Allied forces in 1943, the Grand Council of Fascism, with the co-operation of the King, overthrew Mussolini from power and established a new government headed by Marshal Pietro Badoglio. Germany, worried by the new government's intention to negotiate a separate peace with the Allies, invaded and occupied Northern Italy. In the Gran Sasso raid, or Operation Oak, German paratroopers rescued Mussolini from the hilltop hotel in which he had been imprisoned by the new government.

Under pressure from Hitler, Mussolini then established a puppet state, the Italian Social Republic to administer the German-occupied territory, leading to Italy being split in two, each with its own government. In the North, Mussolini declared that the monarchy had been overthrown and began to establish a new republican state, with himself as *Duce*, but for practical purposes under the control of Karl Wolff and Rudolf Rahn. The Italian Social Republic had its seat of government in the town of Salò, so is commonly known as the Republic of Salò.

Southern Italy, meanwhile, remained nominally under the control of the new legitimist government of Badoglio, continuing to operate as the Kingdom of Italy. Rome descended into chaos, as fighting erupted between Mussolini loyalists and supporters of the new government, as well as leftist opponents of fascism who emerged from hiding. The King and the government left Rome to seek the

protection of the Allied forces that occupied the South. With half of the Italian peninsula occupied by the Germans and the rest by the Allies, a return to civil rights was suspended.

However, the left political forces organized the Italian Resistance, which enjoyed strong popular support. Almost all of the Resistance were anti-monarchists; nevertheless, a temporary alliance between them and the Badoglio government was created by the decision of Joseph Stalin and Palmiro Togliatti, secretary of the Italian Communist Party, to postpone the problem of the state organization and focus all efforts on the fight against Hitler's puppet state in the North.<sup>1</sup>

**Post World War II.** As summarized by Wrocław University professor Davide Artico, the Italian government from 1948 until the 1960s was dominated by conservatives. He writes:

The period between the 1948 general election and the following poll, held on 7th June 1953, had been one of extreme rightist restoration driven ahead by the huge parliamentary hegemony won by the DC. Though presenting themselves as the heralds of liberty, with the Latin word *Libertas* in a relevant position in the very symbol of the party, Christian Democrats had built up an actual policing regime along with their centre-right allies.

People even only suspected of leftist positions had to endure surveillance by police as a means of methodical law enforcement. Passports were issued only for France and Switzerland, while validity extensions for other countries, especially beyond the Iron Curtain, were quite expensive, and they were granted only after months of police investigations, obviously carried on without any warrant.

Workers protests were often repressed in a manner resembling the methods used by Stalinists in Eastern Europe. Only in the two-year period 1950-1951, there had been as many as 62 manufacturing or agricultural workers killed by the police, more than 3,000 had been wounded, some 90,000 had been arrested, and nearly 20,000 sentenced to prison for participating in strikes without committing any other crime. Much dreaded fascist laws, such as the 1930 criminal prosecution code named after Alfredo Rocco were still enforced regularly by a Judiciary mainly composed of members uninterruptedly holding their capacity since the times of Mussolini's regime.

---

<sup>1</sup>See the Anonymous *Wikipedia* articles, "Festa della Repubblica," and "1946 Italian institutional referendum."

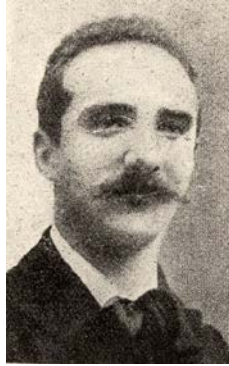
If not violently repressed during strikes and protests, industrial workers were anyway severely limited in their Constitutional right to join trade unions. For instance, the CEO of the Turin-based car manufacturing corporation FIAT, Vittorio Valletta, openly admitted bribing workers to have them leave leftist trade union CGIL, and join the Catholic-inspired CISL instead. Cold War synergies were at work in this field too. Besides Catholics there was also the U.S. Ambassador Clara Boothe Luce exerting pressures on the CEO for harsher, more effective measures to be taken against leftist workers.

In this mainframe, many a liberal thinker and political activist chose to take sides with the Left against a clerical regime that only De Gasperi's moderate positions had stopped from including former fascists and monarchists. Liberal, definitely non-communist personalities such as Piero Calamandrei greatly contributed to the electoral defeat of the DC in 1953. Compared to 1948, the Catholic ultraconservative party lost nearly three million votes and as many as 44 MPs, while socialists and communists together won a support of more than 35%.

Such an unexpected result did not immediately change the political situation. Before Vatican II was convened in 1962, there still were at least two Italian cabinets enforcing extreme rightist, strongly authoritarian policies. One was led by Sicilian Mario Scelba from the 10th February 1954 to the 6th July 1955, and it was characterized by still more violent repressions of strikes. The other one was the four-month-long term served as Prime Minister by Fernando Tambroni in 1960. With the pretext of securing law enforcement and avoiding riots during the Olympic Games to be celebrated in Rome that same year, Tambroni finally built up a coalition with fascist politicians of the Movimento Sociale Italiano - the same that Gedda had dreamt of almost a decade before. The very possibility of a full restoration of the fascist regime led to unrests in the whole country. After eleven protesters were killed, and hundreds injured by the police in Reggio Emilia in July, Tambroni had to resign. A center-left parliamentary majority including the socialists was then established in 1962.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Davide Artico, "Retention of Power in Italy: On the Anti-Communist Coalitions between the 'Upper Church' and the State," *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* (2012), vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 355-375, at pp. 365-366.



### **Guido Miglioli: Italian Catholic Anti-NATO Activist**

Guido Miglioli (1870-1954) was a leader in the peasant sector of the Italian anti-NATO peace movement. His organization was called the Christian Peace Movement and in electoral politics it was part of the social-communist Popular Democratic Front. Its weekly newspaper, which he edited was the *Nuova Terra*.

During the war, Miglioli had been part of the Resistance and his peace advocacy dated back to the First World War, in which his slogan was, like the Bolsheviks, “No war, but land.” In opposition to fascism, he looked to Lenin and as in his book *Village soviétique* (Paris, Librairie du travail, 1927), he celebrated the Soviet example of eliminating landlords and establishing collectivized farming.

Miglioli’s patron saint was the nineteenth-century priest Don Bosco, who practiced a social ministry. His spirituality was Salesian (St. Francis de Sales). In visits to the USSR he maintained that Christianity enriched communist society.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup>(See Claudia Balodi, “With Rome and Moscow: Italian Catholic Communism,” *Contemporary European History* (2116), vol. 25, pp. 610-643, at p. 641).

## Appendix 5 Italian Post-World War II Peace Movement (1946-1950s).

Professor Renato Moro of the Rome Tre University (Third University of Rome) points out that in the interwar years, a majority of Italian Catholics were hostile to peace movements and the League of Nations. Rather, they were fully committed to “the nation” and national interest as the key parameters in international relations and they agreed with the theory of *bellum justum* (just war).<sup>1</sup>

However, in the post-World War era, the anti-militarist and anti-nationalist peace movement led by the socialist-communist Popular Front was strong, and it prompted the Christian Democrats, the Catholic hierarchy and laity to debate issues broadly linked to the “ideology of peace”, such as disarmament, nuclear fears, non-violent responses and collaboration between blocs. In July 1950 the Christian Democrats founded its own 'National Solidarity Campaign for Peace and Security.’<sup>2</sup>

The question of peace came to be linked to the perception that it was key for facing the communists in the field of political propaganda. This led to a “dialogue” about “peace” between Catholics and communists and from 1952 to 1955 a Catholic “peace offensive.” This brought divisions inside Italian Catholicism over détente and Catholic participation in non-aligned peace movements.<sup>3</sup>

The Christian Movement for Peace in Italy, which sided with the left, had at its head Guido Miglioli. He had been an exponent of the “white’ peasants” movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, then a leader of the opposition to the First World War and a communist fellow-traveler, and for this reason not admitted by Christian Democrats (DC) into its ranks in 1946. He was persuaded of the peaceful nature of Soviet policy. Members of his group came from the Social Christian Party which was led by Gerardo Bruni and from the Christian Left Party.

---

<sup>1</sup>See Renato Moro, “A Peaceful Europe? Negotiating Peace in the Twentieth Century,” *Contemporary European History* (Aug., 2008), vol. 17, no. 3), pp. 365-390, at p. 366; and Marco Invernizzi, *Luigi Gedda e il movimento cattolico in Italia* (Luigi Gedda and the Catholic movement in Italy) (Milano, Italy: Sugarco, 2012).

<sup>2</sup>Moro, “A Peaceful Europe?,” p. 376.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.* p. 366.

Another Catholic leader of the peace movement was Igino Giordani (1894-1980). He was a politician born at Tivoli. In 1920 he joined Luigi Sturzo's Italian People's Party and was a journalist for their papers, *Il Popolo Nuovo*. In 1928 he became Tertiary of the Dominican Order and went to work as a Librarian at the Vatican Library. In June 1946, he was elected to the constituent Assembly of Italy for the district of Rome and became manager of the magazine *Il Popolo*. In 1948 he joined the Catholic-ecumenical Focolare Movement, which had been founded in 1943.

In a parliamentary debate in March 1949, DC deputy Giordani declared that it was no longer possible to consider a war as "just" and, in April, launched a new journal, *La Via*. The aim of the journal was to campaign against the evolving binary and conformist framework of the cold war. The same year he was one of the authors of the first bill on conscientious objectors. In 1953 he resigned from politics, and became an employee of the *Osservatore Romano* and *Il Popolo*.<sup>4</sup>

Among the peace movement strategies was petition campaigns. In January 1949, the Communist Youth Alliance and the left Catholic groups started to circulate a petition in which Catholics were asked to campaign for a ban on nuclear weapons and to register their refusal to join any military alliance. The petition was written in a moderate tone and appealed for a general rejection of war in line with article 11 of the Italian constitution. In *Humanitas*, Fr. Giulio Bevilacqua spoke in behalf of the campaign and attacked Catholic moralists who, "living in the past" and unperturbed, repeated "the ... unrealistic casuistries" of a bygone era when addressing the issue of war.<sup>5</sup>

The following year the peace movement sponsored a much larger campaign, the Stockholm Appeal, which was announced at the end of the Third Session of the World Committee of Peace in Stockholm in March 1950. Coming a month after US President Harry S. Truman's announcement in February of his government's decision to develop hydrogen bombs, some 10 million Italians signed the Appeal. They included priests, laity, Christian Democrat representatives (such as Giovanni Gronchi, Giuseppe Cappi and Gaspare Ambrosini) and bishops (of Trieste, Grosseto and Pesca).<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>See Anonymous, "Igino Giordani," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 370; Fr Giulio Bevilacqua, "Fragili equilibri della pace [Fragile balances of peace]," *Humanitas* (Brescia, Italy: 1949), pp. 341-348, online at [https://search.library.smu.edu.sg/discovery/fulldisplay?vid=65SMU\\_INST:SMU\\_NUI&docid=alma9988039302601](https://search.library.smu.edu.sg/discovery/fulldisplay?vid=65SMU_INST:SMU_NUI&docid=alma9988039302601); Anonymous, "Giulio Bevilacqua," *Wikipedia*. Fr. Bevilacqua (1881-1965) did pastoral work in Brescia, was a military chaplain, and fought against fascism. He was a teacher and spiritual confidante of Pope Paul VI. Shortly before his death he was made an auxiliary bishop of Brescia and a cardinal.

<sup>6</sup>Giorgio Vecchio, *Pacifisti e obiettori nell'Italia di De Gasperi, 1948-1953* (Pacifists and objectors in De Gasperi's Italy, 1948-1953) (Roma: Studium, 1993), LCCN 94236619, 348 p., at p. 131.

The signers were united in their hostility to the bomb. Historian Moro summarized:

The Stockholm Appeal posed a difficult situation for the Catholic Church, not least because the cardinals and archbishops of France had declared that “in this nightmarish atmosphere, the Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons had attracted otherwise reputable personalities.”<sup>7</sup>

In addition to petitions, another peace movement strategy was congresses. Miglioli and other Italians gave prominence to and attended the large Congress of Peace held in April 1949 in Paris. It took place in the Salle Pleyel which was decorated with the famous images of doves designed by Pablo Picasso. The congress brought together many European intellectuals, including Fr. Boulier, Frederic Joliot-Curie, Louis Aragon, György Lukacs and Renato Guttuso. The Congress saw the launching of the world movement of the Partisans of Peace.

A year later in November 1950, the World Committee of the Partisans of Peace held another congress that was first scheduled for Sheffield, England but was shifted to Warsaw because of the concerns of the British government. The Italian priest and peace activist, Fr. Primo Mazzolari (1890-1959) published a message in support of the congress in his journal *Adesso*. He stated:

Progressive Christians can no longer continue to ignore the efforts and the voices that aim to create peace in every corner of the world.<sup>8</sup>

Fr. Mazzolari, who had been a partisan during the war, was also a writer. He established the review *Adesso* (Now) in 1949. In it he preached a social doctrine with empathy towards the disadvantaged and pacifism, which earned him the sanction of being marginalized in the country parish of Bozzolo and in 1951 the Holy Office forbade him to preach or write without prior authorization.<sup>9</sup> However, in February 1959, Pope John XXIII received him in a private audience and publicly called him "*Tromba dello spirito santo nella Bassa Padana*" (Trumpet of the Holy Spirit in the Po Valley).<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Moro, “A Peaceful Europe?,” p. 366.

<sup>8</sup>Moro, “A Peaceful Europe?,” p. 377; Primo Mazzolari, “Cristiani al Congresso della pace”, *Adesso*, (Nov. 15, 1950).

<sup>9</sup>Elisa A. Carrillo, “The Italian Catholic Church and Communism, 1943-1963,” *The Catholic Historical Review* (Oct., 1991), vol. 77, no. 4, pp. 644-657, at p. 651.

<sup>10</sup>See Anonymous, “Primo Mazzolari,” *Wikipedia*; Mario Pancera, *Primo Mazzolari e "Adesso" 1949-1951: un prete e un giornale che cambiarono l'Italia* (Primo Mazzolari and "Now" 1949-1951: a priest and a newspaper that changed Italy) (Padova: Messaggero, Padova, 2005); Lorenzo Bedeschi, *L'ultima battaglia di Don Mazzolari: "Adesso" 1949-1959* (Don Mazzolari's last battle: "Now" 1949-1959) (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1990), LCCN 92176384, 155 p.; Mariangela

In the wake of US President Dwight D. Eisenhower's visit to Rome on May 5, 1952, and the anti-Korean War demonstrations against him, the Christian Democrat government sought to ban the Partisans of Peace.<sup>11</sup> Earlier, Luigi Gedda, now the president of the influential Men's Federation of Catholic Action, complained that it was inconceivable to engage in a Catholic action for peace, while "having a dialogue with men who do not want peace but only a general war."<sup>12</sup>

---

Maraviglia, *Chiesa e storia in "Adesso": (1949-1959)* (Church and history in "Now": (1949-1959) (Bologna: EDB, 1991), LCCN 94161001, 256 p.

<sup>11</sup>Moro, "A Peaceful Europe?," p. 378; Vecchio, *Pacifisti e obiettori*, .p. 240.

<sup>12</sup>Luigi Gedda, "Saluto rosso [red greeting]", *Il Quotidiano*, 18 Jan. 1951.

## **Appendix 6**

### **Marshall Plan (1947-1951)**

After World War II the USA instituted the Marshall Plan or “European recovery and development program of economic aid.” The goal was to support capitalism in Western Europe, which had been shaken by the war, and to prevent the realization of progressive social changes in the countries of Europe through the creation of a united imperialist front against the growing liberation movement in the world and, first and foremost, against the USSR and the world socialist system that was in the process of formation. The Marshall Plan and the so-called Truman Doctrine preceded and contributed to the creation of the aggressive NATO bloc (1949).

The idea of the Marshall Plan was set forth by US secretary of state George C. Marshall in an address at Harvard University on June 5, 1947. It was supported by Great Britain and France, which, at a conference in Paris of ministers of foreign affairs of the USA, Great Britain, France, and the USSR (June-July 1947), proposed the founding in Europe of an organization or a “steering committee” to explore the resources and needs of the countries of Europe and determine the development of the main branches of industry; this in reality would mean interference in the domestic affairs of these countries.

To counterbalance the Marshall Plan, the USSR introduced a proposal directed at ensuring equal economic cooperation while respecting the national sovereignty of states. This proposal, however, was rejected by the Western powers, which resulted in a refusal by the USSR and the countries of people’s democracy to participate in the Marshall Plan.

Sixteen capitalist states agreed to participate in the plan. The plan began operating in April 1948, when a US law providing for a four-year program of “aid to foreign states” came into effect, furnishing assistance to Western European countries on the basis of bilateral agreements. Agreements were signed in 1948 with all the countries.

According to the agreements, the countries participating in the plan pledged to contribute to the development of “free enterprise,” encourage private American investments, cooperate in lowering customs tariffs, supply the USA with certain scarce goods, ensure financial stabilization, create special funds in the national currencies which would be released as a result of the receipt of American aid and the expenditure of which would be controlled by the USA, and report regularly on the use of the funds received. To exercise control over the implementation of the Marshall Plan, the Economic Cooperation Administration was created, headed by big American financial and political figures.

The aid was given out of the US federal budget in the form of subsidies or gratuitous loans. From April 1948 to December 1951 the USA spent approximately \$17 billion on the plan. The main portion (around 60 percent) was received by Great Britain, France, Italy, and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). The latter had not signed on to the original agreement, but a bilateral agreement between the USA and the FRG was signed in December 1949. The Marshall Plan expired in December 1951 and was replaced by a “mutual security” agreement (passed by Congress on October 10, 1951) providing simultaneous military and economic aid.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>See D. S. Asanov, “Marshall Plan,” *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*.

## **Appendix 7**

### **Italian Trade Unions**

The roots of Italian trade union movement date back to early 1900s with the foundation of the General Confederation of Labour, an Italian labor union founded in 1906, under the initiative of socialist members. In 1926, during the fascist dictatorship of Benito Mussolini, CGdL's headquarter in Milan was attacked and completely destroyed by fascist blackshirts; after a few months, the CGdL's central committee decided to dissolve the trade union and disbanded the entire organization.

Their decision was opposed by communists and left socialists like Bruno Buozzi, who spent the next decades maintaining the old trade union clandestinely. The underground CGdL faced a perilous course, not only because of the fascist repression, but because of the dramatic changes in direction of the Communist International (IC). In 1929 Italian communist militants were ordered to enter fascist trade unions, only to be told in 1935, when the IC adopted the Popular Front strategy, to reconcile with the socialists and other anti-fascists in trade union and faced the fascist regime.

Toward the end of World War II the General Confederation of Labour (CGIL or *Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro*) was formed by agreement between socialists, communists, and Christian democrats (DC) in the "Pact of Rome" of June 9, 1944. A few days before, Bruno Buozzi, who had worked intensively on the Pact, was murdered by the Nazi troops. The pact established the foundation of a new CGdL, named Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL). The Pact was signed by Giuseppe Di Vittorio for the PCI, by Achille Grandi for the DC and by Emilio Canevari for the PSI.

The Catholic Church did not oppose the CGIL in 1944. However, in 1945 it favored the establishment of the Christian Associations of Italian Workers (ACLI). Until the end of the World War, the CGIL worked in the freed regions to spread the so-called "Labour Chambers" and stipulated wage agreements.

With the general insurrection proclaimed by the Italian Resistance on April 24, 1945 and the definitive defeat of the Nazi-Fascist regime, the CGIL extended its influence throughout the country. The trade union contributed to the victory of the Republic in the 1946 institutional referendum, that ended the Savoy's monarchy, guilty of having fostered the rise of fascism and of having signed the shameful racial laws of 1938.

On February 1, 1947, Salvatore Giuliano, a Sicilian bandit and separatist leader, killed 11 farmworkers and wounded other 27, during May Day celebrations in the municipality of Piana degli Albanesi.[12] His aim had been to punish local

leftists for the recent election results. In an open letter, he took sole responsibility for the murders and claimed that he had only wanted his men to fire above the heads of the crowd; the deaths had been a mistake. The massacre created a national scandal and the CGIL called a general strike in protest against the massacre. According to newspaper reports hints at the possibility of civil war were heard as communist leaders harangued meetings of 6,000,000 workers who struck throughout Italy in protest against the massacre.

Tensions between the communists and Christian Democrats increased with the beginning of the Cold War and the 1948 general election, which saw the DC facing the socialists and communists' Popular Democratic Front. The general strike that the Confederation proclaimed resulted from the attack on communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, which took place outside the Italian Parliament on July 14, 1948. The strike was also a protest against the Christian democratic faction that was seeking to split from the CGIL.

The Catholic associations ACLI offered a structure on which built, after a few days from the strike, the Christian democratic trade union, which was initially named "Free CGIL" and then, in 1950, Italian Confederation of Workers' Trade Unions (CISL). In the same year, the secular and social-democratic faction split from the CGIL too, founding the Italian Federation of Labor, which was quickly transformed into the Italian Labor Union (UIL). These are, even today, the three main Italian trade unions.

After 1950 the CGIL was influenced by the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and until recent years by its political heirs: the Democratic Party of the Left (PDS), the Democrats of the Left (DS) and currently the Democratic Party (PD). Over the post-World War II years the CGIL was the most important Italian trade union. Soon after the war it had a membership of over 5.5 million.

Along with the decline of membership within its political counterpart, the Democratic Party (PD), its membership is in steep decline since 2013, with the percentage of pensioners in constant rise. In July 2015, the number of working adults reached a ceiling at 2.1 million. The CGIL is currently the second-largest trade union in Europe, after the German DGB, which has over 6 million members.

The CGIL is affiliated with the International Trade Union Confederation and the European Trade Union Confederation, and is a member of the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>See Anonymous, "Italian General Confederation of Labour," *Wikipedia*.

## **Appendix 8**

### **Yugoslav History (World War II - 1960s)**

The Axis powers invaded the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941. The country surrendered 11 days later, and the government fled abroad, ultimately relocating to London. Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary annexed parts of the country. The remaining territory was broken up: most of it was organized as the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), a puppet state garrisoned by German and Italian forces, while the capital Belgrade remained in the German-occupied territory of Serbia.

The USSR, still honoring the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, broke off relations with the Yugoslav government and sought, through its intelligence assets, to set up a new Communist organization independent of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) in the NDH. The USSR also tacitly approved the restructuring of the Bulgarian Workers' Party. In particular, the party's new organizational structure and territory of operation were adjusted to account for annexation of Yugoslav territories by Bulgaria. The USSR reversed its support for such actions in September 1941 - after the start of the Axis invasion of the USSR.

In June 1941, the partisan leader Tito informed the Comintern and Stalin about his plans for an uprising against the Axis occupation. However, Stalin saw the prolific use of Communist symbols by the Yugoslav Partisans as problematic. This was because Stalin viewed his alliance with the United Kingdom and the United States as necessarily contrary to the Axis destruction of "democratic liberties". Stalin thus felt the Communist forces in Axis-occupied Europe were actually obligated to fight to restore democratic liberties - even if temporarily. In terms of Yugoslavia, this meant that Stalin expected the KPJ to fight to restore the government-in-exile. Remnants of the Royal Yugoslav Army, led by Colonel Draža Mihailović and organized as Chetnik (royalist) guerrillas, were already pursuing the restoration of King Peter II.

In October 1941, Tito met Mihailović to propose a joint struggle against the Axis. Tito offered him the position of chief of staff of the Partisan forces, but Mihailović turned down the offer and concluded that the Communists were the true enemy. He began collaborating with the Axis against the Partisans.

In 1943, Tito transformed the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) into an all-Yugoslav deliberative and legislative body, denounced the government-in-exile, and forbade the return of the king to the country. These decisions ran against Soviet advice instructing Tito not to antagonize King Peter and the exiled government. Stalin was at the Tehran Conference at the time and viewed the move as a betrayal of the USSR.

In 1944-1945, Stalin's renewed instructions to Communist leaders in Europe to establish coalitions with bourgeois politicians were met with rejection in Yugoslavia. The Red Army, supported by the Yugoslav Partisans, captured Belgrade in October 1944. In the final days of the war, the Partisans captured parts of Carinthia in Austria and were advancing across pre-war Italian soil. While the Western Allies believed Stalin arranged the move, he opposed it. Specifically, Stalin feared for the Soviet-backed Austrian government of Karl Renner, and he was afraid that a wider conflict with the Allies over Trieste would ensue. Stalin ordered Tito to withdraw from Carinthia and Trieste, and the Partisan forces complied.

**Post-War.** After the war, Tito was the chief architect of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), serving as both prime minister (1944-1963), president (later President for life) (1953-1980), and marshal of Yugoslavia, the highest rank of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA).

At the third session of the Antifascist National Liberation Council (August 7-10, 1945) laws nationalizing mineral resources and establishing freedom of the press and assembly were ratified, and the council was renamed the Provisional National Assembly. In the elections to the Constituent Assembly, held on November 11, 1945, the People's Front received about 96 percent of the votes. On November 29, 1945, the Constituent Assembly adopted a declaration providing for the final abolition of the monarchy, and it proclaimed the creation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY).

The constitution of the FPRY, which went into effect on January 31, 1946, confirmed the socioeconomic and political changes that had taken place in the country. The constitution guaranteed equal rights to the various peoples of Yugoslavia and to the constituent republics on the basis of a federal state system. Property ownership by the people as a whole was recognized as the leading principle. The constitution affirmed the principle underlying the agrarian reform law enacted in August 1945, namely, that "the land belongs to those who work it." By abolishing large landlord estates and distributing land among the landless peasants, the reform dealt a blow to capitalist elements in the rural areas.

As early as March 1945 a virtual monopoly of foreign trade was introduced, and in August foreign concessions for mineral extraction were abolished. Foreign capital, which had controlled more than half of Yugoslavia's industry, lost its grip on the country. In December 1946 a law was enacted nationalizing large industry, although the private sector in industry was not abolished completely until the adoption of a second law on nationalization in April 1948. With the nationalization of industry, the basic means of production became the property of all the people.

The nationalization of transport, banks, and wholesale trade undermined the bourgeoisie's economic base, resulting in the expropriation of the exploiter class. The state sector now occupied the key positions in the national economy, and the way was open for building socialism in Yugoslavia. The objectives of the first five-year plan (1947-1951) were to eliminate the country's technical and economic

backwardness through socialist industrialization, to strengthen the country's economic and defense capability, to consolidate and develop the socialist sector in the economy, and to raise the workers' living standard.

The Second Plenum of the party Central Committee (January 1949) adopted a resolution to broaden the socialist sector in rural areas and to organize peasant labor cooperatives "at an accelerated pace." From 1950 emphasis was placed on the development of general agricultural cooperatives, chiefly of the supply-sale type. After the March 1953 resolution to retain only profitable labor cooperatives, their number decreased from 6,806 in 1951 to 561 in 1956, while the percentage of arable land belonging to them dropped accordingly from 20 percent to 2 percent.

By 1977 the socialist sector accounted for 84 percent of the gross social product and the private sector for 16 percent. The social sector employed 5.16 million persons in 1977 and social production grew at an average annual rate of 5.8. The country's compulsory health insurance program covered 95 percent of the population. Most public health services were funded by contributions from insured persons and industrial enterprises.

Among the country's labor and other organization was the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, which was established in 1945 and united 15 branch trade unions with a membership of about 4.5 million. The Youth League of Yugoslavia, founded in 1948, had a membership of 3.5 million. The League of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War, founded in 1946, had about 1 million members. The Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence, and Equal Rights of Peoples was founded in 1949.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>See IUrii (Yuri) Stepanovich Girenko, "Yugoslavia," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*.



## **Appendix 9**

### **Cominform (Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties)**

**Cominform.** In October 1947 at a conference in Poland the Cominform (Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties) was established by communist parties from across Europe. The nine members were USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland (Polish Workers' Party), Romania, Yugoslavia and the French and Italian Communist Parties.

Jacques Duclos, the French delegate to the first Cominform conference stated that Communist parties not represented at the conference were free to coordinate particular actions with the Cominform or request admission to it. (*New York Herald Tribune*, October 28, 1947). The Albanian Communist Party had not taken part in the conference but later said it would apply for membership (*New York Times*, October 27, 1947, p. 11). The Communist Party of the United States stated that it had decided against affiliation because such action would provoke repressive measures by the government" (*Washington Post*, November 3, 1947).<sup>1</sup> Neither East Germany nor Greece were members.

The purpose of the Cominform was in part to help its parties give a unified answer concerning participating in the Marshall Plan that had started in July 1947. It was not intended to be a replacement of the Comintern and did not have subordinates or power. It limited itself to its newspaper, *For Lasting Peace, for People's Democracy!*, which was published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Rumanian, Japanese, Arabic, Italian, Chinese, Polish, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Albanian, Swedish, Dutch, and Korean.<sup>2</sup> In short, it had one goal: "to organize an exchange of experience, and where necessary to coordinate the activity of the Communist parties, on the basis of mutual agreement."

Among the Cominform's activities was protecting communist interests and repelling the expansion of anti-communism in the aftermath of World War II and the subsequent Cold War, which divided the world into imperialist and anti-imperialist factions. The job of the French and Italian communist parties was to

---

<sup>1</sup>See Bernard S. Morris, "The Cominform: A Five-Year Perspective," *World Politics* (April, 1953), vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 368-376, at p. 370; and Anonymous, "Cominform," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>2</sup>Communist Information Bureau, *For a lasting peace, for a people's democracy* (Belgrade: 1947-1956) LCCN 52027474, weekly, no. 1 (November 10, 1947)-no. 389 (April 17, 1956).

protect their workers against the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine in Western Europe.

As noted in Chapter 11, Yugoslavia was expelled in June 1949 from the Cominform by its members. This was tied in part to its foreign policy. The Cominform was opposed to Yugoslav's military provocations, as they did not want to face the West in open war so soon after the losses of World War II. The faction in the Yugoslav Communist Party (KPJ), led by Vlado Dapčević (1917-2001) and Dragoljub Mićunović (b. 1930), who wanted to follow the Cominform line, were expelled.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the KPJ's foreign policy towards the USSR, which was described as being conducted in the same way it treats "bourgeois states," other reasons for the expulsion were that the KPJ's domestic policy had diverted from Marxism-Leninism and that nationalism has infiltrated the senior ranks of the Party and subsequently impacted policy.<sup>4</sup>

Winston Churchill in his 1953 biography, *Triumph and Tragedy*, maintained that Stalin had made an informal "Percentages Agreement" during the Fourth Moscow Conference in October 1944. The agreement supposedly divided the Eastern European countries into spheres of influence.

According to the Soviet diplomatic historian Igor Zemskov the Soviet record of the Churchill-Stalin meeting of October 9, 1944, states, "Churchill announced that he had prepared a rather dirty, crude [grubyi] document that showed the distribution of Soviet and British influence in Rumania, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. The table was drawn up by him to show what the British think about the question." Dividing southeastern Europe into spheres of influence was, according to this Soviet historian, an obsession of Churchill and the British government. Churchill actually made the proposal. But Churchill's assertion that Stalin had given his assent was belied by the absence of a copy of Churchill's table in the Soviet record. Nor did Churchill and Stalin in their subsequent meetings ever again allude to the alleged deal. In short, the Soviets claim that Stalin treated the proposal as unworthy of his notice.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup>See the Anonymous *Wikipedia* on Vlado Dapčević and Dragoljub Mićunović.

<sup>4</sup>Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, "Communiqué," (June 28, 1948), in Stephen Clissold (ed.), *Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, 1939-1973: a documentary survey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), LCCN 75331958, 318 pp. at pp.202, 207; Matt Evans, *Why Was Yugoslavia Expelled from Cominform?* (Norwich, England: E-International Relations, University of East Anglia, 2016), online at [https://www.e-ir.info/2016/07/24/why-was-yugoslavia-expelled-from-cominform/#\\_ftn4](https://www.e-ir.info/2016/07/24/why-was-yugoslavia-expelled-from-cominform/#_ftn4); and Anonymous, "Cominform," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>5</sup>Igor Zemskov, "O tak nazyvaemom 'razdele' Iugoslavii na 'sfery vliianii'" [On the so-called division of Yugoslavia into spheres of influence],

From the Soviet view “spheres of influence” meant bourgeois colonialism, and enslavement of the working class - a continuation of Nazism. The Soviets had overthrown Nazism. Likewise, historian Gabriel Kolko writes:

The very next day [after their meeting] Churchill sent Stalin a draft of the discussion, and the Russian carefully struck out phrases implying the creation of spheres of influence, a fact Churchill excluded from his memoirs.<sup>6</sup>

---

*Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn* [International Affairs] (Moscow: 1958), LCCN 59021812, no. 8, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup>Gabriel Kolko, *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943–1945* (New York: Pantheon, 1968), p. 145. See also, Geoffrey Roberts, *Stalin's Wars: From World War to Cold War, 1939-1953* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 218; Albert Resis, “The Churchill-Stalin Secret ‘Percentages’ Agreement on the Balkans, Moscow, October 1944,” *The American Historical Review* (April, 1978), vol. 83, no. 2, pp. 368-387, at p. 369; and Anonymous, “Percentages Agreement” *Wikipedia*.



**Figure 15: Fr. Boulier speaking before the Congress of Intellectuals in Defense of Peace at Wroclaw, Poland, August 26, 1948.**



**Figure 16: Fr. Boulier's audience at the 1948 Congress.** There were 391 delegates from 46 countries. This included 32 from the US, who heard Fr. Boulier's address. (Polish Press Agency, PAP)

**Appendix 10**  
**Declaration of Warsaw Conference of**  
**Foreign Ministers (Warsaw, 24 June 1948)<sup>1</sup>**

On June 7 there was published a communiqué on the conclusion of the London Conference of Three Powers - the United States, Great Britain and France - on the German question. The communiqué contains a summary of the decisions adopted at that secret conference on the principal political and economic questions concerning Germany, as well as on the change of Germany's Western frontiers, although the reports that appeared in the press indicate that the communiqué passes over in silence certain decisions adopted at the conference.

The London Conference was called in violation of the Potsdam Agreement, according to which questions concerning Germany are to be decided upon by the four Powers - the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and France - while examination of these questions is entrusted to the Foreign Ministers' Council composed of representatives of these Powers.

It is also impossible to overlook the fact that the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg) were also invited to take part in this separate Conference of Three Powers, although States bordering on Germany such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, as well as other directly interested countries, did not take part in it.

The convocation of the separate London Conference on the German question attests to the fact that the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France, who organized this Conference, set themselves the purpose of liquidating the Council of Foreign Ministers, established at the Potsdam Conference, as well as of liquidating the quadripartite control machinery in Germany set up still earlier upon agreement among the four Powers.

This violation of former agreements among the United States, the USSR, Great Britain and France on the German question, as well as the violation of undertakings concerning consultations with interested countries, is taking place before everybody's eyes and leads to disruption of the Potsdam Agreement on the

---

<sup>1</sup>A copy of the Anonymous, "Warsaw Communique of June 24, 1948" was printed in the journal *Soviet News* (London: Press Department of the Soviet Embassy in London, June 25, 1948), no. 1968, ISSN 0038-5603, OCLC 924527310 (Declaration of Warsaw conference of Foreign Ministers, p. 1-4). A digital copy is on the web page of Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe (University of Luxembourg) at [https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1997/10/13/d8d5d5c6-9325-43ec-8b5c-d61adf07070e/publishable\\_en.pdf](https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1997/10/13/d8d5d5c6-9325-43ec-8b5c-d61adf07070e/publishable_en.pdf).

demilitarization and democratization of Germany, an agreement aimed at preventing a repetition of German aggression in the future.

These violations of existing Agreements concerning Germany affect the vital interests not only of the four Powers occupying Germany and of States which suffered German aggression, but of all European countries striving to establish firm and lasting peace in Europe.

It is known that the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements set the aim of disarming Germany and abolishing her war industry, undermining the very foundations of German militarism and preventing Germany's resurgence as an aggressive Power, and thus converting Germany into a peace-loving and democratic State. Moreover, the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements provide for Germany's obligation to pay reparations and thereby, even though partially, to repair the damage to the countries which suffered from German aggression.

The decisions of the London Conference of Three Powers, with the participation of the Benelux countries, pursue different aims. These decisions cast aside the tasks of the demilitarization and democratization of Germany and the tasks of converting Germany into a peace-loving, democratic State, and completely pass over in silence Germany's reparations obligations.

The London decisions are not aimed at preventing the possibility of new German aggression but at converting the Western part of Germany, and primarily the heavy industry of the Ruhr, into an instrument for re-establishing Germany's war potential in order to utilize it for the military-strategic aims of the United States of America and Britain. Clearly such a plan cannot but create favorable conditions for a repetition of German aggression.

At the same time the decisions of the London Conference show the true meaning of the "Western Military Alliance" recently established by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg under the patronage of the United States of America.

Still more frankly than the "Western Military Alliance," which comprises the above five States, the London Conference, in which the United States of America also took part, did not set itself the purpose of preventing a new German aggression, but had totally different aims. Acknowledging that it is impossible to draw the whole of Germany into the military-strategic plans of the United States and Great Britain, the London Conference strives to use the Western zones of Germany as a base for these plans, tearing these zones away from the rest of Germany.

\* \* \*

1. The decisions of the London Conference are directed toward the consummation of the splitting and dismemberment of Germany.

Having renounced even verbal recognition of Germany's political and economic unity, announced previously by the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France, the London Conference prepared the establishment of a Government for the Western part of Germany detached from the rest of Germany by the separate actions of the above Powers.

For this purpose there was envisaged the convocation of a specially picked Constituent Assembly composed of representatives of the Laender of the British, American and French occupation zones, which had to secure the formation of a puppet Government for the Western part of Germany comprised of such German elements as suit the occupation authorities in the Western zones and are bound by close ties with the American and British capitalist monopolies, but are not connected with the German people and treat inimically its democratic aspirations.<sup>2</sup>

This means that the United States, Great Britain and France concluded a deal with a view to effecting the political and economic splitting and dismemberment of Germany and to creating such a separate Government in the Western zones as must oppose the legitimate demands of the German people for Germany's unity and democratization.

In addition to the above-mentioned measures for effecting the political splitting and dismemberment of Germany, the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France are now also carrying out new measures for the economic splitting and dismemberment of Germany.

Directly following the termination of the London Conference, the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France began carrying out the separate currency reform for the Western zones of Germany announced on June 18, despite the fact that the above-mentioned communiqué passed over in silence the decisions of the London Conference on this subject.

The separate currency reform in the Western zones of Germany was effected contrary to the obvious necessity of a single currency reform for the whole of Germany to be carried out upon agreement among the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and France, as had been proposed by the Soviet Government. Instead of the single currency system with a single mark for the whole of Germany which existed until now, as had been established by agreement of the four Powers, the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France separately carried out a currency reform and introduced a special mark for the Western part of Germany.

This erects an economic barrier between the Western part of Germany and the rest of Germany and creates numerous new difficulties in the way of the elimination of economic dislocation and of the economic rehabilitation Germany.

The entire currency reform in the Western zones of Germany is being carried out with a view to securing advantages to big property owners, and primarily to those German monopolies which maintain close connections with the American and British capitalist monopolies, and this creates the menace of a growth of unemployment and a deterioration of the material conditions of the working people in Western Germany, and will lead to fresh difficulties in economic relations with other countries.

---

<sup>2</sup>A laender is the name for the (federal) states in Germany. There are 16 of them and their retain a measure of sovereignty. See Anonymous, "Laender," *Wikipedia*.

Such are the inevitable consequences of the London Conference, the decisions of which lead to the consummation of the political and economic splitting and dismemberment of Germany.

\* \* \*

2. The policy of splitting and dismembering Germany thwarts the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, without which it is impossible to put an end to the drawn-out state of war and to the occupation regime in Europe.

It is no accident that the communiqué of the London Conference does not contain a single word about the peace treaty with Germany and does not as much as touch on the question of the preparation of the peace treaty.

The decisions of the London Conference of the United States, Great Britain and France, with the participation of the Benelux countries, confirm that the Governments of these Powers and German circles closely connected with them are not interested in the early conclusion of a German peace treaty or in the early withdrawal of the occupation troops from Germany. Instead of a peace settlement for the whole of Germany, the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France prepared the introduction of a so-called occupation statute in the Western zones of Germany, at which the London communiqué hints in deliberately nebulous terms.

Whereas the interests of all peace-loving peoples demand the early conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, which must abolish the occupation regime in Germany and fully restore to the German people conditions of peaceful and democratic development, the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France do not want to permit the early conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and strive to impose upon Germany's Western zones their "occupation statute" in order arbitrarily to prolong the occupation of Germany, loading the German population with the burden of occupation expenditures for many years to come.

This policy of the American, British and French authorities, which leads to the enslavement of the German population and to the delaying of the peace settlement in Europe, is incompatible with the tasks of Germany's transformation into a peace-loving and democratic State, as well as being incompatible with the striving of the peoples for the earliest establishment of a democratic peace in Europe.

\* \* \*

3. The decisions concerning the State structure in the Western zones of Germany are imbued with an anti-democratic spirit.

All preparations for the convocation of a so-called Constituent Assembly and for creating a German constitution have been placed in the hands of the three Military Governors and the Prime Ministers of the Leander of the Western occupation zones of Germany. The democratic parties, trade unions and other democratic organizations representing the interests of the German people have been completely removed from this work. The interests of the peace and security

of the peoples of Europe call for the elimination of the Hitlerite centralisation of the State administration in Germany, which destroyed the Landtags and autonomous administration of the Laender, and for the restoration of the decentralised administration which existed prior to the Hitler regime and for the re-establishment of the Landtags and of two Chambers for the whole of Germany.<sup>3</sup>

This will ensure Germany's unity and the transformation of the German State on a peaceful and democratic basis, on condition that the democratic organisations will be accorded the possibility of free activities.

The decisions of the London Conference take an entirely different direction. On the pretext of preventing the restoration of a centralised Reich, the London Conference tries to push Germany back and to impose on the German people a federalist State in which the principal authority is vested in the separate Laender, while the central Government administration is confined to functions of secondary importance, despite the fact that this is in contradiction with the modern development of democratic States.

This Anglo-Franco-American plan is aimed at dismembering Germany, which entails the destruction of an independent German State. Implementation of this plan for the federalisation (dismemberment) of Germany places the idea of Germany's unity in the hands of German chauvinists and revanchists who strive to restore Germany as a militarist country dominating other peoples.

As a result of this, the idea of revanche will rear its head; chauvinism, for which there exists favourable ground in Germany, will gain strength, and conditions will arise for the emergence of new Bismarcks, or even new Hitlers.

If the German people's aspiration for a united Germany again becomes a tool in the hands of German chauvinists and militarists, who have already received many encouragements from the occupation authorities in the Western zones of Germany, this will inevitably lead to a repetition of German aggression, with the gravest consequences for the peoples of Europe, including the German people, which compels the peace-loving peoples to intensify measures of struggle against the fomenters of a new war.

\* \* \*

4. The policy which is being pursued by the occupying Powers in the Western zones of Germany encourages German revisionist elements.

These elements are conducting a campaign against the agreements adopted at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences with regard to the democratisation and demilitarisation of Germany, her obligations to repair the damage caused by German aggression, and against the well-known decisions on the transfer of German population, and attempts are being made to exploit this population for a purpose hostile to neighboring States.

---

<sup>3</sup>A Landtag (State Diet) is the legislative assembly or parliament in a federated state of Germany. See Anonymous, "Landtag," *Wikipedia*.

The campaign of the German revisionist elements is especially directed against the Polish-German frontier along the Oder and the Western Neisse, which is an immovable frontier — a frontier of peace.

The London Conference passes by the question of the revisionist campaign, thus encouraging the aggressive tendencies of German reactionary circles. In these conditions measures against all revisionist activity form one of the most important conditions for the consolidation of peace and the security of the peoples of Europe.

\* \* \*

5. The decisions of the London Conference of Three Powers subordinate the economy of Western Germany to the aims of the United States of America and Britain, rendering it dependent on the implementation of the so-called Marshall plan in Europe.

This means that industry and other economic branches in Western Germany will be put in the fetters of the plans of the American, as well as of the British, capitalist monopolies which are striving to subjugate the entire economic life of the Western zones of Germany and are by no means interested in the genuine rehabilitation and progress of the German peace industry, which they regard as their competitor.

This policy of expansion is aimed at increasing still more the dependence of countries connected with the Marshall plan upon the American and British monopolies. Far from contradicting the interests of other peoples, the rehabilitation and development of Germany's peace industry complies with the tasks of economic recovery in Europe.

The German people should be granted broad opportunities for restoring and developing peace, industry, agriculture and transportation, as well as foreign trade, since otherwise Germany cannot exist and discharge her reparations obligations toward the countries which suffered from German aggression.

Along with this, four-Power control must be preserved for a certain period in order to prevent the restoration of German war industry and German militarism.

The inclusion of the economy of the Western zones of Germany in the "Marshall plan" means that this part of Germany is to be included in the division of the whole of Europe into two camps which is being carried out under the "Marshall plan" - the camp of European States which adopted the "Marshall plan" and are for this reason subordinated to the control of the United States of America, on the one hand, and that of the European countries, among them the USSR and the people's democratic Republics, which do not agree to foreign intervention into their domestic affairs, on the other.

Thus the London Conference not only completes the implementation of the plan for splitting and dismembering Germany but at the same time, in accordance with the "Marshall plan," further deepens the division of the countries of Europe into camps opposing each other. Clearly this policy has nothing in common with the true interests of the peoples of Europe or with the economic rehabilitation of Europe.

There is no need to mention that the implementation of this policy of the United States, Great Britain and France places the economy of the Western zones of Germany in unbearable conditions of subordination to the expansionist plans of foreign capital, which does not in any degree consider the interests of democratic Germany.

\* \* \*

6. The London Conference passed a special decision on the Ruhr.

It has been decided to set up a special agency for controlling the distribution of Ruhr coal, coke and steel, composed of representatives of the Powers which took part in the London Conference, while the production of coal, coke and steel has been withdrawn from the control of this agency, which ensures the preservation of the domination of American and British financial and industrial monopolies over the Ruhr industry.

Thus, instead of transferring the Ruhr coal and metal trusts and cartels to the German people as its possession on which the Soviet Union as well as the other participants of this Conference insist, the Governments of the United States and Great Britain actually keep the Ruhr heavy industry in their own hands, without the participation of France and the USSR in the control of production, and without any influence whatever of the German democratic organisations.

This facilitates a deal between the American and British monopolies on the one hand, and the German coal and steel industry barons in the Ruhr on the other, which creates the possibility of re-establishing Germany's war potential and creating a seat of new German aggression.

It is not difficult to see that this policy is absolutely incompatible with the interests of peace, with the interests of the German people and the other peoples of Europe. Only the transfer of Ruhr heavy industry to the German people and the institution for a definite time of control over production and distribution of the output of Ruhr industry by the four Powers — the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and France — which jointly are able to ensure the development of Ruhr industry for peace purposes only, would create the possibility of solving the Ruhr problem in the interests of peace and the security of the peoples of Europe.

\* \* \*

7. All of the above shows that the London decisions constitute a gross violation of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements on the unity of Germany, on the demilitarisation, denazification and democratisation of Germany, on the destruction of Germany's war potential and the elimination of conditions which might facilitate new German aggression.

In view of this, the assertion of the London communique that the London decisions are bound to facilitate subsequent agreement of the four Powers on Germany must be considered utterly untenable. The untenable nature of this assertion is evident even from the fact that the London decisions utterly contradict the decisions taken previously at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences and thwart both the agreement on quadripartite control machinery for Germany and that on the

examination of the German question in the Council of Foreign Ministers with the participation of the four Powers.

Far from being able to facilitate agreement of the four Powers on Germany, the London separate Conference of Three Powers, with the participation of the Benelux countries, and the London separate decisions of those Powers undermine the confidence of the peoples in international agreements to which the United States and Great Britain are parties. It is not difficult to see that violation of international agreements cannot inspire confidence in those who violate these agreements.

In view of the above, we refuse to recognise the legal validity or any moral authority whatever of the decisions of the London Conference.

\* \* \*

8. In accordance with the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements on Germany, the Governments of the USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania and Hungary believe that the following problems should be settled in the first place, without any delay:—

(1) Implementation of the measures ensuring the final demilitarisation of Germany, by agreement among Great Britain, the USSR, France and the United States.

Institution for a definite time of control by the four Powers - Great Britain, the USSR, France and the United States - over Ruhr heavy industry with a view to developing peace branches of Ruhr industry and preventing the re-establishment of Germany's war potential.

(3) Establishment, by agreement among the Governments of Great Britain, the USSR, France and the United States, of a provisional democratic, peace-loving Government for the whole of Germany, composed of representatives of the democratic parties and organisations of Germany, for the purpose of creating a guarantee against a repetition of German aggression.

(4) Conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany in accordance with the Potsdam decisions, so that the occupation troops of all Powers should be withdrawn from Germany within one year after the conclusion of the peace treaty.

(5) Elaboration of measures for the fulfillment by Germany of her reparations obligations towards States which suffered from German aggression.

## **Appendix 11**

### **June Days Uprising**

#### **(June 23-26, 1848) and Archbishop Affre**

The Paris Archbishop Denis-Auguste Affre (1793-1848) was killed while helping to mediate during the “June Days” uprising which occurred June 23 to 26, 1848. The uprising was staged by the French workers against the National Assembly in response to plans to close the National Workshops, which had been created by the Second Republic in February 1848 in order to provide work and a source of income for the unemployed, albeit with pay just enough to survive.

The Workshops were established when a group of armed workers interrupted a session of the provisional government to demand "the organization of labor" and "the right to work". The provisional government under the influence Louis Blanc passed a decree guaranteeing government-funded jobs.

All went well while the number of the unemployed was less than 6,000, but as soon as that number was exceeded, the workmen of each *arrondissement* in Paris, after having visited all the open works in succession without result, returned to their mayor's offices discontented.

In June 1848, the Workshops were closed down. On June 23 1848, faced with starvation due to the shutdown, the workers began rioting and set up barricades in the streets of Paris. The crisis led to the government's handing dictatorial powers over the nation to General Louis Eugène Cavaignac, who was determined to use all force necessary to crush the rebellion and ordered the French National Guard into Paris.

Seeing the carnage caused among the civilian population by this campaign, Frederic Ozanam, the founder of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, begged Archbishop Affre to intervene to stop the bloodshed. The archbishop was led to believe that by his personal involvement peace might be restored between the military and the insurgents.

Accordingly, on June 25, 1848 in spite of the warning of Cavaignac, the archbishop mounted the barricade at the entrance to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, bearing a green branch as sign of peace, to address both sides. He had spoken only a few words when an exchange of fire began in which he was struck by a stray bullet. There have been conflicting claims as to whether the fatal bullet was fired by an insurgent or by the government forces. He was taken to his palace, where he died on June 27.

On the next day, the National Assembly of France issued a decree expressing its great sorrow over the bishop's death, and the public funeral held on July 7 was large, with the crowd following his cortege estimated at 200,000 people.

In addition to the archbishop, over 10,000 other people were either killed or injured, while 4,000 insurgents were deported to Algeria. This marked the end of the hopes of a "Democratic and Social Republic" and the victory of the liberals over the Radical Republicans.<sup>1</sup>

By way of background, the Archbishop had been ordained as a Catholic priest in 1818. He was elevated to the post of Archbishop of Paris in 1840. Though opposed to the liberal constitutional monarchical government of the Bourbon King, Louis-Philippe I (ruled 1830-1848), he accepted the establishment of the French Second Republic in 1848.

Nevertheless he took no part in politics, but devoted himself to pastoral care. He opened new parishes in the working-class neighborhoods of the city. Among them were Ménilmontant, Plaisance, Petit-Montrouge, Maison-Blanche, Petit-Gentilly, Notre-Dame de la Gare, Billancourt, Gros-Cailou. He also sought to improve the study of theology and opened a new seminary in Paris, called the St. Joseph of the Carmelites Seminary, on the site of a former Carmelite priory and he established a school of theology at the Sorbonne.<sup>2</sup>

Louis-Eugène Cavaignac (1802-1857) was a French general and politician. As a member of the military, he was sent in 1832 to Algeria, at the start of the French invasion. He started his political career following the French Revolution of 1848 and the establishment of the Second Republic, being elected member of the National Assembly, and soon became one of the leaders of the Moderate Republicans.

As Minister of War in the French provisional government, Cavaignac was tasked with putting down the June Days uprising. In the 1848 presidential election, he ran but lost to Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte. He continued to serve as a representative in the National Assembly until its dissolution by the president during the 1851 coup d'état. See Anonymous, "Louis-Eugène Cavaignac," *Wikipedia*.



**Figure 17: Bishop Affre**

Bp. Affre gave his life helping the Paresian worker-led "June Days" 1848 uprising against the closing of France's national workshops.

Fr. Boulrier commented that a Christian does not wait for the poor to be deprived before leaning on him with charity: he demands justice and social progress.

---

<sup>1</sup>See Anonymous, "June Days uprising," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>2</sup>See Anonymous, "Archbishop Denis-Auguste Affre," *Wikipedia*.

## **Appendix 12**

### **The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte**

*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, to which Fr. Boulier refers, is an essay by Karl Marx.<sup>1</sup> This note comments on its relevance. To begin with, Brumaire in French means the month of mist. It refers to the second month of the French revolutionary calendar, extending from Oct 23 to Nov 21. Napoleon Bonaparte seized power in revolutionary France on the 18 Brumaire Year VIII (November 9, 1799) in the French Republican Calendar...

Napoleon Bonaparte's 1799 coup overthrew the Directory and established a military dictatorship in France, first in the form of the Consulate and later the Empire (from 1804). The coup d'état of 18th Brumaire was organized by the big bourgeoisie to consolidate its rule. It was supported by the wealthy peasants, who saw in the military dictatorship a way of protecting their property from attacks by the poor peasants and by the feudal nobility. The toiling masses, who had not yet recovered from their defeats in the Germinal and Prairial uprisings in 1795 and from the failure of Gracchus Babeuf's plot (1797), could not actively oppose the dictatorship. The coup completed the process of the bourgeois counterrevolution, which had begun with Thermidor in 1794.

Some fifty years later on December 2, 1851 Louis Bonaparte staged another coup d'état in France in which he assumed dictatorial powers. Marx considered this coup a caricature of Napoleon Bonaparte's 1799 coup, hence the title of the book. In the opening lines is the observation that historical entities appear two times, "the first as tragedy, then as farce," referring respectively to Napoleon I and to his nephew Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III).<sup>2</sup>

Between December 1851 and March 1852 Marx wrote *The Eighteenth Brumaire*. In it he developed major propositions of historical materialism and the theory and tactics of a class struggle of the proletariat, based on the experience of

---

<sup>1</sup>See Karl Marx, *The eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York: International Publishers, 1964), LCCN 63023036, 161 p. There are many editions of this book. The page citations in this note are to an online version, which pagination is different than the International Publishers edition mentioned above. For the online version see <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/18th-Brumaire.pdf>. See also, B. A. Krylov, "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, (3rd Edition (1970-1979), online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Eighteenth+Brumaire+of+Louis+Bonaparte>).

<sup>2</sup>Marx, *The eighteenth Brumaire*, p. 6 (chapter 1).

the class struggle in France during 1848-1851. In the preface to the essay, he stated that the purpose of it was to "demonstrate how the class struggle in France created circumstances and relationships that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity to play a hero's part."<sup>3</sup> The essay also contains Marx's formulation about the individual in history, "People make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past."<sup>4</sup>

*The Eighteenth Brumaire* presents a taxonomy of the mass of the bourgeoisie, which Marx says impounded the republic like its property, as consisting of: the large landowners, the aristocrats of finance and big industrialists, the high dignitaries of the army, the university, the church, the bar, the academy, and the press.

Marx also shows more criticism of the proletariat than is typical of his other works, referring to the bureaucracy as a "giant parasitic body" and describing widespread perceptions of the proletariat as a "party of anarchy, socialism, and communism," a party paradoxically established on precepts of an oppositional "party of order."<sup>5</sup>

In *The Eighteenth Brumaire* Marx continued an examination of the history of the Revolution of 1848 in France, which he had begun in his preceding work, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. He presented a precise periodization of the history of the revolution and analyzed all sudden reversals in political life in France during the revolutionary years from the point of view of the final outcome—the Bonapartist coup d'état.

Marx viewed the Bonapartist coup d'état as a consequence of a sharp intensification of class antagonisms in bourgeois society and an increasingly counterrevolutionary attitude of the bourgeoisie. Fearing the proletariat, the bourgeoisie renounced so immediate a form of its own rule as a bourgeois republic and, in order to save the exploitative system, handed power over to a reactionary clique of adventurers.

Showing that Bonapartism is a dictatorship of the most counterrevolutionary elements of the bourgeoisie, Marx revealed its distinctive features: a policy of maneuver between different classes, an apparent independence of state authority, and a crude demagoguery that covered up the defense of the interests of the exploiting elite and that was combined with political terror. According to Marx, other features of Bonapartism were the omnipotence of the military, venality and corruption, and the use of the criminal world, blackmail, bribery, and other corrupt methods. Analyzing only the first few months of the Bonapartist regime, Marx revealed its inherent inner contradictions and predicted the inevitability of its collapse.

---

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 2 (preface to the second edition, 1869).

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 5 (chapter 1).

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 9 (chapter 1).

Marx devoted much attention to the conditions of the most numerous class in French society at that time, the peasantry, and he analyzed the reasons why the peasants voted for Louis Bonaparte. He showed the dual social nature of the peasants, emphasizing that in addition to the conservative aspirations that Bonaparte could temporarily take advantage of, the peasants also showed revolutionary tendencies and a desire to break out of the traditional conditions of their existence. The peasants were pushed over to Bonaparte by prejudices, but reason and the awareness of their interests would bring them eventually to united actions with the working class.

Marx wrote: "Therefore, the peasants find their natural ally and leader in the urban proletariat, which is called upon to tear down the bourgeois order."<sup>6</sup> Marx further emphasized that in the peasant "the proletarian revolution will find the chorus, without which its solo in all peasant countries will become a swan song" (*ibid.*, p. 607). This conclusion was a further elaboration of the idea of an alliance between the working class and peasantry under the leadership of the working class, which Marx had already formulated in the *Class Struggles in France* (1850).

Emphasizing that a revolution is a powerful accelerator of social processes, Marx showed in his work some essential differences between bourgeois and proletarian revolutions. While bourgeois revolutions are "transient and quickly reach their climax," proletarian revolutions are not short-lived explosions but lengthy periods of radical transformations. They are "constantly self-critical" and are characterized by a desire to reveal their mistakes fearlessly and correct them by an irrepressible drive to move forward.

Marx's proposition on the relationship of the proletarian revolution to the bourgeois state has immense theoretical importance. In this work Marx - on the basis of the experience of the revolutions of 1848-1849 - formulated for the first time the conclusion that the victorious proletariat must smash the old state machine. Examining the emergence and development of the military and bureaucratic state apparatus on the basis of France, Marx showed that "all coups d'état have refined this machine instead of smashing it."<sup>7</sup> V. I. Lenin pointed out that "this conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in Marxist teaching about the state."<sup>8</sup>

In *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx also substantiated several other propositions of historical materialism, including those on the relations between the base and superstructure and between the ideological and political representatives of a particular class and the class itself, as well as propositions on the role of the political party and the individual in history.

---

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 64. (chapter 7).

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 4 (preface to third edition, 1885).

<sup>8</sup>Vladimir Lenin, "*The State and Revolution* (1. The Eve of Revolution), on line at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/staterev/ch02.htm>.



## **Appendix 13**

### **Post-World War II Peace Movement**

The note below is the summary of the post-World War peace movement that was published during the 1970s in the third edition of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*.<sup>1</sup>

The post-World War II Peace Movement is an international mass movement against war and militarism, whose members are willing to fight for a stable and indestructible peace, regardless of the differences in their nationality and political and religious beliefs. The peace movement arose in response to the profound changes in the international situation after World War II (1939–1945), when the forces of peace increased their activities, supported by the countries of the world socialist system, other peace-loving states, and the international working class and its vanguard - the Communist and workers' parties - as well as by the national liberation movement and the popular masses in all countries.

After World War II (between 1948 and 1949) local and national organizations to fight for the preservation and strengthening of peace were founded in a number of countries, including France, Italy, Poland, the USSR, and Japan. Among the international democratic public organizations that came out in defense of peace were the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The World Congress of Cultural Leaders in Defense of Peace, which was held in August 1948 in the city of Wroclaw, Poland, on the initiative of progressive French, Polish, and Soviet intellectuals, was the beginning of the unification of peace advocates on an international scale. The Wroclaw congress issued an appeal to cultural leaders in all countries to fight against the threat of war and to join organizations fighting for the preservation of peace. The congress established the International Communications Bureau of Cultural Leaders in Defense of Peace.

The First World Congress of the Partisans of Peace was held from April 20 to April 25, 1949, a few days after the Western powers signed the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty. Attended by more than 2,000 delegates from 72 countries, the congress was held simultaneously in Paris and Prague, because the French government refused to issue visas to a large number of delegates. The congress declared that the struggle for peace was becoming a common cause of all peoples. Pointing out that the threat of atomic war was a reality, the congress appealed to all peoples to be vigilant. In order to promote the further unification and coordination

---

<sup>1</sup>See B. S. Krylov, "Peace Movement," in *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 3rd Edition (1970-1979). © 2010 The Gale Group, Inc; online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Peace+movement>.

of the forces fighting against the threat of war, the congress founded the Permanent Committee of the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace, which is the governing body of the peace movement. Frederic Joliot-Curie was elected chairman of the Permanent Committee, which was replaced by the World Peace Council in November 1950. John D. Bernai was executive president of the World Peace Council from 1959 to 1965, and Isabella Blum was coordinating president from 1965 to 1969. The presidium has been the directing body of the council since 1959.

The World Peace Council unifies and coordinates the national peace committees' fight for peace (there are peace committees in more than 100 countries) and closely cooperates in organizing international peace campaigns with several international public organizations, including the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.

The peace movement has persistently defended principles that, if faithfully observed under contemporary conditions, could avert military conflicts between states, regardless of their social and political systems. These principles, which were reaffirmed at the 1966 session of the World Peace Council in Geneva, demand the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, cessation of the arms race, dismantling of military bases on other countries' territory, and universal simultaneous and controlled disarmament. The council also advocates an end to all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination, respect of the right of peoples to sovereignty and independence, respect of the territorial integrity of states, and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other peoples. The council favors the promotion of mutually advantageous trade and cultural relations based on friendship and mutual respect, peaceful coexistence of states with different political systems, and renunciation of the policy of force.

These general principles were worked out in the daily struggle against warmongers. In 1950 the peace movement organized a campaign for the signing of the Stockholm Appeal, which demanded the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons as weapons of intimidation and mass destruction of people, as well as the establishment of strict international controls over the observance of this decision. Furthermore, the appeal declared that the first government to use atomic weapons would commit a crime against mankind and should be considered a war criminal. Committees to collect signatures were established throughout the world in response to an appeal by the Permanent Committee of the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace. Millions of activists worked in these committees, and about 500 million signatures were collected throughout the world.

Taking into consideration the heightened danger of war stemming from the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949, the advocates of peace organized a campaign of mass action to create a collective security system, emphasizing the importance of strictly observing the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Because of the growth of revanchist, militaristic, and neo-Nazi forces in West Germany, the beginning of the armed aggression by the USA in Korea in 1950, and the intensification of militaristic propaganda in the USA and other imperialist countries, the Second World Congress of the Partisans of Peace (Warsaw, November 16 - 22, 1950) appealed to all countries to adopt laws to preserve peace and prohibit war propaganda. The appeal evoked a broad response, and the supreme legislative bodies of the socialist countries adopted laws based on the appeal in the 1950's. In particular, the Law on the Defense of Peace, which was adopted in the USSR on March 12, 1951, states that persons guilty of war propaganda will be tried as war criminals.

In February 1951 a session of the World Peace Council issued the Appeal to the Governments of the Five Great Powers (the USSR, the USA, the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain, and France), asking the powers to conclude a peace pact. More than 612 million people signed the appeal. The Congress of Peoples in Defense of Peace, meeting in Vienna in December 1952, evaluated the results of this campaign and demanded the immediate cessation of all military activity in Korea, Malaya, and wherever else it was going on, as well as the unconditional prohibition of bacteriological warfare and atomic weapons. Disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons, security, and the development of international cooperation were also discussed by the World Peace Assembly in Helsinki (June 22 - 29, 1955), the Stockholm Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation (July 16 - 22, 1958), the World Congress for Universal Disarmament and Peace (Moscow, July 9 - 14, 1962), the World Congress for Peace, National Independence, and Universal Disarmament (Helsinki, July 10 - 15, 1965), the World Peace Assembly (Berlin, June 21 - 24, 1969), the World Congress of Peace-loving Forces (Moscow, October 25 - 31, 1973), and several regional conferences.

The most important aspect of the peace movement's activity is its support of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the struggle against neocolonialism. Delegates to the World Congress in Helsinki pointed out that the chief task of the advocates of peace was to stop the aggression that the USA unleashed against Vietnam in 1964. The congress in Helsinki discussed a number of other problems, including the liberation of peoples suffering under colonial oppression, as well as questions related to apartheid, racism, and the protection of national sovereignty. The World Peace Council adopted many resolutions and conducted mass campaigns against US aggression in Vietnam and racism in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The council also organized campaigns advocating the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories that they had seized and the liberation of the peoples of colonies ruled by the Portuguese and other colonialists, as well as campaigns against the aggressive aspirations of revanchist circles of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). From 1970 to 1971 the World Peace Council supported prompt ratification of treaties between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic and the FRG. The council

also demanded the speedy convocation of an all-European conference on security and cooperation.

Demonstrating the resolve of the popular masses to curb the rise of aggression and avert war, members of the peace movement have responded to the appeal of their governing bodies and have conducted simultaneously in many countries a number of actions supported by various organizations that are not directly connected with the peace movement. For instance, the Week for Stopping US Aggression in Vietnam, which was held in October 1968, was a great success and was marked by mass demonstrations and meetings throughout the world. The advocates of peace have also staged weeks of solidarity with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, and they sponsor the International Day of Struggle for Disarmament and the Prohibition of Atomic Weapons, which is held every August in almost all countries.

Mass protests against the forces of aggression and war have become traditional in many countries. In Great Britain, for example, there are the annual Aldermaston protest marches against the US aggression in Vietnam and protest meetings on Trafalgar Square in London against the racist policy of the Republic of South Africa. Easter marches through many cities have been held in the FRG. Mass demonstrations by American students against the war in Vietnam were organized in the mid-1960's outside the framework of the peace movement.

Peace demonstrations are often timed to coincide with important events in a country's domestic politics. Thus, in the USA, demonstrations against the Vietnam war and the burning of draft cards by many young men took place simultaneously in New York and Washington, D.C., on January 20, 1969, the day of Richard Nixon's inauguration as president.

The peace movement faces the opposition of the forces of international reaction. The activity of peace organizations is illegal in several countries (for example, Brazil, Greece, and Spain), and prominent advocates of peace have been harassed and imprisoned.

The international Communist movement considers the struggle for peace its most important task. The programmatic documents of the Communist movement and the decisions of International Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties of 1957, 1960, and 1969 point out that the unity of all forces fighting for peace, regardless of their political affiliation, may create an insurmountable barrier on the warmongers' path.

## Appendix 14

### Fr. Boulier's Essay on Communism, Intrinsic Evil and Christianity

In Chapter 12, Fr. Boulier made several arguments against those who rejected communism on the grounds that it was "intrinsically evil." Toward the end of his life in his autobiography *I was a Red Priest*, he elaborated further on the subject. Below is an excerpt from the biography with the further arguments.<sup>1</sup>

Thus at Lodz [Poland] in 1946, as later in Berlin, I made sure that my position was the right one: unity of action within the distinction of ideologies. I have come to doubt it. It is not possible that unity of action does not generate unity of thought. Take holy water said Pascal, naturally it will make you believe and you will be stupid. Working together, we end up thinking together. Over the course of their two thousand years of existence, Christians have found themselves confronted with systems of thought from which faith has finally emerged, not without struggle but not without exchanges and fruitful borrowing: Gnosis, Platonism, Neo-Platonism, Stoicism, the Aristotelianism of Averroes, turned into Thomism, Cartesianism insinuating itself masked, *larvatus prodes* [I go around masked], [p. 227] of Descartes and then deserting Aristotle, clearly claiming to be Epicurean, Saint Thomas More, Erasmus, Gassendi, the liberalism of the nineteenth century proscribed by Archbishop Lefebvre, denounced as satanic by Joseph de Maistre and all the fundamentalists but magnificently rectified by Leo XIII and his great Encyclicals. And so why not Marxism? *Exhibit Karolum Christo militantem* [Karl (Marx) Christian militant]. Will Christians of the twenty-first century face Marxism other than to curse it?

Pius XI in the Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* rejected communism as "intrinsically perverse" and Pius XII excommunicated all adherents to the party. It excluded any collaboration with the Communists and on any ground. As Cardinal Ottaviani said to me, "How can you join the enemies of God?" For His Eminence, they were indeed "intrinsically perverse."

---

<sup>1</sup>Abbé Jean Boulier, *I was a Red Priest: Memories and Testimonials*, translated from the French with Annotations by Toby Terrar (Silver Spring, MD: CWP-Red Star Publishers, 2022). 312-314. The numbers in bold type correspond to the French edition of the biography. The annotations to the English edition have been omitted.

But Satan himself is not "intrinsically perverse"! All being as being is good. "One cannot think of nothingness," says Bergson. One can think evil only as a deprivation of being. The evil of the gazelle is the good of the lion that feeds on it, the evil of cancer that destroys a human is the good of the virus that infects the person. According to this metaphysics, authentically Thomist, nothing can be "intrinsically perverse." The moralists, it is true, seek to catalog among human actions that which would be "inherently perverse." They find only blasphemy.

Thus the only thing "intrinsically perverse" in communism is the denial of God. But Marxists, apart from a few rather narrow-minded sectarians, know that it cannot scientifically prove that God does not exist. In their explanation of the history of universal evolution they stick to the position of Laplace in his *System of the world*. To Napoleon, who had read the book and asked him why he had not mentioned God, Laplace replied: "Sire, I have done without this hypothesis." By this, Laplace no more than the Marxists professed atheism. And, moreover, does materialism when it is dialectical, like that of Karl Marx and not mechanical, like that of Holbach, exclude all openness to God? As a left-wing Hegelian, Marx by his materialism put Hegel back on his feet. But Lunacharsky and Gorky, to [p. 228] Lenin's great anger, thought of using the dialectic for what they called a reconstruction of God.

It was not until John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in terris* that necessary distinctions were introduced into the overly absolute condemnation of communism. *Pacem in terris* distinguishes in Marxism, without mentioning them, a certain number of affirmations which are radically opposed to the Christian faith. But the Encyclical explains that the Marxist movement is evolving and changing. Finally, the Christian cannot but adhere to the affirmations in conformity with the demands of the human and universal conscience taken up by communism.

Long before *Pacem in Terris*, Maurice Thorez had summed up both the opposition between ideologies and the possibility of collaboration between people in these words which I have quoted so often that they have become attributed to me: "We will never agree about the existence of Heaven, but we can agree so that the Earth will not be a Hell." This is the justification, in the most authentic loyalty of unity in action with the communists.

If the earth is a Hell, whose fault is it? The organization of society and the inequality it creates in the distribution of profit: this is called the capitalist system.

Based on the law of anarchic competition for profit, what does this society amount to? "A small number of rich and opulent people press down almost to slavery the infinite multitude of workers." Whose lines are these? From Leo XIII himself in his Encyclical *Rerum novarum*. And,

further clarifying the denunciation of Leo XIII, here is what Pius XI said more than half a century ago:

[paragraph 105] We denounce not only the concentration of wealth, but also the accumulation of an enormous power, of a discretionary economic power in the hands of a small number of humans who, as a rule, are not the owners, but merely the custodians and managers of the capital which they administer as they please.

[paragraph 106] This power is especially considerable in the case of those who, as absolute masters of money, govern credit, and dispense it according to their own pleasure.

[paragraph 107] In this way, as it were, blood is distributed to the economic organism [p. 229] whose life they hold in their hands so that without their consent no one can breathe more ...

[paragraph 109] Free competition has destroyed itself; market freedom was followed by an economic dictatorship. The appetite for gain has given way to an unbridled ambition to dominate. The whole of economic life has become horribly hard, implacable, cruel. To all this must be added the serious damage which results from an unfortunate confusion between the functions, the duties of political order and those of an economic order, such, to name but one of extreme importance, the loss of Power. The State which should govern from above, as sovereign and supreme arbitrator, in all impartiality and in the sole interest of the common good and justice, has fallen to the rank of slave and has become the docile instrument of all the passions and of all the ambitions of interest. Thus from the same source come two different currents: on the one hand, nationalism and even economic imperialism, on the other, the international imperialism of money for which where there is profit there is homeland.

Who has ever remembered, who has ever taken to heart, who has seriously put into practice this teaching of the Popes? The communists. This power of which Pie XI speaks to us, so unjust and so formidable, if we are to deliver the world from it, what means have been proposed to us? "A Christian democracy?" "Revolution by the law?" Nobody can think of such things seriously. So, the dictatorship of the proletariat? Why not? It seems to me that all paths lead to communism, including possibly that one.

You maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat dear to the Stalinists, at the moment when Marchais abandons it, will they not be astonished? It should not be forgotten that every step by the communists is dialectical, and that to any affirmation or synthesis one must expect to see the negation or antithesis follow. In universal becoming, it is a law that governs all Marxist thought. To deny today the dictatorship of the

proletariat today does not prevent us from affirming it the day when the ever-changing reality will have made it necessary.

But Stalinism is something else! I read everything that Solzhenitsyn wrote and I was terrified. In my conviction that communism will be the future of the human species, a frightening doubt [p. 230] arose: what is the point of changing society if you do not change humans, if you abandon them to their native ferocity? I heard Duclos disavow on the radio "the faults" of Stalin. I shouted at my receiver: "Say rather the crimes!" It must be admitted that Marchais did not hesitate to speak of Stalin's "crimes." He was right.

Of course, I remain grateful to Stalin, despite his crimes, for helping deliver Europe from Hitler's tyranny. But how can we forget the political regime which without trial rushed millions of convicts into a hell more abominable, in some respects than that of the shameful death camps of Nazism? Lenin would raise up in his tomb, he who, before dying, tried to warn his party against Stalin's brutalities! I remember in my mind the good smile of one or another of my communist friends. I cannot believe that such an abject regime could ever be established in France!

Some people will make fun of or even be indignant at my confidence: "The communists are 'Godless,' they will tell me; deprived of principle, one has the right to suspect them of many crimes...." I will answer then: "Now you are speaking like Simone de Beauvoir. She proposed to the students of her class as the first subject of their dissertation this saying of Dostoevsky "If God does not exist all is allowed". In this small circle of students who had chosen me as chaplain, copies circulated; I took note of it and was indignant at it: "So, young women, let's suppose that God does not exist (which was what they were trying to persuade them!), would you not have a conscious left? Eh! yes deep inside you this voice which dictates your duty, that light which can guide you to heroism? How many atheists on this point teach well the Christians!"

"What do I want?" wonders Romain Rolland, "I want the victory of the laws that carry on the human race and I feel more than ever, that the laws triumph, despite everything by the arm of those who are or seem to us enemies." Throughout history, there are many "Godless" who have helped in the victory of "the laws that lead the human race." I found myself by chance in the midst of former students of the [p. 231] Sévigné college, a secular institution that does not count religious instruction in its school subjects. These charming grandmothers, whose hair is carefully kept from turning white, were evoking with delight their college years. They recalled the memory of one of their supervisors, a comical and stubborn Englishman who, for any reprimand, would apostrophize them twenty times a day with her priceless accent from across the Channel: "Miss X ... really! ... No conscience, no honor!" They laughed, but in the

end the slogan penetrated into these young heads, was embedded in their hearts. I guessed that all their lives these women had tried to obey their conscience, and followed the path of honor. More than one, however, claimed to be agnostic.

Let us return to Marxism. It is first of all *praxis*, that is to say, scientifically founded action, let us say reason, not pure empiricism. This action is materialistic, neither more nor less than science. It proposes to follow the universal evolution of matter and life, to obey it, but in order to dominate it and give it more human meaning. Humanity has been torn apart for millennia by the class struggle; as a consequence, a class-free society must finally be constituted... This *praxis* is therefore a political action, governed by politics, which takes on a dignity by which it rises to the supreme law of human action. What is politics? "It's the art of making life easier and people happy." Who said this? Bossuet in his *Politics derived from Sacred Scripture*. But for Bossuet above the most beneficial policy, there is conscience. Human happiness cannot justify the use of any means whatever, otherwise we find Machiavelli's *The Prince*.

But it must not be forgotten that if *praxis* is to lead humans to take the step of "from each according to their work to each according to their needs," it makes peoples change who have not known democracy. They were used to despotism and misery. They accept without surprise that the Party decides for them a development plan. But it decides it without them and it is difficult to recognize such a regime as a democracy. It is said that this democracy is popular. Yes, because it is decided for the people, but it is not decided by the people.**[p. 232]**

One day, it will be. But when? By what stages and in what forms? How to avoid or how to get out of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Who governs? Who holds power in the communist state? The Party supported by the masses or the inertia of the masses. It is therefore a dynamic minority that governs and not a democracy, at least as we understand it. But in our country, under the mask of democracy, it is the bourgeoisie which is in power and it is also a minority. Of this democracy, Churchill jokingly said, "It's the worst thing, but nothing better has been found. Is the dictatorship of the proletariat worse? Is it not better? When one travels in a socialist country, one only has to look around to see that the standard of living is, in short, equivalent to that of the capitalist countries. As the Hungarian Minister of Agriculture told me - he was not a communist - "When you go to a socialist country, watch the feet of passers-by." I did it and did not notice anyone with those water-catching shoes-that you meet so frequently elsewhere.

As I visited, one day a village north of Berlin at the door of a municipal barn - a huge barn with ultra-modern installations - I entered conversation with an old dairy farmer. By way of starting, after congratulating him on his installation, I said to him: "It's all well and

good, but you're not free." – "Not free! he exclaimed. It was before that I was not free. I was working endless days. Now I work only eight hours; I have television, my house is brand new; my rent does not cost me much. I have two sons who study at the University. And you say that I am not free!"

He was a German. For a Frenchman freedom does not have quite the same meaning. How can we doubt - so many witnesses tell us! - that freedom, as we conceive it, is lacking in the USSR? No freedom for the artist; no freedom for the worker; *à fortiori* for the thinker! Thought itself would be enslaved. Finally, let us admit that freedom - at least under the Stalinist regime - could have been reduced to the horrors of a concentration camp universe!

All this is true, but I find it somewhat unfair [p. 233] to insist too much on some sinister aspect of a revolution without ever considering the ideal to which it refers and to which it advances resolutely. It is that of 1789. This ideal supposes the replacement of the scarcity of products by abundance. Socialism creates abundance and abundance creates socialism. But how can one not see that the destructions of the last two wars - to speak only of Russia - has pushed far back the prospects of this abundance? Let us note, however, that communist China has suffered several famines; everyone has gone hungry, but no one starved to death. In the past, during these plagues, the Chinese fell by the millions: a real massacre. It is clear that the general and free satisfaction of needs presupposes abundance. It is far from being reached, but we are walking towards it. It is not a mirage.

To sum up, I would not be unhappy to live in a communist country, but I think I would be bored for a long time. When everyone thinks the same thing, no one thinks much. Freedom for what? Lenin questioned. But precisely to be free! I know that some priests, followed by a few Christians have taken the Party card; I remember that the Jocists, at their last gathering, sang the *International*. It seems to me that there is some confusion in all this! We must respect the necessary distinctions. Can one harmonize Marx's thought with Christian thought? Under what conditions can Christians call themselves Marxist? I approve of participating in the unity of action to achieve the common program of the Left, but Marxist praxis goes much further than this opportunism.

"Hitherto," said Marx, "philosophers have interpreted the world; the point is to change it." This is the final destination of praxis. But in a transformed world the interpretation of this world is also changing. What will become then of the Christian interpretation of the world? Will it be necessary to transform it too? There will remain faith, we are told. But what faith and to what dogmas? So the problem posed by Marxist praxis is not simple and it would be an illusion to think that it is solved when one has taken the Party card. Praxis has an effect on the very act of thinking.

This thought declares itself materialist. [p. 234] How would it be still Christian? Let's try to go beyond this antithesis.

A scarecrow is made of materialism. But it should not be forgotten that this doctrine has among its followers the greatest names of antiquity: Epicurus and Lucretius, Julius Caesar, Virgil and Horace. In modern times, Saint Thomas More and his friend Erasmus are Epicureans. In the seventeenth century Gassendi was also one with his disciples: Molière, La Fontaine, Bernier, all of them anti-Cartesian and anti-scholasticists. In the nineteenth century, Christian philosophy abandoned St. Thomas Aquinas, OP, as too materialistic. And, indeed, St. Thomas assures, after Aristotle: "The mind contains nothing which has not first passed through the senses." He rejects innate ideas.

Marxist materialism is original in two aspects: it is dialectical and it is historical. It burrows and deepens the meaning of history and, from the contradictions that spring from the bosom of matter, it generates movement.

For the Marxist dialectic, everything proceeds from matter, including life, including intelligence. Marxism gives it as matter in motion. This is for it the total reality, the whole of phenomena, infinite, eternal, in space and time. This movement of matter is governed by necessity, but also by partial ends and finally by chance. For example, a series of causes in the expansion of life made the sexes appear; the sexes are arranged one for another by an objective finality and finally the sex of an individual is combined with that of another; it can be a meeting of chance. Not everything is necessary in nature; but also not all is ordered to an end; it is not all the result of chance. Laws appear, but they are opposed and give rise to contradictions. The thesis is opposed to the antithesis, their unity is resolved in a synthesis which, in turn, will encounter an antithesis. In this way all of reality in motion, far from being purely mechanical, becomes dialectical.

When I was reading Plekhanov and his lessons on the History of Art, I had not yet read Engels and his *Dialectic of Nature*. But I cried out on many pages: "But it's Thomism!" And indeed St. Thomas does not hesitate to declare that there is nothing in the intelligence which has not first passed through [p. 235] the senses and even more the senses are fine and porous the more the intelligence is unbound.

Over a million years ago, a species of hominids rose to intelligence, to the universal. This unexpected phenomenon is confirmed by the tools they left us. Engels attributes this development to articulate language and collective work. And, indeed, children brought up among wolves, know neither upright posture nor language; they are rebellious to an education which would introduce them into human society. Nowadays, developmental delays have been observed in children whose mothers work. Deprived too early of the tasks and games they share with the

mother, left isolated and silent in a corner, they are retarded for life, if not neurotics. For Saint Thomas, this is not surprising. Between his Christian philosophy and dialectical materialism, should not it be possible to establish more than one bridge?

The passage is easier if it concerns historical materialism. It is ideas that run the world, I first thought. When in 1924 I read the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* I understood how much I was wrong. For an idea to become a force, it must take hold of the masses, but it only seduces the masses and lifts them up when it corresponds to their most vivid and deepest needs. So the revolution is born out of the class conflict.

The bourgeoisie ended up triumphing over the feudal nobility. It took centuries and its reign is not over. As a revolutionary class, the bourgeoisie has not hesitated to engage in the struggle: Louis XI, Louis XIV, Louis XV were bourgeois kings. The French Revolution, under the guise of proclaiming universal human rights, enshrined the rights of the bourgeois. "*Their Westminster*," said Lenin in front of the British Parliament. And in France, bourgeois power continued to be exercised under Napoleon, under Louis Philippe, under Napoleon III, under M. Thiers, and finally under Pétain and de Gaulle. Behind these facades that appear and which are still triumphant, the class of those who have only their labor on which to live builds in the struggle another world, a world without classes.

The outcome of this struggle is still undecided. But the Marxist idea has already triumphed in a fifth of the emerging countries. [p. 236]

People swarm there like schools of herring and these people suffer from hunger. Their cries, their outstretched fists, their weapons guarantee their victory. And already they have the atomic bomb. But time has not yet struck their hour on its thousand-year-old clock. However, is this tide not materialist? Does it not merge with the human mass? Does one think, by whipping the sea, to stop the rising tide?

Thus historical materialism adds a dimension to history. History finally takes on its meaning. It is no longer "a tale told by an idiot, full of noise and fury" It is possible to compose an account based on universal history....

Where is history going? In what direction does it flow and towards which ocean? The person who thinks of history as an evolution, a march towards the unity of the cosmos, necessarily looks for a Thinker as a support for this thought, the Thought about the thought. One day Gorky and Lunacharsky, in their exile of Capri, proposed the reconstruction of God as the end of universal evolution. Materialism ended history in adoration. When he read this article, Lenin immediately took the night train to Naples and Capri, and it was weeks of passionate discussions cut by endless chess games. But Lenin in power gave the instruction: "Don't touch Gorky" and when it came to appointing a Minister of Education for

the new regime, in charge of organizing the entire system of schools and universities, Lenin chose Lunacharsky. Now, I was still able to meet in Lausanne with Pastor Ferrière universally recognized as the father of the New School. "I had Lunacharsky as a pupil, he said to me, and he was my best disciple." Adolphe Ferrière was what one might call a free Christian; he had met a free Marxist. I think they both agreed to be "God Reconstructors."

However, when Lenin, in the name of Marxism, refused to allow Lunacharsky and Gorky to "reconstruct God" from the principles of materialism, he was right. Marxist materialism, if it is to remain scientific, cannot extend beyond phenomena. Despite the grandiose perspectives that Teilhard de Chardin opens up to the material, proclaiming it "Christic," [p. 237] it is not by this act of a dogmatic faith that Marxism can escape from the world of phenomena. It cannot, it must not become a religion. The scientific study of phenomena does not extend that far. One must not try to sew the action of Providence to a discourse on universal history, according to Karl Marx. This is too frequent a confusion and if Christians opt for socialism they should carefully avoid it. In order not to mix the principles of Marxism with Christian dogma, it is sufficient to always bear in mind that Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide for action.

Historical materialism, the key to human history, is ultimately based on dialectical materialism, the key to the universal evolution of matter. The eternal movement of matter in infinite space is understood, according to Marx, following Hegel, by the identity of the contradictories and their resolution in successive syntheses in a reciprocal causality. We find Heraclitus who says: war is the father of all things and the struggle of the classes generates the movement that sets all humanity in motion. In what way is this movement, indeed, this universal war essential to life dialectical? In that every synthesis gives rise to its antithesis which in turn dissolves into a new synthesis, in struggle with the antithesis which aims to overcome it. In what way is this dialectical conception of matter in motion opposed to Christianity? I can't figure it out. We are not of a scientific system of the universe but rather like Laplace we are out of the hypothesis of God.

Does this mean that by this, Marxism logically requires atheism, the negation of God? I do not think so. "It was necessary for me to put science aside a little, said Kant, to make room for faith": not a dogmatic faith, but a rational faith. Which faith?

The totality of phenomena, conceived as a dynamic reality, has nothing objectively real; it cannot be justified by the experiments of science. Nature offers us an admirable spectacle, but science cannot make us aware of it in its totality. The totality of the cosmos is not an object of science. On the other hand, is the life of a human, its conscious and unconscious life a totality? It's an extrapolation [p. 238] to think of this

totality as an object, objectively real, passively obedient, deprived of responsibility, neither responsible nor free to the laws of its becoming. But if one sees a subject exercising its freedom and responding for its conduct, science gives us no answer on this, neither does Marxism, if it remains scientific.

No more on the principle of the unity of humans and the universe, on the nature and existence of God, of the One, and on the dignity and meaning of life.

We necessarily believe in these three postulates, but it is an act of faith that affirms them. Marxism is silent about their reality and yet for how many Marxists they exist! They are necessary postulates, as Kant calls them, but their objective reality escapes us. Reason leads us to them, but it is an act of rational faith that leads us there and enables us to affirm them.

So the cosmos does not scatter in rocks, some cooled and others still in fusion: piles of rocks in short. The human soul is not the forever guilt-free theater of a "polymorphic pervert" that an absurd censorship delivers to complexities that it overcomes no matter what. Humans, by an act of faith founded on reason, bow before the majesty of duty, and finally incline toward the beauty of nature and heroic virtue. God is called "Friend of humanity." His "philanthropy" enlightens us and reaches out to unite with us. The heart of humanity in the world is full of God.

It seems to me that dialectical materialism in the scientific order of phenomena can coexist with the affirmation of rational noumena or postulates through an act of faith. The faith, thus understood, does not contradict Marxism, does not even pretend to complete it, respects its synthesis in the order of phenomena. Simply, it gravitates in another orbit, it opens another world to us: the world of the noumena. A noumenon can be thought, but it cannot be seen. Marxism does not pose itself mechanically as an object among other objects to which it might possibly be opposed. It is lived, it is experienced, it insinuates itself, it rises up, it recovers, it is a praxis and it is in the light of praxis that every Marxist makes their decisions and establishes their freedom. What is there **[p. 239]** contrary to Christianity? A good tree cannot bear bad fruit, nor can a bad bear good fruit. You will recognize them by their fruit.

On the other hand, if it is a question of dogmatic faith, the confrontation with Marxism changes in nature. What is a dogma? It is the symbolic expression of a story. Christian dogmas tell us a story about the origins of the race, it is Holy History ... This story is recorded in the Bible: a mixture of more or less poetic myths and very real facts. This mixture is found in Greek and Roman history as well as in the origins of Christianity. Unfortunately, neither Catholic theologians nor Marxist historians are interested in applying the methods of historical criticism to this fascinating subject. And yet historical materialism would shed

unexpected lights on Galilee at the time of Christ, on commercial currents and the foundations of St. Paul. Why, for example, does he write in Greek to the Romans? Because the Christians of Rome at that time were mostly foreign merchants. Who knows what the excavations of Ostia will reveal to us about the first Christian sanctuaries? In all this historical field, the collaboration between Christians and Marxists goes without saying and leads to common conclusions. But obviously on dogmas strictly speaking they cannot but clash.

Thus, by respecting the necessary distinctions, by defining the respective domains, a Christian can avow to be a Marxist without compromising the key ideas of Karl Marx, while maintaining intact their faith as a Catholic Christian. At the end of my life, I do not regret any of the struggles I have waged side by side with my communist friends, but it also seems to me that by meditating on Marxist thought, I have acquired a view of universal evolution, which in no way contradicts the faith of my childhood and completes my theological reflection.

Marxism does not oppose a faith to the faith of the believer, but it is interested in believing groups, according to the expression they give to their faith. The believing groups give dogma by their cohesion a force to be reckoned with and it is no wonder the Marxists extend their hand to them to [p. 240] draw them into the same fight, not to share the same faith.

I took, I take my place in this combat. Far from seeing in it as a betrayal, an attenuation, or a dilution of my faith, as I am accused of, it is with the impetus of my faith, of my complete Catholic faith, that I engage in this battle, in the class struggle, to call it by name and that I wish it victory.

\*

\*\*

To whom to dedicate this long story which, like my long life, is coming to an end? To you, dear St. Thomas More, Chancellor of England, venerated martyr, beheaded for the Catholic faith by Henry VIII, very Christian king, "defender of the faith," delivered to women; saint humorist amused by so many comic aspects of so diverse human comedy, intimate friend of Erasmus whom you called your "darling" and who, in *The Praise of Folly* praised your wisdom; a hardy navigator on the island of Utopia, where you had discovered, ignorant of the Christian faith, but certainly by no means "intrinsically perverse," good communists who wanted to know gold only to fill their latrines, inspiring in advance Lenin's humor; patron saint of the Utopians, you knew well that your fantasy islanders had naturally Christian souls.

But with your Utopian communists, did not you go back to the first Christians? We read in the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, the *Didache*, the oldest Christian writing, perhaps prior to the Gospels: "If you partake among yourselves as communists (Koinônōi) the God who does not die, all the more reason to be communist with the goods that perish".<sup>[FN 1]</sup><sup>2</sup> Your non-Christian Utopians were thus rising, without knowing it, to the level of the faith. And why not our Marxists?

"Everything that rises converges," says Teilhard de Chardin. Marxism, if it rises, if it purifies itself of its dross, can converge towards a Christianity which, for its part, would have purified itself of its coarse ties with the materialism of profit, [p. 241] the baseness of the *America way of life*. Little by little, unity of action would become convergence; the peaceful coexistence would increase cooperation; the cosmos carrying the human species, would ascend toward unity; everywhere socialism with abundance would ensure justice and liberty.

I will leave here below carrying this enchanted dream. Lamennais said he saw the revolution, as in the distance a brightly lit room, but he saw himself separated from it by a long dark corridor and did not know how he would cross. "I cannot make a revolution," said Lenin, "without a revolutionary situation." I do not know when this situation will ripen, but I believe that capitalism, like Flaubert's catoblepas, will devour its paws in its foolishness and that the liberal exploitation, finally unmasked, will engender revolution like a ripe fruit.

I will not see it, but with this "beautiful hope" I make my way towards the black door. One day, it will turn in front of me on its unstoppable hinges. I know that it will then open upon my eyes a mystery of light and forgiveness.

---

<sup>2</sup>[Fr. Boulier's FN 1] εν τῷ αθανάτῳ κοινῶνοί ἐστε, πὸς τὸ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς.

## **Appendix 15**

### **Nuremberg Trials**

The Nuremberg Trials dealt with the principal Nazi war criminals. They were held in Nuremberg, Germany, from November 20, 1945 to October 1, 1946, before the International Military Tribunal (IMT). Those who were condemned to die were hung on October 16, 1946.

The tribunal was the first international trial in history which recognized aggression as a grave crime and punished as criminals those government figures guilty of planning, unleashing, and waging aggressive wars. The principles of international law contained in the Charter of the Tribunal and expressed in the sentence were affirmed by a resolution passed by the UN General Assembly on December 11, 1946.

All of the accused were charged with committing the gravest war crimes and with planning and carrying out a plot against peace and humanity - the murder and brutal treatment of prisoners of war and civilians, the plundering of private and public property, and the establishment of a system of slave labor. In addition, the tribunal raised the question of branding as criminal various organizations of fascist Germany, such as the leadership of the National Socialist Party, the Storm Troopers (SA), security detachments of the National Socialist Party (the SS), the security services (SD), the secret police (Gestapo), the Nazi government (the cabinet), and the General Staff.

The highest government and military figures of fascist Germany were put on trial, including

- Karl Doenitz (Commander of the Navy)
- Hans Frank (*Gauleiter* or head of Government in Nazi Poland)
- Wilhelm Frick (Minister of the Interior)
- Hans Fritzsche (Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda)
- Walther Funk (Minister for Economic Affairs)
- Hermann. Göring (President of the Reichstag)
- Rudolf Hess (gassed 3 million at Auschwitz concentration)
- Alfred Jodl (bossed the anti-Jewish drive)
- Ernst Kaltenbrunner (head of the Nazis' security police)
- Wilhelm Keitel (Field Marshall)
- Gustav Krupp (capitalist, his company armed the military, used slave labor)
- Konstantin von Neurath (Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia)
- Franz von Papen (ambassador to Turkey)
- Erich Raeder (admiral)
- Joachim von Ribbentrop (foreign minister)
- Alfred Rosenberg (director of Nazi culture in foreign lands)

Fritz Sauckel (Leader of the Department of Labor Allocation)

Julius Streicher (bossed the anti-Jewish drive)

Baldur von Schirach (governor of Vienna)

Arthur Seyss-Inquart (head of German government in Netherlands)

Albert Speer (Minister of Armaments and War Production)

Hjalmar Schacht (director of economist and Minister-without-portfolio)

From December 1946 to April 1949, a series of twelve additional military tribunals for war crimes against Nazi Germany leaders were held by the United States in the Palace of Justice. The defendants were 177 high-ranking physicians, judges, industrialists, SS commanders and police commanders, military personnel, civil servants, and diplomats. The trials uncovered the German leadership that supported the Nazi dictatorship.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>See Georgii Alexandrov, Yuri Popov and Mark Raginsky, comp. *Responsibility for war crimes and crimes against humanity; documents* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), LCCN 72182014, 114 p.; Mark Raginskii, "Nuremberg Trials," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*.

## Appendix 16

### Fr. Boulier's Essay on the History of International Law<sup>1</sup>

I had the good fortune to learn international law at the school of prestigious teachers: a Charles Dupuis, a Basdevant, a Politis, a Gaston Jèze, a Daniel Serruys, a Renouvin and our director Geouffre de la Pradelle.<sup>2</sup> Often, a course would began

---

<sup>1</sup>This is from Fr. Boulier's *I was a Red Priest*, pp. 101-105.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Dupuis (1863-1938) graduated from the Free School of Political Science in 1888 and became a professor of Human Rights, which was a predecessor of international law at the Free School of Political Science in 1899 and at the School High International Studies in 1920. Among his publications were: *Le droit des gens et les rapports des grandes puissances avec les autres états avant le pacte de la Société des nations* (The Law of Maritime Warfare, Based on Contemporary English Doctrines) (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1899, 1921), online at <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001155301>; and Dupuis, *Le ministère de Talleyrand en 1814* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1919-1920), 2 vols.

Jules Basdevant (1877–1968) obtained his Ph.D. in law and began teaching at the law faculty in Paris in 1903. He taught international law and historical treaties and was a technical expert for the French delegation at the Peace preliminary conference of 1919. In 1946 he took up an inaugural seat on the International Court of Justice, a position he held until 1964 and served as its president from 1949 to 1952.

Nicolas Politis (1872-1942) taught law at the University of Paris and was also a Greek representative to the League of Nations. In 1929 promoted a resolution at the League disarmament commission that enabled the commission to continue its work. In 1933 he participated with Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs Maxim Litvinov in formulating the Convention on the Definition of Aggression. In 1935 served as Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, and in that capacity supported the restoration of the Greek monarchy. Among his publications were *The new aspects of international law; a series of lectures delivered at Columbia University* in July, 1926 (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1928), online at <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001638939>; Politis, *The work of the Hague court* (Baltimore: American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, 1911); Politis, *The Problem of Disarmament* (Worcester, Mass., New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Intercourse and Education, 1934); Politis, *Neutrality and peace* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1935).

Gaston Jèze (1869–1953) was a human rights activist and a professor of public law at the International Law Institute. In 1933 he and other noted academics René

with a few words of historical introduction. [From this] I learned that over the course of my long years of study I had not been given a word that in the Middle Ages there was an international law studied by inexhaustible canonists in their treaties *de jure belli and pacis*. [the law of war and peace]. It dates back to the twelfth century to the famous *Decree* of Gratian, *Causa XXIII*.<sup>3</sup> This law, sanctioned by the "just war," used the *bellum sacrum* [holy war], the crusade, decreed by the Papacy and bribed by it. This law was extended into the sixteenth

---

Capitant, René Cassin and Georges Ripert, became one of the first great French jurists to protest the anti-Jewish, racist and corporatist Nazi regime. At the same time he served as legal counsel to Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, who had been deposed and exiled by the Italian Fascists. He became the symbol of law and anti-colonialism because of his oratory for and his championing of the Ethiopian cause before the Permanent Court of International Justice in The Hague. During World War II, he spoke out against the persecution of Jews and other minorities by Vichy France.

Daniel Serruys (1875–1950) was director of commercial agreements at the French Ministry of Commerce (1920-1928) and advocated free-trade for Europe.

Pierre Renouvin (1893–1974) was the director of the War History Library at the Sorbonne (1920-1922), and then lecturer and professor at the Sorbonne between 1922 and 1964. Among his publications were *The immediate origins of the war (28th June--4th August 1914)* (New York: H. Fertig, [c1928] 1969); and Renouvin, *World War II and its origins; international relations, 1929-1945* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

See the *Wikipedia* articles for "Charles Dupuis," "Jules Basdevant," "Nicolas Politis," "Gaston Jèze," "Daniel Serruys" and "Pierre Renouvin"

<sup>3</sup>By way of background, the *Decretum Gratiani* [Grantian's Decree] is a collection of canon law compiled and written in the 12th century as a legal textbook by the jurist known as Gratian, who was a monk.

*Decretum Gratiani* forms the first part of the collection of six legal texts, which together became known as the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. See Aemilius Friedberg (ed.), *Corpus iuris canonici* (Leipzig: ex officina Bernhardi Tauchnitz, 1879-81, 2000), 2 vols., online at <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010412818>. It was used by Catholic canonists until 1918, when a revised *Code of Canon Law* (*Codex Iuris Canonici*) promulgated by Pope Benedict XV obtained legal force.

In Gratian's discussion of just war, he quoted a lost work of Augustine's entitled *De diversis ecclesiae observationibus*:

Among the true worshipers of God even wars themselves are peaceful which are carried on not from cupidity but with the desire for peace, that the wicked may be restrained and the good supported.

See Friedberg (ed.), *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. I, p. 855. In *Decretum*, pars II, causa 23, quest. I, c. 6, at the end of question i, after giving a number of quotations upon the subject from Augustine and others, Gratian concludes, "From all these it may be gathered that war is not sinful and that the precepts of patience are to be kept not externally but in the heart." See also, William Ballis, *The legal position of war: changes in its practice and theory from Plato to Vattel* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1937), p. 46, which discusses the *Decretum*, Causa, XXIII, qu. II, c. 2.

century in the famous *Relections* [Rereadings] of the Basque Vitoria and *the Legibus* [Laws] of the Spaniard Suarez.

In this last work we already find a very beautiful definition of the international community, the society of nations. All this international Christian law flared in the Wittenberg pyre.<sup>4</sup> It was not only the bull of Leo X condemning Luther that was thrown into the inferno but priceless folios of canon law by the cartload.<sup>5</sup> Europe found itself without international rights, delivered to anarchy, that is, to the whim of princes, absolute sovereigns. Have we come out of it? I have never been able to forget this sinister pyre, sudden clarity on perhaps the most detrimental work of the Reformation, the destruction of Christian principles of the law of nations. What is left of it if Christianity has been reduced to an inner faith based on the Bible alone? From the conscientious objection of the Mennonites and Quakers to the terrible massacres of the wars of Jahweh as applied by Cromwell in Ireland, everything is found in the Bible.<sup>6</sup> Really, on what is there to base the law of nations? [p. 70] On natural law, as Grotius tried? But for the Reformation, nature is essentially corrupt,

---

<sup>4</sup>Martin Luther (1483–1546) was a German professor of theology, priest and Protestant Reformation leader. He disputed the efficacy of indulgences and other practices in his *Ninety-five Theses* of 1517. In 1520 at Wittenberg he refused to renounce his writings at the demand of Pope Leo X and set fire to the pope's bull (edict) and decretals. As a result the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Worms in 1521 condemned him as an outlaw and the pope excommunicated him. See Anonymous, "Martin Luther," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>5</sup>Pope Leo X (1475–1521), born Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici was the second son of Lorenzo de' Medici, the banker and ruler of the Florentine Republic in Florence. He was pope from 1513 to his death in 1521 and was the last pope not to have been in priestly orders at the time of his election to the papacy. He borrowed and spent money without circumspection. A significant patron of the arts, upon election Leo is alleged to have said, "Since God has given us the papacy, let us enjoy it." Under his reign, progress was made on the rebuilding of St. Peter's Basilica and artists such as Raphael decorated the Vatican rooms. Leo also reorganized the Roman University, and promoted the study of literature, poetry and antiquities.

Leo oversaw the closing sessions of the Fifth Council of the Lateran. In 1517 he led a costly war that succeeded in securing his nephew as Duke of Urbino, but which reduced papal finances. In Protestant circles, he is associated with granting indulgences for those who donated to reconstruct St. Peter's Basilica, a practice that was soon challenged by Martin Luther's 95 Theses. He refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the demands of what would become the Protestant Reformation, and his Papal Bull of 1520, *Exsurge Domine*, condemned Martin Luther's condemnatory stance, rendering ongoing communication difficult. See "Pope Leo X," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>6</sup>Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) was an English military and political leader who headed the conquest of Ireland (1649–1653) during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms on behalf of England's Rump Parliament in 1649. The Parliamentary activity was brutal. Some historians argue that the actions of Cromwell were within the then-accepted rules of war; these claims have been challenged by others. See Anonymous, "Oliver Cromwell," *Wikipedia*.

helpless to do good. "Unable to make what is just strong, we have made what is strong just..." concludes Pascal.<sup>7</sup>

"*Ubi societas, ibi jus*"- Alexandre Alvarez taught me that where there is a society, a right is established.<sup>8</sup> "There is an American society," he added, "so there is American international law. But as there is a universal human society - it is becoming more and more tightly bound together under our eyes - there must be an international law of universal scope, a right that dominates the finally unified human race."

It was about this time that I freed myself from the spell of Maurras. His nationalism suddenly seemed too narrow. How to found an international law without first bridling the anarchy of nationalisms? Moreover, the post-war period governed by the Versailles Treaties could only acquire stability by the concerted and continuous action of the Great Powers; an action naturally based on the SDN [League of Nations]. Alas, this one was already betraying its helplessness, but like many, I did not realize it yet. Resolutely anti-fascist since 1922, I felt, in front of the aggressions of Mussolini that to put an end to the danger it represented would only be necessary to impose paper sanctions on it. The conquest of Ethiopia, the cowardly abandonment of the Negus, enlightened me as to the fragility of international law.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Blaise Pascal, *Pascal's Pensees* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013), p. 88.

<sup>8</sup>The above Latin phrase translates literally, where there is society, there is law. Alejandro Álvarez (1868–1960) was a Chilean professor of international law and a judge at the International Court of Justice. He had been a founding member of the American Institute of International Law and of the Institute of Higher International Studies. He served as a judge in the International Court of Justice in 1946–1955. Among his writings are: *The Monroe Doctrine, its importance in the international life of the states of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1924), online at <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006302327>; and "American problems in international law," (New York: Baker, Voorhis, 1909), online at <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010407415>.

<sup>9</sup>*Negus* is a noun in the Ethiopian Semitic language which means "to reign" and is translated as "king" or "emperor" in Biblical and other literature. See Anonymous, "Negus," *Wikipedia*. The Second Italo-Ethiopian War, also referred to as the Second Italo-Abyssinian War, was a colonial war fought from 1935 until 1937 between the Kingdom of Italy and the Ethiopian Empire (also known as Abyssinia). Ethiopia was defeated, annexed and subjected to military occupation. The Ethiopian Empire became a part of the Italian colony of Italian East Africa. Fighting continued until the Italian defeat in East Africa in 1941. Italy and Ethiopia were members of the League of Nations yet the League was unable to control Italy or to protect Ethiopia when Italy violated Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Abyssinia Crisis of 1935 is often seen as a clear demonstration of the ineffectiveness of the League. The Italian victory coincided with the zenith of the popularity of dictator Benito Mussolini and the Fascist regime at home and abroad. See Anonymous, "Second Italo-Ethiopian War," *Wikipedia*.

## Appendix 17

### Papal infallibility

Papal infallibility is a dogma of the Catholic Church which states that, in virtue of the promise of Jesus to Peter, the pope when he speaks *ex cathedra* is preserved from the possibility of error on doctrine "initially given to the apostolic Church and handed down in Scripture and tradition".

This doctrine, defined dogmatically at the First Vatican Council of 1869-1870 in the document *Pastor aeternus*, is claimed to have existed in medieval theology and to have been the majority opinion at the time of the Counter-Reformation.

The doctrine of infallibility relies on one of the cornerstones of Catholic dogma, that of papal supremacy, whereby the authority of the pope is the ruling agent as to what are accepted as formal beliefs in the Catholic Church. The use of this power is referred to as speaking *ex cathedra*.

Any doctrine 'of faith or morals' issued by the pope in his capacity as successor to St. Peter, speaking as pastor and teacher of the Church Universal [Ecclesia Catolica], from the seat of his episcopal authority in Rome, and meant to be believed "by the universal church," has the special status of an *ex cathedra* statement. Vatican Council I in 1870 declared that any such *ex cathedra* doctrines have the character of infallibility.<sup>1</sup>

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception proclaimed by *Ineffabilis Deus* in 1854 is "generally accepted" as being an *ex cathedra* statement. Since the declaration of papal infallibility by Vatican I (1870), the only example of an *ex cathedra* statement thereafter took place in 1950, when Pope Pius XII defined the Assumption of Mary as an article of faith. In *Ineffabilis Deus* and Pius XII's cases, the popes consulted with Catholic bishops before making their declaration.

When he was prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Cardinal Ratzinger (later Pope Benedict XVI), under John Paul II's authority, stated in a formal response (*responsum*) to an inquiry (*dubium*) that John Paul II's decision on the ordination of women into the Catholic priesthood in his apostolic letter *Ordinatio sacerdotalis* was part of the "ordinary and infallible" magisterial teaching of the Catholic Church. Prof. Frank K. Flinn claims that Pope John Paul II's statement on the inadmissibility of women to the priesthood was not infallible;

---

<sup>1</sup>Vatican Council I, session 4, Constitution on the Church 4, quoted in Anonymous, "Papal infallibility," *Wikipedia*.

Flinn considers that Cardinal Ratzinger's later *responsa* to the *dubium* on the subject was therefore erroneous. Pope Francis stated in an interview that John Paul II's decision was "[t]he final word" on women ordination.<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 18: Thomas Aquinas taught the church's doctrine on war and peace.**

In Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* Fr. Boulter learned the church's doctrines on war and peace, on the materialist nature of reality and on faith and mysticism.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>See Anonymous, "Papal infallibility," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>3</sup>Boulter, *I was a Red Priest*, p. 244

## **Appendix 18:** ***Non Expedit* (Not Expedient)**

*Non Expedit* (It is not expedient) were the words with which the Holy See enjoined upon Italian Catholics the policy of boycott from the polls in parliamentary elections. The policy was also used by the Roman curia to indicate a negative reply for other activities. It was initially used after the promulgation of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy (1861), and the introduction of laws relating to the Catholic Church and, especially, to the religious orders (1865–1866). The Holy Penitentiary made a decree on February 29, 1868, in which it sanctioned the motto; "*Non expedit* - Neither elector nor elected". Until then there had been in the young Italian Parliament a few eminent representatives of Catholic interests. These included Vito d'Ondes Reggio, Augusto Conti, Cesare Cantù.

Pius IX declared in an audience of October 11, 1874 that the principal motive of this decree was that the oath taken by deputies might be interpreted as an approval of the "spoliation of the Holy See". Also, in view of the electoral law of that day, by which the electorate was reduced to 650,000, it would have been hopeless to attempt to prevent the passage of laws the Vatican did not approve of.

In parts of Italy (Parma, Modena, Tuscany, the former Pontifical States and the former Kingdom of the Two Sicilies), some Catholics were supporters of the dispossessed princes and they were liable to be denounced as enemies of Italy. They would also have been at variance with the Catholics of Piedmont and of the provinces that were part of Habsburg Austria, and this division would have further weakened the Catholic Parliamentary group.

This measure did not meet with universal approval; moderates accused the Vatican of failing in its duty to society and to the newly unified country. In 1882, the suffrage having been extended, Leo XIII took into serious consideration the partial abolition of the restrictions established by the *Non Expedit*, but nothing was actually done.

On the contrary, as many people came to the conclusion that the decree *Non Expedit* was not intended to be absolute, but was only an admonition made to apply upon one particular occasion, the Holy Office declared (December 30, 1886) that the rule in question implied a grave precept, and emphasis was given to this fact on several subsequent occasions. Later Pius X, by his encyclical "*Il fermo proposito*" (June 11, 1905) modified the *Non Expedit*, declaring that, when there was question of preventing the election of a "subversive" candidate, the bishops could ask for a suspension of the rule, and invite the Catholics to hold themselves in readiness to go to the polls. The papal policy was cancelled in 1918. In later years, particularly after the establishment of the Vatican City had reassured the papacy of its place within Italy, non-Catholic politicians would complain that the Holy See made too many recommendations to the Italian voters.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>See Anonymous, "*Non Expedit*," *Wikipedia*.



## Appendix 19 Persons

Fr. Carlo Maria Curci Anton Ivanovich Denikin Engelbert Dollfuss Francisco Franco Roger Garreau François Guizot Adolf Hitler Fr. August Hlond	Maurice Merleau-Ponty Benito Mussolini Marcel Prenant António de Oliveira Salazar Marek Szwarc Fr. Luigi Sturzo Josip Broz Tito Palmiro Togliatti
--	--

**Fr. Carlo Maria Curci** (1810-1891) was a Jesuit from Naples and one of those who advocated for reform and reconciliation between church and state between the Vatican and Italian monarchy. There was disagreement about who should be the temporal ruler of central Italy. Others who sought reform were Vincenzo Gioberti, Antonio Rosmini-Serbatì.

In his reform work, Fr. Curci helped found the Jesuit periodical, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, which still exists. In 1843 he wrote a preface to Gioberti's *Primato*. In the 1870s he wrote several books which attacked the Vatican for its role in politics. In his ministering in Naples he was close to the Christian Socialists. He was expelled from the Jesuits but a few months before his death, he was readmitted. His works included:

Carlo Maria Curci, *Il moderno dissidio tra la chiesa e l'Italia, considerato per occasione di un fatto particolare* (The modern disagreement between the church and Italy, considered on the occasion of a particular fact) (Firenze: Fratelli Bencini, 1878), OCLC 17604342, 240 pp. (Advocated for the separation of church and state in Italy).

\_\_\_\_\_ *La nuova Italia ed i vecchi zelanti studii utili ancora all'ordinamento dei partiti parlamentari* (The new Italy and the old zealous studies still useful for the organization of parliamentary parties) (Firenze: Fratelli Bencini, 1881), 254 pp; online at <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b4583265&view=1up&seq=9>

\_\_\_\_\_ *Lo scandalo del "Vaticano regio" : duce la provvidenza, buono a qualche cosa: brevi note onde l'autore valedice a sifatte polemiche* (The scandal of the "Royal Vatican": the leader of providence, good

for something: brief notes on which the author is worthy of such controversies) (Firenze-Roma:Bencini, 1884) 136 pp. (Accused the Vatican of selling sacred objects and declared that secularism came from the false principles accepted by the Curia).

\_\_\_\_\_ *La demagogia italiana ed il papa re: pensieri di un retrogrado sulla novissima condizione d'Italia* (Italian demagogy and the pope king: thoughts of a retrograde on the very new condition of Italy) (Bologna: Tipografia Sassi, 1849), 131 pp.<sup>1</sup>

**Anton Ivanovich Denikin** (1872-1947) was a Russian Lieutenant General in the Imperial Russian Army (1916). Following the October Revolution of 1917 he escaped to Novocherkassk in the Northern Caucasus and, with other Tsarist officers, formed the anti-Bolshevik Volunteer Army. In June–November 1918, he launched the successful Second Kuban Campaign which gave him control of the entire area between the Black and Caspian Sea.

In the territories it occupied, Denikin's army carried out mass executions and plunder, in what was later known as the White Terror. The press of the Denikin regime regularly incited violence against communist Jews and Jews seen as communists in the context of treason committed by Red agents. For example, a proclamation by one of Denikin's generals incited people to "arm themselves" in order to extirpate "the evil force which lives in the hearts of Jew-communists." Western sponsors were dismayed at the widespread antisemitism in the Whites' officer ranks, especially as the Bolsheviks sought to officially prohibit acts of anti-Semitism. Winston Churchill personally warned General Denikin.

In the summer of 1919, Denikin led an assault of the southern White forces in their final push to capture Moscow. For a time, it appeared that the White Army would succeed in its drive; Leon Trotsky, as the commander of the Red Army, hastily concluded an agreement with Nestor Makhno's anarchist *Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine* (the Black Army) for mutual support. Makhno duly turned his Black Army east and led it against Denikin's extended lines of supply, forcing the Whites to retreat. Denikin's army was defeated at Orel in October 1919, some 220 miles south of Moscow. By March 1920 the White forces in southern Russia had been pushed back to Crimea.<sup>2</sup>

**Engelbert Dollfuss** (1892-1934) was an Austrian clerical-fascist politician and leader of the reactionary Christian Socialist Party. He served as Chancellor of Austria between 1932 and 1934. He was born in Texing, Lower Austria and during World War I he served as a soldier. After the war he studied the Christian principles of economics in Berlin, which were an alternative to liberal and socialist

---

<sup>1</sup>See Anonymous, "Carlo Maria Curci," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>2</sup>See Anonymous, "Anton Ivanovich Denikin," *Wikipedia*.

principles. In Germany, he became a member of the Federation of German Peasants' Union and of the Preussenkasse - essentially, a central bank for member-cooperatives.

After returning to Vienna, Dollfuss was a secretary of the Lower Austrian Peasants' Union. He was instrumental in the founding of the regional Chamber of Agriculture of Lower Austria and in laying the foundations for the corporative organisation of agriculture. He was seen as an unofficial leader of the Austrian peasantry.

Having served as Minister for Forests and Agriculture, Dollfuss ascended to Federal Chancellor in May 1932 in the midst of a crisis for the conservative government. In early 1933, he dissolved parliament and assumed dictatorial powers. In May 1933 the Communist party was banned. Then in February 1934 the Socialist movement was suppressed during the Austrian Civil War.

Dollfuss cemented the rule of "Austrofascism" through the authoritarian *First of May Constitution*. He modelled Austrofascism according to Catholic corporatist ideals with anti-secularist tones and in a similar way to Italian fascism, dropping Austrian pretenses of unification with Germany as long as the Nazi Party remained in power.

After the Dollfuss dictatorship outlawed the Social Democrats in February 1934, their leaders were imprisoned or fled abroad. At the same time the Social Democrats called for nationwide resistance against the government. A civil war began, which lasted sixteen days (February 2-14, 1934). The government massacred the workers' *Schutzbund*, amid fierce fighting primarily in the East of Austria, especially in the streets of some outer Vienna districts, where large fortress-like municipal workers' buildings were situated, and in the northern, industrial areas of the province of Styria.

On March 17, 1934, Dollfuss, along with the governments of Italy and Hungary, signed the so-called Rome Protocols rendering Austrian policy completely dependent on Italy. Dollfuss was assassinated as part of a failed coup attempt by Nazi agents on July 25, 1934. His successor Kurt Schuschnigg maintained the regime until Adolf Hitler's annexation of Austria in 1938.<sup>3</sup>

**Francisco Franco** (1892-1975) was a Spanish general who led the Nationalist forces in overthrowing the Second Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War and thereafter ruled Spain from 1939 to 1975 as a dictator, assuming the title *Caudillo*.

Francisco was from Ferrol, Galicia. Like his father he was career military. His father was a naval officer, but as a result of the Spanish–American War the country

---

<sup>3</sup>See Anonymous, "Engelbert Dollfuss," *Wikipedia* and Anonymous, "Engelbert Dollfuss," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New York: Macmillan, 1979), (31 vols.), online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Engelbert+Dollfuss>.

lost much of its navy and most of its colonies. For this reason Franco went into the army. He was a cadet at the Toledo Infantry Academy from 1907 to 1910. While serving in Morocco, he rose through the ranks to become a brigadier general in 1926. In 1928 he became the director of the General Military Academy in Zaragoza. As a conservative and monarchist, he regretted the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of the Second Republic in 1931, and resented the closing of his academy.

Nevertheless, Franco continued his service in the Republican Army. His career was boosted after the right-wing Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (CEDA, Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rights) and PRR won the 1933 election, empowering him to lead the suppression of the 1934 uprising in Asturias. Franco was briefly elevated to Chief of Army Staff before the 1936 election moved the leftist Popular Front into power, relegating him to the Canary Islands. Initially reluctant, he joined the July 1936 military coup, which, after failing to take Spain, sparked the Spanish Civil War.

During the war, Franco commanded Spain's African colonial army and later, following the deaths of much of the rebel leadership, became his faction's only leader, being appointed Generalissimo and head of state in 1936. He consolidated all nationalist parties into the FET y de las JONS (Falange), creating a one-party state. The party name came from latin, phalanx, a body of troops moving in close formation.

Falange ideology placed a strong emphasis on the Roman Catholic religious identity of Spain, although it held some secular views on the Catholic Church's direct influence on Spanish society. That is, one of the tenets of the Falangist ideology was that the state should have the supreme authority over the nation. Falangism emphasized the need for total authority, hierarchy, and order in society. Like fascism, Falangism was anti-communist, anti-democratic, anti-liberal and anti-freemasonry.

Part of the Falange's manifesto was a call for the establishment of a dictatorship led by the Falange, using political violence as a means to regenerate Spain, and a national syndicalist economy that advocated agrarian reforms, industrial expansion, and respect for private property with the exception of nationalizing credit facilities to prevent usury. The Spanish Falange and its affiliates in Hispanic states around the world promoted a form of panhispanism that advocated cultural and economic union of Hispanic societies.

In 1939 with the open intervention of fascist Germany and Italy, the Nationalists declared victory. This led to Franco's dictatorship over Spain and a period of repression of political opponents. His dictatorship's use of forced labor, concentration camps and executions led to between 50,000 and 100,000 deaths. Combined with wartime killings, this brought the death toll of the White Terror to between 100,000 and 200,000.

In post-civil war Spain, Franco developed a cult of personality around his rule by founding the *Movimiento Nacional*. During World War II he maintained Spanish neutrality, but supported the Axis - whose members Italy and Germany

had supported him during the Civil War. During the start of the Cold War, Franco lifted Spain out of its mid-20th century economic depression through technocratic and economically liberal policies, presiding over a period of accelerated growth known as the "Spanish miracle".

At the same time, his regime transitioned from what some called a totalitarian state to an authoritarian one with limited pluralism. He became a leader in the anti-Communist movement, garnering support from the West, particularly the United States. As the dictatorship relaxed its hard-line policies, Luis Carrero Blanco became Franco's main aid.. This was especially the case after Franco came down with Parkinson's disease in the 1960s.

In 1947 Franco passed a law on the succession to the throne, in accordance with which Spain "in conformity with tradition" was declared a kingdom, but the restoration of royal power was delayed until Franco's departure from political life. In accordance with a decree on July 22, 1969, Prince Juan Carlos was proclaimed the next king of Spain. He was succeeded by Juan Carlos, King of Spain, who led the Spanish transition to democracy.<sup>4</sup>

**Roger Garreau** (1891-1991) was the French ambassador to Poland in 1945-1946. As early as 1943, while a French diplomat in Moscow, he had supported the expansion of Poland's borders to the west, at the expense of Germany. The scholar Eloi Piet of the Institute Pierre Renouvin (University Paris) commented:

Initiatives had been taken by French diplomats in Moscow as early as 1943, showing the importance of rapprochement with Poland regarding the new borders of Germany. The ambassador in Moscow, Roger Garreau, went on to play a major role in the Franco-Soviet alliance treaty in December 1944. He thought that Soviet control over Poland, as inevitable as it was, would not prevent Poland from allying with France because it would lead to the weakening of Germany and accorded with Moscow's security requirements (Bariéty 2008: 210). Having been in contact with Polish communists since the end of 1943, Garreau managed to convince de Gaulle to tacitly recognise the PKWN [Lublin Committee of National Liberation], a rival of the government in London, so that Stalin's condition would be met when signing the December 1944 treaty. At first, this treaty was not a way to organize a Franco-Polish rapprochement at the expense of Germany's borders. De Gaulle was very reluctant to abandon his Polish friends in London and was disappointed by Stalin's ignoring France, which was not even invited to Yalta. Besides, reports written between January and March 1945 by Christian Fouchet, French diplomat in

---

<sup>4</sup>See Anonymous, "Francisco Franco," *Wikipedia*.

Poland and a friend of de Gaulle, gave a clear indication to de Gaulle that Poland, occupied by the Red Army, was becoming a vassal state where communism prevailed.<sup>5</sup>

**François Guizot** (1787-1874) was a French historian and a dominant figure in French politics prior to the Revolution of 1848. A moderate liberal, he opposed the attempt by Bourbon, divine-rightist King Charles X (ruled 1824-1830) to usurp legislative power. He worked to sustain a constitutional monarchy following the July Revolution of 1830. He then served the "citizen king" Louis Philippe, as Minister of Education, 1832-1837, ambassador to London, Foreign Minister 1840-1847, and finally Prime Minister of France from September 19, 1847 to February 23, 1848.

As a leader of the "Doctrinaires", Guizot was committed to supporting the policies of Louis Phillippe and limitations on further expansion of the political franchise. He earned the hatred of left-leaning liberals and republicans through his support for restricting suffrage to propertied men, advising those who wanted the vote to "enrich yourselves" (enrichissez-vous) through hard work and thrift.

As Prime Minister, it was Guizot's ban on the political meetings of an increasingly vigorous opposition in January 1848 that catalyzed the revolution that toppled Louis Philippe in February and saw the establishment of the French Second Republic. He is mentioned in the opening paragraph of the Communist Manifesto ("a spectre is haunting Europe...") as a representative of the reactionary forces of Old Europe. Marx and Engels published that book just days before Guizot's overthrow in the 1848 Revolution.<sup>6</sup>

**Adolf Hitler** (1889-1945) (real surname, Schickelgruber) was born in Braunau, Austria. He was leader of the German fascist (National Socialist) party and head of the German fascist state (1933-1945) and a major war criminal. He was born into the family of a customs official. Even prior to World War I, he was already an ardent proponent of antisocialist, nationalistic, and anti-Jewish "theories." In 1913 he moved to Munich; during World War I, he was a corporal in the German Army. From 1919 when it was founded, he was one of the leading members of the so-called National Socialist German Workers' Party (DAP), becoming its head in 1921. The DAP changed its name to the National Socialist German Workers' Party when Adolf Hitler became leader. The nickname Nazi was

---

<sup>5</sup>See Eloi Piet, "The View of French Diplomacy on the German-Polish Border Shift, 1940-1950," in A. Lechevalier & J. Wielgoths, (eds.), *Borders and Border Regions in Europe: Changes, Challenges and Chances* (Political Science, 2014), vol. 15, p .222, online at <https://d-nb.info/1232846074/34>.

<sup>6</sup>See Anonymous, "François Guizot," *Wikipedia*.

taken from the first word of its full name, *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei*.

On November 8 and 9, 1923, together with General E. von Ludendorff, Hitler attempted a fascist coup d'état in Munich; it failed. In the struggle for power, he made use of unrestrained demagoguery, provocation, blackmail, and murder. He and his henchmen, financed by the German monopolies, conducted revanchist propaganda under the banner of a struggle against the Versailles Treaty of 1919 and succeeded in kindling chauvinism in the country and engendering massive support for themselves among the population. On January 30, 1933, President P. von Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor. After Hindenburg's death, Hitler concentrated all legislative and executive power in his own hands, merging the posts of president and chancellor (August 1934).

Hitler and his henchmen established a bloody terrorist regime in the country and turned Germany into an armed camp. Fascist Germany, with Hitler at its head, carried out an armed intervention into the Spanish Republic (1936-1939), seized Austria (1938), occupied Czechoslovakia (1938-39), and, having put together a bloc of aggressor countries, unleashed World War II. On June 22, 1941, fascist Germany attacked the USSR. In December 1941, Hitler became commander in chief of the German armed forces.

Hitler was the inspirer and one of the principal organizers of the massive extermination of innocent civilians and prisoners of war and of the monstrous atrocities committed by the fascists in German-occupied countries and especially in the temporarily seized territories of the USSR. In 1945, amid the defeat of fascist Germany, the disintegration of the fascist state, and the entry of Soviet troops into Berlin, Hitler committed suicide in the bunker of the Berlin imperial chancellery.<sup>7</sup>

**Fr. August Hlond** (1881-1948) was a Polish cardinal, Archbishop of Poznań and Gniezno and Primate of Poland. He was the only member of the College of Cardinals to be arrested and taken into custody by the Gestapo during World War II. For the final years of his life he was a critic of the Soviet-backed Communist regime in Poland.

The cardinal was the son of a railway worker, born in then German-ruled Upper Silesian. He studied for the priesthood in the Salesian Congregation and then worked in Vienna as the headmaster of a secondary school. In 1919 he became the Provincial of the Salesians for Austria, Hungary and Germany and then the first Bishop of the Diocese of Katowice in 1925. Through the tumultuous 1930s, he condemned "escapism."

The Nazis invaded Poland on September 1, 1939 and the Polish army fled

---

<sup>7</sup>See Vasilij Dmitrievich Kul'bakin (Kulbakin), "Hitler," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New York: Macmillan, 1979), (31 vols.), online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Adolf+Hitler>.

the country on September 18, 1939. Hlond fled with them and ended up at a Benedictine Abbey in Savoy until he was arrested in February 1944. He was then taken to Paris and stayed in a convent at Bar-le-Duc. With the advance of the Allies, the Germans took him to Westphalia and was released by American troops in 1945.<sup>8</sup>

**Maurice Merleau-Ponty** (1908-1961) was a French idealist philosopher of the phenomenological school. Some of his views had much in common with existentialism. He studied philosophy at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, where he worked closely with Jean-Paul Sartre (breaking with him in 1953) and with Jean Hippolyte. He was also influenced by Gestalt psychology. In 1945, he became a professor at the University of Lyon and later at the Sorbonne (1949) and at the Collège de France (1952). He was the lead editor of *Les Temps modernes*, the leftist magazine he established with Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir in 1945.

While working on the unpublished writings of Edmund Husserl, the founder of phenomenology, Merleau-Ponty arrived at a broader interpretation of intentionality as a characteristic not only of consciousness but of a person's whole relation to the world. Accordingly, he introduced the concept of preconscious (bodily) existence, which is sentient, because it is open to the world and not shut up in itself as a thing is. All of a person's being is the realization and revelation of his existence, which is accomplished by the infinite dialogue of the subject with the world. The subject and the world are the two poles of a single phenomenal field, in which the subject is always situationally bound and therefore can never be completely revealed and known. In some of his works, Merleau-Ponty was critical of communism and attacked dialectical materialism.<sup>9</sup>

**Benito Mussolini** (1883-1945) was an Italian politician and journalist. He was born in the province of Forlì in Romagna (northern Italy near Bologna). His father was a blacksmith and a socialist, while his mother was a Catholic schoolteacher. He attended a boarding school run by Salesian monks and then a new non-religious school in Forlimpopoli, where he qualified as an elementary schoolmaster in 1901.

Mussolini initially was a socialist. In September 1911, he participated in a riot, led by socialists, against the Italian war in Libya. He denounced the "imperialist war", an action that earned him a five-month jail term. After his release, he helped expel Ivanoe Bonomi and Leonida Bissolati from the Socialist

---

<sup>8</sup>See Anonymous, "August Hlond," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>9</sup>See Andrei Puzyreĭ, "Maurice Merleau-Ponty," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New York: Macmillan, 1979), online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Merleau-Ponty%2c+Maurice>.

Party, as they were two "revisionists" who had supported the war.<sup>10</sup> He worked as editor of the Socialist Party newspaper *Avanti!* Under his leadership, its circulation soon rose from 20,000 to 100,000. He was a working reporter while preparing for the 1922 March on Rome, and wrote for the Hearst News Service until 1935.

Mussolini was familiar with Marxist literature and quoted both well-known and obscure works. He considered himself an "authoritarian communist" and a Marxist. In 1913, he published *Giovanni Hus, il veridico (Jan Hus, true prophet)*, an historical and political biography about the life and mission of the Czech ecclesiastic reformer Jan Hus and his militant followers, the Hussites. He sometimes used the pen name "*Vero Eretico*" (sincere heretic).

However, Mussolini rejected egalitarianism, which rejection was unusual for a socialist. He was influenced by Nietzsche's anti-Christian ideas and negation of God's existence. He felt that socialism had faltered, in view of the failures of Marxist determinism and social democratic reformism, and believed that Nietzsche's ideas would strengthen socialism. While still associated with socialism, his writings eventually indicated that he had abandoned Marxism and egalitarianism in favor of Nietzsche's *übermensch* concept and anti-egalitarianism.

In 1912, Mussolini became a member of the National Directorate of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), but was expelled for advocating military intervention in World War I, in opposition to the party's stance on neutrality. In 1914, Mussolini founded a new journal, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, and served in the Royal Italian Army during the war until he was wounded and discharged in 1917.

Mussolini denounced the PSI, his views now centering on Italian nationalism instead of socialism, and later founded the fascist movement which came to oppose egalitarianism and class conflict, instead advocating "revolutionary nationalism" transcending class lines. He founded and led the National Fascist Party.

In October 1922, Mussolini took advantage of a general strike by workers and announced his demands to the government to give the Fascist Party political power or face a coup. With no immediate response, a small number of Fascists began a long trek across Italy to Rome which was called the March on Rome, claiming to Italians that Fascists were intending to restore law and order. Mussolini himself did not participate until the very end of the march, with Gabriele d'Annunzio being hailed as leader of the march, until it was revealed that he had been pushed out of a window and severely wounded in a failed assassination attempt. This deprived d'Annunzio of the possibility of leading the actual coup d'état.

The Fascists, under the leadership of Mussolini, demanded Prime Minister Luigi Facta's resignation and that Mussolini be named Prime Minister. Although the Italian Army was far better armed than the Fascist paramilitaries, the Italian

---

<sup>10</sup>See Boris Lopukhov, "Ivanoe Bonomi," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New York: Macmillan, 1979), (31 vols.), online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com>.

government under King Victor Emmanuel III faced a political crisis. The King was forced to choose which of the two rival movements in Italy would form the government: Mussolini's Fascists, or the anti-monarchist Italian Socialist Party. In October 1922 he selected the Fascists and appointed Mussolini new Prime Minister. Mussolini was Prime Minister of Italy until his deposition in 1943, and "Duce" of Italian Fascism from the establishment of the Italian Fasces of Combat in 1919 until his execution in 1945 by Italian partisans.

As dictator of Italy and principal founder of fascism, Mussolini inspired and supported the international spread of fascist movements during the inter-war period. He removed all political opposition through his secret police and outlawing labor strikes. He and his followers also consolidated power through a series of laws that transformed the nation into a one-party dictatorship. Within five years, Mussolini had established dictatorial authority by both legal and illegal means and aspired to create a totalitarian state. In 1929, he signed the Lateran Treaty with the Holy See to establish Vatican City.

Mussolini's foreign policy aimed to restore the ancient grandeur of the Roman Empire by expanding Italian colonial possessions and the fascist sphere of influence. In the 1920s, he ordered the Pacification of Libya, instructed the bombing of Corfu over an incident with Greece, established a protectorate over Albania, and incorporated the city of Fiume into the Italian state via agreements with Yugoslavia. In 1936, Ethiopia was conquered following the Second Italo–Ethiopian War and merged into Italian East Africa (AOI) with Eritrea and Somalia. In 1939, Italian forces annexed Albania. Between 1936 and 1939, Mussolini ordered the successful Italian military intervention in Spain in favor of Francisco Franco during the Spanish civil war.

Mussolini's Italy initially tried to avoid the outbreak of a second global war, sending troops at the Brenner Pass to delay Anschluss and taking part in the Stresa front, the Lytton Report, the Treaty of Lausanne, the Four-Power Pact and the Munich Agreement. However, Italy then alienated itself from Britain and France by aligning with Germany and Japan. Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939, resulting in declarations of war by France and the UK and the start of World War II.

On 10 June 1940, Mussolini decided to enter the war on the Axis side. Despite initial success, the subsequent Axis collapse on multiple fronts and eventual Allied invasion of Sicily made Mussolini lose the support of the population and members of the Fascist Party. As a consequence, early on July 25, 1943, the Grand Council of Fascism passed a motion of no confidence in Mussolini; later that day King Victor Emmanuel III dismissed him as head of government and had him placed in custody, appointing Pietro Badoglio to succeed him as Prime Minister.

After the king agreed to an armistice with the Allies, on September 12, 1943 Mussolini was rescued from captivity in the Gran Sasso raid by German paratroopers and *Waffen-SS* commandos led by Major Otto-Harald Mors. Adolf Hitler, after meeting with the rescued former dictator, then put Mussolini in charge

of a puppet regime in northern Italy, the Italian Social Republic (Italian: *Repubblica Sociale Italiana*, RSI), informally known as the *Salò Republic*, causing a civil war. In late April 1945, in the wake of near total defeat, Mussolini and his mistress Clara Petacci attempted to flee to Switzerland, but both were captured by Italian communist partisans and summarily executed by firing squad on April 28, 1945 near Lake Como. The bodies of Mussolini and his mistress were then taken to Milan, where they were hung upside down at a service station to publicly confirm their demise.<sup>11</sup>

**Marcel Prenant** (1893-1983) was a zoologist and parasitologist. His parents were Caroline Simon and Auguste Prenant, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine at Nancy and Paris and a member of the Academy of Medicine from 1911 to 1927. In 1917 Marcel married Lucy Soto, an associate professor of philosophy. They had a son, André Prenant, who became a geographer and a daughter, Jeannette Colombe, who became a philosopher.

After obtaining a double baccalaureate in mathematics and philosophy in 1909, Marcel entered the École Normale Supérieure in 1911 and obtained a degree in natural sciences in 1913. During World War I as an infantry officer, he was wounded. He obtained the aggregation of natural sciences in 1919 and a doctorate in 1922 with a thesis on comparative histology. He went on to be a professor at the Sorbonne, Faculty of Sciences in Paris.

An activist in the SFIO in 1913, Marcel Prenant opted for communism at the Congress of Tours in 1920. He actively participated in the Amsterdam-Pleyel movement and was one of the leaders of the Vigilance Committee of Antifascist Intellectuals. During the Second World War, he was an officer near Sedan before being taken prisoner by the Germans. He was released in 1941 as a veteran. He was then a member of the Resistance and produced, for the FTP (Partisan Shooters), user manuals on the weapons used by the resistance fighters.

In 1942 Prenant was chief of staff and in charge of relations with the Gaullist movements. He was arrested by the Gestapo in 1944 and deported in June to the Neuengamme camp where he fell seriously ill and from where he was repatriated in June 1945. After his convalescence, he was elected a deputy to the National Assembly of the Fourth Republic and was a member of the central committee of the Communist Party. In March 1946, he testified in Hamburg at the Neuengamme trial about the atrocities committed at the Neuengamme camp.

The only biologist on the central committee, Prenant was led to examine Lyssenko's anti-genetic theses. However, having himself defended the idea that neo-Darwinism was perfectly compatible with the ideology of dialectical materialism and, unlike other non-scientific intellectuals such as Louis Aragon, remaining critical of counter-scientific truths, he showed little enthusiasm for supporting the "popular science" thus advocated by Lyssenkism. At the 12<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>See Anonymous, "Benito Mussolini," *Wikipedia*.

Congress of the PCF in 1950, he was removed from the Central Committee, just like Jean Chaintron.

After the referendum of September 1958, Prenant resigned from the party and joined the oppositional communist group "Unir for Socialism". In 1962 he became the director of the monthly organ *Le Débat Communiste*, where communists excluded from the PCF expressed themselves. It was renamed *Unir-Débat* in 1967. He left this post after May 1968.

Among his publications available in English is *Biology and Marxism*, foreword by Joseph Needham (New York, International publishers, 1938), LCCN 38030583, 223 p., which maintains that change is the fundamental law of the universe: "Nothing is final. Whether in the sphere of lifeless matter, of living beings, of human society, or of mental activity, everything within itself will cause itself to one day bring about its destruction. Other of his writings are Marcel Prenant (preface), *Les francs-tireurs et partisans français et l'insurrection nationale, juin 1940-août 1944. Présenté par* (l'Association nationale des anciens francs-tireurs et partisans français) [French Snipers and Partisans and the national uprising, June 1940-August 1944. Presented by the National Association of Former French Snipers and Partisans](Paris: Éditions internationales de presse et de publicité, 1947), LCCN 49021744, 63 p.; and a memoir, Marcel Prenant, *Toute une vie à gauche* [A whole life on the left] (Paris: Éditions Encre, 1980), LCCN 80108209, 334 p. LCCN 80108209.<sup>12</sup>



**Figure 19 Marcel Prenant: Communist Peace Movement Leader**

At the World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace in Wroclaw during August 1948, Marcel Prenant of the French Communist Party gave a report on the idea of progress in the peace movement. He followed with having Fr. Boulier report on the Christian dimension.

**António de Oliveira Salazar** (1889-1970) was a Portuguese state figure born at Santa Comba Dão, Portugal. He graduated from a Jesuit school and then

---

<sup>12</sup>See "Anonymous, "Marcel Prenant," *Wikipedia*.

from the University of Coimbra, where he was an economics professor from 1917 to 1928. He was one of the founders of the Catholic Center Party (1918) and was elected a deputy to parliament from that party in 1921. For a few days in 1926, after the military coup, and again from 1928 to 1940 he was minister of finance; in 1930 he was also minister of colonies.

From 1932 to 1968 Salazar was prime minister and the de facto dictator of Portugal. He was also minister of war from 1936 to 1944 and minister of foreign affairs from 1936 to 1947. In 1930 he founded the fascist National Union Party and proposed a "unitary corporative republic." He helped draft the 1933 constitution and the addendum to it - the Colonial Act - which gave final expression to the establishment of a corporative fascist state in Portugal.

Salazar based his political theory on the doctrines of the popes and throughout the 1930s achieved great prestige in the Catholic world. In 1936, the episcopate expressed its full support for the regime in a Carta Pastoral, reaffirmed the following year by the head of the Portuguese Catholic Church. Pope Pius XII said of him: "I bless him with all my heart, and I cherish the most ardent desire that he be able to complete successfully his work of national restoration, both spiritual and material". In 1938, Fordham University, a university founded by the Catholic Diocese of New York, granted him the Honorary Doctorate of Law.

Some prominent oppositionist priests, such as Fathers Abel Varzim and Joaquim Alves Correia, openly supported in 1945 the Movement of Democratic Unity (MUD), in which the Portuguese Communist Party was a leading force.<sup>13</sup> Fr. Varzim attacked Salazar and his claims of the Catholicism of the corporatist state, arguing that the regime was not true to Catholic social teaching as the people suffered in poverty. Fr. Varzim's newspaper, *O Trabalhador (The Worker)*, was

---

<sup>13</sup>Joaquim Alves Correia (1886-1951) was forced into exile in the United States. The opposition candidate in the 1958 presidential election, Humberto Delgado, a Roman Catholic and a dissident of the regime, quoted Pope Pius XII to show how the social policies of the regime were against the social teachings of the Church. That same year, in July 1958, Salazar suffered a severe blow from the bishop of Porto, Dom António Ferreira Gomes, who wrote a critical letter to the Council President criticizing the restrictions on human rights and denouncing the harshness of Portugal's poverty. It was time, he said, for the Church to come out of the catacombs and speak its mind.

After the Second Vatican Council, a large number of Catholics became active in the democratic opposition. The outbreak of the colonial wars in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique - in March 1961, January 1963 and September 1964 respectively - exacerbated the divisions within the Catholic sector along progressive and traditionalist lines. The pope's decision to travel to Bombay in December 1964 to take part in the Eucharistic Congress represented for the Portuguese head of government - who saw in India little more than the illegal occupier of Goa since December 1961 - no less than a direct affront to the nation as a whole. See Anonymous, "António de Oliveira Salazar," *Wikipedia*.

closed in 1948. In his personal diary he wrote: "o estado-salazar é quem manda na igreja" ("In Portugal the Salazar-State rules the church").<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>Fr. Abel Varzim (1902-1964) was born in Cristelo (Barcelos), diocese of Braga. This was a farming community. His mother was a teacher. By age 10 he wanted to be a priest. After finishing high school in 1921, he studied at the Conciliar Seminary in Povoia de Varzim and was ordained as a priest in 1925. He then taught at the Minor Seminary of Serpa for five years. There he helped establish a section of the National Corps of Scouts-and was appointed its chief.

Fr. Varzim went on to further study at the University of Leuven, in Belgium and in 1934 was awarded a doctorate in Political and Social Sciences. His thesis dealt with the corporative and cooperative nature of the Boerenbond [League of Farmers], that is, the Belgian Catholic agrarian structure. He was influenced by the Social Encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI, Jacques Maritain, Joseph Cardijn, founder of JOC (Youth of Catholic Workers) and the cartoonist Hergé (Georges Remi, (1907-1983). His dissertation was published as *Le Boerenbond belge* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et cie., 1934), LCCN 34041897, 272 pp.

Back in Portugal in 1934, Fr. Varzim drafted, with Father Manuel Rocha, the Statutes of Portuguese Catholic Action (ACP), striving for it to be made up of specialized organizations, for young people and adults, and for farmers, workers and university students. The document, despite the opposition of the Portuguese State, was approved by the Holy See.

At the same time, Fr. Varzim joined in the work of his elementary school and seminary companion, Fr. Lopes da Cruz, who in Lisbon was responsible for editing the daily *Novidades* (New Day), and the magazine *Renascença* (Renaissance) and guiding the campaign for the creation of Rádio Renascença. The station started regular broadcasts in 1937.

Fr. Varzim was also involved in the founding of the Catholic Workers' League, which was the Specialized Organization of the ACP, officially created in 1935. He was its General Assistant until 1948. He was also a promoter of the newspaper *The Worker*, which was put out by the Organismos Operários da Acção Católica. The paper was suppressed by the government in July 1948. This was after its editor, Manuel Alpiarça, refused the bribes of the National Union to down play the promotion of social justice.

The priest was a professor at the Institute of Social Service (1938-1948) and an assistant at the Center for Social Action Studies for University Students (1941-1945). At the beginning of 1939, he was appointed director of the Economic-Social Secretariat, an organ of Catholic Action, whose purpose was to carry out social activities.

Fr. Varzim was a deputy to the National Assembly in the 1938-1942 legislature, becoming famous for a "Prior Notice" that he presented there on February 17, 1939 on National Unions. In the notice he criticized as ineffective the corporate union organization (the National Institute for Work and Welfare.

**Marek Szwarc** (1892-1958) was a painter and sculptor associated with the School of Paris (École de Paris), as well as with the Yiddish cultural avant-garde movement in Poland *Yung-yidish*. He converted to Catholicism in 1919, but at the same time retained his identity as a Jew. He was born in Zgierz, Poland, the youngest of ten sons. His father, Moshe Szwarc, was an Orthodox Jew involved in the First Zionist Congress. From 1910 to 1914, Marek lived and studied art at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris. He boarded at *la Ruche* together with Soutine, Marc Chagall, Modigliani and Kremegne. Together with Tchaikov and Lichtenstein, he inaugurated the first Jewish art journal *Makhmadim* (Precious Ones).

Between 1914 and 1917, Szwarc traveled through the Russian Empire. In 1919 he met and married his wife, Guina, a writer, and together they returned to Paris. His paintings and sculptures were bought by collectors in Germany, Poland and the United States. His work was frequently concerned with biblical themes from the Old and New Testament. When Poland fell in 1939, he volunteered for the Polish army in exile and after the occupation of France he escaped with the Polish army to Scotland.<sup>15</sup>

To help promote social justice, Fr. Varzim had initially welcomed the Unitary Corporate State and the “National Labor Statute” imposed by Salazar. But he came to realize that he was wrong, and that the Estado Novo regime did not respond to the problems that afflicted the workers, and the common Portuguese.

The priest was harassed by the political police and in 1948 he was removed from his responsibilities in Catholic Action. In 1949 he published a book on communism, titled *Comunismo* (Lisboa, SET, 1949), LCCN 50026650, 148 pp. At the same time he became a parish priest of Nossa Senhora da Encarnação in Lisbon, where he helped create the "House of Work", the Medical Center and the Soup of the Poor. He was part of the fight for the most disadvantaged and for the recovery and social reintegration of prostitutes, a fight that extended to other areas of the city. In doing this he helped found recovery centers at Quinta do Bosque (Amadora) [Sant'Ana Institute] and in Porto the House of Nossa Senhora - Rainha da Paz.

In 1957, the priest returned to the rural area where he had grown up and despite the persecution suffered from the political police, he continued his action in favor of “development” and “solidarity.” In this he helped create the Sociedade Avícola do Minho (SAMI), a cooperative society that proposed the economic development of the region.

See Anonymous, “Abel Varzim,” *Wikipedia*; and Anonymous, “Cardijn Priests,” online at <https://sites.google.com/a/josephcardijn.com/cardijn-priests/varzim-abel>.

<sup>15</sup>See Marek Szwarc, *Mémoires entre deux mondes: racontées à sa femme, Eugenia Markowa* [Memoirs Between Two Worlds: Told to His Wife], trans. from Polish to French by Suzanne Brucker. (Coeuvres-et-Valsery: Ressouvenances, impr., 1954, 2010), 297 pp.; Meyer Levin, *The golden mountain; marvellous tales of Rabbi Israel Baal Shem, and of his great-grandson, Rabbi Nachman, retold*

**Fr. Luigi Sturzo** (1871-1959) was born on the island of Sicily in southern Italy and was a "clerical socialist."<sup>16</sup> He was ordained in 1894 and in 1898 he received a doctorate in his philosophical studies from the Pontifical Gregorian in Rome. He taught that subject in his hometown of Caltagirone from 1898 to 1903. He helped found the town's newspaper *La Croce di Constantino* in 1897. From 1905 to 1920 he served as his town's Vice-Mayor and opened a ceramicists' school in 1918.

In 1919 Fr. Sturzo was among the founders of the Italian People's Party (PPI, Partito Popolare Italiano) and was its first general secretary. The purpose of the PPI - with the permission of Pope Benedict XV, who was in office from 1914 until 1922,. The purpose of the People's Party was to oppose the Italian Socialist Party (PSI). The People's Party represented a tacit and reluctant reversal of the Vatican's *Non Expedit* of non-participation in Italian politics. That policy had been abolished before the November 1919 elections in which the PPI won 20% of the vote and 100 seats in the legislature. The PPI's heartlands were interior Veneto and north-western Lombardy. It was weaker in Piedmont and in Southern Italy. Its platform called for an elective Senate, proportional representation, corporatism, agrarian reform, women's suffrage, political decentralization, independence of the Catholic Church, and social legislation.

The People's Party was a big political force in the nation. Between 1919 and 1922 no government could be formed and maintained without its support. But a coalition between the Socialists and the PPI was deemed unacceptable within the Vatican despite the Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti in 1914 proposing it and something his progressive and powerless successors - Bonomi (1921-1922) and Facta (1922) - reimagined as the single possible coalition that excluded the Fascists.

Fr. Sturzo was an anti-fascist who propagandized on the ways in which Catholicism and Fascism were incompatible in such works as *Coscienza cristiana*. He also criticized the "filo-fascist" elements within the Vatican. He also wrote about the thought of Saint Augustine of Hippo, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Giambattista Vico and Maurice Blondel. He did this in order to elaborate on what he called the "dialectic of the concrete" and opposed this dialectic as an alternative to absolute idealism and scholastic realism.

Fr. Sturzo was not among the 14 People's Party members who defected - under pressure from Pope Pius XI - to approve the Acerbo Law in July 1923.<sup>17</sup> That law gave Mussolini's fascist party a majority of deputies. Most of the PPI, including Fr. Sturzo, opposed Mussolini and his regime, but Vatican's secretary of

---

*from Hebrew, Yiddish and German sources*, illus. by Marek Szwarc (New York: J. Cape & R. Ballou, 1932), LCCN 32008945, 357 pp.; and Anonymous, "Marek Szwarc," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>16</sup>See Anonymous, "Luigi Sturzo," *Wikipedia*.

<sup>17</sup>See Anonymous, "Acerbo Law," *Wikipedia*.

state, Cardinal Pietro Gasparri was a Mussolini ally, as was the pope. As a result of the priest's resistance, he was forced to resign as the General Secretary of the PPI on July 10, 1923.

After Fr. Sturzo's departure the Vatican endorsed the formation of the *Unione Nazionale* which was pro-fascist and Catholic. This brought the rupture of the PPI and provided political cover for its former members to join Mussolini's inaugural government.

The final decline of the PPI came was tied to the Matteotti affair, in which the socialist deputy Giacomo Matteotti was murdered by fascists on June 10, 1924. The result was the Aventine Secession, which was the withdrawal of the parliament opposition, mainly comprising the Italian Socialist Party, Italian Liberal Party, Italian People's Party and Italian Communist Party, from the Italian Chamber of Deputies in 1924–1925. The secession was named after the Aventine Secession in ancient Rome. This act of protest heralded the assumption of total power by Benito Mussolini and his National Fascist Party and the establishment of a one-party dictatorship in Italy.<sup>18</sup>

When Fr. Sturzo proposed that the Aventine Secession should return to Parliament, Cardinal Pietro Gasparri acceded to the wishes of Mussolini and forced Sturzo to leave the Italian nation before the re-opening of Parliament commemorating the March on Rome.

Fr. Sturzo was exiled from 1924 to 1946 first in London (1924–1940) and then in the United States of America (1940–1946). The choice of London was intended to isolate him because he did not speak the language and it did not contain a large population of like-minded Catholics. He moved to the residence of the Oblates of Saint Charles in Bayswater and then in January 1925 to the Servites at their priory of Saint Mary in Fulham Road where he was asked to leave in 1926 because the Servites' motherhouse in Rome was being denied funds as long as Sturzo was their guest.

When in exile in London and New York Fr. Sturzo published over 400 articles that were critical of fascism. They were later published as *Miscellanea Londinese*. In 1926 he refused an offer from the Vatican - communicated through Cardinal Francis Bourne - to serve as a chaplain in a convent in Chiswick and lodging for his twin sister Nelina in exchange for ending his journalistic activism and issuing a "spontaneous declaration" that he was retired from politics in full. Instead in November 1926 he moved into a flat at 213b Gloucester Terrace in Bayswater with his sister where the pair lived as lodgers until 1933. After the signing of the Lateran Treaty in 1929 he was offered an appointment as a Canon of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome again in exchange for his permanent renunciation of politics.

On September 22, 1940 Fr. Sturzo boarded the *Samaria* in Liverpool bound for New York hoping for an academic appointment. But he was instead sent to

---

<sup>18</sup>See Anonymous, "Aventine Secession (20th century)," *Wikipedia*..

Saint Vincent's Hospital in Jacksonville, Florida which was filled with priests who were ill and about to die.

Beginning in 1941 Fr. Sturzo cooperated with agents from the British Security Co-Ordination as well as the Office of Strategic Services and the Office of War Information providing them with his assessments of the political forces with the Italian resistance movement and radio broadcasts to the Italian peninsula. He returned to Brooklyn in April 1944 but his return to his homeland received a Vatican-De Gasperi veto in October 1945. It was vetoed again in May 1946, prior to the republic-monarchy referendum. Fr. Sturzo was against the monarchy and the Vatican did not want his voice to be heard.

Alcide De Gasperi (1881-1954) had helped found the Italian People's Party along with Fr. Sturzo in 1920 and in 1943 helped found the Christian Democracy party. He served as the 30th prime minister of Italy in eight successive coalition governments from 1945 to 1953. He was the last prime minister of the Kingdom of Italy, serving under both Victor Emmanuel III and Umberto II. He was also the first prime minister of the Italian Republic, and also briefly served as provisional head of state after the Italian people voted to end the monarchy and establish a republic.

After the dissolution of the PPI in 1926, De Gasperi had been imprisoned by the fascists. Upon his release, he was unemployed and in financial hardship. His ecclesiastical contacts secured him a job as a cataloger in the Vatican Library, where he spent the next fourteen years until the collapse of Fascism in July 1943. During the 1930s, he wrote a regular international column for the review *L'Illustrazione Vaticana* in which he depicted the chief political battle as one between communism and Christianity. In 1934, he rejoiced in the defeat of the Austrian Social Democrats, whom he condemned for "de-Christianizing" the country, and in 1937 he declared that the German Church was correct in preferring Nazism to Bolshevism.<sup>19</sup>

Cardinal Camillo Ruini inaugurated Fr. Sturzo's cause for canonization in March 2002 and titled the priest as a Servant of God. The Congregation for the Causes of Saints issued the official "nihil obstat" decree.

Fr. Sturzo's publications in English include:

*Italy and fascismo*, tran. Barbara Barclay Carter (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1926), LCCN 26020279, 305 pp.

*Politics and morality* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, ltd. 1938), LCCN 39020984, 235 pp.

*Nationalism and internationalism* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1946), LCCN 46008081, 308 pp.

*Church and state* (London:, G. Bles, The Centenary Press, 1939), LCCN 40005690, 584 pp.

*Spiritual problems of our times* (New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co., 1945), LCCN 45010382, 182 pp.

---

<sup>19</sup>See Anonymous, "Alcide De Gasperi," *Wikipedia*.

**Josip Broz Tito** (1892-1980), was a Yugoslav communist revolutionary and statesman. He was born to a Croat father and Slovene mother in the village of Kumrovec, Austria-Hungary (now in Croatia). Drafted into military service, he distinguished himself, becoming the youngest sergeant major in the Austro-Hungarian Army of that time. After being seriously wounded and captured by the Russians during World War I, he was sent to a work camp in the Ural Mountains. He participated in some events of the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the subsequent Civil War.

Upon his return to the Balkans in 1918, Tito entered the newly established Kingdom of Yugoslavia, where he joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ). He later was elected as general secretary, later president, of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (1939–1980).

During World War II, after the Nazi invasion of the area, he led the Yugoslav guerrilla movement, the Partisans (1941–1945). By the end of the war, the Partisans - with the backing of the invading Soviet Union - took power over Yugoslavia. He was often regarded as the most effective resistance movement in German-occupied Europe.<sup>20</sup>

**Palmiro Togliatti** (1893-1964) was a founding member of the Communist Party of Italy (*Partito Comunista d'Italia*, PCI), and from 1927 until his death, he was its Secretary except for the period from 1934 to 1938, during which he was a representative to the Comintern. He was from a Catholic family. His father was a civil servant and his mother a teacher. In 1908 he took up studies at the "Azuni" classics high school (classical lyceum) in Sassari (Sardinia), where he was a good student. In 1914 he joined the Socialist Party (PSI) in Turin, aligning himself with Antonio Gramsci and other party members who believed that the Italian labor movement should adopt a revolutionary line rather than a reformist one, as advocated by the leaders of the Socialist Party. He graduated from the University of Turin in law in 1915 and served two years in the military during World War II. He was wounded and received a medical discharge.

Togliatti then returned to the university to study philosophy but in time came to devote himself entirely to his political activities. At this time, while translating and publicizing the writings of V. I. Lenin and of the Bolshevik Party in general, he kept a close watch on revolutionary developments in Russia. At the beginning of 1919 he became a member of the editorial board of *Avanti!*, the Socialist Party's newspaper, and later helped found the weekly *L'Ordine Nuovo* (New Order). In September and October of the same year, he helped organize the first factory councils in Turin.

Elected in January 1920 to the directive committee of the Socialist section in Turin, Togliatti, while calling for the revolutionary renewal of the party,

---

<sup>20</sup>See Anonymous, "Josip Broz Tito," *Wikipedia*.

proposed that it establish close ties with the factory councils. He accordingly became a leader in the workers' campaign to take over the city's enterprises. At the end of 1920 he assumed the editorial direction of *L'Ordine Nuovo* when it became the central organ of the newly formed communist faction within the Socialist Party. From that forum he exercised a leading influence in the movement that led to the founding of the Italian Communist Party (CPI) in January 1921 and its joining the Communist International, commonly known as the Comintern.

In 1924, together with Gramsci, Togliatti launched the newspaper *L'Unità*. At the national party conference in 1924, he joined forces again with Gramsci to oppose the left-wing policy of Amedeo Bordiga, a leader of the young Communist Party, winning a decisive majority among the party's leadership. This was part of the Comintern campaign of "Bolshevisation" which sought to require each party to conform to the discipline of Moscow.<sup>21</sup> Togliatti was arrested twice between 1923 and 1925, spending nearly eight months in prison.

After Mussolini took power in October 1922, Togliatti initially minimized the dictatorial aspects of the new fascist government. He stated, "The fascist government, which is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, will have no interest in getting rid of any of the traditional democratic prejudices." In August 1923 Mussolini pushed through Parliament a new electoral law, the Acerbo Law, which assigned two-thirds of the seats to the list that had exceeded 25% of the votes. Togliatti wrote that "fascism will, gained power, dispersing the proletarians aggregates, prevent their unification on any terrain and cause a unification around it instead of the bourgeois political groups."

In the 1924 general election the National List of Mussolini (an alliance with Liberals and Conservatives) used intimidation tactics, resulting in a landslide victory and a subsequent two-thirds majority; while the Communist Party gained only 3% of votes and 19 seats. In 1926, when the PCI was banned by the Fascist government, party leaders Amedeo Bordiga and Gramsci were arrested and imprisoned on the island of Ustica. Togliatti was one of few leaders not arrested, as he was attending a meeting of the Comintern in Moscow.

In 1927, Togliatti was elected General Secretary of PCI in place of Gramsci. In exile during the late 1920s and the 1930s, he organized clandestine meetings of the PCI at Lyon (1926) and Cologne (1931). In 1935, under the *nom de guerre* Ercole Ercoli, he was named a member of the secretariat of the Comintern. In August 1936, the Comintern published a manifesto, titled "For the Salvation of Italy and the Reconciliation of the Italian People", which was written by Togliatti. It was addressed to "the blackshirt brothers" and appealed for unity between Communists and Fascists: "We Communists have made ours the Fascist programme of 1919, which is a programme of peace, liberty and defence of the interests of the workers. ... The Fascist programme of 1919 has not been realised!

---

<sup>21</sup>See Thomas R. Bates, "Antonio Gramsci and the Bolshevization of the PCI," *Journal of Contemporary History* (1976), vol. 11, no. 2, pp.115–131, online at [http://www.oocities.org/cordobakaf/gramsci\\_pci.pdf](http://www.oocities.org/cordobakaf/gramsci_pci.pdf).

Let's struggle united for the realisation of this programme." In March 1941, Togliatti told the Comintern that the strength of Italian Fascism lay not only in violence, "This dictatorship has done something – not just by means of violence. It has done something even for the workers and the young. We cannot deny that the introduction of social security is a fact."

In 1939, Togliatti was arrested in France; released, he moved to the Soviet Union, and remained there during World War II, broadcasting radio messages on Radio Milano-Libertà to Italy, in which he called for resistance to Nazi Germany and the Italian Social Republic. After the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 and the formation of the Cominform in 1947, he refused the post of Secretary General, offered to him directly by Stalin in 1951, preferring to remain at the head of the PCI.

In 1944 Togliatti returned from Moscow to Italy and led his PCI and other political forces to the so-called *Svolta di Salerno*, the "Salerno Turn". This was a compromise between antifascist parties, the monarchy and prime minister Pietro Badoglio to set up a government of national unity and to postpone institutional questions. Togliatti also founded a political journal, *Rinascita* (Rebirth) in 1944 which he edited until his death. The PCI committed to supporting to abandon the armed struggle for the cause of Socialism. In effect, the turn moved the party to the right, in contrast with many demands from within; it also meant the disarmament of those members of the Italian resistance movement that had been organized by the PCI (the Garibaldi Brigades). Togliatti served from December 1944 as Deputy Prime Minister and then from June 1945 as Justice Minister.

As mentioned earlier, after having been minister without portfolio in the Pietro Badoglio Italian government, he acted as vice-premier under Alcide De Gasperi in 1945. In opposition to the dominant line in his own Italian Communist Party, he voted for the inclusion of the Lateran Pacts in the Italian Constitution. At the 1946 general election, held at the same time as the Constitutional Referendum won by republican supporters, the PCI obtained 19% of the votes and 104 seats in the new Constituent Assembly.

Communist ministers were evicted during the May 1947 crisis. The same month, Maurice Thorez, head of the French Communist Party (PCF), was forced to quit Paul Ramadier's government along with the four other communist ministers. As in Italy, the PCF was very strong, taking part in the Three parties alliance (*Tripartisme*) and scoring 28% at the November 1946 elections.

In 1948, Togliatti led the PCI in the first democratic election after World War II. He lost to the Christian Democrat party (DC) after a highly confrontational campaign in which the United States, viewing him as a Cold War enemy, played a large part. Allied with the PSI in the Popular Democratic Front, the left-wing achieved 31% of the votes.

In July 1948 Togliatti was shot three times, being severely wounded by an anti-communist fascist student; his life hung in the balance for days and news about his condition was uncertain, causing an acute political crisis in Italy, which included a general strike called by the Italian General Confederation of Labour.

Under Togliatti's leadership, the PCI became the second largest party in Italy, and the largest non-ruling communist party in Europe. Although permanently in the opposition at the national level during Togliatti's lifetime, the party ran many municipalities and held great power at the local and regional level in certain areas. In 1953, Togliatti fought against the so-called "cheat or swindle law", an electoral legislation passed by the Christian Democracy-led majority of the time, which aimed at using first past the post to augment the center-right's power. Ultimately, the law was to prove of no use for the government in the elections of that year, where the PCI won 22% of the vote. It was repealed in November 1953.

Despite his close relationship with the Soviet Union, Togliatti's leadership remained unscathed after the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. He developed and named the polycentrism theory (unity in diversity within the communist parties in all countries). After the reformist Khrushchev faction took power in the Soviet Union, Togliatti launched the party program of the "Italian way to Socialism." We are democrats in that we are not only anti-fascists, but socialists and communists. There is no contradiction between democracy and socialism.

The new policy proposed by Togliatti was opposed to any revolutionary means of gaining power and aimed at accompanying institutional action with the extension of social and trade union struggles. During this period the PCI purged revolutionary factions opposed to the new openly reformist line. In the 1958 elections, the number of Communist votes was still on the rise. In the 1963 elections, the PCI gained 25% of the votes but again failed to reach a relative majority.

Togliatti saw the pontificate of Pope John XXIII as positive. In April 1963, the pope issued the second of his controversial encyclicals, *Pacem in Terris*. It drew a distinction between historical movements that had economic, social, or political ends and "the false philosophical teachings" which had originally animated those movements. The pope declared that "those movements, insofar as they conform to the dictates of right reason, contain elements that are positive and deserving of approval." About this, Marymount College professor Elisa A. Carrillo commented:

The world press interpreted "historical movements" as Marxist movements, and thus Pope John could be said to endorse collaboration with both the Socialist and Communist parties. For an Italian Catholic electorate brought up on anti communism, this was a startling reversal of the Church's position. And insofar as the encyclical called for an end to the arms race, the pope seemed to be blessing the Soviet Union's efforts to bring about disarmament.

*Pacem in Terris* may be said to have had its communist counterpart in Togliatti's speech in Bergamo on March 20, 1963, in

which the Communist leader took note of the new directions of the Johannine pontificate.<sup>22</sup>

Togliatti in his speech on *Pacem in Terris* observed that the "religious conscience" was not an obstacle to the realization of the Marxist goal of an end to inequality and exploitation but a stimulus to action. Historian Carrillo later remarked about Togliatti's speech, "Both *Pacem in Terris* and Togliatti's speech came in the midst of a parliamentary campaign that developed bizarre elements. Conservative parties sought to capitalize on worker dissatisfaction with inflation and on middle-class opposition to Center-Left measures that bordered on socialism, while the leftist parties stressed the inadequacy of the Center-Left in enacting structural reform. Those who had previously voted for the Christian Democrats but were now disaffected for one reason or another found themselves being wooed on all sides. The leadership of the Christian Democratic Party, with Moro as political secretary and Fanfani as premier, struggled to maintain the party's usual sources of electoral strength. The Italian Episcopal Commission issued its customary exhortation to vote in accordance with a Christian conscience, but the refrain seemed pro forma."<sup>23</sup>

Togliatti died in 1964 while vacationing in Crimea on the Black Sea. According to some of his collaborators, he was traveling to the Soviet Union to give his support to Leonid Brezhnev's election as Khrushchev's successor at the head of Communist Party of the Soviet Union. His favourite pupil, Enrico Berlinguer, was later elected as his successor to the National Secretary of the PCI position, though Berlinguer's time in office saw the rejection of key policies advocated by Togliatti.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>Elisa A. Carrillo, "The Italian Catholic Church and Communism, 1943-1963," (October, 1991), vol. 77, no. 4, pp. 644-657, at 656.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup>See Anonymous, "Palmiro Togliatti," *Wikipedia*; Sergei Ivanovich Dorofeev, "Palmiro Togliatti," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New York: Macmillan, 1979), (31 vols.), online at <https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Togliatti%2c+Palmiro>; Togliatti *Comunisti, socialisti, cattolici* (Communists, Socialists, Catholics), ed. Luciano Groups (a cura di Luciano Gruppi), (Rome: Editori riuniti, 1966, 1974), LCCN 75580850, 240 pp.; Togliatti, *Per un accordo fra comunisti e cattolici per salvare la civiltà umana; discorso tenuto al Comitato centrale del PCI. il giorno 12 aprile 1954* (For an agreement between communists and Catholics to save human civilization; speech given to the Central Committee of PCI. on April 12, 1954), (Rome: Editori riuniti, 1954), LCCN 62034600, 30 pp.; and Sergei Skazkin, Karolina Miziano, Sergei Dorofeev (eds.), *Istoriia Italii* (History of Italy), (Moscow: Nauka, 1970-1971), LCCN 71540226. 3 vols.



## Bibliography of Works by Fr. Boulier<sup>1</sup>

- (1926) *L'Eglise et l'action française* [The Church and *action française*] (Paris: Spes Action Populaire, 1926).
- (1946) *Les Principes chrétiens du droit des gens: leçon inaugurale prononcée le 27 novembre 1945* [The Christian Principles of International Law: Inaugural Lecture delivered on November 27, 1945] (Paris: Éditions du Témoignage chrétien, 1946).
- (1948) “Dichiarazione d’un Abate Francese al Congresso di Wrocław” [Declaration by a French Abbe to the Wrocław Congress], Belfagor (Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki srl, Vallecchi Editore, November 30, 1948) vol. 3, no. 6, pp. 716-719.
- (1949) Michel Bruguier, Jean Boulier, et al., *Assises nationales du peuple français pour la paix et la liberte. Rapports et comptes rendus des colleges...* (Paris: Impr. SFEIR, Les Combattants de la liberte et de la paix, 1949).
- (1949) “Il faut traiter” (We must negotiate) in *Esprit: New Series* (Paris), no. 161 (11) (November 1949), pp. 684-689 (in JSTOR Journals).
- (1949) *Il Vaticano accusato dai cattolici* (The Vatican accused by Catholics) (Milano: Cultura nuova, 1949) LCCN: 51040552.
- (1950) Fr. Jean Boulier, “Preface,” to Pierre Debray’s *Un catholique retour de l’URSS* (Paris: Éditions du Pavillon, impr. de J. London, 1950), 140 pp., LCCN 51033543.
- (1950) Fr. Jean Boulier and Marcin Czerwinski, *Siadectwo prawdzie* (Testimony of truth) (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1950) 46 pp. (OCLC: 804761897).
- (1950) *Why I signed the Stockholm appeal to ban the atom bomb* (Sydney: New South Wales Peace Council, 195?), 15 pp. (OCLC: 37095185). French edition titled: *Pourquoi j’ai signe l’Appel de Stockholm* (OCLC: 493622206).
- (1953) *Trois lettres sur le mouvement de la paix: [Suivi de La guerre bacteriologique et L’appel de Stockholm* [Three letters on the peace movement: (Follow-up to Bacteriological Warfare and The Stockholm Appeal)] (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1953).
- (1954) *Le conflit du christianisme et du marxisme: questions au R. P. Bigo* [The conflict between Christianity and Marxism: questions to R. P. Bigo] pamphlet extracted from *Europe revue Litteraire Mensuelle* (Paris), no. 100 (April 1954).
- (1954) *Les Pretres ouvriers* [The worker priests] (Paris: Edition de Minuit, 1954), 290 pp. (OCLC: 1067262097).
- (1954) “‘Monsieur Féli’ et le christianisme eternal” (“Monsieur Féli” and eternal Christianity), *Europe revue Litteraire Mensuelle* (Paris: February-March, 1954), no. 98-99).

---

<sup>1</sup>A larger bibliography is in Jean Boulier, *I was a Red Priest* (Silver Spring, MD: Red Star-CWPublisher, [1977] 2022).

- (1955) Leon Lyon-Caen, Jean Boulier, et al., *Commission internationale de juristes ... à propos a l'interdiction du Parti communiste allemand* (International Commission of Jurists for the Examination of ... the ban of the German Communist Party) (Bruxelles: Impr. CEPI, 1955), (Bibliothèque nationale de France) (OCLC: 314687696 and 458665449).
- (1958) *Jean Hus* (Jan Hus) (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1982, c1958) 306 pp. LC classification: BX4917 .B68 1982, Series: Le Temps & les homes; LCCN: 83175480. the national hero of Czechoslovakia, martyr of the "heresy," which Fr. Boulier claimed rehabilitation.
- (1958) *The law above the rule of law: a criticism of an enterprise of the cold war* (Brussels: Belgium: International Association of Democratic Lawyers Publications, 1958).
- (1959) "Voltaire et Dieu," *Europe revue Litteraire Mensuelle* (Paris: 1959), no. 37, 361-362.
- (1962) *Les juges nazis dans l'appareil d'Etat de la Republique federale allemande* [Nazi judges in the state apparatus of the Federal Republic of Germany] (Bruxelles: Editions de l'Association internationale des juristes démocrates, 1962).
- (1964) *Le Concile Vatican II: une explication* [Vatican Council II: an explanation] (Paris: Monde Reel, 1964).
- (1967) *En Pologne 1946: avec E. Mounier* ([s.n.] : [s.l.], 1967), pp. 320-343 (OCLC: 880606024) (extrait de: *Europe revue Litteraire Mensuelle*, February-March 1967 (Institut Catholique de Paris)).
- (1972) Albert Norden, *Le secret des guerres: genese et techniques de l'agression* (The secret of wars: genesis and techniques of aggression) (**Fr. Jean Boulier** preface, Paris: Le Pavillon, 1972), 373 pp. (OCLC: 721349951).
- (1975) *La nouvelle messe: expliquée en dialogues* [The New Mass: Explained in Dialogue] (Paris: Editions de l'Athanor, c1975) LCCN: 76462721.

### Works about Fr. Boulier

- Béguin, Albert, "Centenaire de Lamennais," *Esprit*, Nouvelle série, No. 213 (4) (April 1954), pp. 579-584.
- Boudon, Jacques-Olivier, *Les Chrétiens et le Mouvement de la Paix en France (1948-1953)* (Paris: Maîtrise d'Histoire [dissertation], Université de Paris IV, 1985) (OCLC: 494325170).
- Einaudi, Mario, "Western Communism: A Profile," *The American Political Science Review* (March 1951), vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 185-208.
- Kosicki, Piotr H, *Catholics on the barricades: Poland, France, and "revolution", 1891-1956* (New Haven, CT : Yale University Press, 2018).
- Tranvouez, Yvon, *Catholiques et communistes. La crise du progressisme chrétien, 1950-1955* (Paris: Cerf, 2000).

- Action Française*, 12, 60  
 nationalist, monarchist, 3  
 political Catholicism, 55
- Albania, 66, 67, 100  
 Pius XII silent Italy's invasion (1939), 11
- America  
 atom bomb, 5  
 Hiroshima and Nagasaki (war crime), 21, 88  
 Washington-Hollywood threat psychosis (1946), 21  
 communist containment  
 Ardahan and Kars Turkey (1946), 7  
 doctrine, 52  
 Greek Civil War (1946-1949), 90  
 not German re-armament, 65  
 started Cold War (1946), 90  
 imperialism - world police station, slaves of capital (Fadeyev), 51  
 Irish and East Europeans brought political Catholicism, 55  
 sought  
 admission fascist Spain to UN (1946), Poland opposed, 26  
 European (capitalist) integration, 71  
 fascist program (1946), 57
- American way of life*  
 not Christianity, 87  
 rejected by China, 87
- Anti-clericalism  
 because of Vatican-fascist collaboration, 43  
 France - clergy expelled in Revolution, 43
- Anti-communism  
 American money (1948) Italy and France, 62  
 Hitler's program, 67  
 led to World War II, cold war, 67
- Maurras, 64
- Aquinas, Thomas OP  
 international law followed Roman law of nations (*ius gentium*), 93  
 leading scholastic, 85  
 materialism, 151  
 no do crime to serve good cause, 89  
 nothing (communism) intrinsically perverse, 146
- Berlin blockade  
 German re-armament, 65
- Bogomil churches, Balkans (reform poverty, 900s-1400s AD), 58
- Boulier, Fr.  
 Algerian War, 96  
 anxious for souls, Italy's 1948 electoral campaign, 58  
 autobiography, 95
- Catholic Institute  
 fired, 3, 92  
 honor enter, greater leave, 92  
 professor, v, 86  
 duty to enlighten, nationally and internationally, 92  
 intellectual, free person, serves truth, dangerous, needs courage, 92
- Jesuits, 95
- law  
 international, 159  
 problems, 58
- opponents ignorant of facts within reach of everyone, 92
- statement, World Peace Congress of Intellectuals (1948), 73
- take stand against  
 anti-communism at Warsaw, Rome, Wroclaw, v, 7  
 atomic policy as violation Christian principles war peace, v, 7, 86  
 lowering ministry of word, 64

- preventive, aggressive, atomic war against USSR, 93
- WWIII, criminals preparing it, 2, 3, 71, 83, 85
- take stand for
  - Christian citizens collaboration communist city and socialist order, 84
  - Christian collaboration with communists, 77
  - financial aid for Poland (1946), 26
  - free position on free questions, 92
  - his conscience, no offend morality or creed, 92
  - hope, truth, 82
  - international law an honor, like Vitoria in 1500s, 94
  - peacefully reconstructing Europe, 84
  - social Catholicism (de Mun), v, 9
- teaching
  - Germany won WWII, 67
  - God - unseen, does the work, 58
  - spiritual authority liberates, not oppresses, 63
  - truly Godless reject poor, 83
- Canon law
  - communism, 50
- Capitalism
  - fundamental economic law - surplus value, 78
  - World War II debacle, v
- Catholic Action (Italy)
  - 1948 election, fascist tactics, hierarchy mandated, 61
  - promoted social justice, opposed anti-clericalism, communism, 49
- Catholic Institute (ICP, Paris), v, 2, 86
- Centre Party, Weimar Republic
  - Catholic, 56
- China
  - civil war, 88
  - rejected *made in America*, 87
- Christian Ministry
  - directed by self-righteous newspapers, 5
  - give back goods to Caesar for salvation of all, 77
  - liberates spiritual from temporal order (Caesar), a joy, 77
  - martyrs and mystics bring peace, 58
  - proletarian justice, not charity (Ozanam), 78
  - social struggle, 5
  - vocation to announce, build kingdom of God, not escapism, 77
  - wealth production and distribution (progress), 77
- Christian Revolutionary History
  - Archbishop Affre, 1848 martyr, 79
  - authentic Christian not confused by temporal-spiritual issue, 79, 80
  - Belgium, Ireland, Italy, United States, 80
  - Daniel O'Connell (1829), 80
  - France - June Days Uprising (June 1848), 135
  - German Great Peasants' Revolt (1500s), 94
  - Hitler's war continued, so resistance continued, 81
  - multi-millennial truth in Roman, medieval civilizations, 82
  - Peter Spahn (1913), 80
  - Spanish Comuneros' Revolt and Brotherhoods' Revolt (1500s), 94
  - still first Christian generation, 82
- Working Class
  - brought Christianity, 76
  - WWII resistance, 80

- Christianity  
 gave Poland magnificent future (1946), 27  
 idealist deception (capitalist materialism), 91  
 weapons of light, love, not fascist paganism, 91
- Cold War  
 fabricated psychosis, 82  
 Greece  
 America containment Civil War, (1946-1949), 90  
 Harry Truman (1946), 53, 65  
 same interests behind Nazis, 67
- Cominform, 67  
 Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, 123
- Communism, 7  
 Christians good citizens, not bourgeois money making, 84  
 comes because Christianity not real, but pagan (Chrysostom), 90  
 contained by Truman, 90  
*Doctrine of the Apostles (Didache)*, 156  
 hated by  
 East European bourgeoisie, 89  
 fascists, 99  
 Polish bourgeois, 19  
 intrinsically evil, 5, 84, 145  
 open to Christianity, not American crusade, 87  
 Poland, 15  
 Vatican opposition (1946), 48, 49, 58
- Communist Party Italy (PCI)  
 4 million voters (1946), not excommunicated, 49  
 Central Committee for National Liberation (CLN, 1943-1946), 45  
 supported Lateran Pacts, Italian Constitution (1946), 47
- Communist Party Yugoslavia (KPJ), 67
- Conferences  
 Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam, 68
- Crusades (Holy War)  
 Albigensian  
 Catharism, southern France, Christian poverty, 58  
 God gathers His own, 58  
 assassins sought against USSR, 93  
 siege of Jerusalem (1099 AD), 87
- Czechoslovakia  
 Munich Agreement, destruction (1938), 70
- Democracy  
 better than fascism for Church (1946), 40
- Dissidio (disagreement)  
 Vatican and Italian monarchy (1870-1929), 42
- Encyclicals, v  
 social began 1891 (*Rerum novarum*), 44
- England  
 no military help to Poland (1946), 20  
 Roman Church intrinsically evil (Protestantism), 84
- Epicureanism  
 materialism, 145, 151
- Episcopate  
 France, *La France Catholique* newspaper, 62  
 Italy  
 excommunicated communists (1946), 49  
 sacraments against Communist Party (1948), 58
- Fascism  
 1948 Italian elections, 59  
 Bonapartism (1799)  
*Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, 137

- dictatorship most
  - counterrevolutionary
  - bourgeoisie (Marx), 79, 138
  - first alliance fascism and church, 79
- Christianity not real, but capitalist-paganism (Chrysostom), 91
- ideology, 99
- Italy, Germany, Eastern Europe, 100
- Lateran Treaties (1929)
  - privileges for clergy, 43
  - totalitarian religion for capitalism, 40
- refugee in Holy See (1946), 37
- resistance, 101
- Spain (1946), 26
- trade union class collaboration, 45
- Truman doctrine, communist containment, 91
- France
  - Christian Democrats (Mouvement Republicain Populaire, MRP), 31, 71
  - Civil Constitution of Clergy (1790), 43
  - Fourth Republic (1946-1958), 14
  - ignored by Stalin at Yalta (1945), 172
  - ignored Nazi experience, re-armed Germany (1948), 66
  - Legion of French Volunteers Against Bolshevism (LVF), 67
  - supported USSR-Polish friendship (1946), 21
  - Vichy, 12, 14, 55, 160
    - anti-Jewish, anti-Bolshevik, 5
    - Nazi collaborator, 4, 5
- Freedom
  - of Christian, 92
  - of Church, 3, 92
    - Gregory XVI, Pius IX rejected religious liberty, 55
    - minimum with fascism (Lateran Treaties, 1929), 40
    - of press, 3
    - of Priest, 92
- Gallicism, reject of ultramontaniam, 60
- Germany
  - Center Party (Catholic), 80
  - Communist Party (KPD), anti-Nazis, 1930s, 56
  - Great Peasants' Revolt (1500s), 94
  - Munich enslavement working masses (1938), 70
  - re-armed
    - for American businessmen, tax payers (1948), 66
    - USSR-France opposition, 65
  - Revolution (1919), monarchy replaced with republic, 56
  - Social Democratic Party (SPD), anti-Nazi (1930s), 56
  - workers
    - sought
      - denazification,
      - democratization,
      - demilitarization, 68
      - end to Ruhr monopolization, 69
- Gesu, Jesuit church (Rome), 57
- God
  - friend of humanity, 154
  - helped new Poland, 27
  - kingdom already was here, 77
  - necessary postulate (Kant), faith, not science, affirmed, 154
  - peacemakers, children of, 85
  - reconstructed by Lunacharsky and Gorky, 146
  - soul encounters in silence, 57
  - theologians prove by reason, 83
  - with or without, still had a conscience, 148
  - word free, not chained, 3
- Greece

- Civil War (1946-1949)
  - Yugoslavia aid, 67
  - American containment aid, 90
- Guernica, Spanish Civil War, 87
- Honor
  - took stand, like Vitoria in 1500s, 94
- Imperialism
  - American Indian silver stolen for Italian and German bankers (1500s), 94
- Intellectual
  - free person, service of truth, dangerous, needs courage, 92
- International Association Democratic Lawyers (IADL), 73
- International Law
  - Canonists, 160
  - Christian Law, 160, 162
  - Christian Principles
    - atomic war not defensive crusade, 86
    - Law of Nations, opposed atomic suicide in Polish religious circles, 28
  - Fr. Boulier, Fr. Vitoria take stand, 94
  - Francisco de Vitoria, 160
  - Francisco Suárez (just war), 85, 160
  - history, 159
  - Hitler's war on USSR, aggression, crime (Nuremberg), 86
  - League of Nations, 162
  - Nuremberg Trials, 157
  - papal political doctrine, 51, 58
  - Scholasticism
    - Aquinas followed Roman law of nations (*ius gentium*), 93
    - New World native enslavement against dignity, 93
    - Spanish-papal imperialism violated just war (1500s), 93
- Ireland
  - emancipation (1829), 80
  - Sinn Fein, anti-imperialist history, 59
- Iron Curtain, 5, 108
  - bourgeoisie seek to impose (1946), 26
  - harmful metaphor, 89
  - myth, 13
  - speech (1946), 53
- Italy
  - Christian Democracy Party (DC), 41
    - 1948 elections, fascist tactics, sex, religion, American money, 58, 62
  - Church-controlled, 41
  - clergy supported, neo-Thomist, social gospel, human rights (1941-1994), 41
  - for European Union, anti-communism (1946), 31
  - no help in Yugoslavia (religious freedom), 46
  - no monopoly on Christian social order, 44
  - civil war (1943-1944), 45
  - fascism, House of Savoy, 30
  - Lateran Treaties (1929), 43
  - political history (1900-1960s), 107
  - post-World War II peace movement, 111
  - republic-monarchy referendum (June 1946), 40
  - southern episcopate monarchist, anti-Republican (1946), 40
  - trade unions, 117
  - Via dei Fori Imperiali (road celebrated ancient Rome), 54
- Japan
  - Hiroshima and Nagasaki atom bomb (war crime), 88
- Jewish
  - 200,000 expelled from Spain (1499-1526), 60

- Fr. Glasberg, 11  
 Operation Ezra, Nehemiah and Exodus, 11  
 Vatican inaction about Jews (World War II), 30  
*Yad Vashem* Fr. Boulier nomination, Righteous among the Nations, 95  
 June Days Uprising (June 1848), 135  
 Just War  
   Suárez, Gratian, Augustine, 160  
*La Civiltà Cattolica* (Jesuit periodical), 167  
 London Debt Agreement  
   re-armed Germany, Marshall Plan funds (1948), 66  
   repeated 1938 Munich enslavement, 70  
 Love  
   Christianity's weapon, not fascism, 91  
 Marshall Plan, 66, 90, 115, 116  
 Marx, Karl  
   *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, 137  
   guides action, not dogmatism, 153  
 Marxism, 15  
   science, not faith, avowed by Christians, 155  
   theologians refuted, 7  
   totality of phenomena (existence) closed to science (Kantian postulate), 154  
 Materialism  
   Aquinas, Thomas More, Epicurus, Erasmus, 151  
   dialectical versus capitalist deception (idealist Christianity), 91  
   dialectical, reconstruct God (Lunacharsky and Gorky), 146  
   historical, class struggle (Marx), 138  
 Monarchy  
   throne and altar (nineteenth-century, papal ideology), 78  
 National Liberation Committee (CLN)  
   Italian resistance, led government 1944-1946, 45  
 NATO, v  
   imperialist anti-Soviet cold war foreign policy (1949), 90  
 Nazis  
   reactionary powers unwillingly brought them to power, 68  
   Vatican Concordat (1933), 56  
 Newspapers  
   cold war apology, 68  
   *Il Quotidiano* [The Daily, Italy], Catholic Action, 49  
   *La France Catholique*, 62  
   *La France Catholique*, 1  
   *L'Aube*, 1  
   *L'Aurore*, 1  
   *Le Monde*, vi, 1, 71  
   *Le Monde Illustré*, vi  
   *L'Epoque*, 1  
   *Osservatore Romano*, Vatican, 49  
   *Peuples Amis*, vi  
   self-righteous, 5  
*Non Expedit* (Not Expedient), 165  
*Non Expedit* (Not Expedient), Italy) 1948, 59  
*Non Expedit* (Not Expedient, Italy), 42  
   1870-1929, 59  
 Nuremberg Trials, 86, 157  
 Papacy (Universal Church)  
   authority for millions of Catholics, 30  
   Catholic International versus Communist International, 30, 163  
   source of Church's spiritual power, 30  
 Papal Political Doctrine

- aggressive wars condemned  
(1946), 33  
Concordat German Reich (1933),  
31, 56  
freedom to minister in Eastern  
Europe, 53  
human rights and responsibilities  
(1946), 36  
humans share God's authority  
(1946), 36  
natural rights (1946), 36  
Papal Teaching  
for Italian Episcopate, not  
universal Church, 61  
infallibility, 163  
seldom infallible (absolute  
adherence of Faith), 60  
Paris Commune, 9  
Pasquino  
Roman resistance to Vatican  
misrule, 42  
Vatican buffoonery (1948 Italian  
elections), 58  
Peace Movement  
brought by mystics and martyrs, 58  
ideas stronger sword (Gilson), 71  
pacifist Henry Wallace against  
containment (1946), 52  
peaceful co-existence - Poland,  
Czechoslovakia, Rumania,  
Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria,  
69  
Polish led (1946), 27  
post-World War II, 141  
Roman Empire peace helped  
Christianity, 74  
social, technical, science progress  
to deliver from war, 74  
Stockholm Appeal (1950), 95  
UNESCO conferences London,  
Paris, Mexico City (1945-1948),  
73  
USSR different economic systems  
peacefully emulate and  
collaborate, 81  
Warsaw Communiqué (1948), 66  
World Congress of Intellectuals for  
Peace (Wrocław), 66, 71  
Personalism  
Emmanuel Mounier, 11  
Pius XII  
Assumption of Mary doctrine  
(1950), 163  
*Benignitas et humanitas*  
(*democracy and lasting peace*,  
1944), 33, 35  
concordat (Reichskonkordat) with  
Nazi Germany (1933), 31  
condemned wars of aggression  
(had painful experience), 33  
*Decree Against Communism*  
(1949), 4  
Eugenio Pacelli, Vatican Secretary  
of State, 56  
fascism and possessing classes  
claimed democracy, prevented  
reconstruction (1946), 36  
Germany armed Catholicism, 56  
international relations, diplomat,  
discreet, 51  
political leader, 31  
problems - tyranny of masses,  
class collaboration (1946), 36  
World War II  
bombing of Rome (Archbishop  
Spellman, Roosevelt no  
prevent), 31  
silence, 11  
Poland  
agrarian reform, industrial  
nationalization, full-employment  
(1946), 14  
America refused financial aid  
(Spanish question, 1946), 26

- American and English-supported fascist fifth columns, World War III (1946), 28
- Armia Krajowa (AK, Home Army), 18
- civil war, Hitlerites a minority (1946), 18
- democracy, state sovereignty, 14
- English, but not French literature available (1946), 23
- French Army veterans (1946), 22
- had less foreign (Soviet) military than France (American, 1946), 15
- leadership (London) abandoned Soviet ally on battlefield (1942-1943), 17
- Legion of French Volunteers Against Bolshevism (LVF), 18
- Lublin Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) (1944), 172
- martial law (1946), 20
- materially and spiritually strong (1946), 27
- optimism and courage, not sad, 13
- schools and industry progress, 26
- Warsaw Communique (1948), 66
- Political Catholicism
  - armed Catholicism
    - Central Europe and Balkans, 56
    - Crusades (Holy War), 87
  - defensive in France, 55
  - former Austrian Empire, Poland, Ireland, 56
  - Hitler hated, 55
  - influenced Pius XII in Germany, 56
  - not in France, 55
  - Reformation (1500s)
    - armed Catholicism, 56
- Potsdam Agreement (1945)
  - divide Germany, contain militarism, 65
- Revolutions of 1848
  - authentic Christians died for justice, 79
- Rome
  - homeland of Catholic souls, 60
- Scholasticism
  - Aristotelianism of Averroes, turned into Thomism, 145
  - just war (Vitoria), law of nations (Aquinas), prohibited enslavement native people, 93
  - realism (Sturzo), 182
- Scripture
  - 1 *Th.* 5 vs. 21, 76
  - interpretation, analogy of faith, 63
  - Isaiah* 34 vs. 16 (God takes care of it), 58
  - Isaiah* 42 vs. 3 (not against you, with you), 76
  - Jn.* 18 vs. 36 (Herod no need fear God), 90
  - Lk.* 17 vs. 21 (kingdom God here), 77
  - Lk.* 22, vs. 26 (not to be like that), 63
  - Mk.* 12 vs. 17 (give to Caesar), 77
  - Mk.* 3 vs. 14-17, 90
  - Mt.* 13 vs. 29-30, 76
  - Mt.* 25 vs. 42, 83
  - Mt.* 5 vs. 37, 82
  - Mt.* 5 vs.9 (peace makers, God's children), 85
  - Mt.* 6 vs. 24 (cannot serve God and money), 77
  - Mt.* 9, vs 36 (pity for sheep), 9
  - Rm* 3 vs. 8 (no do crime to serve good cause), 89
  - Rm.* 13 vs. 5 (law from God), 77
- Socialist Order
  - democracy built by workers, not tyrannical bureaucracy, 84
- Society of St Vincent de Paul, 78
- Spain
  - Civil War, German terror bombing, 87

- Reconquista* (711-1492), forced
  - Muslim conversion, 60
  - United Nations admission (1946), 25
  - World War II policy (anti-USSR), 25
- Stalin, Joseph
  - different economies peacefully emulate, collaborate, 81
  - for coal miners, 7
  - Fr. Boulier, 3
  - friendship Eastern European states, 89
  - God not against, 89
- Stalingrad (1942-1943)
  - Polish army absent, 16
- Stoicism (Zeno), naturally Christian, 75
- Surplus value (unpaid labor), 78
- Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918), 17
- Tripartism - communists, socialists and monarchist-fascists ruled Italy, 50
- Truman, Harry
  - containment doctrine, 53
  - Potsdam German containment abandoned, 65
- Turkey
  - American containment 1946, 90
- United Nations
  - Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA, 1946), 26
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 73
- USSR, 86
  - against American-England fascist program, 57
  - allied with Poland (1946), 14
  - assassins sought preventive, aggressive, atomic war against, 93
  - avoided WWII, no military aid Greeks, Turks, 67
  - sought peaceful coexistence, 81
- Vatican
  - tribunal without appeal, 30
  - World War II - established social relief, 33
- Vatican City
  - neutral in World War II, but Rome bombed (Basilica Saint Lawrence), 32
- Vatican Council I
  - papal infallibility, authoritarian (financial, disciplinary), 30, 163
- Vatican Politics
  - Christian Democracy Party (DC)
    - Catholic vote, 31
    - limited Concordat, 46
    - neo-Thomist, social gospel, human rights (1941-1994), 41
  - cold war, action against communists *Decree against Communism*, 30
  - collaborated with Nazism (1933), 56
  - Committees Liberation (CLN resistance WWII), 45
  - excommunicated
    - Italian electorate (1870-1929), 59, 165
    - Italian king, government (1870-1929), 42
  - favored
    - Catholic trade unions, accepted fascist unions, 45
    - fascism (monarchism, nationalism, anti-communism), 43
  - fought
    - communism (1946), 49
    - peace movement (1946), 52
    - with monarchy 1870-1929, 42
  - international relations, 51
  - Lateran Treaties (1929)
    - minimum religious freedom, 40

nuncios not infallible, 61  
 Pasquino - resistance to misrule,  
 42  
 political Catholicism, 57  
 quietly for monarchy - House of  
 Savoy (1946), 40  
 ruled central Italy for 1000 years  
 until 1870, 42  
 Secretariat of State (1946), 40  
 Yugoslavia, 105  
 Warsaw Communique (1948), 65  
 Declaration of Conference of  
 Foreign Ministers, 127

Working Class - brought Christianity,  
 76  
 World Congress of Intellectuals in  
 Defense of Peace (August 1948)  
 anti-capitalist, 51  
 World War II  
 capitalist debacle, v  
 resistance (maquis), 84  
 World War III  
 preparations, 2, 3, 71, 83, 85  
 Yugoslavia  
 Cominform expulsion, 67  
 history (World War II – 1960s),  
 119

- Affre, Archbishop Denis-Auguste, 79, 135
- Álvarez, Alejandro, 162
- Anders, Władysław, 16
- Aquinas, Thomas, OP, v, see also, subject index
- Aristophanes, satirical criticism  
against war policy, social  
inequality, 58
- Basdevant, Jules, 159
- Benedict XVI, 164
- Bernanos, Georges, 7
- Blum, Léon  
social democrat, anti-Soviet, 14
- Boisselot OP, Fr. Pierre  
editor Éditions du Cerf, 11
- Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon, 79, 137
- Bonaventure, St., 71
- Caesar Augustus (Octavian), 74
- Calvet (Calvert), Fr. Jean, 12
- Cassin, René (IADL), 73
- Cavaignac, General Louis Eugène, 79, 135
- Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1500s), 94
- Chenu, Fr Marie-Dominique, OP, 96
- Chrysostom, John, 91
- Churchill, Winston  
cold warrior, 53  
iron curtain, 89
- Cordovani OP, Mariano  
*Decree Against Communism*, 4
- Curci, Fr. Carlo Maria, 42, 167
- Day, Dorothy, 96
- Dechet, Jan, pro-communist  
Czechoslovak bishop,  
excommunicated (1950), 5
- Denikin, Anton Ivanovich, 168
- Dollfuss, Engelbert, 37, 168
- Duclos, Jacques, 96
- Duffy, Fr. Clarence, 96
- Dupuis, Charles, 159
- Fadeyev, Alexander, Soviet writer, 51
- Feltin, Fr. Maurice Archbishop of Paris (1949-1966), 95
- Fillère, Fr. Marcellin, 63
- Franco, Francisco, 7, 25, 26, 37, 86, 87, 101, 169, 171
- Fritzen, Bp. Adolf, 93
- Fumet, Stanislas, 12
- Fustel de Coulanges, Numa, 80
- Garreau, Roger, 21, 171
- Gasperi, Alcide De, 50
- Gedda, Luigi*, 61
- Gilson, Étienne, vi, 71
- Glasberg, Fr. Alexandre, 11
- Globke, Dr. Hans, 97
- Gratian, 160
- Gregory XVI - *Mirari vos* (1832 - rejected religious liberty), 55
- Grotius, Hugo, 161
- Guizot, François, 77, 172
- Haegy, Fr. Xavier Joseph, good priest, 93
- Halévy, Ludovic - *Abbot Constantine* novel, 6
- Hitler, Adolf, 3, 37, 81, 86, 100, 102, 107, 131, 148, 169, 172  
cold war program, 67
- Hlond, August, 12, 173
- Innocent III - Albigensian Crusade, 58
- Iwaszkiewicz, Jarosław (Eleuter), 72
- Jobert, Ambroise, 12
- Kaas, Fr. Ludwig, 56
- Kennan, George F., cold warrior, 53
- Ketteler, Bishop Wilhelm von, 44
- Le Dantec, Félix-Alexandre, 82
- Lenin, Vladimir  
conditions necessary for  
revolution, 9  
Roman theologian, materialist  
barrier, 57

- Leo XIII, 145  
 great encyclicals, 145  
 Libertas Encyclical, 36  
*Non Expedit* (Not Expedient), 165  
*Rerum novarum* (1891), 8, 44, 147
- Lombardi, Fr. Riccardo, Jesuit cold-warrior, 62
- Luther, Martin, 161
- Marx, Karl, 78
- Mauriac, François, 7, 82, 83
- Maurras, Charles, 12, 60, 81  
 nationalist, monarchist, anti-Jewish, anti-revolutionary, 3  
 political Catholicism, Nazi collaborator, 55
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, 57, 174
- More, Thomas, 145
- Mounier, Emmanuel  
 personalist, 11  
 started black legend (Pius XII) silent Italy's invasion Albania (1939), 11
- Mun, Albert de, 8
- Mussolini, Benito, 37, 54, 100, 107, 162, 174  
 dictatorship, 50  
 fascist regime, created 1922, 39  
 single trade union policy, 45
- O'Connell, Daniel, 80
- Ozanam, Frédéric, 78
- Papen, Franz von, 56
- Pascal, Blaise, 161
- Péguy, Charles, 11, 91
- Pétain, Philippe - Nazi collaborator, 3
- Philip III (1578-1621) Spanish king, 60
- Piłsudski, Józef, 16  
 colonels regime (Second Polish Republic), 21
- Pius IX  
*Non Expedit* (Not Expedient), 165  
 prisoner of Vatican, 42
- Syllabus of Errors* (1864 - rejected religious liberty), 55
- Pius X  
*Non Expedit* (Not Expedient), 165
- Pius XI  
 communism intrinsically perverse, 145  
*Divini Redemptoris*, 4  
 Lateran Pacts, Roman Question, fascism (1929), 41  
*Quadragesimo anno* (1931, social order, solidarity, subsidiarity, not unrestrained capitalism, totalitarian communism, 44
- Politis, Nicolas, 159
- Pompey, 74
- Prenant, Marcel, 73, 177
- Quisling, Vidkun, 22
- Raymond of Aguilers (Crusades), 87
- Roosevelt, Franklin, 31, 52, 89  
 advertising, 62
- Rougemont, Denys (Denis) de, 92
- Salazar, António, 37, 101, 178
- Sapieha, Fr. Stefan, 12
- Sartre, Jean-Paul, 57
- Sikorski, Władysław, 16
- Spahn, Peter, 80
- Spellman, Bishop Patrick  
 Rome bombing, 31
- Stalin, Joseph  
 different economies peacefully emulate and collaborate, 81
- Stepinac, Archbishop Aloysius  
 war-criminal, forced conversion Orthodox Serbs, 46  
 Yugoslavia martyr, 53
- Sturzo, Fr. Luigi, 112, 181  
 social Catholicism, adversary of fascism, 47
- Suárez, Francisco, SJ, v, 85, 160
- Suenens, Cardinal Leo Jozef, 96
- Suhard, Cardinal, 86
- Szwarc, Marek, 11, 181
- Tertulian (Montanist), 75

- Thorez, Maurice, 96  
Tito, Josip Broz, 46, 67, 105, 184  
Togliatti, Palmiro, 62, 185  
    Italian communist leader, 47  
Truman, Harry  
    containment doctrine, 90  
Urban II, 87  
Victor Emmanuel III, Italian king  
    (1929 concordat), 41  
Vitoria, Francisco de, OP, v, 160  
    Dominican, School of Salamanca  
    or Spanish School of  
    international law, 93  
Vlasov, Andrey, 18  
Wallace, Henry, American peace  
    activist, politician, 52  
Wrangel, Pyotr  
    Russian White Army, 20  
Zhdanov, Andrei – bougeoise iron  
    curtain to hide Soviet success, 89

