MEMORANDUM

To: New York Office
From: Zachariah Shuster
Subj: Visit to Rome

In order to pursue the contacts made with the Vatican by the AJC delegation last June, I visited Rome from December 13 to December 21, 1957. Specifically I intended to deal with the following:

1. To try to ascertain the present position of the Vatican toward the situation in the Middle East generally, and toward Israel in particular.

2. To bring to the attention of the Vatican the attitude of certain Catholic circles in the U.S. expressing continued hostility toward the State of Israel, notwithstanding the information about a change in the Vatican position given to the AJC representatives in Rome, Messrs. Engel and Segal suggested that I take up this matter after the report of such a hostile talk recently delivered by Msgr. Peter F. Tuohy in Holyoke, Mass.

3. Jewish immigration to Latin American countries.

4. The role of the Catholic church in Poland and the struggle against anti-Semitism there.

Catholic circles who had helped us in arranging last June's meetings for the delegation proposed that we should continue contact with the Vatican. Thus, a few months ago, Professor Don Carlo Ferrari and Dr. Paolo Oldano of the University of Social Studies (Pro Deo) urged me to meet with Msgr. Quirino Faganuzzi, Secretary of the Maestro di Camera, who had been most instrumental in arranging the audience with the Pope. I wrote to Msgr. Faganuzzi asking for an interview and received a cordial invitation to come and see him in Rome in December. Unfortunately, while I
was proceeding to Rome on December 13, Msgr. Paganuzzi fell ill and had to go to a hospital. The Pro Deo people then took it upon themselves to try to arrange audiences with a number of Vatican personalities whom they felt I should see in connection with the subjects listed above.

It soon became apparent, however, that the Pro Deo people were having considerable difficulty, or finding it impossible, to arrange certain desired appointments. These difficulties, it developed, arose from a real conflict now going on within the Vatican as to how to deal with Jews, the State of Israel and various problems affecting Jews. It is important, therefore, to describe this conflict, in which my requests for appointments became involved.

It had been suggested that, among others, I see Msgr. Antonio Samore. To understand the importance of his position (and that of various other persons to be mentioned later) a brief review of the organization of the Vatican Secretariat of State is needed. The Secretariat of State is divided into three sections. The First Section, that of Extraordinary Affairs, handles all matters affecting relations between the Vatican and the outside (i.e., non-Catholic) world. The Second Section, that of Ordinary Affairs, deals with the Church's internal institutions throughout the world. The Third Section handles purely Apostolic matters. Normally, all three sections would be under a Secretary of State, who has always been a Cardinal. This key post has not been filled in recent years, however, Pope Pius XII acting as his own Secretary of State. The person actually in charge of the Secretariat and whose title is Pro-Secretary of State for Extraordinary Affairs, is Msgr. Domenico Tardini.

Msgr. Samore, in the First Section, ranks just below Msgr. Tardini, I wanted to see Msgr. Samore, who is in charge of Latin American affairs, to learn what Vatican assistance might be secured towards establishing right of immigration to Latin American lands without distinction as to religion, creed or origin, in line with the statement made by the Pope last June to the AJC delegation. The Pro-Deo people told me that Msgr. Samore would be glad to receive me, and that the appointment could be arranged in one day. Then they reported that they were having difficulty arranging the appointment. Finally, they told me that the appointment could not be made, Msgr. Samore, though willing to see me, had to consult his chief, Msgr. Tardini, before he could do so. Msgr. Tardini had advised him to refuse an audience with any Jewish representative at this moment.

Much perturbed, Father Horlion, President of Pro Deo University, made inquiries through Pro Deo contacts in the Vatican
as to the reasons for Tardini's action. From a person close to Tardini, he received a confidential statement setting forth the present position of the Vatican Secretariat of State on matters affecting Jews and Israel. Pro Deo did not feel authorized to give me this text itself, in Italian in the original, but did provide me with a summary of it, in English. It reads as follows:

"The Vatican makes a clear distinction between Jewry and Israel as a state. The Vatican is very sympathetic toward Jewry in its spiritual and material universality. On every occasion the Pope has given moral and material help to persecuted Jews, whether individually or groups; such help will also be given in the future.

But, as regards the state of Israel, there is a group in the Secretariat of State which does not feel the same way. This group considers that relations between the Vatican and Israel have been worsened by the 'lack of understanding' of the leaders at Tel Aviv regarding the Holy Places. Therefore, they think that a solution of the problem of the Holy Places must be sought without the cooperation and consent of the government of Israel. As a consequence, they are more inclined to rely on Arab states. This would lead Vatican diplomacy to support the nationalist claims of the Arab states, on the basis of a reciprocal understanding (with regard to Holy Places). This group's attitude, moreover, could lead Vatican diplomacy to favor supporting Nasser and other Arab leaders economically; and to oppose Anglo-American intervention in the Near East. For this group in the Vatican is firmly convinced that the State Department, its chief, and also President Eisenhower want to favor Israel as opposed to the rights of the Arabs and of the Catholic Church in the Near East.

Lately, Vatican diplomacy has suggested various actions to Arab leaders. For example, it asked President Chamoun of Lebanon to intervene with President Eisenhower in order to hinder any unilateral (American) position being taken on the problem of Palestine. This Vatican group insists on 'guarantees' to be asked from Israel and the Arabs for a satisfactory solution of the problem. They think, however, that it will be easier to obtain these guarantees from the Arabs than from the Jews.

They are, however, against any eventual reduction, or increase, of Israeli territory. They are, therefore, against the Soviet proposal in this sense, as well as
against the proposal by Menderes to the Paris Conference for the solution of the problem. They are opposed to any solution of the question that would ignore either Arab claims or the autonomous status of the Holy Places."

Father Moriion described this development as grave and dangerous. For, he said, it signified hardening of the conservative opposition within the Vatican to Jewish interests. This conservative opposition is, according to him, led by Msgr. Tardini, who has constantly been against any rapprochement between the Vatican and the Jews and particularly with Israel. Tardini’s views, however, are by no means that of all Vatican officialdom. There is in fact serious disagreement with him on various scores by leading persons in the Secretariat of State. The Pro Deo group is also vigorously opposed to Msgr. Tardini. The differences between the tendencies can be summarized as follows:

According to Father Moriion, Tardini’s attitude is rigid in the theological sense and conservative in the political sense. Whereas the Pro Deo seeks cooperation with other religious groups, primarily with Protestants and Jews, for common purposes, the Tardini attitude toward Jews, according to Father Moriion, can be summarized in a few words, "Christ is God; the Jews are against Christ; ergo, they are against God."

It is interesting in this regard to consider what transpired when arrangements were being made for the Pope to receive the AJC delegation. When the proposal was submitted to Msgr. Tardini, he expressed unequivocal opposition to it both on grounds of general principles as well as on tactical grounds ("For 1900 years the Papacy has not dealt with Jews. There is no reason for doing so now."). Msgr. Semore, in the First Section, and Msgr. Angelo dell’Acqua, one of the two top men in the Second Section, disagreed with Tardini. Cardinal Tisserant, ranking prelate in the church after the Pope, and Msgr. Quirino Faganuzzi, the Pope's Chief of Protocol, strongly supported the request of the Pro Deo group that the Pope receive the AJC.

The four persons just named are the major personalities through whom the Pro Deo group seeks to influence the Pope and Vatican policy.

Politically, Tardini's attitude must be understood in the following framework. In recent times, according to the persons I consulted in Rome, the Vatican has been increasing its attention to two areas: the Middle East and Latin America. The Middle East is considered important first, because significant Christian minorities exist in many of the Arab countries. Here, during the centuries, the church has established a network of religious and educational institutions to serve these minorities. Second, the
Middle East — particularly Jordan and Israel — contains the Holy Places of the Christian church. The position of the Tardini group with regard to the area is that the Western powers have no chance of retrieving their prestige and standing in the Arab countries. The Catholic Church, they believe, therefore must seek a compromise with the ruling authorities so as not to lose its foothold in the area. This group assumes that the present governments of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and other countries can be influenced to permit the continuation of Catholic institutions and even of missionary activities. Such a policy, Tardini's group feels, is in line with the traditional policies of the church to seek a modus vivendi with temporal powers, so long as they do not oppose basic church principles.

The Tardini group receives tremendous support from papal representatives now serving in Arab countries. Almost all the representatives in Middle East lands — and particularly His Excellency Msgr. Silvio Oddi, Apostolic Inter-Nuncio in Cairo — are, I was told, anti-Israel, and urge the Vatican to take a position against Israel.

A notable exception is the Apostolic delegate to Jerusalem and Palestine, Msgr. Giuseppe Sensi, who takes a favorable attitude toward Israel. I was advised that a meeting with Msgr. Sensi would be most desirable. I was promised by one of our Vatican contacts that such a meeting could be arranged soon in a non-Arab country, possibly Turkey or Greece. It is not excluded, also, that Msgr. Sensi may soon visit Rome again, as he does frequently, and in that case such a meeting could be held there. I am waiting to hear from Rome about this.

Within the Vatican itself strong opposition to the Tardini policy with regard to Israel comes from His Eminence Cardinal Tisserant. The Pro Deo group (whose views I shall explain in detail later in this report) does not take a clear position with regard to Israel, except that it is generally more favorably inclined because of its desire to cooperate with other religious elements. While in Rome I had an extensive audience with Cardinal Tisserant dealing with Israel as well as with the other matters with which we are concerned.

From the point of view of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Cardinal Tisserant is the most important person in the Vatican next to the Pope himself. He is Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals, and, after the Pope, the highest authority on all matters related to dogma and church administration. While he advises the Pope on political matters from time to time, he is
not officially entrusted with this task, which is the province of the Secretariat of State. The AJC delegation last June had the opportunity to ascertain Cardinal Tisserant's position. I should like to supplement this by the following observations, made to me by competent people in Rome.

Theologically, Cardinal Tisserant is committed to classical Catholic dogma about Jews. He takes an independent position, however, with regard to the State of Israel. He is convinced that the emergence of independent Moslem states is an unfavorable development from the point of view of Catholic institutions. He feels that the existence of the State of Israel is an important barrier to the expansion of Islam. He is personally committed to the principle that the Vatican ought to lend its support, although non-officially, to strengthen Israel in the Middle East.

During my audience with him, Cardinal Tisserant said, "I told your delegation my attitude on this entire matter of Israel, and I still adhere to it." We had a discussion on the general Middle Eastern situation dealing particularly with reports that Moscow and some Arab states have launched a political offensive to reduce the territory of Israel to the boundaries originally decided upon by the United Nations Partition Resolution of 1947. Cardinal Tisserant inquired in detail as to the exact nature of these boundaries. I told him that application of this partition scheme would mean exclusion of the Negev from Israel territory. He expressed consternation about such a possible development. He told me that only recently he had submitted an extensive memorandum to the Pope on the subject of relations between Israel and the Arab countries.

It was obvious that Cardinal Tisserant is firm in his pro-Israel position and that he will do everything possible to support this in the Vatican.

In my conversations with Cardinal Tisserant I informed him that the Pope's declaration made to the AJC delegation had been widely published in the United States, particularly in Catholic circles. I also emphasized the satisfaction that the delegation had received in conversations with himself and other Vatican personalities. I said that we were somewhat concerned, however, that this attitude on the part of the Vatican had not penetrated some influential Catholic elements in the United States, and offered the recent talk by Msgr. Tuohy as an example. He asked me about the contents of this talk which I summarized for him from the text sent me by AJC's New York office. Upon his request, I left this text with him. He promised to look into this matter and said that he would do whatever possible to bring about a change in the position of such representatives of the church as Msgr. Tuohy.

I also told Cardinal Tisserant of our interest in Latin American countries, where there is a sizeable Jewish population, and where we are seeking to establish the right of emigration without distinction as to religion or creed. I informed him of the recent meeting of AJC representatives with the former Brazilian Foreign Minister, Cavaldo Aranha; and of Aranha's statement that Jewish emigrants will always be able to gain admittance in Brazil. Cardinal Tisserant expressed his appreciation of this development.
Finally, I referred briefly to my recent trip to Poland. I told the Cardinal of my contacts with some of the most important lay leaders in the entourage of Cardinal Wyszynski of Poland, and of their assurances that Cardinal Wyszynski himself and other church dignitaries had given the clergy instructions to take a stand against anti-Semitism on all occasions. I continued, however, that the general view in Poland is that these instructions are not being followed by some lower echelon clergymen. I urged that it would be advisable for measures to be taken to see that all church officials be imbued with the sentiment that anti-Semitism in Poland is not only against the tenets of the Catholic faith but also contrary to the interests of the Catholic church in its stand against Communism.

Cardinal Tisserant said that Eastern Europe is not within his domain, but that he was very much interested in my report and would take it into account on appropriate occasions.

During my stay in Rome I had occasion to meet frequently with the leaders of Pro Deo, and to gain increased insight into their outlook. I should like, briefly, to summarize my impressions. Knowing of the extended discussions and contacts between Father Horlion and AJC lay and professional leaders in New York, I believe there is no need to go into this in great detail.

The Pro Deo movement may be of particular importance for the American Jewish Committee, and for Jewry, because it may well represent a real possibility for continuous and close contact between Jews and central sources of Catholic authority. This opportunity deserves the most serious attention of the American Jewish Committee. At the end of this paper I shall make a few concrete recommendations as to some of the steps that ought, in my view, to be taken by the AJC in the near future.

The importance to the AJC of Pro Deo is not only because of the influence it wields in the Vatican and church circles. It is also because Pro Deo's ideology includes certain concepts and basic ideas to which the American Jewish Committee itself is committed -- even though, of course, AJC is by no means in agreement with all Pro Deo thinking. There is enough common ground, however, to make a working relationship between Pro Deo and ourselves not only feasible but desirable.

Essentially, it is possible for us to work with Pro Deo because this group believes that there are certain tenets of economic and social democracy that are closely related to the fundamental beliefs which have inspired the great religions,
As a consequence, Pro Deo feels that the Catholic Church ought and can work together with other religions -- primarily with Protestants and Jews -- for common purposes. Should the Pro Deo view gain greater adherence inside the Catholic Church there would be a means for communication and cooperation on a number of problems affecting Jews where there is no such communication and cooperation at present. Even now, as we have seen from our own experience, it is possible to work to some degree with the Vatican, or at least to sound out Vatican positions, because of our relationship with the Pro Deo group.

The leaders of Pro Deo are motivated by the conviction that a radical change in the social and political picture of the contemporary world and particularly of European countries can come about primarily through making democracy inspired by theism into a dynamic force which would influence the major areas of economic, social and political life. Thus, Communism cannot be effectively combatted, they believe -- and the struggle against Communism is one of the chief objectives of the Pro Deo movement -- unless new relationships are established between management and labor, agricultural and urban elements and between state and citizen. They also are convinced that the principle of equality between religious and ethnic groups, grounded in the belief that all men are created in the image of God, should be activated and be made a part of the day-to-day living realities of democratic society. In short, their model is the ideal of American democracy as formulated by its founders and as expressed in many of the realities of American society. To cite but one example, Pro Deo is firmly committed to a private enterprise system. Hence, it is strongly opposed to the nationalization of industry, a particularly acute problem in Italy where there are more nationalized industries than in any other European country.

To carry out their aims, Pro Deo leaders established the International University of Social Studies in Rome in 1945 with the approval of high Vatican authorities and the support of the Dominican order. The goal of this university is to educate future leaders in civic and economic life of various countries in accordance with the ideas expressed above. It is perhaps the only university of social studies in Europe which attempts to adapt American social science principles and methods to European conditions. Pro Deo's application of American social science principles is exemplified in the university's curriculum, academic structure, and research techniques. It is interesting that this Catholic-inspired university does not conduct schools of theology, philosophy and canon law. It is concerned with civic and economic subjects under responsible lay directors and an inter-religious lay Board of Trustees cooperating with the clergy for ethical and religious inspiration. It should be noted that there was considerable opposition to the university in traditional Vatican circles. On December 1, 1957, however, the Vatican granted complete approval to the university.
The university is divided into the following major departments:

Undergraduate schools, teaching economics and management, industrial labor relations, political science and public administration, mass communication media -- with particular emphasis on journalism, film, radio and television -- and the school of modern languages. Post-graduate schools for academic and research training, where emphasis is laid upon applied economics, business management, industrial labor relations, international law, civil service and applied social sciences. Institutes for academic training, the primary ones being the European Institute, the North American and the Latin American Institutes. Finally, there are University Extensions in Milan, Turin, Rio de Janeiro, Bogota, Lima.

Some of the subjects to be taught in the undergraduate courses are grouped under the general title "Comparative Cultural Foundations of Social and Economic Policy" and treat such matters as the ideological foundations of democracy, the difference between French and American revolutionary traditions, Fascism, Communism and Statism as abuses of democracy, the concept of progress, religion and society, the person and personality in modern society, the dignity of the individual and his responsibilities, as well as the role of the family.

The Latin American Institute, recently created, is a good example of how Pro Deo works, what motivates its thinking, and how AJC might cooperate with it.

As indicated previously, Vatican circles generally and Pro Deo have recently begun to take an increasing interest in the situation of Latin American countries. There is the belief in Rome that international Communism, which has made inroads in the Middle East, is now turning its eyes to Latin America and will try to stir up social, political and economic conflicts there. It is felt that unless the Western world takes the lead in influencing Latin America in the direction of building sound democracies and preventing the growth of military and partisan dictatorships, and unless some fundamental changes are brought about in the economic structure of these countries, they may fall prey to the ambitions of the international Communist movement.

Most of the population and many governments in Latin America are imbued with the Catholic spirit. They would be willing to cooperate with Catholic-inspired social policies if these were geared to their needs. No secret is made in Rome of the role of the
Catholic church in overthrowing the Peron regime in Argentina and of the recent struggle in Colombia. The Pro-Deo people are particularly eager that their general point of view find acceptance in Latin America. It is for this reason that they recently established the Latin American Institute and reached an agreement with the Brazilian government regarding financial support of this Institute, towards which Brazil is contributing $650,000.

In my conversations with Father Morllon and others, I reported to them that there is a sizeable Jewish population in Latin American countries and that the Jews there could play an important part in the development of democracy. I also told them in a general way of the nature of AJC activities, particularly in Argentina and Brazil, and that we have been aiming for some time to develop better inter-group relations. They expressed interest in this and asked me to submit to them a more detailed report about the Jewish communities in Latin America, their problems and our view as to the possible means of closer contact between Catholic leadership and the Jewish groups. Naturally, I also informed them about AJC's interest in immigration into Latin America and of the favorable exchange which took place in the immigration policies of Brazil, with which they expressed satisfaction.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In spite of impressions to the contrary, the Vatican is not a monolithic body which pursues consistent policies directed by a single authority. It is, rather, a center of various currents and trends in constant struggle with each other, which are somehow reconciled in the end by complicated internal negotiation and compromise. This does not mean that the Vatican is rent asunder by differences with regard to final objectives. The struggle against Communism, the preservation of Catholic teaching and institutions in all parts of the world, the diffusion of Catholic doctrine and practices are goals agreed upon by all. However, the methods of implementation and the tactics for realizing these objectives are subject to constant review.

Moreover, the Vatican, while taking a global view of Catholic interests, adjusts its policies according to what it considers the needs of the Church in each particular area of the world. In Western Europe, for example, where Christian Democratic parties play an important role in political life, the Vatican is in favor of the North Atlantic Alliance and of building a united Europe politically and economically. At the same time, the dominant Vatican forces appear to have serious doubts about Western policy in the Middle East, where the Church has to consider the position of the Catholic minority populations, and of the established religious institutions. Because of this, the Vatican may try to reach a modus vivendi with the Arab states, which may even collide with the attitudes of Western governments.
None of those with whom I spoke in Rome was definite as to the Pope's own views with regard to the Middle East, or with regard to the conflict previously described between Pro Deo and the more conservative faction of the Vatican. Certainly, however -- given his approval of the Pro Deo University and his receiving of the AJC delegation -- he is not opposed to the tendencies of the Pro Deo group.

In my view, it is incumbent upon us to develop the contacts we have established with and through the Pro Deo group on a continuous and permanent basis. In line with this consideration, I should like to propose the following:

1. That we strive to meet as often as necessary with Vatican personalities in order to exchange views on the situation in the Middle East and particularly on the Vatican attitude with regard to Israel. An immediate task would be to find out the nature of the guarantees for the Holy Places in Israel which would satisfy the Vatican. In this respect, we could act as a friendly intermediary between the Vatican and the State of Israel.

2. In order to develop greater cooperation with the Pro Deo group, it would be desirable that we take a more constant interest in their activities and particularly in the University for Social Studies. Such an interest could be expressed in the following ways:

   (a) A critical study of the curriculum and activities of the University by authorizing a person versed in the social sciences and with academic background to undertake an intensive review of the University's program and particularly from the point of view of our interest, namely to analyze the ideological direction given by this University and the nature of the courses dealing with the ideas and structure of democratic society.

   (b) To suggest to the leaders of the University long-range projects in research and publications in the fields of our concern and particularly with regard to inter-group relations in Europe, Latin America and other parts of the world.

   (c) To consider seriously the suggestion of the leaders of the University that we recommend a distinguished academic personality to teach at the University, who would at the same time be in contact with Vatican circles on various matters of interest to us.

   (d) To participate more actively in the administrative leadership of the University through the designated Jewish representative who, although not acting officially in the name of a Jewish
organization, would be guided by the advice of and consultation with the AJC.

3. In conjunction with our increased interest in Latin America we can, I believe, accomplish a great deal by bringing to the attention of our contacts in Rome the needs of the Jewish population there. Our aim should be:

(a) To see that the Pro Dec people inspire the clerical and Catholic lay leadership in Latin America to cooperate with the Jewish communities in that country, for the improvement of inter-group relations and for joint activity in various civic, social and economic areas.

(b) To encourage the Latin American governments to adopt a more positive attitude toward Jews and other non-Catholic groups with regard to immigration and access to civil and social positions.