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Dear Dr. Lesti:

It is a pleasure to accept your manuscript entitled "All Roads Lead to Rome? Pope Pius XII and Non-Confessional Internationalism during and after the Second World War (1944–1948)" in its current form for publication in European History Quarterly. The comments of the reviewer(s) who reviewed your manuscript are included at the foot of this letter.

Thank you for your fine contribution. On behalf of the Editors of European History Quarterly, we look forward to your continued contributions to the journal.

Sincerely,
Dr. Silvia Evangelisti
Editor in Chief, European History Quarterly
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Reviewer(s)' Comments to Author:



All Roads Lead to Rome? Pope Pius XII and Non-Confessional Internationalism during and after the Second World War (1944–1948)

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Keywords:	Internationalism, Catholic Church, Catholicism, Papacy, European Integration
Abstract:	<p>Religion is the great absentee in the history of internationalism. Earlier studies have begun to highlight the critical role played by religious internationalism in the making of the modern world, but the relations between non-confessional internationalism and religious actors have, to date, been completely overlooked. This article explores the relationship between non-confessional internationalism and Catholicism, with the intention of enriching both the history of internationalism and that of Catholicism in the twentieth century. Specifically, it focuses on the relationship between a number of non-confessional internationalist actors – from the Paneuropean Union and other world and European federalist movements to war refugees – and Pope Pius XII, between 1944 and 1948. Based on the recently opened Vatican archives, the following pages address three fundamental issues: (1) What did the Pope represent in the internationalist imagination? (2) Why did non-confessional internationalists seek contact with him? (3) How did the Pope respond to requests for support that he received?</p> <p>As a whole, the requests for support examined in this paper clearly show the centrality of Pius XII in the imagination – and strategies – of non-confessional internationalism in the 1940s, including popular internationalism. Between 1944 and 1948, all roads really seemed to lead to Rome.</p>

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All Roads Lead to Rome? Pope Pius XII and Non-Confessional Internationalism during and after the Second World War (1944–1948)

Introduction: The Great Absentee

Religion is the great absentee in the history of internationalism. The seminal collection of essays *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War*, edited by Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (New York, NY 2001), contains no chapter on religion, although it covers a wide range of topics, from free trade to the emergence of international standards and passports, to the rise of fashionable gathering places. Major books such as Akira Iriye's, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley, CA 2002), Marc Mazower's *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (New York, NY 2012), and Glenda Sluga's *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia, PA 2013), include only a few scattered references to religion.¹ *Internationalisms: A Twentieth Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (New York, NY 2016), has only one chapter on religious internationalism, which is, in fact, a chapter on Jewish internationalism.²

This is all the more serious since religious internationalism has played a critical role in the making of the modern world.³ In their introduction to *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750*, Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene emphasized the need to see religious internationalism (or 'religious internationals') as a distinctly modern phenomenon, resulting from the 'interaction of traditional religious structures and identities with wider processes of political, social, cultural, technological and economic change [that] promoted the transformation of *communities of believers* into *communities of opinion*' [emphases added].⁴ Each religious international coalesced around a single issue: abolitionism for Protestants; international Jewish relief for Jews; the defence of the Papacy for Catholics; the crisis of the Ottoman Empire for

¹ By defining a 'nongovernmental organization' as a 'voluntary, nonstate, nonprofit, *nonreligious* [emphasis added], and nonmilitary association', Iriye explicitly excludes religious transnational institutions and networks from his inquiry. However, he makes this choice not because he considers religious organisations irrelevant, but because he deems it 'unmanageable' to include them in the book, given the lack of scholarship on the subject. While not addressing religious organisations as such, Iriye cites them 'when their activities are secular, such as humanitarian relief and cultural exchange, rather than confessional or evangelical' – a rather 'tenuous' distinction, as Iriye himself honestly admits (2). As religious nongovernmental organisations, he mentions: the YWCA (17); Church World Service, Catholic Relief Services, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and Lutheran World Relief (50–1); Vietnam Christian Service and Brethren Volunteer Service (99); the Roman Catholic Church (130–1). In addition to the conspiracy theories of televangelist Pat Robertson and Reverend Tim LaHaye discussed in the introduction, Mazower mentions: the Holy Alliance (7); early and mid-nineteenth-century Protestant pacifism (32–3); the typical blend of free trade and Christian internationalism of the 1840s (43); the eschatological view of the war shared by Woodrow Wilson and Protestant theologian George Davis Herron (124–5); the American Reformed theologian Reinhold Niebuhr (237); the anti-debt movement Jubilee 2000 (368). For her part, Sluga cites early twentieth-century ecumenism (24–5); a Christian congregation calling for 'world brotherhood' in the aftermath of the Paris peace conference (43); the failure to include religious equality in the League of Nations covenant (54); the religious – especially Christian – supporters of the league (64–65); the Institute for Pacific Relations, which arose in 1926 from a Pacific YMCA conference (83–4); the post-9/11 'descent of international politics into a civilizational struggle between Christianity and Islam' (154).

² Abigail Green, 'Religious Internationalisms', 17–37. Religion also features – albeit in passing – in Glenda Sluga, 'Women, Feminisms and Twentieth-Century Internationalisms', 61–84, 63–4, Sunil S. Amrith, 'Internationalising Health in the Twentieth Century', 245–64, 253, and Sandrine Kott, 'Cold War Internationalism', 340–62, 355.

³ Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Basingstoke 2012).

⁴ Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds), 'Introduction: Rethinking Religion and Globalization', in Green and Viaene (eds), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World*, 1–19 (1).

Muslims. As noted by Green and Viaene, ‘through transnational campaigns like these, Protestants, Jews, Catholics and Muslims pioneered the full panoply of modern civic action: from the press, petitions and subscription fundraising, through meetings and congresses, to mass manifestations and the ballot box. In this, they were often ahead of their better-known secular counterparts such as the socialist International or the peace movement’.⁵

In the last two decades, the work of Vincent Viaene on nineteenth-century Catholic internationalism has brought to light the fundamental role played by it in the making of a global public sphere. Combining religious history with international history, Viaene has provided us with a definition, a narrative and an overall interpretation of nineteenth-century Catholic internationalism.⁶ According to him, the latter can be seen as ‘the sum of practices, representations and organizations that unite believers of different nationalities or ethnicities in a global effort to reform modern society in accordance with the Church’s principles’.⁷ In a 2008 article, ‘International History, Religious History, Catholic History: Perspectives for Cross-Fertilization (1830–1914)’, Viaene divided the history of nineteenth-century Catholic internationalism into three phases: (1) ‘preparation’ (1830–1860); (2) ‘mobilisation’ (1860–1878); and (3) ‘consolidation’ (1878–1914).⁸ Between 1830 and 1860, western Catholics entered the public sphere at the national level, while a new missionary expansion was setting the stage for the development of a global Catholic internationalism. During the second phase, European and non-European Catholics mobilised in defence of the Papal States – a political mobilisation that had been preceded, in 1846–1849, by one for Pius IX as a liberal and national Pope.⁹ In the third phase (1878–1914), the Papacy took the lead in Catholic internationalism, as exemplified by Leo XIII’s renewal of Roman Jubilees. At the conclusion of his 2012 book chapter ‘Nineteenth-Century Catholic Internationalism and Its Predecessors’ (the Counter-Reformation and Jansenism), Viaene summed up his work on the subject as follows:

The first Catholic International, then, was not the classic Habermasian ‘public’.¹⁰ It involved the masses actively, and so it was altogether messier than a global community of citizens engaged in good-natured conversation. Yet, it was precisely this mix of voluntarism with mass-mobilization that made the Catholic International all the more effective as a counterweight against nationalism and the steamroller of the modern state. On a darker note, in carrying faith into politics, it absolutized religious authority and polarized society. It was a critical public, but hardly a self-critical one.¹¹

More recently, Giuliana Chamedes focused on twentieth-century Catholic internationalism. In a 2016 article, ‘The Vatican, Nazi-Fascism, and the Making of Transnational Anti-communism in the 1930s’, she told the story of a Catholic anti-communist ‘International’ established in the Vatican in the early 1930s: the Secretariat of Atheism.¹² In a 2019 book, *A Twentieth-Century Crusade: The Vatican’s Battle to Remake Christian Europe*, she put that story in the broader context of the Vatican’s ‘battle’

⁵ Ibid., 8.

⁶ Vincent Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See from Gregory XVI to Pius IX (1831–1859): Catholic Revival, Society and Politics in 19th-Century Europe* (Leuven 2001); Vincent Viaene (ed.), *The Papacy and the New World Order: Vatican Diplomacy, Catholic Opinion and International Politics in the Time of Leo XIII, 1878–1903* (Leuven 2005); Vincent Viaene, ‘International History, Religious History, Catholic History: Perspectives for Cross-Fertilization (1830–1914)’, *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (2008), 578–607; Vincent Viaene, ‘Nineteenth-Century Catholic Internationalism and Its Predecessors’, in Green and Viaene (eds), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World*, 82–110. See also Emiel Lamberts (ed.), *The Black International / L’Internationale noire (1870–1878)* (Leuven 2002).

⁷ Viaene, ‘Nineteenth-Century Catholic Internationalism and Its Predecessors’, 83.

⁸ Viaene, ‘International History, Religious History, Catholic History’.

⁹ Ignazio Veca, *Il mito di Pio IX: Storia di un papa nazionale e liberale* (Rome 2018).

¹⁰ Here Viaene obviously refers to Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied 1962).

¹¹ Viaene, ‘Nineteenth-Century Catholic Internationalism and Its Predecessors’, 106.

¹² Giuliana Chamedes, ‘The Vatican, Nazi-Fascism, and the Making of Transnational Anti-communism in the 1930s’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (2016), 261–90.

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3 against liberalism and communism in the first half of the twentieth century.¹³ Notwithstanding the
4 work of Viaene, Chamedes and others,¹⁴ there is still much research to be done on the history of
5 nineteenth- and, especially, twentieth-century Catholic internationalism. For example, as far as the
6 nineteenth century is concerned, a story as important as that of the International Eucharistic
7 Congresses has not yet been told, while, with regard to the twentieth century, there is still practically
8 everything to be done, including the history of Vatican internationalism.¹⁵ However, this article takes
9 a different path. Instead of focusing on Catholic internationalism, it explores the relationship between
10 non-confessional internationalism and Catholicism, with the intention of enriching both the history
11 of internationalism and that of Catholicism in the twentieth century. Specifically, it focuses on the
12 relationship between a number of non-confessional internationalist actors – from the Paneuropean
13 Union and other world and European federalist movements to war refugees – and Pope Pius XII,
14 between 1944 and 1948. Based on the recently opened Vatican archives on the pontificate of Pius
15 XII, the following pages address three fundamental issues: (1) What did the Pope represent in the
16 internationalist imagination? (2) Why did non-confessional internationalists seek contact with him?
17 (3) How did the Pope respond to requests for support that he received?

21 22 23 **The Pope and Europe**

24
25 The Paneuropean Union is the oldest European federalist movement. It was launched in 1923 by
26 Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi, with the publication of his book *Pan-Europa*. Coudenhove-
27 Kalergi was the second son of an Austrian diplomat, Heinrich von Coudenhove-Kalergi, and a
28 Japanese heiress, Mitsuko Aoyama, who had been disinherited because of her marriage. The
29 movement reached its peak in 1930, with the celebration of the second Paneuropean Congress in
30 Berlin.¹⁶ In the following years, the Great Depression, protectionism and the rise of Hitler marked the
31 decline of the movement. In 1940, Coudenhove-Kalergi himself left Europe for the United States,
32 where he would remain until the end of the war. (In 1938, he had already fled Austria.)

33
34 In the United States, Coudenhove-Kalergi kept the Paneuropean Union alive and established a
35 Research Seminar for European Federation at New York University, where he taught history. In 1944,
36 the Paneuropean Conference and the Research Seminar published a *Draft Constitution of the United*
37 *States of Europe*. The initiative for it harked back to the fifth Paneuropean Congress held in New
38 York in March 1943. On that occasion, a constitutional committee had been appointed to draw an
39 outline of the European Union to be built. In July 1943, the committee had issued a declaration setting
40 out four main objectives for the Union: (1) to prevent war; (2) to prevent ‘tyranny’; (3) to prevent
41 ‘national hegemony’; (4) to overcome misery.¹⁷ Following that declaration, a Juridical Committee
42 had started to work concretely on the draft, in cooperation with the Research Seminar. The final text

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47 ¹³ Giuliana Chamedes, *A Twentieth-Century Crusade. The Vatican's Battle to Remake Christian Europe* (Cambridge, MA
48 2019).

49 ¹⁴ Lamberts (ed.), *The Black International*; Robert Scott Appleby, ‘From State to Civil Society and Back Again: The
50 Catholic Church as Transnational Actor, 1965–2005’, in Green and Viaene (eds), *Religious Internationals in the Modern*
51 *World*, 319–42; Cormac Shine, ‘Papal Diplomacy by Proxy? Catholic Internationalism at the League of Nation’s
52 International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, 1922–1939’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 69, No. 4
53 (2018), 785–805; David Brydan, *Franco's Internationalists: Social Experts and Spain's Search for Legitimacy* (Oxford
54 2019), Ch. 5, ‘Spain’s Catholic Internationalists’.

55 ¹⁵ **One exception is the field of Catholics’ relationship to the idea of Europe: Philippe Chenaux, *Une Europe*
56 *vaticane? Entre le plan Marshall et les traités de Rome* (Brussels 1990); Alfredo Canavero and Jean-Dominique
57 **Durand** (eds.), *Il fattore religioso nell'integrazione europea* (Milano 1999); Philippe Chenaux, *De la chrétienté à*
58 *l'Europe. Les catholiques et l'idée européenne au XX^e siècle* (Tours 2007).**

59 ¹⁶ Giuseppe Mammarella and Paolo Cacace, *Storia e politica dell'Unione Europea* (Rome and Bari 2013), 97–8.

60 ¹⁷ Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, ‘Introduction’ to the *Draft Constitution of the United States of Europe* (New York, NY
1944), 4.

was signed in March 1944.¹⁸ The main author of the draft was not Coudenhove-Kalergi, but a colleague of his, Arnold J. Zurcher, a professor of political science at New York University and vice-chairman of the Constitutional – then Juridical – Committee of the Paneuropean Conference.¹⁹ Although the United States was the institutional model preferred by the Paneuropean Conference, the *Draft* sketched out the contours of a confederation, in the hope that it would be accepted by the European governments and particularly by Britain, which was their main target.²⁰

The text was handed over to the British embassy in Washington on 8 April 1944, two weeks after it had been signed.²¹ But the British embassy was not the only one to receive it. On 6 May, the Apostolic Delegation to the United States sent Rome a report containing the *Draft*, which had been delivered personally to the Apostolic Delegate by Coudenhove-Kalergi.²² The *Draft* was accompanied by a letter in which the Count explained to the Pope why he needed his backing:

As probably neither Russia nor Britain will be members of this European Federation, the great majority of its citizens will be Catholics, following Your spiritual lead. No voice on earth could consequently do more to achieve such a lasting European Peace by federation, than the voice of Your Holiness. In the name of the Pan European Union and of millions of European followers of its ideas seeking lasting and genuine peace by Federation, I appeal to You to give this movement for European Federation Your blessing and moral backing. For nothing could do more to speed up lasting peace than a word of Yours addressed to the people of Europe and inviting its family of nations to unite, after the tragedy of the war, in a new spirit of Christian brotherhood. For nothing short of such a European Union can save our common Civilization and assure its lasting triumph over all forces of destruction, barbarism and immorality.²³

Religion was at the very heart of the Paneuropean Union, whose motto was ‘God, Liberty, Europe’. (In addition to this, it is worth remembering that in his book *Pan-Europa* Coudenhove-Kalergi mentions medieval Roman Catholic Europe as a historical precedent for the United States of Europe.)²⁴ That said, there was another reason why Coudenhove-Kalergi turned to the Pope. He was convinced that the European Union would be a predominantly Catholic confederation, with the Pope the most influential moral authority among its citizens. In short, it was a matter of geopolitics (of religion), rather than faith.

There is no record of Pius XII answering to Coudenhove-Kalergi in the Historical Archives of the Secretariat of State – Section for Relations with States. In any case, contacts between the Paneuropean Union and the Vatican had just begun. On 2 January 1945, at the request of Coudenhove-Kalergi, the

¹⁸ Walter Lippens (ed.), *Documents on the History of European Integration*, Vol. 2, *Plans for European Union in Great Britain and Exile (1939–1945)* (Berlin and New York, NY 1986), 810–1.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ The *Draft* set ‘internal constitutional standards’ for member states; regulated relations between member states and the Union and between member states; included both a section on the ‘basic rights of the individual’ and another on ‘social rights’; established a (professional) common army; introduced a common foreign policy; and provided for the creation of a ‘European customs union’. On the other hand, it stated from the beginning (Article 2) that the European Union was ‘an association of sovereign states’. Juridical Committee of the Pan-European Conference and Research Seminar for European Federation, ‘Draft Constitution of the United States of Europe’ (25 March 1944), in Lippens (ed.), *Plans for European Union*, 810–8. This *Draft* is only one of the many plans for a European Constitution that emerged during and immediately after the Second World War: Daniela Preda, ‘The Debate over the European Constituent Assembly: A Story of Drafts, Desires and Disappointments’, in *The Federalist: A Political Review*, Vol. 45 (2003), <https://www.thefederalist.eu/site/index.php/en/essays/2009-the-debate-over-the-european-constituent-assembly-a-story-of-drafts-desires-and-disappointments> (accessed 30 September 2021).

²¹ The Foreign Office merely acknowledged receipt of the *Draft*. Winston Churchill, who would later become one of the most prestigious supporters of a United States of Europe, ignored it completely. For more on the British reaction, see Lippens (ed.), *Plans for European Union*, 811–2.

²² Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato – Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati (Città del Vaticano) (ASRS), *Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari* (AA.EE.SS.), Pio XII, Parte I (1939–1948), Stati Ecclesiastici, Pos. 780, *Europa – Movimenti federalisti paneuropei*, ff. 36–57.

²³ Ibid., f. 38. Letter from Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi to Pope Pius XII, New York, 12 April 1944.

²⁴ Heikki Mikkeli, *Europe as an Idea and an Identity* (Basingstoke 1998), 89–90.

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3 Apostolic Delegate to the United States Amleto Cicognani forwarded a new document of the
4 Paneuropean Union to Pius XII's Pro-Secretary of State Domenico Tardini. This was a 'confidential'
5 report (*uno studio confidenziale*) on 'The European Question and America' that had been written by
6 Coudenhove-Kalergi on commission from the US Office of Strategic Services.²⁵ The report foresaw
7 three different scenarios for postwar Europe. In the first, the continent would be divided into many
8 states; in the second, into two spheres of influence, one British and one Russian; in the third, the
9 peoples of Europe would be united in a free and pacific confederation. According to Coudenhove-
10 Kalergi, only the third scenario could both solve the German problem and limit the influence of
11 communism in Europe. He therefore believed that a European confederation was the best solution not
12 only for the peoples of Europe but also for the United States.²⁶ The officials of the Secretariat of State
13 (First Section) were not so enthusiastic about Coudenhove-Kalergi's memorandum. They had serious
14 doubts about whether the plan could be realised. On the one hand, there was the attitude of the great
15 powers: in the opinion of Tardini and his men, Russia would certainly oppose any European
16 confederation, Britain would set conditions so as not to compromise its global interests, and the
17 United States was too far away to keep worrying about Europe. On the other hand, the officials of the
18 Secretariat of State were sceptical that the European states could come to an agreement, given not
19 only their material destruction but also the internal and external divisions that ran through them. In
20 the second place, Vatican officials did not believe that a European confederation including Germany
21 would solve the German problem, since the German sub-confederation would be the most populous
22 and powerful state in the European confederation. Last but not least, Tardini and his men found that
23 Coudenhove-Kalergi's memorandum was too much concerned with the interests of the great powers
24 and too little with those of the peoples of Europe.

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26 It is painful to see how the old Europe, from which modern civilisation has come, should be reduced to a
27 'buffer confederation' that would serve above all to cushion the impact of the three victorious powers of the
28 war, one of which is completely extra-European and the other two only partially European.²⁷

29
30 The Vatican's reaction to the 'confidential' report on 'The European Question and America' written
31 by Coudenhove-Kalergi on commission from the US Office of Strategic Services is interesting for
32 at least two reasons. First, it shows that, while serving a global institution, the Italian officials of the
33 First Section of the Secretariat of State – including Tardini – felt first and foremost European, and as
34 such were not ready to accept the decline of the old continent on the international stage. Second, it
35 demonstrates that, at the beginning of 1945, the Vatican did not believe in the possibility of building
36 a confederal Europe.

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38 The Coudenhove-Kalergi request was not the only one angling for support of a United States of
39 Europe to reach Pius XII's desk in January 1945. Another was Frank Betsani's, president of the
40 United States of Europe Association (New York). Contrary to Coudenhove-Kalergi, the latter had no
41 actual plan for building a United States of Europe, nor, it would seem, any relationship with the US
42 government. In his telegram to the Pope, he 'humbly' urged him to 'assert [His] most holy and
43 spiritual influence in supporting the promoting of a United States of Europe', which he and his friends
44 considered the only possible solution to the chaos into which the continent had sunk. (The United
45 States of Europe Association was particularly concerned about the situation in Greece, Belgium,
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53 ²⁵ ASRS, AA.EE.SS., Pio XII, Parte I (1939–1948), Stati Ecclesiastici, Pos. 780, *Europa – Movimenti federalisti*
54 *paneuropei*, f. 59.

55 ²⁶ Paolo Bertella Farnetti, 'Coudenhove-Kalergi, Fulbright e la lotta per gli Stati Uniti d'Europa' (2001),
56 http://morgana.unimore.it/materiali_discussione/0422.pdf (accessed 30 September 2021).

57 ²⁷ 'Fa pena vedere come la vecchia Europa, dalla quale è venuta la civiltà moderna, debba ridursi ad una "buffer
58 confederation" che serve soprattutto ad attutire gli urti delle tre potenze vincitrici della guerra, di cui una completamente
59 estrauropea e le altre due solo parzialmente europee'. ASRS, AA.EE.SS., Pio XII, Parte I (1939–1948), Stati
60 Ecclesiastici, Pos. 780, *Europa – Movimenti federalisti paneuropei*, f. 61, which contains a typewritten note written by
Vagnozzi and revised by Tardini. The note is dated 23 January 1945.

Poland and ‘parts’ of Italy.) The last part of the telegram echoed Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms: ‘the establishing of a United States of Europe will promote freedom of religion freedom from want and a fuller understanding amongst those nation [sic] of Europe’.²⁸ Vatican officials initially confused the two associations. Then they realised that the Paneuropean Union and the United States of Europe Association were two different entities. Despite that, they decided to reply in exactly the same way to both. On 26 January, Pro-Secretary of State Domenico Tardini wrote to the Apostolic Delegate to the U.S., Amleto Cicognani, asking him to decide whether and how to let Coudenhove-Kalergi and Betsani know that ‘the Supreme Pontiff, who [had] done so much to avert the conflict and alleviate its sad consequences, would continue his apostolic work tirelessly so that a better future based on justice and charity might be prepared.’²⁹ As can be seen, Tardini’s reply contains no mention of a United States of Europe, so as not to compromise the Papacy with a project that he and his men considered unrealistic.

A year and a half later, the world had completely changed. The war had ended, the United Nations had been founded,³⁰ and the Iron Curtain had just descended across Europe.³¹ What had not changed, however, were the plans of Coudenhove-Kalergi, who in the meantime had returned to Europe and established the headquarters of the Paneuropean Union in Gstaad, in Switzerland. From there, on 21 July 1946, he wrote to Pius XII to once again ask for his support. Knowing that the Pope was especially concerned about the future of Eastern Europe, Coudenhove-Kalergi first emphasized that his new campaign for the United States of Europe included ‘Europa irredenta’, that is, the European countries behind the Iron Curtain. After informing Pius XII of his next steps (‘We are planning a Congress to be held at Geneva next April to integrate the foreign policy of Europe’s Catholic, Conservative, Liberal and Social-Democratic parties on a common program of European Federation.’),³² he concluded:

We have assured the backing of the United States and of many leading European statesmen, such as Winston Churchill.

But nothing would be more important for the triumph of our cause than if you, Holy Father, would give it your blessing and support.

If you were to raise your voice asking the Nations of Europe to readjust their mutual relations in a new spirit of Christian love, charity and brotherhood. For all of Europe is looking to you for guidance and inspiration – and your word, more than anything else, could help to bring order into the present desperate chaos of unhappy Europe.³³

In July 1946, Coudenhove-Kalergi was still persuaded that Pius XII was the most influential person in Europe. Unfortunately for him, however, his plea for support fell yet again on deaf ears.³⁴ In this respect, it is very important to note that in the summer of 1946, the Pope’s attitude towards

²⁸ Ibid., f. 63. The telegram is dated 17 January 1945. On the Four Freedoms Speech and its legacy see Jeffrey A. Engel (ed.), *The Four Freedoms: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Evolution of an American Idea* (New York, NY 2016).

²⁹ ASRS, AA.EE.SS., Pio XII, Parte I (1939–1948), Stati Ecclesiastici, Pos. 780, *Europa – Movimenti federalisti paneuropei*, f. 62: ‘Veda l’Eccellenza Vostra, se e in qual modo convenga significare ai suddetti signori che l’Augusto Pontefice, Che tanto Si è adoperato per evitare il conflitto e alleviarne le tristi conseguenze, continuerà indefessamente la Sua azione apostolica affinché si prepari un avvenire migliore, fondato su la giustizia e la carità’.

³⁰ Mazower, *Governing the World*, Ch. 7, ‘The League is Dead. Long Live the United Nations’; Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, Ch. 3, ‘The Apogee of Internationalism’.

³¹ Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (London 2011), ‘Part One: Post-War: 1945–1953’.

³² Coudenhove-Kalergi was most likely talking about the European Parliamentary Union, which held its founding congress in Gstaad, in July 1946: Paolo Caraffini, ‘Unione parlamentare europea’, in *Dizionario dell’integrazione europea 1950–2017* (2017), <https://www.dizie.eu/dizionario/unione-parlamentare-europea/> (accessed 30 September 2021).

³³ ASRS, AA.EE.SS., Pio XII, Parte I (1939–1948), Stati Ecclesiastici, Pos. 780, *Europa – Movimenti federalisti paneuropei*, ff. 31v–32v. Letter from Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi to Pope Pius XII, Gstaad, 21 July 1946.

³⁴ Ibid., f. 30. Minute of a letter from Domenico Tardini to the Apostolic Nuncio to Bern, Filippo Bernardini, Vatican, 1 August 1946.

the United States of Europe was not the same as it was in early 1945. As we have seen, in January 1945 Pius XII had found the project of a confederal Europe unrealistic. On the contrary, in his address to a delegation of the Swiss press on 14 April 1946 he had pointed to the Swiss Confederation as a model for Europe: 'Switzerland is in miniature what many people see as a gateway to salvation for Europe'.³⁵ In this light, behind Pius XII's silence on the Paneuropean Union there seems to be only the intention of not compromising the Holy See with any particular federalist movement.

In the summer of 1947, the outbreak of the Cold War led to an intensification of the efforts of pro-European movements to achieve a United Europe. On 20 July, immediately after the Soviet Union refused to join the Marshall Plan, the European Unity Movement, founded by Winston Churchill, the Independent League for European Cooperation, led by former Belgian Prime Minister Paul van Zeeland and the Union of European Federalists, co-founded and headed by Henri Brugmans, established a Liaison Committee of the Movements for European Unity.³⁶ On 10-11 November, the Liaison Committee was replaced by an International Committee of the Movements for European Unity (ICMEU), chaired by the Conservative MP – and Churchill's son-in-law – Duncan Sandys. The Committee also included the French Council for a United Europe and the Christian Democratic *Nouvelles Équipes Internationales*. Once in place, it agreed to hold a European Conference bringing together the continent's most important federalist figures. The Conference, planned for the spring of 1948, would then be held in the Hague between 7 and 10 May. Before the Hague Congress was held, Coudenhove-Kalergi's European Parliamentary Union, which until then had jealously preserved its autonomy, also joined the ICMEU. Despite the fact that the chairman of the organising committee was the Dutch Catholic senator Pieter Kerstens, the actual organisation of the Congress was taken over by Duncan Sandys, who presided over a joint organising committee set up in London.³⁷

Like Coudenhove-Kalergi, Duncan Sandys also tried to secure the support of Pius XII. To this end, he flew to Rome to meet with the Pope.³⁸ We do not know what Duncan Sandys and Pius XII said to each other (although we can imagine what the former asked of the latter). However, before the Hague Congress, Sandys wrote to the Pope to ask him to send a representative of the Holy See to the Congress. Pius XII accepted the request and entrusted the task to the Apostolic Internuncio to the Netherlands Paolo Giobbe.³⁹ One might ask why he chose to support the ICMEU after repeatedly dismissing the requests of Coudenhove-Kalergi for backing. The first answer that comes to mind is, since the ICMEU was comprised of the **principal** pro-European movements, supporting it also meant supporting the European unification project as a whole, not just one of its promoters, as was the case with the Paneuropean Union. However, papers from the Vatican Apostolic Archives reveal a more complex decision-making process than that.

While Coudenhove-Kalergi's requests had been examined by the First Section of the Secretariat of State, headed by Domenico Tardini, Duncan Sandys' application was managed by the Second Section of the Secretariat of State, led by Giovanni Battista Montini. (The reason for this is probably that Sandys' application was processed as part of the ordinary correspondence between the Secretariat of State and the Apostolic Internunciature in the Netherlands.) Was it Montini who convinced Pius XII to first receive Duncan Sandys and then to approve his request? The documents

³⁵ Pope Pius XII, 'L'Europa: una Svizzera in grande', in Pietro Conte (ed.), *I papi e l'Europa: Documenti (Pio XII – Giovanni XXIII – Paolo VI)* (Torino 1978), 56.

³⁶ 'The International Committee of the Movements for European Unity', <https://www.cvce.eu/recherche/unit-content/-/unit/en/04bfa990-86bc-402f-a633-11f39c9247c4/5e4d62cb-3849-434e-ac34-32b989d37059> (accessed 30 September 2021); Simone Paoli, 'Congresso dell'Aia' (2009), <https://www.dizie.eu/dizionario/congresso-dellaia-1948/> (accessed 30 September 2021).

³⁷ 'The International Committee of the Movements for European Unity'.

³⁸ ASRS, AA.EE.SS., Pio XII, Parte II (1949-1958), Affari Generali, Pos. 13, *Movimenti federativi europei*, 1947, f. 21.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, ff. 17–9.

do not clarify this. But they do make it clear that both Montini and Giobbe supported the participation of the Roman Catholic Church in the Hague Congress, so it is very likely that they were the ones who suggested to the Pope what to do. When Tardini learned of Giobbe's appointment, it was too late to intervene. So, in reply to Montini, who had informed him of the matter, he merely replied that he was 'not enthusiastic'.⁴⁰ (On the same day, an 'unfavourable' report on the Hague Congress arrived from the Apostolic Nuncio in Paris, Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli.)⁴¹

Montini's attitude can probably be traced back, on the one hand, to his long familiarity with 'modern Catholics' such as Jacques Maritain,⁴² and, on the other, to his closeness with Italian Christian Democrats like Alcide De Gasperi and his own brother Ludovico. In the interwar period, Montini had played a crucial role in the dissemination of Maritain's thought in Italy and thus in the modernisation of Italian Catholic culture.⁴³ In 1928, he had translated Maritain's *Three Reformers: Luther, Descartes, Rousseau* into Italian.⁴⁴ More importantly, in the second half of the 1930s, he had circulated the first copies of *Humanisme intégral* (1936), where Maritain set forth his vision of a 'new', 'secular' Christendom'.⁴⁵ On the other hand, Montini's 'special relationship' with many Christian Democrat leaders stretched back to his position as FUCI's national ecclesiastical assistant (1925-1933).⁴⁶ (FUCI was – and still is – a federation of circles gathering Italian university students of the Catholic faith.) Other Christian Democrat leaders, like De Gasperi himself, had been helped by Montini after his full-time return to the Secretariat of State, starting in 1933. Finally, Montini had been – and still was, in 1948 – Christian Democracy's main sponsor within the Vatican walls.⁴⁷

Between 1944 and 1948, there seemed to be two different lines within the Secretariat of State. One, which we might call 'intransigent', was supported by the First Section. The other, which we might call 'diplomatic', was supported by the Second Section. According to the first line, the Papacy should not support non-confessional internationalism; according to the second line, the Pope *should* support it, also in order to influence it from within.⁴⁸ Apart from that, what interests us the most is that also for Duncan Sandys, as it had been for Coudenhove-Kalergi, it was essential to secure the support of the pontiff in order to build a United Europe.

The Pope and the World

The Second World War marked a watershed not only in the history of European federalism, but also in the history of world federalism. On 17-24 August 1947, the World Movement for Federal World Government held its first congress in Montreux, Switzerland. The foreign ministers of Great

⁴⁰ Ibid., f. 21.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² James Chappel, *Catholic Modern: The Challenge of Totalitarianism and the Remaking of the Church* (Cambridge, MA 2018), especially 132-8.

⁴³ Philippe Chenaux, *Paul VI et Maritain: Les rapports du « montinianisme » et du « maritanisme »* (Brescia and Roma 1994); Giorgio Campanini, *Il filosofo e il monsignore: Maritain e Montini, due intellettuali a confronto: Con testi inediti* (Bologna 2016).

⁴⁴ Jacques Maritain, *Tre riformatori: Lutero, Cartesio, Rousseau* (Brescia and Rome 1928).

⁴⁵ Jacques Maritain, *Humanisme intégral* (Paris 1936). On Maritain's vision: Philippe Chenaux, « *Humanisme intégral* » (1936) *de Jacques Maritain* (Paris 2006).

⁴⁶ Renato Moro, *La formazione della classe dirigente cattolica (1929-1937)* (Bologna 1979); Philippe Chenaux, *Paul VI: Le souverain éclairé* (Paris 2015); Fulvio De Giorgi, *Paolo VI: Il papa del Moderno* (Brescia 2018).

⁴⁷ Agostino Giovagnoli, *La cultura democristiana. Tra Chiesa cattolica e identità italiana, 1918-1948* (Rome and Bari 1991), 157–61; Agostino Giovagnoli, *Il partito italiano. La Democrazia cristiana dal 1942 al 1994* (Rome and Bari 1996).

⁴⁸ This emerges in the clearest way from Giobbe's report on the Hague Congress: *ibid.*, ff. 5–14.

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3 Britain (Ernest Bevin) and Italy (Carlo Sforza) sent a message, as did Albert Einstein, an icon of
4 scientific internationalism.⁴⁹ One of the leading figures at the Conference was the **Dutchman**
5 Gunnar Knös,⁵⁰ who in the previous summer had requested an audience with Pius XII. The
6 application, submitted on behalf of the Wereld-Federatie association, was accompanied by a series
7 of propaganda materials: Dexter Masters' and Katharine Way's edited book, *One World or None:*
8 *A Report to the Public on the Full Meaning of the Atomic Bomb* (1946);⁵¹ John J. O'Neill's review
9 of the book, entitled 'There's Only One Answer to the Atom Bomb. Scientists Say to Statesmen:
10 You'll Have to Get Rid of War';⁵² and other brochures and information leaflets.⁵³

11
12 Unlike Sandys, Knös was not received by Pius XII. Not surprisingly, his application was
13 examined by the First Section of the Secretariat of State, the one headed by Tardini, who, in a note,
14 added that the World Federation advocated by Knös was 'unfeasible'.⁵⁴ Once again, what interests
15 us most is the attitude of non-confessional internationalism towards Pius XII. From this point of
16 view, it is important to note that Knös was no less insistent than Coudenhove-Kalergi or Sandys.
17 On the contrary, he repeatedly submitted his request during the spring and summer 1946, despite
18 the fact that Vatican officials kept answering him that private audiences with the Pope were
19 suspended. It is clear that the support of Pius XII was considered essential by him as well.

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22 In his inspiring book *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, Sluga defines the Second World
23 War and the early postwar years as the 'apogee of internationalism': 'If the end of World War I
24 was the apogee of nationalism, then World War II was the apogee of twentieth-century
25 internationalism, when "international government" renamed as "world government" was a
26 rhetorical commonplace.'⁵⁵ Sluga focuses on 'the 1940s debates about world citizenship, human
27 rights, and economic development that circled the establishment of the United Nations and its early
28 years of operation', but, as she reminds us, the 'apogee of internationalism' was also marked by a
29 'popular flavour'.⁵⁶ This is demonstrated by the surveys conducted in the United States, Great
30 Britain and France after the war, as well as 'the many (...) voices, white and black, calling for a
31 new geopolitical order grounded in the precepts of progress and democracy' that were raised
32 around the world.⁵⁷

33
34
35 What do we know about this popular internationalism? What do we know about the way
36 ordinary people imagined governing the world in the 1940s? The answer is *nothing*, despite the
37 fact that 'national and international archives overflow with letters penned in the 1940s by
38 individuals, men and women, proclaiming their specific support for the creation of a world
39 organization, albeit of varying political and cultural shades'.⁵⁸

40
41 An exceptional document of popular internationalism from the 1940s is preserved in the
42 Vatican archives (Historical Archives of the Secretariat of State – Section for Relations with
43 States).⁵⁹ In fact, there are two documents, *An Outline of the Constitution of the World Federation*
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47 ⁴⁹ Joseph Preston Baratta, *The Politics of World Federation: From World Federalism to Global Governance* (Westport
2004), Ch. 16, 'The Crusade and the World Movement'.

48 ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 338.

49 ⁵¹ Dexter Masters and Katharine Way (ed.), *One World or None: A Report to the Public on the Full Meaning of the Atomic
Bomb*, Foreword by Niels Bohr, Introduction by Arthur H. Compton (New York, NY and London 1946).

50 ⁵² John J. O'Neill, 'There's Only One Answer to the Atom Bomb. Scientists Say to Statesmen: You'll Have to Get Rid
of War', *Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review*, 17 March 1946.

51 ⁵³ Cf. ASRS, AA.EE.SS., Pio XII, Parte I (1939–1948), Stati Ecclesiastici, Pos. 827, *Legge della confederazione
universale*, 1946, ff. 2–60.

52 ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 20.

53 ⁵⁵ Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, 79.

54 ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 84.

55 ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

56 ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

57 ⁵⁹ ASRS, AA.EE.SS., Pio XII, Parte I (1939–1948), Stati Ecclesiastici, Pos. 780, *Europa – Movimenti federalisti
paneuropei, 1945–1946*, ff. 10–26.

and *An Outline of the Constitution of [the] European United States*. The two draft constitutions were written by a committee of Latvian displaced persons in the first half of 1946. (They were examined by Pius XII on 29 July 1946.) Who comprised this committee? Both draft constitutions were signed by Alfreds Biskaps, Girts Salnais and Edgar Andersons. Nearly everything that we know about them comes from the Arolsen Archives and the US National Archives. Biskaps (who changed his name to Alfred Biskap after naturalization)⁶⁰ was born in Kalnmuiža, Latvia, on 5 October 1911, so he was 34 when the draft constitutions were composed. According to his registration record ('DP 2 card'), he was a former state official, with no wife or children and spoke Latvian, Russian and German.⁶¹ Girts Salnais (the only one not to change his name as a US citizen)⁶² was born in Riga on 28 July 1906, so he was 39 in the first half of 1946. His DP 2 card identifies him as an 'author' and married.⁶³ (He also had a son, as we learn from the papers of the International Refugee Organisation.)⁶⁴ He spoke Latvian, Russian, English and German.⁶⁵ Edgars Andersons (Edgar Anderson after naturalization) was born in Tukums, Latvia, on 17 June 1920, making him the youngest member of the committee, being 25 years old in the first half of 1946. His DP 2 card states that he was a historian and a journalist.⁶⁶ (He graduated in 1943 from the University of Riga. After the war he would teach history in the United States.) His DP 2 card also states that he was divorced and that he spoke Latvian, German, English and French. All three of them were Lutherans.

In the first half of 1946 Biskaps, Salnais and Andersons lived in the Würzburg Latvian refugee camp, which was one of the largest refugee camps in Germany. (The camp was located in the American Occupation Zone.) Biskaps reached the United States on 6 April 1949, Andersons on 7 July of the same year, and Salnais on 25 January 1951.⁶⁷ (On the passenger lists compiled by the International Refugee Organisation, Biskaps was listed as a farmer and ranch hand and Salnais as

⁶⁰ Alfreds Biskaps [Alfred Biskap], Petition for Naturalization, Petition No. 356133, District Court, Northern District, Chicago Division, Illinois, Petitions for Naturalization, 1906–1991, V. 1417, No. 355801–356300, Ca. 1954–1956, 333, Records of District Courts of the United States, 1685–2009, Record Group Number, RG 21, National Archives at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. (Accessed through Ancestry.com, 30 September 2021.)

⁶¹ Arolsen Archives (**International Center on Nazi Persecution, Bal Arolsen, Germany**), 3. Registrations and Files of Displaced Persons, Children and Missing Persons, 3.1. Evidence of Abode and Emigration, 3.1.1. Registration and Care of DPs inside and outside of Camps, 3.1.1.1 Postwar Card File (A-Z), Reference Code 03010101 oS, Number of documents 3520117, 66614056 – Alfred BISKAPS, https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/archive/3-1-1-1_03010101-oS (accessed 28 October 2022).

⁶² Girts Salnais, Petition for Naturalization, Petition No. 8239, 1917–1991, Pabel–Tabatabaie, Ohio, Southern District Naturalization Index, 1852–1991, Records of District Courts of the United States, 1685–2009, Record Group Number, RG 21, National Archives at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. (Accessed through Ancestry.com, 30 September 2021.)

⁶³ Arolsen Archives, 3. Registrations and Files of Displaced Persons, Children and Missing Persons, 3.1. Evidence of Abode and Emigration, 3.1.1. Registration and Care of DPs inside and outside of Camps, 3.1.1.1 Postwar Card File (A–Z), Reference Code 03010101 oS, Number of documents 3520117, 68926647 – Girts SALNAIS, https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/archive/3-1-1-1_03010101-oS (accessed 28 October 2022).

⁶⁴ Ibid., 3.1.3. Emigrations, 3.1.3.2. Passenger lists and further compilations on emigrated persons, 3.1.3.2. DE Registrations and emigration predominantly from Germany, 3.1.3.2 DE I Period 1946–1952 (chiefly IRO support), 3.1.3.2. DE I d Emigrations in 1951, Correspondence and nominal roles, done at Bremen-Grohn: transport by ship (USS GENERAL LANGFIT), transit countries and final destinations: USA, Venezuela, Reference Code 8303620, Creation Date 1951-01-14, Number of Documents 87, 81674711, https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/archive/3-1-3-2_8303620 (accessed 28 October 2022).

⁶⁵ Arolsen Archives, 3. Registrations and Files of Displaced Persons, Children and Missing Persons, 3.1. Evidence of Abode and Emigration, 3.1.1. Registration and Care of DPs inside and outside of Camps, 3.1.1.1 Postwar Card File (A–Z), Reference Code 03010101 oS, Number of documents 3520117, 68926647 – Girts SALNAIS, https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/archive/3-1-1-1_03010101-oS (accessed 28 October 2022).

a gardener.)⁶⁸ What did their draft constitutions provide for? This is not the place to describe them in detail, but their main features are important. The *Outline of the Constitution of [the] European United States* envisaged a federation of nation states, one of which was to act as the ‘Head-State’ for ten years. The President of the ‘Head-State’ was to be responsible for the economy of the United States of Europe, while a ‘Premier of Europe’ was to be in charge of public order. This ‘Premier of Europe’ was to be elected by a Supreme Senate, where the ‘big’ nations were to be represented by two senators and the ‘small’ ones by one senator. The *Outline* provided for the direct election of both ‘National Councils’ and the ‘Supreme Senate’, which were to be two corporatist legislative bodies. Indeed, their members were to be elected by four different groups: (1) employed in agriculture; (2) industrial workers; (3) ‘professional [sic] people and officials’; (4) and ‘manufacturers, proprietors of buildings, merchants and artisans’.⁶⁹ The *Outline of the Constitution of the World Federation* stated that ‘the World should be a republic in the third degree’, **that is, a world federal republic comprised of continental federal republics**. Unlike the United States of Europe, the World Federation should not be led by a ‘Head-Continent’, but only by a ‘World President’, appointed by a ‘World Senate’ for a ten year term. However, the first World President should be from the United States.⁷⁰

Biskaps, Salnais and Andersons sent their draft constitutions to eight people: (1) ‘His Holiness’ (Pius XII); (2) ‘His Excellency the State President of the U.S.A.’ Harry S. Truman; (3) ‘His Excellency the Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Great-Britain’ Clement Attlee; (4) ‘His Excellency the leader of the National China’ Chiang Kai-shek; (5) ‘The Chairman of the Economical [sic] and Social Council at the UNO, Mrs. Roosevelt’ [sic]; (Eleanor Roosevelt was not the president of the Economic and Social Council but of the Commission on Human Rights.) (6) ‘The Latvian representative and Ambassador in London’ Kārlis Zariņš, who was the chief of the Latvian diplomatic service in exile; (7) ‘The Latvian Representative and Ambassador in Washington’ Alfrēds Bīlmanis; and (8) Jūlijs Feldmanis, former Latvian ambassador in Switzerland (and future ambassador to the United States). Biskaps, Salnais and Andersons therefore addressed three of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, the most prestigious members of the Latvian diplomatic service in exile and the head of the Roman Catholic Church. The exclusion of the Soviet Union need not be explained. The exclusion of France is less intuitive, but it would take us too far afield. However, here we do need ask: why did Biskaps, Salnais and Andersons send their draft constitutions to Pius XII? The question is all the more

⁶⁶ Ibid., 66423252 – EDGARS ANDERSONS.

⁶⁷ On the exile of Latvian refugees to the West after the Second World War see Andrejs Plakans, *The Reluctant Exiles: Latvians in the West after World War II* (Paderborn 2021). Cf. also Juliette Denis, ‘Hitler’s Accomplices or Stalin’s Victims? Displaced Baltic People in Germany from the End of the War to the Cold War’, *Le Mouvement Social*, Vol. 244, No. 3 (2013), 81–98.

⁶⁸ The passenger list including Edgars Andersons is missing in the Arolsen Archives. For Biskaps see Arolsen Archives, 3. Registrations and Files of Displaced Persons, Children and Missing Persons, 3.1. Evidence of Abode and Emigration, 3.1.3. Emigrations, 3.1.3.2. Passenger lists and further compilations on emigrated persons, 3.1.3.2. DE Registrations and emigration predominantly from Germany, 3.1.3.2 DE I Period 1946–1952 (chiefly IRO support), 3.1.3.2. DE I d Emigrations in 1949, Correspondence and nominal roles, done at Bremen-Grohn: transport by ship (USS GENERAL BLACK, USS GENERAL TAYLOR), transit countries and final destinations: USA, Reference Code 8301850, Creation Date 1949-03-22 – 1949-03-27, Number of Documents 127, 81658186, https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/archive/3-1-3-2_8301850 (accessed 28 October 2022) and *ibid.*, Correspondence and nominal roles, done at Schweinfurt: transport by ship; transit countries and final destinations: Australia, Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, USA, Reference Code 8318040, Creation Date 1949-03-07 – 1949-03-31, Number of Documents 84, 81780010. For Salnais see *ibid.*, 3.1.3.2. DE I d Emigrations in 1951, Correspondence and nominal roles, done at Bremen-Grohn: transport by ship (USS GENERAL LANGFIT), transit countries and final destinations: USA, Venezuela, Reference Code 8303620, Creation Date 1951-01-14, Number of Documents 87, 81674711, https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/archive/3-1-3-2_8303620 (accessed 28 October 2022).

⁶⁹ ASRS, AA.EE.SS., Pio XII, Parte I (1939–1948), Stati Ecclesiastici, Pos. 780, *Europa – Movimenti federalisti paneuropei, 1945–1946*, ‘A fundamental outline of the Constitution of the United States of Europe (USE)’, ff. 19–21.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, ‘A fundamental outline of the Constitution of the World Federation’, ff. 22–4.

interesting since (1) the Pope was the only religious leader they turned to, and (2) they were all Lutherans. There can be at least three reasons behind this choice. The first is the ‘multilayered actorness’ of the Holy See, which was (and still is) a ‘state, a diplomat, and a transnational Church’, which distinguished it (and still does) from all other world religions.⁷¹ The second reason is the diplomatic and humanitarian work carried out by Pius XII during the war, which, coupled with his public speeches on peace and reconstruction, had placed his figure in the foreground.⁷² **(It is very likely, for example, that Biskaps, Salnais and Andersons were familiar with Pius XII’s Christmas radio messages.)** The third reason is the widespread presence of the Roman Catholic Church in German refugee camps. The clergy provided religious assistance to Catholics and humanitarian assistance to all. It is not by chance that the draft constitutions drawn up by Biskaps, Salnais and Andersons reached Pius XII through the Latvian national delegate Laurinovičs.⁷³

What does the accompanying letter sent to the Pope along with the draft constitutions say?

At the present moment when the whole world is standing on the verge of a new era, men are looking expectantly towards Your bright Holiness, for You are the mightiest guide and the strongest saver [sic] of all the human world. In this time when the horrors of the terrible war are still alive in our memory and the future is dark and menacing, I venture to apply to You with a proposition, created by my sincerest wish to help the mankind, so that it may live in peace and prosperity. My humble request to Your Holiness is to make Yourself acquainted with my project and to refuse to [to bestow?] Your blessing for its execution. By supporting this project with Your authority and by influencing the minds of the worldly rulers in favour of it, You will help to fulfill [sic] the hopes of millions of men, who are waiting for their liberation from oppression, terror and suffering. Only by creating a united and central governing power of the whole world it will be possible to grant all nations a peaceful and happy life in a christian brethren hood [sic] for all times, and to prevent the outbreak of the greatest menace to our culture – the war.

I, being one of the great family of suffering people which having no homeland any more [sic] and being moved from one place to another, and waiting anxiously [sic] for a decision of their fate made by the Divine Justice, am hoping together with the others for Your benevolent assistance. Let these hopes to be fulfilled!⁷⁴

This letter is interesting for many reasons. One is that it tells us how Biskaps (who is the first to sign the letter), Salnais and Andersons saw the Pope (‘You are the mightiest guide and the strongest saver [sic] of all the human world’). Another is that it tells us why they turned to Pius XII (‘By supporting this project with Your authority and by influencing the minds of the worldly rulers in favour of it, You will help to fulfill [sic] the hopes of millions of men, who are waiting for their liberation from oppression, terror and suffering’). In Coudenhove-Kalergi’s perspective, Pius XII was the most influential moral authority among European citizens. This was true for Biskaps, Salnais and Andersons as well, but they also deemed him capable of influencing the choices of the world leaders. That is why he was the first addressee of their draft constitutions, even preceding US President Harry S. Truman.

The project of Biskaps Salnais and Andersons was clearly unrealistic. This notwithstanding, Pius XII ordered Tardini to ‘examine [it] well’.⁷⁵ The latter entrusted the task to Romolo Carboni, who dismissed the draft constitutions as legally inconsistent.⁷⁶ Interestingly, however, he did not believe that the United States of Europe and the World Federation were destined to remain ‘mere

⁷¹ Mariano Barbato, ‘A State, a Diplomat, and a Transnational Church: The Multi-layered Actorness of the Holy See’, *Perspectives*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2013), 27–48.

⁷² Philippe Chenaux, *Pie XII: Diplomate et Pasteur* (Paris 2003), 227–304; Robert A. Ventresca, *Soldier of Christ: The Life of Pope Pius XII* (Cambridge, MA and London 2013), 169–218; John Pollard, *The Papacy in the Age of Totalitarianism, 1914-1958* (Oxford and New York, NY 2014), 291–363.

⁷³ ASRS, AA.EE.SS., Pio XII, Parte I (1939–1948), Stati Ecclesiastici, Pos. 780, *Europa – Movimenti federalisti paneuropei, 1945–1946*, f. 12.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 11.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 25.

utopias' forever.⁷⁷ In the Vatican as elsewhere, what had seemed unrealistic before the Second World War, and would again seem unrealistic after the outbreak of the Cold War, seemed perfectly realistic in the early postwar years.

Conclusion. A paradoxical success

The Paneuropean Union, the United States of Europe Association, the ICMEU, the Wereld-Federatie Association and the Committee of Latvian displaced persons, comprised of Alfreds Biskaps, Girts Salnais and Edgars Andersons were not the only internationalist actors to seek the support of Pius XII between 1944 and 1948. The Vatican Apostolic Archives have records of at least four other requests for support. Between 1944 and 1948, the Movimento Unionista Italiano (an Italian federalist movement affiliated with the World Federalist Movement in New York) repeatedly solicited the assistance of the Holy See.⁷⁸ In 1945, the Italian historian Pier Fausto Palumbo asked Montini for the Vatican's collaboration on his new magazine *Europa*.⁷⁹ The same year, the Italian lawyer Franco Concini de Concini asked Montini to put pressure on the Italian Prime Minister (and also Foreign Minister) Alcide De Gasperi so that he would grant the weekly newspaper *L'Unione Europea* (*The European Union*) the authorization to become a daily newspaper.⁸⁰ In 1948, the former Fascist journalist Edgardo Sulis requested the Vatican's support for the Catholic anti-Communist Universalist Movement and the newspaper *L'Universale*.⁸¹ Furthermore, in 1941, the Polish nun Elena Oraczewska had asked the Pope to advocate the creation of a United States of Europe.⁸²

As a whole, the requests for support examined in this paper clearly show the centrality of Pius XII in the imagination – and strategies – of non-confessional internationalism in the 1940s, including popular internationalism. Indeed, it must not be forgotten that the Paneuropean Union, the ICMEU and the World Federation were the leading non-governmental internationalist actors of the 1940s. Why did they (and other internationalist actors) seek the support of Pius XII? As we have seen, they believed that the Pope was the most influential moral authority in Europe and the world. (Biskaps, Salnais and Andersons thought that he exercised his soft power not only over people but also over governments.)

The analysis of the relationship between Pius XII and non-confessional internationalism in the 1940s not only sheds new light on the history of internationalism but also on the history of the Papacy. Historiography has already pointed out the enormous prestige enjoyed by the Holy See during and immediately after the Second World War. For example, the British historian John Pollard has written:

The papacy itself had come through the war very well. Its prestige had probably never been higher, thanks to Pius XII's attempts to negotiate peace and his humanitarian efforts on behalf of POWs and civilians alike, despite some lingering suspicion inside the British Foreign Office about the Vatican's 'trimming during the war'.⁸³

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Vatican Apostolic Archives (AAV), Segr. Stato, Titoli (1936–2005), 1944, Enti Commerciali e Profani, Pos. 131, *Movimento Unionista Italiano. Richiesta di benedizione da parte del Sig. Michelangelo Carrubba*, ff. 2–18.

⁷⁹ Ibid., Pubblicazioni, Pos. 115, Pier Fausto Palumbo. *Omaggio dei primi fascicoli della rivista 'EUROPA'*, ff. 2–4.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 1945, Pubblicazioni, Pos. 191, Concini de Concini Franco. *Chiede interessamento perché la rivista 'Unione Europea' divenga quotidiana*, ff. 2–15.

⁸¹ Ibid., 1948, Enti Commerciali e Profani, Pos. 66, 'Movimento Universalista'. *Il Sig. Edgardo Sulis, Presidente del Comitato Provvisorio per l'Italia, invia il programma del quotidiano politico europeo 'L'Universale'*, ff. 2–20.

⁸² Ibid., 1941, Varie, Pos. 48, Suor Elena Oraczewska. *Propone al S. Padre la costituzione degli 'Stati Uniti d'Europa'*, ff. 2–4.

⁸³ Pollard, *The Papacy in the Age of Totalitarianism*, 364–5.

The words of the Swiss historian Philippe Chenaux point in the same direction:

‘Defensor civitatis’: when thousands of Romans gathered in St Peter’s Square on the day of liberation, 5 June 1944, they wanted to express their gratitude to the one who had saved their city, Rome, the Sacred City, from the horrors of war. Perhaps never before had the prestige and moral authority of a pontiff been so high’.⁸⁴

With all that, the enormous prestige enjoyed by Pius XII among internationalist actors in the 1940s has, to date, been completely overlooked. As the papers from the Historical Archives of the Secretariat of State – Section for Relations with States and the Vatican Apostolic Archives reveal, it was not lower than that achieved by the Pope among the governments and the Roman population in the same period.

There is something paradoxical about Pius XII’s success with non-confessional internationalism during and after the Second World War. Indeed, the papacy had opposed non-confessional internationalism from its very beginning, that is, from the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague in 1899.⁸⁵ The reason for Leo XIII’s opposition was that the Court did not recognise what he considered to be the pope’s legitimate role, that of president.⁸⁶ After the First World War, the papacy’s continued opposition to non-confessional internationalism resulted in the condemnation of the newly formed League of Nations. Actually, in his 1920 encyclical *Pacem Dei Munus Pulcherrimum*, Benedict XV left the door open to a future collaboration between the papacy and the League (‘The Church will certainly not refuse her zealous aid to States united under the Christian law in any of their undertakings inspired by justice and charity’)⁸⁷, but, in his 1922 encyclical *Ubi Arcano Dei Consilio*, Pius XI, shut it loudly:

No merely human institution of today can be as successful in devising a set of international laws which will be in harmony with world conditions as the Middle Ages were in the possession of that true League of Nations, Christianity. (...)

There exists an institution able to safeguard the sanctity of the law of nations. This institution is a part of every nation; at the same time it is above all nations. She enjoys, too, the highest authority, the fullness of the teaching power of the Apostles. Such an institution is the Church of Christ.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ ‘“*Defensor civitatis*”: en se rassemblant par milliers sur la place Saint-Pierre au jour de la libération, le 5 juin 1944, les Romains entendaient exprimer leur gratitude à celui qui avait sauvé leur ville, Rome, la Cité sacrée, des affres de la guerre. Jamais sans doute, comme en cette heure, le prestige et l’autorité morale d’un pontife n’avaient été aussi hauts.’ Chenaux, *Pie XII*, 305. **On the personality cult of Pius XII, see also Oliver Logan, ‘Pius XII: romanità, prophesy and charisma’, *Modern Italy*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1998), 237-247. Like Pollard, Logan explicitly connects the intensification of Pius XII’s personality cult during the Second World War with its international *magisterium*: ‘The year 1942 witnessed an intensification of personality cult. This can be seen as supporting the Pope’s magisterial role as he addressed issues of world order and sought to make the Papacy a player in the international scene. The Christmas broadcasts of 1941 and 1942, both addressed to peoples and their leaders, marked a new phase in the papal *magisterium*, a resumption and development of what had already been seen with Benedict XV during and immediately after the First World War’: *ibid.*, 240.**

⁸⁵ On the papacy’s attitude towards war and peace in the 20th century see Daniele Menozzi, *Chiesa, pace e guerra nel Novecento* (Bologna 2008).

⁸⁶ Jean-Marc Ticchi, ‘Bons offices, médiations, arbitrages dans l’activité diplomatique du Saint-Siège de Léon XIII à Benoît XV’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome*, Vol. 105, No. 2 (1993), 584–604; Daniele Menozzi, ‘Ideologia di cristianità e pratica della «guerra giusta»’, in Mimmo Franzinelli and Riccardo Bottoni (eds), *Chiesa e guerra: Dalla «benedizione delle armi» alla «Pacem in terris»* (Bologna 2005), 91–127.

⁸⁷ Pope Benedict XV, Encyclical letter *Pacem Dei Munus Pulcherrimum* (23 May 1920), https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xv_enc_23051920_pacem-dei-munus-pulcherrimum.html (accessed 30 September 2021).

⁸⁸ Pope Pius XI, Encyclical letter *Ubi Arcano Dei Consilio* (23 December 1922), https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19221223_ubi-arcano-dei-consilio.html (accessed 30 September 2021).

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3 In the very early 1930s, the Vatican-owned newspaper *L'Osservatore romano* and the Italian Jesuit
4 journal *La Civiltà Cattolica* seemed to reflect a new attitude of Pius XI towards the League of
5 Nations. (In particular, *La Civiltà Cattolica* praised the work conducted by the International
6 Labour Organisation.)⁸⁹ In any case, Pius XI never endorsed the League of Nations, just as his
7 successor, Pius XII, never endorsed the United Nations.
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10 The third (and last) question that we asked in the introduction was: how did the Vatican react
11 to all the requests for support that it received? The archival documentation shows two different
12 strategies. The first, followed by Tardini and the First Section of the Secretariat of State, involved
13 the rejection of any collaboration with non-confessional internationalism. The second, followed
14 by Montini and the Second Section of the Secretariat of State, involved the cooperation with non-
15 confessional internationalism. The first, which we have called 'intransigent', looked mainly to the
16 past and to the opposition between Catholic and non-confessional internationalism.⁹⁰ The second,
17 which we have called 'diplomatic', looked mainly to the future and the reintegration of the Papacy
18 into the modern global world.⁹¹ Fifteen years later, Montini would follow it as a Pope.⁹²
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52 ⁸⁹ Menozzi, *Chiesa, pace e guerra nel Novecento*, 74–6.

53 ⁹⁰ On Catholic intransigentism see Émile Poulat, *Intégrisme et catholicisme intégral: Un réseau secret international*
54 *antimoderniste: la « Sapinière »* (1909–1921) (Paris 1969); Émile Poulat, *Église contre bourgeoisie* (Tournai 1977);
55 Émile Poulat, *Catholicisme, démocratie, socialisme: Le mouvement catholique et Mgr Benigni, de la naissance du*
56 *socialisme à la victoire du fascisme* (Tournai 1977); Daniele Menozzi, *La chiesa cattolica e la secolarizzazione* (Turin
57 1993); Giovanni Miccoli, *Il mito della cristianità* (Pisa 2018).

58 ⁹¹ See also Chappel, *Catholic Modern*.

59 ⁹² Chenaux, *Paul VI*; De Giorgi, *Paolo VI*.
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