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1

Religion and the Cold War – An Introduction

Dianne Kirby

The story of the Cold War is likely to become more contentious as it becomes more interesting and complex, and it will continue to defy any single narrative. A key variable, essential for a full and nuanced analysis of the Cold War, that has for too long been seriously neglected, is the role of religion. Neither religion nor the state has withered away, as Enlightenment rationalism and Marxist teleology predicted. The relationship between the two can tell us a great deal about the Cold War that will provide fresh new perspectives and telling insights.

Although the unpredicted resurgence of religion in global society has heightened awareness of its potency as a political force and re-legitimised it as an object of study, the role of religion in the Cold War remains to be systematically examined. To date, either as an organised entity or at the level of personal faith, religion's place in Cold War historiography has been systematically neglected.¹ Yet for many political commentators and for many who lived through the period, the Cold War was one of history's great religious wars, a global conflict between the god-fearing and the godless.

Cold War policies cannot be understood simply in terms of 'realism', power politics and geopolitical considerations. Ideology, based on and informed by religious beliefs and values, was crucial in shaping both perceptions of and responses to the Soviet Union.² The religious dimension of the Cold War was of particular significance to the United States, a nation whose people and leaders, despite the constitutional separation of church and state, stressed their religiosity and considered their country to be a special moral force in the world.³

The importance of such ideas is enshrined in the pivotal Cold War document NSC 68, which committed the USA in 1950 to a massive

arms build-up. NSC 68 began not with a geopolitical evaluation but with the vision of an apocalyptic struggle between American good and Soviet evil. NSC 68 wanted to defeat the 'fanatic faith' of Communism by mobilising a superior 'spiritual counter-force', awakening 'the latent spiritual energies of free men everywhere'.⁴

In 1950, *Washington Post* editor Herbert Elliston asked Isaiah Berlin to write a 'credo' for Cold War liberalism. Berlin replied:

I do not think that the answer to communism is a counter-faith, equally fervent, militant, etc.; to begin with, nothing is less likely to create a 'faith' than perpetual reiteration of the fact that we are looking for one, must find one, are lost without one.⁵

This, however, is precisely what the British and the Americans tried to do in the late 1940s as they sought to construct a 'Western' doctrine with which to counter the growing appeal of communism.⁶ In an era in which religious faith still mattered, Marxist atheism was seen as a potential focus for undermining the popular appeal of communist doctrine. This was particularly important in relation to the masses of poor, for whom communism naturally held a significant attraction, as these were equally the people for whom religion was a comfort and a consolation.

Marxist atheism provided a window of vulnerability, the Achilles' heel of communism from the West's religio-political perspective. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that Christianity was appropriated by Western propagandists and policy-makers for their anti-communist arsenal. The construction of an entirely new doctrine with which to counter the appeal of communism proved unfeasible. However, anti-communist rhetoric emphasised freedom of religion and Christian ideals, which, combined with its emphasis on democracy and freedom, enabled anti-communism to assume a doctrinal status with a claim to moral superiority owing to its spiritual component as opposed to the base materialism of communism.

The new historians of the Cold War stress the significance of ideas and beliefs, focusing on the importance of ideology and culture. Interestingly the new scholarship tends to be preoccupied with communist ideology rather than that of the West.⁷ The trend is discernible in *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* by John Lewis Gaddis, the best-known historian of the Cold War and foremost proponent of a school of interpretation called post-revisionism that stresses the importance of geopolitics and power balances.⁸ Gaddis's new work is

distinctive due to the extent that it abandons post-revisionism and returns to a more traditional interpretation of the Cold War, blaming the Cold War on Stalin's personality, on authoritarian government and on Communist ideology.⁹

American ideas and the actions they inspired tend to be glossed over in the new literature, which tends to present a picture of a passive Washington.¹⁰ However, American officials and the American people held powerful beliefs about the superiority of their institutions, culture and way of life. These beliefs, including religious beliefs, prompted actions that figure prominently in the story of the Cold War and the nature it assumed. The US traditionally perceived itself as the manifestation of Truth, Justice and Freedom placed on earth by a God whose purpose was to make of it an instrument for extending His spiritual and material blessings to the rest of humanity. Even Gaddis now notably concludes that the Cold War was 'a contest between good and evil'.¹¹

The defeat of Nazi tyranny strengthened the view of America as an anointed nation, a society with a unique mission born of its righteousness, endowing these beliefs with a powerful crusading quality.¹² A sense of mission became in many ways the most powerful ideological force in post-war American culture. It is essential to understand this in order to appreciate the unfolding of the conflict with the Soviet Union as a particular sort of Christian enterprise, sustained by the conviction that the American cause was morally right and the communists were evil.¹³

Melvyn Leffler, one of the Cold War's most respected scholars, acknowledges that the new historians of the Cold War are relating something of importance when they stress the significance of ideas and beliefs, but advises that they need to look more closely at beliefs in Washington as well as Moscow and Beijing. US officials and the American people held powerful beliefs about the superiority of their institutions, culture and race, prominent amongst which was religion.

In early Cold War America religion was part of a very important concept, the 'American Way of Life', which was believed to be threatened from both within and without.¹⁴ Americanism took it for granted that communism was by no means only a political, military or economic challenge, but also a spiritual one that threatened the deepest foundations of human life. The ideal America was unified spiritually: a righteous and God-fearing nation, giving expression to belief in God with one voice. The ideal was symbolized on 28 May 1953 when President Eisenhower signed the bill adding 'under God' to the Pledge of Allegiance. In a July 4 editorial the *Living Church* perceived the addition as 'one more example of the renewed religious earnestness of our nation'.¹⁵

No one in the West seriously challenged America's moral leadership or its presentation of itself as a God-fearing nation, despite the constitutional separation between Church and State. America's crusade to defend Western Civilization and Christianity was seen as entirely compatible with its crusade to promote freedom and democracy. In reality, as the rise of fundamentalism in the latter part of the twentieth century has demonstrated all too clearly, religion can be a force for political dysfunction that subverts freedom and democratic values. Those who equate religion with social justice, political democracy and freedom for the individual have avoided this uncomfortable reality. Similarly, many Cold War histories avoided the equally uncomfortable reality that for many third world peoples freedom and democracy became less attainable owing to Western policies supposedly meant to promote freedom and democracy, but which all too often led to their antithesis.

A significant indication that the importance of religion in the Cold War is at last being recognised as worthy of consideration can be discerned from the fact that *Diplomatic History*, the leading journal in the field, published a symposium on the subject in autumn 2000. The feature article on which all the others commented was Andrew J. Rotter's 'Christians, Muslims, and Hindus: Religion and US-South Asian Relations, 1947-1954.' Rotter noted how scholars, even those of a culturalist bent, have usually resisted interpreting US foreign policy as a product of religious thinking.¹⁶ He observes that this was an idea that made people uncomfortable. America was supposed to be a country in which religion and politics did not mix, despite the extent to which religion is encoded in political practice, taking the form of what Robert Bellah has called 'civil religion', the translation of religious language and symbols into secularisms.

It is Rotter's contention that even in an ostensibly secular state the private religious commitments and concerns of foreign policy-makers can be crucial, even decisive, factors in shaping international relations, especially when the policy-makers share a common religious culture. He points to the surprising number of 'missionary kids', reared in a strong Protestant missionary subculture, who for a significant part of the twentieth century dominated the foreign affairs establishment of the United States, at the State Department and in the academy.

Rotter examines the association between religion and United States foreign policy and the manner in which America's 'sense of mission' carried on into the Cold War. In particular, he demonstrates how the lingering assumption that America was in some essential way a Christian and more specifically, a Protestant nation perpetuated a missionary

mentality.¹⁷ The Soviet Union was not just an enemy but the antichrist, the 'devil we knew'. Rotter records the surprising number of Cold War monographs with 'crusade' in their titles, the senator who proclaimed in 1950 that 'America must move forward with the Atomic bomb in one hand and the cross in the other', and how accepting the Republican nomination for the president in 1952, Dwight Eisenhower said, 'you have summoned me ... To lead a great crusade ...'¹⁸

Commenting on Rotter's article, Patricia Hill acknowledges that religion constitutes a category that ought to be considered in the writing of diplomatic history. However, she perceives a fundamental difficulty in the proposition that religion can function, like gender, as a category of historical analysis. Commenting that it is not, as Susanne Hoeber Rudolph has pointed out, a 'master variable' in international relations, but one that acquires or loses salience in particular historical moments, Hill suggests that religion cannot be easily abstracted as a structural component of social order. She doubts, therefore, that it can be deployed as a category of analysis in the same way that scholars have wielded gender, class and race. She adds that, if Rudolph is correct, religion may not always be a variable that matters as it is now assumed race, class and gender must always be understood as constituents of any society or state.¹⁹

Another contributor to the debate, Robert Buzzanco, questions the value of cultural interpretations.²⁰ Buzzanco notes that the fact that religion has become the subject of a roundtable in a major diplomatic history journal suggests that it deserves attention. However, while he acknowledges that policy-makers in North America had ideological beliefs, preconceptions and prejudices based on religion, he questions how important these were. This is a question addressed elsewhere by David S. Foglesong.

Foglesong points out that many prominent officials shared the assumptions that communism was a spurious pseudo religion and that the West could mobilize religious conviction against the atheistic Soviet regime. Among these was John Foster Dulles who was responsible for the Eisenhower administration's policy to roll back communism in eastern Europe. Another was Walter Bedell Smith, ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1946 to 1949, who observed that the strong religious faith of the Russian people was something to be utilized against the regime. After returning to the US, Smith served as director of the CIA from 1950 to 1953, the years when the agency began funding propaganda organizations that sought to rouse religious feeling against communist governments.²¹

Historians of US foreign relations have long recognized the importance of the urge to re-make other societies in the image of the United States. Little attention has been paid to the religious component of that urge, which can equally be seen as an expression of American culture. Foglesong's exploration of American attitudes toward the liberation of Russia offers an analysis of the assumptions, values and prejudices of key US policy-makers and suggests that religious ideas were a significant influence. He argues that US policies cannot be understood simply in terms of 'realist' responses to Soviet threats: US propaganda and political warfare were shaped by ideology. His research suggests that rather than think about the Cold War merely in the geopolitical terms of liberal or conservative anti-communism, the consultants, officials and policy-makers who inspired, founded and guided the Cold War propaganda organizations were influenced by their religious beliefs.²²

Undeniably, for some US representatives, the appeal to religious sentiment was merely a pragmatic cold war tactic. For others the missionary language and images expressed deeply held convictions. There was a special fervour in the propagation of Christian ideas from the late 1940s to the early 1950s. Foglesong reveals that although some senior diplomats and policy-makers scorned the emphasis on religion, it was not peculiar to idiosyncratic advisers on the margins of US policy-making. NSC 68, mentioned earlier, enshrined many of the ideas inspired by the religious convictions that these key policy-makers espoused. In addition to which, the propaganda organizations supported by the State Department and the CIA embraced the missionary tactics advocated.

Edward Barrett, an assistant Secretary of State who headed the US Information Service (USIS) from 1950 to 1952, believed powerful religious forces could become 'Communism's greatest foe'. Under his leadership, US information programmes placed increased emphasis on 'the great appeal of godliness versus godlessness'. Voice of America broadcasts repeatedly attacked Soviet tyranny as hostile to religion, denounced Stalin as a pseudo-God and claimed that the Russian people still crowded into churches despite all the persecution and peril.²³

In bringing forward evidence and arguments supporting the contention that religion was from the beginning a significant Cold War component, it is essential to give some consideration to why, if this was the case, it has taken so long to recognise and address it, particularly in America. At the most mundane level, the neglect of the religious dimension can be attributed, in part, to the fact that the historiography of the Cold War was for a long time dominated by

American scholars working in North American 'secular' universities which adopted rather a frigid attitude toward church history and religious studies. Defended by many as a necessary adjunct to the separation of church and state, the disdain, as John Conway has pointed out, 'was in fact due to the ideological hostility of the majority of the professoriate towards religion in general and Christianity in particular.'²⁴ Conway argues that the controversial misinterpretation of the alleged conflict between science and religion took its unfortunate toll to the degree that while, for most history departments, it was inconceivable to teach the history of the middle ages without reference to religion, the opposite was true for the more recent centuries. This still holds true today, despite the growth of departments devoted to religion, as the subject is too frequently tossed between Religion and History, with departmental barriers preventing any profitable collaboration.

Perhaps even more instrumental in the neglect of religion is the fact that it is too complex and too intertwined with other cultural and social forms to be easily isolated. It also raises difficult enough questions on its own. What does 'religion' mean? What is the history of this word? What happens when 'religion' and particular religions are reified in legal and political language? Can we talk about religion without privileging Christianity?

Historians and political scientists too often refer to religion as if everyone knows what it is. For many it is synonymous with belief. For others it is more nearly synonymous with 'culture'. Discussion of religion and politics tends to be dominated by a Protestant model of religion as individual, chosen and believed, with little attention given to religion that is communal, given and enacted. Above all, the debate tends toward the hypothetical question whether or not politics 'contaminates' religion. It could be argued that religion was always and remains 'contaminated' by politics. Religion is as intricately intertwined with the political as it is with the social and the cultural.

Where great advances have been made in relation to the significance of religion, is in the study of political and psychological warfare. The importance that propaganda assumed by the 1950s in American Cold War policy resulted in the emergence of the Psychological Strategy Board (PSB) to coordinate psychological operations. The directors' group of PSB consultants was aware of the importance of 'the world's concept of us as a young and vital nation endowed with the spiritual qualities necessary for world leadership.'²⁵

Ronald Reagan's famous reference in the 1980s to the 'evil empire' is a salutary reminder of the persistence and power of Cold War religious

imagery. Western propagandists played the religious card in the early years of the cultural Cold War, an early example being Winston Churchill's 1946 Fulton Speech in the presence of President Truman.²⁶ It has been said of Truman that he instinctively recognized the influential position of the pulpit.²⁷ Propaganda studies frequently refer to Truman's 'Campaign of Truth', formally launched before the American Society of Newspaper editors in April 1950.²⁸ Truth, of course, is a value-laden term with religious implications. Truman emphasized that the message was for universal consumption and was 'a necessary part of all we are doing ... as important as armed strength or economic aid'. Senate hearings on Truman's request for funds for his 'campaign of truth' revealed the strength of support for what was referred to as a 'contest for the minds and loyalties of men' and as 'a Marshall Plan in the field of ideas'. Twenty-seven senators wrote to Truman urging a 'psychological and spiritual offensive against the Kremlin.'²⁹

Existing scholarship confirms that religion played some sort of role in American perceptions and conduct of the Cold War, and therefore in the course it assumed. If a study of religion as a tool of analysis is to be undertaken, then it cannot be confined to the United States. And here Hill raises a cogent point, observing that Rotter's work raises a difficult issue for a culturalist approach to diplomatic history: 'How can an individual scholar actually produce a persuasive study that addresses religious thinking and its policy impact on the relations among multiple states?' She sees it as a daunting prospect and feels it may require more than can be expected of the lone scholar: 'In short, the messy particularity and complexity of religion makes it a category of diplomatic analysis that requires collaboration. We need to imagine creative ways to stimulate and foster such collaboration.' Hill predicts that if such ways can be found they will open up a host of previously unasked questions, the answers to which will transform the field and produce exciting new perspectives on the history of international relations.

Hill argues that, because religion constitutes a very complex category for analysis, to construct a history that includes multiple national sites and takes seriously the transnational character of some religious movements, requires creative, collaborative efforts that embrace both a culturalist approach and an innovative process for implementing that approach. The process has already begun. In April 2000 at the Royal Foundation of St Katharine's in the East End of London a gathering of scholars from across the disciplines and around the world met to discuss Religion and the Cold War. They have remained in touch with each other's endeavours, and those of other interested parties who

subsequently joined the on-going project, via an electronic mailbase that facilitates group discussion and communication on a daily basis if need be.

This book is a direct result of the Religion and the Cold War project, which brought together scholars from different countries and different disciplines who have different approaches to and different perspectives of religion and the Cold War. They address different subjects, in different eras, in different countries and in different ways. The range of subjects varies from Cold War cinema to Marxist scholarship, from popes to parish clergy. None of the chapters takes the simplistic, crudely reductionist view that religion was merely an instrument of propaganda and manipulation used by 'Cold Warriors' for purposes that can be adequately defined and understood without reference to religion. Nor do they offer a uniform, single view of what religion amounts to in the Cold War over and above mere propaganda. Rather they provide varied and diverse insights that affirm the rich, multi-faceted, multi-dimensional role religion assumed during the Cold war era.

The collection starts with Anna Dickinson, who explains that the USSR and the Russian Orthodox Church were not enemies by 1945, thereby challenging the tendency to assume that the West had a monopoly on religion. The official atheism of the communist regimes did not prevent religion assuming considerable significance in their Cold War policy-making. In 1940 the Russian Orthodox Church was on the verge of institutional elimination in Russia. Dickinson explains how it was that by 1946 the Russian Orthodox Church had the power to become involved in Soviet foreign policy objectives, whereas in 1940 the most that leaders of the Church could have hoped for was survival. Historians normally focus narrowly on the foreign policy role of the Russian Orthodox Church after 1943. Dickinson suggests that the foreign policy role of the Russian Orthodox Church has tended to cause undue emphasis to be given to foreign policy considerations in motivating religious policy changes.

Dickinson uses archival evidence to demonstrate that although the strengthening of Orthodox influence did take place in order to facilitate foreign policy ends, further evidence suggests that these ends were ultimately focused on domestic issues. She contends that the strengthening of the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia was primarily a means of strengthening the domestic church in order to facilitate its assertion of political control over the liberated territories and the destruction of indigenous nationalist movements, and not primarily as a means of strengthening Soviet influence in the rest of the world. The Russian Orthodox Church also played an important role within Russia.

The Soviet State elected to use the Patriarchal Church and recognized its need to re-establish its power throughout Russia. Dickinson looks at the eradication of the Uniate Church and how the Russian Orthodox Church was allowed to play a missionary role. She uses its complicity in aiding the Soviet government's destruction of the Uniate Church to explore the post-1943 Church-State relationship, revealing significant areas in which there was a convergence of interest. For example, as members of the underground churches avoided participation in both Soviet society and the patriarchal Orthodox Church, both the Moscow Patriarchate and the Soviet state had an interest in eradicating them. Dickinson portrays a state in fear for its basic survival using a Church that it had previously sought to eliminate to make sure it did survive. In turn, the Church cooperated with the State that had brought it close to institutional extinction through savage persecution for the sake of its own self-preservation.

Matthew D. Hockenos's chapter on the Darmstadt statement highlights that a fundamentally important issue in the West from the viewpoint of social and political theology was the stance to be adopted towards the churches' response to Nazism. Significant in itself, it is an issue that opens the way to consideration of the extent to which one of the significant dimensions of religion in the Cold War was its place in disputes about who was and was not a fascist or a Nazi. Hockenos's study is informed by post-war German theological arguments as he explores the relationship between the Protestant church and politics in 1947 when reform-minded pastors and theologians, including Karl Barth, Hermann Diem, Hans Iwand and Martin Niemöller, issued the highly controversial Darmstadt statement. He contends that, although rejected by an overwhelming majority of church leaders, pastors, and theologians, the importance of the Darmstadt statement for understanding the post-war church and Germany generally, should not be minimized. The statement highlighted the irreconcilable political and theological differences between two visions of the church in the post-war era. As one of the first manifestations of Cold War polemics within the church, Darmstadt set the stage for future showdowns between reformers and conservatives over German unification, East-West relations, and rearmament.

Hockenos argues that the responses to the Darmstadt statement are highly significant 'because they provided the political and theological arguments that churchmen would use in staking out their positions in response to the Cold War.' He further claims that recognizing the mutually supportive nature of the theological and political issues raised

by the Darmstadt statement is critical to an examination of the competing interpretations within the Protestant church of the political and theological consequences of the Nazi era. It is equally crucial for understanding the conflicting visions of the church in the early stages of the Cold War.

Interestingly, the most contentious religious figure in Cold War history remains Pius XII, and the next two chapters present rather different views of his role. Frank J. Coppa surveys both the religious and political aspects of Pius XII's anti-communist activities from 1919 to 1958. It is his contention that while American historians have recognized the part played by the United States in provoking the Cold War, the papal role has not been recognized, other than in the religious and ideological sphere. Coppa argues that Pius XII became deeply implicated in the political realm as he mobilized Catholic forces to combat communism in his initiation of a global campaign against Bolsheviks in general, and the Soviet Union in particular. Examining how the Vatican's 'alliance' with the western bloc contributed to the triumph of Christian Democracy in Italy and Germany, Coppa also shows how it compromised papal neutrality.

During the war the Vatican resisted denouncing either Nazi or Bolshevik atrocities. While the Holy See had few illusions about National Socialism, it considered Bolshevism the greater evil. Pius XII perceived unconditional surrender as 'idiotic' and feared the consequences of a Soviet victory for Poland, the Baltic states, and the whole of eastern Europe, not to mention communist domination over the entire war-torn continent. In the post-war period, Pius XII's position was that the totalitarian, anti-religious state demanded the silence and acquiescence of the Church. He was not prepared to comply. Coppa highlights the consequences.

He argues that Pius XII rallied the support of the faithful for his diplomacy of condemnation and containment of the Soviet Union, a position eventually endorsed by the United States, helped by Russian actions and by the outbreak of the Korean conflict in 1950. However, by the end of Pius XII's pontificate the Vatican was moving to reach some accommodation with the Soviet system, as it sought to shift from *de facto* alliance with the West to non-alignment. Coppa shows how the pope who had assumed a leading role in the opening of the Cold War eventually joined forces with those who called for its conclusion.

Peter C. Kent agrees with Coppa that the Roman Catholic Church in the twentieth century was among the first ranks of the Cold Warriors, but he challenges assumptions about the Vatican's initiation of the

Cold War and Pius XII's central role in determining the course of international events in the 1940s. Kent posits that there are four key issues to be addressed in order to determine the nature and extent of the Vatican's role:

How close a collaboration existed between Rome and Washington after the Second World War? Did the policy of containment as enunciated by Harry Truman in 1947 accord with the goals of the Vatican? Was there a working alliance between the American government and the Holy See to resist the extension of Communism and, if so, how effectively did it operate? Can the triumphal celebration of the Holy Year of 1950 also be read as a celebration of the anti-Communist alliance of the west behind the leadership of the United States with the assistance of the Catholic Church?

Seeking to answer these questions Kent arrives at quite different conclusions from Coppa, arguing that while the Roman Catholic Church provided much of the ideological rhetoric of the Cold War, it had little direct influence on the course of events. He also sees little real concordance of policy between Washington and Papal Rome. For Kent, the image of the Church triumphant in the Holy Year of 1950 was false. He contends that Pius XII stood alone in pursuing his conception of the Cold War with scant sympathy or assistance from the government of the United States.

My own contribution to the debate surrounding US-Vatican relations presents yet another perspective. With reference to the endeavours of President Truman to forge a religious international anti-communist front, my chapter examines how Truman made religion an integral part of his Cold War campaign to persuade the American people to abandon isolationism, embrace globalism and world leadership and to roll-back communism. The evolution of US-Vatican relations in the post-war period served as an effective yardstick for measuring the scale and degree of changes in American policy from the wartime alliance with the Soviet Union to a more rigid stance in the early part of 1946 to confrontation in 1947. The chapter explores why Truman, fully aware of the serious implications for dialogue and negotiation in the international arena, deliberately advanced relations with Pius XII at crucial points in the congealment of the Cold War.

Taken together the chapters provide not only a range of views of the pope, but suggest that more study is required of US-Vatican relations

in this period if we are to understand the forces driving the Truman administration's attitudes and policies. Of equal if not more importance is the provision of a fuller and a more profound understanding of the nature and origins of the Cold War.

The status of Catholicism in the story of the European dimension of the Cold War is addressed in three chapters. John Pollard explores the ways in which the Vatican responded to the critical situation it perceived to exist in Italy from the onset of the Cold War and considers the short and longer-term effects of its policy for Italy and beyond. Italy was on the 'front line' during the Cold War. Pollard contends that, without the onset of the Cold War, Catholicism would not have achieved such hegemony in post-war Italy. In examining the consequences of the Cold War and the Church's response to it, Pollard identifies the post-war period of Italian history as an era of Catholic 'triumphalism' in which, until the late 1960s at least, the Church appeared to be hegemonic in both Italian political life and civil society. Pollard argues that the polarization of Italian politics in 1947 and 1948 and the atmosphere of cosmic crisis massively increased the value of the Vatican's intervention in Italian politics, despite the fact that Catholic hegemony in Italian civil society was from the beginning unnatural, artificial and very fragile.

He suggests that the Church replaced fascism as the authoritarian system sought by the Italian middle classes. The abolition of the monarchy and the development of the papal cult of the personality reinforced the Church's influence at this juncture. Pollard introduces evidence to show that the Christian Democratic Party as a political force 'sponsored' by the Church lacked real autonomy from the Vatican. He argues that Christian Democratic attempts in the mid-1950s to escape Vatican control began a practice of clientelism and corruption on a massive scale that would eventually lead to the collapse of the Christian Democratic regime itself. It is his contention that the survival of the Christian Democratic regime for almost fifty years was due to the legacy of the Cold War, with communists excluded as far as possible from power. However, with anti-communism as the major issue on the Church's political agenda, other serious, moral issues, such as the fight against the Mafia in Sicily, went unaddressed, with profound consequences on the home front. Although Pollard regards Vatican policy as more cautious and diplomatic abroad, he contends that it still had profound and far-reaching consequences, not least in eastern Europe. Charles Gallagher, whose focus is on post-war Yugoslavia, agrees.

Gallagher's chapter opens up debate on the tension often thought to exist between religious liberty as understood in the US Constitution and Roman Catholic social and political theology. Gallagher points to a sensational example of this, Paul Blanshard's polemic against Catholicism as the real danger. The main focus of Gallagher's chapter is the furtive diplomatic contact between the US and the Vatican in Cold War Yugoslavia. From 1945 to 1950 the US and the Vatican conducted a clandestine operation of intelligence gathering and transmission in the former Yugoslavia that marked an historic period in their diplomatic cooperation. As a diplomatic force, the Vatican held a great deal of strength in the Balkans during the early Cold War period and was interested in influencing US policy in Yugoslavia for both spiritual and political reasons. In its strategy of 'looking toward America' it began by appointing prominent American prelates to key diplomatic posts behind the Iron Curtain. Gallagher examines the Americanization of the Holy See's diplomatic corps, which represented an historic shift, with a special focus on the appointment of the American bishop Joseph P. Hurley of St. Augustine, Florida, to the Apostolic Nunciature in Belgrade. The first American in the history of papal diplomacy to be raised to the equivalent rank of nuncio, Hurley met secretly with Pope Pius XII in October of 1945 to accept the impending assignment. Hurley had strong political contacts with the US State Department and with many high-ranking members of the Cold War American diplomatic corps. In early 1946, an arrangement was fashioned whereby the Vatican's official correspondence was sent to Rome via the American diplomatic pouch. The United States was also getting something in return. The Belgrade nunciature secretly supplied the US embassy with detailed reports on Yugoslav Catholic and political activities.

The initial breach of the US-Vatican partnership rose out of the United States' silence concerning the sudden arrest and outcome of the trial of Archbishop Aloysius Stepinac of Zagreb. The United States did not reciprocate the Vatican's enthusiasm regarding Archbishop Stepinac's innocence. Then, on 28 June 1948, Stalin publicly expelled Tito's Yugoslavia from the Cominform. A new set of diplomatic variables was now placed upon the negotiating table. Gallagher suggests the period as a starting point for examining the role that America played in the construction of the Vatican's Cold War *Ostpolitik*, or eastern policy, in the Balkans.

The possibility of Catholic-communist cooperation is also the subject addressed by Paul Hainsworth, but this time in France. The birth of the Fifth Republic forced both the French Communist Party (PCF) and the

Catholic Church to take stock of General De Gaulle's new regime and to assess what it meant for their respective world-views. Hainsworth examines some of the developments and perspectives operative within and between French Catholicism and the PCF as these powerful forces came to terms with the Fifth Republic and with their own respective evolutions in the context of the Cold War.

The PCF had been born in 1920 as a byproduct of the Russian Revolution, and had emerged as the most successful party at the polls in post-war France. The intensification of the Cold War politically isolated the PCF, meaning that it was unable to turn its success into lasting alliances. The Catholic Church had played a conspicuous role throughout French history and society, resulting in France frequently being described as 'the elder daughter of the Church'. For the PCF, Gaullism was theorized as a manifestation of state monopoly capitalism in which the bourgeoisie relied upon political and ideological ramparts (including religion) to support its economic dominance. The PCF thus perceived Gaullism as a force that recruited religion for class purposes. It is in this context that the Church's clerical role was to help prop up capitalism and its political arm, Gaullism, signifying the de facto revival of the classic alliance between 'throne' and 'altar'. Although the Constitution's preamble situated the new regime in the republican fold, the PCF was wary of a collusive Gaullist relationship with the Church. Hainsworth argues that PCF suspicions were not without foundation.

He examines the difficulties which the Cold War context imposed upon the policy of the 'outstretched hand', the PCF's mechanism for exploiting the potential for Communist-Catholic contacts. The roots of this approach lay in the 1930s, when PCF leader Maurice Thorez had offered an outstretched hand of solidarity to French Catholics at the time of the Popular Front. Hainsworth contends that the fetters placed on Catholic-Communist contacts by the Catholic hierarchy and the PCF's hostility towards the Church's intrusion into the political arena did not prevent the Party from continuing to offer an outstretched hand to French Catholics. He shows how Cold War developments and thaw interacted with domestic efforts to exploit the possibilities for Communist-Catholic cooperation, resulting in a peaceful co-existence that gathered momentum as a more engaging dialogue in the mid-1960s and beyond.

George Egerton's chapter complements the preceding three chapters in extending to Canada the way in which they examine how issues confronted centrally in the Vatican played out in selected countries.

Egerton examines the significance of religion in the Cold War human rights debate both in Canada and in the wider international arena. Noting the contemporary peripheralization of religion in public life, Egerton remarks on how this has helped to create a lacuna in historical understanding of the powerful political functions of religion and the way in which politicians drew upon the religious resources of Western political cultures until the 1960s. He examines the relationship of religion and politics in Canada in the wake of the Second World War and the early years of the Cold War, a period amounting to what was perceived at the time as a religious revival lasting into the mid-1960s. Egerton focuses on the central role that religion played in defining Canada's ideological response, domestically and internationally, to the dawning 'Age of Human Rights'. It is his contention that the Communist challenge of these years to Western democratic cultures resulted in an international renewal and reassertion of liberal values that found their most dramatic expression in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1948. The question of human rights provoked deep philosophical, ideological, and religious disagreements.

During the Second World War the Canadian churches and government formed a close partnership in a struggle they jointly perceived and presented as the defence of Christian civilization against the pagan forces of Nazism. The political rhetoric that portrayed Canada explicitly as a Christian state continued after the war as the 'uneasy alliance' began to crumble and the Soviet Union consolidated its hold over eastern and central Europe and its deeply Christian nations. The genesis of the Cold War and the threat of communism served to reaffirm and strengthen the Canadian church-state partnership. Protestants and Catholics agreed in the post-war period that atheistic communism presented a danger to the central liberal and Christian values of the Canadian state which was every bit as serious as the recently defeated menace of Nazism.

Egerton shows how Canadian religion functioned ambiguously in the realm of human rights. The nation's dominant Protestant and Catholic churches approached the question of human rights protection both supportively and critically, but agreed that human rights required religious grounding and affirmation if they were to achieve political legitimacy. Egerton argues that it was the strength of the Canadian church-state relationship and its eagerness to support government authority in its containment of communism at home and abroad that facilitated the decision against a Canadian Bill of Rights.

The remaining chapters make a shift into the realm of social history. Ian Jones emphasizes the need to think broadly, beyond conveniently diplomatic and diplomatic-like history. The Darmstadt statement is akin to diplomatic history in that it deals with elites. In contrast, Jones focuses on the grass-roots level. If religion is a significant Cold War force, its power derives from moving ordinary people. Jones has made a wide study of the life of the local church in post-war Birmingham, from which he offers some reflections on the attitudes of clergy and leading lay members of local Anglican and Free Church congregations toward the Cold War and how and why they raised it with their congregations and parishioners. Many of the clergy's primary concerns related particularly to the pastoral and missiological implications of the Cold War in Britain. The conflict required that the laity – both churchgoers and non-churchgoers – play their full part in the campaign.

A growing number of local church leaders through the 1940s and 1950s quite simply regarded Christianity and communism as antithetical on theological or ideological grounds. While Jones suggests that the communist threat offered a culturally acceptable scapegoat against which clergy could attempt to re-establish the waning connection between religious duty, social participation and national identity, he warns against underestimating the significance for them of the Cold War as a cosmic struggle between good and evil.

For many local clergy important pastoral challenges arose from the whole traumatic experience of living under the shadow of the Cold War. They were convinced that whether communism posed a direct and hostile threat, or spread its influence more subtly through the growth of a materialist outlook on life, the church could not sit idly by without offering a response. Fear about the spread of communism was discernible in the concern expressed by many local church leaders from across the political and theological spectrum about the power of the state in an era of increased government planning. Organized labour could appear as another manifestation of communist activism alarmingly close to home.

This did not mean automatic support from religion for the forces of capitalism. Far from seeing material prosperity as a crucial bulwark against communist influence, most clergy regarded a materialistic outlook on life as increasing the nation's susceptibility to Cold War defeat. Stories of enduring Christian devotion behind the Iron Curtain were regularly featured in church magazines of the time, to show western Christians that the Gospel could not be extinguished, even under an atheistic regime, and to call church members to re-examine

the depth of their own commitment. English clergy appeared sceptical of adopting anti-communism at any price and frequently drew a distinction between the half-hearted Western believer on one hand, and the passionate, committed communist on the other.

Hartmut Lehmann's study brings to the fore the question of how important ideological coherence is for the faithful. With wit and humour, Lehmann examines the complications and complexities to which religion gave rise within the GDR. Presented as a five-act drama, 'or perhaps even a tragedy', Lehmann's chapter addresses a major shift in the official ideology of the GDR by focusing on the way in which Marxist scholarship altered in accord with a changing Cold War climate with regard to two significant historico-religious figures, Thomas Müntzer and Martin Luther.

Müntzer was a hero in the early years of the German Democratic Republic. A leading figure of the left, or radical, wing of the Protestant Reformation, a gifted preacher with strong apocalyptic views, he became involved in the 1524 Peasants' uprising. After the defeat of the peasants of Frankenhausen in 1525, Müntzer was captured, tortured and executed. Friedrich Engels subsequently portrayed him as the leader of the common people in their struggle for social justice, and as a martyr of their cause. Müntzer came to represent the true soul of all German peasants and workers in their struggle against feudalism.

In contrast, Engels presented Luther as a servile instrument of feudal lords, and a butcher, or slaughterer, of the peasants. In socialist circles these labels stuck. The martyr Müntzer and the traitor Luther became part of the official 'German History' ('Deutsche Geschichte'), which was being produced by the leading Marxist historians of the GDR. These ideas were reinforced between the mid-1950s and 1967 when a new generation of Marxist historians developed the concept of the Early Bourgeois Revolution ('Frühbürgerliche Revolution'). With the help of this concept the German communists of the GDR could claim that their forerunners had led the progressive forces of the world in their struggle against feudalism.

Lehmann examines the influence of Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* on Marxist scholarship and how between 1975 and 1983 Marxist historians developed a completely new view of the history of the early sixteenth century and especially of the roles played by Luther and Müntzer. Using the records of the committee of the Academy of Sciences in the GDR in charge of preparing a series of theses on Martin Luther in which the German reformer was supposed to appear in a new light, Lehmann explores the major reformulation of one of the most import-

ant chapters in the catechism of Historical Materialism. He suggests the most startling change made was in regard to the role of religion.

The final chapter is from Tony Shaw and it raises the question of what we find when we shift our gaze from the faithful in the pew, as addressed by Jones and Lehmann, to cinema-goers who may or may not be in any institutional sense religious. Shaw explores how filmmakers on both sides of the Iron Curtain linked religion to domestic and international politics in the 1950s. Trotsky had incorporated film within Marx's notion of religion as the people's opiate. According to an article written by Trotsky in 1923, having oppressed the masses for centuries through its theatrical rituals, the church was now to be supplanted by the cinema, a more powerful theatrical medium.³⁰ In the 1950s, when the East–West conflict was at its height, in most countries cinema was enjoying its last period as the dominant mass entertainment form.

Shaw's focus is on how religion (understood as mainly Christianity) was portrayed in British, American and Soviet Cold War films. He looks at filmmakers' motives, and the images they produced within the context of official Cold War propaganda strategies. His analysis encompasses a wide range of film styles and genres. Particular attention is paid to a small sub-genre that fused Western depictions of life behind the Iron Curtain with the contemporary 'brainwashing' scare and which focused on the controversial role of the so-called 'Captive Cardinals' in eastern Europe.

The Bolsheviks' subordination of the cinema to state needs in Russia after 1917 is well documented. Shaw shows how in the 1920s and 1930s Soviet cinema both indicted religion in some films, while in others suggested that religion could still be used for nationalistic appeals when necessary. The 1950s and early 1960s witnessed a subtle shift in the cinematic treatment of religion. In line with the cultural 'thaw' that the Soviet Union experienced after the death of Stalin, films were significantly more ambiguous in terms of their representation of Church malevolence and the threat posed to the state by worship.

As Soviet cinema displayed a less dogmatic approach towards religion in the 1950s, one that began to suggest that there was room for competing belief systems in the USSR, British and American films moved in the opposite direction. Shaw notes that without becoming Soviet-style instruments of the state, the film industries of both countries were open to considerable political influence and produced scores of features and documentaries that reflected and projected obsessive fears about the conflict. Religious themes figured prominently in many such films, encouraging audiences to view the Cold War as a conflict in which capitalism, anti-communism and Christianity were synonymous.

Shaw suggests that, despite their often crude nature, these filmic images of religion helped cinemagoers in the East and West to forge important mental and conceptual Cold War linkages: between politics and morality, and economics and spirituality. They help explain why religion was one of the most emotive themes of Cold War popular discourse during this period (particularly in the West), and why the cinema played a significant role in the process whereby the public in both camps came to internalize the Cold War.

Conclusion

Mindful of Eric Hobsbawm's dictum referring to the 'supremacy of evidence', perhaps the most important contribution to the Cold War debate provided by this collected scholarship is the evidence that religion mattered, and that it mattered a great deal in a great many different ways. The authors provide critical examples of the variety of ways in which religion came to be a key factor. The accumulation of scholarship and wisdom gathered here reveals the multi-layered and profound Cold War role accorded to religion. It provides answers to the questions raised by Buzzanco, particularly in relation to the nature of the larger context in which religious symbols and beliefs assume more substantial meaning. Buzzanco also queries whether religious ideas were independent factors shaping the attitudes of Cold War policy-makers or rather simply another weapon brought into play to facilitate policy shaped by strictly secular considerations. There is no simple answer to Buzzanco's suggestion that religion should be assessed as 'an *instrument* of foreign policy'.³¹ These essays, however, provide effective measures from which an answer can be constructed. Of equal importance, they constitute the first major step towards establishing if religion warrants the same sort of consideration given to trade, military aid, intervention, political alliances, cultural relations, the 'stuff' of international politics, in a world in which power remains the currency that states use in international affairs.

In addition to their contribution to Cold War scholarship, these articles can be seen as a contribution to the cultural internationalism valued by Akira Iriye. Iriye has urged scholars to broaden the study of international relations, devoting to the non-governmental interactions of individuals and private groups as much attention as scholars give to traditional diplomacy. He argues that this widened conceptualisation of the field is important to bring attention to 'a possible solution to the chaos of the world'. Iriye believes cultural internationalism can link

peoples across diverse backgrounds as governments have so singularly failed to do. Iriye calls upon scholars to juxtapose cultural internationalism with a tendency singularly illustrated by these articles: the tendency of groups of people and of nations to create an 'other', that is to construct from fear, resentment, and perceived difference a serviceable enemy or threat.³²

The scholarship collected here provides an overlooked access into our Cold War past that can conceivably allow us to make better-informed speculations about our post-Cold War future. Today as perhaps never before, it is of increasing importance that scholars and statesmen turn their attention to understanding the political influence of religion, its role in the international arena and in the hearts and minds of men.

Notes

- 1 For example, M. Leffler's *Preponderance of Power* (Stanford, 1992), a critically acclaimed study of the Cold War, does not address religion, and nor do V. Zubok and C. Pleshakov, whose book, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), uses recently released archival material in the Soviet Union. Even the much praised cultural study by W. L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture and the Cold War* (New York, 1997) does not attribute any particular significance to religion.
- 2 David S. Foglesong, 'Roots of "Liberation": American Images of the Future of Russia in the Early Cold War, 1948–1953', *The International History Review*, 21(1) (March 1999), pp. 57–79.
- 3 See e.g. the work of James Burnham, philosophy professor and CIA consultant, *The Struggle for the World* (New York, 1947), *The Coming Defeat of Communism* (New York 1950), and *Containment or Liberation?* (New York, 1953).
- 4 E. R. May, ed., *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68* (Boston, 1993), pp. 25, 36, 75.
- 5 Michael Ignatieff, *Isaiah Berlin: A Life* (London, 1998), p. 200.
- 6 D. Kirby, 'Divinely Sanctioned: The Anglo-American Cold War Alliance and the Defence of Western Civilisation and Christianity, 1945–48', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35 (July 2000).
- 7 Leffler, 'The Cold War: What Do "We Now Know"?', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), pp. 501–24.
- 8 J. L. Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford, 1997).
- 9 Leffler, 'The Cold War: What Do "We Now Know"?', *American Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1999), pp. 501–24.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 J. L. Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford, 1997).
- 12 L. A. Erenberg and S. E. Hirsch, eds., *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness During World War II* (Chicago, 1996), p. 323.
- 13 See e.g. the work of James Burnham, philosophy professor and CIA consultant, *The Struggle for the World* (New York, 1947), *The Coming Defeat of Communism* (New York 1950), and *Containment or Liberation?* (New York, 1953).

- 14 Robert S. Ellwood, *The Fifties Spiritual Marketplace: American Religion in a Decade of Conflict* (Rutgers University Press, NJ, 1997), p. 39.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- 16 Andrew J. Rotter, 'Christians, Muslims, and Hindus: Religion and US–South Asian Relations, 1947–1954', *Diplomatic History*, 24(4) (Fall, 2000), pp. 593–613.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 606.
- 18 In a still more recent issue, *Diplomatic History* published an article examining the way in which religion contributed to the Eisenhower administration's tragic Vietnam policy. Seth Jacobs, "'Our System Demands the Supreme Being": The US Religious Revival and the "Diem Experiment," 1954–55', *Diplomatic History*, 25(4) (Fall, 2001).
- 19 Patricia R. Hill, Commentary, 'Religion as a Category of Diplomatic Analysis', *Diplomatic History*, 24(4) (Fall, 2000), pp. 633–40.
- 20 Commentary, 'Where's the Beef? Culture without Power in the Study of US Foreign Relations', *Diplomatic History*, 24(4) (Fall, 2000), pp. 623–32.
- 21 David S. Foglesong, 'Roots of "Liberation": American Images of the Future of Russia in the Early Cold War, 1948–1953', *The International History Review*, 21(1) (March, 1999), pp. 57–79.
- 22 *Ibid.*
- 23 W. L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture and the Cold War* (New York, 1997), p. 42.
- 24 John Conway, 'Editorial', *Association of Contemporary Church Historians' Newsletter*, Sept. 2000, p. 2.
- 25 Scott Lucas, 'Campaigns of Truth: The Psychological Strategy Board and American Ideology, 1951–1953', *The International History Review*, 18(2) (May 1996), p. 289.
- 26 D. Kirby, 'Truman's Holy Alliance: The President, the Pope and the Origins of the Cold War', *Borderlines: Studies in American Culture*, 4(1) (1997).
- 27 Merlin Gustafson, an expert on the religious policy of the Truman administration, has commented: 'it should not be surprising to suggest that a popularly elected President in a pluralistic society would instinctively recognise the influential position of the pulpit, and that church and state were not completely separated or working independently of one another.' 'Church, State, and the Cold War, 1945–1952', *The Journal of Church and State*, p. 51, copy in the Harry Truman Library.
- 28 Lucas, 'Campaigns of Truth', *The International History Review*, 18(2) (May 1996).
- 29 Allan A. Needell, "'Truth is Our Weapon": Project TROY, Political Warfare, and Government–Academic Relations in the National Security State', *Diplomatic History*, 17 (1993), p. 404.
- 30 Leon Trotsky, 'Vodka, the Church and the cinema' (1923), cited in Richard Taylor, 'Ideology and Popular Culture in Soviet Cinema: The Kiss of Mary Pickford', in Lawton (ed.), *The Red Screen*, pp. 54–5.
- 31 Robert Buzzanco, Commentary, 'Where's the Beef? Culture without Power in the Study of US Foreign Relations', *Diplomatic History*, 24(4), pp. 623–32.
- 32 Frank Costigliola Feature Review, 'A Cultural World Order', *Diplomatic History*, 24(2) (Spring, 2000). Akira Iriye's *Cultural Internationalism and World order* (Baltimore, 1997), p. 377.

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Acknowledgments xi. Contributors xiii. Introduction 1. 1 Self- Knowledge in Plato Rachana Kamtekar 25". Error 8 Self-Knowledge universal egology 12 although, in his mature writings, he writes that transcendental subjectivity always implies or is involved in a nexus of transcendental intersubjectivity, and hence that one can be oneself only in relation to being- with- others (Mitsein, Miteinandersein). 13 Self- knowledge requires minimally that one s mental states or lived experiences can be reflectively apprehended. ix LIST OF FIGURES. xi FOREWORD GARY ORFIELD. Chapter 1 13 state merit scholarship programs: an overview. Donald e. heller. 141 about the contributors. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS In 2002, The Civil Rights Project (CRP) at Harvard University released the report "Who Should We Help? The Negative Social Consequences of Merit Scholarships." This new report, building on and extending that initial research, could not have been produced without the leadership of CRP's Director, Gary Orfield, and the dedicated researchers who contributed its chapters. xii. C. HAPTER. FOREWORD. Majority of people in East Africa depend on land based resources. However, recent studies indicate that there is extensive land degradation in the region, caused in part by unsustainable land use practices such as deforestation, poor farming methods leading to soil erosion, soil fertility decline, and loss of biodiversity. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT. Preparation of this training manual has been undertaken by technical officers from different institutions who have been backstopping communities during the implementation of LVEMP II activities. LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS Authors. Dr. Onesimus Semalulu, Principal Research Officer