

Courtesy of Wide World Photos (Associated Press).

Framed by one of the 162 statues atop Bernini's graceful colonnade, Pope John Paul II greets pilgrims in St. Peter's Square from the window of his study in the Apostolic Palace. The labyrinthine palace, with its 10,000 rooms and hallways, is the center of official life inside Vatican City-State.

The Vatican

Pope John Paul II is in the public eye as leader of the Roman Catholic Church. He also happens to be sovereign of the Vatican City-State. Like Britain and Japan, the Vatican has a geography, a population, a language, and a national anthem ("Inno Pontificio," by Gounod). In some ways, its domestic problems are those of many a larger nation: Worldwide stagflation, for example, has drained the Vatican's exchequer. Domestic political and administrative reforms, long overdue, have not always worked out as planned. What set the Vatican apart, of course, are its tiny size and its religious mission. Here, theologian Francis Xavier Murphy describes the Vatican as a functioning mini-state; and political scientist Dennis Dunn analyzes its special foreign policy, which goes well beyond papal visits to Asia, Africa, and communist Poland.

CITY OF GOD

by Francis Xavier Murphy

It is the smallest independent state on earth. Its ruler, last of the absolute monarchs by divine right, is also its only permanent citizen. It boasts no natural resources. It must import all of its energy, labor, food, and building materials. It lacks a Times Square, on moral grounds, but it has its own Wall Street and Fleet Street, its own license plates, currency, postage stamps, and passports; it could charter its own airline and has run a merchant marine under its own flag. There is no government older—an unbroken train of succession trails back 1,900 years—and no other state occupies a position so anomalous in the international regime, perpetually inviolable and neutral.

As the realm of the pope, the Vatican City-State's global influence and international presence are greatly disproportionate to its size. The sums it allots to "foreign aid" of various kinds take up about half of its annual budget. Active in diplomacy, the Holy See has been at least as effective as the United Nations in focusing attention on the wretched of the earth. "We want to be

the voice of the voiceless," Pope John Paul II said in Mexico in 1979, his words carried around the world by the powerful Vatican transmitter at Santa Maria di Galeria. John Paul, born Karol Wojtyla, had been elected to the papacy only months earlier. The first Polish pontiff brought a new and much publicized dimension to the Vatican's foreign policy as Poland stumbled toward political and economic disarray in the shadow of the USSR.

The "Roman Question"

Rarely reflected in the headlines in recent years has been the Vatican its inhabitants know, a tiny state that shares the problems of a larger world. Inflation is high, energy costly, and labor disgruntled. As happens whenever all businesses are state-owned, complaints about red tape are frequent. Air pollution is a problem. So are sporadic crimes of violence, perpetrated by hammer-wielding vandals or would-be assassins. Though not burdened by a large defense establishment (there was once a *Pentagono*, but this referred to a clique of five powerful cardinals), the Vatican today is unable to make ends meet. In more ways than one, the Holy See has entered the modern world.

The Vatican City-State's 108.7 acres lie across the brown Tiber from Rome's *centro storico*, atop a gentle rise that served as a cemetery in the days of the caesars. The link between this plot of land and the papacy was forged around A.D. 67 when Peter, the Judean fisherman and first bishop of Rome, was martyred in the nearby Circus of Nero. According to tradition, Peter was buried in a primitive grave underneath what is now the main altar of St. Peter's Basilica; archaeological evidence, though not definitive, suggests that tradition has something to recommend it. Whatever the truth, the Emperor Constantine (306-37) took the sanctity of the site for granted when he erected the first basilica there, centering its axis on the presumed Petrine remains. The present structure, designed by Bramante, Raphael, Michelangelo, and others, was begun in 1506.

How the malarial Vatican hills became The Vatican is rather an intricate story. By the second century A.D., the bishop of Rome had already achieved a certain pre-eminence within the church in both doctrinal and disciplinary matters. (Irenaeus of Lyons

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Courtesy National Philatelic Collections, Smithsonian Institution.

speaks of Rome's *potentior principalitas*—its “more important origin.”) By the fourth century, the pope was master of much property in Italy and beyond, his rights protected by Constantine and later Christian emperors. As imperial government collapsed, the task of maintaining order on the Italian peninsula increasingly fell to the Roman pontiff.

The papacy at first pressed no formal claim to a temporal state—“My kingdom is not of this earth,” Christ had said—but papal rule of an autonomous territory in central Italy gradually became a fact of life, then a matter of principle. From the breakup of the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century to the reunification of Italy in the 19th, the bishop of Rome enjoyed sovereignty over a protean state whose size, borders, population, wealth, and stability seemed to vary from pope to pope. Although the territory was ruled from Rome, not until 1377 did the Holy Father move his residence from the Lateran palace across the river to the Vatican complex. It was to the Vatican that Pope Pius IX withdrew in 1870 when the new Kingdom of Italy suppressed and annexed what remained of the Papal States. Ironically, by relieving the papacy of its temporal responsibilities, the *risorgimento* unwittingly started that institution on the path to the international prestige it enjoys today.

Beginning with Pope Leo IV (847–55), the Vatican had been fortified against invaders. In protest against the usurpation, Pius

IX and his successors refused to pass beyond these 50-foot high, turret-studded walls, declaring themselves virtual prisoners. This adamant stand won the popes worldwide sympathy at a time when the papacy itself had reached a low ebb in public esteem. The impasse over the "Roman Question" continued until February 11, 1929, when the Basilica of St. Peter's and the in-walled cluster of palaces, gardens, chapels, and museums on its flanks were recognized in the Lateran Treaty as the independent enclave of *Lo Stato della Città del Vaticano*.

A Jurisprudential Quirk

Despite the loss of territory, the Holy See as the supreme directive organ of the Catholic Church had continued to exchange diplomats with many nations, claiming sovereignty to be "inherent in its very nature." In the Lateran Treaty, the Holy Father was acknowledged as Supreme Pastor of the Holy See and, in this capacity, ruler of an independent Vatican City-State. The Holy See, not the Vatican, possesses sovereign status in the international order. Though a jurisprudential quirk, this distinction, unique in international practice, has been maintained ever since. While the Vatican City-State as a geopolitical entity (official language: Italian) participates in the European Space Conference and conforms to the Berne Copyright Convention, it is the Holy See (official language: Latin) that is represented at UNESCO, that is a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, that exchanges emissaries with more than 100 nations.* Recently Britain, willing finally to forget the unpleasantness over Henry VIII's divorce, re-established full diplomatic relations with the Holy See after a 448-year lapse.

There are two main roads into the Vatican City-State. One passes through a gate leading to the Arch of Bells on the south side of the basilica and is used primarily by cardinals, diplomats, and heads of state. The other is the Gate of St. Anna to the north of the basilica, which is used by workers, residents, or visitors on business. Most tourists approach the Vatican through the Piazza of St. Peter's, bracketed by Bernini's majestic colonnade.

Traffic control and internal security within the Vatican are

*One nation that has been rebuffed thus far is Israel. The Vatican's pretext is an ancient principle that precludes recognition until national boundaries are stabilized. In fact, the Holy See is displeased about the status of Jerusalem, which it would like to have declared an "open" city. The United States does not maintain formal diplomatic relations with the Holy See or the Vatican. However, every President since Franklin D. Roosevelt has dispatched a personal representative to the pope as head of the Catholic Church. The current envoy is William Wilson, a California stockbroker and realtor, a Catholic convert, and a friend of President Reagan. The Vatican's man in Washington is Archbishop Pio Laghi.

provided by a corps of 133 Swiss Guards, whose red, yellow, and blue Renaissance uniforms are believed to have been designed by Michelangelo. (All Swiss Guards are veterans of the Swiss Army, under 25, at least 5'8½" in height, Catholic, and, except for the commandant and sergeant major, single.) Their surveillance is supplemented by a platoon of well-trained secret servicemen. As part of his effort to trim the papacy's atavistic trappings, Pope Paul VI eliminated many of the more ostentatious displays of personnel: the uniformed Zouaves and gendarmes, the lay functionaries in ruffs and garters, the papal musicians. Also given notice were the "black" Roman aristocracy—relatives of former popes who had retained inherited titles as princes, counts, and other species of papal royalty.

The city within the walls is artfully landscaped, dotted with fountains and formal quadrangles, and laced with cool, cypress-lined walks. Within its borders, one will find a radio station (the first facility was set up by Guglielmo Marconi in 1931), a daily newspaper (*L'Osservatore Romano*), a railroad station, post office, *pensione*, clinic, pharmacy, clothing store, supermarket, victualer, gas station, publishing house, firehouse, and coffee bar—all owned by the Holy See. There is also a small mosaic factory. A \$1.6-million bomb shelter is being built. "God helps those who help themselves," observes the Right Reverend Alfonso Stickler, the Vatican's librarian, who is overseeing the construction.

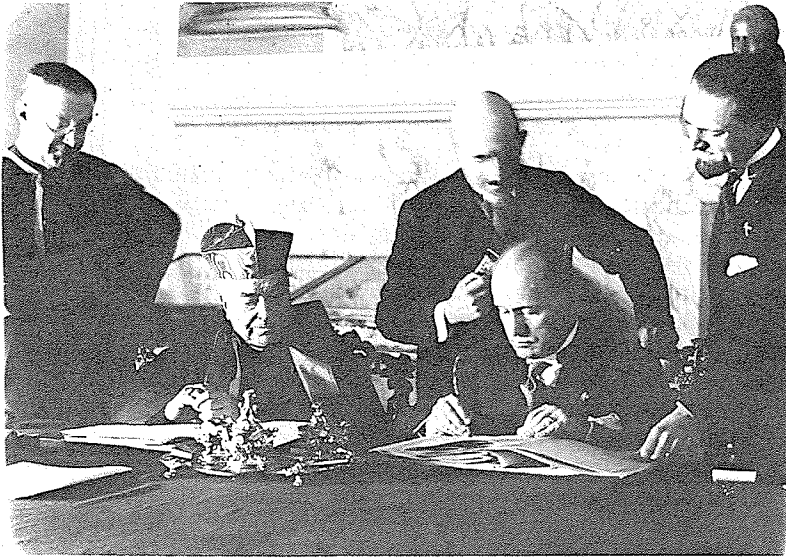
Running a Government

There are several tennis courts on the grounds, numerous audience halls, thousands of offices, and enough apartment buildings and messhalls to shelter and feed the Swiss Guards and the 900 prelates and laymen whose jobs entitle them to reside within the papal enclave. About 1,600 lay workers are employed in Vatican offices, shops, and services. Almost all of them live outside, in Rome. The Vatican issues passports to its diplomats, but emissaries and high-level staff (and sometimes their families, if they are laymen) receive citizenship only for the duration of their service. Currently, 729 persons are citizens of the city-state. No taxes are collected.

The business of the Vatican is the business of the Holy See, whose business in turn is that of the Roman Catholic Church. It is a sprawling enterprise. Worldwide, its religious personnel alone include some 404,000 priests, 950,000 nuns, 2,447 bishops, and 532 cardinals and archbishops. They are scattered among hundreds of thousands of churches in 1,803 dioceses in 162 countries. No accurate count exists of the numbers of schools,

colleges, hospitals, clinics, leprosariums, orphanages, halfway houses, and nursing homes run by the church. These efforts, together with the abbeys, convents, rectories, seminaries, retreat houses, and other properties, provide employment for upwards of five million laymen, food and shelter for another 13 million, and spiritual care for 724 million. The Holy See does not *pay* for all of this—church finances are highly decentralized. But it has the final say in church administration.

The pope is the supreme executive, legislative, and judicial authority within the Vatican. Under his aegis, day-to-day administration is the task of the Roman curia—an entrenched bureaucracy of cardinals, prelates, priests, professors, nuns, and laymen that has at one time or another exasperated every pontiff. (When asked once how many people worked in the curia, Pope John XXIII replied, “About half.”) The organs of government are called congregations or secretariats. These function like cabinet offices. The decisions of the congregations and secretariats are rendered in letters, rescripts, admonitions, and other legal forms, many of them procedures with which the Emperor Hadrian would have been familiar.



Felici.

Italy's Fascist leader, Benito Mussolini, and Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, Vatican Secretary of State, sign the 1929 Lateran Treaty, ending a 59-year conflict between Italy and the Holy See.

Immediately beneath the pope is his Secretary of State, currently Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, 66, son of a Piacenza tailor. A nimble Vatican diplomat and architect of the city-state's *Ostpolitik*, Casaroli handled papal relations with the nations of Eastern Europe for two decades, successfully arranging for a restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in those lands. He looks frail but is not, and as Peter Nichols of the *Times of London* has discerned, is "so precise that he chooses his words like a bird pecking the appropriately flavored seed." Within his competence are two other offices: the Council of Public Affairs, primarily concerned with foreign policy, and the so-called *sostituto* to the Secretary of State, who acts as the pope's executive officer, conducting his day-to-day business.*

Paying the Bills

The current *sostituto*, Eduardo Martinez Somalo, is a Spaniard, a shock to many curial officials. They believe that only an Italian prelate can handle that office, since it requires an intimate knowledge of Italian politics. While Pope John XXIII once allowed that "Italy should be no more important to the Vatican than the Philippines," simple proximity along with certain provisions of the 1929 Concordat—plus the fact that the pope is both bishop of Rome and primate of Italy—long dictated otherwise. Now that a Pole occupies Peter's throne, however, the ideal of a *disimpegno* or "pulling out" of Italian political affairs is being pursued by the Vatican with considerable though by no means total success (see box).

Cardinal Casaroli may be the chief of staff, but the byzantine bureaucracy below him is hydra-headed, made up mainly of priests and prelates recruited on the *raccomandazione* of curial officials in league with diplomatic and episcopal intimates around the globe. There are nine congregations (the first was set up in 1542) dealing with everything from Catholic schools to relations between Rome and the various Eastern Rites. In addition, there are three newly created secretariats, overseeing a broad range of ecumenical activities. Special commissions—

*In the past, there has been rivalry between the *sostituto*, with his direct and frequent access to the pope, and the Secretary of State. This was particularly so when Archbishop Giovanni Benelli was *sostituto* under Pope Paul VI and seemed subtly to upstage the French-born Secretary of State, Cardinal Jean Villot. Credence was lent to this gossip when suddenly, in 1977, the octogenarian pontiff moved Benelli out of the Vatican, appointing him archbishop of Florence and raising him to the cardinalate. Critics were reminded of a similar situation in 1954 when Monsignor Giovanni Battista Montini, the man who would become Paul VI, was suddenly removed from his Vatican post by Pius XII and made archbishop of Milan without the traditional cardinal's hat, a highly embarrassing situation.

THE VATICAN AND ITALY

On September 20, 1870, Italian troops marched through the Porta Pia to defeat the armies of Pope Pius IX and capture Rome. It was the climax of a 10-year campaign to suppress the Papal States. Italy was united at last as a secular state under King Victor Emmanuel II. But the pope remained—and has been ever since—a force to be reckoned with in peninsular politics.

Initially, the Vatican refused to recognize the new Italian state and forbade Catholics to vote or hold public office. Not until 1929 did the two parties make their peace. The accords that year between Pope Pius XI and Fascist Party leader Benito Mussolini settled the Vatican's legal status (in the Lateran Treaty) and included a Concordat that established Catholicism as Italy's state religion, prohibited civil marriage and divorce, and mandated religious instruction in public schools. According to Pope Pius, the treaty gave "God back to Italy and Italy back to God." According to *Il Duce*, "We have not resurrected the [pope's] Temporal Power, we have buried it."

For the Vatican, the achievement indeed proved double-edged. Conciliation enhanced Mussolini's prestige and led to an overwhelming Fascist victory in the March 1929 plebiscite. Brutal attacks by Mussolini's supporters on members of Italy's Catholic Action followed; the national lay organization was emasculated as a potential source of opposition. Pope Pius XI condemned aspects of Fascism in a 1931 encyclical (*Non Abbiamo Bisogno*—"I Have No Need"), but the document was suppressed in Italy, and all political activity by the clergy was banned. Church and state papered over the differences, but tempers flared again during the late 1930s when the Holy See criticized government-sanctioned anti-Semitism.

A new era began with the fall of Mussolini and the end of World War II. In a 1946 referendum, Italian voters abolished the monarchy and created a republic. (The Concordat was incorporated into the

e.g., on family life, the liturgy, communications—are innumerable. There is a judicial branch comprising the Apostolic Signatura (a kind of Supreme Court), the Sacred Penitentiary (responsible for indulgences and excommunications and for resolving cases of conscience submitted secretly), and the Sacred Roman Rota (dealing with divorce, annulment, and the like). These tribunals were all in existence by the 14th century.*

No pontiff has ever succeeded in getting all of the curial

*The Vatican has a court to handle petty crimes and has, on a handful of occasions during the past five decades, imprisoned offenders for short periods of time. Under the Lateran Treaty, the Holy See is bound to extradite to Italy all persons accused of serious criminal offenses. Mehmet Ali Agca, the Turk who attempted to assassinate Pope John Paul II in St. Peter's Square, was tried, convicted, and jailed in Italy.

new constitution.) The Vatican promptly allied itself with the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) and helped to defeat the Communists in the 1948 parliamentary elections. (The CDP won 305 seats out of 574 in a contest involving eight parties.) In 1949, Pius XII excommunicated all Communists and ordered Catholics not to support the Reds. Encouraged by the Vatican, Christian Democrats pursued an anti-Communist strategy at home throughout the 1950s.

Under the leadership of Pope John XXIII, elected pope in 1958, the Vatican deliberately sought to reduce its meddling in Italian politics. In his 1963 encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*, John drew a distinction between communism as a political system and as an atheistic political ideology—implying that voters in good conscience could support the former. In adopting a new Pastoral Constitution in 1965, the Second Vatican Council explicitly endorsed the idea of ecclesiastical withdrawal from local politics—not only in Italy but in Ireland, Spain, and elsewhere—in order to play a more purely spiritual role throughout the world. When John Paul II was inaugurated in 1978, he refused to be crowned with the tiara (symbol of temporal power), accepting instead the pallium, a white woolen band embroidered with crosses, symbolizing the metropolitan authority of a bishop. The Holy See, meanwhile, acquiesced in Italian parliamentary moves during the late 1970s disestablishing the Catholic Church.

For all the Vatican's good intentions, there has been some backsliding. Parliamentary legislation permitting divorce (1970) and abortion (1978) was endorsed by Italians in national referendums (in 1974 and 1981) that deeply engaged Paul VI and John Paul II. Both spoke out—to no avail. Some politicians contended that the church had gone back to its old ways. But a commentator in Rome's daily *La Repubblica* probably summed up the situation best a week before the 1981 vote: "Neither the Church nor the society is the same, nor is it the same curia or the same Christian Democratic Party, and the pope is neither an Italian nor a Christian Democrat."

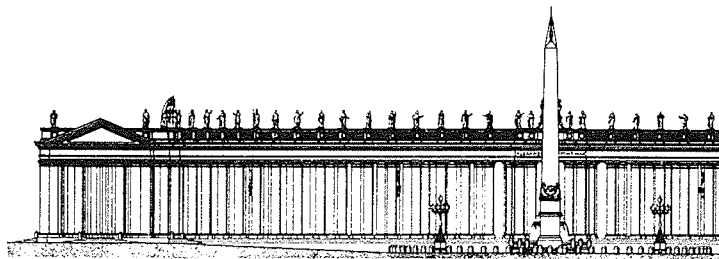
offices and factions under his thumb, and some popes have complained of being a "prisoner of the Vatican". The bureaucracy has, after all, evolved over hundreds of years. Its character is partly imperial, partly feudal, partly modern, and partly rational. No one disputes the pope's ultimate authority. Everyone knows, however, that frequently the curia represents a powerful barrier to the exercise of his free will.

Pope Paul VI's ambitious attempt to overhaul the Vatican bureaucracy in 1965–67, for example, met with only mixed success. To some extent, he "internationalized" the curia, reducing the number of Italians. Most key appointees were given fixed terms of office. Certain kinks in the line of authority were rem-

edied. Yet some operations seemed impervious to change. Thus, Paul reorganized the much-criticized Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office—the Vatican’s doctrinal watchdog—into a Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and abolished its Inquisition and Index of Forbidden Books. The congregation was directed to encourage theological inquiry rather than impede doctrinal evolution by censoring the church’s most advanced thinkers. Unhappily, its prefect, the prosecutorial Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, proved hard to dislodge. Ottaviani eventually retired, but many who shared his views continued in their jobs. The recent cases of Hans Küng (stripped of his title as a Catholic theologian), Edward Schillebeeckx (called to Rome to defend his writings), and Jacques Pohier (whose *Quand je dis Dieu* was actually condemned in 1979) suggest that the congregation is still capable of waging a minor campaign of terror.

Pope Paul instituted a number of financial reforms. But he was unable to rationalize fully the Vatican’s domestic “economy,” and the situation is still highly confused. While the Holy See is essentially a spiritual organization, it cannot subsist on the love of God alone. Its worldwide activities cost money: about \$200 million a year. Accused of hoarding enormous riches and severely criticized for their failure to publish an annual financial report (they have never done so), Vatican officials take some satisfaction in reminding critics of Pope Pius IX’s reaction at the close of Vatican Council I in 1870, where papal infallibility had been proclaimed. Asked how it felt to be infallible, the pontiff replied: “I do not know if I am fallible or infallible, but I do know I am *in fallimento* [bankrupt].”

Despite an inestimable deposit of treasures—from prehistoric artifacts and Roman sculptures to Renaissance frescoes—the Vatican since shortly after Vatican Council II has been continually on the verge of bankruptcy. The ceiling of the Sistine

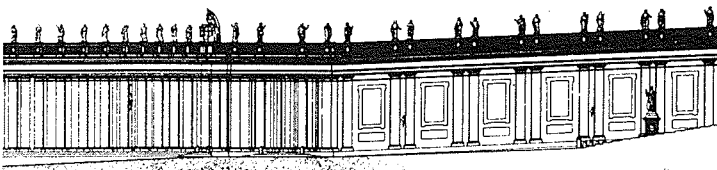


Chapel may be priceless, but it is not a liquid asset. Papal generosity after World War II in helping to resettle refugees and rebuild devastated areas of Europe was unstinting. So has been the Holy See's response to more recent catastrophes: earthquakes, famines, droughts, the devastations wrought by war and revolution. The expansion of the Holy See's far-flung missionary and relief efforts has proven a great drain, as have the extensive papal travels of recent years.

The Vatican's overhead alone is exorbitant—a fact illustrated dramatically by the recent threat to strike by lay workers within the City State: the policemen and firemen; construction crews and repairmen (the *santipietrini*); gardeners in the Vatican and at the experimental farms at the papal summer residence at Castel Gandolfo; postmen; telephone operators; ushers; typographers. (Average salary at the Vatican for lay workers is \$7,000 per annum, indexed to inflation.) The Holy See also supports some 35 curial cardinals plus an estimated 3,000 other officials and clerics, including papal emissaries and their staffs in more than a hundred countries.

Some Vatican agencies, it should be noted, do run in the black. The *Governatorato* or Governor's Office, under the guidance of Marchese Don Giulio Sacchetti, oversees the buildings and grounds of both the Vatican City-State and its extraterritorial possessions in Italy. Thanks to the sale of stamps and coins, fees from the museums, and revenue from other enterprises such as the polyglot press, real estate investments, art and tapestry repair workshops, and the Vatican commissary, it reportedly turns a small profit. The same seems to be the case with the Fabbrica of St. Peter, run by a cardinal and four architects, charged with the upkeep of the Basilica of St. Peter's.

The principal source of Vatican income is the financial settlement made in the Lateran Treaty of 1929 when the Italian government turned over to the pope the equivalent of \$70 mil-



lion in cash and another \$100 million in government bonds as compensation for papal territories lost in 1870. Under the watchful eye of a highly respected banker, Bernardino Nogara, this nest egg was invested wisely with the help of New York's Chase National Bank (now Chase Manhattan) and National City Bank (now Citibank), London's Hambros Bank and N. M. Rothschild & Sons, and France's Lazard Frères, and Credit Suisse. No one knows how much money the Vatican actually has now, not even the pope. Estimates placing the amount at several billions are considered absurd by European financiers, who generally cite figures of about \$500 million (equivalent to about one-third of Harvard's endowment).

A second source of income is the generosity of Catholics all over the world who make contributions in special collections—most notably "Peter's Pence." (This was originated by Britain's King Canute in the ninth century as an annual giving of one penny from each household; it was revived during the middle of the 19th century by devout English and French Catholics.) On visits to the Holy See, cardinals and bishops from affluent nations typically make special donations. Well-to-do laymen often pick up part of the tab for such extravagances as the new papal Hall of Audiences, built by architect Pier Luigi Nervi for Pope Paul VI.

A Day in the Life

The Vatican's money is handled by a labyrinth of institutions. The bulk of the portfolio is managed by the Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See, headed by an experienced diplomat and economist, Cardinal Giuseppe Caprio. Peter's Pence is paid directly into the Secretariat of State. The Vatican also has its own bank, the *Istituto per le Opere di Religione*. With assets of at least \$100 million and no debts, the Istituto is under the general supervision of five cardinals and an executive director, the 60-year-old Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, an avid golfer from Cicero, Illinois, who doubles as the pope's advance man on his worldwide travels. It handles the funds of various congregations and religious orders and serves as the local bank for the curia and for Vatican employees.

Pope Paul attempted to exert some control over Vatican finances by appointing the former apostolic delegate in Washington, Cardinal Egidio Vagnozzi, as a sort of overall comptroller and, until his death in December 1980, chief of a new Prefecture of Economic Affairs. The Vagnozzi are well-known businessmen—the family runs the largest confectionery in

Rome—but even the cardinal was soon quoted as saying that it would take a “combined effort of the CIA, KGB, Interpol, and the Holy Spirit” to make heads or tails of the ledger books. Pope John Paul II has since appointed a commission of 15 cardinals, including John Kroll of Philadelphia, to tackle the Holy See’s annual deficit, estimated at about \$30 million in 1980.*

If the administration of the city-state was all the pope had to worry about, the Vatican might well be a smoothly functioning operation, a mini-Switzerland on half a square kilometer. But he has many other tasks—writing, greeting, praying, thinking, preaching—and perforce must delegate much administrative responsibility. Even then, there is never enough time.

By nature and habit, John Paul II is an early riser, up by 5:30 A.M. He spends an hour or so in private meditation, usually says Mass for his household, then eats a hearty breakfast, frequently with guests. From then on, the day is not his: briefing after meeting after reception after audience. The appointment log is as varied as that of the President of the United States—one minute Andrei Gromyko, the next a choir of retarded children. In between, there are a worldwide bureaucracy to run, encyclicals (pastoral letters) to write. Sundays and Holy Days are devoted mainly to visiting parishes or participating in the great traditional religious festivals at one of Rome’s basilicas. John Paul makes a point of finding time to exercise—taking brisk walks in the Vatican grounds or a swim at Castel Gandolfo, where he had a swimming pool installed, remarking that it was cheaper than holding another conclave to elect a successor.

“Popes come and go . . .”

The tenor of the papacy in each age depends upon the person of the pope and his idiosyncrasies. While his rule is monarchical, it is not despotic. He has no coercive force to impose his will but must rely on the compliance of bishops and theologians and ultimately on the faith of the Catholic people. Down through the ages, the saying *Roma locuta, causa finita*—“Rome has spoken, the case is closed”—has been honored in the breach.

*Vatican officials have denied suffering great losses in the scandalous Michele Sindona affair. During the late 1960s, Pope Paul VI tapped the Sicilian-born Sindona, considered a financial wizard, to diversify the Vatican portfolio. Instead, Sindona shunted it into a tax shelter in Luxembourg, then used the money to help finance the Italian Banca Unione and the Swiss Finabank. Luckily, the Vatican began to bail out before the crack-up that started with the failure of the Long Island-based Franklin National Bank in 1974. Cardinal Caprio maintains that Vatican losses were on paper, but no one really knows. More recently, in July 1982, the Vatican bank came under fire for its links with the scandal-ridden Banco Ambrosiano. John Paul II has appointed three lay bankers from the United States, Italy, and Switzerland to investigate the matter.

Most recently, Pope Paul VI's condemnation of artificial contraception was challenged from within the Catholic hierarchy, and Catholic family practice largely ignores the papal ban.

Predictions that Paul's decision would destroy papal authority have proven premature—as, I expect, will similar forecasts stemming from John Paul II's intransigence on such issues as women in the priesthood, clerical celibacy, and divorce and remarriage. The papacy has survived greater perils—persecution, schism, reformation, revolution. Its principal enemy is stagnation, a state, fortunately, that the Vatican's immersion in the secular world has rarely permitted for long. Instead, a resilient sort of traditionalism has prevailed, at once preserving the church's essential teachings and forcing popes and papacy to confront the changing realities of the world outside the walls.

Though ecclesiastical in mission, the church has always adapted to the political structures of secular society. Early Christianity sloughed off the synagogical legalisms of its origins as the papacy gradually acquired the forms and juridical usages of imperial Rome. The pope became a feudal suzerain in the Middle Ages and, during the Renaissance and Enlightenment, an absolute monarch by divine right. Today, the church's government is undergoing a subtle change in the direction of democracy—a change John Paul II seems reluctant to acknowledge. In 1967, Pope Paul VI instituted a series of triennial synods of bishops in Rome, designed to solicit the views of the church's worldwide leadership on such problems as heresy, missionary methods, and family life. At this point, however, the synods are consultative only, and it is still the pope and curia who prepare a “final report” and publish the results.

Nevertheless the papacy, like the church itself, is subject to evolutionary forces. The more strenuously its leaders oppose change, the more likely that change is about to occur. At Vatican II, this phenomenon was unwittingly acknowledged by the former archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal Pierre Gerlier, who complained: “The church is so much in love with tradition that it is continually creating new ones.”

And the Vatican? “Popes come and go, but we go on forever” is the centuries-old, if unofficial, motto of the Roman curia. The sentiment is echoed by the city-state's inhabitants. “Thou art the rock,” said Christ to Peter, establishing the authority of the papacy. But also founded on a rock is the Vatican City-State, this tiny trapezoid of papal turf symbolizing the City of God where, within the shadow of eternity, one man's word is law.

GLOBAL REACH

by Dennis J. Dunn

John Paul II, the pope from Poland, broke with precedent and shunned the imperial tiara at his consecration in 1978, but like each of his 263 predecessors he still wears two hats. As pastor of the Holy See, he guides the spiritual life of six million Oceanians, 50 million Africans, 55 million Asians, 151 million North Americans, 199 million Latin Americans, and 263 million Europeans. Because his vast flock, a sixth of mankind, is dispersed across national boundaries—and because they are impoverished and oppressed in many places, or bled white by war and revolution, or divided on moral questions that may also be dividing courts and legislatures—the pope must play the role of statesman and politician as well.

In essence, observed French Foreign Minister Théophile Delcassé in 1904, “every act of a pope is political.” He cannot escape politics, and politicians cannot escape him—often not even physically, given the present pontiff’s penchant for travel. (He has visited 25 countries on five continents since 1979.) Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos sat by helplessly in his white *guayabera* as John Paul chided him for his unimpressive record on human rights. Well-to-do Brazilians winced as he rebuked them for living high amid so many poor. In Ireland, among its sympathizers, John Paul denounced the outlawed Irish Republican Army for its terrorist tactics in Ulster. He did not visit Spain, but his opposition to pending legislation that would allow abortion contributed to the downfall of Adolfo Suarez’s government in 1981. He *did* visit Poland, and though he could not prevent the imposition of martial law, John Paul’s public statements and behind-the-scenes maneuvering probably prevented a bloodbath there, and the church remains intact.

The pope’s only weapon is his moral authority—any political fallout is a by-product of its use—and its importance should be neither overestimated nor underestimated. “Deal with the pope as if he had 200,000 men at his command,” Napoleon instructed his envoy in Rome, but of course the pope does not now and did not then command an army of 200,000. The pope *does* have some Swiss Guards, but the last time they saw action was in 1527, when 147 Guardsmen died defending Pope Clement VII during the Sack of Rome by the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles

V. (The last battle fought by papal troops of any kind was in 1870.) If Attila the Hun should again suddenly descend on Rome as he did in 452, the pope could only meet the threat with words, as Pope Leo I did, but Leo's voice was persuasive then and John Paul II's can be persuasive now. As head of the largest and (for all its quirks) best-organized church in the world, the pope can move men's minds and hearts.

This ineffable quality is the great equalizer in the Holy See's day-to-day dealings with hostile ideologies and puissant nations. It is the tool with which the pope may sometimes affect, as peacemaker, mediator, or teacher, the course of international events. Stalin's sarcastic query—"How many divisions has the pope?"—revealed more about that former seminarian's base of power than the Roman pontiff's. The Holy See did not need an army to persuade Stalin's successors to allow it to begin rebuilding its hierarchy in the heavily Catholic Baltic States. It was not because the pope lacks divisions that the Kremlin permitted Eastern European regimes to work out a *modus vivendi* with the church and sent Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to confer with the pope in 1965, 1966, 1970, 1974, 1975, and 1979.

Doing No Harm

The Vatican today is enmeshed in what foreign policy journals call the "geopolitical order." Some 95 states have *de jure* relations with the Holy See (including Iran and Cuba, Yugoslavia and England), while at least 26 others send a semiofficial representative to the papal court. Every week, monarchs, heads of state, diplomats, and religious leaders of every stripe affix their signatures to the leather-bound guest book in the pope's poorly ventilated Renaissance study. Like the United Nations, Vatican City-State has become a kind of free-trade zone for unpublicized exchanges between diplomats, and for "back-channel" messages between governments.

Because the Holy See has a reputation for discretion, and because it lacks a conventional "national interest," it has often been cast in the role of mediator. Brazilians today speak

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Papal authority, January 1077: When Henry IV, the Holy Roman Emperor, sought Pope Gregory VII's forgiveness for illicitly investing bishops, Gregory made him wait three days in the snow before lifting excommunication.

Portuguese thanks to Pope Alexander VI, who arranged for the division of Latin America between Spain and Portugal in 1494. Pope Leo XIII resolved the Carolina Islands dispute between Spain and Germany in 1886. The very notion of "third-party" arbitration in international law owes much to papal precedents.

John Paul's record has been mixed. His efforts in 1980 to secure the release of 52 American hostages in Iran prompted only a barrage of insults from the Ayatollah Khomeini. In 1981, however, Vatican envoy Antonio Samore's shuttle diplomacy staved off open warfare between Chile and Argentina over disputed sovereignty of three islands in the Beagle Channel. John Paul's attempt that year to end the fast of IRA hunger-striker Bobby Sands—the pope's legate visited the prisoner and then conferred with British authorities in Northern Ireland—came to naught, just as Argentina and Britain were unmoved in April 1982 when the pope sought a peaceful solution to the Falkland Islands crisis. But in May, the Holy See's *nuncio*, or ambas-

sador, in Honduras negotiated a settlement between four leftist jet hijackers and the Honduran government. Add up the pluses and minuses as you will. One may in any event applaud the Vatican's effort and note that the Hippocratic dictum was observed: "At least, do no harm."

The Holy See was the world's first international organization—St. Ignatius of Antioch, after all, declared the church to be "catholic," meaning universal, in A.D. 110—and Rome has not, during the postwar period, ignored the proliferation of multilateral agencies and conferences. Quite the contrary. It is represented on all of the major UN bodies, sends a permanent observer to both the Common Market and the Organization of American States, and is party to international agreements ranging from the Geneva Conventions to the Outer Space Treaty. While it is unlikely that the Vatican will ever take prisoners of war or send a man to the moon, other nations obviously will do so, and the Holy See's signature is avidly sought as a measure of moral support.

Such accords may sometimes be used for more devious ends, of course. In February 1971, Monsignor Agostino Casaroli, now the Vatican's Secretary of State, arrived in Moscow to deliver the Holy See's signed copy of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. While the trip, technically, was unnecessary, it served as an excuse to get the first papal diplomat onto Russian soil since 1924. When the Soviets received Casaroli—as they had to—they heard less about plutonium than about the plight of the USSR's four million Roman Catholics.

Foreign Aid

In some international agreements, the Vatican has had a keen—and direct—interest. It acceded to the various telephone, telegraph, and postal conventions, for example, simply in order to function. But usually the stakes are higher. Invited to participate in the 1975 Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation, the Holy See played the key role in drafting the "freedom of religion" provisions. As signed, these go well beyond the published laws (let alone the practice) of most of the communist signatories, most notably the Soviet Union. By tacking these provisions onto an agreement the Kremlin desperately wanted (ratifying the present European territorial borders and providing for trade and technological exchanges), the Vatican, at least on paper, extended Soviet law.

Like other states, the Vatican has varied interests abroad. Its Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples oversees the

activities of some 50,000 missionaries around the world—men and women deeply involved every day in economic development quite aside from their avowedly religious mission. The Vatican's purely humanitarian efforts (providing food, clothing, medicine, and shelter for the needy) are loosely coordinated by the pontifical council, *Cor Unum* (One Heart). All of this amounts, in effect, to a vast foreign aid program, one that the U.S. State Department has described as too massive, complex, and diverse "to quantify." The sum of money spent every year is staggering and undoubtedly surpasses, if military assistance is excluded, the foreign aid outlays of the Soviet Union or of many an industrialized country in the West.* And the Catholic aid apparatus is unusually efficient: Many Western governments have found it expedient to channel some of their Third World relief and development funds through agencies operating under the Vatican's foreign aid umbrella. Two-thirds of the \$350 million annual budget of the U.S. Catholic Relief Services, for example, is provided by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

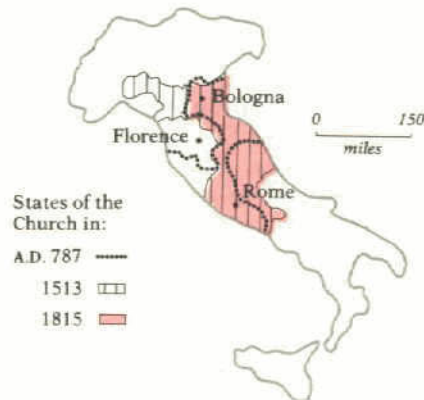
Defining Objectives

Because the worldwide activities of the pope and the Holy See are so diverse—and therefore reported unsystematically (though regularly) in the secular press—it is sometimes easy to miss the forest for the trees. In fact, the Vatican's basic foreign policy aims are simply stated. The first is survival—chiefly by maintaining its hierarchy (and hence the capacity to consecrate bishops, and thereby ordain priests, and thus administer the sacraments) in working order, or by rebuilding it where it has fallen into disrepair. More on this in a moment.

A second aim is keeping the peace, peace being a good thing in itself and the ideal environment for the conduct of the church's business. The third objective, inseparable from the others, might loosely be defined as "doing good": exercising moral leadership, alleviating poverty and suffering, pressing the case for human rights. Again, all of this is both desirable in itself and helpful to the church's cause.

*Tracking down the source of every Vatican aid dollar is impossible. Much of the church's foreign assistance comes directly out of the Vatican treasury, but most of it is raised by individual charitable groups and religious orders in the wealthier Western nations. (The West Germans, thanks to incentives in their tax code, are the biggest contributors per capita.) Some of these funds may be handled by the Vatican bank and by the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (whose finances are separate from the Holy See's), but in many cases Rome does not even see the money. While the Vatican in a sense "charters" the myriad organizations responsible for missionary and humanitarian work, these organizations typically are jealous of their autonomy.

THE OLD PAPAL STATES



The jurisdiction of the Papal States grew and shrank over the centuries. Territories once included the French county of Venaission and the city of Avignon.

These objectives follow logically from the Holy See's conception of its very purpose: the pastoral mission of saving souls. Pope Paul VI, a few months before his death, told the graduates of the Pontifical Diplomatic Academy in 1978 that "a diplomat of the Holy See is first and foremost a priest." John Paul II made the same point at the 1979 Latin American bishops conference in Puebla, Mexico, emphasizing that the church has no business linking its mission to "ideological systems," and must "stay free with regard to the competing systems, in order to opt only for man."

This, at least, is the position taken by the modern papacy. Before the loss of the pope's own kingdom in 1870, however, it would have taken the tortuous reasonings of a Jesuit to argue convincingly that the pope was primarily a pastor. Beginning with the Donation of Pepin in 756—when Charlemagne's father ceded what became the Papal States to the Holy See—the Bishop of Rome behaved like what he was: a temporal ruler on an unruly continent. Pope Gregory VII humbled the German emperor Henry IV at Canossa in 1077, at least temporarily, and by the beginning of the 13th century, Pope Innocent III controlled the destinies of entire peoples. Innocent referred to the papacy as the sun and the Holy Roman Emperor as the moon and pointedly reminded audiences whence the moon obtained its light.

The sun set as the 14th century dawned. When Pope Boniface VIII in 1303 reiterated Innocent's claim to control both the temporal and spiritual realms by telling the envoy of the

French king, Philip IV, that “we hold both the swords,” Philip’s man replied: “True, Holy Father, but where your swords are but a theory, ours are a reality.” Spiritually and politically, the papacy faltered, beset by scandal, schism, and war. Dante numbered popes among the damned in his *Inferno* and Erasmus poked fun at their follies. A bastard son (Cesare Borgia) of one pope proved to be the model for *The Prince* by Niccolò Machiavelli. Even so, the Vatican remained an influential factor in international affairs as the jurists in the papal chancery helped develop the foundations of modern diplomacy: the concept of sovereignty, the sanctity of treaties, the notion of diplomatic privilege, the rules of war.

Waiting for Volume Two

Stunned by the 16th-century Protestant Reformation, the papacy mounted an aggressive campaign to reclaim its spiritual and temporal authority. The popes became embroiled in the wars of religion and mercantilism raging throughout Europe. Papal diplomacy aimed to keep the Vatican’s political position in Italy secure by playing off the major powers one against the other. Sometimes it failed, as when Charles V sacked Rome. Sometimes it succeeded, as when Pius VII regained the Papal States, following Napoleon’s defeat, at the Congress of Vienna.

The incorporation of those territories into the Kingdom of Italy in 1870 left the Vatican bewildered. The Holy See sought to recoup initially by backing grass-roots Catholic political parties throughout Europe—with some success. But after World War I, shaken by the carnage and destruction wrought by Christian governments, the Vatican despaired of temporal meddling. Sir Odo Russell, the British legate to the Holy See, commented in 1927 that “Pius XI wishes to withdraw the church as far as possible from politics, so that Catholics may unite on a religious and moral basis.” Challenged by new secular “theologies” (fascism, nazism, communism), the pope feared, perhaps rightly, that unequivocal opposition would merely invite retaliation—hence the formal accords with Mussolini (1929) and Hitler (1933), designed to insulate Roman Catholics from overt abuse and, ultimately, to retard the advance of communism, which Rome regarded as the greater long-term evil. Pius XI’s successor, Pius XII, emphatically denounced Hitler’s anti-Semitism before the outbreak of World War II. But during the war itself, fearing retribution against Catholics in Nazi-controlled countries, he failed to speak out against the Holocaust, which he knew about and abhorred.

After V-E Day, its fascist nemeses buried, the Vatican aligned itself wholeheartedly with the West. It supported the Marshall Plan, lobbied for the NATO alliance, and quietly aided the Christian Democratic parties throughout Western Europe—in West Germany, Belgium, Austria, and especially Italy. Though few but its hundreds of thousands of beneficiaries may remember, the Vatican Migration Office also helped reunite wartime refugees and prisoners with their families. Implacably opposed to Marxism, Pius XII refused to negotiate with the new Soviet-backed regimes, which had engulfed Eastern Europe and eviscerated the church hierarchy. “If you desire peace, prepare for war” was the pope’s message to free nations.

Angelo Roncalli—aged 78 when he succeeded Pius in 1958 as John XXIII—ushered in the papacy’s modern era. By convening the Second Vatican Council and writing such encyclicals as *Mater et Magistra* (“Mother and Teacher”), he encouraged a more expansive definition of the Holy See’s pastoral mission, one with heavy political and moral overtones. This did not mean a return to the pre-1870 preoccupation with territory and political power. The church recognized, instead, that man could not live by grace alone. Vatican II, in effect, revived the church’s



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John Paul II's visit to his native Poland and the church's support for the trade union Solidarity inspired this 1979 Jeff MacNelly drawing.

“social gospel.” John Paul II defined it unequivocally in 1979: “We must declare by name every social injustice, every discrimination and every violence committed against man’s body, against his spirit, his conscience, and his convictions.”

The Vatican does not always react swiftly to events. In 1848, a cardinal approached Pope Pius IX with the first volume of Karl Marx’s *Das Kapital* and warned that the book would change the world. The pope, unalarmed, decided to wait and see what Marx said in volume two. It was both ironic and unexpected, then, when Pope John XXIII, a decade before “détente” became a household word in the United States, initiated the Holy See’s rapprochement with the Soviet bloc, entrusting the task to Agostino Casaroli. Fond of quoting a remark of John’s—“There are enemies of the church but the church has no enemies”—Casaroli’s ultimate aim was to persuade communist regimes to allow complete freedom of religion. But he was willing to take small steps, working out partial agreements that gave his church—the Catholic Church—room enough at least to administer the sacraments. *Salus animarum*, after all, is the *suprema lex*: The salvation of souls is the highest law.

Healing the Breach

There was one other item on Casaroli’s agenda: laying the groundwork for reunification of the Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches. The breach had occurred in 1054, and Rome has long been trying to heal it. Tsars and party secretaries alike have shamelessly exploited this desire. Ivan IV, for example, dangled the prospect of reunification before Pope Gregory XIII when he begged the Holy See to halt Stephen Batory’s Polish army as it advanced toward Muscovy in 1582. Gregory lived up to his side of the bargain; Ivan did not. During the tragic 1921–22 Russian famine, the Soviets promised to open their doors to Catholic missionaries if the Holy See organized a relief effort. The Vatican did, but the Kremlin reneged.

On balance, however, the Vatican’s *Ostpolitik* must be considered a success. The church hierarchy has been largely re-established in Hungary and the heavily Catholic former Baltic States. It is fully restored in East Germany and Yugoslavia. Poland—93 percent Catholic—is the Holy See’s strongest redoubt. But there have been some failures, too. In Romania, Bulgaria, and the non-Baltic regions of the USSR, the episcopal structure is weak to nonexistent. Albania, which indulged in a Neronian persecution of the church, and summarily executed or imprisoned all bishops and priests, remains a kind of black hole.

Much farther east, the situation in China is both confusing and complex. Premier Chou En-Lai had offered in 1951 to allow the small church in China (Catholics currently make up less than one percent of the country's population) to maintain ties with the Vatican providing that the local church and the Holy See unequivocally supported the Revolution—and that Rome cut all ties to "American imperialism." When both the Chinese church and the Vatican flinched at these demands, the government purged priests and bishops loyal to the Holy See and, like Henry VIII, set up its own agency, the National Association of Patriotic Catholics, to run the church. The pope in 1981 named Msgr. Dominic Tang Yiming archbishop of Canton, ostensibly with Beijing's approval, but the Chinese church reacted to this "thaw" with charges of Vatican meddling.

A Matter of Principle

In pursuit of *Ostpolitik* there have also been some noisome compromises. In Czechoslovakia, where more bishoprics are unfilled than filled, the Vatican has consecrated three "peace priests" (clerics who collaborated with the communists) as bishops. In 1974, at the insistence of the Hungarian government, Pope Paul VI removed Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty, a pillar of anticommunism in Europe, from his archepiscopal see of Esztergom. (The cardinal had lived in "exile" inside the American embassy in Budapest for 15 years, unable to leave.) The Vatican has also abandoned its earlier defense of the persecuted Ukrainian Uniate Church in order, typically, to promote more harmonious ties with the Russian Orthodox Church and to vitiolate the Kremlin's innate suspicion of Rome. (The Ukrainian Uniate Church was organized in 1596. It was a new rite which permitted orthodox believers to accept union with Rome but keep their own liturgy and practices. In 1946 this church was forcibly "reunited" with the Russian Orthodox Church, but an underground church continues to this day.)

Looking at the past two decades from the Holy See's perspective, one must conclude that, on balance, matters have gone well. The scope of its humanitarian and missionary efforts is broad. The Holy See's hierarchy is intact in most countries and is being restored in the remainder, with very few exceptions. The Vatican's diplomatic machinery seems to have operated with the unhurried efficiency for which it was designed.

The greatest difficulty for the Holy See in foreign affairs has come, not surprisingly, in those areas where principle and practice seem to be irreconcilable, where morality and politics col-

lide. All governments face this dilemma, but none have so much at stake as the Holy See.

It is not as if popes have been reluctant to state, in general terms, their emphatic support for human rights and the dignity of labor, for freedom of conscience, for self-determination, for the right of every individual to enjoy food, shelter, medical care, and for religious liberty. They have done so tirelessly. And yet in specific situations, and for purely pragmatic reasons, the Holy See has sometimes pulled its punches.

The financial support the Vatican receives from Western capitalist nations, for example, has unquestionably tempered papal criticism of social injustices and moral lethargy in the developed countries. In Latin America, the Holy See has condemned the violent and ideologically tinged aspects of "liberation theology." But it has not indicated what course priests and prelates should pursue instead, nor, for fear of inviting a backlash, has it publicly condemned repressive Latin regimes. In Africa, similarly, the tendency has been to not rock the boat. And then there have been the diplomatic compromises, some of them noted above.

One cannot help but sympathize with the Holy See's predicament. The Vatican's foreign policy goals are worthwhile, but they are not always compatible. And when they clash, the Holy See must calculate where its true interests lie. Fundamentally, its interests are those of the church, and on some matters the church should not compromise.

"We cannot apply moral criteria to politics," George F. Kennan has written, yet if that were true the Holy See would be irrelevant, and clearly it is not. Moral authority is its only weapon. Its standards are different, its time frame unique, its motives not those of Whitehall or the Quai d'Orsay. Do not judge us by your usual yardstick, Pope Paul VI cautioned foreign correspondents at the Vatican in 1973, for the Holy See's "decisions are based upon the Gospel and her own living tradition, not on the world's spirit nor on public opinion." Though honored in the breach even by Paul, the formulation is apt. It may not be easy to play both politician and pastor, but such is the pope's role, and when the jobs conflict, he must stand for principle.



BACKGROUND BOOKS

THE VATICAN

Winston Churchill once described the Soviet Union as "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." Add to that an anachronism within an anomaly, and we have the Vatican in a nutshell.

To comprehend its legal status is to embark on a "title search" through 2,000 years of jurisprudence and diplomacy. The city-state—the last classical *polis*—has few citizens, yet the word *foreigner* finds no place in its official vocabulary. No person is unwelcome, no passport must be shown to gain entry.

"Jurists find gaps, ambiguities, and even apparent contradictions in the structure of this miniature precision clock," writes one of the contributors to **The Vatican and Christian Rome** (Westfield, N.J.: Eastview, 1979), "while the ordinary person only notices a slight tendency of minor cogs to lose time."

Not everything is up to date in Vatican City, as this handsomely illustrated volume lovingly makes plain. In 43 chapters—topics range from the Secret Vatican Archives to the Vatican Museums—written by eminent clerics, art historians, and journalists, the book surveys the city-state's history and organization.

The volume does have one real flaw: Bearing the Vatican's own *imprimatur*, it is, not surprisingly, short on analysis and self-criticism. A good antidote is Peter Nichols's **The Politics of the Vatican** (Praeger, 1968).

Nichols, a British journalist long based in Rome, provides memorable sketches of Popes John XXIII and Paul VI. When John (born Angelo

Roncalli) worried at night about his immense responsibilities, Nichols writes, he used to comfort himself with the thought: "But who governs the Church? You, or the Holy Spirit? Very well then, go to sleep Angelo."

Any gaps in the chronicle of the Holy See as an institution can be filled in from **The Papacy** (Kenosha, Wis.: Prow/Franciscan Marytown, 1981), a handsomely illustrated volume edited by Christopher Hollis.

The Vatican is not a glass house, and monitoring its financial maneuverings requires dogged legwork. Corrado Pallenberg's **The Vatican Finances** (Humanities, 1971) is a thorough but dated history of papal wealth from the age of Constantine through Pope Paul VI's curial reform.

Pallenberg notes that in 1964, when Vatican diplomat Agostino Casaroli hammered out an agreement with communist Hungary providing for restoration of the church hierarchy, Casaroli brought back to Rome in addition a Hungarian order for urinals to be manufactured by Ceramica Pozzi, a Vatican-controlled company.

The Finances of the Church (Seabury, 1978, cloth & paper), edited by William Bassett and Peter Huizing, is more solid, more recent, more searching, and less fun. As they review the Vatican's financial picture, department by department, function by function, the authors emphasize key trends in the Holy See's economic strategy during the 1970s.

The Vatican, they write, has faced the ethical dilemmas of its investment policy, selling off its interest in

companies producing armaments and even birth-control pills. Ventures deemed "inappropriate" include construction of vacation resorts and luxury apartment houses and hotels. (The Holy See once owned a 15 percent interest in Generale Immobiliare, builder of Washington's Watergate complex.

The Holy See, Peter Nichols makes plain in **The Pope's Divisions** (Holt, 1981), has rarely been aloof from "world affairs." But in foreign policy, the Vatican customarily "thinks in centuries," a habit of mind formed by long experience. There was, for example, a direct link between the crowning of Charlemagne by the pope on Christmas Day, 800, and the veto by the Austro-Hungarian Emperor of Cardinal Rampolla's election to the papacy in 1903. In his overview of the Vatican as a temporal actor, Nichols keeps one eye on long-term trends and the Holy See's "grand design," the other on short-term tactics and controversies.

The most successful papal gambit of recent years — the "opening" to Communist Europe—is chronicled in **Eastern Politics of the Vatican 1917-1979** (Ohio Univ., 1981, cloth & paper) by Hansjakob Stehle. Stehle ranges from the present back to the first diplomatic overtures to Bolshevik Russia by Achille Ratti (later Pope Pius XI) and Eugenio Pacelli (later Pius XII). He highlights the Holy See's vacillation between principle and opportunism as it sought a *modus vivendi* with communism. As a practitioner of *realpolitik*, for good or ill, the Vatican has come a long

way from its rigidly principled antipathy toward the reunification of Italy in 1870. The story of that diplomatic disaster is told by S. William Halperin in **Italy and the Vatican at War** (Univ. of Chicago, 1939; Greenwood reprint, 1968).

The Holy See's aims, powers, and style evolve not only from century to century but also from reign to reign. Peter Hebblethwaite describes the process in **The Year of Three Popes** (Collins, 1979). As a "window" onto the papacy, Hebblethwaite chooses the events of 1978: the death of aging Paul VI, who presided over the Second Vatican Council; the election of Albino Luciani as Pope John Paul I, and then his sudden death 33 days later; and the surprise selection of Karol Wojtyla, a Pole, as the new pontiff, John Paul II.

In the actions of these three men, Hebblethwaite finds evidence of a gradual shift from an "imperial papacy" to a more collegial "Petrine ministry." That conclusion is echoed by Patrick Granfield in **The Papacy in Transition** (Doubleday, 1980).

Whatever the situation a century hence, it is a good bet that the Vatican will still be annually publishing its compact **Annuario Pontificio** (International Publishers), a staff directory of the Holy See, complete with addresses, phone numbers, and capsule biographies. Among its 2,000 pages is a section giving the official Latin name of every diocese and archdiocese on earth. Those who perceive the Vatican as obstinate and inflexible should note that Saigon is now called *Hochiminhpolitan*.