

tion to which he sadly realizes he may not respond. If this be *la dolce vita*, one feels, sackcloth and ashes would be gay in comparison and this, clearly, is what Fellini intends one to feel. The untidiness, the length, the extravagance that Fellini has not brought himself to prune prevent this film from being a real masterpiece of cinematic art, but it is wonderfully interesting and its very abundance give it a special quality: but harmful to an 'X'-certificate audience? Surely not.

MARYVONNE BUTCHER

REVIEWS

VATICAN DIPLOMACY. By Robert Graham, s.j. (Princeton University Press: London; Oxford University Press; 60s.)

In this study Father Graham sets out to show that the sending and receiving of diplomatic representatives by the Holy See is neither an outmoded survival from the Middle Ages nor a usurpation by the Church of powers that properly belong only to the state, but rather the 'ordinary and particularly apt instrument' of negotiation between Church and State on the international plane, in full accordance with the accepted principles of international law, public canon law and constitutional law.

His approach is pragmatic and historical. First he gives a profile of the machinery of Papal Diplomacy as it is today and a sketch of the Papal Secretariat of State and the Congregations of the Roman Curia, together with a detailed account of the origin and development of some of the non-Catholic and Catholic diplomatic missions to the Holy See, from the arrival of permanent Venetian ambassadors in the fifteenth century to the despatch of Sir Henry Howard in 1914. In doing this, he quotes freely from diplomatic documents consulted during the four years of research in Europe with which he prepared for the writing of this work.

Then, having established the facts, he surveys the development of the legal position of the Pope as it has appeared to writers on public international law, public canon law, and comparative constitutional law, paying special attention to the last two hundred years. His approach is historical rather than legal, and he brings out clearly the vast improvement which has taken place in the Pope's position in the international sphere.

Two hundred years ago the Church was generally subjected to the State, even in Catholic countries, on the theoretical ground that sovereignty was indivisible, and all communications between the faithful and the Holy See had to pass through a government department. The Pope was widely thought of as a foreign ruler, and was involved in wars by his possession of the Papal States, while the French government successfully insisted that all communication between the Vatican and the countries of the Middle and Far East should be carried on through their representatives.

Now, having escaped from the embarrassment of the Papal states, the Pope is thought of primarily as a spiritual sovereign, and can communicate

freely with his spiritual subjects outside the Communist bloc. The Holy See is accorded full international personality, and its Concordats are recognized as valid international contracts. At the same time the temporal sovereignty of the Vatican City ensures the Pope's independence. Father Graham attributes this improvement partly to the advent of the liberal state, with its doctrine of separation of Church and State, which involves the admission that sovereignty can be divided, and partly to the development of other international bodies with a kind of legal personality, such as U.N.O. and its agencies.

He does not claim that the position of the Holy See has been accepted by all, or that it has ceased to be enigmatic, for, as he points out, it is unique, and does not fall into any of the general categories of international law. He contends, however, with a great deal of force, that its position is explained by the concept of 'spiritual sovereignty', which was put forward by the Italian government which seized the Papal States in 1870 to prove that the Pope would not be prevented from carrying out his functions by the loss of his temporal sovereignty. Whether the argument was then accepted or not, diplomatic representatives continued to be accredited to the Holy See, showing that it was as head of the Church that the states were dealing with the Pope, and not as a temporal ruler. The Pope is a temporal sovereign once more, but it is still in his spiritual capacity that he sends and receives diplomatic representatives, and his position would not be affected by the loss of the Vatican City. This is in accordance with the principles of public canon law, which defines the Church as a 'perfect society' (i.e. complete in itself), carrying on the functions of legislation and adjudication in the spiritual sphere, and independent in that sphere. In other words, the Church is a spiritual sovereign. This spiritual sovereignty is concurrent with the temporal sovereignty of the other 'perfect society', the State, and the natural means of negotiation between these two sovereigns in the inevitable 'demarcation disputes' which arise is the exchange of diplomatic representatives. In sending a representative to the Vatican, a state in no way accepts the claims of the Catholic Faith. It simply recognizes the fact that the Pope is a sovereign having authority in the spiritual sphere over Catholics. As a matter of fact, as the author points out, very few states now feel any hesitation about sending a representative to the Holy See, and such diverse countries as the United Arab Republic and Japan are now represented there. He considers that 'When such international organs as the World Council of Churches assume a comparable role of authoritative guide, the State will in all consistency need to take that into account'.

The last part of the book deals with the two most important states which have no regular diplomatic relations with the Vatican, after first giving an interesting account of the way in which diplomatic relations with the warring states were maintained unbroken by the Holy See during the two world wars. Father Graham is an American, an associate editor of the magazine *America*, so that his views on the position of the United States have especial interest in view of recent controversies concerned with the presidential election. In surveying the mission of Myron C. Taylor, who was 'personal

representative' of President Roosevelt to Pope Pius XII from 1939 to 1944, with the rank of ambassador, and performed the same office for President Truman from 1946 to 1950, he discloses that Taylor's assistant, Harold Tittman, Jnr, who remained in the Vatican from 1941 to 1944, was appointed *Chargé d'Affaires* 'on special and temporary mission', to ensure his right to remain there. His conclusion as to the future of relations between the U.S.A. and the Holy See is as follows: 'The United States, having freely made its decision not to entertain formal relations with the Holy See, should not embarrass both itself and the Vatican by attempting to carry on sustained or major negotiations in the Eternal City by indirect methods. Yet the temptation to do just that will always assail a great power such as the United States. Out of such circumstances diplomatic relations are at length born.'

The chapter on Russia emphasizes the forbearance which the Popes showed in keeping the door open for diplomatic relations up to 1930, while uncompromisingly condemning Communism. For instance, the Catholic famine relief team remained in Russia till 1923, even after the trial and execution of priests began, and when objects of worship were seized and put up for sale, the Pope offered to buy them. Even in this case Father Graham does not rule out the possibility of a renewal of diplomatic relations, especially now that so many Catholics are under Soviet domination in the satellite countries. 'Neither party concerned in this dramatic duel will wish to initiate negotiations, or to seem to, but both will be equally pushed by the exigencies of events from which neither Church nor State can really dissociate itself, whether it wishes to or not.'

As the author himself foresees, the wealth of detail given in the first part of this book and the frequent quotations sometimes become rather tedious, and it is hard to see why he has put the chapters in their present order.

The second part, dealing with the theory of papal sovereignty, is written from a historical rather than a legal point of view, and by no means exhausts the subject. Indeed the author calls the book a 'schematic outline', and expresses the hope that it will inspire others to carry on where he has left off. The problem of Church-State relations on the international level is likely to attract an increasing amount of attention in this international age, and all who wish to study it will do well to read this book. The full bibliography will be of assistance to those who wish to carry the study further. The book is not always light reading for the general reader, but it is not excessively technical, and will be enjoyed by those with an historical turn of mind.

HUGH MONTGOMERY

RACE AND NATIONALISM. The struggle for power in Rhodesia-Nyasaland.

By Thomas M. Franck, with a Foreword by James Callaghan, M.P.
(George Allen and Unwin; 30s.)

This is another 'study' of 'race relations' in Central Africa, with excerpts from the daily press, *Hansard* and the laws, and notes on public opinion. Like his several predecessors in his field, Professor Franck gives us *his* plan