

## CHAPTER 16

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### AZAÑA VS. MUSSOLINI

#### *Two Apostates*

Manuel Azaña and Benito Mussolini were born to Catholic families in heavily Catholic territories, three years apart. Both became writers who moved into politics; both rejected the church as young adults. Within a few years, though, they led nations at war with one another, largely over the role of the Catholic religion.

Azaña was born just outside of Madrid in 1880, and after losing his parents at an early age was sent to be educated by the monks of the Escorial. He hated it. As an adult, he wrote a book called *The Garden of the Monks*, condemning the anti-intellectual discipline he experienced there. “I have dreamed of destroying all this world,” he wrote. He studied in Paris during the time of the Dreyfus affair and the separation of church and state, and translated works of Voltaire into Spanish. He mocked the church’s obsession with relics in a short story about El Cid, in which bones thought to be El Cid’s are examined by a doctor and determined to be those of a horse; the archbishop, unconvinced, insists instead that El Cid must have been a giant.<sup>1</sup>

Azaña didn’t hate Catholics—he married one, and each respected the other’s views throughout their years together. But as his writing turned more toward politics, he found religion contrary to the necessary virtues of a responsible citizenry in a republic: “Pure faith is unsociable; it is not useful in the republic, whose sovereignty it neither strengthens nor defends.” Catholicism, in which people owe a loyalty to the pope superseding what they owe the state, was for Azaña especially problematic.<sup>2</sup>

## DAMNED GOOD COMPANY

Benito Mussolini's mother insisted that he be sent to a Catholic boarding school run by Salesian monks, away from the influence of his irreligious father. Nonetheless, he spent enough time in his father's blacksmith shop to pick up a disdain for religion that lasted well into adulthood. Like Azaña, Mussolini began his career as a writer before turning to politics. In 1908 he dismissed priests as "black microbes who are as fatal to mankind as tuberculosis germs," and he wrote a lurid novel called *The Cardinal's Mistress*. "When will the day of vengeance come" he asked, "when the people free themselves from tyranny and from religion, that 'immoral disease of the mind'?"<sup>3</sup>

In 1910 Mussolini introduced a resolution urging members of his party to "avoid religious marriage and the baptism of their children." In 1920, he railed against what he called the "rival Vatican" of Moscow and Rome. "We are the heretics of both religions. We have torn to pieces all the revealed truths, we have spat upon all the dogmas, rejected all the paradises, scoffed at all the charlatans—red, white and black—who market miraculous drugs to give happiness to mankind."<sup>4</sup>

Azaña's Spain was dominated by the Catholic Church for centuries, as exemplified by the Inquisition established in the fifteenth century. Though the Inquisition's original purpose was to crack down on Spain's Jews, it proved ideally suited for crushing the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation as well. Hundreds of thousands passed through its torture chambers; as a result, the destruction of the overwhelming political power of the Catholic Church that occurred in places like England and Germany never happened in Spain.<sup>5</sup>

This left Spain so out of step with the rest of Europe—and so economically backwards—that it ultimately lost the last of its colonies to America in 1898. By 1931, the jig was up; the king decided to abdicate, and Spain belatedly joined its neighbors in allowing the people to decide how they wished to be governed.<sup>6</sup>

The people's choice, at the first elections in 1931, was to end the tyranny of the Catholic Church. A coalition led by Manuel Azaña's party swept to power, committed to ending taxpayer subsidies for the church and breaking the church's stranglehold on education. Azaña

became prime minister, and one of the principal drafters of a constitution for the new republic.<sup>7</sup>

Though the church controlled as much as a third of the country's capital wealth, two-thirds of Spaniards rarely attended Mass.<sup>8</sup> The constitution Azaña helped produce pointedly refused to recognize Catholicism as the official religion of the state. On the contrary, it infuriated the church through its explicit toleration of all varieties of religious belief. Control over marriage, cemeteries, and education was transferred from the church to the civil government, payments to priests were suspended, and church doctrine was further violated by allowing women full rights of citizenship, including the right to divorce. The Jesuits were dissolved once more. As Azaña said on the floor of the Cortes: "Spain has ceased to be Catholic."<sup>9</sup>

Only five years earlier, the church had been strong enough to induce the government to imprison a woman for saying that the Virgin Mary bore other children after Jesus.<sup>10</sup> Those days were over—at least for a while.

### *Mussolini and the Lateran Treaty*

Meanwhile, in equally Catholic Italy, Mussolini disdained the democratic path to power. Using the excuse of anarchic conditions which its own thugs did much to create, Mussolini's Fascist Party led a "March on Rome" in 1922 that frightened the king into dissolving the government and putting Mussolini in charge. Despite Mussolini's anti-clerical writings, his coup was quietly backed by the Catholic Church, which bet that Fascism's drive for lockstep unity as the ultimate goal of social organization would result in the church being invited in rather than squeezed out. The church abandoned its prior strategy of relying on Catholic political parties to advance its aims in favor of alliance with those who would crush secularism by force; thus it persuaded Italy's Catholic political party to disband rather than to oppose Mussolini.<sup>11</sup>

The church guessed right. One of Mussolini's first acts was to re-install crucifixes in classrooms and courtrooms, and to make religious teaching in the schools compulsory. In 1926, secret negotia-

tions commenced over a series of agreements that ultimately included a “treaty” in which Italy recognized the 109-acre Vatican City as an independent country, a concordat establishing Catholicism as Italy’s official religion and granting the church enormous power, and a financial “settlement” in which the taxpayers of Italy forked over millions of lire—equivalent to well over \$1 billion in today’s money—to compensate for Pope Pius XI’s anguish over his predecessor’s loss of church-controlled lands when Italy had united as a nation in 1870.<sup>12</sup>

Mussolini viewed it as simply paying extortion so that the church would support his Fascist unity; only by pacifying all dissent at home could he move forward with his dream to re-create a Roman Empire. Like Talleyrand, Mussolini concluded that co-opting the church was easier than confronting it.<sup>13</sup>

Not that the church minded being bought. Pius XI gloated that “We have given back God to Italy, and Italy to God.” According to a shrewd German observer named Adolf Hitler, “The fact that the Curia is now making its peace with Fascism shows that the Vatican trusts the new political realities far more than it did the former liberal democracy, with which it could not come to terms.” The French press gloomily agreed with Hitler’s assessment, warning that the agreements represented “the alliance of the two Romes against the France of 1789.”<sup>14</sup>

The treaties put Catholic indoctrination back into the public schools, recognizing the right of the Catholic bishops to remove any government-paid teacher of religion at will. Priests who committed crimes could be punished only by the church, not by the state. Church control over marriage replaced the regime of civil marriage that had been in force since 1860. Criticism of the Catholic Church was made a penal offense.<sup>15</sup>

Mussolini also used tax money to pay for the salaries of the clergy and the repair of church buildings. When you pay for something, of course, you own it; the treaty made it clear that the church could not appoint a bishop without Mussolini’s advance approval. “In the Italian state,” he bragged, “the church is not sovereign; it is not even free.”<sup>16</sup>

Dictatorship works best when the public reveres the dictator. In Italy and around the world, the Catholic Church did everything it could to promote that reverence. The pope called Mussolini “the man sent by Providence,” and the cardinal of Milan referred to him as “the new Constantine.” Cardinal O’Connell of Boston, who received a high Fascist decoration, exalted him as “a genius in the field of government, given to Italy by God.”<sup>17</sup> Catholic newspapers filled their pages with official propaganda against democracy and praise for the Italian warlike spirit, reminding the faithful that Jesus himself had said “Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword.” Fascism permeated Italian religious life down to the smallest detail: the protocol of Catholic processions was modified to match that of Fascist parades, and Catholic publications displayed the year of the regime alongside that of the Christian era. Mussolini returned the adulation, declaring in 1931 that “I wish to see religion everywhere in the country. Let us teach the children their catechism ... however young they may be.”<sup>18</sup>

The reason why Mussolini was so insistent on totalitarian unity at home was to strengthen Italy’s hand abroad. His first major foreign adventure was the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. The church could barely contain its enthusiasm; the cardinal of Milan crowed that “The Italian flag is at the moment bringing in triumph the cross of Christ in Ethiopia, to free the road for the emancipation of the slaves, opening it at the same time to our missionary propaganda.” The Archbishop of Torano intoned that “The war against Ethiopia should be considered as a holy war, a crusade” that would “open Ethiopia, a country of infidels and schismatics, to the expansion of the Catholic faith.” On a specially proclaimed “Day of Faith” priests turned over their offertory collections to support the war.<sup>19</sup>

Catholic press and political parties around the world vigorously supported Mussolini’s crusade, and denounced even the weak League of Nations sanctions against it. During the League’s debate on sanctions, the pope insisted that “the hopes, the rights, and the needs of the Italian people should be satisfied, recognized, and guaranteed with justice and peace.”<sup>20</sup> Church support never wavered when the Italian

army started using mustard gas against the tribesmen, nor when it massacred 30,000 prisoners and civilians in retribution for a failed attempt to assassinate the military governor. The victims included 300 monks at a “schismatic” monastery of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, considered its holiest spot; Catholic missionaries poured in to replace them, in an effort to convert the Orthodox to become loyal subjects of the pope.<sup>21</sup>

The world paid no heed when Ethiopia’s emperor warned the League of Nations that “Today it is Ethiopia’s turn, tomorrow it will be you.” The war and subsequent repression ultimately took more than 750,000 Ethiopian lives.<sup>22</sup>

### *War in Spain*

Back in Spain, the church did not take Azaña’s victory lying down. Only two weeks after the 1931 parliamentary election, the Catholic primate was already condemning the triumph of “the enemies of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.” The Catholic press began trumpeting the success of the Fascists in Italy and the Nazis in Germany as models for Spain to follow.<sup>23</sup>

The Catholic politician Gil Robles, after returning from a Nazi rally at Nuremberg, proclaimed:

We must reconquer Spain. ... We must give Spain a true unity, a new spirit, a totalitarian polity. ... We must found a new state, purge the fatherland of Judaizing Freemasons. ... What does it matter if we have to shed blood! ... When the time comes, either parliament submits or we will eliminate it.<sup>24</sup>

A coup planned by General Jose Sanjurjo, to have been signaled by the assassination of Azaña, nearly succeeded.<sup>25</sup>

Politics being what it is, the liberal and secularist parties that took control in 1931 squabbled among themselves once in power. In the 1933 elections they were defeated by a right-wing combine, subsidized by Mussolini, that sought to follow in his footsteps.<sup>26</sup> This was not at all what most Spaniards wanted. In October 1935, after being

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released as a political prisoner on a trumped-up charge, Azaña told the largest crowd that had ever assembled in Spain:

All Europe today is a battlefield between democracy and its enemies, and Spain is not an exception. You must choose between democracy, with all its shortcomings, with all its faults, with all its mistakes or errors, and tyranny with all its horrors. ... In Spain one hears frivolous and vain talk of dictatorship. We find it repugnant not only by doctrine, but by experience and through good sense.<sup>27</sup>

When the next elections were held in February 1936, the secular side reunited. Again it scored a decisive victory, despite the church's circulation of a catechism declaring it a mortal sin to vote for any candidate who supported freedom of religion, the press, or education.<sup>28</sup> After this defeat, the Catholic side gave up on the ballot box. Left to their own devices, Spaniards would never support continued control by God experts. Great Fascist-style rallies were held at which Gil Robles was hailed with the cry "¡Jefe! ¡Jefe!" (the Spanish equivalent of "Führer") in the hope he might start a Mussolini-style "March on Madrid" to seize power. Just as in Italy before the "March on Rome" and in Germany before the accession of Hitler, fascists and communists fought each other in the streets while committing tit-for-tat assassinations (including an attempt on Azaña), reducing the country to near anarchy.<sup>29</sup>

But it was not a politician who ultimately acted. It was General Francisco Franco, the recently demoted Army chief of staff, who launched a rebellion in July 1936, after failing to incite a coup immediately after the election results were tallied. Franco claimed to be fighting against Communism; in fact, Azaña had excluded all Communists and even Socialists from his government even though they had contributed to his coalition's success.<sup>30</sup>

Most of the army quickly joined Franco's revolt, but there was a problem. The bulk of Franco's forces were in Spanish Morocco and could not easily cross back to Spain because sailors of the Spanish navy remained loyal to the elected government. The solution was an

airlift provided by Mussolini, who intervened on Franco's side from the very start, keeping a promise he had made as early as 1934. Hitler jumped in as well, with the Luftwaffe perfecting at Guernica the saturation bombing techniques, followed by the aerial machine-gunning of fleeing civilians, that were to prove so effective during World War II. Ultimately, some 100,000 Italian and German troops fought in the war, many of them conscripts.<sup>31</sup>

Ironically, Azaña had devoted much of his energy during his first term in office to modernizing and strengthening the army, and that new-found efficiency was now being used against him. With most of the army on his side, Franco could have swept into power quickly. But speed was not Franco's intent. He sought not a coup, but a permanent revolution, in which the forces of humanism would be crippled beyond hope of recovery.<sup>32</sup> As he wrote to a friendly diplomat:

I will occupy Spain town by town, village by village, railway by railway. ... Nothing will make me abandon this gradual program. It will bring me less glory but greater internal peace. That being the case, this civil war could still last another year, two, perhaps three. Dear ambassador, I can assure you that I am not interested in territory but in inhabitants. The reconquest of the territory is the means, the redemption of the inhabitants the end. I cannot shorten the war by even one day. ... It could even be dangerous for me to reach Madrid with a stylish military operation. I will take the capital not an hour before it is necessary: first I must have the certainty of being able to found a regime.<sup>33</sup>

The church backed Franco's revolt with every fiber of its being, with the bishop of Salamanca likening Franco's vision to Augustine's *City of God*. The cardinal of Toledo and primate of Spain called the war a "clash of civilization with barbarism, of the inferno against Christ," and condemned the "Jews and the Freemasons who poisoned the nation's soul with absurd doctrines, Tartar and Mongol tales dressed up as a political and social system in the dark societies controlled by the Semite International." The pope himself denounced the Republic's "truly Satanic hatred of God."<sup>34</sup>



When the southern village of Rociana was taken by the rebels two weeks into the revolt, the parish priest made a speech from the balcony of the town hall: "You all no doubt believe that because I am a priest, I have come with words of forgiveness and repentance. Not at all. War against all of them until the last trace has been eliminated!" Over the next three months, sixty villagers were shot; not enough to satisfy the priest, though, who filed an official complaint that the repression had been too lenient.<sup>35</sup>

### *Terror*

One of Franco's colleagues, General Mola, spoke of the important role terror must play in the campaign: "It is necessary to spread terror. We have to create the impression of mastery, eliminating without scruples or hesitation all those who do not think as we do. There can be no cowardice. If we vacillate one moment and fail to proceed with the greatest determination, we will not win."<sup>36</sup>

General Queipo de Llano spread his own brand of terror on radio broadcasts: "Our brave Legionaries ... have shown the Red cowards what it means to be a man. And, incidentally, the wives of the Reds, too. These Communist and Anarchist women, after all, have made themselves fair game by their doctrine of free love. And now they have at least made the acquaintance of real men, and not milksops of militiamen. Kicking their legs about and struggling won't save them."<sup>37</sup>

The German and Italian forces used Spain as a test-tube for terror. That seems to have been the point of the German Condor Legion's obliteration of the town of Guernica. Shortly afterward, Mussolini's henchman Count Ciano wrote that "This is the moment to terrorize the enemy. I have given orders for the aircraft to bomb Valencia." Mussolini declared his delight that Italians "should be horrifying the world by their aggressiveness for a change, instead of charming it by a guitar."<sup>38</sup>

When two Basque priests made their way to the Vatican to protest the fate of Guernica, the secretary of state (soon to become Pope Pius XII) showed them the door, coldly replying that "The church is persecuted in Barcelona."<sup>39</sup>

## DAMNED GOOD COMPANY

As wars go, the Spanish Civil War ranks high on the barbarism scale. Atrocities were committed on both sides—lots of them.<sup>40</sup> But that does not mean that both sides were equally to blame.

Most national leaders throughout history, confronted by the kind of revolt Azaña faced, would have assumed dictatorial powers until the emergency had ended—even U.S. President Abraham Lincoln did so during the American Civil War.<sup>41</sup> Dictatorship was utterly antithetical to everything Manuel Azaña stood for though, and he never gave it a second thought. His insistence on not destroying his constitution in order to save it resulted in anarchic conditions when the bulk of the army and police force deserted, allowing uncontrollable vigilantes to do their worst.<sup>42</sup>

They were not encouraged or condoned by Azaña; on the contrary, he did all he could to maintain order, not only because it was the right thing to do but for the selfish reason of his quest for support from the western democracies. Every time a church was burnt or a priest was shot the hope for that support diminished. Maintaining control is not an easy task, though, when you have no army or police force. Most of the killings on the Republican side occurred early in the war, when chaos reigned. By 1938, when that control was re-established, extra-judicial violence was greatly reduced.<sup>43</sup>

By contrast, the Catholic rebels had a conscious policy, from the top down, of using the war to exterminate humanists from Spain. One slogan was “When you kill a Red, you will spend a year less in purgatory,” and propaganda circulated that an enormous portion of the enemy population was actually Jewish.<sup>44</sup> After the capture of the town of Badajoz, an American journalist reported on the roundup of those who had fought to defend the city:

At four o'clock in the morning they are turned out into the ring through the gate by which the initial parade of the bullfight enters. There machine guns await them. After the first night the blood was supposed to be palm deep on the far side of the lane. I don't doubt it. Eighteen hundred men—there were women, too—were mowed down there in some 12 hours. There is more blood than you would think in 1,800 bodies.<sup>45</sup>

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Aside from the authorization for the killings, there is the sheer quantity. In the town of Baena, for example, leftists killed 92 clergy and other supporters of the rebellion shortly after it broke out; when Franco's forces arrived, they killed 700 civilians in reprisal. Winners write history books, and the winning Catholics never tired of mourning the 55,000 civilians killed by government supporters during the war, including nearly 7,000 members of the clergy. Since the death of Franco in 1975, though, local historians throughout Spain have explored the previously taboo subject of the killings and torture perpetrated by the Catholic rebel armies. Their best estimates put the civilian body count in the 180,000 range, many executed for crimes such as owning a radio or reading the wrong newspaper.<sup>46</sup>

That's just during the war. After its end, Count Ciano reported to Mussolini in the summer of 1939 that more than 200 executions were being carried out daily in Madrid, 150 in Barcelona, and 80 in Seville. The American in charge of the Spanish bureau of the Associated Press estimated that half a million supporters of the elected government were executed by the Franco regime after the war; more recent estimates reduce the figure to a still-ghastly 150,000.<sup>47</sup>

Another 400,000 backers were consigned to concentration camps to perform slave labor. There Major Antonio Vallejo-Najera, head of the Army's Psychiatric Services branch, carried out experiments on women prisoners in search of the "red gene" which caused them to be so obstinate; the high command was so delighted with his scientific research they promoted him to colonel.<sup>48</sup>

Yet another 400,000 Franco opponents, including Manuel Azaña, were driven into exile. (General Mola had proposed that "Azaña must be caged up so that special brain specialists can study perhaps the most interesting case of mental degeneration in history.") Unfortunately for them, the most logical refuge was neighboring France. A year later the Nazis, emboldened by their success in Spain, invaded France as well. Azaña died while hiding from the Gestapo, while perhaps 10,000 of his fellow refugees died in German concentration camps.<sup>49</sup>

*Why Azaña Lost*

Why did a government that enjoyed majority support lose the war? The simple reason is that it was outgunned. Franco's rebels received massive aid from Hitler and Mussolini. But the western democracies, including America, would not even *sell* weapons to the legitimate Spanish government. France did so sporadically, but turned the spigot on and off to meet the demands of domestic politics. This was part of the western strategy of "appeasement" of Hitler and Mussolini.<sup>50</sup> To a larger extent, though, democracies refused to help Spain because of the political influence of the Catholic Church.<sup>51</sup>

Throughout the world, Catholic clergy and press rallied to Mussolini's Spanish cause. German bishops issued a pastoral letter in the first weeks of the rebellion to endorse Hitler's support for Franco. The Catholic archbishop of Westminster called the war "a furious battle between Christian civilization and the most cruel paganism that ever darkened the world." Another prominent English Catholic wrote that Franco "might not be a great man, as the world judges, but he is certainly something a thousand times more important—a supremely good man, a hero possibly; possibly a saint."<sup>52</sup>

In the United States, Franco's Catholic champion was Father Charles Coughlin, the powerful "Radio Priest" whose pro-Fascist broadcasts would be silenced during World War II. In 1936, though, President Franklin Roosevelt had no stomach for a fight with Father Coughlin, or any other risk to his hold on the Catholic vote. Roosevelt announced a "moral embargo" on arms sales to both sides, elevating the military rebels to the same moral plane as the democratically elected government. Enforcement was selective; the pro-Nazi President of the Texaco oil company, Thorkild Rieber, received a slap on the wrist fine for supplying the rebels with millions of dollars of oil on credit, while the Martin Aircraft Corporation was prevented from shipping planes and parts that had already been purchased by the Spanish government.<sup>53</sup>

Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes wrote in his diary: "He [Roosevelt] said frankly that to raise the embargo would

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mean the loss of every Catholic vote next fall. ... This proves up to the hilt what so many people have been saying, namely, that the Catholic minorities in Great Britain and America have been dictating the international policy with respect to Spain.”<sup>54</sup>

Mussolini was as cynical about his Spanish involvement as he was about religion itself. The nations of Europe signed a “Non-Intervention Agreement,” and created a committee to police it. Italy was not only on the committee, but had responsibility for patrolling Spain’s northeastern coast. Mussolini used this authority from day one to try to keep out Soviet arms shipments, while landing his own divisions with impunity. India’s Jawaharlal Nehru shook his head and called the Non-Intervention Committee “the supreme farce of our time.”<sup>55</sup>

As the aid from Mussolini and Hitler poured in, Spain turned to Russia as the only country that would reliably sell it arms, strengthening the hands of Communists in the trade unions who took the lead in the militias fighting Franco. Azaña, a proud bourgeois who had no use for communism, was furious when he learned that Spain’s gold reserves had been shipped to Russia as advance payment for arms purchases. He called Russia “the man one admits to society because it is impossible to do otherwise, but who is the friend of nobody,” understanding well how demoralizing Soviet domination was for the non-Communists who were simply fighting for toleration and freedom.<sup>56</sup>

Azaña tried to position himself above the fray, as a national unifier who could heal wounds if only the two sides would agree to a ceasefire. He devoted most of his energy during the war years to diplomacy, rather than egging on his hastily assembled forces to fight to the death. He was convinced that if he could arrange even a temporary ceasefire under international auspices, Spaniards on both sides would be loath to renew the fighting. But Franco suspected the same and never gave a ceasefire a moment’s thought. In fact, Azaña had been willing to surrender many months earlier if the rebels would agree not to conduct reprisals, but Franco flatly refused.<sup>57</sup>

In hindsight, Azaña’s strategy seems Pollyannaish, and both sides scapegoated him for “cowardice” after the war. But if resistance could have lasted even a few weeks longer than it did, he might well have

been able to pull it off. Franco's armies entered Madrid in March 1939, the same month during which Hitler broke the promise he had made at Munich and rolled his tanks into Prague. England's Neville Chamberlain abandoned appeasement at that point, and immediately announced the "line in the sand" guarantee of Poland's borders that precipitated war five months later. Had the Spanish Republic remained alive at that time, it seems quite plausible that Britain and France would have reassessed their position.<sup>58</sup>

Roosevelt admitted to his cabinet that the embargo had been a bad idea, telling his Spanish ambassador that "We have made a mistake; you have been right all along." But it was too late. Pope Pius XII telegraphed Franco: "Lifting up our hearts to the Lord, we give sincere thanks with Your Excellency for Spain's desired Catholic victory. We express our hope that your most beloved country, with peace attained, may undertake with new vigor the ancient Christian traditions which made her great."<sup>59</sup>

His hopes were more than fulfilled. Massive state subsidies to the church were reinstated, and its status was re-elevated to sixteenth century glory. Insulting or ridiculing a Catholic priest or Catholic ceremony was made a crime, as part of the penal code section outlawing sedition. Sale of contraceptives was banned, and complete church control over marriage, burial, and education reinstated. Censorship of books, magazines, and movies was strictly enforced; even the King James Bible was banned for being too Protestant.<sup>60</sup> Spanish troops fought alongside Italian Fascists and Nazis on the Russian front during World War II, and Franco provided bases for Nazi submarines to prey on Allied food shipments. In return, the Vatican pledged every Spanish priest to say a special prayer for General Franco every day, and Franco was given control over the appointment of bishops.<sup>61</sup>

Mussolini is remembered today as a pompous buffoon, a light historical sentence for a hypocrite personally responsible for seven figures worth of deaths. The greater tragedy is that Azaña is not remembered at all. Forget his personal courage, his unswerving loyalty to the vision of the tolerant society that Spain finally became after Franco's death in 1975, and his leadership of one of the few truly non-violent

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democratic revolutions in our planet's history. Is not the man who wrote "Liberty does not make men happy; it makes them men"<sup>62</sup> worth remembering for that alone?

Mussolini's Lateran Treaty legacy is the so-called "independent nation" of Vatican City and a rogue Vatican Bank that's been a Mafia money-laundering front for decades. Some people think this is a farce that should be shut down, with the Catholic Church headquarters being made subject to the civil laws of Italy just like the Mormon Church headquarters is subject to the civil laws of the United States. What do you think? Share your thoughts on this and the other questions you'll find at [dgc.humanistpress.com](http://dgc.humanistpress.com)!

### Notes:

- 1 Thomas, *Spanish*, 36; Sedwick, *Tragedy*, 5, 10, 25, 41-42.
- 2 Sedwick, *Tragedy*, 43.
- 3 Kent, *Pope*, 5; Hibbert, *Mussolini*, 5, 9; Mussolini, *Rise*, 3-7.
- 4 Binchy, *Church*, 392; Kent, *Pope*, 5.
- 5 Manhattan, *Vatican*, 84; Johnson, *Christianity*, 308; Peters, *Inquisition*, 85; MacCulloch, *The Reformation*, 298-301; Aleksandrov, *History*, 99; Kent, *Pope*, 132.
- 6 Holt, *Carlist*, 275; Preston, *Spanish*, 37; Kent, *Pope*, 134.
- 7 Holt, *Carlist*, 276; Blanshard, *Freedom*, 15; Thomas, *Spanish*, 30, 70; Sedwick, *Tragedy*, 40, 84, 76.
- 8 Manhattan, *Vatican*, 88; Thomas, *Spanish*, 47, 50.
- 9 Blanshard, *Freedom*, 18; Preston, *Spanish*, 53-54, 60, 88; Kent, *Pope*, 139-140; Thomas, *Spanish*, 73; Sedwick, *Tragedy*, 101; Manhattan, *Vatican*, 90.
- 10 Blanshard, *Freedom*, 62.
- 11 Hibbert, *Mussolini*, 29-31; Kent, *Pope*, 1; Blanshard, *Freedom*, 278; Jemolo, *Church*, 199; Johnson, *Christianity*, 281; Manhattan, *Vatican*, 77, 111-113.
- 12 More, *Peter's City*, 81; Jemolo, *Church*, 205; Kent, *Pope*, 7; Binchy, *Church*, 308; Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 114.
- 13 Jemolo, *Church*, 225, 231.
- 14 More, *Peter's City*, 22; Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 115; Kent, *Pope*, 60.