

(or lack thereof) of the effort be measured? *Was* culture, in fact, capable of being ‘controlled’ to the extent that one can truly refer to it as a ‘political message’? As such, this volume makes a stimulating contribution to the debate over culture and the Cold War and points the way toward further investigation of the most critical questions facing this burgeoning field of study.

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Religion and the Cold War

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From Stalin asking how many divisions in the Pope’s possession to Ronald Reagan calling the Soviet Union an evil empire before the National Association of Evangelicals, the Cold War produced many quotations related to religion that are as rich in background as colorful in expression. Yet historiography has been slow to examine this relationship. As suggested by the editor, the neglect has to do partly with hostility toward religion from the professoriate and partly with difficulties in relating religion to social and political forms. ‘Historians and political scientists too often refer to religion as if everyone knows what it is’, but there is no consensus as many consider it ‘synonymous with belief’ while others find it ‘more nearly synonymous with “culture”’ (p. 7). Moreover, it is not easy to discern if religion functioned as an independent factor or an instrument of policy.

Analytical difficulties notwithstanding, the collection demonstrates the feasibility of studying religion. Half of the essays concern the Catholic Church, especially the role of Pope Pius XII. Arguing that Pius had dreaded Communism long before he became Pope, Frank J. Coppa shows that during World War II, he shifted from cautious neutrality to hostility towards the Soviet Union and helped to create the Cold War by condemning Communism publicly and allying the Vatican to the Western bloc. For Peter C. Kent, however, Pius was strong in rhetoric but ultimately unsuccessful in affecting American policies; the highest point of US–Vatican collaboration came in early 1948 but quickly unraveled in the same year. In relative contrast to both Kent and Coppa, Dianne Kirby contends that it was Truman who envisioned religion to play an essential role in containing the Soviets and who responded favorably to Pius. In the end, the ‘Pope’s conviction that all religions must stand together against the threat of communism had been translated into a presidential project, while religion was clearly assuming a substantial and diverse role in America’s global Cold War offensive’ (p. 93). Three other essays supplement the debate over Pius. John Pollard argues that the Vatican manipulated Italian politics not only to help the Christian Democrats in the 1948 elections but also to gain hegemony over Italian society. Charles R. Gallanger

details the US–Vatican clandestine alliance from 1945 to 1950, with the American bishop Joseph P. Hurley, appointed by Pius as nuncio in Belgrade, as the principal go-between. Entering the post-Pius era, Paul Hainsworth explores the relationship between the French Communist Party and the Church during the early Fifth Republic, concluding that Church and Party were antagonistic to each other at the top but, at lower levels, formed a *rapprochement* characteristic of détente.

Of the non-Catholic half, three essays are about the West, two about the Soviet bloc, and one about both. On the Soviet bloc, Anna Dickinson examines the relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and Stalin, arguing that Stalin's need to mobilize society for war efforts against Germany led to the revitalization of the Church. Harmut Lehmann shows that East German official ideology dramatically revised its view of Martin Luther due to Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* and other factors during détente. On the western countries, Matthew D. Hockenos examines the debate among (West) German radical and conservative Protestants over the 1947 Darmstadt statement, contending that conservatives' successful rejection of the statement meant 'increased attention to the brutality of Soviet communism' at the expense of 'obfuscating the severity of Germany's wartime atrocities in Eastern Europe' (p. 43). Rejected too was the proposed 1950 Bill of Rights in Canada, the subject of George Egerton's essay, which argues that Canadian Protestants and Catholics created an anti-Communist religious culture that looked suspiciously on the secular pluralism implied in the draft of the Bill. On England, Ian Jones examines Anglican and Free Church parishes in Birmingham, suggesting that 'Cold War rhetoric was fundamentally bound up with clergy efforts to rebuild the unity and purpose of their congregations after the war', and that 'the communist threat could offer a useful (and widely acceptable) scapegoat against which clergy could attempt to re-forge the waning connection between religious duty, social participation and national identity' (pp. 194–5). In the last essay, Tony Shaw relates the function of religious propaganda to Soviet, American, and British films in the 1950s.

The book has no qualifying subtitle, and the content inevitably falls short of the all-encompassing title. Most obvious is its concentration on Europe and North America at the exclusion of other continents – and on Christianity at the exclusion of other religions. A more representative volume might include topics such as Jesuits and Franciscans in Latin America, the anti-Communist Unification Church in South Korea, and Buddhist protests in Tibet against China or in South Vietnam against the US. Second, it concentrates on the early Cold War, leaving little on détente and nothing on the 1980s. Yet, the last decade of the war witnessed a global upsurge of religious institutions and activities, from Solidarity-supporting Catholics in Poland to anti-nuclear Protestants in Scandinavia, from ultra-orthodox Jews in Israel to anti-Soviet Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan. (It was rich also in religious personalities, from Pope John Paul II to the Ayatollah Khomeini, from Solzhenitsyn to Jerry Falwell.) But the most serious drawback is the highly non-empirical quality of much of the evidence that makes certain conclusions tentative. How much, for example, did ecclesiastical weapons such as the threat of excommunication contribute

to anti-Communist deterrence? Or, how to interpret the motives of the English clergy without bringing in their congregations? The essays offer few numbers and statistics, making it difficult to gauge the effectiveness of religious documents and statements cited there.

All the same, the merits are considerable. In discussing the post-war Pius XII, the essays bring some balance to scholarship that hitherto focused overwhelmingly on his part during the Holocaust. Whether Pius was as important as Churchill in helping to open the Cold War, his role was greater than previously recognized, thanks in part to the Vatican's unique institutional and global stature. The essays are divided evenly between domestic and international relations, suggesting that religion carries multifaceted if sometimes elusive roles. Best of all is the promise the volume holds for a potential plethora of narratives on and approaches to religions that await researchers. For instance, the essay on Yugoslavia deals with traditional high diplomacy and the pair on Germany falls under the rubrics of intellectual history; the debate on Pius takes the biographical approach while the essays on Canada and England dwell into the realm of social history.

In recent years, Cold War history has traversed into new territories such as sport, music, and tourism. Innovative though they are, it behooves us not to overlook something as obvious and long-standing as religion. Not that there is a lack of important works – in the American field, for examples, Anne Loveland has detailed the growing evangelical influence in the US military; and Doug Rossinow and Lisa McGirr the religious roots of the New Left and New Right, respectively. But many important questions remain. To address one of the editor's points – that the professoriate has tended to be hostile to religion – it cannot hurt to develop a scholarly sensibility to the category of religion, similar to the cultivation of linguistic skills, multi-archival approaches, and cross-cultural sensitivity now commonly found in graduate training.

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