

ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES REGARDING THE
ELIGIBILITY OF THE VATICAN FOR MEMBERSHIP IN
THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

500.CC/9-2244

*Mr. Myron C. Taylor, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt to Pope Pius XII, to the President*¹

[VATICAN CITY,] September 10, 1944.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I recently wired you² that His Holiness had requested more detailed information than I had as yet seen fit to give to him in respect to the International Organization for the Preservation of Peace.³ In my wire I enquire to what extent Secretary Hull and yourself wished me to go in explaining the details of the plan which I followed in the consultations⁴ which I had with Chief Justice Hughes,⁵ Honorable John W. Davis⁶ and Honorable Nathan L. Miller.⁷

I now have a similar written request from His Holiness, of which I am attaching a copy. Your advice in the premises will be very greatly appreciated and with best regards, believe me.

Sincerely yours,

MYRON C. TAYLOR

[Enclosure]

The Papal Under Secretary of State (Montini) to Mr. Myron C. Taylor, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt to Pope Pius XII

No. 82564/SA

[VATICAN CITY,] September 4, 1944.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: His Holiness has graciously indicated to me that in your Audience of August 30th you made reference to an

¹ Copy transmitted to the Secretary of State with the following memorandum of September 22, 1944, from President Roosevelt: "For preparation of reply for my signature."

² Telegram 301, September 6, 10 a. m., not printed.

³ For correspondence on this subject, see pp. 614 ff.

⁴ In April and May of 1944 Secretary of State Hull authorized Mr. Taylor, who was a member of the Department of State Informal Political Agenda Group concerned with a "Possible Plan for the Establishment of an International Organization for the Maintenance of International Peace and Security", to hold consultations with the three jurists mentioned. See *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation, 1939-1945* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949), pp. 169-173, 247-255 and 263-265.

⁵ Charles Evans Hughes, Chief Justice of the United States, 1930-1941.

⁶ Democratic presidential candidate in 1924.

⁷ Governor of New York, 1921-1923.

International Organization for the Preservation of Peace, which is the object of serious study of President Roosevelt and his advisers.

Since the Holy See, by the very nature of its high mission, is deeply interested in any project which might further the cause of lasting peace, I should be indeed grateful if you were to find it possible to provide me with further details regarding the nature of the proposed organization and the plans for its activation and development.

With the renewed assurance [etc.]

G[IOVANNI] B. MONTINI

500.CC/9-1444 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to Mr. Myron C. Taylor, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt to Pope Pius XII

WASHINGTON, September 14, 1944—7 p. m.

32. We feel it is premature to inform the Pope of the trend of discussions and drafting now going on concerning the International Organization. At a later stage I hope to be able to send you some useful background information concerning recent developments which can be given to the Pope.

HULL

500.CC/9-1844 : Telegram

Mr. Myron C. Taylor, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt to Pope Pius XII, to the Secretary of State

VATICAN CITY, September 18, 1944—5 p. m.

[Received September 18—4:10 p. m.]

320. Referring to your No. 32, September 14, 7 p. m. I would suggest for your consideration the following hypothetical case:

If Vatican State apply for membership in proposed International Organization as provided by Section Four, Moscow Declaration⁸ and Senate Resolution⁹ as small peace-loving state, could its application be denied? If admitted and if its integrity as independent state is violated by forcible aggression through Italian revolution or otherwise, would it be entitled to protection by armed forces if necessary to preserve its independence?

TAYLOR

⁸ For text of the Declaration of Four Nations on General Security, signed at Moscow at the Tripartite Conference of Foreign Ministers on October 30, 1943, and published on November 1, see *Foreign Relations*, 1943, vol. I, p. 755.

⁹ For text of the Connally Resolution (Senate Resolution 192, 78th Congress, November 5, 1943), see Senate Document No. 123, 81st Cong., 1st sess.: *A Decade of American Foreign Policy, Basic Documents, 1941-49* (Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 14.

500.CC/9-1844 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to Mr. Myron C. Taylor, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt to Pope Pius XII

WASHINGTON, September 27, 1944—5 p. m.

39. While the Department is not in a position to give a definitive answer to the questions raised in your No. 320, September 18, 5 p. m., the following observations are offered for your guidance and confidential information.

Admission to membership would be determined by the international organization and would probably require consent of the major powers including the Soviet Union. Original members not maintaining diplomatic relations with the Vatican State would in some instances probably oppose its admission and the question would be likely to raise political controversy in the United States. For these reasons it would seem undesirable that the question of membership of the Vatican State be raised now.

As a diminutive state the Vatican would not be capable of fulfilling all the responsibilities of membership in an organization whose primary purpose is the maintenance of international peace and security. In a number of cases diminutive states were refused admission to the League on this ground. Membership in the organization would not seem to be consonant with the provisions of Article 24 of the Lateran Treaty,¹⁰ particularly as regards spiritual status and participation in possible use of armed force. Non-membership would not preclude participation of the Vatican State in social and humanitarian activities of the organization nor impair its traditional role in promotion of peace by its moral influence.

Protection of the integrity of the Vatican as an independent state would not be increased by membership. Attack upon it could be dealt with by the organization under its powers with respect to threats to or breaches of the peace. Security action by the organization as so far contemplated would not be dependent on membership of the state threatened or attacked nor upon membership of the violating state.

HULL

¹⁰ Signed at Rome, February 11, 1929; for text, see Treaty between the Holy See and Italy establishing the Vatican State, with Financial Convention, *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. cxxx, pp. 791, 799.

500.CC/10-644 : Telegram

Mr. Myron C. Taylor, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt to Pope Pius XII, to the Secretary of State

VATICAN CITY, October 6, 1944—8 p. m.

[Received October 8—9 a. m.]

344. For the President and Secretary. Reference my 320 September 18 and your 39 September 27. In lengthy audience yesterday the Pope raised the question particularly with respect to admission to membership in International Organization, and without expressing a final determination as to Vatican policy, sought information as to terms of proposed plan under which a small state such as the Vatican would have the right to be admitted. The Pope then asked my opinion whether it would be advisable for Archbishop Spellman ¹¹ who is now here, to defer his plan for a visit to the Far East, and to call upon the President at once with a view to discussing this question on behalf of the Holy See. I developed the thought in replying that the plan was now only in its first stages of discussion among the four great powers ¹² and that the many questions regarding the composition of the Assembly, and particularly of the Council and the implementation of the plan by ultimate use of force were receiving primary attention. I expressed personal opinion that the whole matter of an acceptable plan would have to be arrived at by a meeting of minds upon a higher official level than the present preliminary discussions had reached before a plan could be intelligently proposed to a meeting of United and Associated Nations and neutrals who were entitled to be consulted before the case of any particular state could wisely be injected into the field of discussion. In other words, that this was not the time for such a special approach to the President. I indicated that probably the International Organization to Preserve Peace would be obligated to come to the aid of any state, large or small, if attack were made upon it. After considerable general discussion along this line and of the whole subject it was thought wise that I should discuss with Archbishop Spellman the matter of proposed visit to the President. That meeting took place this afternoon. Archbishop Spellman informs me that the Pope had presented the same question to him on Wednesday,¹³ the day before my audience; that he had also conferred with the Pope after my audience and discovered that he had given the Holy Father the same answer in substance as myself. In substance he also had stated that the visit for the purpose indicated at this

¹¹ Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop of New York.

¹² Reference here is to the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations involving the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China; for correspondence, see pp. 713 ff.

¹³ October 4.

moment was untimely. I assume this closes the matter for the present though I imagine however in due course the question may be presented in the form of a letter of inquiry. I have however received no present indication to that effect.

TAYLOR

500.CC/10-644

The Secretary of State to Mr. Myron C. Taylor, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt to Pope Pius XII

No. 12

WASHINGTON, October 6, 1944.

The Secretary of State encloses an official copy in English of the "Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization"¹⁴ which have been agreed upon by the British, Soviet, Chinese and the United States delegations to the Dumbarton Oaks conversations and have been submitted to their respective governments.

The Personal Representative of the President at the Vatican should deliver the enclosed copy informally to His Holiness the Pope, pointing out that this document represents only the tentative proposals reported to their respective governments by the delegations to the Dumbarton Oaks conversations.

¹⁴ For text of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, see p. 890.