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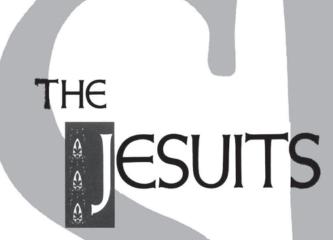
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The Society of Jesus and the Betrayal of the Roman Catholic Church

MALACHI MARTIN



SIMON & SCHUSTER PAPERBACKS Rockefeller Center 1230 Avenue of the Americas New York, NY 10020

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Designed by Helen L. Granger / Levavi & Levavi

Manufactured in the United States of America

30 29 28 27 26

The Library of Congress has cataloged the hardcover edition as follows:

Martin, Malachi.

The Jesuits.

Includes index.

1. Jesuits—History—20th century. 2. Jesuits—History. I. Title. BX3706.2M35 1987 271'.53 86-27941

ISBN 978-0-671-54505-5 ISBN 978-0-671-65716-1 (Pbk.) For Our Lady of Fatima

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state of war exists between the papacy and the Religious Order of the Jesuits—the Society of Jesus, to give the Order its official name. That war signals the most lethal change to take place within the ranks of the professional Roman clergy over the last thousand years. And, as with all important events in the Roman Catholic Church, it involves the interests, the lives, and the destinies of ordinary men and women in the millions.

As with so many wars in our time, however, the Jesuits did not declare theirs against the papacy. Indeed, though the first open skirmishes began in the 1960s, it took time for the effects of the war—even very profound effects—to become widely apparent. Because the leaders in the war were the Superiors of the Order, it was a simple matter to place men of like mind in charge of the organs of power and authority and communication throughout the organization. With that much accomplished, the vast bulk of Jesuits had precious little to say in the extraordinary decisions that followed.

In time, there were rumblings and warnings of what was happening. "A coup d'état is taking place," one Jesuit wrote, as he looked aghast at "the ease with which the dissolution of the established order [in the Society of Jesus] is being achieved."

By then, however, it was already the early seventies, the war had

already been underway for nearly a decade, and such alarms were of little avail. In fact, given the strict obedience of Jesuits—a fabled and time-tested element of the old structure that the new leaders still found useful when dealing with dissenters from their strange and unfamiliar policies—the rank and file of the Order were given no alternative but to go along with the changes that, in the words of another Jesuit, "wrenched the Society of Jesus from under us and turned [it] into some monstrous entity under the guise of good goals."

Still in all, one might be inclined to ask, suppose there is a problem between the Roman papacy and Jesuits; how bad can it be? Call it a war if you like. But, really, isn't it just another squabble in the Roman Catholic Church? In a world that finds itself teetering on the perpetual brink of annihilation, and in which half the population is starving to death while most of the other half is pinned in the mud by one sort of injustice or another, how important can some dusty theological argument be? About as important, perhaps, as how many angels can dance on the head of a pin!

The fact is, however, it is not a squabble about niceties, nor even a theological falling-out between the papacy and Jesuits that involves only scholars, clerics, and the faithful. As both papacy and Jesuits know, the effects of their policies go far beyond the confines of the Roman Catholic Church; even far beyond the nearly one billion Catholic men and women around the world. Almost everything that happens in this war bears directly and immediately on the major dissensions that wrack every nation and people in the world. It is involved in the very heart of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, for example. It bears right now on the fate in misery or happiness of 350 million people in Latin America. It affects the deeply changing public moral code and national consensus of the American people; the imminent preponderance in human affairs of the People's Republic of China; the fragile persistence of a free Western Europe; the security of Israel; the still rickety promise of a viable Black Africa just aborning. All of these things, separate and unconnected as they may seem, are not only interwoven with one another, but are and will be profoundly influenced by the tides and outcome of the global collision between the papacy and the Society of Jesus.

All wars are about power. In the war between the papacy and the Society, power flows along the lines of two fundamental and concrete issues. The first is *authority*: Who is in command of the worldwide Roman Catholic Church? Who lays down the law as to

what Roman Catholics must believe and what sort of morals they must practice?

The second issue is *purpose*: What is the purpose of the Roman Catholic Church in this world?

For the papacy, the answers to both questions are clear and well-known. Authority to command and to teach descends through its hierarchic structure from Pope to bishops to priests to laity. And the sole purpose of the Church in this world is to make sure that each individual has the means of reaching the eternal life of God after death. It is an exclusively otherworldly purpose.

For many Jesuits, on the other hand, the Church's centralized authority, the command structure through which it is exercised, and its purpose are all unacceptable today. The traditional prerogatives of this Pope, John Paul II, or of any Pope, are objectionable.

In place of a hierarchic Church, they are aiming at a church composed of small and autonomous communities of people—"the people of God," as they are collectively known, or "the people's Church"—all loosely associated only by faith, but definitely not by one central and centralizing authority such as the papacy claims to be.

In place of the otherworldly purpose of the traditional Church, the Society of Jesus has substituted the here-and-now struggle for the liberation of one class of men and women in our society today: those millions who suffer from social, economic, and political injustice.

The way of speaking about that class struggle is an important and delicate matter for the Jesuits. The new mission of the Society—for it is nothing less than that—suddenly places them in actual and, in some instances, willing alliance with Marxists in their class struggle. The aim of both is to establish a sociopolitical system affecting the economies of nations by a thorough-going redistribution of earth's resources and goods; and, in the process, to alter the present governmental systems in vogue among nations.

It won't do, however, for the Society to come right out and say as much as a matter of corporate policy. That would be to lose the war before the troops are even thoroughly deployed. To cover the same reality, the expression current among Jesuits and others within the Church who are sympathetic to this new mission is a phrase torn from its original context in a document issued in 1968 by a Conference of Catholic Bishops held in Medellín, Colombia: "to exercise a preferential option for the poor and the oppressed."

None of this is to say that the Society of Jesus at any point

became officially Marxist. It did not. Nevertheless, the brute fact is that many Jesuits wish to see a radical change in the democratic capitalism of the West, in favor of a socialism that seems inevitably to come up smelling just like totalitarian Communism. And the fact is as well that there is no lack of individual and influential Jesuits who regularly speak up for the new crusade.

A brief cameo of three Jesuits—a sociopolitical scientist, a devoted guerrilla, and a formidable theologian-teacher—will quickly sketch the wide and all-encompassing arc of the modern Jesuit endeavor to win this war.

The first, Arthur F. McGovern, S.J., is an outstanding and convinced apologist for the new Jesuit anticapitalism. In 1980, he published a book on the subject—Marxism: An American Christian Perspective—and he has made his mind clear on many occasions. Essentially, McGovern says that Marxism was and is a social critique, pure and simple. Marx just wanted to get us to think more clearly about the means of production, how people produce; and about the means of distribution, the people who own and control the means of production. In all this, Marxism cannot be written off as "untrue." It was Engels and Lenin who added the disgusting ingredients of "scientific materialism" and atheism. You have only to read the unpublished writings of the young Marx to become aware of "his more humanistic side."

Consequently, McGovern concludes, we must isolate Marx's social critique, which is "true," from those foreign elements. We can accept Marx's concept of class struggle, because there is a class struggle. This does mean revolution, but "revolution does not clearly mean violence . . . it means we have to have a new kind of society, definitely not democratic capitalism as we know it."

McGovern sees in Jesus, as portrayed in St. Luke's Gospel, a paragon of revolution. St. Luke's is "a social Gospel," he says, quoting Jesus in support of his cause: "I have come to preach the good news to the poor, to set the downtrodden free, to redeem captives."

"See," McGovern adds, "how many times Jesus speaks about poverty; identifies with poor people; criticizes people who lay burdens on the poor." Clearly, therefore, Jesus acknowledged the "class struggle" and endorsed the "revolution."

Consciously or unconsciously, like most modern Jesuits and many Catholic activists, McGovern has effectively laid aside fourteen hundred years of rich Catholic, authentically Christian interpretation of the Bible. He has reinterpreted the Gospel and the salvific mission of the Son of God in an economic sense, a this-

worldly sense, a nonsupernatural sense, an un-Catholic sense. All the rest follows.

Because the "new kind of society" cannot be "democratic capitalism as we know it," the United States as the leader and most successful exponent of democratic capitalism comes center stage. Indeed, as early in the war as the 1960s, when Jesuits in the United States established a "Jesuit national leadership project," their Working Paper was explicit about their intention to change the fundamental structure of America from that of a capitalist democracy: "We as Jesuits must recognize that we participate in many sinful structures of American society. Hence we run the risk of sin unless we work to change that."

As one swallow does not make a summer, so one McGovern—or even one "Jesuit national leadership project"—does not make a war. Its stated policy aside, in every practical sense the Society of Jesus is committed corporately to this class struggle. Its message comes today from a thousand different sources among clergymen and theologians living in the countries of democratic capitalism. It is enshrined in a totally new theology—the "Theology of Liberation"—whose handbook was written by a Peruvian Jesuit, Father Gustavo Gutierrez, and whose Hall of Fame includes a remarkable number of prominent Latin American Jesuits such as Jon Sobrino, Juan Luis Segundo, and Fernando Cardenal. Those are not household names heard on the nightly news in the USA. They are, however, men of significant international influence for the Americas and for Europe.

Though the movement has been global since its inception, it was above all in Latin America that the strange alliance between Jesuits and Marxists gathered its first practical momentum. It was there that this new Iesuit mission, entailing as it does nothing less than the transformation of the sociopolitical face of the West, first entangled lives far more profoundly than McGovern and theoreticians like him anticipated. Quickly, scores of Jesuits began to work with the passion and zeal that has always been so typical of them, for the success of the Sandinocommunists in Nicaragua; and, when the Sandinistas took power, those same Jesuits entered crucial posts in the central government, and attracted others to join at various regional levels. In other Central American countries, meanwhile, Jesuits not only participated in guerrilla training of Marxist cadres, but some became guerrilla fighters themselves. Inspired by the idealism they saw in Liberation Theology, and encouraged by the independence inherent in the new idea of the Church as a group of autonomous communities. Jesuits found that

all was permitted—even encouraged—as long as it furthered the concept of the new "people's Church."

Such men were the dream and ideal of the true Liberation Theologians. For they were the fighters, the cadres who took Liberation Theology from theory to what they called *praxis*—the implementation of the people's revolution for economic and political liberation. From that *praxis*, the Liberation Theologians insisted, from "below among the people," would come all true theology to replace the old theology once imposed autocratically "from above" by the hierarchy of the Roman Church.

The second name on that arc of the new Jesuit endeavor is James Francis Carney, S.J., a man who was the paragon of *praxis*—perhaps the most thoroughgoing if not the most famous or influential of all modern Jesuit Liberation theologians.

Carney was Chicago born and bred. He trained as a Jesuit in the Chicago Province; at the end of his Jesuit training, he volunteered for work in Central America, and was sent there in 1961. He was so taken by his stint there that he became a Honduran citizen. Over the years, Carney drank in Liberation Theology like rare wine. He became known as a champion of the poor and an acerbic, unrelenting, unmerciful critic of the governments and the established armies, particularly in Honduras. His name and activities were publicly associated with the jungle-based guerrillas. Even when a price was laid on his head by Honduran Army authorities, there was no move by Jesuit Superiors to curb Carney's guerrilla associations. Indeed, Carney was only one of several Jesuits in Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Costa Rica who were all pursuing the same course with the blessing of their local and Roman Superiors.

Sitting happily in a ramshackle, dirt-floor champa in the Nicaraguan town of Limay where he had sought temporary refuge from the guerrilla warfare in Honduras, the forty-seven-year-old Jesuit priest finished writing his autobiography by candlelight. It was March 6, 1971. By that time, Carney already had behind him ten years of hardship and labor in Central America, and he had some twelve more years to live. "Padre Lupe," as his Indians called him affectionately (it was short for Guadalupe), told the world how he had derived the three mainstays or basic truths of Liberation Theology from the writings of fellow Jesuit Juan Luis Segundo. It makes for bleak, saddening reading.

Segundo's Grace and the Human Condition showed Carney that "everything is supernatural in this world." Segundo's The

Sacraments Today revealed to Padre Lupe that "humanity is evolving a more correct idea of God." And Segundo's Evolution and Guilt taught him that "the revolutionary dialectic has to overcome the sin of conservatism of the Church."

With the saddest of loves, Lupe had already written to his family in the United States to tell them what he was going to do. The letter is reproduced in his autobiography. He had to share the revolution with his beloved Honduran campesinos because, he wrote, "I can't stand living with you in your way of life." Capitalism, he said, in whose sins all Americans were immersed, was just as heinous an evil as Communism was supposed to be. Only armed revolution could eradicate "capitalism and transnational imperialism from Central America. . . . To be a Christian is to be a revolutionary.

"We Christian-Marxists will have to fight side-by-side in Central America with the Marxists who do not believe in God, in order to form a new socialist society...a pure Central American model."

Drunk on the ignorance-laden idealism of Liberation Theologians, this Jesuit came to the belief that "a Marxist is not dogmatic, but is dialectical. A Christian does not dogmatically condemn anyone, but respects the beliefs of others. A dogmatic anticommunist Christian is not a real Christian; and a dogmatic anti-Christian Marxist is not a real Marxist."

Having invested the hard reality of Marxism as it has been known historically with an airy magic based on no three-dimensional reality, Carney sketched for his family his "pure Central American model."

"Neither communist nor capitalist . . . ," the new socialism will be "a brotherhood and sisterhood of all humanity . . . and equally a classless society. . . ." Theologically speaking, "the universe of man is in dialectical evolution towards the Kingdom of God. . . ."

Even though everyone "respects the belief of others," Carney was able to be far more honest than McGovern in recognizing that "... dialectical means conflictive, advancing by a series of struggles between people of contradictory ideologies..." In fact, Carney had become convinced that the very purpose of the dialectic of struggle was to overcome "the sin" of conservatism that is the peculiar sin of the Roman Catholic Church. God's very plan for the evolution of the world and of human society would unfold in conflict and armed revolution. The change thus brought about

would be complete; it would be at one and the same time "a cultural-spiritual" change, and an "economic-social-political change" as well.

Carney ended his autobiography with a plea to all Christians: "... get rid of any unfair and un-Christian prejudices you have against armed revolution, socialism, Marxism, and communism... There is no third way between being a Christian and being a revolutionary..."

This was the ultimate plea for praxis.

Later that spring of 1971, with the agreement of his Superiors, Carney illegally crossed the border back into Honduras to share the hit-and-run life of a guerrilla commando. It was the beginning of twelve years of gun-toting *praxis* for the "dialectical conflict" he treasured as the key to the future of Catholicism.

In agreement with his Provincial Superior, Father Jerez, who was under some pressure by then from Rome and the Vatican, Father Carney finally resigned from the Jesuits. The understanding he had with Jerez and his Superiors was that he could rejoin the Society once the struggle was over. The Society, after all, was merely a convenience. In a world where everything was already supernatural, as Padre Lupe wrote that it was for him, there was no room for any hard-and-fast rules; no room for an infallibly authoritative Roman Church. There was no need for any Church to sanctify anything because all was supernatural and therefore holy already. The Church was just another part of humanity, on a par with humanity in relation to God, learning as humanity learns, moving with humanity toward the Utopia on earth.

"It pains me," Carney wrote, "but I want to be honest and not hurt the Jesuits by joining the guerrillas as a disobedient fugitive from the Society, forcing them to expel me." As others who came after him have shown, Carney needn't have worried about disobedience or expulsion. Still, if Father Lupe had not preserved the rudiments of his Roman Catholic faith, he had at least preserved his candor, and his ability to make a clear choice.

In September 1983, Carney's ninety-man commando unit was wiped out in a battle with the Honduran troops of his long-time enemy, General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, whom he had often denounced in public. A few of his men who survived were captured and thrown into a rectangular pit in the jungle behind the Honduran military camp of *Nueva Palestina*. Was Carney one of those men? No one has ever been able to find out. Is he dead? In all likelihood. From exhaustion? At least from exhaustion. Was he interrogated? Probably. Tortured? Probably. Was he starved? Prob-

ably. Is he still alive and a prisoner somewhere in the jungle? That does not seem possible; but no definite news has ever been revealed

That's the kind of war this is. It's not even remotely about the number of angels who can dance on the head of a pin. It's a war in which blood is spilled regularly and in great quantities. Priests like Carney are not rare exceptions. Surely, they don't all write testaments of their conversion to revolutionary violence for the world to read; and not all go so far as to live the life of commando fighters. But in the many and varied roles they do play in the world's purely political arena, men such as Father Carney, S.J., each and every one of them, are essential to the success of the Jesuits in their war against the papacy.

The fact of life for Jesuits now is that our bipolar world spins inexorably around Soviet Marxist-Leninism and Western-style capitalism. The only contest that seems to matter for the Society of Jesus in this last quarter of the twentieth century is the one between those two spheres of influence. And the fact is that though the Society itself is not officially Marxist, individual Jesuits who were and are self-proclaimed Marxists—for Padre Lupe was hardly alone even in that—are not for that reason expelled from the Society or censured or silenced. Rather, the greatest pains are taken to protect them from attack. So blatant has this element become that not long ago, when Pope John Paul II met an Indian Jesuit who, as he found, was not a Marxist, he exclaimed in surprise, "So you're not all Marxists!"

The war between the papacy and the Jesuits appears, then, to be political in nature. And in one sense it is. But to assume, as many Jesuits of the new mission do, that their war against the papacy begins and ends with the Marxist-capitalist contest for power and authority and domination in the world, would be to mistake the symptoms of rot in the Society for the more basic condition that allows those symptoms to progress and multiply. For while the war they have chosen to fight takes place on the plane of geopolitics, it is also and more fundamentally a war over the question of the very existence of Spirit as the basic dimension of the world of men and women. It is about the supernatural as the element that makes each of us human and that defines our existence and our world.

At this level, the new Jesuit concepts concerning authority in the Church, and the Church's purpose in the world, represent a turnabout of the profoundest nature. For the Society of Jesus, the ultimate authority for belief and morality is no longer in the

Roman Catholic Church with its papacy and its worldwide hierarchy, but in the "people of God." The results of that exchange are that, to date, there is not one major dogma or one capital moral law of Roman Catholicism that has not been both challenged and denied by individual Jesuits, beginning with Jesuits of the highest rank and the most honored stature.

They have been imitated and joined by myriad groups, both Catholic and non-Catholic, with most diverse reasons for championing this new church, the "people of God," over the Roman Catholic hierarchic Church. But it is they, the Jesuits, who blazed the trail, and who have set the highest and the most consistent examples in this changed attitude about the Roman Pontiff and Rome's defined dogmas.

The theologian-teacher in this war—and the third name on that arc of the new Jesuit endeavor—is the man accepted and celebrated as the greatest Jesuit theologian in one hundred years, Karl Rahner, S.J. Rahner spent a lifetime of effort—carefully at first, but more and more stridently as time went on—to change Catholic belief. While Rahner did not work in lonely fields, his stature, his uncaring boldness, and his success mark him as the leader in what can be aptly described as the wolf-pack of Catholic theologians who, since 1965, have lacerated and shredded not merely the flanks but the very substance of Catholicism.

Rahner was as different from his fellow Jesuit James Carney as cold is from heat. The contrast between the two men is the best illustration of the old saying that an idea may light a blazing inferno in the hearts of some men, but it explodes in the brains of others. While Carney was an impulsive and passionate doer, Rahner was the musing, reflective, deadpan intellectual. Where Carney could write illogically but emotionally to justify his actions in the eyes of his family, and then count on their love alone to accept him as he was, Rahner wrote and lectured and conversed with subtle logic and passionless mind to unlimber the dearest held tenets of faith in the minds of his readers and listeners.

Carney railed at injustice, revolted against oppression, cried out painfully over human misery. His ammunition and weapons were not only bullets and guns, but his profound compassion, his wrath at injustice, and his congenital refusal to make the slightest compromise. It was his heart in overwhelming agony that guided his judgment.

Rahner, on the other hand, trained the heavy artillery of his logic and his vast reputation as a theologian on the sacrosanct

authority of Popes. He chose the long-accepted, immemorial formulas of belief as his targets. He had other weapons than Carney did at his disposal: the keenest of minds, a truly encyclopedic knowledge, an ever-ready and acerbic humor, and an indomitable arrogance of intellect. "I will not suffer injustice," was Carney's cry. "I will not serve," was Rahner's.

At a critical and painful moment in the modern history of the papacy, Rahner refused point-blank to defend either Catholic teaching on contraception or the Pontiff who asked Jesuits as "Pope's Men" to help him in his desperation. It was the same with virtually all the other dogmas and rules of the Catholic Church which Rahner had sworn to uphold.

Yet his voice seemed so authentic that he was taken by many to be more authoritative than three successive Popes when it came to interpreting the moral teaching of the Catholic Church. Rahner himself went to great pains to fulfill this role of a modern prophet. As he traveled in Europe and the Americas dressed in his correct business suits, he was untiring in his biting and sarcastic criticism of the papacy and Roman authority.

In Unity of the Churches: An Actual Possibility, the last book he wrote before his death in 1984, Rahner gave the most telling and overt presentation ever made of the accepted new Jesuit attitude about the papacy and the defined dogmas of his Church. Working with a Jesuit colleague and coauthor, Heinrich Fries, and with the imprimatur of his Jesuit Superiors, Rahner made a sweeping and outrageously anti-Roman proposal. To achieve Christian unity, he said, it was necessary to drop all insistence on papal infallibility as a dogma, and to drop insistence as well on all other doctrines about the Roman Pontiff and Roman Catholicism that had been defined and proposed by Popes since the fourth century.

In effect, Rahner was proposing that the Catholic Church officially take the entire body of rules concerning faith and morals as developed and taught by his Church for sixteen centuries, and unhinge them from everyday life. Marriage, homosexuality, business ethics, human liberty, piety, every sphere of human existence, were all to be set adrift on the ever-changing tides of redefinition. But the dogmas of the Church would be the prime casualties. For what the Church has defined as basic and obligatory for Catholic belief would, in Rahner's plan, become optional. The integrity of Christ's person; the meaning and value of the Seven Sacraments; the existence of Heaven and Hell; the divine character of the authority of bishops; the truth of the Bible; the primacy

and infallibility of the Pope; the character of priesthood; the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of Mary, Christ's mother—all would be up for ecumenical grabs.

Over and above all of that, however, stood Rahner's principal targets, the roadblocks that stood in the way of everything else: the papal authority he wished dismantled and the hierarchic Roman Catholic Church he wished to see reduced to one more idiosyncratic expression of Christ's message. In other words, the practical authority and the spiritual purpose of the Church—always the real issues in the war between papacy and Jesuits—would be rejected and replaced by whatever authority and materialistic mission might be in vogue.

On the merely personal level, one must reasonably surmise a total failure of Catholic faith in Rahner. But it is less the condition of Rahner's soul that is at stake, than the practical influence he and many other like-minded theologians have on life as it is lived in our world.

To say that Rahner—and Fries as a secondary coauthor—was only expressing the antipapal sentiment that was very current among Catholic theologians by 1984 is not to tell the half of the ruin wreaked by him. Rahner, occupied in teaching theology at a prestigious Jesuit university for the major portion of his life, became over the years an icon of theological wisdom and good judgment for literally thousands who, in their turn, are now priests, professors, and writers with command and influence and renown of their own.

Admittedly, such work seems to many to take place in ivory towers. But such men as Karl Rahner have helped mightily to mold the thinking and the mores of priests and bishops who are now engaged at every level of worldly matters in every part of the globe. And once they become convinced, even on a purely personal plane, that the Rahners in the Church are right and that the papacy is wrong, there is no chance at all that the conflict can remain theoretical. Instead, it reaches into the deepest areas of thought and belief and feelings of millions who are dragged by the heart—and by the direct or indirect influence of theologians like Rahner—into a world where the nature, the meaning, and the most basic purpose of their lives as Christians are redefined in a purely rational and materialistic setting.

Without such a giant as Karl Rahner, one doubts if Liberation Theology would do much more than creak and teeter and collapse; or that a Francis Carney would have been so uncritical of the

writings of Juan Luis Segundo. Nevertheless, it must be said that Rahner was not an inventor; nor were the men of his generation who were his tintypes. Rahner did not himself initiate the huge theological turnabout in the Society of Jesus or in the Roman Church. His importance was not as innovator, but as faithful and effective evangelist for a pernicious and destructive influence that had already been spreading covertly within the Society of Jesus for decades before he came on the scene. Whether lecturing in Europe or ferrying over to the Americas, clad in his acquired prestige, unassailable in his authoritativeness, presenting always the unbeautiful face of the materialist, quick in any bout of infighting, and bowing to no one, Rahner was the apt point man for Catholic self-cannibalism. He taught several generations how to consume their own faith with logic, skepticism, and disobedience.

So single-minded was his devotion to the antipapal and anti-Catholic point of view that he became its incarnation, as one might say. And yet so effective was he in maintaining his own theological stature within the Society of Jesus that he gave that point of view a new respectability, both inside and outside the Society and the Church. No Jesuit Superior, either in his own country or in Rome, ever curbed him. Having been flesh-and-blood proof of the strange corruption that had set into the Society, Rahner died as he had lived, in an aura of honor among his colleagues and Superiors.

For all their differences, the three men sketched here—the sociopolitical scientist, the devoted guerrilla, and the theologianteacher—typify inclusively the aberration of the Society.

Certainly, at this moment in time, the Society of Jesus is not alone in the war against the papacy. It has been imitated and joined by many groups—Catholic and non-Catholic, religious and secular—each with its own reasons for championing the idea that a new church, the "people of God," has replaced the old, hierarchic Roman Catholic Church. But it was the Jesuits who blazed that trail; it is they who have set the highest and most consistent examples of this changed attitude about the Roman Pontiff and Rome's defined dogmas; and it is they who continue to labor at the farthest reaches of what one can only call divine politics.

And so it was that the present Father General of the Society of Jesus, Piet-Hans Kolvenbach, was able to face the Jesuits who elected him as head of the Order in 1983—the year James Francis Carney was gobbled up in a jungle battle; the year before Karl Rahner went back to God—and promise with solemn confidence

that, among other things, his job would be to ensure their chosen Jesuit quest for justice, and not to be distracted by the "groaning complaints of popes."

When you speak about the Society of Jesus today being at war with the papacy, and even before you realize what a strange and distressing turnaround that is for a body of men whose prime claim to fame has been their achievements and reputation as "Pope's Men," you must not think that this Religious Order of Jesuits is just one more human organization. So many such organizations have their heyday, then decline, ossify, and eventually disappear.

The Society of Jesus was started in 1540 by an obscure Basque named Iñigo de Loyola, better known as Ignatius of Loyola. You cannot place Iñigo's Jesuits on a par with any other organization for the simple reason that no single organization we know of has yet rivaled the Jesuits in the immeasurable services they have rendered to the human family—over and above what they did on behalf of the papacy and the papacy's Roman Catholic Church.

Iñigo was a rare genius. If Leonardo Da Vinci, Iñigo's contemporary, had designed a machine right down to its nuts and bolts that had withstood every test of time and changing circumstance over a period of 425 years—and if only a dismantling of his original design had provoked that machine's collapse—it would not be a greater marvel than the Society Iñigo designed. For, as he built it—the mold of its Jesuitism, its functional structure, its devotion to the papacy, its character and goals—the Society has withstood every test of time and circumstance except one: the perversion of the rule, role, and spirit he assigned it. Otherwise, its quite extraordinary durability has been proven.

Not even Iñigo could have foreseen the quasi-miracle of his Society's organization, its meteoric and brilliant success, and its universal influence on the world of man, when he founded it. For the next 425 years the tens of thousands who joined Iñigo's Company established a record that in its own category stands unmatched in past or present history—a record both for services to the Roman Church and to human society at large.

Looking backward, a twentieth-century genius-like zealot, Lenin, misguided but admiring, swore at the end of his life that if he had had twelve men like one of those early Jesuits, his Communism would have swept the world.

Though few in number, the basic principles that Iñigo had set forth for his Company were powerful catalysts. Once his men

harnessed their energies within his organization to the worldwide work of the Roman Church, they produced a unique phenomenon of human history. "Never," wrote the eighteenth-century German theorist Novalis, "never before in the course of the world's history had such a Society appeared. The old Roman Senate itself did not lay schemes for world domination with greater certainty of success. Never had the carrying out of a greater idea been considered with greater understanding. For all time, this Society will be an example to every society which feels an organic longing for infinite extension and eternal duration. . . ."

"The more universal your work," Iñigo had said, "the more divine it becomes." Within thirty years of his founding the Order, his Jesuits were working in every continent and at practically every form of apostolate and educational field. Within one hundred years, the Jesuits were a force to be reckoned with in practically any walk of life along which men seek and sometimes secure power and glory.

There was no continent Jesuits did not reach; no known language they did not speak and study, or, in scores of cases, develop; no culture they did not penetrate; no branch of learning and science they did not explore; no work in humanism, in the arts, in popular education they did not undertake and do better than anyone else; no form of death by violence they did not undergo— Iesuits were hanged, drawn, and quartered in London; disemboweled in Ethiopia; eaten alive by Iroquois Indians in Canada; poisoned in Germany; flayed to death in the Middle East; crucified in Thailand: starved to death in South America: beheaded in Japan: drowned in Madagascar; bestialized in the Soviet Union. In that first four hundred years, they gave the Church 38 canonized saints, 134 holy men already declared "Blessed" by the Roman Church, 36 already declared "Venerable," and 115 considered to have been "Servants of God." Of these, 243 were martyrs; that is, they were put to death for their beliefs.

They lived among and adapted to Chinese mandarins, North American Indians, the brilliant royal courts of Europe, the Hindu Brahmans of India, the "hedgerow" schools of penal Ireland, the slave ships of the Ottomans, the Imams and Ulema of Islam, the decorum and learning of Oxford dons, and the multiform primitive societies of sub-Saharan Africa.

And, in the long catalog of insults and calumnies men have devised in order to revile their enemies, no name was bad enough to call the Jesuits because of that fearsome fixation they had from their first beginnings for another of Iñigo's principles: to be

"Pope's Men"; the Pope's men. Iñigo de Loyola, Thomas Carlyle wrote, was "the poison fountain from which all the rivers of bitterness that now submerged the world have flowed."

Such insults have been enshrined in the very languages of men. Webster's Third New International Dictionary, having given the basic meaning of Jesuit as a member of the Order, then supplies the negative meanings: "one given to intrigue or equivocation; a crafty person"; terms that are amplified by Dornseif's Dictionary into "two-faced, false, insidious, dissembling, perfidious . . . insincere, dishonorable, dishonest, untruthful." A French proverb states that "Whenever two Jesuits come together, the Devil always makes three." A Spanish proverb admonished people not "to trust a monk with your wife or a Jesuit with your money."

The perennial enemies of the papacy never could forgive Iñigo and his Jesuits as long as they were on the Pope's mission, fulfilling that sacred oath of obedience even unto disgrace and death. It was all according to Iñigo's express wish. "Let us hope," he once wrote, "that the Order may never be left untroubled by the hostility of the world for very long."

In truth, his wish was fulfilled, for his Jesuits were Pope's Men. Their first main targets: the new Protestant churches pullulating throughout Europe. Precisely, the vital issue at stake between the Catholic Church and the leaders of the Protestant revolt—Luther, Calvin, Henry VIII of England—was the authority of the Roman Pontiff and the preeminent primacy of his Roman Catholic Church.

The Jesuits carried the battle right into the territories of these papal enemies. They waged public controversies with kings, they debated in Protestant universities, they preached at crossroads and in marketplaces. They addressed municipal councils, they instructed Church Councils. They infiltrated hostile territories in disguise, and moved around underground. They were everywhere, showering their contemporaries with brilliance, with wit, with acerbity, with learning, with piety. Their constant theme: "The Bishop of Rome is successor to Peter the Apostle upon whom Christ founded his Church. . . . That Church is a hierarchy of bishops in communion with that Bishop in Rome. . . . Any other churchly institution is rank heresy, the child of Satan. . . ."

Everyone was aware of the Jesuits, in other words; and everyone knew the Jesuits were the single-minded champions of that authority and primacy.

While the Jesuit onslaught against the enemies of Rome was

mighty, their pervasive influence on Roman Catholicism itself has never been equalled. They had a monopoly in the education of Europe for over two hundred years, and numbered the famous and infamous in their worldwide alumni-Voltaire, Luis Buñuel, Fidel Castro, and Alfred Hitchcock included. Alone, they literally remolded the teaching of Roman Catholic theology and philosophy so that it became clear and accessible once again, even to the new mentality of the dawning and turbulent age. They provided novel means for the practice of popular piety. They advanced the study of asceticism and mysticism and missiology. They provided fresh models for seminary training of priests. They spawned, by example and by the inspiration of their own Religious Rule, a whole new family of Religious Orders. They were the first body of Catholic Scholars who became preeminent in secular sciences—mathematics, physics, astronomy, archeology, linguistics, biology, chemistry, zoology, paleography, ethnography, genetics. The list of inventions and scientific discoveries by Jesuits had filled endless numbers of volumes in the most diverse fields—mechanical engineering, hydraulic power, airflight, oceanography, hypnosis, crystals, comparative linguistics, atomic theory, internal medicine, sunspots, hearing aids, alphabets for the deaf and dumb, cartography. The list from which these random samples are taken numbs the mind by its all-inclusive variety. Their manuals, textbooks, treatises, and studies were authoritative in every branch of Catholic and secular learning.

They were giants, but with one purpose: the defense and propagation of papal authority and papal teaching.

Nor were their amazing energies and talents confined to science. They made every field of art theirs as well. By 1773, they had 350 theaters in Europe, and Jesuit theatricals laid the first foundation for modern ballet. They founded the first theater on the North American continent—actually in Quebec—in 1640. They taught France how to make porcelain. They brought back to Europe the first acquaintance Western men got of Indian and Chinese culture. They translated the Sanskrit Vedas. Even the *chinoiseries* of the rococo period were derived from Jesuit Chinese publications. The umbrella, vanilla, rhubarb, camelia, and quinine were Jesuit innovations in Europe.

The exploits of Jesuits as Far Eastern explorers and missioners outdid anything even dreamed of by their contemporaries, and constitute a heroic tale that tastes of the almost magical. The names of Jesuits will be forever linked with places that for most of us are the stuff of fantasy—Kambaluc, Cathay, Sarkand, Shrinagar,

Tcho Lagram, Tcho Mapang, Manasarovar, Tashi-Ihumpo, Koko Nor, and the long-leaping name Chomolongmo (known to us as Mount Everest).

Less than one hundred years after the founding of the Society, Jesuits became the first Europeans to penetrate Tibet and then proceed on to China. Jesuit Father Matteo Ricci was the first person to prove that Marco Polo's Cathay was identical with China and not a different country. In 1626, Father Antonio Andrade and Brother Manuel Marquis opened the first Catholic Church in Tibet on the banks of the Sutlej River in the Kingdom of Guge at Tsaparang. Brother Benito de Goes lies buried at the northwest terminus of the Great Wall of China. The grave of Brother Manuel Marquis is 25,447/7,756 Kamet, capstone of the Zaskar Range overlooking the Mana pass in western Tibet where the good Brother died in 1647 after a long imprisonment at the frontier post.

Other Jesuits—Austrians and Belgians—were the first Europeans to reach Lhasa on October 8, 1661, and witnessed the construction of the Potala Palace for Dalai Lama Chenresik. Father Grueber, an Austrian, was the first to determine Lhasa's position accurately at 29 degrees 06 minutes north latitude. He and his companions were succeeded by a line of distinguished Jesuit Tibetologists who produced dictionaries, language studies, maps, geological studies, and theological treatises. Their graves, like those of Benito de Goes and Manuel Marquis, dot an area that was as remote and forbidding to their contemporaries as the other side of the moon still remains for us.

These men and their Religious colleagues elsewhere were not merely "the lonely and the brave" celebrated in a stage drama of the 1940s. They were not befuddled in mind between the dimensions of Religious Poverty and economic poverty as so many Jesuits have become in the final decades of this century. They were not aiming at some foggy, this-worldly goal such as the "integral liberation of the human individual." They were giants who, proportionately speaking, rivaled the later exploits of Scott and Perry at the Poles, Hilary on Mount Everest, and the first astronauts in space and on the moon. But more than that, they were Jesuit missionaries obedient to the voice of the Roman Pontiff, living and working and dying in fidelity to him, because he represented Peter the Apostle who represented the Christ they believed was Savior.

At the height of their efforts, two hundred years after their founding, the Jesuits had a formative and decisive hand in the education and science of practically every country in Europe and

Latin America. They had a part to play in every political alliance in Europe—an influential post with every government, an advisory capacity with every great man and each powerful woman. A Jesuit was the first Westerner to frequent the court of the Great Mogul. Another was the first to be declared an official Mandarin at the Beijing Emperor's palace. Oliver Cromwell, Philip II of Spain, Louis XIV of France, Catherine the Great, Cardinal Richelieu, Queen Cristina of Sweden, Mary Queen of Scots, Napoleon, Washington, Garibaldi, Mussolini, Chiang-Kai-Shek-the list of history's greats frequented by Jesuits stretches on for pages. They drafted treaties, negotiated peace pacts, mediated between warring armies, arranged royal marriages, went on hazardous rescue missions, lived where they were not welcome as underground agents of the Holy See. They passed as pig farmers in Ireland, bazaaris in Persia, businessmen in Prussia, clowns in England, merchant seamen in Indonesia, beggars in Calcutta, swamis in Bombay. There was nothing anywhere they would not undertake, as they said. "for the greater Glory of God," under obedience to the Roman Pope. They were in every European, African, Asian, and American country where the slightest burgeoning of Catholicism was possible. All their influence was wielded in pursuit of the papal will. To be a Jesuit was to be a papist in the strict sense of that once opprobrious term.

The worldwide power of the Jesuits became so great that the ordinary people of Rome invented a new title for the Jesuit Father General. "The Black Pope," they called him, comparing his global power and influence with that of the Pope himself; and distinguishing between the two only on the basis of the Pontiff's all-white robes as against the simple black cassock of the ordinary priest that Iñigo's successors wore in imitation of his example. That popular nickname was an exaggeration, of course. But the Romans were near enough to the center of things to know who wielded an impressive part of the real power residing on Vatican Hill.

As Iñigo had intended, that power of "the Black Pope" and his Company was harnessed to papal will, even unto the death of the Order itself. In 1773, when Pope Clement XIV decided—correctly or incorrectly—that a stark choice had to be made between the extinction of the papacy or the death of the Jesuit Order, he alone and by his own personal decision abolished the Society of Jesus. By an officially published document, he disbanded the 23,000 Jesuits altogether, and he put their Father General and his advisers

into papal dungeons, even as he imposed exile and slow death on thousands of Jesuits who were stranded without help or support in dangerous parts of the world.

Pope Clement did not explain his decision to the Jesuits or anyone else. "The reasons [for this decision] We keep locked up in Our Own heart," he wrote. Nevertheless, the Jesuits obeyed, collaborating obediently in the death of their Order.

Forty-one years later, in 1814, Pope Pius VII decided the papacy needed the Company, so he resurrected them. The revivified Jesuits started off again, with renewed zeal for the papal will, and made a huge commitment of men and labor to ensure that the First Vatican Council in 1870 would decree that the infallible authority of the Pope was an article of faith and a divinely revealed dogma.

That effort was so trenchant and successful, and so odious to many, that it won for the postsuppression Jesuits a new epithet; they were "Ultra-Montanes"—people who backed that hateful Bishop who lived "beyond the mountains" (the Alps) down in Rome. The contempt in that abusive name is a clear pointer to what the Jesuits championed as vigorously as they always had: the old Roman Catholic belief that by divine decree the man who in himself carried all the authority of Christ in the Church was to be identified by a physical link with one geographical location on the face of this earth—the city of Rome. That man would always be the legal Bishop of Rome. And personal Vicar of Christ.

The fresh enemies of that belief lived mainly in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and England. They were bishops, priests, theologians, and philosophers. Speaking from their side of the Alps, they called themselves "Cis-Montanes" (people on "this side of the mountains," the northern side), and opposed the authority and primacy of the Roman Bishop.

That Roman Catholicism centered on the Roman Pope flourished and maintained itself in western Europe until the last quarter of the twentieth century was mainly due to these "Pope's men"—to their zeal, their devotion to that papal mission, their learning, and the evolution they instigated in the Roman Catholic mind. For into any area they touched, the Jesuits introduced a note of reason, of rational discourse, and they leavened it with a shining, muscular faith.

Simply put, they took the mentality of Catholics in the sixteenth century by storm. That mentality had all its moorings in a prescientific, prenaturalistic sphere. Over a space of four hundred years, with their own entombment in between, the Jesuits changed all that. By their educational methods, their researches, and their

intellectual intrepidity, they made it possible for Roman Catholics to hold their own, as believing and faithful men and women, in the ocean of new ideas and fresh technology that began in the 1770s and has never stopped since.

Periodically, in their more than four-hundred-year existence, the Jesuits were expelled and banned from various countries—France, Germany, Austria, England, Belgium, Mexico, Sweden, Switzerland. So synonymous had the name of Jesuit become with papal authority, that their expulsion was always a clear signal that the government of that country was determined to eliminate the authority and jurisdiction of the Roman Pope. And when brute force was used against them, they went underground or packed their bags and departed, to await the day they could return. They always returned. Even when matters did not go as far as downright expulsion, no one had any illusion as to what they represented—the papacy—and often the Jesuit function for the papacy was twisted by their enemies. In early nineteenth-century America, Protestant opposition and hatred of Jesuits was pithily expressed: "They [the Jesuits] will bring Rome to rule the Union."

That identification with and devotion to the papacy had been the will and intent of Ignatius, their founder; and it was the condition on which the papacy had consented to bring the Society of Iesus into existence. In life and death, the Iesuits indeed wrote history as "Pope's Men"-whether it was Jesuit Father Peter Claver wearing out his existence among South American slaves; or Father Matteo Ricci becoming a genuine Mandarin at the Imperial Court of Beijing; or Father Peter Canisius, the Hammer of the Heretics, reclaiming whole provinces and cities from Protestantism by his tireless, incessant traveling, preaching, and writing; or Father Walter Ciszek languishing in the Soviet Gulag for seventeen years; or Father Jacquineau mediating between warring Japanese and Chinese over Hong Kong; or Father Augustin Bea traveling clandestinely throughout the length and breadth of the Soviet Union in Stalin's day to get an accurate picture of conditions for the Holy See; or Father Tacchi Venturi ferrying negotiations between Dictator Benito Mussolini and Pope Pius XII.

No matter who or where they were or what they did, inherent in the mind of each Jesuit was that holy structure of Christ's Church, anchored by Jesus on his personal Vicar, the Pope, and held together by the hierarchy of bishops and priests, religious and lay people in union with that personal Vicar of Christ. And no matter the year or the century in which he worked, each Jesuit knew that the Catholic Church he had vowed to serve under the

Pope was the same Church that had existed in the sixth century under Gregory the Great, in the eleventh century under Innocent IX, and in 1540 under Paul III.

Indeed, what held their will to their work over great distances of space and time was the fabled Jesuit attachment of obedience, consecrated by their special vow: that all and every work they undertook would be under papal obedience.

For the enemies of the Jesuits, meanwhile, it was that very service of and obedience to the papacy that was the Jesuit abomination. Their critics never ceased accusing the Jesuits of having distorted humanist philosophy. But French writer F. R. de Chateaubriand, himself no friend of the Society, was quite accurate in his judgment when he said that "the slight injury which philosophy thinks it has suffered from the Jesuits" is not worth remembering in view of "the immeasurable services which the Jesuits have rendered to human society."

The mind and the outlook evolved by the Jesuits reached its highest flowering in the first half of the twentieth century. As a result of their efforts, there took place a pseudo-Renaissance of social and cultural Catholicism, making it possible for Catholics to be scientists, technologists, psychologists, sociologists, political scientists, leaders, artists, scholars, holding their own even in the newest branches of knowledge, yet reconciling all of it with their rock-solid belief. Testimony to all of this lies in many things—in the poetry and literature of a G. K. Chesterton and a Paul Claudel; in the militant sociology of French, German, Belgian, and Italian Catholics between the two world wars; in the flowering missiology that transformed the mission fields of Asia and Africa; in the redoubtable school of apologetics in Europe and the United States; in the standardization of popular devotions and ecclesial regulation; in the vibrant Catholicism of the United States; and not least in the grudging but finally conceded respect, both from anti-Catholic and non-Catholic, that was evident for Catholicism in the world of the 1950s.

During the time of its greatest flowering, in the first half of the twentieth century, Jesuit numbers reached their apogee—about 36,038—of whom at least one-fifth were missionaries. Jesuit influence on papal policy was never before (or since) greater; and Jesuit prestige among Catholics and non-Catholics was never higher.

Yet, already some inner rot was corroding both Jesuits and the Catholic ecclesial body. Some hidden cancer planted decades before within these bodies had gone neutral, but not benign.

Occasional symptoms betrayed its presence—sometime revolts by Jesuit scholars on an individual basis; now and again, flagrant abuses in liturgy by individual groups; rarely but regularly, the confusion between spiritual activity and political advantage. But nothing that happened foretold the violent change that awaited the Church, the papacy, and the Jesuits in the 1960s.

In full view of that unparalleled achievement, it becomes fascinating to examine what sort of character the Society of Jesus developed during its centuries-long effort, and why or how in the twentieth century it changed from its original purpose. Not that this is the first time that one or another group in the Church has broken ranks and declared war on the papacy. But it is the first time that the Society of Jesus has turned on the papacy with the clear intent to undo the papacy's prerogatives, to dilute the hierarchic government of the Catholic Church, and to create a novel Church structure; and it is the first time that the Society of Jesus both corporately and in its individual members has undertaken a sociopolitical mission.

Iñigo founded his "Company of Jesus," as he originally called it, for one purpose: to be defender of the Church and the papacy. The Pope who brought the Order into official existence in the sixteenth century made that purpose the mission of the Society and the reason for its existence. As an institution, it has always been bound to the papacy. Its Professed members have always been bound to the Pope by a sacred oath of absolute obedience. For 425 years, they stood at the papacy's side, fought its battles, taught its doctrines, suffered its defeats, defended its positions, shared its power, were attacked by its enemies, and constantly promoted its interests all over the globe. They were regarded by many as they regarded themselves, as "Pope's Men"; and the many extraordinary privileges granted by Popes over the centuries were as badges of the trust the papacy placed in the Society.

Never, it can be said, did the Society of Jesus as a body veer from that mission until 1965. In that year, the Second Vatican Council ended the last of its four sessions; and Pedro de Arrupe y Gondra was elected to be the 27th Father General of the Jesuits. Under Arrupe's leadership, and in the heady expectation of change sparked by the Council itself, the new outlook—antipapal and sociopolitical in nature—that had been flourishing in a covert fashion for over a century was espoused by the Society as a corporate body.

The rapid and complete turnabout of the Society in its mission

and in its reason for being was no accident or happenstance. It was a deliberate act, for which Arrupe as Father General provided inspiring, enthusiastic, and wily leadership.

Perceptions, however, especially in matters of great religious institutions, do not change easily or quickly. The reputation earned by the Society over hundreds of years was the best camouflage behind which to build the new and very different Society that has come into existence over the past twenty years. In effect, the past and glorious history of the Society has seemed to render present deeds invisible, and to make it possible for the new Jesuit leadership to present its new outlook to the world as the latest and finest expression of Ignatian spirituality and loyalty.

For the general mass of Catholics, clerical and lay alike, it was unthinkable that the Jesuits, of all people, would propagate a new idea of the Church; or that they would wage war with even one Pope, let alone three, by denigrating him, deceiving him, disobeying him, waiting for each to die in turn in the hope that the next Pope would leave them with a free hand.

Inevitably, the Jesuit war against the papacy has intensified during the pontificate of Karol Wojtyla as John Paul II. This charismatic, stubborn-minded man came to the papacy with his vivid experience of Marxists in Poland. Everything about him—but especially his aims, his policy, and his strategy as Pope—spoke of a sharp departure from everything that had been in vogue in Rome since the late 1950s.

From the moment of his election, it was clear that John Paul was opposed by many in the Vatican bureaucracy he inherited. What was less clear, even to seasoned Vatican observers, was that he was also deeply opposed, and his authority was to be violently challenged as a matter of policy, by the Society of Jesus.

Nothing John Paul has tried since he came to the Chair of Peter in 1978—and he has tried everything from persuasion to confrontation to direct intervention—has dissipated or even softened the resolute Jesuit stance against him. Thus far, the Jesuits have eluded the Pontiff's efforts to corral them; and their example is still being followed on an ever-wider scale.

But as the Society is learning, this Polish Pope is not another Paul VI. He refuses to throw up his hands in utter despair. On the contrary, he has just opened a new campaign in the war, this time on a battlefield of his own choosing.

As John Paul is learning, the Jesuits will be as clever and as witted in their answer to each new papal offensive as they have always been in everything they have done. In fact, it was the Jesu-

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its, not the papacy, who fired the first salvo in the latest direct confrontation, in an effort to take the initiative away from the papacy and the Roman hierarchy.

Whatever the outcome of this latest campaign, and of others that are sure to follow, there can be no doubt that during our lifetime what the papacy stands for has become unacceptable to the Jesuits; and that what the Society of Jesus has lately come to stand for is inimical and therefore unacceptable to the papacy.

Yet, despite the fact that each now stands at the opposite pole from the other, there still remain powerful similarities between the papacy and the Society—similarities that will mean the war between them will be lethal at a level and to a degree that few wars are.

The first and most powerful similarity is the ineradicable sense of divine mission that is the driving instinct in both papacy and Jesuits. Each of them claims to be acting solely for the worldwide commonweal of God's people, and for the exaltation of the Church Christ founded on Peter.

A second is that, as organizations of manpower and equipment, each has a grip on the levers of immense worldly power. Each applies its energies and resources to specific situations with particular, concrete, and defined ends in view, year in and year out.

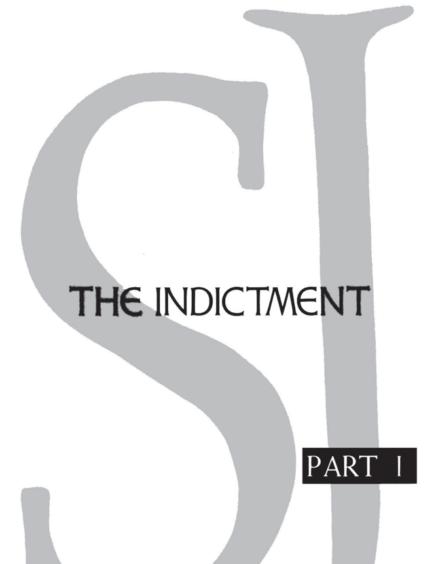
Nevertheless—and this is yet a third similarity—amid the passion and seeming confusion that always accompany human activity, both papacy and Jesuits perform on a passionless and universal plane, with motives that do not permit the vulnerability of human feelings. Both grasp at the value of the present, passing moment. But both have hoary memories; both constantly measure their plans and actions against a template of the future they wish to see realized; and both assume that time is on their side. Plenty of time.

It is on this capital point of time that the inevitable outcome of all the battles can best be glimpsed. For in the Roman Catholic perspective—and in the perspective of classic Ignatian Jesuitism as well—there is another dimension, another condition of human existence, that overshadows this war between the papacy and the Society: Two cosmic powers—intelligent good and intelligent evil, personified in God and Lucifer—are locked in a life-and-death struggle for the allegiance of all human beings. That struggle becomes tangible—can be tracked and identified—only in the multiple details of complex human situations. But by the same token, everything tangible, each and every human situation, is colored by what is transhuman and eternal.

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It is ultimately on that plane that the war between the papacy and the Society of Jesus is being fought. And on that plane, it is the papacy alone that has the divine promise of time.

On the plane we occupy as viewers of contemporary events, we are unable to foresee what seeds of good may sprout in what we must sum up as a disaster area. We are too near those events. We lack perspective—as well as foreknowledge. We see through the glass of history darkly. We cannot therefore know what changes could come about for the Society of Jesus, if all the present extremisms in the Jesuit Order were cut off—the obvious extremisms being the abandonment of basic Roman Catholic teaching, the replacement of it with sociopolitical solutions, and the inevitably consequent abandonment of the prime Jesuit vocation to be "Pope's Men." Such a reform of the Society and a new adhesion to its original charism seems, humanly speaking, unlikely when even a mild indictment of its latterday condition is reviewed.



1 PAPAL OBJECTIONS

very Pope worth his salt sets a dominant strategy for his papacy. He formulates many policies, pursues various particular aims: but all policies and each single aim are framed within the scope of that strategy.

The Society of Jesus was established by the papacy in 1540 as a very special "fighting unit" at the total and exclusive disposal of the Roman Pope—whoever he might be. From their beginnings, the Jesuits were conceived in a military mode. Soldiers of Christ, they were given only two purposes: to propagate the religious doctrine and the moral law of the Roman Catholic Church as proposed and taught by the Roman Pope, and to defend the rights and prerogatives of that same Roman Pope. Purely spiritual and supernatural purposes. And specifically Roman Catholic. Surprisingly enough, given this mandate of the Society, papal strategy itself has become the wedge of separation between Jesuits and papacy—indeed, the very arena where the lethal battle between the two is being fought.

Pius XII, Pope from 1939 to 1958, had found himself in a new world dominated by two rival superpowers, one of which—the USSR—he held in anathema. His postwar policy was one of intractable opposition to Soviet Marxism, and of support for "Western" civilization, centered in Europe and protected by the United States.

John XXIII, Pope from 1958 to 1963, was convinced that an "open windows, open fields" policy would induce others—including the Soviets—to refashion their own attitudes and policies. Pope John lowered as many barriers between the Church and the world—including the Soviet Union—as he could in his short, action-packed pontificate. He even went so far as to guarantee the USSR immunity from attacks by the Church, a stunning reversal of papal attitudes.

It was a huge gamble. And it could only work if an adequate amount of goodwill reigned among his opposite numbers.

The gamble failed. The great poignancy was that when he died, Pope John, peasant-realist that he was, knew that his openness had been seen as weakness, and had been taken advantage of by men of much smaller spirit.

Pope Paul VI, 1963–1978, blind to the deficiencies of John's policy, further refined it. The Holy See became nothing less than a plaintiff at the bar of Soviet power, pleading on diplomatic grounds for a hearing; instituting cautious conversations; practicing the week-kneed art of concessionary approaches—and even stooping to mean-spirited deception and betrayal of the admittedly difficult Primate of Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty, in order to please the Soviets and their castrated Hungarian surrogate, Janos Kadar.¹

In all of this, Paul VI, personally the gentlest of all modern Popes, unwittingly compromised his papal authority. His grand strategy for his Church was taken over and prostituted by others, reducing him to an impotence that scarred his last disease-ridden years until his death on August 6, 1978.

Still, it was Paul VI who, very late in the day of his papacy, realized that the original dual purpose of the Society of Jesus had been changed. Under his pontificate, an extensive critical dossier about the Society was compiled. It is enough for the moment to say of that dossier that its contents were damning. It was a portrait, in effect, of a Jesuit Order that, like a weathervane atop a roof, had been turned by a different wind. For Jesuits, the papacy no longer held primacy of position. The corporate aim of the Society was now to place itself and the Church at the disposal of a radical and purely sociopolitical change in the world, without reference to—indeed, in defiance of—papal strategy, policies, and aims.

In 1973, Paul VI, alarmed more than ever by the way the Society's members were behaving, tried to stop the onrush of events. He met with the head of the Order, Jesuit Father General Pedro Arrupe, several times. More than a few of those interviews be-

tween the two men were stormy. More than once, Paul wanted Arrupe to resign. One way or the other, Arrupe survived all papal attacks. Paul VI did insist that Arrupe convey to his Jesuits "Our demand that the Jesuits remain loyal to the Pope." Arrupe and his assistants in Rome at that time were intent on preparing for another international assembly of the Order, a General Congregation, as such an assembly is called. So he bought time, valuable time. Paul, in his weakness, could find no alternative but to wait.

Paul did make one last but equally ineffective attempt to recall the allegiance of the Society to the papacy during the ninety-six-day international assembly of Jesuit leaders, the 32nd General Congregation of 1974–1975. His effort met with total incomprehension and stubborn—some said even self-righteous—opposition from the Order. Pope and Jesuits simply could not agree. The Jesuits would not obey. Paul was too weak to force the issue farther.

"When you have people [the Jesuits]," wrote Jesuit Father M. Buckley about Paul's attitude to that 32nd General Congregation, "who do not think they have made errors either in content or procedure, and when they are suspected, resisted or reproved by the very man they are attempting to serve . . . you have . . . a very serious religious problem."

To say the least.

Cardinal Albino Luciani of Venice was elected to succeed Paul VI on August 26, 1978. Even before he became Pope, he had apparently made up his mind unfavorably about the Society.

And apparently the Society had already made up its mind about Pope John Paul I. No sooner had he been elected than the Jesuits asserted themselves. Father Vincent O'Keefe, the most prominent of the four General Assistants to Arrupe, and the one being groomed to succeed Arrupe one day as Father General of the Order, told a Dutch newspaper in an interview that the new Pope should reconsider the Church's ban on abortion, homosexuality, and priesthood for women. The interview was published.

Pope John Paul I was incensed. This was more than contempt. It was an assertion that the Society of Jesus knew better than the Pope what morals Catholics should practice. And it was an assertion that the Society had the authority to speak out; that is, it was a direct appropriation of the authority that belonged exclusively to the papacy.

John Paul I summoned Arrupe and demanded an explanation. Arrupe humbly promised to look into the whole matter. But John Paul could read the handwriting on the wall as clearly as any Pope. On the basis of Paul VI's critical dossier, and with the help of a very experienced old Jesuit, Father Paolo Dezza, who had been Confessor to Pope Paul VI and now was John Paul I's confessor, the Pope composed a hard-hitting speech of warning. He planned to deliver it to the international assembly of Jesuit leaders and Father General Arrupe at another of their General Congregations to be held in Rome on September 30, 1978.

One of the striking features of his speech was John Paul I's repeated reference to doctrinal deviations on the part of Jesuits. "Let it not happen that the teachings and publications of Jesuits contain anything to cause confusion among the faithful." Doctrinal deviation was for him the most ominous symptom of Jesuit failure.

Veiled beneath the polished veneer of its graceful romanità, that speech contained a clear threat: the Society would return to its proper and assigned role, or the Pope would be forced to take action.

What action? From John Paul's memoranda and notes, it is clear that, unless a speedy reform of the Order proved feasible, he had in mind the effective liquidation of the Society of Jesus as it is today—perhaps to be reconstituted later in a more manageable form. John Paul I had received the petitions of many Jesuits, pleading with him to do just that.

The Pope never delivered that speech of warning. On the morning of September 29, after thirty-three days on the Throne of Peter, and one day before he was to address the Society's General Congregation, John Paul I was found dead in bed.

In the following days, Jesuit Father General Arrupe petitioned Cardinal Jean Villot, who as Vatican Secretary of State ruled the Holy See in the interim period between John Paul I's death and the election of his successor: Could the Jesuits have a copy of that speech?

After a discussion with the College of Cardinals who were helping him to prepare for the election of the next pope, the Cardinal prudently refused. Arrupe was told instead that in the opinion of Villot and the Council, "it was high time the Jesuits put their affairs in order."

For their part, Arrupe and the Jesuits decided to sit the time out and see who would become the next Pope. Time was the commodity they always sought to have.

More than either of his two immediate predecessors, Karol Wojtyla of Poland, elected as John Paul II on October 16, 1978, could not afford to hesitate in this matter of the Jesuits. John Paul

II's grand papal strategy embraced the First World of capitalism, the Second World of Soviet Communism, and the Third World of so-called underdeveloped and developing countries.

Wojtyla was extremely hard-headed in analyzing the character and limitations of papal strategy since 1945. In his view, Pius XII had guided the Church on the basis of a "siege" mentality, permitting papal strategy only clandestine movement within the Soviet empire, but providing no challenge to the continual erosion of the Church in that area. John XXIII's policy of "open fields" had been a failure. Paul VI's policy had consisted merely of a refinement of an already faulty and failed policy. By the time of Paul VI's death in 1978, his Secretariat of State had managed to work out protocol agreements with more than one member-government of the Soviet Socialist "fraternity," but none had been initialed, let alone signed and sealed into law. In any case, even had those protocols been ratified, it had already become clear enough that they would have made no difference to the status of Roman Catholics under Soviet rule.

In John Paul II's analysis, as long as the so-called First, Second, and Third Worlds were locked in the glacial chill of superpower rivalry unendingly fueled by the face-off between Marxist Leninism and rigid capitalism, there would not be the faintest hope in earthly terms that anything could be salvaged—that any battle would be won or any solution found for the dangerous dilemma of the nations. The situation would only disintegrate, slowly but inevitably, possibly levelling civilization as men have known it in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and reducing human history to a long, tortured sleepwalk until the end of the human night.

Wojtyla judged the time ripe for a completely different tack than Pius, John, or Paul had taken before him. His would be a "muscle" approach: Where Catholics constituted majorities or sizeable minorities in closed societies, there they should lay claim to the socio-political space that was rightfully theirs—make an assertion of their rights, in other words, on the basis that their very presence as Roman Catholics would be enough to make such self-assertion stick.

As Cardinal Archbishop of Krakow in Poland, Wojtyla had already sharpened his wits in devising a strategy whereby such Catholic majorities and minorities as he had in mind could lay claim to their rights; yet he had not run afoul of the totalitarian and unscrupulous military control characteristic of Communist governments. John Paul's "muscle" approach did not rule out dialogue and discourse with the Soviets and their surrogates. On the contrary. But it would be of a totally different sort than John XXIII or Paul VI had carried on. And in fact, no world leader today has personally spoken to Soviet leaders as often and as directly as John Paul II, starting from the very beginning of his pontificate. He received the USSR's prestigious and many-lived Andrei Gromyko on January 24, 1979, barely more than three months after his papal election. That was but the first of eight personal meetings between this Pontiff and Gromyko between 1979 and 1985. His telephone conversations with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are the Pontiff's own business; let it merely be said that they take place. If you are a Slav of the Slavs, if you speak Russian in addition to two or three other eastern European languages, if you are Pope, and if you are Karol Wojtyla, the powerbrokers wish to speak to you.

It would be essential to John Paul II's "muscle" strategy that he provide and successfully impose a new world leadership, fueled exclusively and unimpeachably by moral and spiritual motives. In order to have even a hope of succeeding in so bold and so radical a strategy, John Paul II would have to demonstrate such leadership as he was proposing in two key areas: His supreme authority in doctrine and morality would have to be vindicated and reasserted within his worldwide Church; and a concrete example would have to be forthcoming of what such leadership could provide by way of solution to the international dilemma.

Hence the two most visible lines of John Paul's papal activity: his worldwide trips, and his careful guidance of the Solidarity movement in Poland. The appearance of his papal persona in all major countries and many minor ones would be the means of reestablishing that authority. And if the Solidarity movement achieved freedom of economic and cultural action under the aegis of Soviet Communism in Poland, then both Communists and capitalists would have a ready example to show that doctrinaire politics need not result in slavery or poverty or devastating militarism.

This was the dream. Hard-headed certainly, in strategy; but still, the dream. And it put this Pope immediately at loggerheads with the globally powerful Society of Jesus.

With the guidance and financial help of John Paul II, Poland's Primate, eighty-year-old Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, was achieving progress in evolving an attitude in the Solidarity organization by which the Church and its people could escape the grip of Communism culturally and socially. The ethos of Solidarity was devel-

oped precisely to allow such cultural and social freedom, while leaving intact the political and military grip of Marxism. "Do not endanger the Marxists in the Communist Party of Poland, in the National Parliament, in its army or the security forces," was the watchword of Solidarity's founders. "Let them be. Let us claim freedom in the other areas."

At the same time, at the other side of the world, in the area that stretches from the southern borders of Texas down to the tip of South America, Jesuits and others were carrying on their own policy as creators and chief fomentors of a new outlook—"Liberation Theology," they called it in a typically effective bid for romantic appeal—based on Marxist revolutionary principles and aimed at establishing a Communist system of government. The contradiction between John Paul's Polish model and the "Liberation" model advocated ardently and openly by the Jesuits in Latin America could not have been more stark or bold-faced.

John Paul II, like John Paul I before him, was privy to the dossier on the Jesuits compiled under Paul VI. And he possessed as well the speech of reproval John Paul I had prepared but never delivered. In November of 1978, within a month after his election, the Pope sent John Paul I's speech to Father General Arrupe in the Gesù, as Jesuit international headquarters in Rome are called. The Pope meant the gesture as a benign warning: I make this speech my own, the gesture said. He received in return, as was to be expected, the Father General's due protestations of loyalty and obedience. But they were to prove to be only that—protestations.

On the evening of December 31, as a gesture of goodwill, the Pope went to the Jesuit Church of the Gesù, in order to honor the Society by his presence during their traditional year-end religious ceremonies of thanksgiving to God. John Paul let the Jesuits know beforehand that he wanted to see no Jesuit in civilian clothes. Nor did he. It was perhaps a small enough concession to the Pope, to whom each and all present had important and unique vows. But it was the only concession.

Even John Paul's retinue remarked on the polite coldness of the Jesuit notables gathered for the occasion. After the religious ceremonies, the Pope dined with the Jesuits in their refectory. He was pleasant in his remarks, one Jesuit present at the meal complained later, but "he gave us no hint about the future of the Society."

That complaint spoke volumes. The Jesuits had been able to ignore Paul VI and John Paul I. Why should they heed John Paul II? Jesuits would simply have to hold on and outlive this Pope, as they had the previous two.

Within two months of that year-end meeting between the Pope and his Jesuits, during February and March of 1979, Father General Arrupe called press conferences in Mexico and Rome at which he asserted blandly that there was no friction between the Holy Father and the Jesuits. Yes, Arrupe acknowledged to journalists at the International Press Office of the Holy See, he had received that speech of John Paul I, which John Paul II had made his own. Rumor had it, he went on, that "it had a pejorative sense and was a reprimand" for the changes made in the Society under Arrupe's fourteen-year leadership. But that was nonsense, Arrupe said. The Pope knew that "of course, the Society of Jesus had changed," he went on. "It could not do otherwise, seeing that the Church herself has changed." There was, in reality, no friction, he concluded.

His Holiness saw it otherwise: There was grave friction. What John Paul called "friction about fundamentals."

Jesuit theologians and writers in Europe and the Americas had been, and were still, writing and teaching about fundamental Catholic beliefs and laws in a way that opposed traditional papal teaching and the previous teaching of the Church as a whole—about papal authority; about the marriage of Marxism and Christianity; about sexual morality in all its aspects; about such sacred Catholic beliefs as the Mass as a sacrifice, the divinity of Jesus, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, the existence of Hell, the priesthood. They were in fact redefining and recasting everything in Catholicism that Catholics have always considered worth living for and dying for—including the very nature and constitution of the Church that Christ founded.

Father General Arrupe continued to permit the publication of books that contradicted the entire gamut of traditional teachings, and to defend his men who wrote and taught in this vein. No papal appeal to Father Arrupe seemed ever to have any effect in the face of the Jesuit General's intricate and resourceful delaying action.

Arrupe would examine the situation, he promised the Holy Father. He already had inquiries in hand, he said. He would report back soonest. It was difficult to separate truth from vicious rumors. He would endeavor to clarify positions. Time was needed. His men were doing their best. Their views had been distorted. The accusations against his men were too vague. He needed names and details and dates and places. Father Arrupe would, in fact, do anything except get his men back into line as the Pope's men. As this Pope's men, in particular.

It was significant in John Paul's eyes that Father General Arrupe had allowed such a situation to arise at all. After all, reason dictates that if, as head of the Order, you allow one of your Jesuits to publish a book advocating a change in the Church's ban on homosexuality, you as General must regard it as an open question. Jesuit John J. McNeil was permitted by his American and Roman Superiors to publish such a book. If you repeatedly bless the work of another of your Jesuit men who openly votes in the United States Congress for financing abortion-on-demand, you as General must regard abortion, too, as somehow an open question. Together with American Jesuit Superiors, Arrupe repeatedly blessed the tenyear career in Congress of Father Robert F. Drinan, who did just that. "We reject the idea," said Arrupe, directly contradicting John Paul's explicit wish and command, "that Jesuits must systematically avoid all political involvement."

By summer's end 1979, it was clear to John Paul that Arrupe would do nothing to curb even those of his men who cast doubt on basic doctrines ranging from the divinity of Jesus to the infallibility of the Pope.

In September 1979, some dozen presidents of national and regional Jesuit Conferences were gathered in Rome for a meeting with Arrupe. Arrupe and his Jesuit aides thought it would be a good idea to have an audience with the Holy Father. Accordingly, Arrupe requested and was granted an audience for himself, his chief Jesuit counselors in Rome, and the dozen visiting presidents.

The audience took place in the Vatican on September 21. John Paul posed for photographs with individuals, made small talk after his formal address, presented gifts of rosaries to each one present. But there was no mistaking his message.

"You are causing confusion among the Christian people," the Pontiff complained in his message to the Jesuit leaders, "and anxieties to the Church and also personally to the Pope who is speaking to you." The Pope listed his complaints about the Jesuits, speaking about their "regrettable shortcomings" and their "doctrinal unorthodoxy," and requesting them to "return to full fidelity to the Supreme magisterium of the Church and the Roman Pontiff." He could not, he said, be more explicit or go much further in his forebearance with Jesuit deviations.

No longer could a screen be thrown up in the form of a complaint that the Pope "gave us no hint of the future of the Society." But there are other sorts of screens, and the men of the Society have ever been resourceful.

Arrupe sent a circular letter dated October 19 to all Major Superiors of the Society together with a photograph—a copy for each single community of Jesuits all over the world and, of course,

destined for wide publication in the world media—showing himself as Father General kneeling before the Pope. His letter, he commanded, was to be read by each and every one of his 27,347 Jesuits.

John Paul II, he reminded his men, was the third Pope who had called them to attention. He quoted John Paul II's words in his September 21 speech, and demanded annual reports from all Superiors as to how they were observing John Paul's admonitions.

When all in the letter was said and done, however, both its tone and the framework were merely political. In effect, the General was saying, Jesuits had failed to observe the formal exterior conventions that normally satisfied papal demands and Roman bureaucratic conditions. His letter was in essence an invitation for Jesuits to consider how they were acting and come up with rationalizations and explanations that would conform to exterior norms and thus offset open papal criticisms.

Not once did Arrupe say bluntly: We have gone astray, we Jesuits. As Superior General, I now forbid this, recall that man, expel this other man, impose the following rules and reforms. Rather, the letter implied: We have political difficulties with this new Pope; help me politically.

Reaction to the letter—and therefore to John Paul's strictures—were of a kind with Arrupe's letter. Father Arrupe received what in essence he had asked for: commentaries from Jesuits in bulk quantities, some quite resentful, on the Pope's admonitions. As one intramural joke went, Arrupe was a victim of "fallout" from the "W [for Wojtyla] bomb."

While Arrupe's tactic in dealing with the situation bore its fruit in much paper, one Roman Cardinal remarked, "He should not have asked for a basketful of letters—which he got—but the bleeding heads of just about 5,000 Jesuits—the greatest offenders—all neatly arranged on wooden platters."

Be that as it may, there was no trace of the hoped-for change. No shift in corporate Jesuit behavior was in sight.

It was all becoming too much. By now, John Paul II was in a great historical hurry. The Solidarity movement was being readied for its first major public operation; as far as John Paul could find out from soundings in Warsaw and Moscow, Solidarity's planned future could come off. At the same time, the galling fact was that on the other side of the Atlantic, the Jesuits' adversary strategy was progressing just as rapidly, if not more so. Above all in Nicaragua.

Nicaragua was, in fact, fast developing into a public and dramatic test case between Pope and Jesuits. There the Pope's aims and those of the Jesuits were irreconcilable. Solidarity in Poland was developed precisely to loosen the effective grip of Marxism on the sociocultural life of the Polish people. In Nicaragua, the Jesuits aimed at establishing a Marxist system of government that would embrace the sociocultural and political and economic life of Nicaraguans. If John Paul could not control the Jesuits in Nicaragua, where the stakes on the table might, in essence, involve the success of his entire papal strategy, then he could simply not control them anywhere.

On the other hand, from the Jesuit point of view, if John Paul II could frustrate their explicit policy of political activism in favor of a Marxist regime—if their expenditure of men and energy in Nicaragua were brought to nothing by this Pope—then they would have failed in their corporate objectives. This Pope would proceed to move in on them elsewhere.

It was an adversarial situation from the beginning. Clearly, the matériel of war between Pope and Jesuits was in place.

2 THE TESTING GROUND

ong before John Paul II came upon the scene with his radically new papal strategy, Nicaragua had already been made, as if by formula, a test case for the global struggle gathering momentum between the papacy and the Society of Iesus.

Nicaragua is totally Roman Catholic in tradition and in practice. Geopolitically, it is of enormous importance because of its access to both the Atlantic and the Pacific, because of its potential to be virtually self-supporting economically, and not least because of its position at the center of the strategic Central American land bridge between North and South America. Add to those circumstances the extreme social and political oppression of the Somoza dynasty that had held Nicaragua in a vicelike grip since 1937. The mixture was explosive.

There was one point in modern times when another destiny might have been possible for Nicaragua. This was during the brief lifetime of Augusto César Sandino, the son of a dirt farmer who became a very successful revolutionary general. By 1926, while still in his twenties, he was strong enough militarily and expert enough in guerrilla tactics to elude capture by a force of 2000 U.S. Marines and by the Nicaraguan National Guard. His military prowess and leadership were so compelling that he forced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to establish the famous "Good Neigh-