

Intermarium: The Anti-Communist Catholic Strategy in Twentieth-Century Mexico

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Abstract

This article describes the anti-communist geopolitical project called Intermarium, whose purpose was to develop a network of groups to fight the political left from a conservative, catholic capitalist perspective. This Project, as it has been exposed by featured members of the reserved societies in Mexico, was the origin and model of the fight against Communism. The article seeks to demonstrate the links and historical arguments that verify this relationship.

Key Words: Intermarium, anti-Communism, Vatican geopolitics, political right

Introduction

In the year 2000, the National Action Party won the presidential elections, and political alternation came to Mexico with Vicente Fox Quezada. Three years later in 2003, journalist Álvaro Delgado published a text showing the accompaniment of the extreme right to the president of the republic through a reserved Catholic society called El Yunque (The Anvil). He unveiled the existence of a model of reserved organization; it was based on infiltration, violence, and assault on the economic, political and social power thanks to characters camouflaged as

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businessmen, academics, professionals and politicians. The influence of this type of organization dates back to the 19th century. Their presence in Mexico was important during the Cristero War (1926-1929), representing the most radical positions against Communism.

A singular fact in the origin of the Yunque (Anvil) is constituted by its link with a geopolitical vision called the Intermarium Project, which originally linked the countries geographically adjacent to Poland; it was first directed by the Holy See to react against the Soviet revolution of 1917, and later evolved to react against Communism worldwide.

For Luis Herrán Ávila (2015), these sorts of reserved Catholic societies reproduced symbolic representations of the anti-communist experience in Europe, introducing them to the mentality and collective imagination of the Mexican/Latin American ultra-Right and the way they conceived of their role within an anti-communist, anti Masonic and anti-Jewish crusade.

The text of Álvaro Delgado followed a series of works that address the Yunque and the way in which the Mexican extreme Right penetrates politics and government. Manuel Buendía, Clara Lida, Mónica Uribe, Edgar González Ruiz, Fernando M. González, Luis Ángel Hurtado Razo and Santiago Jiménez are journalists and scholars whose contributions help us to understand this organization, but lately, the ultra-Right itself has emerged to confirm their analyses. The testimony of the University created by El Yunque (Louvier, Díaz and Arrubarrena, 2013) through which to base its establishment and the action of the characters that made up the Anticommunist University Front in Puebla stand out. The influence of the Intermarium on the Mexican extreme Right helps to explain -in part- the system of parties in Mexico, the relationship of the State with certain social movements, and diplomatic ties with the Holy See.

This article will explore the meaning of Intermarium and its influence on the creation and evolution of the extreme right,

specifically of the Yunque, with the intention of contributing elements to the interpretation of Catholic nationalism in Mexico during the second half of the 20th century.

The connection to the Intermarium project was declared by the organic intellectuals and protagonists of the Mexican extreme Right themselves on different occasions and in particular testimonies.

Our work is based on historiographic analysis of indirect and secondary sources, as well as from the theoretical approach of geopolitics. At the same time, it considers the work of historians who - at least in North America and Europe - have seriously addressed the issue of Intermarium throughout the twentieth century.

The Holy See as a geopolitical power

The concern some states develop for their physical territory and their security make them generate strategies that become survival and/or geopolitical policies. The protection of living space is an argument for certain nationalist philosophies to become expansionist or close their borders while developing government actions that bring together and strengthen certain internal groups. Geopolitics influences ideologies, induces the development of a vision of allies and opponents, affects cultural and religious belonging, the evolution of institutions, and relations with the predominant actors in the national and international system (Hernández and Sánchez, 2015). Practically, geopolitics is characterized by a territorial prominence that does not leave an open flank on the most diverse issues.

One of the entities with the greatest geopolitical significance is the Holy See, an institution that constitutes the central government of the Catholic Church and the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. It represents one of the oldest monarchies (Masferrer, 2013, p. 42) in the world and

assumes material-spiritual possessions in all areas where Catholicism exists; legal-diplomatic relations are generated within the ecclesiastical bureaucracy.

The importance of Catholicism all over the world — though mainly Europe and America — generates a permanent activism of the Holy See to both protect what it considers its vital space and extend its hegemony. The political participation of Catholics aims to build the perfect Christian society; the City of God on earth. However, due to the closeness of this conception with European totalitarianisms and their detachment from secular rationalist modernity, this objective implies a particular theocratic form of government: Clerofascism, which constitutes the unit of religion and politics exemplified in European Catholic nationalisms of integral, integralist, traditionalist, tridentine inspiration, etc., that inspire diverse authoritarian regimes.

In a systematic way, the geopolitics of Catholicism has sought to exercise dominion in those nations and societies that were emancipated from the clerical control of the Bishop of Rome; thus, they have mutated in their religious preferences. The Holy See - representative of the Vatican State - historically is recurring in its strategies to preserve resources and influence. When a State establishes diplomatic relations with the Holy See, it simultaneously does so with the State of the Vatican City and with the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, a condition that gives apostolic nuncios a very particular character, as representatives of both 2,000 Vatican citizens, and of faithful Catholics. In most cases, these parishioners are, in turn, citizens of the States before which they have their diplomatic accreditation (Masferrer, 2013, p. 162).

The Catholic Church presents itself as an empire incessantly attacked. In each era, it conceives of new enemies or confrontations as a way of reinventing itself; both by establishing principles that influence identities in different societies and inclining governments towards specific positions.

Undeniably, it is placed as a hegemonic power of international relations. The struggle between national and Catholic churches constitute a long period in the Holy See's tradition to consolidate the liberal, democratic, social and capitalist culture. In turn, the evolution of democracy is distinguished by the emancipation of clerical and theocratic control that religious world views, such as Roman apostolic Catholicism, impose.

The participation of the Holy See in the main geopolitical events that distinguish the twentieth century is unavoidable, above all, for its action to inhibit, control and destroy Soviet Communism. This struggle configured the Vatican State as one of the architects of the New World Order. Thus, contemporary catholicity cannot be explained without the prolonged period of conflict and fight against Communism.

Poland's historical experience

The Intermarium is a local geopolitical project of Central Europe; an area considered a granary and European valley, full in natural resources. Its objective is to protect the countries of Central and Eastern Europe against Russian imperialism, consolidating an economic, political and military alliance that works together with NATO (North Atlantic Organization) and, of course, with the United States.

For some countries involved, their religion serves as a national institution. Such is the case of Catholicism for most Poles, Lithuanians and Slovaks and orthodoxy for Belarusians, Ukrainians or Romanians. Hungarians have a strong Protestant component despite the Catholic majority, and Czechs are mostly secular. In the past, the region was attacked in the name of universalist ideologies, which often served as a smoke screen for the interests of nations proclaiming these universalisms. The area represents a shield against Russians, Germans, Tartars, Muslims, Jews and Orthodox Catholics.

For Levy (2006), the Intermarium must be interpreted in three stages, the timing of which is agreed upon by Meyer (2014), Buchruker (1991) and Borejsza (2002): prior to World War II, during the Cold War, and post Communism, which would allow us to understand the centennial regional fear towards Russia and the collaboration with different anti-Russian projects of both the Holy See and the local fascist movements. During the Cold War the Intermarium preserved anti-Russianism and favored the integration of its ideas into American geopolitics through the development of various centers of political action in America, thus developing anti-Communism. Currently, Russophobia persists and the Intermarium aims to develop a confederation of countries that oppose Vladimir Putin and his imperialist policies.

But the suspicion of Russia did not only develop projects such as the Intermarium. There are societies in Poland such as the Prometheus League (a durable group with a close resemblance to the Intermarium Project), that merged into a club of Eastern European countries who oppose Russia even today, and in the peripheral countries of the region that, although they can be associated with clerofascism and Nazism, their behavior must be analyzed from the positions both of local nationalist conflict against Russian imperialism, and the orthodox Christianity that has been ancestral in the history of Eastern Europe.

Although countries with different denominations of Christianity participate in the Intermarium, there are some in which the project is exclusively Catholic; such is the case of Poland, which is explained by its history of subordination to Catholicism during a period that covers the last 800 years of its existence. But what is the importance of this country to the Holy See? Since the schism within the Roman Empire between the East and the West, Poland has been strategically employed to control Muslims, Jews, Orthodox Catholics, Asians and

Protestants— hence the interest of the Roman high clergy to promote a Catholic and Slavic-Baltic population. The eastern half of the schism - which led the formation of the Christian Orthodox Church - is the beginning of a flank that opens Europe to the coexistence of different religious and cultural groups on a new level of competition. The break with Byzantium and Constantinople, which inhibited the Church of Rome's seizure new territories, is more important than the rise of Protestantism. Poland, on the other hand, has been consecrated three times to the Catholic Church during its history (Martin, 1991). Christianity, as a state religion, promoted concordats and patronages that subordinated the nation, society and resources to the Holy See, using various meta-narrative goals of Christology and Mariology for this purpose.

This project was named Miedzymorze in Polish (between seas). Its founder, General Josef Pilsudski, conceived of it both as a project of Polish civilization and, at the same time, as a block to contain both Germans and Russians, extending from Moldova to Sweden. It formed a multinational defense organization between the Black and Baltic Seas, which flourished in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries and was reborn in Poland during the last years of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Poland recovered its independence in 1918.

During World War II, that territory became an obsession for geopolitics. The project, initially concentrated in Poland, gradually coincided with other nations that shared a cultural, ethnic and religious affinity. Therefore, the nations of this region often have a cautious attitude towards imperialisms. From the perspective of Samuel Huntington (1996), this region of Eastern Europe could be called a fracture zone, due to the intention of distinguishing a demarcation between Western and Orthodox civilization. Countries around Poland are constantly besieged by Russian and Germanic imperialism; in fact, there is a political division in the history of Polish forces regarding integration with

Russia or its assimilation to Europe. This dilemma constitutes the center of identity that the Intermarium defines and is aimed at proposing its own civilization headed by Poland, while being used as a deterrent between the East and the West. The emergence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) meant a change of political regime in the Eurasian space that altered the progress of world political processes. For Poland this was a complicated situation, since it confirmed its doubts and conflicts about the Russian influence that intransigent integral Catholicism had sown: universalist Communism was a screen behind which traditional Russian imperialism and the Judeomasonic conspiracy were hidden. The growth and development of the USSR involved the submission and, perhaps, the disappearance of the Polish nation.

Communism was the excuse that increased anti-Semitism in the region (and throughout Europe), even though it has at least a thousand year history of being encouraged by Christianity. Poland was not one of the possibilities in which the Zionist movement sought to establish the Jewish state; unlike Argentina, where Baron Hirsch had purchased land, or Kenya and Uganda, which were British proposal. However, Theodore Herzl's movement always considered placing Israel in Palestine due to historical roots.

The growth of the Jewish population was dangerous for both Poland's Catholic hierarchy and the Vatican (Kertzer, 2001). Such a situation resulted in a judeophobia that constituted the preamble of the Holocaust. A significant element in this context was the rise of Bundismo (a Jewish labor movement distanced from Zionism) in the area and its involvement with the Communist Party of the USSR.

Before accessing the pontificate, Achille Ratti (Pius XI, 1922-1939) spent a season in Poland to observe the Jewish question, and confirmed various fears that some Austrian, German, Croatian and other Catholics had pointed out: the eminence of

economic, social control and politics within the Jewish community. Ratti concluded that by seizing Poland, the alliance of the Bolsheviks with the Jews made an attack on Europe peremptory, which resulted in a religious outburst from the Polish Catholic hierarchy. Out of his vision, the Judeo/Masonic/Communist conspiracy was confirmed and he decided to start working with the *Civiltà Cattolica* magazine on a good anti-Semitism with the sole intention of pointing out Jewish danger (Meyer, 2012); “good” because it didn't kill anyone, it was just a rhetoric. However, this publication maintained the anti-Semitic allegation for a long period.

The insistence of a Jewish-enlightened conspiracy gained strength when the Papal States were lost in 1870, and the Church blamed the Freemasons, enlightened Jews, Communists, Liberals, and secularizing and scientific enemies. In the great conspiracy against the Church, all the enemies of Catholicism fit and mixed.

Catholic fundamentalism and integrism would then be justified to reconfigure the greatness of the Church. Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) and Leon XIII (1878-1903) sponsored Catholic secret organizations throughout the world because they confirmed the fear of the disappearance of the Catholic Institution with the loss of the papal states; Catholicism was threatened by a Good Friday, a corporate cataclysm, a deep organizational identity crisis, etc. To preserve the interests of the Church, the evolution of modern thought was confronted because it was the enemy of Catholic Christianity; this medieval vision began to be configured as conservatism.

Meyer (2012), Kertzer (2001), Cornwell (2002) and Yallop (2006) all point out that Ratti, both before and after his pontificate, ignored the significant pogroms and deaths in the Jewish communities of Poland. The population, both urban and rural, along with the political parties and various representative sectors of Slavic and Catholic Poland exalted anti-Judaism.

At the end of his life, Pius XI tried to modify this “good” or “spiritual” anti-Semitism because a sequence that opted for a bad anti-Semitism, pagan, material and killer was clearly evidenced from situations such as the beginning of Austrian-Germanic Nazism, the Polish and Croatian conditions, etc. According to Kertzer, the future Pope Pius XII, 1939-1958 (Eugenio Piacelli) and the white Polish Jesuit radicals - Vladimir Ledochowski - obstructed such reconsideration and attempts to state that the Church could support the Jews. As a result, both good and bad anti-Semitism placed Poland as the starting point of the Holocaust. The Shoá is a consequence of this historical process (Intelligence Research Report, 1946), and it seems increasingly clear that Catholic religious paroxysm was responsible for the fascisms that triggered World War II. The Nazis took control of the country with the help of governments like the Ustachies of Croatia, the Iron and Legion Guard of Saint Michael the Archángel in Romania, the Arrow Cross Party from Hungary, etc., and developed concentration camps and mass killings in Eastern Europe. Faced with this, the Catholic Church maintained a mutis of several decades. According to the Intelligence Research report of May 15, 1946 (distributed by the United States Office of Intelligence Coordination and Liaison) along with research by Jan Gross, Kertzer, Carroll and Meyer), Catholic anti-Semitism in Poland discovered the collaboration of the high clerical bureaucracy, and a significant proportion of society, with the Nazis. The Jewish population in Poland hovered at about 3 million people, and only 80,000 remained afterwards.

The Intermarium is part of the good anti-Semitism models that, nevertheless, were linked to experiences such as those of filonazi and anti-Jewish Catholicism that facilitated the Nazi flight to Latin America by such characters as Hudal, Dragonovic and Pavelic through cities like Odessa. With the increase of historical evidence, Ratti and Piacelli appear to be indirect collaborators of the Nazis, and deeply connected to the evolution

of fascism in Europe (Goñi, 2002); Olmos, 1996; Cornwell, 2002; documentary: *A la caza de los fugitivos nazis* The History Channel, 2007; and, *Cazadores de nazis en América Latina. Caso Adolf Eichmann* National Geographic, 2010).

The Intermarium was then, and continues to be today, an anti-Jewish, Russian and Catholic ultraconservative project, implemented so that intransigent integral Catholicism would infiltrate governments, universities, civil society, public administration, families, and businesses, deploying secret societies that would help maintain the status quo, defend the preponderance of the Holy See and develop the perfect Christian society. The support that characters such as August Hlond, Stefan Wyszynski, Vladimir Ledochowski and Walter Ciszec provided Pius XI and Pius XII with which to extend the Polish combat strategy to their enemies was essential to protect the interests of the Vatican.

The region has not been able to completely abandon the clerofascist model. The Nazis forcibly consolidated it, the USSR failed to transform this conscience, and the West does not intervene in the modernization of Eastern Europe. There is a responsibility here that the Catholic Church evades. An additional consequence of the regional religious sense could be the Balkan conflict and the insistence on developing the Intermarium, which only Russia opposes.

Russian anti-Communism and consecration

The Catholic Church greeted the twentieth century with an anti-modern pontificate personified by Pius X (1903-1914) and strengthened by a fundamentalist tendency, with which the Holy See manifested itself before each social, economic or political event. Later on, Pius XI and Pius XII would represent the highest point of this trend. While the modern world adhered to scientific discoveries and praised the power of human decision and creation, the integralists and intransigents insisted on

professing that man was, in effect, the measure of all things as divine creation; and that their capacity for reason and action obeyed a divine nature, to which they should be directed. This reflection was combined with the condemnation of liberal and democratic institutions. Faced with rational and human truth, the Catholic Church - like all religious institutions - opposes its divine and revealed truth.

For the bureaucracy and elite of the religious institution, Communism, Socialist movements, freemasons and the advance of secularization meant the end of the Catholic Church. Against this, they decided to act, and they do so by pointed out those changes as a product of Judaism.

When the Catholic Church lost the Papal States (1870), it seemed that, at least in the West, enlightened and liberal-progressive ideas would find few obstacles. However, the materialization of a Communist state from the Bolshevik revolution drove the Christian bitterness towards Soviet Russia. Meyer (2014) gives an account of the strategies of understanding on the part of the Catholic Church towards the Russian Revolution and Communism, at the beginning of the Soviet regime. In fact, Catholic bishops quietly watched the triumph of the Red Bolsheviks as they persecuted the Orthodox Christian Church to achieve secularization. To the Holy See, once Orthodox Christianity was destroyed, most Russian religious would return to Catholicism. Defeated all Russian churches and the schism was annihilated.

In the early years of the Soviet revolutionary government, Vatican diplomacy involved priest Edmund Walsh in a campaign of support against the serious problems the Russian society faced. The proximity with marginalization, famine and the conflict that generated the interregno of the Tsarism to Socialism seems to have hit him severely to construct his arguments against Communism. However, the serious conflict between the Soviet State and the Orthodox Church resulted in a

political arrangement; religious groups agreed to support the Communist regime, coexist with the Orthodox Church created from the government - New Living Church - and coincide with libertarian policies that the Communists proposed, to the detriment of the aristocracies and nobility. Once the agreement between the religious and political powers was reached, the government insisted on persuading Catholic groups to maintain a similar commitment to the Orthodox Church. The expropriation of the assets of Catholic institutions generated the religious paroxysm that led the bishops and the Holy See to show Communist atheism as a disgrace to humanity.

From its economic affectation, the Holy See began to act to protect the order and stability of the economic, political, social and cultural structures of the old regime against the speed with which Communism spread. The inflammation of public opinion knew all kinds of strategies; among them, the encyclicals *Iniquis Afflictisque* (1926) and *Divini Redemptoris* (1937), the foundation of the *Russicum College* (1929) and the participation of characters such as Edmund Walsh and Michelle D'Herbigny. This implied a confrontation towards Communism through the formation of secret societies and university groups in the area (Poland, Romania, Austria, Hungary, Croatia, etc.) (Pettinaroli, 2015; McNamara, 2005). The Holy See recruited Russophiles and sent them to spy and build clandestine structures. Edmund Walsh was replaced by Michelle D'Herbigny, a priest in charge of the strategy to develop a covert Catholic hierarchy in the Soviet Union and foster government destabilization. However, even when the hidden bishop D'Herbigny was efficient, he lost faith in the mission because he saw that people, regardless of race or religion, were equal and had many needs that different religious and political bureaucracies forgot to attend.

However, what happened with D'Herbigny did not happen with Walsh. The latter became a furious anti-Communist and judeophobe (McNamara, 2005), and contributed to the

development of McCarthyism in North America, while the first was assimilated to a peasant community and Russian spirituality (Meyer, 2014) in a simile with Dostoyevski and Tolstoy. The French Jesuit was replaced, and the Russian policy of the Holy See underwent severe modifications again (Pettinaroli, 2015). Edmund Walsh, as well as other Jesuits headed by Ledochowski and the University of Leuven, promoted religious paroxysms - anti-Communism, anti-Semitism, anti-liberalism - to make the strategy of opposition to the USSR work. The Intermarium and every kind of rejection of Marxism were implemented in a Christian crusade against what the Holy See considered the greatest enemy of humanity: the Jewish/Masonic /Communist Conspiracy, which was, at the same time, generated in Central or Eastern Europe a Catholic Region as a counterweight to Communist Russia, Orthodox Christian and protector of Jews, as well as against Protestant Germany (Levy, 2006; Díaz-Cid, 2017). The defense of the German Catholics against the Kulturkampf of Bismarck was taken as exemplary at a time when the Church seriously thought about its extinction (Johnson, 2006), Díaz-Cid, 2003).

In addition to the sympathy with Mussolini for the recognition of the territories to the Vatican, there was also an attachment for the Old German Catholics, some of whom belonged to secret societies. Not only was the German experience a paradigm in Catholic defense; the experience of Catholic nationalist groups whose objective was clergy in countries such as Poland, Austria, Hungary, France, Spain, Romania, and Croatia (among others) strengthened the international role of the Church (Levy, 2006); in this context Catholic secret societies gained recognition of effectiveness by legitimizing the Vatican. Judeophobia of the intransigent integral Catholics brought together anti-Semitism and anti-Communism, which is why they positioned themselves as a strategic element for the West both prior to and throughout World War II, and

during the Cold War. Catholicism settled circumstantially against its enemies, and was recomposed first to Mussolini, then to Hitler, and finally to the United States. The fight against Communism and the Jewish conspiracy by the secret groups of the extreme right produced the Italian, Romanian, Spanish, Latin American, Croatian, Austrian and German fascisms.

The Nazi program and the development of its propaganda was based on the image of intransigent Catholicism and was publicized in Mein Kampf several years before the founding of the Third Reich (Rodríguez, 2007; Corella Torres, 2005; Andrade 1998; Borejsza, 2002; Shirer, 2013). Similarly, the Nazi Final Solution was inspired by a Catholic-Romantic-Bucolic-Pangermanic mysticism that developed the secret society of Thule, which included both Catholics and close associates of Adolf Hitler. The intransigent integral Catholics saw in the USSR not only the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy, but also the revelation in the prophecies of the Virgin of Fatima about the end of the world (Martin, 1991). Nazism appeared, then, to be a protective balm for its ideas and fears (Meyer, 2014; Levy, 2006; McNamara, 2005). This perspective of Catholic anti-Communism became global and persistent, even though the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and many men who exercised ministry in Christianity lacked evidence to demonstrate the Communist/Masonic/Jewish Conspiracy. The intransigent integral Catholicism became a policeman of Catholics who embraced social ideas or institutional transformations such as those of the Second Vatican Council.

The Holy Alliance (Yallop, 2006) remains. According to Malachi Martin (1991), the Black International (Catholic Church) offered the Golden International (United States) the indispensable organization it needed to confront the Red International (USSR). During the Cold War the nuclear cataclysm concentrated in the armies the structure of domination to which the superpowers aspired; however, the situation changed when

the conflict was established as a low intensity war. In these circumstances, the West was at a disadvantage because only the Red and Black Internationals had dedicated themselves to developing effective cadres in the political, social and economic spheres. For Malachi Martin (Ibid.), the individualistic aspiration of Westerners left loose the mechanisms of control and defense in a conflict that developed in the political and social fields. The freedom that distinguished capitalist democratic societies made them vulnerable to the infiltration and alignment of the communists, who took advantage of any flank to enter a social scheme and develop their strategic movements. There was only one other actor capable of performing in such a game: the Catholic Church.

From an ethical perspective like that of capitalism, the fight against Communism became impossible. Communism has a truly effective and alienating discourse scheme, and a strategy of the struggle for cultural hegemony which its various theorists have developed, both for historicity and the control of social relations of production that has been difficult to combat, except for a speech equally combative and alienating: the religious discourse of Catholic nationalism.

The Intermarium strategy was successful not only with the election of Karol Wojtila (Polish) as Bishop of Rome, it also allowed the Polish vision of geopolitics to be embedded in the foreign policy of the Catholic Church and provide a great contribution to defeat Communism. The Black International joined the Golden International - to the detriment of the Red International- in several countries where clerofascism was the governmental structure, and collaboration with the United States of America reached the ignominy.

The last point was Poland; from there, the final stage of an offensive was launched that had been implemented for several years but needed an international arena, such as the papacy. John Paul II made Poland's fight against the USSR a great part of

humanity's struggle against Communism. With Wojtyla, the Vatican State effectively used its geopolitical and georeligious ability to crumble the Iron Curtain.

After the Cold War, interrupted arms race, and the destruction of the Iron Curtain that separated Europe in two and annihilated the ideological conflict between the superpowers that had divided the world into zones of influence, the crack in the bipolar system of International relations deprived them of the usual equilibrium and introduced new rules of the game into world politics. Along with the disintegration of the USSR, the hopes of those who saw a new world order where democracy, capitalism and Western liberalism would allow a greater understanding of the peoples also collapsed. A multipolar succeeded the bipolar world. The artificial stability of the Yalta-Potsdam system and the global nuclear tie led to the activation of inter-ethnic regional conflicts and religious wars.

AntiCommunism and judeophobia in Mexico

In its struggle against the Soviet Union, the Holy See extended the Intermarium to Latin America; in Mexico it was linked with intransigent integral Catholicism, developing Catholic and conservative nationalist organizations, created with the pretense of containing Communism. These fascist congregations imitated the European struggle against Russia and were inserted into the National Action Party (PAN). The process was inaugurated with the Cristero War (1926-1929)⁴, deepened in the Cold War era and extended until the end of John Paul II's pontificate. While it is true that the Second Vatican Council generated a series of changes in the alternatives of Catholicism, it is also true that its considerations were

⁴ In Poland, Jacek Bartyzel (2012) published about the Cristiada, Mexican sinarquismo and the Yunque.

completely rejected, to this day, by the intransigent integral traditionalist sectors. The extreme right in Latin America would observe a close relationship with the Vatican State during the papacy of Karol Wojtyła.

The Mexican extreme right has declared its historical link with the Intermarium geopolitical project, revealing the foundation of reserved and secret societies such as Tecos and Yunque. The UPAEP (Autonomous Popular University of the State of Puebla) claimed that this georeligious project oriented its organization and permanence, which helps understand the behavior of intransigent integral Catholics in Mexico who fought against Communism in the second half of the twentieth century. The testimonies of Manuel Díaz Cid - who is one of the founders of the Yunque - to different researchers, points out that the Mexican extreme right had been organized, taking as a model the Intermarium Project that Poland had created to defend itself against Russia and Germany. At the beginning, though El Yunque and Tecos (Autonomous University of Guadalajara) were united, they eventually separated until the latter became sedevacantists and Lefrevists. The UPAEP is one of the spaces where El Yunque was institutionalized, and from there went everywhere. Manuel Díaz Cid had advanced information on this type of link since 2003, when journalist Álvaro Delgado conducted his research on the Mexican extreme right. In 2013, the text **Autonomía Universitaria** (Louvier, Díaz, Arrubarrena, 2013) explains the ideals and history of UPAEP and El Yunque, pointing out the constant reference to Intermarium, the USSR and Poland.

The UPAEP played a key role in the development of collective entities, cadres and conservative generations inserted in the different governmental levels emanating from the PAN and other political institutes infiltrated by these reserved groups (Delgado, 2007). The text **Autonomía Universitaria** indicates the objective and some actions to incorporate Ibero-America into the Intermarium, carried out for more than forty years.

[...] in the face of the global challenge organized from Moscow by the Komintern, Pope Pius XI promoted an updated version of the "Intermarium Plan" that the Polish diplomacy of the 1920s had designed to build a federation of the nations of Central Europe that would go from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea (hence its name; inter-marium) to build a force capable of resisting Nazi Germany in the west and the Soviet Union in the east. The plan of the Poles failed against the opposition not only of Hitler and Stalin, but also against the English and French governments. However, the idea was retaken by the Pope to form a network of young Catholics who could resist Marxist plans and propagate the faith in Eastern Europe (...) World War II ended and the Cold War began, SS Pius XII resumed the inter marium project, that now included Latin America through the creation of "reserved organizations" aimed at forming Catholic leaders capable of defending their faith and giving the doctrinal battle in universities, considered [] the nerve center and the vital space for the promotion and defense of Christian culture. The formation of these organizations was entrusted to the Jesuits and placed under the invocation of Christ the King (Ibid., Pp. 38-39).

The most representative reserved societies⁵ of Mexican anti-Communism emerged during the Cold War, although the

⁵ Secret and reserved societies are distinguished in canon law and ecclesiastical structure. The reserved ones act under the principle of *Gigen* without episcopus (nothing without the bishop), they are authorized by Rome and the ecclesiastical bureaucracy exercises control or influence over them. Catholic nationalists argue that their actions - violent or peaceful - have always been informed to religious authorities. The secret are rejected because they can act against the magisterium and authority of

experience of conspiracy models comes from the reactionary groups that led the Cristiada (Solís, 2011; González, 2001).

The National Sinarquista Union appeared in Mexico in 1937 initially with a civic tendency, although it later developed social and political aspects. Its founding objective was to establish a Christian social order under the strategy of peaceful opposition to the regime. Their claim, linked to Catholic nationalism, as well as their strategies and elements of self-identification feed the question of whether it represents a kind of Mexican fascism, as proposed by Meyer (1979). Subsequently, the sinarquismo would live as the conjunction of these structures that, later, would be incorporated into the different global anti-communist projects developed by the Catholic Church (Uribe, 2008); González, 2003; Bartra, 2009); Frausto and Grecko, 2008). The sinarquista corporatism has been traced in various ordinations, identified by the issues that they ideologically defend, and their proximity to the Catholic Church, the Christian Democracy, the government, the Private Universities, the Business Sector and the Civil Society (Uribe, 2008, p. 44). Intermarium leaders such as Vladimir Ledochowski, Edmund Walsh and Michell D'Herbigny (Díaz-Cid, 2013 and 2017), played an important role in the geopolitics of the Holy See and the United States of America - related to Mexico - in the first half of the 20th century.

The case of Edmund Walsh is particularly interesting, given his participation in the development of the peace agreements that ended the Cristero War; at the same time that he instituted a pillar of the negotiations, he advised and guided the groups and organizations of the comprehensive intransigent Catholicism. His role is complex in the diplomatic stage between the Holy See and the Mexican post-revolutionary government (Redinger, 2010; Andes, 2010; Meyer, 2008; Álvarez, 2008),

the ecclesiastical bureaucracy. In any case, the intransigent Catholic integralism infiltrates all sectors of society that want to submit to the Holy See.

since even without being formally the representative of the Bishop of Rome, he influenced John Burke, Dwight Morrow and the Mexican bishops. Inexplicably, he has hidden his role as one of the articulators in the management of the Cristero movement. Walsh distinguished himself as anti-communist and judeophobic, inspired by the plot against the Catholic Church. This rhetoric was spread to the Mexican Bishops, some of whom shared **The protocols of the wise men of Zion**, and sent priests to be politicized at the University of Leuven under the anti-communist and fascist meta-narrative of white Jesuitism (O'Dogherty, 2010; Kula and Krzysztof, 2010). The clergymen Manuel Figueroa, Julio Vértiz and Agustín da Silva nourished in Belgium a violent and radical Catholic thought that they reproduced with the foundation of Tecos, Yunque and various Catholic nationalist organizations.

El Yunque emerged until 1950 and these characters were unique in the Cristero conflict in the 1920s when the Catholic religious struggles of Mexico and Russia coincided. Manuel Díaz Cid has been quite assertive in pointing out the connection between Pius XI, Pius XII and the Intermarium. In fact, in Latin America, El Yunque and other reserved companies grew under the Intermarium model. It was under their wing that an intense propaganda and editorial work that socialized intransigent integral values expanded. Salvador Borrego Escalante's literature, one of the main extreme right ideologues, can be found in most of the Catholic schools in the country. Mexico is one of the leading producers of anti-Semitic propaganda in Spanish in Latin America, as can be seen in the main publishing houses, magazines and newspapers associated with the Right.

Walsh also had a momentous intervention in the politics of the United States through the contemporary institutionalization of the country's diplomatic and foreign service; he was one of the characters that displayed the anti-Communist persecution of

the 1950s headed by Senator James McCarthy (McNamara, 2005).

In Mexico, the arrangement with the Holy See was achieved with the *modus vivendi* that ended the Cristero War, which meant that the model of covert organization was latent and resurfaced against the social movements of cultural Marxism in the 1960s. The strategy of a clandestine hierarchy, infiltration and destabilization were intended to force governments to soften their policy in relation to the Holy See.

John Burke, another geopolitical Jesuit and participant in the Mexican pacification during the government of Plutarco Elías Calles, was recognized and used to hide the differences between the American Knights of Columbus and the Holy See (Meyer, 2008).

Although El Yunque was born in the 1950s, its root is the Catholic anti-Communist model that oscillates between 1926 and 1937, at which time Tecos - elder brother of Yunque - set up its background, and ultra-Catholic nationalisms in Europe confronted the USSR. In this period, the development and understanding of the encyclicals *Iniquis Afflicctisque* and *Divini Redemptori* enhanced the radicalization of ultra-right groups in Mexico. In March 1937, Pope Pius XI conceived of Communism as the great enemy of humanity and, particularly, of the Catholic Church. It exemplified the cases of atheistic and murderous political elites in Russia and Mexico. The ideological and strategic foundations of these organizations belong to the Vatican geopolitics prior to the *Ostpolitik* and the Second Vatican Council. Paradoxically, the "Jesuit habitus" responsible for creating the Mexican extreme right subsequently organized the political movements and cadres linked to the Theology of Liberation. The Jesuits became "social class enemies" to their former right-wing allies. (Meyer, 1981).

El Yunque, founded under the *Intermarium* project, allows us to observe it as one of the organizational models of the

reserved and secret societies of the Holy See; it represents the ideological support of the clandestinity of intransigent integral Catholicism, as well as the intervention of the high ecclesial bureaucracy, Díaz Cid (2017) notes:

Pope Pius XII inherited from his predecessor the “Intermarium” project with which the Church challenged international Communism. The Jesuits were in charge of its execution, so some of them created reserved youth organizations in Latin America aimed at forming Catholic leaders capable of confronting the Communist offensive from the universities, since they were considered a nerve center.

Thus, several groups animated and advised by the Jesuits appeared in Latin America. One was the Society of Service to Christ the King (headed by Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga, S.J., in Chile): “I never knew why the Church liquidated that movement. Surely some clerics ... were outraged that the laity thought on their own and acted in politics with freedom of conscience.” Another, headed by Bernardo Leighton (collaborator of Eduardo Frei, head of state), was the National Phalanx; in the same Chile, Father Alberto de Castro was another Jesuit who encouraged youth training in some schools. Even in Cuba the Jesuits promoted youth training to encourage their groups; for example, both at the Jesuits Dolores College in Santiago de Cuba and at the Belén College in Havana, where Fidel Castro himself studied. The activity of the Jesuits also extended to the Nationalist Phalanx in Colombia, with the collaboration of Father Félix Restrepo. In Caracas, Venezuela, on the other hand, the Phalange acted with Rafael Caldera at the head of the San Ignacio School. In all this you can appreciate the presence of the Jesuits and the encouragement of youth groups. Recently, information appeared that at the University of

El Salvador, which was run by the Jesuits from Buenos Aires, Argentina, there was a reserved youth organization called “La Guardia de Hierro” [...]. In Mexico, convulsed by religious persecutions, the decade of the 1950's saw a discrete organization appear in Puebla, promoted by the Jesuits Manuel Figueroa Luna, Father Julio Vértiz, Father Agustín da Silva and Valeriano Ruíz, who convened the Yunque Foundation [...] Some of the organizations founded by the Jesuits had a strong clerical sense, depending on the direction of their founders; others, on the contrary, pioneered the acceptance and promotion of the “mature option of the laity”. From Mons. Octaviano Márquez y Toriz and from Father Figueroa we learned that: “Nihil sine Episcopus” (“Nothing without the bishop”) [...] The Anti-Communist University Front [...] was part of this action (Díaz, 2017, par. 10 -12).

Groups such as Tecos and Yunque extended into the public and private universities of Latin America under the the defense of the Christian West, and the fight against the global Communist revolution and Masonic Jewish plot. Its invisibility persists; since they are secret-reserved societies, the true members or circles of royal leaders in them are unknown. The Catholic Church insists on denying its existence. However, they inform on their activities and projects. If one delves a little into Vatican geopolitics, it will be understood what these secret societies in Mexico do, their recruitment and action mechanism (Delgado, 2003).

Historical studies about Catholic secret societies in Mexico do not omit the importance of philonazism and anti-Judaism in their ideology and social perspective (González-Ruiz, 2003, 2004a and 2004b; Díaz-Cid, 2003; Olmos, 1996; Hernández-García, 2004; Solís, 2011; Hernández-Vicencio, 2009 and Meyer,

2003). Both Yunque and Tecos played an important role in the fight against Communism of the 1960s at regional, national and international levels. The rhetoric of the plot against the Church, typical of the Intermarium, and the use of anti-Semitism as disqualifying rhetoric and xenophobic discourse, are evident in the members and followers of Mexican Catholic secret societies, and articulate their actions and philosophy in the dispute over the universities and educational spaces.

As for the “devilish tactics of the enemy”, the pastoral of Puebla coincided with what Traian Romanescu expressed in his book “The Great Jewish Conspiracy”⁶. Romanescu considered that: There is only one way to save the world from that black destiny: completely paralyze Jewish action without hesitation. As soon as the political action of Christians is organized throughout the world, political Judaism and Freemasonry and Bolshevism will be dominated. And the element of Christianity that can and should assume this task is the student sector supported by true intellectuals (Yañez, 1996, p. 90).

The text of Álvaro Delgado (2003) was followed by explanations from the members of the secret societies. This would be sufficient as evidence and testimony regarding the membership and association that these organizations had in the second part of the twentieth century; however, given the experience of reserved societies in the history of Mexico and Latin America, the encryption of information and the ambiguity

⁶ In May 1961 it reached its third edition, published by Jus publishing house, and had a remarkable success.

of the data requires stronger evidence that, hopefully, future historians will be able to provide.

Even if the hermeneutical speculation provides a superficial explanation, the connection is no less logical, and the testimonies of the participants seem to be a valid proof. However, when there's a confession, you need no proof. The recognition of the Anvil regarding its membership in the Intermarium forces us to look for what it means and, in doing so, we are guided to understand western geopolitics guided by NATO, the Allies, the Holy See and former Nazi collaborators confronting Russia in the Cold War. This inference allows us to fully understand the ideas of Samuel Huntington and Zbigniew Brzezinski that not only the 20th century began in the Balkan-Carpathian-Bosphorus region, but the 21st century as well.

The attachment of Mexican Catholic nationalism to the intransigent integral Catholicism of Polish, Romanian, Hungarian, Nazi, Italian, Croatian, Argentine, and Spanish societies, to name a few (Herrán, 2014), transmits symbolic representations that belong to the Eastern European context that the Intermarium defines. They have neither been tropicalized, nor updated, as they came to enrich the mythologies of the different reactionary groups.

The literary genre of Catholic nationalism is widely socialized in Latin America without regard to the contradictions and fallacies of the nuclear conception called the Judeomasonic Communist Conspiracy adopted by historical revisionists. According to Luis Olmos (1996), it is necessary to consider that a large part of these authors share the conception of Black Friday for Catholicism— that is, they link Judaism, Freemasonry, liberalism and revolution in the historical and political process that hurt the Catholic Church.

In Mexico, Salvador Abascal and JUS Editorial intervened in the printing and dissemination of most of this bibliography. Both González Ruiz (2003) and Ruiz Velasco (2014) call Abascal as an

intellectual genius, prolific writer, ideologist, both for the number of literary works of his authorship, and for his success at the head of JUS publishing house, which involved the exorbitant circulation of some of his works. In addition to Abascal's work, the publishing house published the titles of a select circle of conservative intellectuals, such as Francisco Vanegas Galván, Rafael Martínez del Campo, Joseph Schlarman, Lauro López Beltrán, José Gutiérrez Casillas, Jesús García Gutiérrez, Joaquín Márquez Montiel and José Bravo Ugarte, Alfonso Trueba Olivares, Carlos Alvear Acevedo, Alejandro Villaseñor and Villaseñor, Alberto María Carreño, Andrés Barquín y Ruiz, Armando de María y Campos, Antonio Rius Facius, José Fuentes Mares, Celerino Salmerón, Victoriano Salado Álvarez, José Vasconcelos, Ezequiel Chávez and Alfonso Taracena. Without considering the informative dynamics of Salvador Abascal himself, this type of literature is considered the truly nationalist and Catholic.

Abascal's texts reach a score of twenty, in which he addresses various themes from the perspective of intransigent integral Catholicism. He did several important translations, such as **Jews and Christians** by Felix Vernet. However, its impact lies in the dissemination of authors such as Traian Romanescu, Maurice Pinay and Adolfo Hitler.

Another character linked to this rhetoric is Salvador Borrego. One of the main works that synthesize and describe the elements that make up the Intermarium is his text **World Defeat** (1951), which has been printed in approximately fifty editions, with a print run of half a million copies. These materials circulate under the publishing houses of Catholic nationalism, in the main private universities of the country and city bookstores at bargain prices. Currently, they are shared without any control over the internet regarding the reading of this genre. The first market was constituted by the private

schools that Manuel Ávila Camacho⁷ generalized; then, the large Catholic collective where reserved societies such as Yunque and Tecos were freely managed. Santiago Mata (2015) and Álvaro Delgado (2003 and 2004) agree to explain about the training and recruitment that the Yunque performs on adolescents from the basic educational centers, as well as in recreational and religious spaces; this preparation is deepened during youth and maturity through university, sports and hunting training centers. These practices are generalized in the Latin American world, where they are also linked.

Rafael Barajas (2014) and Juan Cedillo (2016) have evidenced the antiquity of this maneuver. Nazism financed anti-Communist and Judeophobic propaganda in various forms of media. Both characters have documented *Operation Pastorius*, where, sinarquistas, businessmen, clerics panistas and intellectuals like José Vasconcelos participate. The parallelism with the Intermarium is inevitable.

The activism developed by the National Liberation Movement linked to General Lázaro Cárdenas generated a significant boost from social movements in Mexico. Public and some private universities, the press, intellectuality, progressive Catholicism, workers and peasants, guerrilla movements, etc., found a reference in the Cuban Revolution and in the triumph of some governments such as Jacobo Arbenz and Salvador Allende.

⁷ In the early years of the post-revolutionary governments there was enormous caution with regard to Vatican and American geopolitics (Álvarez, 2008). This situation changed after the arrangements in the Cristero War and the context prior to World War II. From World War II and during the Cold War, the sovereignty of the country was capitulated to western hegemonic actors. The *modus vivendi* was nothing other than accepting the right of the country to safeguard US interests. Since the attack on Pearl Harbor, there is a *modus vivendi* in Mexico that has been a real drag on the development of the State and society in the country. The geopolitics developed by the Catholic Church in World War II involved the linking of intransigent integral Catholicism with National Socialism and, subsequently, its active persistence against Communism in the Cold War.

This situation activated the extreme right's anti-Communist machine that favored the absolute repression of any movement that coincided with the left: there is a general recognition and admiration of the right wing towards Gustavo Díaz Ordaz on the October 2, 1968 student massacre in Mexico City.

It has been stated before that the global context of the Catholic Church from the loss of the Papal States and the evolution of nationalisms and modernity generated a fear in their faithful that led them to consider the reality of an International conspiracy against Christianity where they equally fit Jews, Freemasons, scientists, Communists and revolutionaries. From this conception, social organizations and different secret societies that shared the rhetoric of the Interamarium resurfaced as a tool against Communism.

Conclusion

It seems that, in retrospective and prospective, the analysis of Malachi Martin (1991) was correct if we look at the Catholic Church as a whole from the point of view of the Interamarium. While it is true that Mexican Catholicism has its own syncretic and popular characteristics, it is also true that there is an extreme conservative aspect in its religious fundamentalism, attached to fighting against the universal elements that threaten the Catholic Church.

Catholic traditionalist groups believe that even when the USSR has disappeared, the conspiracy against the Catholic Church remains in force and, with it, the divine punishment of human extermination is accelerated; hence the persistence of geopolitical organizations that seeks the subordination of humanity to the Bishop of Rome - like the Interamarium. The consecration to Catholic advocations and concordats with the Holy See are inaccessible elements.

Intransigent integral Catholicism insists on the creation of its own world order. After the defeat of the USSR, the strategy

also encompassed dimensions in the West and other cultures. That is, the frontal struggle against Communism is not enough; the new struggle will be against the Golden International and other religions (Martin, 1991). What stands out in the foundations of Catholic nationalism is the profile of a Vatican State to recover the ancient power of the Roman era with an imperialist attitude. This situation could explain the rise of ultraconservative political groups in the West and the blurring of ideologies in various regions of the world. The infiltration of Catholic nationalist groups demonstrates the importance of secularization.

The situation in Poland is a case study with parallels of Catholic authoritarianism in other countries in Eastern Europe and Latin America. In Poland, Romania, Croatia, Spain, Argentina, Chile and Mexico, a situation can ensue where populations that do not submit to the Catholic Church are expelled or exterminated and society, in general, is sacrificed. Only in this way can peace be achieved for uncompromising integral Catholics. Right now, for example, Catholic nationalism is charged with promoting legislation that prohibits assuming a Polish collaboration with the Nazis in World War II; these officials and politicians of the Polish right have served in Spain as diplomats, cultural attachés and teachers where they focus on the study of Carlism, Primorrivism and Franco. Santiago Mata (2015) has presented evidence on the performance and links of the Yunque in Spain under the understanding of Franco's national Catholicism.

Carlos Montemayor (2007), meanwhile, observes one of the most serious risks to national security in the clandestinity and secrecy of the Mexican extreme right. The Nation State developed espionage devices to avoid this infiltration, but in particular terms the States are geo-strategically occupied, as was the case of Spain and Mexico to safeguard the West itself, although they are then handed over to the Holy See as exchange

currency (Poland). Norberto Bobbio (2000) is not mistaken in considering that the invisible power of the Holy See is one of the most serious threats. From the birth of Mexico to independent life, these reserved societies have infiltrated the social, economic, political and cultural structure to produce a theocratic order at the service of the Vatican State. The information and study of the Mexican extreme right has increasing contributions; however, it is necessary to continue scrutinizing and discovering profound connections.

Elio Masferrer Kan (2016) has pointed out that the Pope is, first of all, geopolitical and then progressive, and the decision to reward the radical conservatives of the Mexican clergy shows a sign to state that, if they collaborate with the Bishop of Rome, things can go as they did in Karol Wojtyła's time. The situation is not pleasant for presbyters followers of social theology (libertarian or Indian) and for nationalists who, disenchanted, look at the misunderstanding of the Holy See and the urgent need for a Mexican Catholic rite; in turn, however, they have received support from Rome to maintain the unstable dynamic balance of religious forces. Not to mention the Protestant, homosexual, feminist, anarchist and radical liberal groups that, at the local and national level, observe the positioning of intolerant conservatism that crushes lay legality. Juan Linz (2004) considers a unidirectional relationship between Catholicism and politics in the history of Spain and Poland; however, he misses the behavior of the representative groups of intransigent integral Catholicism.

Not all Catholicisms are equal, and it is important to develop an awareness of their interaction. In the Polish case, we find a religion that has marked the history of the people throughout time. Catholicism is undeniable as a central element of Polish identity; there has not been an aggressive break between State and Religion, nor has the liberal transformation of the legal framework in that country been generated. The Catholic Church

has served as protection, defense and attack; however, this has implied the subjection of Poland to the Holy See. The pacts of the Polish (Martín, 1991) have served to merge Catholicism and nationalism in that country, where political regime and ecclesiastical bureaucracy have found areas of understanding and exchange.

Linz speaks of Catholicism as if it were a secondary object or actor, despite it being clear that this is not the case. On the contrary, there are Catholic groups responsible for achieving the empowerment of the Holy See and the subordination of the national government in question. In Spain, for example, the Ecclesiastical Bureaucracy was not foreign to the performance of the nationalists, Falangists, and Francoists; all of them constituted the national Catholic circle. Historical information indicates a wide collaboration between the groups of the religious extreme right and the political regime. The dejection of the Republicans and their subsequent expulsion from Spain was an instruction consented by the Holy See in order to make Franco a Catholic dictator. Luis Paredes Moctezuma (2009), former mayor of Puebla and former militant of both the Yunque and the National Action Party, denounced the secret organization El Yunque before the office of the Attorney General (PGR), exhibiting it as a fundamentalist and terrorist group that undermined the security of the State and Mexican society. The same has been revealed by the journalistic investigations of Álvaro Delgado (2003), Edgar González Ruíz (2002) and Rodolfo Montes (2011). Their information allows us to observe the penetration of Intransigent Catholicism in all the structures of Mexico. However, the case of Luis Paredes caused humiliation to the responsible authorities; partly because of his incompetence and, most seriously, because of his complicity. These studies show the leadership of the Yunque/Anvil in Latin America, the Christian Democratic International, the main educational institutions of the private sector, the business sector, and so

forth. However, as when talking about Opus Dei, Legionaries of Christ, Sodalicio, etc., nothing happens.

The factual power of intransigent integral Catholicism is invisible. While the fundamentalist religious groups of Islam, Buddhism and other beliefs are being fought in the world, nobody seems to care about the development of Catholic nationalism, which in a strict sense is equivalent to al Qaeda, Isis, the Ayatolas, and other groups like them.

The secular state faces a dilemma; it is modernized and secularized, or it is transformed into a state driven by different religious conservatisms, particularly the Catholic. Religious convictions have no shortage of different resources with which to fight against modernity and freedom.

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