

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

The Theological Justification for the Establishment of the  
Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace (*Iustitia et pax*)

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of the  
School of Theology and Religious Studies  
Of The Catholic University of America  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree

Doctor of Sacred Theology

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By

Andrew Small

Washington, D.C.

2010

The Theological Justification for the Establishment of the  
Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace (*Iustitia et pax*)

Rev. Andrew Small, OMI, LL.M., S.T.D.

Director: Rev. Brian V. Johnstone, C.S.S.R., S.T.D.

A central tenet of the *aggiornamento* undertaken by the Second Vatican Council was the Church's role in and relationship to the modern world. Pope John XXIII's call for a "pastoral" Council reached a new level of intensity in the Council's debates on the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et spes*. As if to acknowledge the inchoate nature of the Church's new vision for its role in the world, the Pastoral Constitution mandated creation of a new organism of the universal Church that would extend reflection and action on the Church's social engagement beyond the Council. This mandate, contained in article 90 of *Gaudium et spes* would become the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace.

This dissertation examines the history and theological foundations of the process leading to this decision, focusing on the development of the theology of the Church's relationship with the world during the Council itself and the immediate aftermath. Having established a new entity of the Roman Curia, Paul VI provided a basic text for the work of the new Commission two months after its establishment in his Encyclical Letter, *Populorum progressio*.

In seeking to respond to the challenges of the modern world, the study demonstrates how the Church was obliged to reflect upon its nature and mission in two ways. First, it sought from within its own teaching, reasons both for the Church's engagement with the world and the proper mode for such engagement by all the People of God, each according to his or her state. Second, the Council drew upon the history of social teaching and formulated positive recommendations designed to respond to a series of prevailing social problems summarized under the category of "justice and peace." In this way, the new understanding of the Church's engagement with the world was closely identified with the Church's response to the problems of poverty and social conflict.

This dissertation by Andrew Small fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in theology and religious studies approved by Brian V. Johnstone, S.T.D., as Director and by John Ford, S.T.D. and Joseph Capizzi, Ph.D., as Readers.

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Brian V. Johnstone, C.S.S.R., S.T.D., Director

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John Ford, C.S.C., S.T.D., Reader

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Joseph Capizzi, Ph.D., Reader

*“ONLY CONNECT THE PROSE AND THE PASSION  
AND BOTH WILL BE EXALTED,  
AND HUMAN LOVE WILL BE SEEN AT ITS HEIGHT.  
LIVE IN FRAGMENTS NO LONGER ...”*

E. M. Forster, 1910

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>I</b>	<b>Origins of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace Before and During the Council .....</b>	<b>6</b>
1	Preparation and Convocation.....	7
2	The Council in Action .....	16
3	Synthesis .....	75
<b>II</b>	<b>Implementation of article 90 from December 1965 to January 1967 .....</b>	<b>79</b>
1	Three Sources of Resistance to the New Organism .....	80
2	Stage One: Working Group on Article 90 .....	84
3	Stage Two: The Provisional Commission of Cardinal Roy .....	110
4	<i>Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam</i> .....	118
<b>III</b>	<b>The Development of a Theological Foundation for <i>Justpax</i> during the Council Period.....</b>	<b>125</b>
1	A Call from the <i>Church of the Poor Group</i> .....	126
2	Discussion during the Third Session .....	130
3	Discussion during the Fourth Session .....	164
4	Theories on Human Development in Discussions about <i>Justpax</i> .....	196
5	<i>Gaudium et spes</i> on Human Development .....	219
6	<i>Gaudium et spes</i> on the Mission of the Laity .....	250
7	<i>Gaudium et spes</i> on Ecumenical Collaboration.....	263
8	Concluding Observations .....	269
<b>IV</b>	<b>Development of a Theological Foundation for <i>Justpax</i> after the Council.....</b>	<b>273</b>
1	Justification for a Separate Commission .....	274
2	<i>Populorum Progressio</i> on Integral Human Development.....	326
3	Concluding Observations .....	354
	<b>Concluding Reflections and Questions for Further Development .....</b>	<b>367</b>
1	Synthesis.....	367
2	Questions for Today .....	373
3	A Final Word .....	387
	<b>Selected Bibliography.....</b>	<b>389</b>

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are too many people to thank by name after a project of several years duration. For his original inspiration and quiet confidence in my ability to undertake doctoral studies, I would like to thank the first Provincial of the U.S. Oblate Province, David Kalert, OMI. Special thanks go to my dissertation director, Dr. Brian V. Johnstone C.S.S.R for his guidance in adumbrating the road to be traveled. Thanks also to the two readers, Dr. John Ford C.S.C. and Dr. Joseph Capizzi for their labors with the thesis. I would also like to thank my Oblate confreres as well as my other community at the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, especially Regina Grunert, Patrick Markey and my good friend, Katherine Nuss. The legendary Tom Quigley, colleague and mentor, deserves thanks for his wisdom, wit and eagle eye. I would like to thank in a special way George McLean, OMI and Séamus Finn, OMI for their insight and example and for embodying, each in their own way, the mission and direction set forth by the Second Vatican Council and studied in this dissertation. A continuing debt of gratitude is owed to David Power, OMI, whose intellectual ethic, academic rigor and personal commitment made him an indispensable guide. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their abiding love and support, especially my mother, Mary Alice and my dear departed father, Francis, who always knew I could do it.

## **Introduction**

### **The Scope and Purpose of the Present Study**

The Second Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et spes*, committed the Church to engage the world by transforming it according to the vision of God's kingdom. Concerned that the enthusiasm to tackle the world's problems expressed during the Council's latter sessions would wane once the bishops returned home, a small group of Anglo-American clergy and laity, which had been active during the Council, formed a core group among those calling for some concrete action on behalf of the Church to face the problems of poverty and under-development. Their goal was to concretize the Council's frequently expressed concern for the world's poor. Through their efforts, as well as those of a series of individual sympathizers, between 1963 and 1965, this group managed to insert Article 90 into *Gaudium et spes*. This article called for the creation of "some organization of the universal Church to arouse the Catholic community to promote the progress of areas which are in want and foster social justice between nations."<sup>1</sup> A little over a year after the Council's closure, and after extensive consultation on how to implement article

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<sup>1</sup> Vatican Council II, "De Ecclesia in Mundo Huius Temporis: Gaudium et spes," *AAS* 58 (1966): 1025-1120. English translation for the Council texts are found in Norman P. Tanner, "Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils," Vol. 2, (London: Sheed and Ward; Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990): 817-1135.

90, Paul VI responded to Article 90 in January 1967 by establishing the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, known at the time as *Justpax*.<sup>1</sup>

Dominant throughout this period was the question: How should the Church respond to the Council's call to engage the "urgent problems" facing humankind in the mid-1960s? A response to this question was found in the new Pontifical Commission. A theological reflection on the justification for this new Commission as it developed between 1963 and 1967 is the subject of this dissertation.

The self-styled group of "conspirators" or *cospiratori* to use their Italian cognate included the prominent American Catholic layman James J. Norris as well as the renowned British lay woman Barbara Ward. With a handful of collaborators and with connections that extended to Pope Paul VI, this group developed a justification for the new Commission through extensive correspondence, memoranda and reports to the Holy See that outlined three defining structural characteristics of significance for the new organism. This study presents two important aspects of the Council's reception. First, it shows how the Council's teaching was interpreted and translated into concrete ecclesial structures that gave a boost to the Church's presence in the social realm. Second, it shows the development during and after the

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<sup>1</sup> In documents and records from the period under investigation, *Justpax* was translated into English generally as "Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace." For lexicographical reasons, we have chosen to use the translation "Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace" throughout the dissertation. This latter version is more in line with the modern translation given to the same Curial body, which, since the Apostolic Constitution *Pastor Bonus* issued by Pope John Paul II in June 1988 is now called the *Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace* [emphasis added].

Council of the Church's theology of (human) development that was rooted in the virtue of Christian charity.

Important for this latter aspect was the publication by Paul VI, two months after the establishment of *Justpax*, of the Encyclical Letter *Populorum Progressio*, which the Pope described as the *magna carta* of *Justpax*. Styled in terms of the Church's teaching going back to Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*, *Populorum Progressio* followed the Pastoral Constitution's call to scrutinize the signs of the times *sub luce evangelii* and presented a comprehensive vision for integral human development. The enthusiasm with which the principal architects of the Commission worked towards its establishment, combined with the plan of work set out in *Populorum Progressio*, set the Church's social engagement on a new trajectory in the post-conciliar period. These developments helped foster the Church's activity in combating poverty and under-development in the years after the Council.

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the theological justification proposed for *Justpax* during the Second Vatican Council and in the immediate post-conciliar period, through an investigation of the work of the Council as well as the work of the principal architects of the new Commission between 1963 and 1967.

## **The Structure of the Present Study**

The first two chapters will trace the history of Article 90 of *Gaudium et spes* and the process that led to the establishment of *Justpax*. Chapter one will deal with the pre-conciliar and conciliar periods, beginning just before the Council opened and focusing attention on the last two sessions of the Council when the bulk of the work on *Gaudium et spes* took place. Chapter two will trace the history of the implementation of article 90 during the first year after the Council's closure until the establishment of *Justpax* in January 1967.

In chapter three, the dissertation will critically investigate the theological justification for what became *Justpax* as the argument for its establishment developed during the Council. We will do this through a careful examination of the interventions made in the Council chamber, tracing the discussion on charity, justice, solidarity and development that took place in the formation of *Gaudium et spes*. This will be accompanied by a thorough examination of these issues in the final version of the Pastoral Constitution itself.

In chapter four, the dissertation will critically investigate the theological justification for the new Commission presented in the activity of the *cospiratori* and their collaborators (and opponents) between the end of the Council and the establishment of *Justpax* in January, 1967. Important for understanding the theological foundations of the new Commission is the Pope's Encyclical Letter, *Populorum progressio* which was published in March 1967 and will be the subject of close investigation.

In a brief concluding section, we will offer a synthesis of the results of our investigation and pose several questions that arise from this study that might be relevant in the

contemporary context. Having presented the theological issues pertinent to the Council's teaching on the Church's social mission as developed around the establishment of *Justpax*, the reader will have a better understanding of the Council's teaching on justice and peace as well as a key moment in the historical implementation of the Council's teaching.

This dissertation offers two unique contributions to the academic study of the Council and particularly of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace. First, it represents the only scholarly work dedicated to the history of *Justpax* and to a study of its theological foundations.<sup>1</sup> This investigation has brought into the academic realm materials that, to date, have not been brought to light. Second, this dissertation offers, for the first time, a close analysis of the discussion that took place in St. Peter's Basilica during the last two sessions of the Council regarding the Church's response to poverty as the touchstone for its relationship with the modern world. Together, these two elements represent a unique contribution to the academic study of the Second Vatican Council and its implementation.

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the archival material used in this dissertation is also presented in the doctoral dissertation on the life and world of James J. Norris. See Fr. Raymond Kupke, *An American Life: A Biography of James J. Norris*, (Doctoral Dissertation, CUA, 1987), [hereafter *Kupke*]. See also a short description of the history of *Justpax* in Gilles Routhier, "De Nouvelles Initiatives pour la Justice et la Paix," in *Paul VI et Maurice Roy: un itinéraire pour la justice et la paix: journées d'étude, Québec, 1er-3ème Avril 2004*. (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Paolo VI, 26. Brescia: Istituto Paolo VI, 2005), 11-37, [hereafter *Routhier*].

## Chapter One

### Origins of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace before and during the Council

The Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace was established by Pope Paul VI in the *motu proprio Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam* on January 6, 1967.<sup>4</sup> The newly-established Pontifical Commission was intended to implement the directive contained in Article 90 of *Gaudium et Spes* to “create some organization of the universal Church ... to arouse the Catholic community to promote the progress of areas which are in want and foster social justice between nations.”<sup>5</sup>

The fruit of sustained effort by a determined group of Catholics both before and during Vatican II, most of who were lay men and women from the United States and Great Britain, the establishment of the Pontifical Commission can be considered an early harvest of the work of the Second Vatican Council. It also served as a significant moment in interpreting and implementing the Church’s social teaching, first articulated by Pope Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum* and reaching a new unity in the Pastoral Constitution. Support for an organism of the Roman Curia charged with post-conciliar implementation of justice and peace concerns

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<sup>4</sup> Pope Paul VI, *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*, *Acta Apostolica Sedis* [hereafter *AAS*] 59 (1967): 25-8; English translation in *The Pope Speaks* 12 (1967): 103-6 [hereafter *CCE*].

<sup>5</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, article 90: “...valde opportunum aestimat creationem alicuius Ecclesiae universalis organismi, cuius sit catholicorum communitatem excitare ut progressus indigentium regionum necnon iustitia socialis inter nationes promoveantur.”

did not emerge clearly until well into the Council itself. It was around the same time the Council fathers were coming to grips with the theological content and structure of the Pastoral Constitution. This chapter will outline the development of the idea of this new organism before and during the Council, highlighting both the reasons offered in support of a new organism as well as the explanations associated with its establishment. The next chapter will address the same questions in the post-conciliar period. It is hoped that this presentation will serve as the basis for a more systematic examination of the texts and activities related to this Commission in light of the debate over its inclusion in the Pastoral Constitution itself.

## ***1 Preparation and Convocation***

According to Peter Hebblethwaite, Pope John XXIII had begun thinking of the idea of convoking a Council even before his coronation. The main goal of such a gathering would be to find ways to make the Church relevant to the modern world. Such a proposal would require a close study and commentary on both the Church and the world.<sup>6</sup>

An indication of the Pope's own hopes for the impending Council can be assessed from key documents and statements issued prior to the Council's opening in September 1962 that we will briefly examine. Perhaps most significant was the Pope's first Encyclical Letter, *Mater et magistra*, issued in May 1961.

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<sup>6</sup> Peter Hebblethwaite, *John XIII: Pope of the Council*, (London: Chapman, 1984) 307, 397.

## 1.1 *Mater et Magistra*<sup>7</sup>

Significant in terms of its orientation towards social questions *Mater et magistra* sought to address the human condition in the world in its entirety. The Pope stressed that the Church must be interested in the earthly and not just the heavenly reality<sup>8</sup> and presented in some detail the Church's concern for the condition of the human person. This concern reflected the teaching of Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum* and included the insights of Pius XI and Pius XII.

The meeting point between heaven and earth can be found in one's well-being and the extent to which the fullness of life is enjoyed and how it flows from one's inherent dignity.<sup>9</sup> Pope John emphasized the importance of defending this human dignity. To do so, the Church must collaborate in seeking to eradicate all that stands as a hindrance to this dignity and furthermore to establish the principles of justice and equity on the earth.<sup>10</sup> The daily activities to which the Church must address her concern include education, work, private property, marriage, family, religious, social, economic and political freedom and culture. All these themes would be discussed during the Council and reiterated in the Pastoral Constitution

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<sup>7</sup> John XXIII, *Mater et magistra*, *AAS* 53 (1961): 401-461. English translation Claudia Carlin, *The Papal Encyclicals: 1958-1981*, (Raleigh: Perlian Press, 1981): 60-90. [hereafter *MM*].

<sup>8</sup> "Quamvis igitur Ecclesiae sanctae ante omnia sit animos ad sanctitatem adducere et bonorum caelestium facere participes, eadem tamen de cotidianae quoque hominum vitae necessitatibus sollicita est," *ibid*, 402.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 456.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*.

*Gaudium et spes*.<sup>11</sup> The tone of the Encyclical was “practical, positive and pastoral,”<sup>12</sup> which likened it to the Pastoral Constitution.

On the question of poverty, the Pope was clear in identifying it as a scourge that weighed on the Christian conscience. The enormous gap between the rich one-third and the poor two-thirds of the human family was, the Pope said, “perhaps the most pressing question of our day.”<sup>13</sup>

The Pope’s teaching on social questions is important given its timeliness and the way in which the Encyclical’s publication coincided with the Council’s preparatory work. *Mater et magistra* has been described as the last act in the first period of the development of the Church’s social teaching. Citing extensively from the teaching of his predecessors on the social questions, John reaffirmed the Church’s role in intervening in the secular order so as to indicate the proper goal and end of the social order and human activity within it.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *MM* 18, 21, 45, 54, 193, 194 found in *GS* 8, 16, 17, 25, 29, 41, 47-43, 59, 71.

<sup>12</sup> J. Fitzsimons, “*Mater et Magistra*,” *The Clergy Review*, 46 (1961): 706-715, 706.

<sup>13</sup> *MM*, 157

<sup>14</sup> *Routhier*, 11.

## 1.2 *Humanae Salutis*<sup>15</sup>

In summoning the Council on Christmas Day 1961, Pope John XXIII expressed his hope that the Council would address the needs of the modern world and bring the vivifying message of the Gospel into contact with the needs of the modern person:

The Church is now called upon to take the perennial, vital divine power of the Gospel and to inject it into the veins of the human society of today, which glories in its recent scientific and technological advances, at the same time that it is suffering damage to its social order, which some people have tried to repair without God's assistance.<sup>16</sup>

The Pope presented this salutary power of the Church within the context of the global issues menacing the well-being of the human condition. These issues ranged from nuclear war to individual and national poverty – themes that would be discussed in greater detail in the Council hall. Already Pope John was signaling his desire that the Council address the human person in his or her concrete daily life, seeking practical advice to guide the person in the pursuit of God's plan of salvation. The human condition was not to be examined in the abstract but in the real-life confines of the 1960s.

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<sup>15</sup> Pope John XIII, "*Constitutio Apostolica: Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum II* indicitur," *Acta Apostolica Sedis* [hereafter *AAS*] 54 (1962): 5-13. See the English translation: John XXIII, "The Apostolic Constitution *Humanae Salutis*: An Apostolic Constitution of Our Most Holy Lord, Pope John XXIII, proclaiming the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican," *The Pope Speaks* 7 (1962): 353-361.

<sup>16</sup> "Siquidem id ab Ecclesia nunc requiritur, ut virtutem perennem, vitalem, divinam Evangelii in venas iniciat eius, quae hodie est, humanae communitatis; quae gloriatur quidem de rebus a se recens in artium doctrinarumque provincias invectis, sed eius patitur socialis disciplinae damna, quam quidam, posthabito Deo, restituere conati sunt." *Humanae Salutis*, 3; *The Pope Speaks*, 354.

### 1.3 Radio Address, September 11, 1962<sup>17</sup>

A month before officially opening the Council, Pope John presented his hopes for the up-coming Council in a radio address on September 11, 1962. The theme of his address was that as Christ had illuminated the Church, so the Church's mission is to illuminate the world. The Pope made the critical distinction between the vitality of the Church's life "*ad intra*" and her role "*ad extra*."<sup>18</sup>

The Church needs to be re-examined with regard to her interior structure as vitality "*ad intra*" in the act of representing the treasures of illuminating the faith and of sanctifying grace... The Church seen in the light of her relations of vitality *ad extra*, i.e. the Church facing the exigencies and needs of the peoples... feels obliged to teach them of their responsibility; to handle the worldly goods in such a way that they may not lose sight of eternal ones.<sup>19</sup>

Pope John XXIII listed poverty as one of a series of problems that the Council would be called to address. The Pope said: "Confronted with underdeveloped countries, the Church offers herself as she is and wants to be: the Church for all and particularly the Church of the

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<sup>17</sup> John XXIII, "Nuntius Radiophonicus: Universis catholici orbis christifidelibus, mense ante quam Oecumenicum Concilium sumeret initium," *AAS* 54 (1962): 678-685. See English translation: John XXIII, "Opening Address," *Catholic Documents*, 4 (1964): 21-27.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Moeller traces the development of this speech to Cardinal Suenens. C. Moeller, "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, (N.Y.: Herder and Herder, 1969) 8 [hereafter *Moeller*]. Philippe Delhay reports that the intervention of Suenens, as well as that of Cardinal Montini the following day, were the result of a mission given them by John XXIII. See Philippe Delhay, "Histoire des textes de la constitution pastorale," *L'Eglise dans le monde de ce temps, Constitution Pastorale "Gaudium et spes"* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1967) Vol. I, 217-8.

<sup>19</sup> John XXIII, "Radio Message," 680.

poor.”<sup>20</sup> Explicitly, the Pope addressed the themes of justice and peace, fixing the gaze of the arriving participants toward the plight of suffering humanity and the Church’s relation to the world in which such suffering was evident. The Pope’s address stressed the Church’s responsibilities in the world that encompass the entirety of man’s earthly existence, his need for sustenance, for the equitable distribution of the fruits of the earth, for care for developing nations, for civil peace and social order.<sup>21</sup>

The Pope, in outlining what would be dealt with in the Pastoral Constitution, had given the first coherent synthesis of a suggestion submitted by Council Fathers during the preparatory stages of the Council.<sup>22</sup> The Council’s first message, drafted by French theologian, Marie-Dominique Chenu, would echo the Pope’s direction for the Council of promoting peace and seeking justice.

#### **1.4 Poverty Groups at the Council**

Translating the concerns expressed by the Pope immediately prior to the Council into concrete structures began during the Council, emerging in a formal way during the Council’s Second Session and eventually codified in article 90 of the Pastoral Constitution itself.

Echoing the concerns expressed by Pope John before the Council were many Council

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<sup>20</sup> “In faccia ai paesi sotto sviluppati la Chiesa si presenta quale è, e vuol essere, come la Chiesa di tutti, e particolarmente la Chiesa dei poveri,” *ibid*, 682.

<sup>21</sup> “Giustizie e pace,” *ibid*, 682-3.

<sup>22</sup> Ralph M. Wiltgen, *The Rhine Flows Into the Tiber*, (N.Y.: Hawthorne, 1966), 206.

participants steeped in the daily reality of poverty and hunger from many parts of the developing world. Their practical experience formed the bedrock for the Council's reflection and pronouncements on the Church's responsibility to engage the world's problems. Making sure that the Council's works were translated into concrete steps would involve the efforts of many different Council persons.

This effort to convert the Council's mandate into a Pontifical Commission benefited from the work of three distinct groups. The first such group, gathered under the title of the *Church of the Poor*, was comprised of bishops and experts from the third world and was focused on the charismatic auxiliary bishop of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Dom Helder Câmara. Dom Helder found an equal in terms of passion for the theme of poverty in the powerful council father, Cardinal Suenens.<sup>23</sup> In fact, Suenens had first published his ideas on the Church's need to combat world poverty in a pastoral letter that he issued in the spring of 1962 which had reached the attention of John XXIII at that time.<sup>24</sup> In the pastoral letter, Suenens made the distinction between the Church *ad intra* and *ad extra*, a theme taken up in the radio address of John XXIII a month before the start of the Council.<sup>25</sup> This "poverty group"

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<sup>23</sup> Jan Grootaers, *I Protagonisti del Vaticano II* (Rome: San Paolo, 1994), 235.

<sup>24</sup> This interest was confirmed in discussions between the two in April 1962, in which the proposition of discussing the Church's life *ad intra* and *ad extra* during the Council was discussed. See Cardinal Léon Joseph Suenens, "Témoignage," in *Giovanni Battista Montini Archivescovo di Milano è il Concilio ecumenico Vaticano II. Preparazione è il primo periodo*, (Roma-Brescia: Studium et Istituto Paolo VI, 1985) 178-187; also L-J. Suenens, "A Plan for the Whole Council," in Alberic Stacpoole, ed., *Vatican II Revisited by Those Who Were There*, (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1986), 88-105.

<sup>25</sup> See *Moeller*, 8.

concerned itself with the goal of having the Council agenda address poverty in some concrete way. Its informal gatherings at Rome's Belgian College became an attraction to experts/*periti* and commentators seeking to introduce the world's woes into the Council's deliberations.

A second group came out of the growing peace movement that linked the Church's social mission with the promotion of peace. The International Catholic Peace Movement or *Pax Christi* was founded in France in 1945 at the end of World War II. The intent of its founders was to forge bonds of peace and friendship between France and Germany after the horrors of the war. *Pax Christi* had become an international force by the 1960s, with two world wars in quick succession still fresh in most people's minds, kept alive, perhaps, by the major conflicts in several parts of the world, notably in Vietnam, that indicated the larger context of a global Cold War. The threat of nuclear war that had been referenced before the Council in papal teaching hung over the Council's opening session and would generate intense debate when the Pastoral Constitution came up for discussion in the Council's two final sessions.

A third significant and discrete group that fed into the movement in support of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace was those promoting an increased appreciation of the apostolate of the laity.<sup>26</sup> Focus on the role of the laity was well developed at the start of the Council. Pope Pius XII had lent support for two World Congresses on the Laity in 1951

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<sup>26</sup> Bernard Minvielle, *L'Apostolat des laïcs à la veille du Concile (1949-1957): histoire des Congrès mondiaux de l'apostolat des laïcs de 1951 et 1957*, (Fribourg, Suisse Éditions universitaires, 2001).

and 1957. In 1952, following the first Congress, Pius XII set up the Permanent Committee for International Congresses of the Lay Apostolate (COPECIAL) that would provide expert advice as well as a reference point on the lay apostolate during the Council. Article 26 of the decree on the laity, *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, specifically called for the establishment of a Secretariat of the Laity.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to specific efforts such as those mentioned the intellectual environment regarding poverty during these years is vital. The doctoral thesis of Fr. Gilles Couvreur defended at the Gregorian in 1961, “The Poor: Do They Have Rights?”<sup>28</sup> or the series of reflections compiled by Canon François Houtart entitled, “Eglise et monde à propos du Schéma XVII,” which were published in 1964 both reveal a lively intellectual stream of theological reflection.<sup>29</sup>

All these groups had their means of communication as well as their members and supporters and would converge on Rome in the fall of 1962 with their own reflections on the Pope’s call for *aggiornamento*. Among them were key clerics, lay men and lay women who would bring their experience and understanding of the Church’s mission to bear on the

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<sup>27</sup> “Constituatur insuper apud Sanctam Sedem peculiaris aliquis secretariatus in servitium et impulsus apostolatus laicorum,” *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, n. 26, *AAS* 58 (1966): 837-864, 858.

<sup>28</sup> Fr. Gilles Couvreur, “Les pauvres ont-ils des droits?: recherches sur le vol en cas d'extrême nécessité, depuis la Concordia de Gratien (1140) jusqu'à Guillaume d'Auxerre (1231),” *Analecta Gregoriana*, v. 111. (Roma: Libreria editrice dell'Università Gregoriana, 1961).

<sup>29</sup> Canon François Houtart, “The Challenge to Change; The Church Confronts the Future,” (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964).

Council's response to the plight of human suffering. In various ways, the small group of people who pressed for the establishment of a new Commission to deal with world poverty would be associated with these three distinct strains within the Church of the 1960s and would use each strain as a sphere of influence that would provide ballast and momentum to their cause for an organ of the Holy See dedicated to the fight against world poverty.

## 2 *The Council in Action*<sup>30</sup>

### 2.1 First Session

The Second Vatican Council opened on 11 October, 1962 after almost four years of preparatory work. Very soon, the implications of convoking the world's bishops became apparent starting with the diversity of participants entering St. Peter's basilica for the opening mass. Shortly after discussion began, the idea that the Council would swiftly endorse the prepared texts was dispelled. One of the preliminary tasks of electing members to the various

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<sup>30</sup> The primary source for the Council is the *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II*, (Rome: Tyis Polygottis Vaticanis, 1970-1996) [hereafter *AS*]. In addition to the comprehensive history of the Pastoral Constitution presented by Giovanni Turbanti, *Un concilio per il mondo moderno: La redazione della costituzione pastorale "Gaudium et spes" del Vaticano II* (Milano: Milan, 2000) [hereafter *Turbanti*], we have used the compilation of daily reports found in the five-volume work in Italian by Giovanni Caprile *Il Concilio Vaticano II*, (Rome: Edizioni "La Civiltà Cattolica," 1996-1969), [hereafter *Caprile*] and the more concise English version, Floyd Anderson, ed., *The Council Daybook*, Vols. 1-3, (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1965) [hereafter *The Council Daybook*]. In addition, we shall draw upon the *History of Vatican II*, Vols. 1-5. (Leuven: Peeters; Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1995-) [hereafter *History*]. Two other commentaries will be used frequently throughout: *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967-1969), [hereafter *Vorgrimler*]; and Guilherme Baraúna, *La Chiesa nel Mondo di Oggi: Studi e commenti intorno alla costituzione pastorale Gaudium et spes*, (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1967), [hereafter *Baraúna*].

commissions was delayed while new lists were drafted more acceptable to the whole body. So began the great reordering.

#### **a        The Work of the Council**

On December 4, 1962, Cardinal Léon Joseph Suenens addressed the Council in light of the proposed document on the Church, *De Ecclesia*. Suenens repeated many of the points made by John XXIII in his Radio Address a month before the Council, echoing John's call for this Council to proclaim the "Church of Christ, the Light of the World."<sup>31</sup> Suenens developed the Pope's distinction between the Church's internal and external life,<sup>32</sup> outlining the major problems of the world which the Council should face. Among these he listed the Church's defense of the inviolability of all life and the right to procreation. Second, Suenens explained the Church's responsibility for "social justice," that would combat the moral scandal of world poverty.<sup>33</sup> Third, Suenens questioned in what way the Church should be an example of evangelical poverty.<sup>34</sup> Fourth, he inserted the Church into the effort for international peace and the struggle against war. Of note for the development of *Justpax* was an indication made

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<sup>31</sup> "Ita huic Concilio Vaticano II ipse Vicarius Christi et Ecclesiae visibile caput, fulgens nomen veluti imponere visus est, cum Oecumenicam Synodum, mende antequam ea inciperet, hisce verbis consultavit: 'Ecclesia Christi, lumen gentium,'" *AS*, I/4, 222.

<sup>32</sup> "Hanc rationem sic proponere velim: Concilium sit Concilium 'de Ecclesia' et habeat duas partes: *de Ecclesia ad intra* – *de Ecclesia ad extra*," *ibid*, 223.

<sup>33</sup> "Quodnam est officium theoreticum et practicum nationum, quae divitiis gaudent, erga 'tertium mundum' vel erga nationes, quae fame afficiuntur?" *Ibid*, 224.

<sup>34</sup> "Quaenam dicendi habeat Ecclesia de ipsa evangelizatione pauperum et de condicionibus ex parte nostra requisitis ut nostrum testimonium ad eos perveniat, et ab ipsis accipiatur?" *Ibid*.

by the Belgian Cardinal that just as there was a secretariat for ecumenical relations, so a similar entity might be established to deal with these social issues.<sup>35</sup>

The suggestion of concrete steps designed to combat world poverty and hunger emerged during the revision of chapters III and IV of the schema on the laity.<sup>36</sup> On December 5, 1962, the list of remaining schemata to be dealt with by the Council was published. It included two areas that seemed to duplicate the topics: *De ordine sociali* and *De communitate gentium*. Bishop Franz Hengsbach of Essen, Germany wrote to Monsignor Glorieux, the Secretary of the Laity Commission, and proposed a new schema. Hengsbach also wrote to Cardinal Döpfner who had recently been made a member of the Central Coordinating Commission, the body established to oversee the management of the Council's business. Another member of the CCC, Cardinal Urbani, was charged making a similar proposal in his capacity as President of the Laity Commission. The session ended in some disarray.

## 2.2 First Intersession

As the Council reorganized and re-launched its work following the first session, the idea of an initiative designed to bring the riches of the Church's teaching to the practical domain of worldly affairs was at the forefront of Cardinal Suenens and members of the

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<sup>35</sup> "Ad res autem sociales quod attinet, optandum sane videtur ut eae in hoc Concilio magis directe et diffuse tractentur, sicut de rebus oecumenicis a proprio secretariatu iam factum est; ac, si opus est, aliquid simile fiat." Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> *Turbanti*, 171.

poverty, laity and peace groups discussed above. A sign of this new direction was the establishment of the Mixed Commission in January 1963 charged with uniting the expertise of the theological commission and the commission on the apostolate of the laity in bringing this project forward. The proposal was to prepare a schema for the next session of the Council.

A month after the establishment of the Mixed Commission, French Dominican Fr. Louis-Joseph Lebreton was asked by Archbishop Dell'Acqua, the *Sostituto* in the Secretariat of State, to offer a brief paper on the presence of the Church in the world. Lebreton has been a member of the Holy See's delegation to the First Plenary Meeting of UNCTAD (United Nations Committee on Trade and Development), delivering a rousing address on February 8, 1963 on just the topic for which Dell'Acqua was seeking counsel, probably on behalf of the pope himself.

Immediately after receiving the request, Lebreton drafted the note and submitted it to the Apostolic Palace.<sup>37</sup> Lebreton had been deeply engaged in bringing the Church's teaching to action on behalf of justice during his professional life. In the note to Dell'Acqua, Lebreton presented what had become recurring themes in his writing, especially in his role as advisor to the French hierarchy during the Council's preparatory period. Lebreton spelled out how he urged the Church to be more present to the world beginning with the need for the Church to

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<sup>37</sup> "Éléments pour intensifier certains modes de présence de l'Église au monde. Note demandée par S. E. Monseigneur Dell'Acqua comme suite à son audience du 28 février 1963 au père Louis Joseph Lebreton," cited in Denis Pelletier, *Économie et Humanisme: de l'utopie communautaire au combat pour le tiers-monde (1941-1966)* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1996), 398 [hereafter *Pelletier*].

tackle the problem of underdevelopment in many parts of the world. Any Church action should, he claimed, be supported by rigorous research and analysis modeled on his own efforts in France that led to the establishment of a Catholic think-tank called IRFED, the International Federation of Education and Development. The note was read by John XXIII himself who was so impressed; he distributed the note to the Roman dicasteries for study.<sup>38</sup>

Lebret's role at this early stage of the formation of a new anti-poverty organism within the Roman Curia is important for its emphasis on rigorous research and analysis. Lebret – a sociologist by training – was at the forefront of applying the world of social sciences, particularly in developmental economics, to the Church's call for social justice. Present at the Council's beginning through the notes and briefings he prepared for the French bishops, Lebret was sidelined to some extent, emerging once again as a member of one of several sub-commissions on schema XIII that were active during the final drafting phase of the Pastoral Constitution. Lebret began his career work among the Breton fishing communities of Northern France, articulating a model for complete development of the worker, the family and the community. From this experience he founded the *Economy and Humanism* movement. Working from an appreciation of Marxist analysis, Lebret provided intellectual texture to the practical efforts that would go along with the thrust for the establishment of *Justpax*.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

### 2.3 Encyclical Letter *Pacem in Terris*, April 1963

During the period when the Council's work and agenda underwent significant reorganization, John XXIII issued his second major encyclical entitled *Pacem in terris* that dealt with the topic of peace.<sup>39</sup> Themes dealt with in this encyclical clearly touched upon those being discussed for inclusion in what was, at that time, referred to as Schema XVII because of its placement in the order of proposed Conciliar schema developed in light of the reorganization of the Council's work after the first session. Anything but theoretical, the encyclical confronted the current Cold War tensions that had recently manifested themselves in the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962. The document seemed like an outright condemnation of the prevailing Cold War.

The Encyclical offered several novel approaches both to the content and style of papal social teaching. *Pacem in terris* introduced the concept of reading the signs of the times as a hermeneutical key in forming the Church's social teaching. With the threat of outright annihilation ever present, the document could not avoid speaking about the Church's hope for the world without beginning with the pressing challenges of the time, most notably the real chance of nuclear war.

Methodologically, *Pacem in terris* was a novel approach to social teaching. By encouraging an initial evaluation of the signs of the times, the document employed an

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<sup>39</sup> John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* AAS 55 (1963): 257-304. English translation in *The Pope Speaks*, 9 (1963/1964): 13-48 [hereafter *PT*].

inductive approach that displayed a new openness to the world as a source of information. The document also makes key distinctions between systems, people and movements in forming communities of peace which would encourage a more structured dialogue between Catholics and non-Catholics

The methodology put in place through *Pacem in terris* would inevitably turn to the world more and more in seeking material for the analysis prescribed in the encyclical itself. With a Council more open to the world, it is no surprise that it would not take long for the world and its problems to become the concern of the Council. More than this, *Pacem in terris* raised the expectation of those preparing for the Council's discussion of the Church's role in the modern world.

Between April and September of 1963, the Mixed Commission held several meetings in view of drafting a new version of schema XVII. The work was interrupted – albeit briefly – by the death of John XXIII on June 3. Giovanni Battista Cardinal Montini was elected during the conclave less than three weeks later on June 21, taking the name of Paul VI. The orientation given the Council by John was reaffirmed by his successor in the homily during his coronation mass.

In September, a group of experts gathered under the direction of Cardinal Suenens in his home diocese and produced what became known as the Malines text. Included among the group were Frs. Congar, Rahner and Mgr. Gérard Philips, a key architect of the final document. Their intent was to explore the theological foundations of a document designed to

speak to the world about both the Church and the world in a constructive way, but also in a way that preserved the timeless nature of the Church's teaching. Moeller describes the task facing those gathered around Cardinal Suenens:

[I]t was decided to start with a theological statement on the Church's mission. Those taking part in fact thought it would be impossible to describe the state of the world of today without descending into platitude. The most important reason, however, was that an "objective" and "neutral" description is impossible. A description must necessarily be based on criteria and it would therefore be better to state them. The final reason was that this would make clear the real purposes of the schema, which was to show the light which the gospel throws on the contemporary world.<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps in their efforts to shore up the theological and definitive quality of the document, the Malines text was criticized severely by the Mixed Commission when it was finally considered at its meeting on November 29, 1963, after the close of the second session. Moeller identified the majority of the comments with those who saw the Malines text as too lofty and not sufficiently concerned with "concrete things." Instead, "many wanted to follow the style of *Mater et magistra* and *Pacem in terris*, so as to gain a hearing from modern humanity."<sup>41</sup>

Regarding the practical concerns for the world's poor that were to be contained in the fourth and final part of the Malines text, such concerns were removed from the main body of

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<sup>40</sup> Moeller, 21.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 25.

the text and placed in the “Instructions” that were to outline the services that the Church performed for the world.

## **2.4 Second Session: September 29 – December 4, 1963**

### **a The Work of the Council**

The schema on the Church’s presence in the world was not discussed during the second session. However, there was growing debate on the need for the Church to offer a credible voice on how to respond to the world’s problems. During this session, twenty-seven bishops made interventions highlighting the need for the Church to respond to the situation of poverty in the world. Even at this early stage and during a discussion of the schema on the Church, Cardinal Arriba y Castro of Taragona, Spain, called for the establishment of a poverty secretariat<sup>42</sup> that would coordinate the study of social problems and assist in promoting social justice throughout the world: “Let us therefore not leave to Marxism the hope of the poor and especially of workers, by which they will forever be deluded.”<sup>43</sup>

Cardinal Suenens made the first public statement regarding a draft declaration dealing with “The Presence of the Church in the World,” on October 8, 1963 at a press conference under the auspices of the Council’s documentation center. It was to be known as schema XVII

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<sup>42</sup> “Quapropter ego auderem postulare ut inter officia Romanae Curiae Congregatio instituatur rebus socialis praeposita ut iustitia socialis ubique promoveatur,” *AS*, II/2, 309.

<sup>43</sup> “Ne relinquamur ergo marxismo spem pauperum et maxime operariorum qua in perpetuum deludantur,” *ibid.*

in light of the reorganization of the Council's proceedings. The document, according to Suenens, would likely deal with the problems that the Church is facing in both general and specific ways. It was unlikely, according to the Cardinal, that the text would offer specific answers to such vitally important questions as peace, social progress and family since such questions had not yet had time to mature. Hence, it would be inappropriate for the Church to make premature pronouncements, especially before extensive consultation on such questions had been undertaken, "especially with lay leaders."<sup>44</sup>

## **b        The Work of the Cospiratori**

### ***Formation of the Core Group***

Amid this activity, a group of individuals with similar backgrounds and experiences in both the Church and the anti-poverty movement began to get to know each other and share ideas regarding the Council's agenda and how it might be shaped according to the need to insert development concerns. This group of men and one woman had a global view of the Church that was rooted in their experience from extensive global travel as well as their respective expertise. James J. Norris, member of the leadership team of Catholic Relief Services was appointed a lay auditor to the council by Paul VI in September 1963, just prior to the start of the Council's second session. Norris had worked with then-Monsignor Montini

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<sup>44</sup> *Council Daybook*, Vol 1, 155.

after World War II when they collaborated in the work of resettling refugees from Europe to the United States. In time, Norris would be introduced to Barbara Ward, a well-known Catholic economist and journalist from England. Ward enjoyed the title of Baroness Jackson of Wadsworth because of her marriage to the Australian Sir Robert Jackson in 1950, an accomplished development specialist who earned his reputation in post-war relief efforts in Europe. Two other Englishmen completed the Anglo-sub-set of the group of conspirators; Father Gerald Mahon, Superior General of the Mill Hill Missionaries and the only actual Council member among the group, and his personal adviser, Father Arthur McCormack who was a demographer and economist.

From their early meetings in 1963 and 1964, other experts in the field of poverty and social justice were assembled and formed a group that came to be known as the *conspiratori*. The group named itself. Translated as “conspirators” it reflects the belief among the members that they were on a mission to influence the Council in a significant way and according to non-direct means of intervention. This group would quickly come to include Monsignor Joseph Gremillion, a native of Shreveport, Louisiana, the then director of socio-economic development for Catholic Relief Services and long-time advocate for civil rights in the United States. Gremillion would play an increasingly key role in development of *Justpax*, ultimately serving as the new Commission’s first Secretary. Fr. Bernard Häring, present at the Council as co-secretary of the Mixed Commission, shared the vision of the *conspiratori*. Although not a regular attendee of their planning meetings, Häring would be an important bearer of the anti-

poverty message within the Council's discussion at the committee level where much of the drafting and editing went on.

The importance of this group to the eventual establishment of *Justpax* will become evident. At the same time, many others present during and after the Council were supporters of the efforts to form a specialized unit of the Roman Curia that would focus the Church's efforts in bringing the message of the Gospel to situations of poverty, hunger and exclusion. Nonetheless, it is difficult – in light of available material – to conceive of a similar group dedicated to the birth of *Justpax*. In this study, many other Church leaders will appear in supportive roles. Each one's respective contribution to the establishment of *Justpax* should not be underestimated and could, at times, have made the difference between the survival of the project or its collapse.

Of particular note is the place and role of the French theologian and sociologist, Dominican Fr. Louis-Joseph Lebret who would interact regularly with the *conspiratori*. Advisor to the French hierarchy during the Council's preparation, Lebret had traveled extensively and had published widely on the relationship between the Gospel and the modern social sciences. Lebret's intellectual contribution to the founding of *Justpax* will be developed in greater detail in subsequent chapters. However, Lebret's contribution to the effort envisaged in schema XVII was already reaching the highest levels of the Church.

On September 25, 1963, Lebreton had an audience with Paul VI after which he sent a 23 page memorandum offering commentary on schema XVII.<sup>45</sup> The memorandum reflected Lebreton's anthropology of Christian humanism. As such, Lebreton begins with an assessment of the hopes and anguishes of the modern person that finds "true divinization"<sup>46</sup> with the message of salvation that comes through Christ and the Church.

Lebreton moved from the *imago dei* present in the existing schema towards a focus on Christ as the model of the new humanity. Through repeated reference to St. Paul's Letter to the Ephesians, humankind finds in the Church the saving presence of Christ for all humankind that "once far off and has now been drawn near" (Eph. 1:13).<sup>47</sup> Through the Church, humanity is set free.<sup>48</sup> Lebreton critiqued the "total absence in the schema of any reference to a theology of development: one that should be integral and harmonized."<sup>49</sup> A doctrine of a "civilization of solidarity"<sup>50</sup> is required, that would be promoted through a network of "intellectual missions" located around the world that would engage in the type of reflection on contemporary challenges using the tools of the gospel to respond in authentic ways to the

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<sup>45</sup> Fr. Louis-Joseph Lebreton, O.P., "Le schéma XVII du Concile: *De Munere Ecclesiae quid bonum in societate promovendum*. Note demandée par Sa Sainteté Paul VI (audience du 25 septembre 1963)," 23 typed pages, non-dated text, copy in *Fonds Bernard Häring*, item 2747, archives of the *Alfonsianum* in Rome.

<sup>46</sup> "L'appel de Dieu à la divinisation authentique," *ibid*, 6.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

<sup>48</sup> "L'Eglise est la grande libératrice," *ibid*, 4.

<sup>49</sup> "Le point le plus grave est l'absence d'une doctrine du développement, qui ne pourrait être que celle du développement intégral harmonisé," *ibid*, 21.

<sup>50</sup> "Civilisation solidaire," *ibid*, 23.

modern person's desire to "have more," "be worth more" and "be more."<sup>51</sup> Otherwise, these aspirations will lead people astray.<sup>52</sup>

Apart from the idea of a network of "intellectual missions" that would serve as center of analysis and interaction within the Church, concepts such as liberation and solidarity even divinization were becoming more and more evident in the Council's debates on divine revelation and on the Church. Lebreton integrated such themes in a concise presentation of how the Council might address the modern world using the richness of her teaching.

## **2.5 Second Intersession**

After rumblings concerning the need for a more comprehensive view of the Church's role in the modern world during the second session—both inside and more especially outside the Council chamber—experts took up the task of developing a more comprehensive view of this relationship in what was announced by Cardinal Suenens to be known as schema XVII.

### **a The Work of the Council**

The Mixed Commission gathered in Zurich in February 1964 with the aim of replacing the rejected Malines document. The work was divided into sub commissions that dealt with

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<sup>51</sup> "Le fait le plus important de la phase nouvelle dans laquelle entre l'humanité est l'extension, devenant peu à peu universelle, de l'aspiration de l'homme à 'être,' à 'être plus,' à 'valoir plus,' à 'exister plus,'" *ibid*, 4.

<sup>52</sup> "Cependant l'homme moderne est en danger permanent d'arrêter ou de faire dévier son aspiration à valoir," *ibid*, 5.

the substance of the current document plus the *adnexa* or appendices that dealt with “specific questions” regarding what particular service the Church could render to the world. These appendices would eventually be incorporated into the Pastoral Constitution. Appendix IV dealt with social and economic life and appendix V with the international community and peace. They would, respectively, become Chapters III and V of *Gaudium et spes*.

The Mixed Commission met at the Alphonsianum on June 3, 1964 to review the new schema. Bishop Emilio Guano of Livorno, Italy representing the Mixed Commission began by giving the report on the state of the schema after several drafts that had included the comprehensive revision of the text that took place in Zurich earlier in the year.<sup>53</sup> Despite the many theological criticisms as well as problems expressed with the document’s attempt at integrating theology, sociology and pastoral application, the question of the Church’s competence in speaking to the problems facing the modern world arose with some degree of intensity. This document replaced the rejected Malines text and had become the basis of discussion.

The fourth chapter of the schema included the section on economic and social life as well as solidarity among peoples.<sup>54</sup> Dominican Fr. Lebreton criticized the chapter on the economic problems of the day. He doubted the analysis of the current problems of underdevelopment and doubted the document’s usefulness in prescribing workable solutions

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<sup>53</sup> The Commission gathered in Zurich from 1-3 February. *Turbanti*, 334.

<sup>54</sup> *History*, III 409-10.

to address the plight of the poor.<sup>55</sup> After being affirmed by the Mixed Commission, the text was sent to the Central Coordinating Commission which studied the revised text on June 26. At this time, the place of the schema on the council's agenda was changed rendering the revised text no longer schema XVII, but schema XIII. With the approval of the Pope, Schema XIII entitled "*De ecclesia in mundo huius temporis*," was distributed to the Council Fathers.

#### **b        The Work of the Cospiratori**

A series of separate yet related developments took place around this time. Barbara Ward, James Norris and Arthur McCormack all contributed to the growing chorus of voices demanding that the Council take concrete steps to marshal the Church's resources in the fight against world poverty. Before her meeting with James Norris, Barbara Ward was engaged in drafting a memorandum for Cardinal Suenens, a personal friend, entitled, "An Ecumenical Concern for World Poverty."<sup>56</sup> This memorandum would be distributed to the Council during the third session with the title changed to "World Poverty and the Christian Conscience."<sup>57</sup> This brief memorandum – just three and a half pages long – laid out a program of action that could (and arguably did) serve as the basis for the eventual Pontifical Commission. The six

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 412. Lebreton became a *peritus* only formally in February 1964 after the Zurich meeting. He was on the special subcommission formed at the start of September, just prior to the third session that dealt with the "signs of the times." See the note by Lebreton in *Turbanti*, 317.

<sup>56</sup> *World Poverty and the Christian Conscience, Memorandum Circulated to the Council Fathers During the Third Session of Vatican II, 1964*, undated, Norris Collection – University of Notre Dame Archives, [hereafter NC-UNDA].

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

major points that comprised the document adopted a see-judge-act methodology. For its significance in providing a coherent argument for a new organism of the Roman Curia, it is worth presenting the points fully.

Ward began by laying out the bare facts of grinding poverty, articulating the experience that presents the problem unequivocally. Ward took note of the implications of this poverty offering an analysis of the power relationships that have become ossified over time from their colonial roots:

First: The fact that the combination of full employment and steady growth in the Western economies has resulted in 16% of the world's people grossing over 70% of the world's wealth. This wealthy minority accounted for 80% of the world trade and investment.

Second: On the rest of the world, this wealth has enormous influence; an influence accrued over two centuries, and which had included ruthless exploitation. Western policy had brought about lopsided development, with a modernized export sector, including infra-structures of transport, power and ports. Meanwhile, local farming had been left stagnant, except where it served the needs of Western nationals, and local education had not been expanded or adapted to new conditions.

Third: The Christian conscience of the West had to take notice of this historical situation for four reasons: The direct command of Christianity (Matt. 25, 31f), the feasibility of rectifying the situation; the demands of justice, since the world situation of prevailing dehumanizing poverty was often directly a Western creation; finally, the fear that if Christians did not come to the aid of the developing countries, Communism would.

Fourth: The global poverty problem merited an ecumenical approach to finding solutions. This was so, on the one hand, because all Christian communions were represented among the Atlantic states, and on the other, because in the field of world poverty Christians could work together with a common sense of commitment and purpose.

Fifth: (i) The Vatican Council should establish a small, permanent, highly competent Secretariat to coordinate action in the attack on world poverty. Its

first task would be to arrange, for 1965 or as soon as possible, an ecumenical Conference on World Poverty; the sponsors would be the heads of all the Christian communions and the invitation would be sent out in their name. It would have an enormous impact if they attended the opening session and have a quiet “summit” among themselves, leading in turn to the establishment of national and regional ecumenical councils. These would take on such works as learning the facts about world poverty, acting as a watchdog to see that aid was voted and carefully spent, and finally, to counter with all possible energy local voices of defeatism or cynicism or racism, and to project at all times the fundamental faith in man’s brotherhood and mutual responsibility.

Sixth: The creation of a permanent lobby. It is impossible to underline too strongly the need to engage Christians deeply and permanently in the attack on world poverty. There is at present no consistent permanent lobby of articulate citizens who have grasped both the scale of Western wealth, the obligation it entails, and the work it can do, provided a perspective of two or three generations is accepted for success. The result is a faltering of faith and effort, a reverse of selfish inward-looking nationalism, cynicism about international effort, and a general tendency to grow weary of well-doing. If Christians do not provide the needed stiffening of hope, faith, fortitude and love, who will?<sup>58</sup>

Ward’s vision for post-conciliar action was quite developed even at this stage. Her proposal was marked by lapidary statements of historical causality and current statistics. Her solution was eminently practical: the Church should act because the Church is in a position to do so. Collaboration with non-Catholics would serve the ultimate goal also. James Norris, on the other hand, was still seeking clarity in his own mind on how the Council might continue the work of poverty alleviation. On August 23, he wrote to Bishop Ernest Primeau, Bishop of

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 3.

Manchester, New Hampshire, to share Ward's "strictly private memorandum."<sup>59</sup> Norris reported that Cardinal Suenens would likely use Ward's paper as a basis for his intervention in the Third Session. At this point, Norris was urging support for "some attention-getting action" in the form of a "gesture of a most generous type that will show the hungry and needy people of the world that the Bishops of the wealthy countries are thinking about them, and plan to do much more than has been done up to the present time."<sup>60</sup>

In a contemporaneous development, Fr. Arthur McCormack had drafted a document entitled "World Poverty Day" calling for a day to be set aside during the Council which would underline the Church's struggle against world hunger and poverty.<sup>61</sup> McCormack was in regular contact with Norris who in August 1964 began writing to key leaders in the Catholic anti-poverty movement urging a discussion of poverty and the Church's response to it during the Council's discussions.

The plan at that stage was to have Paul VI celebrate Mass accompanied by a speech by him on the problem of poverty. This would be followed by several speeches in the Council itself, particularly by Council fathers from the developing nations. Norris, meanwhile, wrote to the head of *Caritas Internationalis*, the Church's umbrella organization for anti-poverty

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<sup>59</sup> *Letter from James J. Norris to His Excellency Most Rev. Ernest J. Primeau, Bishop of Manchester, August 23, 1964, NC-UNDA.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Turbanti*, 151ff, 445-447.

and development efforts around the world, asking for help in seeking out opportunities to raise these questions during the Council's third session.

On September 8, 1964, McCormack wrote to Barbara Ward on his flight back to England in which he reminded her of Norris. He was interested in a "short-term, dramatic gesture against poverty from the Council but is wholeheartedly for the long term approach which you outline."<sup>62</sup> McCormack noted: "It may be, of course, that Schema XIII will not be mentioned in this session, but the work would not be wasted."<sup>63</sup> McCormack had flown to Washington to meet with Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., the businessman who subsequently entered politics and was largely responsible for establishing the U.S. Peace Corps, among other anti-poverty and peace initiatives. McCormack noted that Shriver was "very interested in the possibilities of the Church making people more aware of poverty problems."<sup>64</sup>

These and other such efforts led to a strategy meeting in Rome on September 30th 1964 at the *Tre Scalini* restaurant in Piazza Navona, in the heart of Rome's historic district. In attendance were Barbara Ward, James Norris, Frs. Arthur McCormack and Gerald Mahon and Monsignor Joseph Gremillion. Having discussed the progress of their plan to have the question of world poverty addressed in a specific way during the up-coming session of the Council, Norris wrote a brief note to Archbishop Dell'Acqua, *sostituto* in the Secretariat of

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<sup>62</sup> *Letter from Fr. Arthur McCormack to Lady Jackson [Barbara Ward], September 8, 1964*, The Barbara Ward (Baroness Jackson) Papers – Georgetown University, [hereafter BW-GUA].

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

State, in which he summarized the group's request that a focused effort or event take place during the up-coming Third Session of the Council as a way to mark the introduction to Schema XIII.<sup>65</sup> Despite its brevity, Norris found room to urge the inclusion of a Protestant speaker during the proposed Council discussion so as to cement the ecumenical dimension of the effort.

Between the publication in June of the new draft schema and the work of the *conspiratori* to influence the Council's outcome in favor of concrete measures to tackle world poverty, Paul VI issued his first Encyclical Letter, *Ecclesiam Suam*.

## 2.6 *Ecclesiam Suam*<sup>66</sup>

Published on August 6, 1964, the Encyclical followed the precedent established by *Pacem in terris* and was addressed to all men of good will. Divided into three parts, the Pope explained his attempt in the Encyclical to develop a methodology that would yield a unified vision of the Church's mission in the contemporary world. To this end, the Encyclical begins by exploring the theme of self-awareness (arts. 18-40), followed by the theme of renewal (arts. 41-57) and concludes with an entire section on the theme of dialogue (arts. 58-119).

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<sup>65</sup> James J. Norris, *Pro Memoria for His Excellency Archbishop Dell'Acqua, September 30, 1964*, NC-UNDA.

<sup>66</sup> Paul VI, *Ecclesiam Suam*, AAS 56 (1964) 609-659. See English translation: Paul VI, "The Encyclical Letter *Ecclesiam Suam*," *The Pope Speaks* 10 (1965) 252-292.

The Canadian theologian and ecumenist Gregory Baum remarked on the “reflective” style that introduced the Pope’s methodology used in the Encyclical. As if urging a new and *practical* tone associated with dialogue between the Church and the world, Baum points to the deeper questioning provoked by such dialogue:

The reflective approach to Christian doctrine is unique among ecclesiastical documents. Turning to God’s self-revelation and attentive to his voice in history we must examine more deeply what are the basic gifts of Christ to his Church, what defined doctrine really means in the life of the Church, what the divine action really produces in the Christian family, in short what the mystery of the Church is.<sup>67</sup>

Part Three of the Encyclical was devoted to the theme of dialogue. The notion of dialogue had been launched by Paul VI during the Mass of coronation. In a sense, the concept of dialogue created a separation between Church and world, one that John XXIII himself had put aside by considering both the Church and the world together as a light to the nations.<sup>68</sup>

The methodology expounded in *Ecclesiam Suam* and the perspectives opened up by it served as keys for unlocking the recently issued text on the Church and the world and would contribute to the revision of the Zurich I text by the Central Subcommittee during its meeting from 10 to 12 September, just prior to the start of the Council’s third session.

It was at this time that a decision was made to incorporate into the main body of the text the practical recommendations that up to that point were contained within the appendices

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<sup>67</sup> Gregory Baum, “*Ecclesiam Suam* and Christian Unity,” *The Ecumenist* 2 (1964): 99-104, 100.

<sup>68</sup> “Radio Address,” *supra. Turbanti*, 291.

or *adnexa* of the draft schema. In time, these appendices would form the second part of *Gaudium et spes*. This step is significant since it acknowledges the importance of the directives contained in the *adnexa* in responding to problems in the modern world with the resources of the Church's own teaching. Since its inception, the fear that the Church's doctrine would be watered down by too much emphasis on contingent historical events plagued discussion within the Mixed Commission. In *Ecclesiam Suam* Paul VI indicated a methodological shift that bore directly on the way the Church should address the contemporary situation. This approach dovetailed with the efforts of those seeking a post-conciliar listening and teaching organism within the Curia that could apply the methodology presented in *Ecclesiam Suam*.

## **2.7 Third Session: September 14 – November 21, 1964**

### **a The Work of the Council**

#### ***Council Discussion on Schema XIII***

The third session marked a shift in focus, to some degree, as the Council occupied itself less with the internal workings of the Church and turned its gaze more fully to the problems of the world and the Church's response. The problems of religious freedom and the relationship with non-Christian religions, especially the Jews, would weigh on the Council. In addition, commentators began to invoke John XXIII's initial call for a "pastoral" Council that

addressed the world and was open to it. For the *cospiratori*, there was a sense that the moment had presented itself to push for a Roman secretariat dedicated to alleviating world poverty.

During this session, more than 20 Council interventions addressed the subject of world poverty. Discussion on the new schema XIII began on October 20, immediately following the Mass celebrated by the Archbishop of Krakow, Karol Wojtyła.<sup>69</sup> It was divided into two distinct moments. First, there was a general debate on the overall document. Next there followed discussion of each of the four chapters. The fourth chapter received specific attention as it listed a series of specific problems that the council was to address. Bishop Guano introduced the schema on behalf of the Mixed Commission. Addressing the document overall, a majority of speakers welcomed the schema and approved of its overall direction, albeit with “important reservations.”<sup>70</sup> With only one outright rejection of the entire document coming from the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Heenan,<sup>71</sup> the schema received extensive general comments before receiving a positive vote in favor of accepting the text as a basis for the Council’s work on the proposed document.

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<sup>69</sup> “Schema: De Ecclesia in Mundo Huius Temporis,” *AS* III/5, 116-200 that includes the *Relatio* by Bishop E. Guano and the *Adnexa*.

<sup>70</sup> *Turbanti*, 404.

<sup>71</sup> “Clarum tamen est quod documentum nobis oblatum indignum est Concilii Oecumenici,” *AS* III/5, 318.

***Poverty in the First Three Chapters***

Cardinal Frings spoke in the name of seventy fathers. Frings' main proposal was to find a way in which each country could establish an economic cooperation fund whose operation would be coordinated through a special secretariat in Rome. The purpose of the Roman body would be to exchange information and to coordinate the various projects. Two features of this body would be its collaboration with existing international agencies such as those comprising the United Nations and secondly, the new entity of the universal Church would prioritize ecumenical collaboration in all of its work.<sup>72</sup>

Salesian Cardinal Silva Henríquez of Santiago, Chile, President of *Caritas Internationalis* and a leading defender of human rights in Latin America., spoke of the need for a worldwide collection for the poor that would serve to remind people of the value of voluntary poverty, serving as a corrective to human acquisitiveness. Redolent of the six-point memorandum compiled by Barbara Ward, the Chilean Cardinal offered practical reasons why the Church should tackle poverty: the existence of subhuman conditions, the presence of Christians throughout the world, the Church's role in coordinating a response.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> *Turbanti*, 450.

<sup>73</sup> "Proponere audeo quod Concilium studeat organisationis alicuius coetus internationalis quod cordinet et foveat possibilitates solidaritatis omnium christianorum erga egenos." *AS* III/5, 566-7.

***James J. Norris Addresses the Council***<sup>74</sup>

It was decided by the Holy Father personally that James Norris would be chosen to make a speech at the Council, which took place on November 5, 1964. Barbara Ward had been discussed as a possible speaker. However, her appearance in the aula was considered “inopportune” at that time.<sup>75</sup> Norris’s address, however, was based on a 15-page draft composed for the occasion by Barbara Ward herself. Norris made some of his own edits to the text before translating himself into Latin.<sup>76</sup> Unsurprisingly, Norris followed the methodology used by Ward in the memorandum circulated just prior to the third session.

Standing at the speaker’s podium as the first American layman to address the Council, Norris began his intervention by presenting the harsh reality of poverty in the world of the mid-1960s drawing from his own experience and that of the Church’s members and ministers around the world. He used the contrasts between the rich and poor nations that Ward herself had articulated so well to prick the consciences of the richer countries.<sup>77</sup> He listed “gnawing hunger” and “disease that cannot be cured because there are no medical services” and

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<sup>74</sup> “Relatio super n. 24 cap. IV schematis *de Ecclesia in mundo huius temporis*,” *AS* III/6, 298-301.

<sup>75</sup> James Norris, *Interview by Sr. Mary Evelyn Jegen, SS.ND.*, NC-UNDA.

<sup>76</sup> The cue cards from which Norris would address the Council reveal corrections of Norris’s Latin text that were done the morning of November 5 by a young Council *peritus* from the Catholic University of America, Fr. Robert Trisco.

<sup>77</sup> “In hac unica communitate mundiali ubi nos omnes vicini sumus, opulentes fiunt opulentiores, dum pauperes fiunt pauperiores,” *AS* III/6, 299.

“illiteracy in lands where the great majority of people cannot read or write.”<sup>78</sup> The point was to demonstrate the lack of solidarity among the nations of the world and the view of many in the development community that the world had the wherewithal to confront this reality – if it only had the will to do so.

Between the challenge and the opportunity to confront it, Norris inserted the Church and described for it a key role in achieving what was possible and demanded by the Gospel: an end to world poverty.<sup>79</sup>

The struggle against this injustice would require a new formation of the Christian conscience, particularly among the richer nations. Norris used the image of the family and the bonds that hold a family together to assure the Council members that just as a family feels the pains of its members, “surely they will make certain that the wealthy lands will not fail to respond to their Christian obligation.”<sup>80</sup>

Norris asserted the need for the Church to tackle poverty with some passion and with some concrete initiative. He concluded by issuing a clarion call for action that would involve

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<sup>78</sup> “Haec forma pauperitatis et miseriae sed potius affert secum multos alios dolores humanos. Paupertas affert famem – famem quae est permanens nec cessans – numquam alleviatur nec die nec nocte. Haec paupertas affert morbos qui non curantur quia deficit servitium medicinale adaequatum. Causa huius paupertatis maior pars civium multarum nationum illiterate sunt.” Ibid, 300.

<sup>79</sup> “Quia paupertas mundialis tangit totam humanitatem, magna contributio nostrae Ecclesiae universalis posset esse ille manifestatio universalis amoris fraterni, quae efficeret ut doctrina socialis Ecclesia applicaretur ad problema quod nostra carissimus Sanctus Pater Paulus Sextus vocavit problema principale in mundo huius temporis.” Ibid, 300.

<sup>80</sup> James Norris, *A Proposal*.

“the creation of a structure that would devise the kind of institutions, contacts, forms of cooperation and policy, which the Church can adopt, to secure full Catholic participation in the world-wide attack on poverty and hunger.”<sup>81</sup>

### ***Other Interventions***

Other interventions reinforced the need for the Church to address the issue of poverty in a concerted and deliberate way. Cardinal Joseph Frings of Cologne, Germany, also suggested the creation of a general secretariat to coordinate Catholic efforts and keep in contact with international organizations such as the specialized agencies of the United Nations. Norris and Frings had discussed the proposal of a secretariat prior to their appearance in the aula.<sup>82</sup> Cardinal Richaud of Bordeaux, France, gave a detailed presentation on the history and current status of the *Caritas* agencies around the world. Like Frings, he urged the creation of a coordinating structure that would educate Catholics and better coordinate their charitable works.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> “Audeo proponere ut ex hoc Concilio Oecumenico edatur vox clamans ad actionem quae includat creationem structurae ad proponendum typos institutionum, relationes mutuas, modosque cooperationis, atque rationes, agenda quibus obtineatur plena participatio omnium catholicorum in proelio universali contra paupertatem et famem.” Ibid, 300.

<sup>82</sup> “Haec opera sint *bene ordinata*. In quacumque natione commissio episcoporum distribuat pecunias collectas non sine cooperatione alicuius secretariatus qui perquirat proiecta proposita et non sine auxilio peritorum laicorum,” *AS* III/6, 302.

<sup>83</sup> “[A]ffirmo necessarium esse in praesentibus circumstantiis, coordinationem in universo orbe operationem propriarum gentium,” ibid, 459.

Another major support for Norris's intervention was the speech by a close collaborator of the *conspiratori*, Bishop Edward E. Swannstrom. Swannstrom was an Auxiliary Bishop of New York, Executive Director of Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and Norris's superior at CRS. Drawing on his visits to specific CRS programs around the world, many in dioceses whose bishops sat before him, Swannstrom ended his speech on an ominous note remarking that unlike poverty, hunger and disease in previous times, there were expectations that change should be forthcoming. Otherwise, if people's hopes are not obtainable by a peaceful revolution, a violent revolution is inevitable.<sup>84</sup>

On November 9, Fr. Gerard Mahon addressed the Council. In doing so, he invoked the image of the Good Samaritan and the struggle of the "proletariat nations that await the outcome of this Council."<sup>85</sup> As Vatican I wrestled amid the industrial revolution, so this Council is faced with the searing critique of the social structure presented in Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*. Among his three concrete proposals, he urged the "formation of Christian consciences"<sup>86</sup> and the establishment of a "special Secretariat, as has been suggested by His

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<sup>84</sup> "Si autem homines ea quae nunc sperant commutationibus pacificis habere non possunt, ea commutationibus violentis adipisci proculdubio conabuntur." Ibid. 314.

<sup>85</sup> "Hodie non classes proletariae, sed nationes proletariae a Concilio hoc expectant actionem efficacem ad iustitiam socialem quae inter nationes vigere oporteat implendam." *AS* III/6, 450.

<sup>86</sup> "Conscientia christiana bene formata scandalosum consideraret quod episcopo qui opem quaerunt pro populis suis egenis saepe frustra petunt." Ibid, 451.

Eminence Cardinal Frings and Mr. James Norris.”<sup>87</sup> The Church is immersed fully in the human condition – *tota in proelio humano immerse* – with a mission not so much to save disembodied souls, but human beings made of flesh and blood.”<sup>88</sup>

McCormack was invited to address the question of world poverty outside the council chamber. In a talk to the German bishops on October 26, he praised the work of the German Church’s relief and development organization, *Misereor*. It was proof, he said, the German faithful were committed to the war against poverty as seen in their generous collections.

Towards the conclusion of the third session, Paul VI, who had hand-written a note of congratulations to Norris after his appearance in the aula,<sup>89</sup> deposited his papal tiara on the high altar in St. Peter’s as a gift to the poor of the world, inspired, according to press reports, by “the many gracious words spoken in the Ecumenical Council on the misery and hunger in the modern world.”<sup>90</sup> It was a striking gesture and symbol of the Pope’s personal commitment to translating the Council’s speeches into concrete action by the Church at the highest levels.

The speeches by Norris and others in the aula had an instant reverberating effect outside the Council chamber. Shortly after his intervention, Norris was summoned by the

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<sup>87</sup> “Ideo sicut nuper ab Em.mo card. Frings et ill.mo relatore Iacobo Norris opportunissime adumbratum est, instituendus est secretariatus specialis ut bellum hoc ex parte Ecclesiae efficaceter geratur.” Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> “...conscia missionem suam non esse salvare animas incorporeas sed personas humanas in carne et sanguine.” Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> *Letter of Pope Paul VI to James J. Norris*, November 9, 1964, NC – UNDA.

<sup>90</sup> Ernest Sakler, “Pope Paul Gives Crown to the Poor,” *New York World Telegram*, November 13, 1964.

Secretary of State, Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, acting at the direction of the Pope, to explain in more detail the proposed poverty secretariat mentioned during Norris' intervention and supported several times by other speakers. Norris reported in subsequent interviews that the encounter with Cicognani was a difficult one.<sup>91</sup> The Secretary of State was under orders from the Pope to ascertain more details of Norris' proposal for a poverty secretariat. Norris reported frustration at the lack of understanding of the new body by the Cardinal who insisted on taking a report of the meeting immediately to the Pope himself.<sup>92</sup>

**b        The Work of the *Cospiratori***

The strategy of the *cospiratori* during the third session of the Council was aimed primarily at bringing home to the Council fathers the extent of the problem of global poverty and the questions this raised for the Church as she tried to respond to the call of God, and to read the signs of the times. To some extent, these efforts were the practical realization of the theological conversation taking place around the Pastoral Constitution. Such efforts reflect a clarification of the practical consequences of the entire effort represented by the schema not only to speak to the world but to bring about practical steps to transform it according to the image of the Church as the "light to the nations."

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<sup>91</sup> James Norris, *Interview*, NC-UNDA.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

On October 6, 1964, Father Lebreton was asked by the Sostituto at the Secretariat of State, Archbishop Dell'Acqua, about a proposition made to him by Norris. At the time, the Pope was also in consultation with Lebreton on what would become Paul VI's encyclical *Populorum Progressio*.<sup>93</sup> In a note to Archbishop Dell'Acqua,<sup>94</sup> Lebreton pointed to the lack of coordination among the Catholic organizations at the global level as a principal reason for the inefficiencies in Catholic action against poverty and hunger. Lebreton reiterated his earlier suggestion for the establishment of several centers of study that could reflect upon both the existing reality of under development and analyze the vast array of secular studies on poverty and development so as to inform the Church's teaching on appropriate ways forward to combat these problems. Lebreton's work in developing the notion of a Christian anthropology based on the idea of "integral human development" served to ground these proposals. Lebreton sought to infuse this Christian anthropology into secular research and programming through interdisciplinary studies modeled on the method he developed for the *Centre for Economy and Humanism* that he founded after World War II.

Lebreton's approach encompassed both theory and praxis. While analysis and articulation helped advance the Church's particular contribution to the modern world, Lebreton knew that only through organizing and action would such a contribution bear fruit in concrete

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<sup>93</sup> Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), 483-4.

<sup>94</sup> L-J Lebreton, "Pro Memoria à son excellence Mgr Dell'Acqua au sujet du document *World Poverty and the Christian Conscience* et d'une conversation avec M. J. Norris," 12 October 1964, 4 typed pages, (Archives Nationales de France, 45 AS 35).

changes to social structures. Lebreton belonged to the school that conceived of history as the history of ideas. He united this approach with a Catholic tradition of accompaniment and animation among people at the local level, urged on perhaps by the almost necessary link between the gospel and the promotion of justice and peace.<sup>95</sup> Lebreton made comments on Ward's Memorandum, offering the concept of a universal ethic and spirituality. He called for adherence to the teachings of the Gospel and fidelity to the Spirit's action in the world. He saw in the actions of the *conspiratori* the concrete vehicle that would bring the Church's resources to bear in the battle against world poverty.

Around the same time, Lebreton was offering many forms of reflection among the francophone bishops from both France and Africa. He was tireless in capitalizing on a life spent traveling the globe, especially in the "third world" and of establishing professional acquaintances both inside the Church and outside that would now flow into his reflection on the schema.

Lebreton shared the idea of a "council of competent persons" among the French bishops in a paper he disseminated on October 12, 1964.<sup>96</sup> Such experts should meet in Rome to evaluate the current situation and to recommend steps to the Holy Father.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> For an outline of Fr. Lebreton's thought, see Chapter II, "L.J. Lebreton: Pioneer," in Denis Goulet, *A New Moral Order: Studies in Development Ethics and Liberation Theology*, (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1974): 23-51.

<sup>96</sup> L-J Lebreton, "Diagnostic de la situation mondiale et éléments pour la réponse que doit apporter le schéma XIII," *French sub-commission on Schema XIII, workshop on chapter IV and appendices IV and V*, October 12, 1964, NC-CUA cited in *Pelletier*, 414.

The document – styled a diagnostic of the current problem – provides a synthesis of modern thinking on the economy, on the value of agrarian reform especially in the southern hemisphere as well as the opportunities for greater technical cooperation among nations in coordinating global financial systems. Lebreton's concern was to integrate this technical competence into the conciliar text itself in order to, as he explained, “extend the Christian conscience,” through a “charity that can comprehend” the dimensions of the world.<sup>98</sup>

Later that same month, Gremillion, Norris and McCormack began to meet and draft a *pro-memoria* for Paul VI in which the notion of a specific organism of the Roman Curia, designed exclusively to deal with the Church's commitment to struggle against poverty and hunger, was suggested to the Holy Father directly as a desirable facet of the Pastoral Constitution. To this end, Norris drafted and distributed a two-page memorandum entitled “A Proposal for Vatican II: World Poverty and the Christian Conscience.”<sup>99</sup> The proposal – an updated version of the Memorandum distributed prior to the Third Session - stressed the link between poverty and the Church's mission, suggesting Fr. McCormack's idea of a “poverty day” during the Council. This would let the poverty-stricken know that the Council was aware

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<sup>97</sup> “Ainsi serait-il possible de réunir périodiquement à Rome un conseil de personnalités compétentes (de ‘sages’, comme on dit aujourd’hui) pour déterminer les modes de coopération, pour déterminer les spécialisations de recherches, pour confronter les conclusions, pour soumettre au Saint-Siège les conclusions communes,” *ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *A Proposal for Vatican II: World Poverty and the Christian Conscience*, 7 October, 1964. NC-UNDA.

of their situation and was interested in them.<sup>100</sup> The need for a concrete structure or Secretariat of the Roman Curia charged with implementing the concern for the poor expressed during the Council was developed in the *pro-memoria*. Alongside the secretariat, the *cospiratori* proposed a small body of experts that would offer on-going analysis and advice on the complex series of issues that were identified during the Council as having a bearing on the causes of poverty and its solution. Interesting is the suggestion, insisted on since the beginning of their efforts, that this effort should have an ecumenical character. The influence of Fr. Lebreton's efforts can be seen in the notation made on the *pro-memoria*.

## **2.8 Third Intersession**

### **a The Work of the Council**

#### ***The Revision of Schema XIII: The Ariccia Text***

Schema XIII underwent another intense period of redrafting from December 1964 until the presentation of the new text to the Mixed Commission in the middle of May 1965. During this process, the questions of solidarity with the human race and the need to address poverty were present throughout.

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

Of interest was the suggestion by some that a post-conciliar commission be recommended within the schema itself.<sup>101</sup> During the meeting of the Mixed Commission during the first week of April, a broad outline of the final document was finalized. It was to be introduced by a description of the overall human situation followed by a theological reflection on man's call and the role of the Church in the world. A second part would offer practical advice on key themes that had been discussed during the Council. These were family life, peace, socio-economic life, the international community. At this time, the Constitution was given the title "*Constitutio Pastoralis*" and the opening words *Gaudium et spes* were also fixed.<sup>102</sup>

#### **b        Work of the *Cospiratori***

James Norris continued his relentless lobbying either from his office in downtown New York City or one of many of the world's capitals with which he had become familiar. He met with Canon Pierre Haubtman, one of the principal authors of *Gaudium et spes*, in Paris on December 11, 1964 and told him that he was "very concerned about the schema."<sup>103</sup>

In December 1964 following the close of the Third Session, the Pope visited India, during which time efforts to shore up support for the proposed poverty secretariat intensified

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<sup>101</sup> *Turbanti*, 589.

<sup>102</sup> *Moeller*, 51.

<sup>103</sup> *Turbanti*, 487-488.

in Rome. In light of his historical speech before the Council, Norris wrote a second time to Cardinal Cicognani urging the establishment of a working group of those interested in the new body that could plan how the church should go about shaping its response to world poverty.<sup>104</sup>

Concretely, Monsignor Gremillion drafted a further memorandum on the proposed poverty secretariat, building on the previous iterations of similar proposals offered by Ward, McCormack and Norris. The new document entitled “The Holy Father’s Secretariat for World Poverty”<sup>105</sup> was sent to key conciliar *periti* before being circulated to all Council participants in September and October 1965 in preparation for discussion during the Fourth Session.<sup>106</sup>

The Memorandum builds on the original idea of Ward in her note to Cardinal Suenens in 1963 but incorporates developments since that time. Section I, entitled “Situation,” intersperses the problem of poverty with magisterial teaching. Citing papal messages, council discussions, *Mater et magistra* and the newly minted Decree on Ecumenism, the memorandum lists recent expressions of concern in official documents, noting pointedly: “It

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<sup>104</sup> Letter from James Norris to Cardinal Cicognani, NC-UNDA.

<sup>105</sup> Memorandum, *The Holy Father’s Secretariat for World Poverty*, NC-UNDA.

<sup>106</sup> Working Group on *Gaudium et spes*, Article 90, *Memorandum Leading to the Interventions during the Fourth Period, Which Resulted in Article 90*, “It [the memorandum] was discussed by many National Conferences of Bishops during their weekly meetings; also by religious and lay *periti* and auditors.... The content of this memorandum served as the main basis of the pertinent interventions in the *Aula*. It was also cited in the Sub-Commission on Chapter V, chaired by Bishop Shropper, with Father Sigmund O.P., as secretary, as this Sub-Commission was determining the precise wording of Paragraph 90 calling for ‘the organism of the Universal Church... to promote progress in the poor regions and social justice among the nations.’ In view of the role this memorandum filled, it assumes significance in the Legislative History which shows the conception, intention and will of the Council Fathers in voting approval of Paragraph 90.”

[the concern] is further underlined by the stark fact that it is above all the Christian peoples of the “white” West who today are not only rich, but growing richer still.”<sup>107</sup> The bulk of the document is found in sections IV and V entitled respectively, “*Functions of the Secretariat*” and “*Structure and Relations*.” Relying on the teachings of Vatican II for the “theological deepening and fresh pastoral insights to cope with the new global dimensions of Christian responsibility,” the Memorandum outlines existing efforts at poverty alleviation among Catholic organizations and encourages coordination and “inspiration.” In this way, the Memorandum reinforces the need for international cooperation among local churches as a way of “implementing the new concept of social justice” outlined by the Council.<sup>108</sup>

To this end, the document identifies the role of Catholics in supporting state-run charitable giving programs in the form of foreign assistance to poorer countries. However, the revised *Memorandum* now displayed a new emphasis on the political power pertaining to Catholics in the *polis*. Reflecting the growing field of development studies and the ethical contribution to such studies offered by Fr. Lebreton, the Memorandum listed long-term development problems around the world related to “investment, trade and monetary policies.”<sup>109</sup> In its most detailed reference to the modern economy, the Memorandum cited Fr. Lebreton’s intervention as leader of the Holy See’s delegation to the first meeting of the U.N.

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<sup>107</sup> Memorandum, *The Holy Father’s Secretariat for World Poverty*, I, NC-UNDA.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, 3.

Committee on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964.<sup>110</sup> UNCTAD was set up to foster growth among developing and less developed countries. The Holy See sent as part of its delegation, experts very close to the *coordinatori*. In his official intervention at meeting, Gremillion expressed the breadth of the Church's teaching on the reality of poverty and the "radical" measures needed to address it:

Our delegation [of the Holy See] takes the view that the problem is not only trade in the strict sense, but of the entire gamut of international relations and intercourse...only radically changed attitudes will engender a deeper and more effective altruism, and open up wider prospects for trade and commerce, toward the day when a truly independent civilization emerges.

This is the great revolution that this Conference must initiate, a long-term bloodless revolution.<sup>111</sup>

Gremillion's Memorandum concluded by applying the conciliar notion of "collegiality" to the cooperative action intended for the new poverty secretariat: "In this way collegiality would have its special application in the secular society of the whole world."<sup>112</sup> In a tentative way, the practical implementation of the Church's concern for the poor can and will draw upon a reinvigorated sense of collegiality among church leaders and, through them, the local churches themselves. International cooperation, therefore, finds its theological correlate in the concept of collegiality. However, by introducing a concept used to define the relationship among the Church's hierarchy seems a loosely conceived notion that reflects a

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<sup>110</sup> Betty Pilkington, "Trade is People, Too," *The Christian Century*, 81 no. 19 (1964): 610-2, 610.

<sup>111</sup> Memorandum, *The Holy Father's Secretariat for World Poverty*, I, NC-UNDA, 3.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

general lack of “deeper thinking” which the document claims can be found in the teachings of the Council. Left unanswered was how the notion of collegiality was to be fostered in the secular sphere in a concrete way?

As with the previous Memorandum, Lebreton was asked by Paul VI on May 30, 1965, to offer a response to the ideas presented by the *conspiratori*.<sup>113</sup>

## **2.9 Fourth Session: 14 September -12 November 1965**

The Council’s fourth session opened on September 14, 1965. During September and October, Monsignor Gremillion’s *Memorandum on the Holy Father’s Secretariat for World Poverty* was discussed by many National Conferences of Bishops during their regular meetings; also by religious and lay *periti* and auditors gathered in Rome for the final session. The memorandum served as the basis of the pertinent interventions that were made in the aula on the question of world poverty. It was also used in the discussion of the Sub-Commission assigned to supervise the drafting of Chapter V of Schema XIII.

### **a The Work of the Council**

Discussion on the new schema began on September 21, 1965,<sup>114</sup> and proceeded according to the usual formula of a general discussion on the overall document followed by

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<sup>113</sup> L.-J. Lebreton, “Éléments pour une stratégie de la présence chrétienne pour le développement,” Paris, September 1, 1965, 21 pages + appendix, (*Archives Nationales de France*), 45 AS 152, cited in *Pelletier*, 411.

specific discussion on the individual chapters. This period lasted until October 8. Suggested revisions that emerged during this process would be used during the final editing phase before a series of votes on the final document itself.

In the opening session on September 21, a mix of approval and criticism was voiced by several Cardinals from around the world. Echoing the anxiety felt by many involved in preparing the schema that was presented to the Council, Cardinal Lorenz Jaeger of Paderborn, Germany, a key member of the German Bishops' Conference that had offered severe criticism of the latest draft, suggested that a new post-conciliar commission be established.<sup>115</sup> The aim of the commission would be to apply the theological principles presented in the text to the problems of the age. Cardinal Jaeger likened this task to the catechism issued after the Council of Trent (1545-1563). In this way, the Cardinal suggested, there would be perfect harmony between human progress and Catholic teaching.<sup>116</sup>

On the second day of debate on the revised schema, Cardinal Döpfner of Munich echoed the concern of many interventions that day: that the schema was too optimistic in light of the presence and activity of sin and evil in the world. He also lamented the short time frame

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<sup>114</sup> "Disceptatio: Constitutio Pastoralis De Ecclesia in Mundo Huius Temporis," *AS* IV/1, 435-516. The text was approved by Paul VI on May 28, 1964 and distributed to the Council participants.

<sup>115</sup> "Tandem mihi cordi est huic sacro Concilio proponere, ut commissio specialis postconciliaris elaboret quoddam Summarium doctrinae catholicae, dico aliquod compendium breve theologiae huius temporis intelligentiis et necessitatibus adaptam," *AS* IV/1, 576.

<sup>116</sup> "Ita omnibus apparebit plena harmonia progressus cum traditione catholica et evanescat illa incertitudo et inquietudo doctrinalis, quae in multis catholicis exorta videtur," *ibid.*

employed in drafting so complex a document, particularly the insufficient time given to consulting with lay experts.<sup>117</sup> In light of these shortcomings, the document should be treated as the beginning of a dialogue with the world, which should be continued after the Council.<sup>118</sup> The Cardinal was hinting at the suggestion made by the German bishops that the status of the document should be “downgraded” from a constitution to a message from the Council. The suggestion to treat the document as a first attempt at Church-world dialogue coincided with the general view held by the German bishops. The unsatisfactory view of the schema in the view of some gave impetus to others, including the *conspiratori*, who were seeking to continue the Council’s work in a formal manner after the Council had concluded. Speaking in the name of 91 German and Scandinavian bishops, Döpfner objected to the lack of “sound theological criteria” within the document to support the practical advice offered in part two.<sup>119</sup>

On September 24, the Council was reminded of the call of John XXIII to make the Church attractive to all through a renewed presentation of Church teaching. Bishop Leon Elchinger of Strasbourg criticized the text for its overemphasis on what the world needs to do

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<sup>117</sup> “Scio textum, ut Patribus tempestive mitti posset, a commissione elaboratum esse sub pressione temporis. Hoc certe multas imperfections styli, repetitiones, etc. explicat. Timeo autem, ne ex eadem ratione non sufficientur expetitum sit consilium vere peritorum etiam laicorum in ultima redactione textus, praesertim parties II. Curet commissio ut in ultieriore correctione textus hic defectus evitetur.” *AS* IV/2, 29.

<sup>118</sup> “Documentum nostrum est aliquod initium novi colloqui cum mundo, et hoc initium est sat difficile deest.” *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> “Schema procedit a quaestionibus concretis hominum huius temporis. Praeterea conatur, etsi non semper cum omni successu, invenire aliquem modum dicendi, qui ab iisdem vere inteliigatur eosque ad dialogum invitet, Quae methodus omnino approbanda est, immo adhuc perficienda.” *Ibid.*, 28.

to get close to the Church yet the same text does not display the same emphasis on the steps required of the Church itself.<sup>120</sup>

### ***Paul VI's Visit to the United Nations***

As if to reinforce the “one issue”<sup>121</sup> that motivated them, the *cospiratori* worked to highlight the debate on Schema XIII as it would coincide with the visit by Paul VI to the United Nations General Assembly in New York. Appropriately, the date of the Pope’s address in New York also coincided with the Feast of St. Francis of Assisi, *il poverello*, on October 4.

Addressing the world’s representatives in an historic first for the papacy, the Pope combined symbol and reality in seeking to dialogue with the world on behalf of the Church. The international character of the visit underlined the institutional nature that the Pope expressed on behalf of the Church and its renewed sense of openness and dialogue with the modern world. There could have been few more intense expressions of the desire to collaborate with other states in the task of justice and peace than Paul VI’s presence among the U.N. General Assembly. By bringing key Council Fathers along with him and by returning directly to St. Peter’s to “report back” on his visit to the United Nations, the pope was inserting the Council itself into the secular dialogue around justice and peace to which the U.N. system owed much of its existence. The worldwide mission of one worldwide institution

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<sup>120</sup> “[u]t non tantum theoretice sed practice indicantur ea quae Ecclesia ipsa vult facere, ad melius serviendum mundum modernum.” *AS* IV/2, 416.

<sup>121</sup> Memorandum, *The Holy Father’s Secretariat for World Poverty*, I, NC-UNDA, VI.

met with the worldwide mission newly being articulated by the Church. As if to underline this connection, the Council decided to include the Pope's address to the United Nations in the official record of its proceedings.<sup>122</sup>

### ***The "Poverty Speeches" During the Fourth Session***

While the discussion on the new schema began on September 21, 1965, the debate reached a new level of interest in light of the Pope's October 4 visit to New York. Greeting the Pope on his return on October 5, bishops representing the entire globe took turns in mounting the rostrum in St. Peter's to emphasize the need for a poverty secretariat. These "poverty speeches" had been coordinated and, in many cases, considerable assistance had been offered by Fr. McCormack behind the scenes in drafting the speeches themselves. Key collaborators and sympathizers of the *cospiratori* were consulted in preparation for this period of Council discussion. The following description of their interventions demonstrates an intense period of lobbying by a discrete group of Council participants and advisors that put the idea of a new organism of the Roman Curia at the forefront of the Council's attention. It was, perhaps, during this period that the Council itself became the authorizing body for inclusion in the Pastoral Constitution of a post-conciliar organism dedicated to the work of promoting justice and peace.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> *History*, V, 391.

<sup>123</sup> *Turbanti*, 677, see also *Caprile* V, 161, note 15.

Cardinal Benjamin Arriba y Castro, Archbishop of Tarragona, Spain offered Jesus as the model of one who both does and teaches.<sup>124</sup> The Cardinal presented the disparity between a world full of such wealth and yet such misery, repeating a suggestion made in the Second Session for a body that could dialogue with non-Catholic as well as non-Christian groups:

I then dare to demand again and again – what I already did in the Second Session – that among the dicasteries of the Roman Curia there should be instituted some office whose task it would be to diffuse and put into practice the social doctrine of the Gospel. Different offices have been instituted such as the Secretariat for dialogue with non-Catholics and another for dialogue with non-Christians. I think it would be very useful to set up a special office for social matters.<sup>125</sup>

Bishop Swanstrom of Catholic Relief Services spoke about the need for a global campaign that would bridge the gap between words and deeds.<sup>126</sup> At the end of his intervention, Swanstrom requested an addition to Chapter V at the end of n. 95:

In order to call with persistence the attention of the People of God and in fact all men of the human family to the sad plight of a majority of God's children, and to teach the Message of Christ's life for the poor and His justice in and out of season, this Sacred Synod proposes that a Secretariat of the Holy See for promoting world justice and development be established. It also urges that national conferences of bishops (*coetus*), religious orders and other appropriate bodies, including those composed of laymen, set up suitable means for opening

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<sup>124</sup> "Christus coepit facere et docere. Et non est in alio alilquo salus," *AS*, IV/3, 264.

<sup>125</sup> "Denique iterum iterumque postulare audeo – quod iam feci in secunda Sessione – ut inter dicasteria Romanae Curiae, Officium quoddam instituatur cui cura sit diffundanti et in praxim deducendi doctrinam sociale Evangelii. Officia diversa instituta sunt ut Secretariatus pro fovendo dialogo cum coetibus acatholicorum et alius pro non christianis. Utilissimum foveo puto speciale Officium rebus socialibus praepositum," *AS*, IV/3, 264.

<sup>126</sup> "Magna ergo abyssus intercedit non solum inter opulentiores et egentiores civitates sed etiam inter praecepta mente accepta et re ipsa usurpanda, inter scil. verba et acta nostra." *Ibid*, 267.

the minds and hearts of all to the cries of the poor over the whole world wherever possible. These educational and inspirational efforts should be carried on in close concert with our separated brothers, with groups inspired by other religions, and with all men of good will.<sup>127</sup>

Swanstrom continued:

Moreover I therefore judge that an ecclesiastical secretariat should be constituted whose main concern would be to promote education, encouragement, motivation and the moral authority for what has been begun.<sup>128</sup>

The purpose of this Secretariat would be to teach and to encourage.<sup>129</sup> Coadjutor Archbishop Angelo Fernandes of New Delhi, India, spoke in the name of the Indian hierarchy and 100 bishops.<sup>130</sup> In his intervention, Fernandes presented an extensive list of objectives for the new body. He gave support for the idea of a post-conciliar group [*gremium*] or commission or organism that would promote the social doctrine of the Church.<sup>131</sup> In addition to helping those suffering from poverty, the new body should ensure that all share in

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<sup>127</sup> “In cap. V ad finem para 95 hic sequens paragraphus addatur: ‘Ut Populus Dei et quidem omnia membra hominum familiae iugiter perpendant miseram maioris partis filiorum Dei condicionem, ut etiam amor Christi erga pauperes eisque iustitia opportune, inopportune, praedicetur, haec Synodus Sacra rogat ut Secretariatus Apostolicae Sedis constituatur ad iustitiam inter civitates omnes promovendam atque progressum oeconomicum fovendum. Eadem Synodus urget ut coetus episcoporum cuiusque civitatis, ordines religiosorum, at alii idonei coetus, etiam ex laicis solis constantes, apta media instituant quibus voces egentium totius mundi ubicumque fieri potest corda mentesque omnium commoveant.’” Ibid, 268.

<sup>128</sup> “Ideo insuper censeo ut Secretariatus Ecclesiasticus constituatur qui curet ut haec diutina incepta educationis, incitamenti, motivationis et moralis auctoritatis provehantur.” *AS IV/3*, 268.

<sup>129</sup> “E contra novi Secretariatus erit, ut iteram dicam, docere et exhortari.” Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> “Locutio fit nomine conferentiae episcoporum Indiae, immo plus quam 100 Patrum ex variis mundi partibus, ex Asia, Africa, Europa, America Latina, Canada, etc.” *AS IV/3*, 280.

<sup>131</sup> “Potest [Concilium] vero, et debet, formationem proponere gremii postconciliaris, quo media concreta tempore suo proponantur et modo opportune exaecutioni tradantur.” *AS IV/3*, 281.

economic and cultural goods. It should promote the work especially of the underprivileged, give directions for cooperation between Christians and non-Christians in this field, promote international justice and peace between peoples and act as a moral influence in fostering practical means.<sup>132</sup>

A member of the *cospiratori*, Fr. Gerald Mahon, spoke. Perhaps mindful of the compromises and conflicts then ongoing among the ten subcommittees responsible for drafting the Pastoral Constitution, Mahon made two specific requests of the document: 1) A clear statement of principles by the Church; and 2) wherever feasible, concrete action to implement these principles, action not only by individual groups in the Church, but by the Church as a united spiritual entity.<sup>133</sup>

McMahon proposed that the new Secretariat promote the moral principles set forth in *Mater et magistra* and *Pacem in terris*. An institute is needed to promote social justice in the socio-economic domain and thereby assist the work already being done around the world by various local bodies in overcoming want and hunger.<sup>134</sup> As a special request, Mahon asked

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<sup>132</sup> “Ecclesia, mediante institutione organi postconciliaris ad iustitiam internationalem et omnium populorum integram humanamque evolutionem promovendam, suo influxu atque auctoritate morali et deberet ut graditum structurae politicae, socialis et oeconomicae omnium nationum, non ad bellum...sed ad veram et stabilem pacem parandam, orientatur.” Ibid, 282-3.

<sup>133</sup> “Secretariatus christifideles per totam orbem terrarum de officiis iustitiae socialis internationalis ac caritatis docere posset.” Ibid, 369.

<sup>134</sup> “1. Secretariatus ille mundo clare proponere posset principia moralia contenta in nostro schemate ut, modo magis explorato, in Encyclicis *Mater et magistra* ac *Pacem in terris*. Sic, tota immensa vis moralis necnon opes Ecclesiae dirigi posset ad paupertatem a mundo tollendam.” AS IV/3, 368.

that a Votive Mass be added to the Missal that would be dedicated to the theme of promoting justice and charity in the world. Such an effort had been used in England during the year of prayer for the end to world hunger.<sup>135</sup>

Bishop Fernando Echeverría Ruiz of Ambato, Ecuador, stressed the transformative nature of preaching the Gospel which is not a simple theory, but is something alive and that changes humanity itself.<sup>136</sup> In concert with the many Fathers that had already offered a view on this subject, Bishop Echeverría called for the establishment of the new Secretariat.<sup>137</sup> The world of today is in need of action, not more declarations.<sup>138</sup>

Cardinal Owen McCann of Capetown addressed a packed aula awaiting the Pope's return from New York. He repeated the call for a specific secretariat urging increased cooperation between the Church and civil organizations.<sup>139</sup> He noted the existence of two

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<sup>135</sup> "Propono ut inter Missas votivas addatur Missa votiva ad petendam iustitiam et caritatem in mundo. Thema talis Missae apte indicatur oratione quae vulgate fuit in Anglia durante anno dedicato ad promovendam libertatem mundi a fame," *ibid*, 369.

<sup>136</sup> "Nuntium evangelicum erat nuntium amoris et pacis et pauperibus praesertim destinatum. Non erat simplex theoria, sed vivificans opus quod transformationis humanitatis fecit," *AS*, IV/3, 376.

<sup>137</sup> "...ad hoc necessarium credimus, uti iam plures Patres postulaverunt, constitutionis cujusdam Secretariatus Internationalis Sanctae Sedis adnexi, ad excitandam, augendam et dirigendam activitatem Ecclesiae in solutione quaestionis socialis nostri temporis," *ibid*.

<sup>138</sup> "Mundus hodiernus qui nimis pragmaticus est, non novis declarationibus indigent, non a nobis principia vel theorias postulat, sed facta," *ibid*.

<sup>139</sup> "Tamen mihi videtur quod quid practicum proponendum est in schemate nostro. Credo quod opportum esset, ut apud S. Sedem constitutur Secretariatus specialiter istae responsibilitatis concreditur," *AS*, IV/3, 400.

worlds consisting of the *haves* and the *have-nots*.<sup>140</sup> On the continuation of the Council's plea to respond to the poor and needy, the Cardinal said:

I believe that a practical manner arising from the schema is that this Secretariat acts in an inspirational manner, and its constitution will be a stimulus to the conscience of the human person to help in the great war against poverty which should not exist and contend against the hunger which many persons experience...I therefore humbly submit that the Council not only in words but in a practical way speak to the world about this common and important action.<sup>141</sup>

In a long intervention following discussion of the document on the renewal of religious life, Bishop William Wheeler of Middleborough, England reiterated the need for a secretariat for the promotion of world justice, citing in support the success of a similar secretariat that had been established some time previously for the promotion of Christian unity.

We all know how much within a few years has been promoted by the Secretariat for Christian Unity and how it has changed the mind of the Church in Ecumenical matters. The Secretariat for worldwide justice, while it need not have the same structure and function could in the same way change the way of feeling and acting of the Church, and in that clear way which such an urgent problem needs.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> "Extant duo mundi, isti habentes et alii non habentes," *ibid*, 401.

<sup>141</sup> "Credo quod uti mensura practica quae exoritur ex schemate erit *quod iste Secretariatus* modo inspirationali agitur, cuius constitutio erit sicut stimulus conscientiae personae humanae ad adiuvandum in isto magno bello contra paupertatem quae non deberet existere et continuare contra famem quas multissimae personae experiuntur....Submitto ergo humiliter quod Concilium non tantum verbis sed in modo practico mundum alloqui debet," *ibid*.

<sup>142</sup> "Omnes scimus quomodo paucis his annis secretariatus pro unitate christianorum promovenda, in melius emenderavit totam mentem Ecclesiae in re oecumenica. Secretariatus pro iustitia mundiali, cum non

Wheeler continued with a long explanation of the importance of dialogue in seeking solutions to the world's problems. He referenced the principle of dialogue found in Paul VI's encyclical, *Ecclesiam suam*. Such dialogue should take place with experts in the field of economics, demographics and sociology.<sup>143</sup>

Bishop Charles Grant, Auxiliary Bishop of Northampton, England, referred to the effort led by Cardinal Frings in bringing together the European aid agencies in suggesting the Council mandate creation of something similar, namely,

top level body [*coetus*] in the heart of the Church to study all the complicated problems associated with human need; to promote economic and monetary development among the poor and to promote peace in tandem with this."<sup>144</sup>

In total, eight interventions asked for the concrete and permanent means by which the calls for the Church to address poverty should be heeded. Elsewhere, theologians were debating how those principles might emerge within a given historical context in ways that could be applied or translated to the challenges of the day. The specificity with which the Pastoral Constitution delineated some of these challenges caused anxiety for quite a number of experts and theologians, not least of which was the contingent of German bishops and their

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necessario eiusdem structurae vel functionis esset, eodem tamen modo, emendare posset rationem sentiendi et agendi Ecclesia, et quidem illa celebritate qua problema tam urgens indiget," *ibid*, 619.

<sup>143</sup> "Necessarium esse dialogum cum prae-eminetibus doctrina oeconomica moderna inire, secundum voluntatem Summi Pontificis, principia in Ecclesiam Suam exponentis," *AS*, IV/3, 617.

<sup>144</sup> "[U]t coetus cuiusdam supreme et quasi in intimo corde Ecclesiae posuit, qui stadium persequatur de problemationibus complexis, quae ad victoriam de fame et egestate mundiali reportanda spectant, et quae Summus Pontifex tam intime in corde habet...Huius rei consideratio, et maxime sub aspectu oeconomico, in idem ducit ac consideratio pacis." *AS*, IV/3, 629.

advisors, Frs. Karl Rahner and Josef Ratzinger, both of whom were on subcommittees responsible for drafting the “theological-philosophical” first section of the Pastoral Constitution.<sup>145</sup>

Discussion concerning the Church’s competence in technical matters continued to be debated. In the aula Cardinal Giuseppe Siri of Genoa thought it “imprudent to speak of technical matters concerning economics and politics – matters which could change in a short time and make the council appear outdated.”<sup>146</sup> Siri suggested such things be left to experts who can teach them better than the council. In addition, Bishop Franc Franič from Split, Yugoslavia suggested the text was not mature and should, instead, be handed over to the new Synod of Bishops.<sup>147</sup>

### ***Revisions and a Final Text***

The changes (*modi*) proposed to the actual text by the Council participants and the interventions offered orally and in writing were reviewed after the debate by the Mixed Commission.<sup>148</sup> The Mixed Commission divided the work of analyzing and incorporating these suggested changes according to the mandate given to ten separate subcommittees. This

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<sup>145</sup> *Turbanti*, 663.

<sup>146</sup> “Non est prudens in documento conciliari loqui vel nimis definitive de his quae pluribus mutationibus technicis obnoxia sunt,” *AS*, IV/3, 261.

<sup>147</sup> “[P]ropono ut hoc Concilium faciat aliquas litteras synodales seu nuntium de pace ad mundum universum, in quo nuntio habebitur tantummodo illa materia quae maturior esse videtur, e.g. assumpta ex cap. IV primae partis et V secundae partis, et reliqua ut Synodo Episcoporum tradentur.” *Ibid*, 288.

<sup>148</sup> *Turbanti*, 686-718.

division of the work during the editing process was designed to expedite the process. Key *cospiratori* were part of this process. James Norris was on subcommittee X *De pace* and did his utmost to secure the inclusion of specific language that would direct the establishment of a poverty secretariat as repeatedly requested in the poverty speeches. Fr. Lebreton was an advisor to subcommittee VIII on the economy. Veronese was on the subcommittee on the laity. Others who were sympathetic to the *Justpax* proposal were spread throughout the ten subcommittees.<sup>149</sup>

The section on the economy in the draft introduced on October 4, received intense criticism that, to some extent, had not been adequately dealt with in the redraft of the schema during the meeting held in Ariccia. In the *Relatio* of Fr. Tromp detailing the discussions of the Mixed Commission, many submitted comments seeking corrections and clarifications on basic themes related to the economy; employment, a just wage and the status of private property among others. While some comments sought a reaffirmation of the rights of trade unions, others insisted that limits be set to the right to strike during industrial disputes. Teaching about private property received similar treatment.

The discussion on the economy should be seen in the context of the larger debate on the ideological battle between communism and capitalism. However, a debate that originated in the northern hemisphere found very many echoes in the southern nations where newly

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<sup>149</sup> *Turbanti*, 632-4.

independent countries, particularly in Africa, were quickly becoming surrogates for Cold War combatants.

In terms of Church teaching, *modi* to the schema related to the economy were divided between those looking to underline the universal destination of goods and others fearful that this emphasis risked legitimizing social disorder or even international conflict in light of such stark economic inequalities. Seen against the background of an ideologically based Cold War, the role of private property was considered the linchpin of the political philosophies in the two opposing systems. On this point, the Council experts engaged in very technical discussions not only about the modern economy. It was in this context that the suggestion by the German bishops to “downgrade” the status of the document and set up a post-conciliar commission to complete the work in a more satisfactory manner may have dovetailed with the advocacy of the *cospiratori* and those supporting a “poverty secretariat.”<sup>150</sup>

To some extent, the discussion on the economy was only slightly related to the proposed poverty secretariat that flowed from the gospel command to care for the “least of these.” Such a desire for the Church to stand with the poor received no overt critique in the *aula*. However, the suggestion made in the *aula* for the creation of a post-conciliar secretariat (*gremium, secretariatus, organismus, coetus*) was raised during these discussions.

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<sup>150</sup> *Turbanti*, 762-3. Cardinal Silva Henríquez, Santiago, Chile: “Venerabiles Patres, clare agnoscatur ergo plura doctrinalia in nostro documento contineri; schema vocetur simpliciter ‘Constitutio de Ecclesia in mundo huius temporis’; et, ad eiusdem valorem qui attinet, remittatur ad ‘declarationem’ commissionis theologicae supra relatam.” *AS* IV/1, 566.

A revised document was distributed to Council participants on November 12 in view of voting the following week.<sup>151</sup> For the first time a text appeared in a draft schema that referred to the call for a new organism. A text similar to the one suggested during the Council's debate by Bishop Swannstrom and Fr. Mahon was included in the last paragraph of article 94 (previously article 103) on the *Role of Christians in International Institutions*. The English translation reads as follows:

The council, considering the immensity of the hardships which still afflict the greater part of mankind today, regards it as most opportune that an organism of the universal Church be set up in order that both the justice and love of Christ toward the poor might be preached everywhere. The role of such an organism would be to stimulate the Catholic community to promote progress in needy regions and international social justice.<sup>152</sup>

***The Relatio of Fr. Tromp***<sup>153</sup>

An almost verbatim report of the discussions and decision of the Mixed Commission was compiled by Fr. Tromp and presented in a *Relatio* to the Council fathers. The document contained the discussions concerning the revision of schema XIII that took place between October 19 and October 30, 1965. Forming the basis for its work were the oral and written

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<sup>151</sup> *Schema constitutionalis pastoralis "De ecclesia in mundo huius temporis."* *Textus recognitus et relationes*, AS IV/6, 421-560.

<sup>152</sup> N. 94 (Olim 193) § 3: "[De partibus christianorum in institutionibus internationalibus]. Concilium vero, ratione habita immensitatis aerumnarum quibus maior pars generis humani etiam nunc vexatur, et ad iustitiam simul ac amorem Christi erga pauperes ubique praedicentur, valde opportunum aestimat creationem alicuius Ecclesiae universalis organismi, cuius sit catholicorum communitatem excitare ut progressus indigentium regionum necnon iustitia socialis inter nationes promoveantur." Ibid, 541.

<sup>153</sup> Rev. P. Tromp, "Relatio Commissio Mixta Ad Praeparandum Schema *De Ecclesia in Mundo Huius Temporis*: De Laboris Commissionis," 14 Sept. – 8 Dec. 1965, NC-CUA.

interventions of the Council participants. On October 28, Benedictine Fr. Christopher Butler introduced the theme of the relation between the Church and the social order in terms of the Church's service of the Kingdom of Christ (*Regnum Christi*). Fr. Hengsbach noted that the Church is present in this field not only by virtue of its teaching but also through its concrete presence in various institutes, referring to the existence of Catholic Action.<sup>154</sup>

Norris then spoke up. He noted that article 85 of the current schema was vague (*vagum*) and he reiterated the call of Bishop Fernandez<sup>155</sup> to insert into this article reference to post-conciliar organisms. Norris argued for something more specific regarding the need to help those oppressed by hunger. To this end, thought has to be given to institutions within the Church that deal with these issues and thus also to the idea of establishing post-conciliar *organs* - plural.<sup>156</sup> Fernandez insisted that the reference be included to post-conciliar organisms in n. 84 (*in hoc loco*). In asking that the creation of *post-conciliar organisms* of the Church be inserted in the section on socio-economic life in Chapter III, Fernandez also recognized that such a request *had already been inserted into the re-worked text on Chapter*

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<sup>154</sup> "Etenim per totum numerum insisti in Ecclesiae doctrinam, at Ecclesiam etiam esse praetentem in hoc mundo per sua instituta. Dicantur ergo quaedam de associationibus patronorum et opificum catholicorum, de actione sociali catholica et similibus." Ibid, 67.

<sup>155</sup> "Exc.mus Fernandez desiderat, ut etiam in hoc loco [n. 85], sicut fit in capite V sermo fiat de organis postconciliaribus." Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> "Dominus Norris putat num. 85 esse nimis vagum: sit dictis magis concreta; agitur de iuvandis fame opporessis; dicatur de organis hac in re erigendis et de organis postconciliaribus ad mentem Exc.mi Fernandez." Ibid.

V.<sup>157</sup> This intervention is significant. The draft schema presented to the Council in September (*Textus Recognitus*) contained no reference to any such post-conciliar organism.<sup>158</sup> Therefore, a reasonable explanation for the reference of Bishop Fernandez is that a text had been proposed and agreed upon at some point following discussion of the schema in the aula and that the Mixed Commission members – perhaps through the report from the subcommission on Chapter V – were aware and had agreed to the inclusion of such a text prior to the request of Fernandez for a secondary reference to post-conciliar organisms.<sup>159</sup>

Fernandez insisted that the inclusion be made.<sup>160</sup> Bishop Lio – the relator – spoke against this inclusion and a vote was taken. Fernandez’s motion was defeated 13 to 27.<sup>161</sup>

Previously, the Mixed Commission had discussed at some length the role of the Church in matters not purely religious but having to do with social and political issues. Dom Helder Camara argued for direct action of the Church when indirect action or encouragement by bishops is insufficient, as in Latin America. When he does this, he claimed, he is called a

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<sup>157</sup> “Exc.mus Fernandez disiderat, ut etiam hoc loco, sicut fit in capite V sermo fiat de organis postconciliaris.” Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> See discussion on *Textus Recognitus*, *infra*.

<sup>159</sup> Support for this hypothesis can be found in the brief account of the history of the origins of *Justpax* presented in Routhier, op. cit. 26, note 72.

<sup>160</sup> “Quidquid id est, Exc.mus Fernandez insistit, ut fiat suffragium de commendandis etiam in n. 84 organis postconciliaribus.” Ibid, 68.

<sup>161</sup> “Votatione facta tantum 13 ex 27 ... accedunt. Ergo reiecta est petitio.” Ibid.

communist.<sup>162</sup> Bishop McGrath agreed but wanted it to be clear that such action is supplementary (*actione suppletiva*) to that of the social order and should be supplied when those responsible for such action fail.<sup>163</sup>

The discussion overall seemed to focus on the role of the Church in cultural, social and political matters as an *institution* and under the guidance and leadership of the bishops themselves. This might explain the hesitance about the potential role of post-conciliar bodies with indeterminate objectives and the failure at this point of the request by Bishop Fernandez. Other interventions promoting the educational role of the Church and its impact on the social order give the impression that the Church is remaining outside of the world and that it “enters the world.”<sup>164</sup> The *relatio* does not contain any discussion of the draft text that was included in a version that would be presented to the Council for a final vote. Such discussion and insertion must have taken place outside of the Mixed Commission arena.

When the amended document was presented to the Council for a final vote on December 2,<sup>165</sup> this section calling for the *new organism* was numbered as article 90 with

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<sup>162</sup> “Respondet Exc.mus Helder Camara, interprete Patre Tucci, in America latina nos haud raro adhuc versari in medio aevo; non semper sufficere actionem indirectam vel stimulationem datam ad Episcopis. Episcopos saepe directe agere debere, etiamsi considerentur ut communistae.” Ibid, 44.

<sup>163</sup> “Exc.mus autem McGrath monet ne novus clericalismus exoriat in socialibus: dicatur autem clare de actione suppletiva ubi deficiunt ii quorum cura socialis est.” Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> “Ecclesia intrat in mundum.” Ibid, 45.

<sup>165</sup> *Schema constitutionalis pastoralis “De ecclesia in mundo huius temporis.” Textus et corectiones admissae necnon expansio modorum partis primae et secundae*, December 2, 1965, AS IV/7, 234-610.

only one word change: instead of *praedicentur*, the final text contained *fovendam*.<sup>166</sup> The Mixed Commission explained its rejection of four *modi* to the section, the first of which was presented by two members and suggested removal of the entire paragraph on the basis that the Church already had *Caritas Internationalis*.<sup>167</sup> The text had been accepted by the entire Council, therefore it should remain. At the same time, a suggestion that this new *organismus* act in an ecumenical way was rejected by the Mixed Commission. The reason given was that it was necessary for Catholics to have their own organization first, before cooperating with others.<sup>168</sup>

The final vote on Chapter V received 483 *non placet* votes – the highest number received by any section of the schema. Nonetheless, Norris, Gremillion, Ward and the other *cospiratori* took great satisfaction that they had succeeded in laying the foundations for a new organ of the Church, under the direction of the Holy Father, that would energize and mobilize the Church's considerable forces in the battle against poverty.

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<sup>166</sup> N. 90 § 3: “[De partibus christianorum in institutionibus internationalibus]. Concilium vero, ratione habita immensitatis aerumnarum quibus maior pars generis humani etiam nunc vexatur, et ad iustitiam simul ac amorem Christi erga pauperes ubique fovendam, valde opportunum aestimat creationem alicuius Ecclesiae universalis organismi, cuius sit catholicorum communitatem excitare ut progressus indigentium regionum necnon iustitia socialis inter nationes promoveantur.” Ibid, 312.

<sup>167</sup> *Expensio modorum*, “A) requiritur ut totum hoc comma expungatur. Ratio: Existit iam Caritas Internationalis (2 Patres) ... A) Fuit votum moltorum Patrum, ac textus acceptus est.” Ibid, 607.

<sup>168</sup> *Expensio modorum* “B) aut tota phrasis omittatur, aut lin. 17 post ‘ut’ addatur ‘praevio concilio cum ecclesiis et communitatibus ecclesialibus non catholicis initio de modo communiter procedendi’ (2 Patres) ... B) Necesse est ut catholici prius habeant organisationem propriam ut deinde cum aliis efficaciter cooperare possint.” Ibid.

**b        The Work of the *Cospiratori***

The group had been warned that unless their ideas were incorporated into the text of the Pastoral Constitution itself, their work would remain a memory, recorded only in the collected speeches of the Council. Instead, the Council had laid the tracks for a new entity that would, presumably, take shape in the Council's aftermath, drawing on the inspiration found in the Pastoral Constitution and the determination of the many Council fathers.

Many of the *cospiratori* and their collaborators were interspersed throughout the ten subcommissions on the schema. Indeed, the very presence of so many sympathizers to the project demonstrated the diffuse nature of the overall support for a new Secretariat. Their presence has been crucial in not only having the appropriate language inserted in the text but in ensuring that the text survived the *modi* from the Council participants inimical to the proposal. Fr. Lebreton was on subcommission eight on the economic questions, Veronese was on subcommission nine on international affairs and Norris was on subcommission ten dealing with the question of peace. Norris' own papers from the sub-commission discussion on the relevant section reveal the phrase "insert poverty secretariat here."<sup>169</sup>

Action was needed, what remained was the task of implementing article 90. The months after the Council would present new hurdles in the effort to establish the Commission on Justice and Peace.

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<sup>169</sup> *Schema XIII*, UNDC-NC, written comments.

### 3 *Synthesis*

The investigation of this chapter into the historical evolution of *Justpax* demonstrates the call of many Church leaders to marshal both Church teaching and Church presence in a concerted effort to combat world poverty. The growing awareness of inequality, hunger and marginalization flowed naturally from the fact of a truly universal (if not always representative) gathering of Council participants. Shared stories, insights and a genuine sense of collective witness broke out frequently into the *aula*. The activity of theologians and social scientist such as Lebreton outside the *aula* helped to inform and form those considering how the Church might become relevant to the needs and desires of suffering humanity.

Support for concerted action found a solid supporter in the person of the Pope – both John XXIII and Paul VI. They both spoke in support of greater commitment by the Church to address the challenge of hunger and poverty. Indeed, such action could be seen as a touchstone of the Council's overall success.

There was little or no discernible opposition to the statement that the gap between the rich one third and the poor two-thirds of the human family was something that the Church should seek to address. Caution was voiced by those wary of too detailed an analysis by the Church on “technical questions” involving economic or sociological analyses. For many theologians, Frs. Josef Ratzinger and Karl Rahner among them, there were risks for the Church and the status of her teaching if the Council were to speak in a detailed way about contingent human realities such as the causes of poverty or to offer a remedy to such poverty

based on the teachings of the Church. We saw these differences intensify during the final stages of the Council as *Gaudium et spes* was finalized. A solution could be found in offering a judgment on the social order that was less definitive than that employed in the area of the faith of the Church. Indeed, support for a post-conciliar organism to continue working through the questions that the Pastoral Constitution failed to deal with satisfactorily collided with the call of the *conspiratori* for a poverty secretariat.

The *conspiratori* labored long and hard to maintain the proposed poverty secretariat alive. Their message was simple and their cause was clear: poverty was a “scandal flung in the face of humanity” as Paul VI described it, and the Church should organize itself to reduce or overcome such poverty. The experts had claimed that an end to poverty was possible. Why would the Church not be fully engaged?

Mobilizing the Church in an anti-poverty agenda seemed wholly part of the very purpose of the Council. Norris was persistent in promoting this goal in and around the Council chamber as were McCormack, Gremillion and Mahon. Ward and Lebret continued to write and lecture to different groups on their proposal for a poverty initiative. Their activity demonstrated the importance of human agency in promoting an agenda at the Council. Lobbying to secure support for a given issue was not uncommon. However, the composition of the *conspiratori*, the inventiveness of their efforts and their sense of entitled contribution was itself a sign of the atmosphere engendered by the Council as an event within the Church.

Coordinated lobbying certainly marked the efforts of the *conspiratori*. Their message was – as we have said – a simple one, which might explain its power to convince and to

garner support. There were deeper questions, however, related to the project pursued by the *cospiratori*. Such questions touched upon the model of Church engagement with the world; the nature of the relationship between contingent worldly events and the transcendent truths undergoing *aggiornamento* through the conciliar process. These questions were not directly addressed by the *cospiratori*, although their efforts in the post-conciliar period would require a greater articulation of the implications of their project.

Some themes do stand out, however, as implications of this new proposal. In opening itself to the reality of the world, the Church embraced its nature as a truly global institution. All the faithful were encouraged to play their part at all levels of society. Through international institutions, Catholics could bring the demands of the gospel to places where decisions affecting the lives of the poor were being made. The Church would draw upon its experience as a global entity allowing such experience first of all to inform the Church's own teaching in some way and then offer its own prescriptions for worldly problems of war, suffering and alienation from God.

Standing apart from but related to the *cospiratori* was the figure of Fr. Lebreton. With access to John XXIII and Paul VI, Lebreton contributed his considerable experience and reflection on the Church's dialogue with the modern world to the deeper questions of the Church's mission as it relates to action in the world. Lebreton, of all those we have examined, developed something akin to a fuller vision of an ecclesial understanding of development that spoke to the broader Conciliar agenda that was going on during the first three sessions and that dealt with thorny *ad intra* questions dealing with the notion of divine revelation and a

proper understanding of the Church's nature and mission. Lebreton followed and understood the implications of these documents for human liberation. With a concept of "integral human development" that originated in the Breton fishing villages of his early life, Lebreton would provide a parallel development that would inform the lobbying efforts of the Anglo-American *conspirators*. Acting in tandem, if not in union, with many others, they succeeded in inserting article 90 into *Gaudium et spes*. The efforts of the social activist *conspirators* would still be needed to bring about *Justpax*. A theoretical framework for the new organism would also be required. Lebreton's insights would profoundly shape the vision that Paul VI would assign to *Justpax* when he issued his first post-conciliar encyclical *Populorum Progressio*. The path leading to this point is the subject of the following section.

## Chapter Two

### Implementation of article 90 from December 1965 to January 1967

If the task of the *cospiratori* during the Council was to focus the minds of Council participants on the justification for a new organism of the Church dedicated to combating world poverty, the post-conciliar period brought with it a new set of challenges. As the non-Romans headed out of town, there was a feeling among the Curia that things would settle down and even return to some sense of normalcy. For the *cospiratori*, the battle to turn article 90 into *Iustpax* was just beginning. The process that started at the end of the Council and ended with the announcement of the new Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace in January 1967 is the subject of this chapter. This period would be marked by on-going advocacy efforts on behalf of the group of *cospiratori* and their supporters, both in Rome and from around the world. In line with the spirit of consultation and dialogue fostered by the Council itself, the process leading to the decision to establish the Pontifical Council garnered diverse opinions, albeit from a select group of Church insiders, before being presented to the Holy Father for his final decision.

This process involved two discrete stages; both involving the gathering of “working groups” that would surface proposals for deliberation by the competent authorities. While these periods provided for on-going consultation and articulation of the reasoning behind the establishment of a new organism, the final decision rested with the Holy See and, ultimately Paul VI himself. Unlike the material concerning the Council,

most of the sources used in documenting this history have not been officially published. They include correspondence, minutes of meetings, reports and other communications that have been taken from archival collections of the *cospiratori*.

## **1     *Three Sources of Resistance to the New Organism***

Opposition to the proposal of interpreting the “organism of the Universal Church” as meaning a secretariat focused on marshalling the Church’s resources to combat poverty as outlined in the various memoranda distributed by the *cospiratori* during the Council came in several forms. Three can be discerned with some clarity.

### **1.1     The Curia**

There were those within the Curia who objected to the idea that a new body was necessary to focus the Church’s concerted efforts to combat world poverty. The well-know turf battles that had greeted the Council fathers who gathered in Rome in 1962 had not dissipated by the end of the Council. The Roman Curia worked very much in a hierarchical fashion. The efforts by the *cospiratori* to establish a body in Rome that would adapt to the emerging consciousness of the Church’s response to the problems of

the world were in line with other attempts to bring a new style of government into the Church itself.<sup>1</sup>

If the Council spawned a new openness to a spirit of experimentation, there were forces prepared to contain any experiments from shifting decision-making power away from traditional poles of influence within the Curia. Despite the novelty and urgency of the approach offered by the *cospiratori* among others, the idea of establishing a body that would marshal the vast expertise and resources of Catholic intellectuals and specialists in the area of ethics and development who would propose practical ways of implementing development was revolutionary.<sup>2</sup> With prompting from the Pastoral Constitution itself, which we shall examine in more detail later on, the Article 90 Group was proposing an organism of the Curia that would stand on the threshold of Church and world, while fully immersed in the realities of both.

## 1.2 Existing Relief and Development Agencies

Adding to the concern over threats to existing jurisdiction within the Curia were concerns expressed by Catholic relief and development agencies, most notably *Caritas Internationalis*, around the need for a new organism. Both *Caritas* and CIDSE, the newly

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<sup>1</sup> “Usually, the Curia generates its own plans. If it must, it will seek to fit extraneous proposals into existing structures, as was attempted with article 90.” Cardinal Pio Laghi cited in *Kupke*, 316.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, the bewilderment of Cardinal Cicognani, Secretary of State, to the proposed idea during his meeting with James Norris, reported by Norris in correspondence. Interview with *Sr. Mary Evelyn Jegen, SSND.*, NC-UNDA.

formed group of European Catholic aid agencies headquartered in Brussels under the auspices of Cardinal Frings, saw in article 90 a positive reinforcement of the work that had been undertaken by their respected agencies for many years. The Council had provided new importance to their work, they thought, placing such work at the heart of the Church's identity and mission. As we saw, a *modum* by two Council Fathers in the final hours of the Council itself sought to remove all reference to the article 90 organism with the reason given that an existing Church agency, *Caritas Internationalis*, fulfilled the role outlined.<sup>3</sup>

### 1.3 The Laity Commission

A third source of resistance came from the Post-Conciliar Commission on the Apostolate of the Laity.<sup>4</sup> Views had been expressed during the early meetings of the Commission that the goals assigned to the article 90 organism should fall under the purview of the Laity Commission. Having constituted fifty percent of the Mixed Commission charged with overseeing the drafting of the Pastoral Constitution, the Laity Commission had been prefigured in the life of the Church long before the Council. As we saw above, Pius XII had personally approved of the first international Catholic lay

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<sup>3</sup> See n. 167 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> The Post-conciliar Commission on the Apostolate of the Laity (hereafter Laity Commission) was one of five post-conciliar commissions established by Paul VI in the *motu proprio, Finis Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II* January 3, 1966, *AAS* 58, 37-40.

conference in 1951 after which he supported creation of a Permanent Committee of International Congresses on the Apostolate of the Laity (*Comitato Permanente dei Congressi Internazionali dell'Apostolato dei Laici*, COPECIAL) headed by the Italian director of *Catholic Action*, Vittorino Veronese, a wealthy banker and both personal friend to Paul VI and ally to the *cospiratori*.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, there was a strong movement in the Laity Commission to take over responsibility for implementing article 90. Given Veronese's action within the Laity Commission as well as the presence of James Norris, himself a member of the post-Conciliar Commission on the Laity, the distinction between the role of the laity in the world and the action for justice and peace would be made with some effect.

In the early stages of implementing article 90 of *Gaudium et spes*, supporters of a new organism modeled on the ideas presented during the Council, would need to make clear the distinctions between their own proposal and existing arrangements with the three powerful forces outlined above. In offering a vision to support a wholly new entity, not beholden to existing structures, the *cospiratori* would have to define with some depth and clarity the objectives of the proposed organism.

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<sup>5</sup> Vittorino Veronese addressed the Council on December 3, 1963. On his role see Bernard Minvielle, *L'apostolat des laïcs à la veille du Concile (1949-1959): Histoire des Congrès Mondiaux de 1951 et 1957* (Fribourg: Ed. University, 2001).

The post-conciliar process leading to the establishment of *Justpax* took place in two discrete phases that both involved consultation and discussion among a broad selection of Church leaders. The first involved an *ad hoc* working group composed mainly of the group of *conspiratori* and like-minded colleagues charged by Archbishop Dell'Acqua with making recommendations to the Holy See on the implementation of article 90. The second phase – prompted by Paul VI himself – involved a similar process that aimed to incorporate other points of view. Under the auspices of Cardinal Roy of Quebec, this second phase would lead to the *motu proprio* establishing both the Laity Commission and the Justice and Peace Commission as separate entities under the same Cardinal President; a seemingly Solomonic compromise.

## **2     *Stage One: Working Group on Article 90***

James Norris's immediate post-conciliar lobbying efforts, coming as they did at the end of a wave of notoriety and celebrity afforded him after his address to the Council during the Third Session, paid off when Archbishop Dell'Acqua agreed to the formation of an *Ad Hoc Working Group on Gaudium et Spes, Article 90*.<sup>6</sup> This *ad hoc* arrangement was designed to gather the principal collaborators in Rome for several days to flesh out

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<sup>6</sup> “As I have already mentioned to Mr. James Norris on January 3<sup>rd</sup> last, I now wish to give you the assurance that the Secretariat of State looks upon this meeting with favor, and hereby authorizes Your Excellency and Monsignor Rodhain to convoke such a meeting,” *Letter of Archbishop Dell'Acqua to Bishop Edward E. Swanstom*, February 21, 1966.

the proposal contained in article 90 and present their findings to the Holy See. Under the joint chairmanship of Bishop Swanstrom of CRS and Monsignor Rodhain of *Caritas Internationalis*, a list of participants was developed and approved by the Secretariat of State. Each participant was invited *ad personam*. Comprising bishops, members of the Curia, clerics and religious, lay men and one lay woman (Barbara Ward), the Working Group met in Rome for several intense days of discussion in May 1966.

The letter of invitation itself is interesting for the way in which it interpreted the Council's concern for the world's poor. As an initial summary of the many ways in which the problem of world poverty emerged during the Council and became codified in article 90, the letter traced the concern to combat underdevelopment to the symbolic journey of Paul VI to India and the United Nations and the "eight interventions given in the Aula by Council Fathers from the five continents, on behalf of several hundred brother Bishops," through whose advocacy:

an amendment was added to the Pastoral Constitution, *The Church in the Modern World*, which would bring to bear the full influence and moral authority of the Church on the grave problem of poverty and misery in the world. Significantly, these interventions were begun in the Aula on October 4, 1965, during the very hours of our Holy Father's historic appeal for peace before the United Nations and to the entire world.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *Letter from Bishop Swanstrom and Monsignor Rodhain to Invitees of the Meeting of the Ad Hoc Working Group*, February 1966, GRM-UNDA.

The letter served to frame the discussion to which the invited participants were asked to attend. For example, commenting on the text of the Pastoral Constitution itself, the letter describes the intention of article 90 as reflecting a desire on behalf of the Council Fathers for a “concrete and permanent means by which these pleas of the Holy Father and the whole Body of Bishops might be expressed in season and out of season, among all the members of the People of God, in collaboration with all men of good will.”<sup>8</sup>

In seeking support for the inclusion of article 90 in the Council discussion itself, the letter points to the “eight spoken interventions and numerous signed petitions by Council Fathers” asking that a “special body be established in and by the Holy See to carry out these purposes.”<sup>9</sup>

## **2.1 *Ad Hoc* Working Group on Article 90 Meeting, May 9-12, 1966**

The Ad Hoc Working Group met in the Hall of the Knights of the Holy Sepulcher in the Columbus Hotel on the Via della Conciliazione on May 9, 1966, only five months after the close of the Council. Present were many of those familiar with the history already presented: Bishop Swannstrom and Monsignor Rodhain as co-Presidents,

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Monsignor Gremillion as Secretary.<sup>10</sup> The *cospiratori* were present in force. Those among them responsible for articulating the proposal during the Council continued in that role. Monsignor Gremillion had developed a seven point agenda covering all aspects of the proposal, its structures, current organizations, and the nature of the poverty problem. First item was entitled “the call of the Council” at which time the clear differences between the representatives of the laity commission and the *cospiratori* emerged.<sup>11</sup> Gremillion presented background papers during the meeting that would orient the conversation along the lines familiar with the project.

James Norris had reported on a conversation with Monsignor Glorieux, Secretary of the Post-Conciliar Commission on the Laity, from the previous February. Norris claimed that Glorieux was clear in his mind that the new organism proposed by article 90 could not be adequately fulfilled by the new Laity Commission.<sup>12</sup> Veronese, also a member of the post-conciliar commission doubted such a strong conclusion by Glorieux, questioning the logic of settling so contentious an issue before the work of the Ad Hoc Working Group had been completed and a report had been submitted.

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<sup>10</sup> For a complete list of participants see *Report of Working Group on Article 90*, Appendix I, GRM – UNDA.

<sup>11</sup> *Minutes of Meeting of Working Group on Gaudium et Spes*, No. 90, NC-UNDA.

<sup>12</sup> Ambiguity remained from the February meeting of the Laity Commission. Monsignor Glorieux clearly notes the interest of the work of the Laity Commission in propagating the work of justice and peace. At the same time Glorieux acknowledged the lack of time during the meeting to develop the theme. *Note of Monsignor Achille Glorieux*, May 7, 1966, n. 4.

On May 2, Archbishop Dell'Acqua had written to Bishop Swannstrom and Monsignor Rodhain stating clearly the understanding of the Laity Commission that the implementation of article 90 clearly involved the scope to the proposed Laity Commission.<sup>13</sup> The Laity Commission had sought the aid of Dell'Acqua in requiring the Working Group to submit its conclusions to the Sostituto so that he could coordinate the work of the two study groups.

Attempting to reach beyond discussion of turf and authority, Fr. Lebreton urged a focus on the goals of a new organism rather than operational and jurisdictional concerns. Lebreton had drafted his own suggestions for implementation of article 90 in January 1966 and submitted them to Paul VI.<sup>14</sup>

Lebreton had been diagnosed with cancer in 1965 and had undergone treatment. He was forced to withdraw from active engagement in the Council's final session. By the time he addressed the *Working Group* in May 1966, he only had a few weeks to live. He returned to his seminal theme of "integral human development."<sup>15</sup> It was Lebreton's vision

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<sup>13</sup> Archbishop Dell'Acqua, "La Presidenza della Commissione Postconciliare per l'Apostolato dei Laici, ha qui comunicato che durante le recenti riunioni della Commissione è prevalsa l'opinione della grande maggioranza dei membri, che l'attuazione dell'art 90 della Costituzione 'Gaudium et spes' debbe essere di pertinenza del futuro organismo previsto dal Decreto Conciliare sull'Apostolato dei Laici." *Letter from Archbishop Dell'Acqua to Bishop Edward E. Swannstrom and Monsignor J. Rodhain*, May 2, 1966, GRM-UNDA.

<sup>14</sup> L-J. Lebreton, "Note au sujet de l'application des paragraphes 89 et 90 de la constitution pastorale du concile Vatican II. Objet: Secrétaire pour la justice sociale entre les nations et pour le développement des pays pauvres," January 12, 1966, (Archives Nationales de France 45 AS 152) *Pelletier*, 411-412.

<sup>15</sup> It would appear in a more fully developed form in *Populorum Progressio*.

for a truly Christian anthropology based on the principle of integral human development that offered intellectual ballast to the project for a secretariat and is supported by the presence of its recommendation in no. 90 of *Gaudium et spes*.

Lebret offered a theory of dialogue and inquiry into the modern world, its people and cultures as well as analysis of its problems in light of the gospel message and the promotion of interdependence –solidarity – among all peoples. Having laid out his methodology of “bringing about awareness”, “expressing concern” and “bringing commitment of the whole Church” –a formula of see, judge and act – Lebret pointed to the thinking that remained unfinished. What was needed was an “ethics of development and a new international law” that would surpass the current colonial structure of international relations. Eschewing a reductionist view of the human person, Lebret saw that a narrow emphasis on economic development would stunt the true nature of development proper to the gospel’s vision for human flourishing. Defining development as a movement “from a less human stage of development to a more human development with the least cost, the greatest rapidity and the most human solidarity,”<sup>16</sup>

Lebret’s vision drew on his lifetime of work among those who spend their own lives struggling to live dignified lives amid material adversity. He proposed more than the need for problem solving or even simple poverty reduction. Instead, he stressed that for

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<sup>16</sup> *Minutes*, 3f.

poor countries the integration of culture and civilization that included spiritual and human formation, was at least as important as equitable economic growth.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, he argued that there can be no ethic of development without the spiritual and moral forces that come from the faith. Citing *Gaudium et spes* explicitly, Lebreton relied on the dignity of work and production as inherent to integral development. All nations should share in development, with international cooperation a priority. Seeking a juridical framework to regulate economic relations, Lebreton specified the importance of trade relations between nations, and the need to balance access to the market in a way that opens up trading opportunities for poorer nations.<sup>18</sup>

Lebreton did not limit his intervention to a discussion of economic questions. Referring to article 82 of *Gaudium et spes* which dealt with International Affairs, Lebreton noted the call for an international authority with real and juridical power to prevent war. Still some months from the release of *Populorum Progressio* in which the phrase “development is the new name for peace” would appear, Lebreton sought to unite the struggle against poverty with the effort to establish peace within the founding objectives of the new organism. On a one-page discussion draft of the stated objectives of the new organism, Monsignor Gremillion noted that “the new organization is to help the Church enter into dialogue with all men of good will who are working to foster human

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> *Minutes*, 8.

community built on justice and the integral development of man, which will, therefore, be conducive to peace.”<sup>19</sup>

Fr. Mahon presented three goals for the new Commission. First, it should bring an awareness of the extent of world poverty. Second, it should express the concern of the Church, rooted in the gospel and enunciated in the Church’s social teaching. Third, the new body should help in bringing the commitment of the entire Church to bear in confronting the problem. As head of a religious congregation, Mahon knew the need for greater synergy among the different instances of the Church’s life and ministry, urging a more integrated response to a problem whose cause was woven between north and south, east and west.

In his address to the working group during a hastily arranged private audience on May 11, 1966,<sup>20</sup> Paul VI accepted the shortcomings in current foreign aid programs, advocating a plan of action that would strike at the heart of the conditions themselves that dehumanize people. The Pope asked pointedly:

What should be done, then, to fight against the conditions of life in the world which are incompatible with the dignity of the human person? What must be done to prevent people from dying of hunger? What must be done

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<sup>19</sup> *Aide-Memoire of Monsignor Gremillion on the Poverty Secretariat*, GRM-UNDA.

<sup>20</sup> Paul VI, “Allocution du Saint-Père au Groupe de Travail chargé par le Saint Siège de formuler des propositions en vue de la création de ‘l’organisme de l’Eglise Universelle recommandée dans le Paragraphe 90 de la Constitution Pastorale *Gaudium et spes*.” Original in French with translation made by the Holy See, “Allocution of the Holy Father to the Working Group Charged by the Holy See To Make Recommendations For Implementing The ‘Organism of the Universal Church’ Called For By The Pastoral Constitution – *Gaudium et Spes*, No. 90,” NC-UNDA.

to bridge the gap between nations which are prosperous and those which are in want? What must be done so that justice rooted in solidarity should reign?<sup>21</sup>

Already the mark of Lebreton's thinking had made its way into papal language. It would be a short step to having it provide the core concepts for an entire encyclical.

The Pope's response began by acknowledging the failure of existing aid programs to address the problem of world poverty in a satisfactory way. In doing so, he recognized that even the joint efforts of governments, churches and other voluntary agencies have not been completely effective. Echoing the views of many development experts, the Pope referenced the views of certain "experts" who had called for the need to:

change the whole economic systems and financial structures of the world; to look for new sources of subsistence in a world which is still *en friche* [awaiting cultivation] according to the meaningful expression of one of these experts; to find new methods capable of increasing productivity; to change the mechanism of international trade; all these and many other things are not within Our competence, but We make a point of reminding you of their necessity and wish well to all those who work towards those goals effectively and in a disinterested way.<sup>22</sup>

Aware that the Church alone cannot correct these problems, the Pope recommended that the Church act as an "untiring educator and inspirer"<sup>23</sup> in bringing about the changes necessary to redress the "insult flung in the face of humanity."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> "Veritable défi à la face de l'humanité," *ibid.*

Paul VI presented the plan for the proposed organism, emphasizing the concept of the *imago Dei* presented in the first section of the Pastoral Constitution:<sup>25</sup>

Here then it seems is the work to be undertaken: To make known in great measure the facts in all their dramatic extent; to help people discover the gigantic dimensions of these facts; to make people realize the means of remedying the situation and above all to arouse an ever-increasing awareness of the obligation which derives from the universal brotherhood of man.

The goods and fruits of the earth were created for all men. No one – no individual or group – has the right to monopolize them. All, on the contrary, have the serious duty to put them at the service of all men.

In doing this the Christian will always remember that he is working for progress, motivated by justice and love. What is at issue is true human progress; a civilization founded on universal solidarity must be built up.

It is not only a question reducing the shocking and growing inequality which puts 15% of mankind in possession of 85% of the world's income. It is not only a matter of setting in motion merely technical and economic development. Rather it is a question of promoting an integrated and balanced development of the human person, which will allow each to live a life in conformity with the dignity of his being which is created to the image and likeness of God (Gen. 1: 26).

Such are the vast horizons which open up before you, venerable brethren and dear children, in order to fulfill the expectation of the world. May Christ, who “took pity on the crowd” (Mk. 8:2), bless your work, and may the light of the Spirit guide you in your work, so that all God's children live more fully as sons and daughters of the same Father, for this grace we beg in giving your our paternal apostolic blessing.”<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 12.

<sup>26</sup> *Allocution*. This final sentence appears only in the French translation – which the Holy Father most likely used when addressing the Working Group.

**a      The Report of the Working Group and Ongoing Lobbying<sup>27</sup>**

The 4-page report was a model of brevity and precision. In an eloquent Preamble that was clearly influenced by the Pope's address to the group during their meeting, the document presented the reality of abject poverty and hunger in the world and posed the question: "The world today confronts all the People of God with the question whether they will throw their energy and their dedication into building with their own fellow-men a worldwide order based on justice and peace; or whether they will, in the hour of their greatest prosperity and opportunity, 'pass by on the other side.'"

The Preamble is followed by two sections, entitled "Functions of the Organism" and "Proposals for a Structure." The Functions section enumerates three general and six specific functions for the proposed organism. There is a clear indication in the section on general functions that the group still felt the need to defend the autonomy of the new body from the existing aid agencies:

- 1) The main tasks of the organism will be in the field of education, stimulus and persuasion. It will not duplicate action which is being undertaken by other bodies, especially in the operational field. As a source of information, guidance and stimulus it will try to help individuals and groups to collaborate more effectively with each other, to avoid

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<sup>27</sup> *Report to the Holy See of the Working Group Charged with Making Proposals for the Implementation of Paragraph 90, "Gaudium et Spes" Calling for the Creation of an Organism of the Universal Church to Stimulate the Catholic Community to Promote Development of Needy Regions and Social Justice Among Nations*, Rome, May 9-12, 1966, NC-UNDA.

overlapping activities and to find a sense of direction and common strategy in their work for international development and justice.<sup>28</sup>

Similarly, the report refers to the work of the Laity Commission while making a distinction between the role of the laity and the work of the new organism:

2) Since most of its activities will be concerned with temporal issues, it will take into account, both in its structure and in its work, the crucial role assigned by the Church to the laity in the temporal order.<sup>29</sup>

In the last of the general functions, the report refers to the need for collaboration with non-Catholics so as to produce the maximum effect in the fight against world poverty:

3) It will recognize that since the task of building a fully human order is a task for all, Catholics can neither direct nor dominate the process. But they have their own vital contribution to offer to the common human effort and the organism should help them to make it in the most effective way.<sup>30</sup>

Joint action and full cooperation with “other Christian communions” is made explicit in # 4 of the six special functions presented in Section III. In this section, the report outlines much of the future program of the new Commission on Justice and Peace that was first presented in the initial draft of Barbara Ward to the new group of *cospiratori* and that would find an echo in the new Commission’s founding document, Pope Paul’s *motu proprio*, *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*.

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

Regarding structures in Section III, there is a repetition of the need for autonomy from both existing curial structures and the proposed Laity Commission. The report cautions: “After a long discussion of the objectives and required status of the organism the group concluded that these could not be implemented if the status of the organism were that of a subsidiary of one or another organ or agency.”<sup>31</sup> As if recognizing the new moment to which the Church was being summoned, the report recommended new structures within the Church that would allow the organism to “adapt itself and develop in accordance with the needs and circumstances as they arose.”<sup>32</sup> The very fluidity of the proposed structure betrayed, perhaps, the inchoate nature of the movement being galvanized in the wake of the Council.

As a leaven among existing Curial agencies, the new organism was encouraged to “harmonize its activities with those of the Secretariat of State,” while at the same time enjoying a “functional (not jurisdictional) relationship with the representatives of the Holy See to the United Nations family of agencies and other intergovernmental institutions.”<sup>33</sup> The “possible structures” were:

- 1) an autonomous Secretariat of the Holy Father of the existing types of Secretariats,

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

2) a Secretariat of a new kind with a closer inter-connection with the Secretariat of State,

3) a Papal Commission similar to existing Pontifical Commissions.<sup>34</sup>

The proposals reveal the differences of opinion among the participants. Some considered the Secretariat of State as main center of power to which the article 90 organism should, in some way, find a home. Others prized the importance of autonomy for the new body, albeit with the possibility of retaining close relationships with existing power centers. For the latter, the notion of a “papal” body was vital.

The issue was solved, in part, by focusing on autonomy and novelty in creating a new structure. Monsignor Benelli had reported during a meeting that in the case of the Holy See’s collaboration with UNESCO, activity on behalf of the Church in combating illiteracy was seen as a sign of the Church’s willingness to collaborate in human development. Benelli reported the comment of the Director General of UNESCO who felt that the Church’s “cooperation...was to be taken as a test of sincerity by the Church.”<sup>35</sup> For this reason, the report urged that, for the sake of credibility the new body be “at the highest possible level.... The United Nations and individual governments will

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Barbara Ward, *Minutes of Meeting of Working Group on “Gaudium et Spes,”* No. 90, Undated, NC-UNDA, 5.

be influenced in their own thinking and programs by the level of importance which the Holy See attaches to the organism.”<sup>36</sup>

The document reflects in many ways not only the tensions within the Working Group. It recognizes the importance of papal sponsorship for the new structure while at the same time seeking to minimize the bureaucratic restrictions that may come with influence at such high levels of the Church’s governance.

## **b       Waiting Period**

The Report was submitted to Archbishop Dell’Acqua as well as to Cardinal Fernando Cento, the President of the Laity Commission, and many other interested parties.<sup>37</sup> In the letter to Cento, Swanstrom and Rodhain referred to the opinion of the Laity Commission expressed through Dell’Acqua on May 2, namely that the goals of article 90 could be fulfilled by the Laity Commission. The letter noted the linkage between the organism proposed by *Gaudium et spes* 90 and the role of the laity. However, drawing on the text of article 90 itself as well as the intent expressed by the Council Fathers themselves, the letter rejects the idea that article 90 could be executed within the confines of a simple “section” of another organism.<sup>38</sup> The co-Presidents

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> See “Distribution List,” GRM-UNDA.

<sup>38</sup> “Mais aussi le Group a estimé – à l’unanimité de ses membres présents – que cet organisme, tel qu’il est décrit au para. 90 et tel qu’il est mis en relief par le contexte des interventions des Pères

assured the President of the Laity Commission that the Decree *Apostolicam Actuositatem* was considered extensively during their meeting.<sup>39</sup>

The *cospiratori* waited, and not at all patiently.<sup>40</sup> On June, 2, 1966, shortly after the report was submitted, Bishop Swanstrom wrote a 3-page letter to Dell'Acqua following a "transatlantic telephone conversation with Monsignor Rodhain."<sup>41</sup> Swanstrom – likely in consultation with Norris – expressed regret at not having met with Dell'Acqua at the conclusion of the Working Group's meeting a few weeks earlier. Summarizing the report in five points, Swanstrom urged Dell'Aqua to recommend the report's conclusions to Paul VI, "if you saw fit."<sup>42</sup> Swanstrom clarified a "recurring misunderstanding" regarding the jurisdiction of the proposed new organism, saying: "It would not engage in charitable or development operations, nor attempt to coordinate or control activities of existing Catholic charitable and development agencies." The main

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conciliaires dépasse le cadre d'une simple 'section' d'une autre organisme," *Letter from Bishop Edward E. Swanstrom and Monsignor Jean Rodhain to Cardinal Fernando Cento*, May 13, 1966, GRM-UNDA, 2.

<sup>39</sup> "Le Groupe nous charge d'assurer Votre Eminence, du souci qu'il a eu constamment pendant ses réunions, de tenir grand compte non seulement de ce para. 90, mais de l'éclairage donné à ce paragraphe par le Décret *Apostolicam Actuositatem* et par tous les travaux qui sous votre haute présidence ont été préparé." Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Correspondence between the *cospiratori* displays on-going lobbying efforts and nervousness at the slightest sign of development within the Curia.

<sup>41</sup> *Letter from Bishop Swanstrom to Archbishop Dell'Acqua*, June 3, 1966, NC-UNDA.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

tasks, he said, “would be educational and inspirational, and especially the formation of Christians to fulfill their responsibility to all the human family.”<sup>43</sup>

Swanstrom traced support for the new organism from the aula discussions during the Council, through *Gaudium et spes* itself to the Holy Father’s address to the Working Group on Article 90 the previous month. Since the report was submitted, Swanstrom noted that the Pope’s words were given “prominence” in *Osservatore Romano* as well as in “secular news agencies.” All this activity had heightened the interest in the “organism of the Universal Church,” the response to which by the Holy See was highly anticipated, according to the Director of Catholic Relief Services. Swanstrom was leaning on Dell’Acqua, perhaps seeing in him a reluctant believer in the project, using his conversations with prominent Catholic politicians in the United States, including the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressman John McCormack, as leverage to show that there was a lot at stake in the decision on article 90. At the United Nations as well as among “our separated brethren,” the response of the Holy See to article 90 was awaited “with expectancy.”

Swanstrom concluded by warning Dell’Acqua of the consequences of inaction by the Holy See. Speaking for himself and Rodhain, he stated:

We fear that should the matter [of the new organism] be ignored, many religious leaders, Catholic and non-Catholic, and many public leaders,

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

men of government, business and the professions, would experience considerable disappointment and even consternation.<sup>44</sup>

In a similar vein, James Norris wrote to Vittorino Veronese, President of the *Banco di Roma* and, like Norris, on personal terms with Paul VI. Norris reported to Veronese that Archbishop Dell'Acqua, the Vatican *Sostituto*, "has said that such a Secretariat is unnecessary ['inutile']."<sup>45</sup> The confusion stemmed from the fears by some in Rome that the proposed secretariat would be "operational" in that it would be endowed with jurisdiction over existing relief and development agencies. From other accounts, it seemed that Monsignor Rodhain, the President of *Caritas Internationalis*, continued to fear the presence of a high-level body of the Curia tasked with mobilizing the entire Church to combat world poverty. Rodhain saw *Caritas* in that very role and was wary of any new body attempting to occupy the space. Despite Rodhain's overt support for the new organism during the May meeting of the *ad hoc* working group, his overall commitment to the proposed secretariat remained in doubt. There was fear by the *cospiratori* that such doubt was being expressed within the Apostolic Palace. Norris urged Veronese to use his influence in Rome to seek an audience with the Pope himself. In this way, the general plan of the working group could be explained and concerns addressed.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> *Letter from James Norris to Vittorino Veronese*, June 22, 1966, NC-UNDA.

Monsignor Gremillion traveled to Rome on June 21, 1966 to attend several meetings. He spent his time meeting and discussing the proposals of the Working Group, seeking any intelligence on how the idea was progressing through the Vatican's bureaucracy. Gremillion reported his activities to Bishop Swanstrom in a four-page report sent on June 24 that demonstrated intense activity by Gremillion.<sup>46</sup> Getting a first "read" from the Curia on the Working Group Report, Gremillion met with Monsignor Luoni of the Secretariat of State, who was handling the report and moving it along. Luoni spoke favorably of the proposals contained in the Report and attested to no major obstacles in moving the proposal further up the chain of command. Luoni had been surprised at the interest in the new organism shown by Ambassadors to the Holy See after the Pope's address to the Working Group in mid-May.

The context within which the proposal was being offered is vital here. Gremillion notes that the entire atmosphere in Rome seemed dominated by the discussion around the Pope's birth control commission that was completing its own work around that time. Monsignor Giovannetti of the Secretariat of State met with Gremillion and Rodhain to discuss the proposal.<sup>47</sup> According to Gremillion, the new organism was being linked with the Pope's visit to the United Nations in New York. Gremillion writes: "[Giovannetti]

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<sup>46</sup> *Memorandum from Monsignor J. Gremillion to Bishop Swanstrom*, "Report on Conversations Here Since Arrival, June 21" June 24, 1966, NC-UNDA.

<sup>47</sup> Giovannetti was the head of the delegation of the Holy See at the first meeting of UNCTAD, to which Lebret belonged. *Pelletier*, 397.

talks of it [the new organism] however principally as a means of improving and deepening the work of the Holy See with the U.N. Apparently, in the wake of the Pope's visit to the U.N. this relationship takes on increasing importance in the Secretariat of State."<sup>48</sup>

Gremillion expressed some frustration after his meetings with the Vatican diplomats. Rather than create another tool for high-level Vatican diplomacy, Gremillion and his collaborators sought to foster a consultative, educational and mobilizing body from within the Curia that would animate the entire Church in the fight against world poverty. The view of the *cospiratori* was embedded in more democratic tendencies familiar to Gremillion, Norris and Ward. Gremillion compared the view of the *cospiratori* with the Vatican's focus on diplomacy:

This improved understanding, however, tends to center around the relations of the Holy See to the U.N. and without full grasp of the education of "national conscience" of rich nation citizens along lines we are working on in the U.S.A. with the National Council of Churches, workshops for pastors. We have to face it: this sort of grassroots and parish-lay-citizen effort for long-term influence of public opinion, vote support, etc., is outside their experience so far. We must help them to grasp this sort of approach by the conference of bishops, lay organizations, etc., etc. They think as diplomats.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 4, b.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 2, f.

### c      **An Initial Response: A Provisional Commission**

With more than a month passed since the Working Group submitted its report, there was no apparent explanation for the silence coming from Rome other than that the Pope had simply not made a decision. On July 8, 1966, a brief announcement appeared in *L'Osservatore Romano* that would cause consternation among the *cospiratori*. The story appointed the members of the Provisional Committee with the following instruction:

The Holy Father, graciously accepting the votes of the competent study groups, has deigned to institute a Provisional Committee charged with giving organic implementation to the various provisions among which are presented in article 26 of the Conciliar Decree *Actuositatem Apostolicam* and article 90 Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, article 90...<sup>50</sup>

The composition of the new committee seemed to parallel that of the Laity Commission. For this reason, it was easy to understand the negative reaction of the *cospiratori*. In addition to existing fears, there had been a report to the Conference of International Catholic Organizations (OIC) during their meeting in London in July that Article 26 would regulate the role of the laity *within* the Church, while Article 90 would

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<sup>50</sup> *L'Osservatore Romano*, July 18 1966: "Il Santo Padre benevolmente assecondando i voti dei Gruppi di studio competenti, Si è degnato di istituire un Comitato provvisorio incaricato di dare organica esecuzione alle varie proposte riguardanti quanto è auspicato nell'articolo 26 del Decreto Conciliare *Actuositatem Apostolicam*, e nell'articolo 90 della Costituzione Pastorale *Gaudium et Spes*. Sua Santità Si è pertanto compiaciuta di nominare i seguenti componente del suddetto Comitato: Sua Eminenza Rev.ma il Signor Cardinale Maurice Roy, Arcivescovo di Québec, Presidente; Sua Eccellenza Rev.ma Monsignor Alberto Castelli, Arcivescovo tit. Di Rusio, Vice Presidente; Il l.mo e Rev.do Monsignore Achille Glorieux, Segretario; Miss Rosemarie Goldie; il Dott. Johannes Schauuff; il Prof. Auguste Vanistendaele; l'Avv. Vittorino Veronese. Monsignor Silvio Luoni, della Segreteria di Stato di Sua Santità, è incaricato degli opportuni collegamenti tra la medesima Segreteria di Stato e il Comitato."

regulate its contribution *outside* the Church. This proposal might have been consistent with the proposal by Cardinal Suenens which spoke about orienting the dynamism of the Church *ad intra* and *ad intra*.

In effect, the Pope had postponed a decision until later in the year but wanted to indicate provisional support for the idea, perhaps in light of Swanstrom's letter to Dell'Acqua warning of the negative consequences in world opinion of inaction by the Holy See. Reports from those appointed to the Provisional Committee indicated that the participants leaned of the Pope's decision just as it was communicated to the world.<sup>51</sup>

It was clear, however, that no consensus had been reached on the shape of the proposed organism. To clarify current proposals, the Pope created a further phase of consultation and deliberation by establishing a "Provisional Committee" with the aim of resolving the question of the future of the article 90 organism in conjunction with the firmer proposals for the Secretariat on the Laity. Recalling the announcement some seven years later, James Norris recognized that despite their best efforts, the *cospiratori* were being resisted in the attempts at creating a new organism by those who considered the role outlined in article 90 as belonging to the laity.<sup>52</sup> The Provisional Committee under

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<sup>51</sup> Monsignor Achille Glorieux informed Monsignor Gremillion of his surprise at being nominated to the Provisional Committee: "Et c'est seulement la veille du jour où a été annoncé la création du Comité Provisoire, que j'ai été informé de cette décision." [I was only informed of this decision, the day before the announcement of the creation of the Provisional Committee]. *Memorandum of Monsignor Gremillion to Bishop E. Swanstrom*, July 15, 1966, GRM-UNDA.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with James Norris, NC-UNDA.

Cardinal Roy of Quebec would review all the proposals submitted to that point and engage in a further round of consultation.

The *cospiratori* took the news as a bad sign that their efforts were failing. A glimmer of hope was the presence of sympathetic supporters assigned by the Pope to this new study group, particularly Veronese. Barbara Ward – offering biting irony as usual – marveled in a letter to Gremillion: “I am still gasping at the make-up of the Committee. Not a single dark face!”<sup>53</sup>

Despite some positive signs, Monsignor Bayer, Secretary-General of *Caritas Internationalis*, wrote pessimistically to Norris on July 9, the day after the notification appeared in *L'Osservatore Romano*. Bayer, speaking with astonishment, referred to the new Committee and its members as a “second-class funeral of all the efforts being made during the Council sessions.”<sup>54</sup> Norris responded quickly, taking encouragement in the appointment of Cardinal Roy. He assured Bayer of his ongoing commitment: “We are certainly going to do everything possible to prevent having a second class funeral for your baby.”<sup>55</sup> He reminded Bayer of the difficult journey they had all traveled so far,

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<sup>53</sup> Letter from Barbara Ward to Monsignor J. Gremillion, August 11, 1966, GRM-UNDA.

<sup>54</sup> Letter from Monsignor Carlo Bayer to James J. Norris, July 9, 1966, NC-UNDA.

<sup>55</sup> Letter from James J. Norris to Monsignor Carlo Bayer, July 14, 1966, NC-UNDA.

saying that “we have won more difficult fights in the past and I am still not pessimistic.”<sup>56</sup>

The notion that the Provisional Commission favored an emphasis on the apostolate of the laity was reported in the media, however. The headlines reporting the event in *Le Monde* claimed: “Paul VI Institutes a Provisional Committee for the Apostolate of the Laity.”<sup>57</sup> In the article, Monsignor Glorieux, secretary of the Provisional Committee, claimed that this “new committee would be fully charged with carrying out the work of international justice.” *Le Monde* reported the counter view: “This suggestion is criticized by those who believe such action is not the sole purview of the laity.”<sup>58</sup>

Gremillion too jumped into action, speaking directly with Veronese and Ward about the Provisional Committee. Gremillion was in Geneva at that time meeting with officials from the World Council of Churches, with a view to intensifying collaboration with the WCC. On July 15, he sent a two-page memorandum to Swanstrom in New York. Calming fears expressed by the *cospiratori*, Gremillion explained the genesis of the provisional committee as a desire to do “something” before the “summer slowdown” in

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> “Paul VI institue un comite provisoire pour l’apostolat des laïcs.” *Le Monde*, July 9, 1966, 18.

<sup>58</sup> “Selon Mgr Glorieux, secrétaire du comite provisoire, le future secrétariat des laïcs tout désigné pour prendre en charge l’action de justice internationale. Mais cette suggestion est critiquée par ceux qui pensent que cette action ne relève pas des seuls laïcs.” Ibid.

Rome.<sup>59</sup> The Laity Commission was well advanced and was about to be announced by the Holy See. Given the inchoate stage of development of the ideas surrounding what the *cospiratori* termed in English “the poverty secretariat,”<sup>60</sup> the Pope did not want to indicate any lack of support for an eventual initiative in this regard: “Pope Paul has not yet made up his mind how to reconcile the two different positions of the Post-Conciliar Commission on the Apostolate of the Laity and our Working Group on Paragraph 90.”<sup>61</sup> Gremillion said he thought the

whole matter is still open and we must push and lobby and make our voice heard now more than ever. And had it not been for our May Working Group the matter would have been turned over to the *Concilium de Laicis*, and would be closed by now. So, in fact, our efforts are more effective than we think, in view of the situation so strong against our position which obtained before our May meeting.<sup>62</sup>

Gremillion reported that four of the new committee members who were present in Rome - Castelli, Glorieux, Goldie and Veronese met informally to discuss the Pope’s proposal. Their reflections were more hopeful than those expressed by the *cospiratori*.

(a) As the Osservatore Romano bulletin says, this committee is to begin “organic execution” of the Lay Apostolate Paragraph 26 as well as to begin “organic execution” of Paragraph 90. Consequently, they are to start experiments concerning these. Also, they are instructed to move as quickly

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Fr. Arthur McCormack, *Brief Legislative History of the Pontifical Commission, Justice and Peace*, January 1966, where he states: “This was known at the time as the World Poverty Secretariat.” 1.

<sup>61</sup> *Memorandum from Monsignor J. Gremillion to Bishop Swanstrom*, July 15, 1966, GRM-UNDA.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., I, 4.

as possible. (b) This is not viewed as a committee concerned with the laity only, despite its composition. Its decisions and experiments are to be based on three documents: 1) The Report of the Post-Conciliar Commission on *Concilium de Laicis*. 2) A letter written to the Holy Father by the Commission on the Reform of the Curia. 3) The Report of the Working Group.<sup>63</sup>

Veronese was still convinced of the need for a separate secretariat and expressed his commitment to work towards its establishment. However, Gremillion echoes his view that such a body “can be realized in stages and experiment.”<sup>64</sup> A key part of that experiment would be ecumenical collaboration. Despite obstacles already present in establishing the new organism, Gremillion was busy encouraging the WCC to press for collaboration with the new organism – even before its establishment. Gremillion reports:

We are trying to have this WCC Conference recommend close cooperation with the organism of paragraph 90 on a permanent continuing basis. This is delicate, behind the scenes operation here, comparable to what went on in the sub-commissions of the Vatican Council.<sup>65</sup>

The *cospiratori* pointed out that at no point during the Council’s discussion of the poverty secretariat, or even in reference to the need for a new organism, was it ever discussed that such an entity should be connected to the apostolate or activity of the laity in the world.<sup>66</sup> However, as the bureaucratic process took over after the Council, the

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., I, 3, (emphasis in original).

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., I, 5.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., III.

<sup>66</sup> Arthur McCormack, *Brief Legislative History of the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace*, archives of the Pontifical Council Justice and Peace, JP-67-17, on file with author.

confusion about the new organism continued to threaten the project presented by the Working Group. On July 28, the Secretariat of State communicated to Cardinal Heenan of Westminster – a surrogate for and supporter of Barbara Ward – asking him to “correct the erroneous report” that the Provisional Committee was focused solely on the Laity Commission, noting that “the Provisory Committee will also decide whether it is preferable to have only one organism, or two organisms each treating its own problems, although both have many aspects in common.”<sup>67</sup>

### **3     *Stage Two: The Provisional Commission of Cardinal Roy***

A reason given for uniting the work of the two new commissions was the need to reduce unnecessary multiplication of organizations. Existing aid agencies argued this, as did the Curia itself. The *cospiratori* had resisted this reasoning on both theoretical and practical grounds. If the Council had given birth to the Secretariat for Non-Christians or even for Non-Believers, was it not appropriate for the Church to dedicate a similar entity to the single greatest problem facing humankind, namely poverty? In addition, the Council had voted overwhelmingly to establish a new organism. The Pope wanted to hear the views of Cardinal Roy and the members of the Provisional Committee appointed to assist him, most of whom were selected from the post-conciliar commission on the

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<sup>67</sup> *Letter from Secretariat of State to Cardinal John C. Heenan, July 28, 1966, GRM-UNDA.*

Apostolate of the Laity. It is possible that this study group prefigured the Pope's ultimate decision in the motu proprio *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam* to create two distinct entities with one and the same President at their head: Cardinal Roy of Quebec.

Cardinal Roy set in train a series of extensive interviews with those related to both entities envisaged by articles 26 and 90. They included the International Committee on the Laity (COPECIAL) and the OIC, which appointed a special five-person committee to dialogue with the Provisional Committee. *Pax Christi* was also consulted as was the Working Group on Article 90 and *Caritas Internationalis*. Also receiving a hearing was the "Brussels Group." This was a new coordination mechanism for European-based Catholic development agencies that wanted to move beyond assistance to poor countries and engage more intentionally with advocacy before European governments. Individuals from the Secretariat of State were interviewed as well as those from other international Church entities. In all these consultations, one question stood out: what was unique about the proposed Article 90 organism?

Norris and Swanstrom traveled to Quebec to visit with Cardinal Roy personally on August 19 and 20. Swanstrom reports on his visit in a letter to Rodhain on August 30 in which he reveals that Roy was at least aware of the movement to have the goals of

article 90 fulfilled by the laity commission.<sup>68</sup> Swanstrom urges Rodhain – as he did others from the Working Group – to communicate their strong desire for an autonomous body at the highest levels of the Church.

Monsignor Gremillion did not meet Roy personally but wrote to the Cardinal's Provisional Committee, emphasizing a new understanding of the impact of the Church's teaching on social structure:

The focus of the new Organism of *Gaudium et Spes* is by no means principally upon the social programs operated formally by Catholic or other Christian bodies. These development programs are relatively very small being valued at only \$140 million a year.

Fittingly, the most significant programs of development are carried on by secular bodies: by governments and inter-governmental agencies, by business, labor, educational and professional organizations. Their programs of technical assistance, loans, investment, etc, are valued at about \$10,000 million annually. So, Church-related programs account for only some 1½ % of the total. Secular programs of governments, business, etc., account for about 98½%.

It is in support of these secular programs that the new Organism must especially focus to assist in meaningful measure the poor nations of the world – during the next year and decade, generation and century.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Letter from Bishop Edward E. Swanstrom to Monsignor J. Rodhain, August 30, 1966, NC-UNDA.

<sup>69</sup> Monsignor J. Gremillion, *Gaudium et spes – Article 90: Summary of the Discussion*, October 3 & 5, 1966, GRM-UNDA.

Gremillion was less interested in detailing the nature of the relationship between Church and the world, preferring to stress how *efficient* the Church could be in pursuing its social mission by cooperating with the secular entities.

The Council had brought together voices from around the world that framed their analysis of social problems within the context of John XXIII's call for a "pastoral Council" that would engage the world. At this point, practice was overtaking a theoretical framework, as if fearful that *Gaudium et spes* would not translate into action. Turning to pressing social issues such as poverty and war, certain Church personnel saw a new canvas upon which the new concepts could be applied. Gremillion, in pushing beyond the limits of traditional assistance seen as part of Christian charity, indicates a new field for the Church's mission, one that combined the traditional diplomatic activity proper to states with the mass social movement akin to the anti-war protests and civil rights familiar to Gremillion from his work in the American South.<sup>70</sup> The Council "democratized" in a certain sense, without prejudice to the Church's hierarchical structuring, activity to further the Church's mission. The laity would be an obvious target of such democratization of ministry – sentiments echoed in conciliar teaching on the Church and the liturgy. Combining action on behalf of justice and peace as central to the

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<sup>70</sup> For his views of the question of race in the Southern United States see Monsignor J. Gremillion, *The Journal of a Southern Pastor*, (Shreveport, LA: Fides, 1957).

Church's mission with these democratizing forces would, for some, be a significant achievement of the Council, as Gremillion would propose.

The Provisional Committee met by itself on September 29, 30 and October 1, 1966.<sup>71</sup> Subsequently, the Article 90 group met with Cardinal Roy and the Provisional Committee twice, on October 3 and 5.<sup>72</sup> The group, which included Bishop Marcos McGrath C.S.C. of Panama, Monsignor Rodhain, Barbara Ward, James Norris, Canon François Houtart, Fr. Cosmao and Mr. Hans Merz, reiterated the aims of the new organism as outlined in the May Report: stimulating the conscience of Catholics to the crisis of poverty; research and gathering of information on the extent of the problem so that the Church can educate people on the extent of the problems. Its activities should be done with a special eye towards the role of the laity and in collaboration where possible with other Christians. With this knowledge, the group argued, they could find ways to enlist these Catholics to commitment and action.

The group was anxious to begin: this is clear from the correspondence between the *conspiratori*. As if recognizing the desire to move ahead without the necessary theoretical framework, the section of the Summary entitled "Method of Work" stresses activity in moving forward:

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<sup>71</sup> For a full list of the consultations held by the Provisional Committee, see the Appendix of the *General Report on the "Provisional Committee" Meeting*, undated, NC-UNDA, also Appendix B.

<sup>72</sup> Working Group, *Gaudium et Spes – Article 90: Summary of the Discussions of October 3-5, 1966*, Undated, GRM-UNDA. It was sent to Cardinal Roy on October 6, 1966.

This can hardly be established except by getting to work and the urgency of the world crisis would seem to dictate an early start. The appointment of a Secretary to work with the President and the Council on an experimental basis would quickly establish the priority needs, provided the Secretariat were given the authority necessary for effective action.<sup>73</sup>

Regarding structure, the familiar tension between a desire for ecclesial power and on-going flexibility was repeated:

Although the Secretariat would be situated at a high level in the structure of the Church, so as to truly manifest the Church's concern with the problems of world justice and development, nevertheless it should have an adequate flexibility of action in its work, e.g. particular consultations, *ad hoc* commissions, information bulletin, the assignment of observers *ad causam*. It would also avoid committing the magisterium of the Church to its activities.<sup>74</sup>

As a final plea, the group appealed to the “moving mystery of the Church in the world,” that would “realize the unity and love of the whole human race.”<sup>75</sup> Such rhetorical flourishes evoking high ideals were meant to pacify any wavering hearts to the task before them.

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., D., 2.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., G., 2.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

### 3.1 Report of the Provisional Committee<sup>76</sup>

Cardinal Roy's report to the Holy See recognized the clear call of the Council to establish a new organism. Admitting a difference of opinion on this question in the immediate aftermath of the Council, Roy stated the question succinctly:

One or two Organizations: For many months the question had been: could and should the project for the *Concilium de Laicis*, formulated in terms of article 26 of the Decree *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, and the project for an "organization of the universal Church" of article 90 of *Gaudium et spes* be united in one single body?<sup>77</sup>

Leaving no doubt, Roy advised that two distinct bodies be created since "the essence of the projects is clearly different." Interpreting article 26 of *Apostolicam Actuositatem* calling for a post-conciliar commission on the apostolate of the laity and article 90 of *Gaudium et Spes* calling for a new organism of the universal church, the report identified the distinct mission of each:

[T]he essence of the projects is clearly different: on the one hand the *Consilium de Laicis* aims at better integration of the laity and of its apostolate in the life and mission of the Church, while on the other hand it is a question of pledging the Church as a whole to the fulfillment of certain aspects of its mission. Should (with reference to No. 90) emphasis be laid in particular on the part of the laity in this effort of the Church in regard to the world, prospects would be too limited; moreover such an effort involved providing a true and overall image which can be achieved only through an appropriate organization.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> *General Report on the "Provisional Committee" Meeting*, undated, NC-UNDA.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1, 1-2.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

This Report attempted to come to grips with the new understanding of the Church as the People of God by distinguishing not only the specific role of the laity in the Church's life and mission, but by refusing to identify the action on behalf of justice as the exclusive function of the laity. In defining the goals of the new article 90 organization, the Report suggests that "it should appear as an expression of the interest of the universal Church in the major problems of the present day world, such as they are outlined in *Gaudium et spes*."<sup>79</sup>

In October, Norris secured a private audience with the Pope, on which he reported to his "counterpart" among the Laity Commission, Vittorino Veronese. Norris discussed the article 90 organism with the Pope, writing afterwards that the "Holy Father understands the purpose of the organism which is education and stimulation."<sup>80</sup> It would be another two months of nervous waiting and additional lobbying by the *conspiratori* before a cable arrived from Rome in which Monsignor Luigi Ligutti – a father figure among the *conspiratori* - advised Norris to cease exerting pressure because "the *motu proprio* is on the desk of the Holy Father, and we are hopeful that the announcement will

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., B, 9.

<sup>80</sup> Letter of James J. Norris to Vittorino Veronese, 13 October 1966, NC-UNDA.

be made before Christmas.”<sup>81</sup> In his address to the Cardinals on December 23, 1966, Paul

VI announced his intention to establish new structures:

Keen to welcome the new forms suggested by the recent Council, we are getting ready to introduce into the Curia’s structure certain changes, which, while maintaining efficiency, make its composition and functioning more apt to meet the demands placed on the Church today. While I know that this evolution of a traditional organism will take some time and will come slowly, it should not be doubted that this will happen shortly and will give new impetus to its work: an authoritative commission is in the works and already has some decrees ready, which we hope to publish shortly.<sup>82</sup>

#### 4 *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*

Ward voiced her concern that the delay in movement on their recommendations and those of the Provisional Committee was due to the work of the laity commission demanding that no decision be made on the subject until October 1967, after the World Conference on the Laity. Ward set in motion a request by Cardinal Heenan to ask U.N. Secretary U Thant to write to the Pope. In addition, she asked if Fr. McMahon could “stir

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<sup>81</sup> *Letter of Monsignor Luigi Ligutti to James J. Norris*, 13 December 1966, University of Wisconsin – Madison Archives. Ironically, Cardinal Roy’s Provisional Committee had recommended against using a *motu proprio* to announce the decision of the Holy Father preferring a more pastoral style e.g. speech that recognizes the non-specialized nature of the audience addressed by the new Commissions: the laity and the entire People of God. See *Provisional Commission Report*, “Means of Implementation,” B, 10.

<sup>82</sup> Paul VI, *Address to the College of Cardinals and the Roman Curia*: “[D]esiderosa di accogliere le forme nuove suggerite dal recente Concilio, si appresta a introdurre nelle sue strutture le modifiche, le quali, conservandone l’efficienza, rendano la sua composizione e il suo funzionamento conformi alle odierne esigenze della Chiesa. Se questa evoluzione d’un organismo tradizionale e in piena attività reclama qualche tempo e qualche gradualità, non è da dubitare ch’essa proceda e che possa tra poco dare nuovi e notevoli segni di sé: un’autorevole Commissione è al lavoro e già tiene pronti alcuni decreti, che speriamo poter presto pubblicare.” AAS, 59 (1967): 48-59, 53.

up some of the missionaries.”<sup>83</sup> Around December 14, Monsignor Ligutti sent a cable to Norris asking that all pressure be stopped as the proposal was moving along. In fact, the proposal was on the Pope’s desk awaiting his decision.

Christmas would come and go before the *conspiratori* were finally relieved of their worries. The document establishing the two entities was published on the Feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1967. Entitled *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*, the establishment of these two new bodies was linked to the Church’s ever present maturing relationship with the world and the “continuous effort of internal renewal and *aggiornamento*.” The Latin (and official) title of *Iustpax* was “Pontificia Commissio studiosorum, a *Iustitia et Pace* appellata”<sup>84</sup> which was translated as those “committed to” or “eager for”, or “zealous for” or “devoted to” justice and peace. Within a short time, the qualifier *studiosorum* was dropped and the title became “The Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace” or the “The Justice and Peace Commission.”

The *motu proprio* echoed *Gaudium et spes*, tracing the foundation of the new body to the Council itself which, wanting

to establish a dialogue with the modern world, gave due attention to some of the major aspirations of the contemporary world, such as those problems of development, promotion of justice among nations and the cause of peace, proposing the institution of an organism of the Church,

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<sup>83</sup> *Letter of Barbara Ward to Arthur McCormack*, December 14, 1966, BW-GU.

<sup>84</sup> *Catholic Christi Ecclesiam*.

whose purpose should be to make the Catholic world more aware of these problems (cf. *Gaudium et spes*, 90).<sup>85</sup>

The Pope begins by explaining the history of the two efforts, describing the process of consultation that led to the decision to create both bodies. “It became clear” during this process that the two organisms mandated in *Apostolicam Actuositatem* 26 and *Gaudium et spes* 90 should be distinct, the Pope said. The aim of the Justice and Peace Commission echoed the memoranda distributed during the Council, the ad hoc working group and Cardinal Roy’s Consultative Committee:

Its aim shall be to arouse the People of God to full awareness of its mission at the present time, in order, on the one hand, to promote the progress of poor nations and encourage international social justice, and on the other, to help underprivileged nations to work for their own development.

The Pope articulates four distinct functions of the new Commission that can also be traced to the working documents submitted by the conspirators:

Its [the Commission’s] aim shall be to arouse the People of God to full awareness of its mission in the present time, in order on the one hand, to promote the progress of poor nations and encourage international social justice, and on the other, to help underdeveloped nations to work for their own development.

In particular the Pontifical Commission shall:

1) gather and synthesize documentation on the major scientific and technical studies in the fields of development in all its aspects: educational, cultural, economic and social, etc., and also concerning

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<sup>85</sup> *CCE*, §3.

peace, in so far as it raises problems which go beyond those of development;

2) contribute to the study of problems relative to development and peace, particularly under their doctrinal, pastoral and apostolic aspect;

3) communicate the results of this study to all organisms of the Church interested in these problems;

4) establish contact between all the organisms of the Church working for similar purposes, in order to facilitate a co-ordination of efforts, give support to more important endeavors and avoid overlapping.<sup>86</sup>

Both bodies were established for an experimental period of five years. In the final paragraph, the Pope expresses his hope concerning the action outlined in the *motu proprio*, one that focuses on the well being of the laity in the Church. He writes:

We have confidently established two organisms in the firm hope that the lay members of the People of God, to whom We are giving a token of Our esteem and benevolence by this official organization, may feel themselves more closely associated with the action of this Apostolic See and, in future, dedicate to Holy Church with ever greater generosity their efforts, their energies and their activity.<sup>87</sup>

The *cospiratori* congratulated themselves on their victory of securing a new organism at the heart of the Roman Curia that was independent from existing structures and devoted specifically to the cause of justice and peace. Of concern in the Pope's words was the conflation of this part of the Church's mission with the specific role of the laity, a confusion that the *cospiratori* had attempted to avoid. In short order, the newly-appointed

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., II, 1-4.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 9.

Secretary of the Justice and Peace Commission, Monsignor Gremillion, set about organizing the first General Assembly that would take place in April 1967.

In between the establishment of *Justpax* and its first general meeting, Paul VI issued his landmark social encyclical, *Populorum Progressio* on Easter Sunday, 1967. In a private audience granted to the new Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace on April 20, and during its General Assembly, Paul VI would express his own thoughts regarding the new Commission:

To Us you represent one of the last expressed wishes of the Council. We are reminded of an old custom still practiced today. When people finished building a church or its bell tower, they would place a weathercock on its roof. It stood atop a Church as a symbol of vigilance for the faith and for the whole Christian way of life. Well, your new Commission is the weathercock on the spiritual edifice of the Council. Its purpose is to keep an alert eye, an open heart, and a ready hand for the work of charity that the Church is called upon to perform in the world, “to promote progress in needy regions, and to advance international social justice.”<sup>88</sup>

*Justpax* with *Populorum progressio* as its basis was not only the implementation of the Church’s renewed self-understanding of its role in the modern world, it was the Church’s own “symbol of vigilance and faith” crowning of the work of the entire Council. Paul VI defined the task of the new Commission as follows:

Study is the specific aim of your Commission: study with a view to action. We have been pleased to publish an Encyclical Letter on the development

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<sup>88</sup> *The Pope Speaks*, 12 (1967): 108.

of peoples which should be a basic text for you, capable of giving useful orientation to your reflections and your action.<sup>89</sup>

Citing his own *motu proprio*, Paul VI reiterated the urgency with which he had launched the new Commission the previous January:

This Commission has no other role than to keep the eyes of the Church alert, her heart receptive, and her hand ready for the work of charity that she is called upon to accomplish for the world, so as to promote the progress of the poorest peoples and to foster social justice among all nations.<sup>90</sup>

The day before meeting with the Members and Consultors of *Justpax*, Paul VI spoke of a vast program of action that had been inaugurated with *Populorum progressio* and that would be carried into action by the new Pontifical Commission. The function of the new Commission was to be educational because it appealed to the formation of the human conscience. However, its function was not limited to the educational field. As Paul VI clearly indicated in an address to the World Food Program around the time of the first plenary session of *Justpax*: “What We have proposed to the Church and the entire human community in the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* is a vast program for action for the benefit of the developing countries.”<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> *Populorum Progressio*, 5 citing *CCE*, 27.

<sup>91</sup> *L'Osservatore Romano*, 21 April, 1967.

The singular struggle to establish a *gremium, coetus, secretariatus organismus* that had been set in motion by the *conspiratori* in *Tre Scalini* restaurant in Rome's Piazza Novona had reached a definitive milestone on Epiphany 1967. No doubt others had helped to make this happen. The communal nature of the effort was expressed by Norris in a note to Monsignor Ligutti later that year: "It has been my privilege to team up with you ... And while we had heartaches, disappointments, what fun we have had."<sup>92</sup> The *conspiratori* would continue to collaborate closely in the work of the new Commission, joining others to create a large group of Members, staff and advisors that would come from all parts of the world for meetings and discussions only to fan out again to create a truly worldwide network.

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<sup>92</sup> *Letter of James J. Norris to Monsignor Luigi Ligutti*, August 1967, cited in *Kupke*, 363.

### Chapter Three

## The Development of a Theological Foundation for *Justpax* during the Council Period

We have seen how a series of personalities from all over the world contributed to the idea that the Church engage the world in some way regarding the issue of poverty. These efforts became concrete in article 90 of *Gaudium et spes*. In a further step, article 90 was translated into *Justpax*. Throughout this process we have focused on the lobbying efforts of a group calling itself the *cospiratori*. The dogged persistence of this group at key moments in the formulation of the idea of a new organism was an important element in the success of the enterprise to authorize a new organism of the universal Church as prescribed in article 90 of *Gaudium et spes*.

In this Chapter, we will investigate the theological understanding of the new Commission that took shape during the Council itself. We will begin by examining the drafts of Schema XIII during the Third and Fourth Sessions as well as the interventions of the Council participants related to the proposed texts. Also relevant to our study are documents associated with the relevant conciliar commissions that shaped the final text of *Gaudium et spes*.

The lengthy and turbulent history of Schema XIII complicates the task of developing a theological foundation for *Justpax*. The disparate nature of the support behind the proposal formulated in article 90 contributed to the atmosphere of uncertainty regarding the shape of the new organism in the post-conciliar period which we shall

examine in more detail in the next chapter of this dissertation. Concern for the poor was a constant echo throughout the Council debate. This concern was mixed with the Council's newly developed theology of the Church set forth in *Lumen gentium* as well as other key Council documents dealing with the laity. As debate on *Gaudium et spes* progressed, this "new thinking" on the nature of the Church, the laity and activity in the world would emerge in conciliar interventions. After setting the context of the Council's approach to the question of poverty, we will examine more thoroughly the debate in the aula on the notion of human development and the Church's role in fostering such development in the world.

### ***1 A Call from the Church of the Poor Group***

Expectations were high among Council Fathers arriving in Rome that the Council would incorporate the needs of a suffering world into its discussions and its documents. The concerns of the world, particularly of the poor, had been forcing their way into Church pronouncements long before the Council assembled.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most well-known grouping at the time was the *Church of the Poor*.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For example, see the repeated reference to the plight of the poor in the speeches of John XXIII in Chapter One above, as well as the treatment of the roots of inequality going back to Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum*.

<sup>2</sup> *History*, III, 164-6.

The *Church of the Poor* started with an understanding of Christ revealed in a privileged way in the faces of the poor. According to one commentator, their aim was to

...look to the Beatitudes as the ethical charter of the disciples of Christ and foundation of the reign of God in the world ... In the internal life of the Church, this would exact greater simplicity, more conspicuous evangelical poverty, and greater involvement of all the baptized.<sup>3</sup>

The Church of the Poor brought an undeniably experiential perspective to how the Church should consider the world. Such experience was both broad and diverse.

For its followers, this group saw the Council as a unique way of inserting the concrete problems facing the most vulnerable into the Church's self-understanding and its mission. Emerging with new intensity after the First Session, this group began to offer proposals not only concerning the decisions to be made regarding the Church's activity, but also to develop new approaches to ecclesiology on the basis of a theological understanding of poverty and of the "social presence of Christ."<sup>4</sup> For them, the preparatory texts failed to capture the vitality of this call. There was a clear demand to make such experience relevant to the Council's work. Soon enough, this experience would push for draft texts that would speak to the modern age.

A strong concern for the plight of the poor would obviate, in the minds of many, the need for an elaborate theoretical framework to support the Church's activity. The

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<sup>3</sup> Rev. David N. Power, OMI, *Love Without Calculation*, (New York: Crossroads, 2005), xix.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 153

optic of prophetic witness urged on the Council struck at the vision for the Council held by many Council participants. Indeed, early appeals for the hierarchy gathered in the sacred Council to despoil itself of what resembled trappings of a medieval court – and a colonial court at that – fell on deaf ears.<sup>5</sup>

More than the notion of witness, the *Church of the Poor* struck a chord among those seeking more than a restatement of dogmatic formulations. For many, how the Council responded to the call of John XXIII in light of pressing social needs would determine the success of the entire project. For the *Church of the Poor* Group, the Church could not continue to *address* the world without *reflecting upon its own place* in the world. Doing this, they argued, required taking the world's suffering unto itself and offering a theological “explanation” of such suffering from within the Church's self-understanding. Pointing to the needs of a broken world was an appealing strategy for the reformers.

Circulating around the Council as a cogent articulation of the vision offered by the *Church of the Poor* was a book by one of the architects of the movement, Fr. Paul Gauthier. Gauthier's book, *Christ, The Church and the Poor* was published during the Council itself.<sup>6</sup> None of the *conspiratori* was identified as members of this group. Fr. Arthur McCormack, however, was impressed enough by Gauthier's work to offer his

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<sup>5</sup> See n. 47 below.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Gauthier, *Christ, The Church and the Poor*, (Westminster, Md., Newman Press, 1965).

own reflections on why this movement pushing for change within the Church should be distinguished from their own efforts. In a cover note to his comments on article 24 of schema XIII, McCormack said:

The ideas of Father Gauthier about the poverty of the Church, from the Church's point of view are extremely important and should be embodied much more in the Schema and even in our own part of it. The spiritual background is important for the whole integrity of the Church's position.<sup>7</sup>

[...]

I think our ideas and Father Gauthier's are complementary, but to a certain extent independent, and should not be confused. We are aiming at fighting and wiping out world poverty because this is objectively a bad thing. A proper trade agreement and those who worked for it might well give much more help to a poor country and its inhabitants than a community of devout priests giving witness to the poverty of the Church and personally helping the poor. Both ways are necessary and good and neither should despise the other method of approach. But we must avoid the danger of seeming to help the poor countries because it makes the Church's image better.<sup>8</sup>

McCormack's reasons for maintaining a distance from the *Church of the Poor*

Group are twofold: first, more than piety is needed, he claimed, to meet the needs of the hungry and second, social mission cannot be seen as a form of apologetics in the traditional sense. Interestingly, Alberigo notes the disintegration of the movement of the *Church of the Poor* during the Council, in large part because of a lack of structure and

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<sup>7</sup> Rev. Arthur McCormack, *Comments on "Christ the Church and the Poor,"* undated, NC-CUA.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

organization, something the *cospiratori* prized at all costs.<sup>9</sup> In his brief commentary, McCormack appears to brush aside the movement represented by the *Church of the Poor* designed to engender the spiritual aspect of material poverty and instill this within the newly configured sense of the Church's mission. This reveals an important mentality shared by the *cospiratori* who favored a fundamentally political approach to the Church's moral voice, marshalling national and international powers to seek solutions to poverty. The importance of the Church's own witness would risk being minimized in this latter approach.

## 2 *Discussion during the Third Session*<sup>10</sup>

Earlier, we examined the history of the article 90 organism as it developed both inside and outside the formal conciliar processes. In what follows we will examine conciliar discussion as it bears upon the theological issues surrounding this proposal. We will examine in a more focused way how the Fathers understood the Council's response to world poverty as related to the Church's mission. Evident in this discussion is the Council's idea concerning the Church's role in the modern world. Our examination is restricted to oral interventions, taking up the general comments made by the Fathers on

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<sup>9</sup> *History*, III, 164.

<sup>10</sup> A good summary of the debate concerning socio-economic development can be found in Jean-Marie Mayeur, "La vie économique et sociale dans les débats de Vatican II," in *Deuxième concile du Vatican (1959-1965)*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1989), 793-807.

the schema as a whole and then examining more closely the section dealing with a just socio-economic order.

## 2.1 Draft Schema<sup>11</sup>

The schema was distributed to all participants in July 1964. The document consisted of an introduction and four chapters. Chapter one dealt with the vocation of the whole man as a Christian living in the world. Chapter two spoke of the Church in the service of God and humankind, what the Church can give to men and what the Church receives from them. Chapter three dealt with the Christian mode of life in the contemporary world. The fourth chapter dealt with the principal tasks of the Christian today in which the question of a just economic order was inserted. Added to these chapters were five long *adnexa* or appendices, which covered a variety of practical problems.<sup>12</sup> Chapter four was an attempt to synthesize the *adnexa* and include them in the text thereby responding to a critique that the earlier drafts were too lofty in style. At this point, there was no consensus concerning the specificity with which the Council was to address the problems of the modern world.

Discussion began with interventions on the schema as a whole and whether it should be accepted as a basis of discussion. At this stage in the Council, the Fathers were

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<sup>11</sup> "De Ecclesia in Mundo Huius Temporis," *AS* III/5, 116-200.

<sup>12</sup> "Adnexa," *ibid*, 147-200.

familiar with the process and the role of the moderators in keeping the Fathers on topic and within the time allocated. In what follows, the themes dealing with poverty and the Church's mission as related to its action in the world are couched within broader themes that emerge at various stages of the debate.

## **2.2 105<sup>th</sup> Congregation, October 20, 1964**

Debate began with an introduction of the schema by one of the two Chairmen of the Mixed Commission, Cardinal Cento. Cento was supportive of the schema, expressing how important the themes treated in the text were for the Council. At the same time, he underlined the immensity of the task being undertaken. Bishop Guano offered a report (*relatio*) on the schema outlining its history, the main themes and the structure of the document.<sup>13</sup> He stressed that one of the motives for the document was to show that the Church was not founded to be separate from the world and defensive against it. As Christ entered the world to communicate the divine life to humankind, so the Church must do likewise since it is constituted by the very people with whom God wishes to communicate.<sup>14</sup> The Council itself is a sign of and the vehicle for the Church's desire to dialogue with the world.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "Relatio," *ibid*, 203-13.

<sup>14</sup> "Sicut enim Dominus eius venit in mundum et habitavit in nobis, humanitatis nostrae particeps factus ut divinitatis suae nos consortes efficeret – similiter Ecclesia se scit in mundo viventem, vitam

Cardinal Liénart of Lille asked for the schema to be addressed to all people since the supernatural world does not extinguish the natural order but perfects it. “However grace does not take away nature, nor does the existence of a supernatural order extinguish the natural order.”<sup>16</sup> Hence the need, he said, to declare the Church’s esteem for the natural order.

Cardinal Léger from Montreal also asked that the world be seen in a positive light. Before the Council delves too deeply into these themes, Léger also asked for the advice of experts on the matters being presented in the schema, such as hunger or peace.<sup>17</sup> Cardinal Ruffini asked for a clearer presentation of the Church’s spiritual mission, as a continuation of the salvific work of Christ, and not the strong emphasis in the text on the importance of humanitarian work.<sup>18</sup> He also feared that the document placed too much stress on the importance of ecumenism.<sup>19</sup>

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hominem participantem ut ipsis vitam Dei communicet, ex hominibus propter homines constitutam.” Ibid, 204.

<sup>15</sup> “Ipsam Concilium Vaticanum II est signum et vehiculum huius dialogi inter Ecclesiam et homines,” *ibid*, 205.

<sup>16</sup> “Attamen gratia non tollit naturam sed perficit, neque ordinis supernaturalis existentia ordinem naturalem extinguit.” *Ibid*, 215.

<sup>17</sup> “Credo propositionem iam factam esse in illo sensu: nempe ut quidam periti, viri vel mulieres, facta ostendant de fame in mundo, de familia, de pace...” *Ibid*, 227.

<sup>18</sup> “Demum missio praecipua Ecclesiae in hoc mundo, quae est in primis spiritualis, nempe salutiferi operis Christi continuatio, parum in schemate illustratur, dum maxime extollitur auxilium ab ipsa praebendum ut res vitae praesentis secundiores fiant.” *Ibid*, 223.

<sup>19</sup> “Fateo me oecumenismo non repugnare; sed, quaeso, ne quid nimis!” *Ibid*.

Cardinal Lecaro urged retention of the text, aware of the many objections to it. That is why, he said, the Council should take its time in drafting a new version, so as to avoid the temptation of clinging onto temporary trends and trying to speak to them.<sup>20</sup> More than a document, however, what is needed is that the Church itself should become the definitive word to the world through its own internal renewal which will render the Church a “light on the hilltop.”<sup>21</sup> Pointing to the call of John XXIII to read the signs of the times, Lecaro claimed that such analysis required more than a mere word to the world but an example from the Church itself whose crafting will be neither “without difficulty nor brief” - *nec facile neque breve* – but which will show the coherence among the different parts and works of the Church connecting seamlessly the Church’s life *ad intra* and *ad extra*.<sup>22</sup>

Cardinal Spellman welcomed the text as a true expression of the hopes of Vatican II.<sup>23</sup> While the Church’s leadership has a rightful teaching authority, the Church cannot

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<sup>20</sup> “[N]on deest periculum insistendi in aspectibus situationis, qui forsitan citissime obsolete sunt.” Ibid, 225.

<sup>21</sup> “Sed etiam amplius necessarium generationi nostrae est ut Ecclesia aquirat novam cognitionem sui ipsius (quod ian fecit in constitutione *de Ecclesia*) et ad effectum adducat suarum institutionum animosam reformationem.” Ibid, 225.

<sup>22</sup> “Hoc imperiosa exigunt signa temporis quae in hoc schemate detegere et intelligere volumus ipsa [sic] Concilio nostro indicant adhuc iter nec facile necque breve, demonstrant strictam relationem et cohaerentiam omnium partium nostri operis, proclamant mutuam necessarium connexionem omnium problematum ad intra et ad extra (uti dicam) quae Ecclesia hodie pari fortitudine et termpestivitate aggredi debet.” Ibid, 225-6.

<sup>23</sup> “Non dubium est quin schema de Ecclesia in mundo huius temporis illud esse quod spem fundamentalem Concilii Vaticani II secumfert.” Ibid, 217.

respond to every situation, he said, and should recognize that the faithful will have to make their own decisions – in a prudent manner – when faced with a particular situation.<sup>24</sup> Spellman was looking for something *useful* both for pastors and the faithful. Cardinal Döpfner, on behalf of 83 German and Scandinavian bishops, likened the spirit of the text to the one found in *De Ecclesia* and said that despite the apparent danger for the Council in dealing with delicate issues such as war and peace or the nature of marital relations, the world has the right to precise norms.<sup>25</sup> Cardinal Meyer of Chicago spoke in support of the schema focusing on the Church-world relationship presented and proposing the concept of compenetration or conglorification – *conglorificabimur*<sup>26</sup> - as a theoretical understanding of the relationship between the two. While he recognized that the text gave a good reason why the Christian should build up the world, it does not explain in what way such daily action is also part of man's own salvation.<sup>27</sup> The schema

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<sup>24</sup> “Peropportune in n. 14 agitur de officio a pastoribus Ecclesiae reliquisque fidelibus exercendo in explorandis gressibus versus finem perfectum caritatis in iustitia et iustitiae in caritate. Certo certius, in novis difficilissime quaestionibus, cum normae directivae ab auctoritate ecclesiastica propositae desunt, fideles agere debent, ipsi propria responsibilitate consilium capere audentes secundum praeceptum suae conscientiae, ducti prudentia christiana.” Ibid, 218.

<sup>25</sup> “Unde normae – saltem generaliores et sat praecisae – a nobis in Concilio dandae sunt, ut pro gravissimo earum momenti declarentur coram mundo et sustineantur atque fulciantur auctoritate et responsabilitate totius collegii episcopalis,” ibid, 229.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 233.

<sup>27</sup> “Schema diversimode explicat quare christianus in mundo degens allaborare debeat ut ordo rerum temporalium progrediatur. Tamen non adaequate explicat cur labor hominis quotidianus consitutat partem integram oeconomicae salutis.” Ibid, 232.

seems to fear –*timet* – the world, he noted, which it should not, since the material world is part of the whole plan of redemption.<sup>28</sup>

Cardinal Silva from Chile highlighted why Schema XIII was important. The Church had a twofold mission: First as an institution of salvation – *institutio salutis* – and a sacrament of redemption. Second, the Church is a “new creation,” the inchoate reign of God on the earth.<sup>29</sup> Regarding the laity, Silva cited *Lumen gentium* 31: “What specifically characterizes the laity is their secular nature.” In light of this peculiarly secular role, the laity’s role in the world should be fully explored in the document, lest there be a lacuna in the apostolate of the laity itself.<sup>30</sup>

### 2.3 106<sup>th</sup> Congregation, October 21, 1964

Cardinal Landaruzi Ricketts of Lima, Peru discussed the tension between the Church’s eternal principles and the contingent guidance applicable to changeable circumstances.<sup>31</sup> Cardinal Suenens counseled an examination of contemporary problems

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<sup>28</sup> “Sed schema nimis preoccupatum videtur de hoc periculo, nimis contagium mundatum timet,” *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> “Primus, Ecclesia ut ‘Instituto salutis’ et sic Ecclesia in servitum hominis in mundo et ministra et sacramentum redemptionis; secundus, Ecclesia ut ‘Nova Creatio’ seu Regnum Dei in terris inchoatum,” *ibid.*, 235.

<sup>30</sup> “...doctrina et orientationes pastorales circa laicos omnino imperfectae apparerent si non adesset aliqua tractatio de missione temporalis hominis in mundo. Schema de Ecclesia, in par 31, dicit: ‘Laicis indoles saecularis propria et peculiaris est...’ *Ibid.*, 235.

<sup>31</sup> “Ecclesia quidem principia aeterna atque immutabilia possidet, sed eorum applicatio ad hodierni temporis adiuncta aliquando non sine magna difficultate fieri potest; etenim Ecclesia mutatis conditionibus ita sese accomodare debet, ut propria principia deserere aut mutare minime videatur.” *Ibid.*, 267.

from the perspective of the Church's mission – namely its moral and religious dimensions and not the technical aspects proper to worldly investigation.<sup>32</sup> On the importance of work for the Church's mission of salvation, Cardinal Suenens said, paraphrasing Pius X, the Church civilizes by evangelizing.<sup>33</sup> The two go hand in hand – they are not sequential. The mutual relationship between evangelization and humanization must be clearly spelled out.<sup>34</sup> Suenens advised inclusion of the *adnexa* into the schema, especially the parts on international organizations, marriage and family.<sup>35</sup>

Patriarch Meouchi evoked the theological concept of *recapitulation* in Christ – *anakephalaiosis, recapitulatio omnium in Christo* – lamenting its absence from the text.<sup>36</sup> He criticized the close association between the Church and the obligation to solve the world's problems so much so that it seems as if the Church would have no reason to exist

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<sup>32</sup> “Nam Ecclesia considerat problemata v.g. culturae, pacis et belli, non directe per aspectus technicos, sed per religiosam et moralem perspectivam, supponendo evidenter quod ista bene intelligatur cum suis dimensionibus individualibus, socialibus et internationalibus.” Ibid, 270.

<sup>33</sup> “Secundum verba S. Papae Pii X, Ecclesia civilizat evangelizando et non evangelizat civilizando ... Magnum periculum adesset si opus evangelizationis sub modio retineretur donec perficiatur opus humanizationis. Etsi non confunduntur, ambo tamen intime connectuntur et simul procedere debent.” Ibid, 271.

<sup>34</sup> “Relatio ergo mutua inter evangelizationem et humanizationem bene elucidetur.” Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> “Optandum est ex annexis quaedam transferri in schemate ipso siquidem optima ibi inveniuntur et quidem necessaria ad textum intelligendum.” Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> “... de qua loquitur S. Irenaeus non datur.” Ibid, 278.

if not to solve these problems. There was a need for the Church to preserve the religious aspect of life that points to *other-worldly* realities.<sup>37</sup>

Bishop Elchinger, like Cardinal Meyer, wanted a firmer theological footing for the schema. He said the Church's mission first of all consists of the obligation of preserving what is essentially human in life.<sup>38</sup> Acknowledging the Church's role in bringing people to a fuller state of human existence, the Bishop linked evangelization with human development clearly, describing a communion between the natural and supernatural order.<sup>39</sup>

Bishop Karol Wojtyla spoke of the different audiences that the Church is addressing in the text and the different way the Church – while being one – is presented in these different worlds.<sup>40</sup> He criticized the reasoning found in the text. The Church teaches the world, as if it were above it. Instead, argued Wojtyla, the text seems to commit the Church to investigating common problems to frame common solutions with

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<sup>37</sup> “Ecclesiae missio non describitur nisi in relatione ad problemata huius mundi temporalia solvenda, quasi Ecclesia non existeret nisi ad caritatis opera assumenda et exercenda, et ad lites sociales vel oeconomicas inter homines ortas, componendas.” Ibid, 278.

<sup>38</sup> “Concilium debet solemniter declarare quod missio Ecclesiae haec duo supponit: 1. Obligationem colluctari ad vitam humanam salvandam in mundo hodierno, ad salvandum quod est proprie humanum in homine. 2. Officium laborandi ad providendum progressum et dilatationem harmonicam huius vitae.” Ibid, 292.

<sup>39</sup> “Vita naturalis et supernaturalis connexae sunt eodem dynamismo creationis sed in perfectione et transfiguratione ipsius creationis, in nova communione et quidem personali cum Deo.” Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> “Etsi enim verum sit dicere ‘mundum’ in quo existit Ecclesia esse unum, nihilominus – respectu habito condicionum vitae humanae – non est unus, sed plures ‘mundi,’ in quibus Ecclesia contemporanea vivit et operator, quibus etiam in schemate XIII vult adloqui.” Ibid, 299.

the world.<sup>41</sup> There should be arguments on how to address the world's problems that flow from the Church's teaching, especially natural law. The absence of such argumentation is filled, in the text, by mere exhortations and moralizations. This process does not facilitate a dialogue since it does not appeal to common human reason.<sup>42</sup>

## 2.4 107<sup>th</sup> Congregation, October 22, 1964

It was during this session that Cardinal Heenan famously condemned the schema as a “dangerous set of platitudes ... unworthy of a council.”<sup>43</sup> Archbishop Sheehan of Baltimore liked the text, asking for a greater inclusion of the insights found in *Ecclesiam suam*.<sup>44</sup> While the fundamental truths of the faith do not change, the Church can progress and this should be seen in the Church's relationship with the temporal order. Citing *Ecclesiam Suam*, Sheehan alighted on an inner dynamism afforded the Church since its inception: “The Church must look with penetrating eyes within itself, ponder the mystery

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<sup>41</sup> “In schemate XIII tamen oportet tali modo loqui, ut mundus videat nos ipsum docere non tantum modo auctoritativo, sed etiam simul cum ipso inquirere veram et aequam solutionem difficultatum problematum vitae humanae.” Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> “Argumenta in quaestionibus moralibus sumantur ex lege naturae. Numquam autem loco argumentorum adhibeatur moralisatio vel exhortatio, quod etiam in textu praeiacenti pluries fit.” Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> “Sed hac in re melius esset nihil dicere quam placita quasi vacua enuntiare.” Ibid, 319.

<sup>44</sup> “In schemate nostro, propono ut clare et aperte referatur ad Litteras Encyclicas Summi Pontificis *Ecclesiam Suam*.” Ibid, 350.

of its own being, and draw enlightenment and inspiration from a deeper scrutiny of the doctrine of its own origin, nature...”<sup>45</sup>

Cardinal Roy of Quebec framed the document in terms of its communicative ability. He asked that the text use language open to all, devoid of pomposity:

We should start with what is better and more easily known, in regard to fact and principle, and only then proceed to what is properly known to Catholics. Among those things more easily known are the dignity of the human person, basic justice, and the nature of true progress.<sup>46</sup>

Bishop Sebastião of Beira, Mozambique appeared frustrated with the theoretical discussion so far and called for genuine poverty within the Church, starting with the episcopal dress: “Why do we need this dignity and all this show?” he asked.<sup>47</sup>

Bishop Franič of Split, Yugoslavia linked the need to show the Church’s concern for the problems of the world with the plight of those living under Marxist rule.<sup>48</sup> Like Wojtyla before him, Franič complained about the method used in the schema, arguing that the current text lacked the power to persuade through its reasoning that should draw

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<sup>45</sup> “[I]n Litteris Encyclicis Ecclesiam Suam, Pauli Papae VI, praesertim in pag. 12 exemplaris earum litterarum in aula distributi, ubi dicitur ‘Ecclesia...magis magisque proficiet in conscientia muneris sui, suae arcae naturae, suae doctrinae...’ Ibid, 350.

<sup>46</sup> “Ita prius dicendum est de iis quae magis nota et communia sunt, v.g. de fame et miseria, de iniustitia et violentia, de desiderio progressus, unitatis et pacis...” Ibid, 323.

<sup>47</sup> “Quare tantum aurum et tantae margaritae in pectoribus nostris et in digitis? Quare pileorum, manteleta, cappa magna colore rubro, violaceo et purpureo, etc.? Quare tantae dignitates in Ecclesia quae a Christo Domino nostro institutae non sunt?” Ibid, 329.

<sup>48</sup> “Ideo non debemus nimis immorari in demonstratione nostrae participationis in problematibus temporalibus nostrae aetatis, etsi hoc certe non est omittendum, et quidem imprimis propter nostros fideles, ne ipsi (in vita quotidiana cum marxistis viventes) ne ipsi decipiantur a marxistis.” Ibid, 330.

for its inspiration the light of revelation.<sup>49</sup> Archbishop Beck of Liverpool called on the bishops to be guides in the way of true humanity, avoiding a conception of progress that is confined to material prosperity: “The Church’s goal is that men should be better and not only better off.”<sup>50</sup>

## **2.5 108<sup>th</sup> Congregation, October 23, 1964**

Bishop Guano, representing the Mixed Commission, summed up the discussions so far on the general acceptability of the schema. Bishop Franz von Streng of Basel and Lugano, Switzerland suggested it be reduced to two chapters: one for the exposition of principles, the other for practical applications, prefiguring the eventual division of the schema.<sup>51</sup> This was reiterated by Bishop Rafael Moralejo of Valencia who asked for an increase in the members of the Mixed Commission and the inclusion of lay experts.<sup>52</sup> The schema answers the second question of Cardinal Montini during the first session, when he said: “What is the Church and what does the Church do?”

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<sup>49</sup> “Alter defectus schematis videtur esse methodologicus, scil. ipse modus loquendi qui potius descriptivus est, sine adequate theologica enuntiatione principiorum, quae se referent ad problemata varia et maxima, quibus angustiat mundus hodiernus et pro quibus mundus a Concilio illuminationem exspectat.” Ibid, 331.

<sup>50</sup> “Finis Ecclesiae est ut homines meliores efficiat, solummodo magis prosperos.” Ibid, 361.

<sup>51</sup> “Schema simpliciter reddere possibile esset duo tantum capita complectens. Primum contineat tria prima capita ... alterum tamen principiorum applicationem, quae nunc in quarto invenitur.” Ibid, 370.

<sup>52</sup> In the name of 70 Spanish bishops 19 from other countries. “Ut ad collaborandum invitentur in hoc opus periti, ecclesiastici et laici,” ibid, 381.

Bishop R. Tchidimbo of Conakry, Guinea criticized the schema for being too Euro-centric and leaving out two-thirds of the rest of the world.<sup>53</sup> The Church is the mother of the poor. It is not the clergy or the hierarchy that can solve these problems but effective solidarity among the peoples themselves.<sup>54</sup> Bishops from the so-called third world should be added to the commission.<sup>55</sup>

Speaking for the Bishops of Indonesia, Archbishop Darmajuwana of Semarang praised chapter four on the specific problems facing the modern world.<sup>56</sup> He asked about the theological implications of worldly engagement. The schema may specify the Glory of God and his kingdom, but it fails to answer the main question: what is the value of temporal activity in relation to the kingdom of God?<sup>57</sup> The schema should spell out how man is called to true friendship with God through which he is to find the gift of salvation

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<sup>53</sup> "Schema pro Europa, forsitan pro America, conceptum videtur, sed non satis pro tertia parte mundi." Ibid, 369.

<sup>54</sup> "Adhuc scimus quod Ecclesia est Mater pauperum; quare nunc schema nostrum subevolutionis problema non evocat in mundo huius temporis? Haec gravis quaestio non est caritatis tantum quam Europa aut America erga Tertiam Mundi Partem manifestant sed quaestio solidaritate inter universa generis humani membra." Ibid, 369.

<sup>55</sup> It was in response to such calls that the following bishops were added to the Mixed Commission: Bishop Wojtyła (Poland) Archbishop Fernandes (India) J. B. Zoa (Africa) L. Nagae (Japan). Caprile, 261.

<sup>56</sup> "Schema circa quaestiones speciales in sup. cap. IV plura exhibit, quae, quamquam totam expectationem non explebunt, tamen grato animo ut ad rem pertinentia recipiuntur." Ibid, 398.

<sup>57</sup> "In hoc schemate fideles responsum expectant ad quaestionem maximi momenti pro eorum vita christiana. Scire volunt quid eorum activitas in rebus temporalibus valeat in ordine ad Regnum Dei." Ibid, 399.

in this world.<sup>58</sup> The laity have the right to expect a response to the main questions facing them, knowing how their action in temporal issues has worth in building (*valeat*) God's kingdom. The text fails them in this.<sup>59</sup>

Archbishop Luis del Rosario of Zamboanga, the Philippines, speaking for the Episcopal conference, said that redemption is what the Church offers to humanity, plagued as it is by a "squirrel-cage mentality."<sup>60</sup> Without a final goal, men's activity seems animalistic. "Justice and charity are means of living, not ends in themselves; they cannot be the aim of Christian life."<sup>61</sup>

## 2.6 109<sup>th</sup> Congregation, October 26, 1964

During this session, the schema began to be discussed in greater detail starting with the introduction and chapter one. The early discussion wrestled with the idea of activity in the world in terms of the Church's understanding of the natural and supernatural realm. In this line, Cardinal Léger spoke of vocation as having a natural and supernatural element hence we cannot despise earth and simply long for heavenly things. This should be clarified from the beginning. While it is right that the schema underlines

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<sup>58</sup> "Schema clare enuntiare debet quod homo secundum totam suam conditionem ad amicitiam Dei et salutem est vocatus ita ut ipse mundus ad donum salutis pertineat." Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> "In hoc schemate fideles responsum expectant ad quaestionem maximi momenti pro eorum vita christiana. Scire volut quid eorum activitas in rebus temporalibus valeat in ordine ad Regnum Dei." Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> "Hunc modum cogitandi voco 'mentalitatem sicuti in cavea'," Ibid, 413.

<sup>61</sup> "Caritas et iustitia docent quomodo oporteat non gerere erga proximum; sed quid facere oporteat et cur?" Ibid, 413.

the value of temporal ends, it should not understate the importance of the supernatural goal of the human vocation.<sup>62</sup> Bishop Jan Pietrasko of Krakow, Poland asked for a clarification of the term “the world” considered according to three aspects: the world created by God and subject to humanity; the world redeemed by Jesus Christ; and the world acted upon/changed by humankind.<sup>63</sup>

Bishop Remi De Roo of Victoria, BC said he wanted the schema to instruct Christians to avoid any split between the natural and supernatural missions which are part of their vocation. The Incarnation is not a simple preamble to redemption but a *sine qua non*.<sup>64</sup> With an emphasis on the corporeal nature of the incarnation, De Roo asked the Council to “explain to Christians how they are carrying out the Church’s mission through their involvement with the world.”<sup>65</sup> Charity, for De Roo, is not found in acts that are additive to the living out of the human vocation, but must permeate one’s entire life.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> “Recte meritoque schema in lucem ponere intendit valorem temporalium. Cavere autem debemus ne praesentia finis supernaturalis hominis minui videatur.” Ibid, 516.

<sup>63</sup> “In ista enucleatione ipsa realitas mundi sub tribus aspectibus considerari potest: 1. prout a Dea creata et homini qualicumque modo subiecta; 2. prout a Christo Domino redempta; et 3. prout ab homine modificata,” ibid, 518.

<sup>64</sup> “Incarnatio non est praeambulum simpliciter nec quidem mera conditio sine qua non redemptionis.” Ibid, 530.

<sup>65</sup> “Christifideles discant oportet se totam vocationem suam et quidem missionem ipsam Ecclesiae realizare quando seipsos in structuras mundi et in eius collutationes intromittunt, quando in dynamismo communitatis humanae in spiritu Christi ab intro communicant.” Ibid, 531.

<sup>66</sup> “Hic est sensus profundus et ultimus praecepti caritatis. Caritas non respicit aliquos tantum actus vocationi humanae superadditos, sed totam existentiam christifidelis informare debet.” Ibid.

Bishop Alfred Ancel of Lyons<sup>67</sup> began discussion on Chapter II, “The Church at the Service of God and of Men” and Chapter III, “The Behavior of Christians in the World.” Ancel complained about the perception that the Church’s sole mission is to build up the world.<sup>68</sup> Rather, the schema should emphasize the *true* mission of the Church and the essential mission of evangelization.<sup>69</sup> Archbishop Francois Marty of Rheims claimed the text didn’t stress the vital nature of the Church’s presence in the world. He proposed a presence for the Church in the world as a “leaven.”<sup>70</sup> The Church’s presence is not a duty of the clergy and hierarchy alone, nor of the laity alone, but of every member of the Church. The schema should take care not to make the laity the link between the Church and the world.<sup>71</sup> This was a particularly important insight, drawing as it did from the concept of the People of God in *Lumen gentium*. For Bishop Forrey of Belley, almsgiving was an insufficient response to the problem of poverty. The Church should foster a spirit

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<sup>67</sup> Bishop Ancel authored a book on the subject of poverty, *L’Église et la pauvreté*, (Lyon: P.E.L., 1964).

<sup>68</sup> “Sed aliqui mihi videtur necessario ei addendum esse scil. de modo quo munus Ecclesiae circa res temporales quasi integretur in sua missione totali.” Ibid, 536.

<sup>69</sup> ... omnia clara essent, si ab initio huius capitis, plene ostenderetur quae sit missio Ecclesiae in sua plenitudine.” Ibid, 537.

<sup>70</sup> “Debet Ecclesiae praesentia hodierno mundo *ad modum fermenti esse in massa farina*.” Ibid, 546.

<sup>71</sup> “Certo, laicorum promotio in Ecclesia hodierna, eminens est gratia, quibus debitor est Ecclesia quod magis attenta sit effecta realitatibus concretis huius nostri mundi. Neque sin laicis, ortum habuisset nostrum schema XIII. Cavendum tamen ne putetur simpliciter quod laicorum munus sit vincula ponere inter Ecclesiam et mundum. Exigentia etenim praesentiae ad mundum, esti diverso modo, tam pro sacerdotibus valet quam pro laicis.” Ibid, 547.

of mutual dependence among nations so that people can live off their own industry.<sup>72</sup> As both mother and teacher, the Church should present herself to the world as one who serves.<sup>73</sup>

## 2.7 110<sup>th</sup> Congregation, October 27, 1964

Cardinal Frings, speaking through his secretary because of a cold, accentuated the theology of the Incarnation. Jesus came to save the whole person, not just the soul, he said.<sup>74</sup> Care should be taken not to confuse the Church and the world or to seek to resolve each other with the other.<sup>75</sup> Cardinal Caggiano of Buenos Aires spoke of the spirit of poverty that should animate inter-personal relations. The chapter should be renamed “Fraternal Communion” and should be founded on justice, charity and the spirit of poverty.<sup>76</sup> People of today are thirsty for justice, he argued, and understand the concept of justice in the world more than any discussion of supernatural realities. The Council should bring this notion of social justice to all levels of society from the workers to the

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<sup>72</sup> “Sed nostris temporis eleemosyna non sufficit. Addi debet culturae ac frugiferorum bonorum communicatio, ita ut populi ipsi quibus auxilium fertur sibi meliorem vitam paulatim sua propria industria procurent.” Ibid, 556.

<sup>73</sup> “Ecclesia itaque, Mater et Magistra, se praeberere debet erga homines temporis nostri et eorum bona incoepa ut ancilla.” Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> “Sed etiam theologia incarnationis, secundum quem Christus incarnatus est, ut non tantum animas sed etiam corporea et mundum salvaret,” ibid, 562.

<sup>75</sup> “Ecclesia et mundus, quae in regno Christi finali unum erunt, tempore peregrinationis diversa manent; nec Ecclesia potest in mundum resolvi nec mundus in Ecclesiam.” Ibid, 562.

<sup>76</sup> “Titulus n. n. 17 ita modificetur: ‘De communione fraterna iustitia, caritate et spiritu pauperitatis aedificanda.’ Ibid, 565.

legislators and government officials, with the aim of improving the lot of the proletariat.<sup>77</sup>

Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez of Santiago, Chile continued the discussion on chapters two and three of the schema, making a distinction between two types of poverty; the first of an evangelical kind that comes through grace, and the second that comes from sin and its manifestation in subhuman poverty.<sup>78</sup> Evangelical poverty is not a “special virtue,” however; it is the power through which Christians exercise the specific virtues through the light of theological hope.<sup>79</sup> As President of *Caritas Internationalis*, the Cardinal spoke of the need for structural changes that went beyond the distribution of alms.<sup>80</sup>

Poverty for Bishop Charles-Marie Himmer of Tournai, Belgium, is constructive of God’s kingdom in several ways. Even the great problems of hunger and disease cannot be solved through the distribution of food or medicine. What is required is structural

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<sup>77</sup> “...none titulus huius numeris ... compleri deberet hoc modo “De communione fraterna in iustitia, primo in caritatem et in spiritu pauperitatis aedificanda?”

A Concilio nostro repetenda est iustitia omnibus operariis huius mundi et nostri temporis. Et repetenda est coram laborum datoribus, legislatoribus et republicae moderatoribus.” Ibid, 564.

<sup>78</sup> “Ad hoc percipiendum duplex distinguenda est paupertas in historia: paupertas ex gratia, seu evangelica, et paupertas ex peccato, seu subhumana.” Ibid, 565.

<sup>79</sup> “Paupertas evangelica non est specialis virtus; est potius quidam modus vivendi christianus, in quo omnes virtutes peculiariter exercentur sub ducto spei theologicae.” Ibid, 566.

<sup>80</sup> “Quod auxilium praestandum non tendat simpliciter ad quamdam eleemosynan fugacem faciendam, sed ad concretam et stabilem promotionem classium egenerarum ad progressum populorum in egestate degentium. Hoc clare notandum est: auxilium solidaritatis de quo agimus, tendere debet, in quantum fieri potest ad destructionem causarum iniustitiae socialis, ita ut eruantur pauperes ab eorum situationem subhumanum.” Ibid, 567.

change in which all people can participate. Interesting was his request for an investigation into the current economic system so as to devise better ways of sharing wealth.<sup>81</sup>

## 2.8 111<sup>th</sup> Congregation, October 28, 1964

Bishop Wright presented the Mixed Commission's report (*relatio*)<sup>82</sup> on chapter four of the schema noting the specific themes or “master knots of human fate”<sup>83</sup> that were discussed in the chapter. Among them were the nature and dignity of the human person, family life, economic and social life, cultural values, peace and security. Wright quoted Oliver Goldsmith, saying the Council must concentrate on keeping the earth from becoming a place “where wealth accumulates and men decay.”<sup>84</sup>

The discussion on socio-economic life was made short by a ruling of the Council moderators which stated that only those interventions that represented at least seventy

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<sup>81</sup> “V.g. ut tantum unum exemplum sumemus, hoc magnum problema famis et miseriae grassantis in mundo. Huius solutio non postulat tantum actum caritativum, esti immensae dimensionis atquae scientifice et methodice institutum, quo distribuetur fratribus ... panis, cibus, medicinae et huiusmodi generis adiumenta. Omnes nos intelligimus hoc non sufficere. Requiritur praeprimis in his regionibus et simultaneis in nostris investigatio erectio, promotio et continua aptatio structurarum oeconomicarum, socialum et politicarum quibus progressive aequa participatio omnium hominum omniumque populorum in communi familiae humanae patrimonio.” Ibid, 575.

<sup>82</sup> “Relatio, cap IV.,” ibid, 703-5.

<sup>83</sup> “quaestiones *cardines*,” ibid, 703

<sup>84</sup> “illud poetae qui anglice terram descripsit...” Ibid, 703.

Council Fathers would be admitted. The apparent reason for this was to ensure discussion on schema XIII would be concluded by November 5.<sup>85</sup>

Only two Fathers spoke on the fourth chapter of schema XIII in general. While this theme did have a direct bearing on the problem of poverty because of the link between poverty and the means of production, the discussion was less focused on the immediate concerns of previous speakers for the Church to directly engage the challenge of world poverty through an initiative of its own making. Instead, much of the discussion on the economic life was theoretical, drawing on the teaching found in previous encyclicals, especially *Rerum novarum* and *Quadragesimo anno*. There followed a lengthy series of interventions on article 21 of the schema the dignity of marriage and the family and article 22 on the promotion of culture.<sup>86</sup>

## **2.9 114<sup>th</sup> Congregation, November 4, 1964**

After lengthy discussion on article 22 dealing with the question of culture, the Council turned its attention to articles 23 and 24 of the schema which dealt with socio-economic matters and the responsibility to promote “solidarity” among the family of nations.<sup>87</sup> Polish Cardinal Wyszinski began by warning against economic systems that

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<sup>85</sup> *Turbanti*, 443.

<sup>86</sup> “Dignitatis matrimonii et familiae,” “De cultura rite promovenda,” *AS* III/5, 131-5.

<sup>87</sup> “De vita oeconomica et sociali,” “De ‘solidarietate’ familiae Populorum promovenda,” *ibid*, 135-9.

spread atheism and are harmful to Catholics.<sup>88</sup> Cardinal Richaud of Bordeaux asked for more protection for workers and condemned the profits made as a result of speculation and inequality. Justice should motivate the Church into action.<sup>89</sup>

Bishop Angel Herrera y Oria of Málaga, Spain, quoted a message sent to John XXIII at the start of the Council by U.S President John F. Kennedy in which he welcomed the Pope's intention that the Council pay "special attention to the urgent socio-economic questions which daily plague people in all regions of the world."<sup>90</sup> The President urged the Council to present "clear and persuasive solutions which were appropriate and effective and that would solve such problems."<sup>91</sup> Practical solutions were more needed than doctrinal exposition.<sup>92</sup> Regarding the plight of workers, the bishop called for greater synergy between management, workers, the state and the Church –

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<sup>88</sup> "Optandum esset, ut schema explanaret nefastos exitus rationis oeconomicae – vulgo 'sistema oeconomico' – quae caret principiis moralibus, ostendendo, quam perniciosi sint non solum pro individuís, sed etiam pro rebus oeconomicis, quae praeducuntur." Ibid, III/6, 274.

<sup>89</sup> "Concilium non debet timere evocationem iustitiae in determinatione pretiorum contra scandalosas et irracionales augmentationes, contra omnes speculationes dolosas, speciatim super agros et super spatia destinata ad constructionem, contra beneficia exaggerata in mercis et in negotiis." Ibid, 276-7.

<sup>90</sup> "...speciali attentione animum versuros ad graves quaestiones sociales et oeconomicas quae quotidie humanitatem premunt in omnibus mundi regionibus." Ibid, 278.

<sup>91</sup> "Speramus fore ut Concilium modo claro et ad persuadendum apto praebeat solutiones efficaces ad problemata solvenda quae omnibus nobis incumbunt." Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> "Expositione doctrinali? ... Necessaria non est. Summi Pontifices illam nobis tradiderunt. Proprium huius documenti erit, meo iudicio, propositiones offerre ordinis practici, exhortativas, urgentes." Ibid.

*operarii, patroni, Status et Ecclesia*<sup>93</sup> - which should be exercised according to the concept of Christian charity.<sup>94</sup>

## **2.10 115<sup>th</sup> Congregation, November 5, 1964**

Bishop Benítez Avalos of Asunción, Paraguay, presented a series of statistics pointing to the likelihood that the economic situation in Latin America would decline in the years ahead with an impact on human well-being, advocating for integral human development,<sup>95</sup> formation of the laity in the importance of human dignity<sup>96</sup> and service of the common good.<sup>97</sup>

A similarly troubling picture was painted by Archbishop Paul Zoungrana of Ougadougou, Upper Volta, that related the population increase with a concomitant increase in poverty for many on the African continent. Article 23 did not speak to this reality.<sup>98</sup> He drew upon *Mater et magistra* stating that a fuller examination of the socio-

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 279.

<sup>94</sup> “Et quod modo maximum est, ut finiam, transeat ad clerum populumque nostrum caritas Christi, quae in nobis ardet et urget. Quia pax fructus caritatis est. Et solummodo caritatis effusio trahet mundum ad optam concordiam fraternam.” Ibid, 280.

<sup>95</sup> “Necessarium est suscitare evolutionem organizatam et voluntariam (développement integral, desarrollo integral).” Ibid, 289.

<sup>96</sup> “In formatione laicorum christiano nomine dignorum ac humanae artis peritorum qui capaces invenientur ad promovendam evolutionem et progressum suae communitatis per se ipsos et per alios.” Ibid, 290.

<sup>97</sup> “In orientatione allata tam dirigentibus societatis ut bono communi inserviant,” ibid.

<sup>98</sup> “Schema de hac re tangit in n. 23 et quoque 24, sed modo nimis conciso et nimis generali.” Ibid, 295.

economic condition of the third world was needed in order to help it and secondly, the importance of showing how the new socio-economic order is founded upon a new international ethic.<sup>99</sup>

James Norris took to the rostrum to address the Council. The history of the decision to have Norris speak has been charted elsewhere, as has the significant influence of Barbara Ward in the actual speech.<sup>100</sup> Such influence can be seen in the warning to the West that its Christian profession will have no meaning if it forgets the social obligations that come from its prosperity.<sup>101</sup> The importance of mobilizing Christians through an educational campaign was underlined. Having stated the reality of the widening gap between rich and poor, Norris pointed to the causes: unjust economic policies by the West. He then presents the image of the world community as a “family” according to whose rules the suffering of one is the suffering of all. In this way, the principle of solidarity is added to the importance of justice in rectifying current inequalities.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> “...in Litteris Encyclicis *Mater et magistra*: 1. vividius exponat quis sit status oeconomicus et socialis nationum, ut aiunt, tertii mundi; 2. ostendat qualis novus ordo oeconomicus et socialis fundatus in nova ethica internationali necessarius sit.” Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> *Supra*, Chapter Two.

<sup>101</sup> “Professio Christiana et traditiones humanae apud illas nationes nullum verum valorent habebunt si obliviscuntur quod ipsae sunt mere custodes opulentiae, et obligationes sociales fluunt ex tali possessione proprietatis.” Ibid, 299.

<sup>102</sup> “Amans familia humana non permetteret ut membra hoc mundo patentur. Quando omnia membra familiae christianae scient dimensiones miseriae et privationis pauperum mundi, certum est quod postulabunt ut terrae opulentes suae obligationi christianae respondeant.” Ibid, 300.

In concluding, Norris invoked the spirit of “brotherly love” as the Church’s great contribution to solving world poverty which “affects all humanity.” Action begins by evoking the spirit of compassion that Jesus had on the crowds in Mt. 8:2. Quoting verbatim from Paul VI’s Radio Message from the previous Christmas that the Pope delivered in Italian, Norris highlighted the link between sympathy for the poor and the technical fixes to an unjust economic system: “We hope that this our sympathy might itself become capable of enkindling that new love which, by means of a specially planned economy, will multiply the bread needed to feed the world.”<sup>103</sup>

Cardinal Frings of Cologne, Germany, referenced Norris and offered ways to show how the Church might appear as “mother of the poor” and how the bishops themselves might demonstrate their collegiality.<sup>104</sup> The intervention was as specific a proposal for a new Secretariat as had been presented. He urged each episcopal conference to take specific actions that the benefit the poor,<sup>105</sup> that such activities be more social than charitable.<sup>106</sup> They should be “universal,” namely, to help all people regardless of race or

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<sup>103</sup> “...vogliamo sperare che questa Nostra simpatia di per se stessa capace di suscitare quel novo amore che moltiplicherà, mediante un’economia provvida e nuova al suo servizio, i pani necessari per sfamare il mondo.” Ibid, 301.

<sup>104</sup> “...ut Ecclesia appareat mater et advocata pauperum, et ut signum demus collegialitatis nos episcopi haec proponere audeo.” Ibid, 301.

<sup>105</sup> “Omnes conferentiae nationales ubique terrarum monentur ut condant opera episcopalia ad mitigandas miserias hominum et elevandum statum socialem vere pauperum,” ibid, 301.

<sup>106</sup> “Haec opera sint *sociali* magis quam caritativa.” Ibid, 302.

religion.<sup>107</sup> At the same time there should be a religious orientation that inspires them, with a singular desire to serve Christ.<sup>108</sup> Added to this could be a national collection for the poor taken up around the time of Lent when there is a focus on penance and self-denial, perhaps in tandem with such actions by non-Catholics.

Those distributing funds should meet once a year to share experiences and ideas.<sup>109</sup> It is within this context that Cardinal Frings envisioned a “Secretariat” operating above the level of national bishops’ conferences. It should gather information and share it among other conferences, perhaps playing a coordinating role also. Given its transnational status, it could also interact with similar [non-religious] bodies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNICEF or other agencies of the United Nations.

Cardinal Alfrink of Utrecht, Holland, sought to balance the extensive discussion of atheism with the problems of poverty likening the condemnation of atheism and communism to the condemnation of social injustice, oppression and the violation of religious liberty.<sup>110</sup> Bishop Rupp of Monaco proposed the notion of solidarity as the

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<sup>107</sup> “Haec opera sint universalia hoc sensu, ut omnibus prodesse velint sine discrimine stirpis vel religionis, imprimis quidem domesticis fidei.” Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> “Haec opera sint religiosa. Unicum motivum sit: Christo servire in fratribus.” Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> “In quacumque natione commissio episcoporum distribuat pecunias collectas non sine cooperatione alicuius secretariatus qui perquirat proiecta proposita et non sine auxilio peritorum laicorum. Delegati horum operum nationalium semel saltem in anno conveniant ad mutuam informationem et coordinationem.” Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> “Certo certius atheismus reiiciendus est ubique terrarum invenitur; sicut et iniustitia socialis, oppressio et laesio libertatis religiosae ubique sunt repudiandae.” Ibid, 304.

guiding principle for international cooperation,<sup>111</sup> suggesting that more time should be spent on uprooting the evil of hunger than talking about it.<sup>112</sup> Bishop Antonio Pildáin of the Canary Islands pointed to the scandal that Christian nations are wealthy while others go without the basic necessities. He proposed a “Christian communitarianism”<sup>113</sup> that would counter the communist ideology present in many countries. The truly needy have a demand on the abundance of the other.

Bishop Swanstrom evoked the story of Lazarus. The point was to stress the stark inequalities and the seeming indifference on the part of the wealthy. The gulf between the rich and poor evokes the gulf between Lazarus and Dives.<sup>114</sup> Swanstrom criticized article 24 for assigning the task of poverty alleviation to governments and the laity. Instead, he urged insertion of the following:

[t]o emphasize also the tremendous responsibility placed upon bishops and priests in our day and age to participate most actively in programs to assist the people of God to raise themselves out of the abyss of poverty and degradation.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> “Ad solidaritatem universalem inter populos fovendam aliqua in textu poni dedent de solidaritate quae speciatim inter christianos diversarum nationum ac confessionum vigere debet.” Ibid, 307.

<sup>112</sup> “In hoc vero consistit quod pauca verba a viris laicis dioecesis meae scripta legere nun audeo.” Ibid, 308.

<sup>113</sup> “En doctrina communitarismi christiani,” *ibid*, 311.

<sup>114</sup> “Quia parabola Lazari et divitis semper me vehementer movit, dum miseriis flagellatus regiones huius mundi peragrabam, ipsum Lazarum saepe ac saepe oculis mentis adspiciebam.” Ibid, 313.

<sup>115</sup> “In par. 24 multa dicuntur praecipue de responsabilitate rerum publicarum et laicorum. Mihi videtur ut mentio fieri debet de magna responsabilitate episcoporum necnon sacerdotum participandi in

Archbishop Thangalathil of the Syro-Malabar Rite spoke of the moral and spiritual dimensions of economic issues.<sup>116</sup> Nonetheless, a motion for cloture for debate on the article 23 that dealt with socio-economic development was proposed and passed. The Mixed Commission would have the task of responding to the discussion in the *aula* as well as to the written suggestions.

## 2.11 118<sup>th</sup> Congregation, November 9, 1964

After several sessions that dealt with the schema on the missions, debate resumed on schema XIII, this time with article 24 on human solidarity. The interventions responded to the question: what can the Church do? Cardinal Rugambwa of Bukabo, Tanzania, asked for a deeper study of the notion of solidarity already expressed by previous popes.<sup>117</sup> In it lies the Christian understanding of what united the order of creation and redemption for the entire human family.<sup>118</sup> Living in solidarity will ensure

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modo activo in actionibus cum fine adiuuandi populum Dei se elevare ex abyssu pauperitatis et degradationis.” Ibid, 314.

<sup>116</sup> “Res oeconomica sic vere habet aspectum moralem et spirituale.” Ibid, 316.

<sup>117</sup> “Fundamenta solidaritatis universalis doctrinalia Pius Papa XII ... et Ioannes Papa XXIII ...” Ibid, 448.

<sup>118</sup> “Obligatio, quae omnes homines et populi mutuo sese aestimare, amare et adiuuare tenentur, vim suam repetit a communi nostra natura atque origine et a communi nostra salutis ac redemptionis historia.” Ibid.

the goods of the earth are destined for all people, regardless of nationality and race.<sup>119</sup> Nothing less than a conversion of the economic system is required!<sup>120</sup> Fr. Gerald Mahon M.H.M., compared the current global reality that the Church is addressing to that faced by Vatican I and the rise of Marxism at the time. He warned that the situation had grown worse with proletarian nations having emerged not just the proletariat within countries.<sup>121</sup> Speaking on behalf of the many missionaries under his care, he identified their struggle for social justice as “an essential part of the salvific mission of the Church” and not as something secondary.<sup>122</sup> “Christ underwent his Pasch by doing good,” he noted.<sup>123</sup> The last speaker on article 24, Cardinal Richaud of Bordeaux, France referenced Norris’s address saying how it shows the urgency of the commandment to love.<sup>124</sup> He pointed to the work of *Caritas Internationalis* and the value of its educative role within the Church

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<sup>119</sup> “Ex profundiore intelligentia vinculorum oeconoicorum atque culturalium, quibus populi hodie connectuntur, novimus aequam inter populos distributionem et rectum usum bonorum terrae ad officia iustitia pertinere.” Ibid, 449.

<sup>120</sup> “Vera systematis oeconomici conversio requiritur.” Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> “Hodie enim disparitas inter nationes divites et nationes miseras non minor est quam antea erat disparatas inter classes in singulis nationibus. Hodie non classes proletariae, sed nationes proletariae.” Ibid, 450.

<sup>122</sup> “Haec facta horrenda nos omnes excitent et sollicitos reddant necesse est. Sunt autem qui activitatem socialem et socio-oeconomicam habent ut opus missionale secundarium solummodo, ut diverticula quae non constituent partem essentialem in missione salvifica Ecclesiae.” Ibid, 450-1.

<sup>123</sup> “Christus pertransiit benefaciendo.” Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> “[U]t manifestavit ill. D. Norris, altissimum caritatis praeceptum debet vehementius instigare christianos magis praeditos erga homines, qui, in quibusdam regionibus, laborant quadam immani conditione.” Ibid, 458.

regarding the exercise of the Christian virtue of charity.<sup>125</sup> Richaud urged greater coordination between existing relief and development agencies, respecting the rightful independence of each one. Such joint action should promote education about the problems to be faced and the responsibility of each person. Competent people should be formed and regional structures put in place to further this work. Cooperation with “separated Christians” was encouraged as well as with the United Nations for its technical expertise.<sup>126</sup>

## **2.12 119<sup>th</sup> Congregation, November 10, 1964**

Amid a passionate debate regarding the legitimacy of the use of nuclear weapons, several interventions reprised earlier themes in the schema. Bishop Maurice Rigaud of Pamiers in the name of eighty French bishops underscored the importance of international institutions for their ability to create just structures.<sup>127</sup> Rather than leaving their operation to a competent laity, Rigaud suggested that priests be trained in the

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<sup>125</sup> “Atqui ‘Caritas Internationalis’ fundata Anno Sancto 1950 ... Eiusque praecipuum popositum radiatio est caritatis in hoc mundo,” *ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> “1. Elucidatio et educatio officii atque responsabilitatis personalis omnium fidelium erga istud problema. 2. Formatio personarum aptarum et creatio structuram in regionibus increscentibus. 3. Communicatio informationum ... 4. Cooperatio cum christianis a nobis seiunctis, cum regiminibus et etiam cum officiis technici adiutorii atque progressus a Nationibus Unitis positus.” *Ibid.*, 459.

<sup>127</sup> “Concilium deberet in memoriam caute revocare quantum necesse sit ut ipsa structura Organizationum Internationalum renovetur.” *AS* III/7, 67.

function of these structures so as to put them at the service of the gospel.<sup>128</sup> Fundamental justice is required, said Bishop Luis Yáñez Ruiz of St. Mary of Los Angeles, Chile in the name of seventy other bishops. The social teaching of Pius XII in *Quadragesimo anno* on the virtue of social justice should not be forgotten.<sup>129</sup>

Holy Cross Bishop Marcos McGrath of Santiago de Veraguas, Panama, reminded the Council, also in the name of seventy other Fathers, that if the world was listening to it then it was because popes since Leo XIII had made the Church's message relevant to the modern world by speaking about common human values.<sup>130</sup> McGrath supported the idea that the document be addressed to all people. It would show that the Church's interest is not something "in the air." It was lamentable that so often Christians are seen as being passive in the face of contemporary problems, meanwhile the Marxists take the initiative. This document should reverse that impression.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> "Esti haec problemata praecipue ad laicos pertineant, tamen summopere optandum est ut Ecclesia curet aliquos sacerdotes instituendos in doctrina tam oeconomica quam sociali, et quidem in optimis scholis et in clarioribus Universtatibus, ita ut adsint in quaecumque natione, immo si possibile est, in quaecumque regione, sacerdotes qui, vere periti harum doctrinarum, pares sint ad iuvandos christianos in his institutionibus praesentes et ad opinionem publicam efformandam in Ecclesia." Ibid, 68.

<sup>129</sup> "De iustitiae socialis conceptu dissentiunt auctores. Proinde, spes, quae tempore promulgationis Litt. Enc. *Quadragesimo Anno*, eluxit, fere exstincta est." Ibid, 70.

<sup>130</sup> "Hic novus dialogus Ecclesiae cum mundo non incipit cum nostro schemate ... quantum Summi Pontifices inde a tempore Leonis XIII," ibid, 72.

<sup>131</sup> "Patet quantum observatio significant pro nostro mundo hodierno in quo nimis frequenter christiani videntur passive ante problemata nostri temporis, sicut ante evolutionem nostrorum temporum, ignorantes historiae eisque significationis, dummodo alii, praesertim marxistae, sese ostendunt ut illi qui non tantum historiam intelligunt sed eam etiam agunt ad fines praedeterminatos paradisi in hac terra." Ibid, 73-4.

Argentine layman, Professor Juan Vázquez, president of the *International Federation of Catholic Youth Organizations* spoke in Spanish, expressing satisfaction on behalf of the lay auditors that the debate on the schema had shown that the Council understood the positive natural and supernatural values of man's vocation. In tandem with the document *Lumen gentium*, the current text demonstrated how

The positive values that belong to the Christian vocation – natural and supernatural; the history of salvation; men who hope and demand from us – laypeople – an authenticity and a genuine insertion into temporal realities we are the Church and we are the world.<sup>132</sup>

Vázquez repeated the phrase “we are the Church and we are the world” to underline a conception of the laity as a “bridge” between the Church and the world, stating “we want to observe, speak and work for the Church and for the world”<sup>133</sup> and asking for “effective cooperation” with the hierarchy in the post-conciliar organizations.<sup>134</sup> The role of the laity in preparing the schema had been important and

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<sup>132</sup> “Los valores positivos de la vocación cristiana: los naturales y los sobrenaturales; la historia de la salvación; los hombres que esperan, reclaman de nosotros – los laicos – una autenticidad, una inserción veraz en las realidades temporales. Somos Iglesia y somos mundo.” Ibid, 79.

<sup>133</sup> “Queremos observar, hablar y obrar, para la Iglesia y para el mundo.” Ibid, 81. Schillebeeckx spoke of the laity as being a bridge between *God* and “the world.” Schillebeeckx, *The Layman in the Church and Other Essays* (Staten Island, New York: Alba House, 1963).

<sup>134</sup> “...esperamos que en la organizaciones post-conciliares tengamos nosotros y tengan nuestras instituciones la manera de prestar una cooperación eficaz.” AS III/7, 81.

would be significant in ensuring the final document would have an impact throughout the world.<sup>135</sup>

In the press conference after the end of the discussion Monsignor George Higgins reiterated Bishop Wright's warning that the document was not intended to settle any or all the specific problems confronting the world. Higgins said that Church needed to:

...begin to clarify the theology of its own role – and the role of its individual members – in the modern world. It can also be expected to state as clearly as possible its own understanding of the moral law as it applied to some of the major problems of the day. But the world is doomed to be disillusioned if it expects the Church to do more than that at the present time.<sup>136</sup>

### **2.13 Summary Observations**

The interventions during this session were dominated by the problem of under-development. Many felt the reality of poverty was poorly reflected in the schema which accounted for the lack of a clear path forward in seeking just solutions. Perhaps for this reason, the scandal of poverty was repeatedly described as one of the “signs of the times” to which the Church was called to respond.

Offering a fuller statement of the problems facing the poor prompted a fuller investigation of the Church's response. During the session, traditional concepts such as nature and grace were set along side newer ideas of solidarity and development in search

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<sup>135</sup> “Llamamos a los miembros laicos del ‘Pueblo de Dios’ a traducir en acto la enseñanza que la Iglesia, bajo la inspiración del Espíritu Santo, nos da por este documento.” Ibid, 82.

<sup>136</sup> *Council Daybook*, III, 291.

of a comprehensive response to such pressing problems. For example, in describing the Church contribution to solving the problem, the Council used the traditional distinction between the natural and supernatural realm; on how this-worldly activity can be reflective of the grace of the Incarnation. Concerns were raised about the use of these concepts to explain how such activity participated in the redemptive mission given to the Church by Christ. Discussion on socio-economic issues offered an opportunity to restate traditional teaching on private property, workers and wages while pushing the concept of solidarity onto a large platform that encompassed not only the relation between people and the state, but between states themselves.

The Fathers were more sure footed in asserting the Church's role in combating the modern scourge of poverty. Some presented the reality of the problem, citing statistical data to highlight both the level of underdevelopment and the extent of the inequality between the rich and poor. An important element urging action was the fact that the richer countries were populated largely by Christians. The biblical image of Lazarus begging at the door of Dives was invoked to underline the consequences for the richer countries if they failed to act.

The need to act was never questioned by the Fathers. How the Church should act and if it did so, in what capacity were important elements in the comments on the schema. Of note were two themes in the discussion that would frame the Church's action in the social realm. First, there was an attempt to see action on behalf of the poor as part of the Church's mission of salvation. This can be seen in the repeated insistence that any

temporal activity reflect the Church's religious mission and not be seen as an end in itself. Second, the Church's role in combating hunger and suffering was framed within the context of international solidarity. Accordingly, the notion of the Church as a community inspired by the great commandment would serve to offer a more comprehensive vision of the Church's mission in the world.

Interventions frequently relied upon importance of the Christian virtue of charity as the dominant attitude that should characterize not only the relations among Christians but also the relationship between Christians and the world. This concept is to be distinguished from an understanding of *caritas* understood as the charitable works that Christians undertake in their service of the world. A greater awareness and deeper understanding of the complexity nature of the structures of impoverishment generated fresh thinking by the Council which, in turn, provoked a deepening of traditional theological concept such as *caritas* so as to take account of a greater appreciation of the systemic issues involved in modern society.

### **3     *Discussion during the Fourth Session***

#### **3.1     Draft Schema<sup>137</sup>**

The reworked text was presented to the Mixed Commission at the beginning of April 1965 with a new version finalized a month later. The new text was sent to the Council Fathers in mid-June, this time in French.

#### **3.2     132<sup>nd</sup> Congregation, September 21, 1965**

Debate on Schema XIII began in the Aula on September 21, 1965. The nature and extent of commentary on the new schema marked a new stage of engagement by the Council on the question of under-development and the Church's responsibility to confront it. At this stage, interventions focused on the text as a whole envisaging how it would express the sense of the Council and how it would likely be received by the faithful. Cardinal Lecaro introduced Archbishop Garrone of Toulouse, who had been charged with offering an overview of the new draft schema thereby substituting for Bishop Guano, who had to excuse himself because of his failing health: he was reportedly exhausted.<sup>138</sup>

Cardinal Spellman of New York accepted the text as an attempt to dialogue with the modern world, while at the same time not pretending to answer all the complex

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<sup>137</sup> "Constitutio Pastoralis De Ecclesia in Mundo Huius Temporis," *AS* IV/I, 435-516.

<sup>138</sup> "Relatio," *AS* IV/I, 535-58.

questions of the modern time.<sup>139</sup> However, the notion of obedience and fidelity by the faithful should undergird such efforts at dialogue, he said.<sup>140</sup> Spellman resisted attempts to remove the content of the schema or to change its style of addressing specific issues. There was, moreover, the need to address each one of the issues with a certain precision – *praecise hoc schema optat*.<sup>141</sup>

Cardinal Landázuri Ricketts of Lima, Peru expressed a certain satisfaction with the document, although not with its length, comprising some 30,000 words. Reflecting on the style of the schema, Landázuri juxtaposed two potential approaches: one that flows from the faith and a second that can be found in reality.<sup>142</sup> The first would appeal to Catholics and Christians and the second is more philosophical and too humanistic to be appropriate for a Council document. Adopting a mix of both these styles would create the danger of confusion in any attempt at interpretation. For this reason, the Cardinal said, the document should not be a *Constitution* but a simple *Declaration* through which the Church can present its mission to the world. That way, the text should avoid any

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<sup>139</sup> “Hoc in schemate Ecclesia non dat solutiones simplices et definitivas pro omnibus problematibus mundi hodierni; sed desiderat ut in dialogum cum omnibus hominibus bonae voluntatis ineamus ad mundum meliorem aedificandum” *AS IV/I*, 559.

<sup>140</sup> “Essentialis conditio huiusmodi dialogi ex parte christifidelium est spiritus virtusque obedientiae erga potestatem quae in Ecclesia ‘a Christo est constituta,’” *Ibid*.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>142</sup> “[D]uplex via possibilis erat: aut abstrahendo ab illis veritatibus quae in sola fidei luce cognosci possunt; aut, ex adverso, plenam veritatem nobis divinitus commissam hominibus proponendo, modo tamen hodiernae mentalitati hominum accomodato.” *Ibid*, 562.

philosophical argumentation, but announce the Gospel as a “leaven capable of renewing all things.”<sup>143</sup>

Cardinal Jaeger expressed the disappointment felt by the German bishops concerning the text’s optimism vis-à-vis the world and its insufficient grasp of the Scripture’s emphasis on the worldly battle between God and Satan. Given the complexity of the issues involved, Jaeger urged institution of a new post-conciliar commission that would address the theological themes in more depth and detail.<sup>144</sup> Uncertainty about the final message was prompting some to seek a way of continuing the debate rather than reaching a hasty conclusion that might be poorly articulated and poorly received.

### **3.3 133<sup>rd</sup> Congregation, September 22, 1965**

Like Cardinal Augustin Bea of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, Cardinal Koenig lamented the lack of clarity in terminology, especially regarding terms such as “world,” “man” and “history” which should rely for their understanding on their articulation in the Scriptures where they can be found in a true context alongside other biblical themes such as sin, the truth of the cross, the necessity of penance and the hope

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<sup>143</sup> “[D]ctrina catholica circa praesentiam Ecclesiae in modo explicetur et ipsa exhibeatur tamquam fermentum quod totam humanitatem pervadere debet.” Ibid, 563.

<sup>144</sup> “Tamen mihi cordi est huic sacro Concilio proponere, ut commissio specialis postconciliaris elaboret quoddam Summarium doctrinae catholicae, dico aliquod comendium breve theologiae huius temporis intelligentiis adaptatum.” Ibid, 576.

of resurrection with Christ.<sup>145</sup> Koenig posited the goal of the schema to speak as usefully as possible in resolving the problems of the modern world, “in virtue of the Church’s own mission.”<sup>146</sup> To avoid a confusion regarding the intended audience, the text should speak in reference to less changeable “signs of the times” thereby avoiding any promise of paradise in this world where all the world’s problems will be solved, a stage that can only be attained in the world to come.<sup>147</sup>

Speaking on behalf of ninety-one German and Scandinavian Fathers, Cardinal Döpfner urged more dogmatic content, a clearer distinction in the text between the natural and supernatural orders, between creation and redemption. It remains unclear, he said, how the faith can offer satisfactorily both strength and light to the world, promising more than it actually delivers.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> “Schema in pluribus tum quoad doctrinam tum quoad modum eum proponendi perpoliri debet. Utique saepius valde difficile est sibi iudicium adaequatum efformare de doctrina ipsa ob permultos graves defectus linguae latinae, de quibus plura postea.” Ibid, 577.

<sup>146</sup> “Ecclesia imprimis de ea loqui vult, quae Ecclesiae vi suae missionis propriae conferre possit ad solvenda problemata mundi huius temporis.” *AS* IV/II, 26.

<sup>147</sup> “Ita realitas hominis verius attingitur et periculum evitatur ne promittamus paradisum in terra, et solutionem omnium problematum, ut ita dicam, quod nonnisi in statu finali attingi potest.” Ibid, 27.

<sup>148</sup> “Ita e.g. non clare distinguuntur, quatenus ad ordinem naturalem, quatenus ad supernaturalem pertineant. Verum quidem est, ordinem redemptionis assumere seu comprehendere in se ordinem creationis; tamen utriusque distinctio semper debet accurate salvari.” Ibid, 29.

### 3.4 134<sup>th</sup> Congregation, September 23, 1965

Cardinal L. Rugambwa of Bukabo, Tanzania offered an overwhelming endorsement of the text as the first display of solidarity by the Church for all of humanity and especially the poorest.<sup>149</sup> The notion of solidarity should be applied to all areas of life: whether public health or economic affairs. Aid to poor countries should be considered as a requisite of justice and should entail active cooperation by those receiving the aid. At the international level, organizations should be promoted aimed at the good of all people (presumably not just aimed at helping certain sections).<sup>150</sup> The Cardinal disagreed that there was anything particularly novel in Part II since the Popes had presented this teaching before in *Mater et magistra* and *Pacem in terris*.<sup>151</sup>

Cardinal Meyer of Chicago offered a defense of the capitalist system – properly governed through the cultivation of personal virtue. He warned the Council about the confusion among the young – and many Christians – provoked by the teachings of Karl

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<sup>149</sup> “... quia in prooemio clare affirmatur solidaritas Ecclesiae cum tota familia humana in rebus secundi et adversis,” *ibid*, 366.

<sup>150</sup> “...urgentissime inculcanda est solidaritas totius humani generis in omni campo vitae: in sanitate, in re oeconomica ... secundo, quia in iustitia, veritate, liberate et amore ponitur vera pax, adiumenta et subsidia accelerentur, augeantur et modo educativo dentur ita ut regiones quae sunt in processu evolutionis non sint unice theatrum passivum de quo ab aliis tractatur paucorum lucra causa, sed ipsi incolae actuosae et dynamice proprio labore bene ordinato ad progressum suum omnimodis cooperentur et colaborent ... Tertio, maior usque fiat cooperatio internationalis. Proinde ab omnibus hominibus bonae voluntatis promoveantur omnes organisationes quae bono communi totius generis humani operam dant.” *Ibid*, 367-8.

<sup>151</sup> “Quoad modum tractandi materiam, desideratur ut v.g. in re sociali et oeconomica vel in pacifica cooperatione inter omnes nationes fovenda clarius et exactius definiantur problemata et remedia quae iam encyclicae *Mater et Magistra* et *Pacem in terris* opportune exposuerunt.” *Ibid*, 367.

Marx on the economy and the atheism that is contained within it. There had been a widespread loss of faith in a dialectical materialism that values liberty and doubts whether there was an honest administration of good. Moreover, many now favor an economic system that distributes goods like a machine, without regard for the personal element.<sup>152</sup>

From a different perspective, Archbishop F. Lourdusamy, Coadjutor of Bangalore, India, cautioned against specific analysis of particular situations since some people are likely to feel ignored by the Constitution since it would fail to address all possible situations. The text should focus on proclaiming the fundamental teaching about the human person with the grace that comes from Christ at its center.<sup>153</sup>

In the name of 65 Polish Bishops, Bishop B. Kominek of Wroclaw linked the schema with *Lumen gentium*. If the Constitution on the Church should be considered as *lex credendi*, then the current document could be considered as the *lex agendi*, he said. The importance of Christian redemption should be more thoroughly integrated into the text so as to avoid any form of naturalistic thinking. Kominek complained that the newly inserted *adnexa* offer detailed prescriptions without any real depth to explain their origins

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<sup>152</sup> “Talis doctrina socialis, communismum videlicet, quemadmodum negat responsibilitatem hominis, ita eum allicit specie effecacitatis in re oeconomica. Ipso facto, persona humana, iam non habetur ut subiectum totius activitatis oeconomicae et socialis, sed ut obiectam tantum technicae organizationis; obiectum utique cui prodest haec organizatio, sed tamen ut obiectum.” Ibid, 371.

<sup>153</sup> “Ita enim positio centralis Christi est aliud fundamentum theologicum quod in textu in meliori luce exponi debet. In Christo enim habet creatio plenitudinem suam.” Ibid, 382.

and therefore go beyond the competence of the Council itself. The Council was particularly lacking in competence to talk about socio-economic issues.<sup>154</sup> It would be better to identify problems and to urge joint action to overcome them, recognizing that the Church had no specific or comprehensive agenda towards this aim.<sup>155</sup>

### **3.5 137<sup>th</sup> Congregation, September 28, 1965**

Bishop Garrone of Toulouse complained that the notion of the earthly reality is presented in too autonomous a way. Recovering the teaching of Vatican I where God is understood as Creator of the world would limit any serious doubt about the role of religion in today's world. Garrone also identified a common error among some who identify God solely as the originator of Creation and ignore God's on-going creative activity vis-à-vis the world and humankind. Seeing God in such creative acts gives a profound meaning to the spirit of poverty, which is often mentioned in the schema.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> "Nimis particularia dicta sunt, praesertim vero sine ulla competentia in cap. III secundae partis proposita 'de vita oeconomica-sociali,'" Ibid, 388.

<sup>155</sup> "Quae urgentiora problemata altius perscrutanda sunt ope sic dictae theologiae rerum terrestrium, attamen timemus, ne huiusmodi theologia nunc momento sit adhuc nimis parva et initialis." Ibid, 388.

<sup>156</sup> "Est et alius doctrinae adspectus a quo potest oculis omnium patere quanti fidelis christianus res praesentes habere debeat: nempe ratio caritatis, in quantum caritas est quid permanens et de se duraturum." Ibid, 635.

### 3.6 138<sup>th</sup> Congregation, September 29, 1965. Part II: Schema XIII

Discussion on Part II of the schema began on September 29. Bishop Hengsbach offered the *relatio* on Part II.<sup>157</sup> Chapter I (nn. 60-64) dealt with the dignity of marriage and the family; Chapter II (nn. 65-74) dealt with culture while Chapter III (nn. 75-85) covered socio-economic affairs. Chapter IV (nn. 86-89) dealt with political life and Chapter V (nn. 90-103) covered international affairs and the promotion of peace. A Conclusion (nn. 104-106) followed. Congregations 138 through 140 dealt with the chapter on marriage and culture. The discussion on marriage was especially lively given the personal intervention of Paul VI to remove certain aspects of married life from discussion in the Council's General Congregations.

### 3.7 141<sup>st</sup> Congregation, October 4, 1965

On October 4, 1965, as Paul VI was making his historic visit to the United Nations in New York, discussion began on Chapter III: socio-economic life. These interventions – while united in their call for a new organism - represent not only geographical diversity among Council participants but stem from very different experiences of the problem under discussion. In this sense, they should be considered as representative of the different ecclesial contexts within which the need for an ecclesial response to the problem of world poverty could be clearly identified.

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<sup>157</sup> "Relatio," *AS* IV/3, 13-16.

Cardinal Arriba y Castro from Tarragona, Spain spoke of the Church's teaching on social justice underlining the fact that the Church of Christ is the Church of the poor, not only that they are a main concern of the Church but that among the principal tasks – *munera* - of the Church is the promotion of the poor to a socio-economic state that is more dignified and more human.<sup>158</sup> The Cardinal recognized that even Catholics themselves do not heed the Church's social doctrine. "Christ taught and acted and salvation is not found in only one or the other alone."<sup>159</sup> What is the Church to do? It is not by creating laws that social justice will be brought about but by word and witness. The Cardinal repeated his call for a body of the Roman Curia:

It would be advisable that in the heart of the Roman Curia an appropriate organism would be established with the specific task of spreading and applying the social teaching that comes from the Gospel.<sup>160</sup>

Fellow Spaniard, Cardinal Bueno y Monreal, took a different approach, criticizing the Western viewpoint expressed in the text. Specificity would only lead to the

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<sup>158</sup> "Gravissimo problemate nostri temporis: iustitiae ... Ecclesia Christi est Ecclesia pauperum ad hoc ut pauperes non sint in quantum possibile; inter praecipua enim munera Ecclesiae est promotio pauperum ad digniorem et humaniorem statum oeconomicum et sociale." Ibid, *AS* IV/3, 263.

<sup>159</sup> "Christus coepit facere et docere. Et non est in alio aliquo salus." Ibid. 264.

<sup>160</sup> "...ut inter dicasteria Romanae Curiae, Officium quoddam instituatur cui cura sit diffundendi et in praxim deducendi doctrinam sociale Evangelii." Ibid.

overlooking of those not living under the economic system of liberal capitalist individualism.<sup>161</sup>

CRS Executive Director Bishop Edward Swannstrom found himself at the heart of the efforts to promote the new Secretariat. He spoke after Cardinal Bueno y Monreal and his excoriation of the capitalistic mentality evident in the current schema. Swannstrom began by stating the problem of turning words into action:

Although it springs directly from Christ's concern for the poor, the Church's teaching on social and economic justice among all the peoples of the human family appears to be new and strange to many Christians, especially if they have a sufficiency themselves. There is not only a great gulf between the rich and poor, but there is a great gulf between our accepting and putting these principles into practice, a great gulf between our words and deeds.<sup>162</sup>

Swannstrom placed responsibility for action not in a contemporary articulation of "Christ's concern for the poor," but in the need to launch a "deep and long-term campaign of education, inspiration and moral influence to promote among Christians and all men of good will a live understanding and concern for world poverty, to promote

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<sup>161</sup> "[Q]uam schema ...exhibet, nimis, ut puto, mente liberalismi individualistici et capitalismi hodie in mundo occidentali vigente imbuitur," *ibid*, 265.

<sup>162</sup> "Haec doctrina Ecclesiae de sociali et oeconomica iustitia inter omnes humani generis populos, quamquam orta est ex amore Christi erga pauperes, multis tamen christifidelibus nova atque mira videtur, praesertim si omnium sat bonorum ipsi habent. Magna ergo quaedam abyssus intercedit non solum inter opulentiores et egentiores civitates sed etiam inter praecepta mente accepta et re ipsa usurpanda, inter scilicet verba et acta nostra." *Ibid*, 267.

world justice and development in all their facets.”<sup>163</sup> A sustained and focused campaign was called for, using the reality of poverty and the Christian responsibility to combat it as campaign tools.

For someone deeply rooted in the Church’s traditional relief and development apostolate, the CRS head promoted the new thinking about human development. Adopting a sociological analysis, Swanstrom pointed to structural questions in the world economy that needed resolving if poorer countries were to use the aid funds appropriately. He sought to find a justification for structural changes from within the Gospel defining such work as part of the Church’s mission. Recognizing the important role that would be played by the Brussels Group under Cardinal Frings in coordinating the aid programs and making them more effective, Swanstrom saw the need for a top level body in the heart of the Church to study all the complicated problems of the war on world hunger and poverty which is so close to the heart of Pope Paul VI: “Such a body, permanent and at the highest level, could act as the War Cabinet of the Church under the Pope to direct the Church’s action in the many spheres necessary.”<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> “Propter has causas in concreto censeo ut Ecclesia diuturnum et multiforme programma educationis, exhortationis et moralis auctoritatis suscipat quo omnes chrifideles omnesque homines bonae voluntatis egestatem populorum comprehendant et perfectius curent atque iustitia inter civitates progressusque rerum oeconomicum omni ex parte promoveantur.” Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> “Haec predicatio munus erit huius Secretariatus, qui negotia sua forsitan sub permanente Concilio Episcoporum delectorum a Summo Pontifice sui gessurus.” Ibid.

The crucial distinction between operational entities such as CRS and motivational entities such as the proposed Secretariat was made clearly:

This Secretariat's work would in no way be an obstacle but a strengthening force for the world of social assistance and development now carried on by several national conferences of bishops and by other Church organizations. These Conferences and institutions raise and distribute funds and are engaged in concrete operations that promote certain good works. The new Secretariat, I repeat, would be educational and inspirational.<sup>165</sup>

As we saw in chapter one, Swanstrom ended his intervention by offering an addition to the schema to be placed at the end of number 95.<sup>166</sup>

Syro-Malabar Archbishop G. Thangalathil of Trivandrum, Indonesia asked that concern for the poor be given priority as one of the contemporary needs to which the Church should respond. Such a response is necessary not only to change the situation of poverty itself, but as a way of building peace among nations. The Archbishop repeated the call for some "organism of the Holy See that would promote economic cooperation, defend the rights of peasants and to promote respect for the right to emigrate."<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> "Hoc munus Secretariatus nullo modo erit obstaculo sed potius incremento operibus socialis auxilii atque progressus quae episcopi cuiusque civitatis per suos coetus aliaque instituta ecclesiastica prosequuntur. Horam coetum et institutionem et pecunias collegere quibus egentibus succurrant in operibus specificis beneficentiae. E contra novi Secretariatus erit, ut iterum dicam, docere et exhortari." Ibid, 368.

<sup>166</sup> *Supra*.

<sup>167</sup> "Ut iam dicam est, in votes est ut instituat apud Sanctam Sedem organum technicis et competentibus hominibus praesertim laicis consistens cuius erit inter alia : 1) efficacem cooperationem oeconomiam inter nationes promovere praesertim homines instruendo de eius possibilitate et mediis opportunis; 2) ruricolis qui debiliorem constituunt partem societatis oeconomicae, iustitiam vindicare; 3) immigrationi, ubi haec necesse est, consulere et omnimodam discriminationem ex medio tollere." Ibid, 279.

Indian Archbishop A. Fernandez, Co-adjutor of Delhi, India spoke in the name of 150 bishops from Asia, Africa and Latin America. He urged the Council to act with the urgency of the task before it.<sup>168</sup> Exercising that mission involves the Church turning its gaze to the majority of human beings who belong to the “so-called third world.”<sup>169</sup> Solving the problems of this vast majority is not felt urgently enough in the latest version of the schema on the modern world. This needed to be rectified in the final document. Of the list of reasons that Fernandes offers to justify the creation of the new organism, several are pertinent to the nature of the Church’s role in fostering development.

Lacking in current efforts to combat poverty was a clear and permanent expression of the Church’s compassion for the multitude. Also lacking is an understanding of the Church’s vision of true progress in all its fullness. The kind of development aimed at cannot focus only on the material improvement in the lives of the world’s poor. Instead, there must be a vision of the universal communion between all peoples. This would have beneficial repercussions for world peace.

Such a Commission should always teach the doctrine of true human progress. There is a great danger that the concept of true human progress may be misunderstood, and understood solely with material progress and the growth and development of some section of mankind. True progress results in a more intimate and universal fellowship of people, as a more universal participation on the part of all people men in cultural and

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<sup>168</sup> “Concilium hac de re magna auctoritate gaudet, et magna cum urgenti loqui debet.” Ibid, 281.

<sup>169</sup> “Multo enim maior pars generis humani ætatis nostrae ad mundum qui vocatur ‘tertium’ pertinet,” ibid, 281.

economic matters, as the lifting of all men to conditions of existence in which it is possible for them to lead a life worthy of human beings, made in the image and likeness of God.<sup>170</sup>

Throughout, Fernandes framed his reasoning for a new Secretariat in terms of existing practices in foreign aid. Without claiming specialized technical knowledge on how to make such aid more effective in alleviating poverty, the Archbishop offered a lengthy explanation on the need for more Church-sponsored public advocacy to change unjust structures. In what developed into a comprehensive agenda for the new Secretariat on a range of social issues touching upon the ethical implications of the Gospel in the economic order, Fernandes urged the Secretariat see to it that the Church

[S]hould use her influence and moral authority to secure the reorientation of the political, social and economic structures of the nations toward a true and lasting peace instead of allowing them to be geared to war – even a defensive one. Not only charity, but social justice demands that the wealth of the world be disbursed not to produce fresh armaments, but to invent new methods of agriculture, to explore new sources of food, to ensure that international trade is governed by just norms, so that the whole human family, and not just a portion thereof, may become the beneficiaries of the gifts for body and soul which are associated with true human progress.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> “Talis commissionis erit doctrinam de progressu humano semper docere. Periculum enim est ne conceptus veri progressus humani pessumdaretur, et de progressu mere materiali, et de incremento alicuius partis societatis humanae commode intelligatur. Intelligi vero debet progressus verus ut intimior universaliorque inter homines communio, ut universalior omnium hominum in bonis culturae et oeconomiae participatio, ut conditionis omnium hominum ad talem statum elevatio, in quo vitam dignam, hominemque Dei imaginem decentem, degere valeant.” Ibid, 281-2.

<sup>171</sup> “Ecclesia, mediante institutione organi postconciliaris ad iustitiam internationalem et omnium populorum integram humanamque evolutionem promovendam, suo influxu atque auctoritate morali uti deberet ut graditam structurae politicae, sociales et oeconomicae omnium nationum, non ad bellum – nequidem defensivum – sed ad veram et stabilem pacem prandam, oriententur. Non tantum caritas, sed iustitia socialis postulat ut divitiae mundi non ad armamenta producenda adhibeantur, sed ut novae methodi

Pointing to the salvation brought by Christ to all of mankind, Fernandez called for the promulgation of the Constitution on the Church in a way that “continues the mission of Christ in the world.”<sup>172</sup>

Archbishop Sierra y Méndez of Burgos, Spain drew upon Part I of the schema to present an overriding criterion in all discussion of the practical application of the Church’s teaching to human society, namely, that the Church has received no purely temporal mission: its role is to bring about the plan of Christ.<sup>173</sup> At times, the schema “stumbles” by becoming too technical or entering into too much detail on specific economic questions. Such specificity limits the Church’s impact and can lead to partial answers to complex problems that could create a misunderstanding that could result in violent upheaval that vitiates true development.<sup>174</sup>

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agros colendi inveniantur, ut novi fontes ciborum explorentur, ut commercium internationalem normis iustis regatur, et tandem aliquando ut tota humanitas, et non iam parva minoritas, bonis ad corporis et spiritus progressum necessariis, gaudeat.” Ibid, 282-3.

<sup>172</sup> “Enixe peto, venerabiles Patres, ut haec constitutio ita conficiatur ut talis actio Ecclesiae instituatur, ut homines, etiam mundi tertii, vere sollicitudinem Ecclesiae sentiant, et in ea eam caritatem percipient, qua Christus salutem nobis hominibus attulit. Voluit enim Christus hanc suam sollicitudinem mundo perennitur praesentem esse per Ecclesiam suam.” Ibid, 283.

<sup>173</sup> “Prae primis notare velim criterium quod semper in his rebus altum praevalere debet. Iuxta principia recte statuta in I parte huius schematis, cap. IV ‘unicus finis propter quem (Ecclesia) vivet est Christi propositum exsequi’ (n. 49); ideo ‘Christus ... Ecclesiae suae nullum mandatum concrededit nullumque finem assignavit, qui ad ordinem politicum, oeconomicum, sociale spectaret.’” Ibid, 294.

<sup>174</sup> “... possint aliquando violentae eversionis ordinis stabiliti, quin obtineatur desideratus progressus, qui non repente ubique instaurari potest, sed de gressu ad gressum et iuxta media quae realiter habentur.” Ibid, 294.

### 3.8 142<sup>nd</sup> Congregation, October 5, 1965

It was announced by Cardinal Krol that Paul VI would return to the aula at around noon that day, at which time he would address the Council. Debate continued on Chapter III: Socio-economic life.

Fr. Gerald Mahon delivered his intervention shortly before the Pope's return. Citing numerous interventions calling for some kind of "concrete initiative" on behalf of the Council, Mahon suggested the "establishment at the highest level of the Church's organization of a permanent structure for the promotion of social justice."<sup>175</sup> Mahon's plan for the new body was comprehensive and sought to "clearly enunciate the principles upon which should a body should be constructed" as well as the concrete action on behalf of the Church.<sup>176</sup> It is worth citing in full:

1) The Secretariat ought to clearly present the moral principles in our schema, so that the exploration found in the Encyclicals *Mater et magistra* and *Pacem in terris* might be clearly presented to the world so that all the efforts of the Church may be put to work to remove need and famine from the world.

2) Such a Secretariat could greatly help the missionary efforts to take away the deprivations of the world... For sure, the primary work of the missionaries is not to engage in social progress. But in conditions incompatible with the dignity of human beings, such work becomes of

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<sup>175</sup> "Propongo, sicut ieri multi Patres, ut inter summos secretariatus Ecclesiae eriguntur institutio seu secretariatus permanens pro iustitia sociali in mundo promovenda." Ibid, 368-9.

<sup>176</sup> "1. [c]lara enuntiatio principiorum essentialium; 2. in quantum possibile est, ad haec principia implenda, actio concreta ab Ecclesia ipsa tamquam corpori universali, non tantum a singulis personis vel a parvis coetibus a Ecclesia." Ibid.

major importance ... Such a Secretariat could provide information and technical assistance.

3) By instructing the Christian world in its duties of international social justice and charity the educational work of the Secretariat would provide greater support for the work of the Bishops... The Secretariat which would act in this way would not be a charity agency nor would it seek to coordinate other such agencies...

4) Representing the spiritual authority of the Church, this institution could appropriately remind the world of two fundamental spiritual principles:

First, that socio-economic development cannot be separated from progress of a cultural and spiritual nature. Man does not live by bread alone.

Second, that efforts to solve the problem of world poverty and hunger lack will not have success unless there is conversion of men's hearts and minds. This conversion in more developed regions should encourage people to share their abundance and their knowledge with more needy regions. For the same reason, there must be a change of heart among the rich of developing countries urging them to distribute justly the benefits of progress to all their citizens.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> "Secretarius ille mundo clare proponere posset principia moralia contenta in nostro schemate et, modo magis exploratio, in Encyclicis *Mater et magistra* ac *Pacem in terris*.... Sic, tota immensa vis moralis necnon opes Ecclesiae dirigi posset ad paupertatem a mundo tollendam.

Talis Secretariatus verum et validum auxilium missionariorum conatibus afferre posset ad egestatem a mundo tollendam ... Certe certius, labor primarius missionarii non est de progressu sociali agere. Problemata autem socialia maximi momenti evadunt ubi rerum condiciones dignae non sunt humanae naturae ... Quapropter Secretariatus propositus ipsis dare posset informationem ac assistentiam technicam.

Secretariatus christifideles per totam orbem terrarum de officiis iustitiae socialis internationalis ac caritatis docere posset. Hoc modo, Secretariatus ille non parvum adiutorium praestaret illis Operibus Episcoporum ... Secretariatus de quo agitur, ipse non est Opus caritatis nec institutio ad alia Opera in ordinem ponenda...

Talis Secretariatus, Ecclesiae auctoritate spirituali munitus, posset mundo duo essentialia principia spiritualia in mentem revocare:

Primo: progressus socio-oeconomicus non potest separari a progressu in ordine culturali et spirituali. Non de solo pane enim vivit homo.

Mahon also urged the addition of a votive mass for World Justice to the Church's list of Votive Masses.<sup>178</sup> Like Norris before him, and perhaps surprising for someone who had spent so much time among poorer populations, McMahon recommends technical solutions, changes of heart in the wealthy countries and the fairer distribution of the advances of progress. This is McMahon's understanding of justice: that all would aspire to the standard of living that the wealthy currently enjoy. The power of the poor – their agency and protagonism – is all but absent in this framework.

Archbishop Larraín Errázuriz, of Tacla, Chile noted the lack of development in Latin America as the principal contributing factor to the lack of peace. The text should explicitate the Church's vision for true development, in Larraín's view:

1. Development is not a fact but a right<sup>179</sup>
2. Progress is a strict obligation of the richer nations<sup>180</sup>

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Secundo: conatus omnes ad causam egestatis et famis tollendas bonum exitum non possunt habere sine conversione cordis et mentis hominum. Ista conversio in regionibus magis progressis excitare debet homines ad dividendam propriam abundantiam et scientiam cum regionibus egentioribus. Pari ratione, inter homines divites ex nationibus pauperioribus haec conversio cordis eos urget ut beneficia progressus iuste distribuantur inter omnes cives." Ibid, 368-9

<sup>178</sup> "Ad petendam a Deo hanc conversionem cordis optatam propono ut inter Missas votivas addatur Missa votiva ad petendam iustitiam et caritatem in mundo." Ibid, 369.

<sup>179</sup> "Progressus non est solummodo factum aliquod, sed est revera 'ius': ius uniuscuiusque individui ad esse integre personam." Ibid, 374.

<sup>180</sup> "Progressus ... est officium strictae obligationis moralis, ut asseruit Pius XII in aliqua allocutione, pro nationibus ditioribus auxiliandi nationes pauperiores." Ibid.

3. Progress goes beyond merely economic development and should respond to the triple hunger of mankind: physical, cultural and spiritual.<sup>181</sup>
4. Progress cannot be abrogated just to one person but must take place in a collective setting, between individual, society and peoples.<sup>182</sup>

Hinting at the notion that the person is the protagonist in his or her own development, Larraín calls development “a human activity that cannot be reduced to social assistance or almsgiving, but is a mutual communication between individuals and peoples so as to fulfill the human vocation in history: namely to humanize the earth, in a way that it becomes worthy to be man’s homeland, made in the image of God.”<sup>183</sup>

Also from the perspective of Latin America, Bishop Ruíz from Ecuador, spoke of the emergence of a social consciousness defined as “that inner conviction which men of today possess about natural equality and according to which everyone has a right to a greater share of the goods of this world.”<sup>184</sup> Ruíz reflects the comments of Fr.

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<sup>181</sup> “Progressus excedere debet simplex incrementum oeconomicum. Progressus enim sub concilio hominis semper manere debet, quinimmo ipse progressus est navitas humana quae respondere debet triplici, ut ita dicam, fami: scilicet physicae, culturali et spirituali, quae in angustiis premit homines et coetus hodiernos.” Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> “Progressus, denique, ad actum perducere debet non monopolistice sed secundum activitatem concretam cooperationis inter individua, coetus et populos.” Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> “Progressus est navitas humana et implicat hominis responsabilitatem et amorem: nequit reduci ad organisationem assistentiae socialis vel eleemosynarum; est, e contra, mutua communicatio personarum ac populorum ad congrue realizandam vocationem in historia, quae est vocatio unica pro omnibus ad humanizandum nostrum planeta, ut sit patria digna hominis, qui ad imaginem Dei factus.” Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> “Quilibet homo modernus, etiam catholicus de proprio iure ad bonorum aequam participationem libenter loquitur.” Ibid, 375.

McCormack who distinguished the modern era not for the presence of misery and inequality, but of the universal awareness that exists among all people of the right to a dignified existence.

People of this world, illiterate or cultured, factory workers or humble farm laborers, whether they profess Christianity or not, have a deep and strong awareness of their own human dignity in social life. Once people tolerated some natural difference between social classes, today all are conscious of their own proper dignity and of their proper rights. Indeed, social consciousness has been so awakened that no longer should conflict be allowed about this question between faith and Christian conscience.<sup>185</sup>

The Bishop admits the belief from a previous age that accepted a certain inequality as part of the natural order and that kept people in their place. Having emerged, social and religious forces must now get behind the struggle to implement the great insight of equality among all peoples and nations and that demands a “fair distribution”<sup>186</sup> of the earth’s resources.

For Christians, the vision of the early Church was relevant: “The Christian of our time must do what the early Christians did.”<sup>187</sup> Having traced the emergence of a right to equality, the Bishop returns to more traditional forms of humanitarian assistance, praising

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<sup>185</sup> “Homines mundi hodierni, sive illiterati sint sive culti, sive laboratores in fabricis, sive humiles ruricolae, sive christiani sint, sive non, conscientiam intimam et certam de propria dignitate in vita sociali habent. Aliquando homines quondam naturalem differentiam inter diversas clases sociales tolerabant; hodie omnes conscii sunt de propria dignitate de propriis iuribus. Immo ita conscientia socialis evigilata est ut non amplius circa hanc quaestionem conflictus inter fidem et conscientiam etiam christianam admittantur.” Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> *Supra*, n. 184.

<sup>187</sup> “Quod sicut sic dicta Ecclesia Silentii per voluntariam martyrii sesceptionem immo,” Ibid, 376.

them for their practical application and ability to “touch the heart of mankind better than theoretical principles and simple declarations.”<sup>188</sup> Retaining a familiar distinction between nature and grace, Ruíz asserted that “grace perfects and does not destroy nature.”<sup>189</sup>

Shortly before the Pope’s return to the Vatican, Cardinal Suenens opened discussion on Chapter V: International Community and the Promotion of Peace. Cardinal Bernard Alfrink of Utrecht, Netherlands began by recognizing the controversy surrounding the Council’s discussion of the use of arms, especially nuclear weapons. The only way of avoiding a type of peace that was defined as the “balance of terror” was for the Church to call for the reduction and eventual abolition of modern weapons, following the lead of Pius XII and John XXIII. Centers of peace-studies should be encouraged and a clearer insistence on the importance of justice is required not just on the role of charity.<sup>190</sup>

Cardinal McCann of Capetown, South Africa, rose to speak as it was announced that Paul VI had landed at the Rome airport. McCann noted the frequent reference to “the great problem of world poverty and hunger which very many people are suffering in

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<sup>188</sup> “Mundus hodiernus qui nimis pragmaticus est, non novis declarationibus indigent, non a nobis principia vel theorias postulat, sed facta, iuxta illud axioma ‘probatio amoris, exhibitio est operis’.” Ibid, 376.

<sup>189</sup> “Gratia non destruit sed perfectit naturam.” Ibid, 374.

<sup>190</sup> “Etiam rogare vellem ut in secunda parte n. 100 aut alibi in cap. nostro V quaedam verba laudantia dicantur de institutis scientificis quae de quaestionibus cum bello et pace connexis studia faciunt.” Ibid, 399.

various parts of the world,” and the fact that “[m]uch has already been done by the Supreme Pontiff and the Holy See.”<sup>191</sup> Having urged some definite action by the Holy See above and beyond existing efforts, McCann distinguished his call for a new ecclesial entity from the Church’s existing charitable organizations: “I do not have in mind that the Secretariat itself must collect money.” Rather, the nature of the new entity should be “inspirational” and should “serve as a prick of conscience for a human being help in this great war on poverty.” Accordingly, “a way much be opened” that would lead to an immediate solution to the problem of inequality. The means of opening this way is through “an increase in education and awareness in this matter. It is a matter of social justice.”<sup>192</sup>

Eschewing the notion of an operational agency traditionally conceived that would implement programs of material cooperation, McCann considered the task of this new Secretariat “like a moral force in the world.”<sup>193</sup> At the same time, it should be a “practical solution” to the problem. By this, he understands an effort that would go beyond the Council’s words “in a practical way” thereby allowing the Church to offer a “complete

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<sup>191</sup> “Iam multum factus est per Summum Pontificem et Sanctam Sedem, necnon ab institutionibus internationalibus et nationalibus,” Ibid, 400.

<sup>192</sup> “Non habeo in mentem quod ipse Secretariatus pecunias recolare debet, sed credo uti mensura practica quae exoritur ex schemate erit quod iste Secretariatus modo inspirationali agitur, cuius constitutio erit sicut stimulus conscientiae personae humanae ad adiuvandum in isto magno bello contra paupertatem quae non deberet existere et continuare et contra famem quas multissimae personae experiuntur.” Ibid, 401.

<sup>193</sup> “Secretarius de quo loquor erit sicut vis moralis in mundo.” Ibid. 400

example of love towards our neighbor.”<sup>194</sup> In a somewhat awkward description of the proposed body as something that was distinct from existing efforts, McCann sought to translate into concrete structures the Council’s emerging vision of the Church’s presence in the world as a force for change.

### **3.9 143<sup>rd</sup> Congregation, October 6, 1965**

Hewing closely to the discussion on socio-economic development was the thorny question of war. This question had become an intense object of disagreement for two reasons: first because of the presence of nuclear weapons that could guarantee outright world destruction and second, because of the consequences of the Cold War. The question of war was linked repeatedly to the plight the hungry and the under-developed.

Cardinal Liénart of Lille, France began by comparing war with the two other human punishments: the plague and hunger.<sup>195</sup> Citing Paul VI’s own visit to the United Nations, the Cardinal urged humanity to overcome the very injustices that give rise to such conflict in the first place rather than seek to defend one’s rights with military means.

It is within the context of an ever-present threat of another world war that Cardinal Léger of Montréal, Canada noted the ambiguity within the text on the question of war. He suggested a world authority to defend a global peace:

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<sup>194</sup> “Scio bene quod considerationes practicae oriuntur et studium de his omnino necessarium erit. Sed credo etiam quod practice realisatio possibilis est.” Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> “... a peste, fame et bello libera nos Domine,” *ibid*, 509.

the schema should insist more energetically on the obligation of all concerned, especially governments, to make every effort to reinforce or to make such an authority more efficient.<sup>196</sup>

Cardinal Duval of Algiers, Algeria, representing the bishops of North Africa insisted on the link between poverty and conflict, urging the Council to assert the causal connection between development and peace:

The text must adopt a more synthetic approach to the problem by showing how the problems of hunger, ignorance and peace are linked together ... The absence of a world equilibrium between nations endowed with much affluence and nations which labor under hunger, misery, ignorance, carries with it the permanent danger of war... The absence of friendship impedes the progress of international justice on the one hand, and on the other the preparation for war increases in poor nations, consciousness of injustice, jealousy, anger, and in rich nations darkening of the intellect and hardness of heart.<sup>197</sup>

Coadjutor Bishop William Wheeler of Middleborough, England, expressed the need to focus on the task of the economy and the international community in perfecting the progress of nations.<sup>198</sup> Current modes of assistance to the hungry and the suffering are insufficient. Wheeler delved deeply into existing economic development theory,

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<sup>196</sup> "In art. 100, iure meritoque schema firmeter proclamat necessitatem auctoritatis internationalis efficacis ... Optarem tamen ut schema adhuc fortius affirmaret officium omnium, praesertim gubernantium nitendi ad hanc auctoritatem firmandam perficiendamque." Ibid, 511.

<sup>197</sup> "Modus loquendi magis syntheticus optatur, ita ut magis appareant 'imbricationes' existentes inter problema famis, ignorantiae et problema pacis ... absentia aequilibrî oeconomici inter nationes ingentibus opibus praeditas et nationes fame, miseria, ignorantia laborantes secum fert permanens periculum belli ... defectus amicitiae impedit progressum iustitiae internationalis, ex altera parte, praeparatio belli auget in nationibus pauperibus conscientiam iniustitiae, invidiam, irae, et in nationibus divitibus obscuritatem intellectus et duritiam cordis." Ibid, 605.

<sup>198</sup> "In par. 3, n. 94, bene loquitur schema, de munere oeconomico a communitate internationali prestando, ut nationes progredientes se perficiant." Ibid, 617.

promoting what was called “intermediate technology” – *technologicae intermediatae*. Perhaps it would be better to focus aid on certain regions in a country that might then stimulate growth in the rest of the country.<sup>199</sup>

Wheeler proposed the establishment of a Secretariat for justice and world development. This new entity would be responsible for three things. Such a Secretariat would be similar in stature to the Secretariat for the Unity of Christians. It would build capacity within the Church to tackle urgent problems.<sup>200</sup> In this way, the Church would be applying the words of St. Augustine: “Love without knowledge falls into error; knowledge without love begets pride; knowledge with love edifies.”<sup>201</sup>

The benefits that would accrue from the Church’s openness to the world were debated throughout the Council itself with some participants doubting the world’s ability

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<sup>199</sup> “Hac theoria sic dictae ‘technologicae intermediatae’ perspectiva, videtur maximi momenti, fundamenta vitae tolerabilis condere, pero illis octoginta per centum qui ad nationes progredientes pertinentes extra confines urbium degunt. Quo faciendo ad has regiones stabiliendas, tale auxilium prasetaretur, ut cum magis excultis in artibus technologicis contendere posset.” Ibid, 618.

<sup>200</sup> “Secretariatus pro iustitia mundiali, cum non necessaria eiusdem structurae vel functionis esset, eadem tamen modo, emendare posset rationem sentienti et agendi ecclesiae, et quidem illa celebritate qua problem tam urgens indiget.” Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> “His diebus, forsitan in nullo alio ambitu tam apta inveniuntur verba S. Augustini quae sonant: ‘Caritas sine scientia aberrant; scientia sine caritate inflat; scientia cum caritate aedificat (vel potius: caritas cum scientia aedificat.)’ Ibid, 619.

to enrich the content of revelation. Wheeler saw dialogue particularly with economic experts as important in helping the Church's understanding of such issues.<sup>202</sup>

To some extent, the Council is now talking about a practice that the Church has undertaken for many years in little ways and with great success.<sup>203</sup> Bishop Grant of Northampton, England wanted the new Secretariat to be intimately connected with the supreme governing authority of the Church.<sup>204</sup>

### **3.10 144<sup>th</sup> Congregation, October 7, 1965**

Continuing the discussion on Chapter V as it related to the question of war and peace, Archbishop Beck of Liverpool, England noted the weakness of the international system to prevent conflict. Effective international institutions are needed that can maintain peace.<sup>205</sup> He complained that sovereign nations only concede their authority through treaties which they are free to abrogate at will. Sovereignty, imperialism and

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<sup>202</sup> "Hoc pro uno exemplo habeatur, ex quo appareat quanti momenti sit, christianos dialogum cum peritis in theoria oeconomica inire, ita ut solutio quaedam inveniatur quaestionis de optima forma auxilii praestandi." Ibid, 618.

<sup>203</sup> "Multa parva, uberrime licet modeste ab humilibus facta, ingentem habent exitum." Ibid, 628.

<sup>204</sup> "...et quae summus pontifex tam intime in corde habet. Talis coetus, perpetuus et summa auctoritate praeditus, quasi partes Concilii militaris ecclesiae agere posset, sub summo pontifice, ad actionem ecclesiae dirigendam in omnibus regionibus ubi opus esset." Ibid, 629.

<sup>205</sup> "Creare praesertim debet institutiones internationales effectivas, ad iustitiam pacemque praeseverandam." Ibid, 660.

racism contribute to the “individual interests that represent the greatest threat to peace.”<sup>206</sup>

### 3.11 145<sup>th</sup> Congregation, October 8, 1965

Bishop Ancel, Auxiliary of Lyon, France both affirmed the need for nations to renounce any resort to war as well as the need for a supranational body to enforce this consensus.<sup>207</sup> Some might say that the Church’s teaching is powerless in this regard. The Church’s role is to bear witness to the truth according to the example of Christ.<sup>208</sup>

Bishop L. Faveri of Tivoli spoke in the name of seventy Italian bishops and called for a reinvigoration within the Church of its charitable nature, eschewing any notion that the whole purpose of the Council was to deal with the world’s most urgent problems:

For the rest, if for a while we might have doubted that it would be opportune to state that the exercise of charity is the fulcrum of this Ecumenical Council, the allocution of the Supreme Pontiff, Paul VI, at the beginning of this session dispelled all doubt.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> “Periculum maximum quod diebus nostris paci imminet, est potentia utilitatum sectionalium,” *ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> “Haec renuntiatio non potest fieri, nisi simul constituatur auctoritas supranationalis suprema cum potestate suo muneri proportionata.” *Ibid.*, 720.

<sup>208</sup> “Impugnamur quasi inefficax esset nostra doctrina. Quamnam autem exspectat mundus a nobis efficacitatem? Neque opibus, neque armis, neque etiam actione sic dicta psychologica uti possumus. Unum tantum possumus, scil. personam Christi agentes, testimonium perhibere veritati.” *Ibid.*, 721-2.

<sup>209</sup> “Ceterum si parum ambigere poteramus de opportunitate statuendi tamquam centrum huius Oecumenici Concilii caritatis exercitium, allocutio ipsius Summi Pontificis Pauli VI, quando haec Sessio incoepa est, omne dubium certo distulit.” *Ibid.*, 726.

In concluding the debate on the schema, Bishop Boillon of Verdun, France, recalled the reality of war. Evoking the memory of the bloody battle between German and French soldiers that took place in his own diocese in 1916, Boillon reminded the Council that notwithstanding the distinctions made in the schema on the justification of conflict, over 1.3 million people were killed with conventional weapons during the Great War.

Huge wars that take place between Western nations that call themselves Christian sets up an obstacle to the acceptance of the Gospel among those who have ignored Christ.<sup>210</sup>

What is needed is a massive public mobilization and education program – in a spirit of humility and poverty – at the international level. The bishop drew the Council’s attention to the actions of twenty women who had been fasting in one of Rome’s religious houses for ten days. They were keeping vigil and praying that the Lord would inspire the Council Fathers with the Gospel solutions that the world was seeking.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> “[I]mmania bella quae occidentales quae christianarum nomine in mundo vocatur nationes inter se gesserunt, maximum Evangelio accipiundo obstaculum opposuerunt apud illas gentes quae Christum ignorant.” Ibid, 733.

<sup>211</sup> “Elles ont jeûné et prié pendant ces dix jours, retirées dans une maison religieuse, suppliant le Seigneur d’inspirer aux Pères Conciliaires les solutions évangéliques que le Monde attend. Dixi. Gratias.” Ibid, 734.

### 3.12 **Conclusio Disceptationis**<sup>212</sup>

Bishop Garrone once again addressed the Council on behalf of the Mixed Commission at the end of debate on the revised schema. He accepted the critique made that there needed to be a more apparent connection between Part I and Part II.<sup>213</sup> The Mixed Commission would need to examine in greater depth the section on socio-economic life, he said, taking the entire body of observations as a whole.<sup>214</sup>

### 3.13 **The *Relatio* of Fr. Tromp**<sup>215</sup>

During the final session of the Council, the Mixed Commission received reports from the ten sub commissions formed to analyze and recommend changes to the text based on the debate in the aula as well as written submissions. The discussion that took place within the full commission is revealing for the way in which traditional concepts of charity were discussed in light of more recent discussion of social justice and of the Church's responsibility to bring forth the Kingdom of God. The debate between the members of the Commission – many of whom spoke at length during the Council – is worth a closer examination.

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<sup>212</sup> “Conclusio disceptationis schematis *de Ecclesia in mundo huius temporis*,” *ibid*, 735-8.

<sup>213</sup> “Animadversum est generatim, et quidem recte, nexum inter hanc secundum partem et priorem, in qua tamen fundatur, vix apparere.” *Ibid*, 738.

<sup>214</sup> “Alia autem considerata sunt et multis censuris affecta, saepe quidem in sensus e regione appositos, ut videre est in re oeconomici-sociali.” *Ibid*.

<sup>215</sup> See *supra*.

According to historian Peter Hünemann, the intense revision that took place during this period produced a text that 1) more carefully defined key concepts such as *world* and *signs of the times*; 2) produced a more accurate description of the problems raised by the present situation; and 3) led to a more forceful theological reflection on the various problems. In addition, the discussion led to a more robust grounding of the concepts of human dignity, social justice and basic human rights not only philosophically but theologically.<sup>216</sup>

On the question of ownership of goods, for example, Archbishop Moralejo noted that the common good precedes any claim to private property. Bishop McGrath supports this with reference to St. Thomas, noting that the correct use of goods should be seen according to their communal over private use.<sup>217</sup> The request by Bishop Fernandes to insert the recommendation for a post-conciliar subcommission on the section on the economy (n. 84) reflects discussion of the Church's role in the social realm. While Norris claimed that the Church plays a secondary and not primary role in the social mission, other discussants framed the question according to the image of the Church as servant.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> *History*, V, 397.

<sup>217</sup>“Moralejo notat comunitatem bonorum praecedere possessioni privatae ... McGrath rogat ut redeatur ad dicta S. Thomam II-II q. 32, a.5 de considerandis rebus externis *in earum usu* non ut proprio sed ut communibus,” *Relatio*, 65.

<sup>218</sup> “Loquitur laicus Dom. Norris, qui exponit Ecclesiam reapse habere missionem socialem, non tamen primariam sed secundariam ... Fernandez optat ut pag. 3 lin. 9-12 introducatur idea *servitii*,” *ibid*, 43-44.

The Church's role is not merely in the religious realm, Monsignor Philips noted, but has a role in the social, economic and political realm.<sup>219</sup>

What becomes clear in the discussion is how the Mixed Commission was seeking an expanded role for the Church in social matters according to the demands of not just charity as traditionally conceived. The Church's intervention flows from a more comprehensive understanding of social justice itself. Also of interest is the decision not to insert the post conciliar organism in the context of the economy in Chapter III *in hoc loco*. Instead, the new organism is located in the section on the part to be played by Christians in international institutions. This affords the new organism the right to perform an animating role among nations within international institutions. Charity and social justice are applicable to all nations; not just the discrete area of economic activity.<sup>220</sup>

As Hünermann noted, "in such passages the Council has moved beyond the previous way of grounding the social teaching of the Church through appeal to the natural law."<sup>221</sup> The edited text presents a Church that promotes just action on the fundamental principles about humanity and human order rather than an obligation to perform charitable work. Concepts from St. Thomas and the experience of the Church in Latin

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<sup>219</sup> "Finem Ecclesiae esse mere religiosum, sed ex hoc fine proflui ut etiam in ordinem sociale, oeconomicum politicum influxum exercent." Ibid. 44.

<sup>220</sup> See the request of Bishop Fernandez highlighted above.

<sup>221</sup> *History*, *ibid*.

America serving the poor through programs and through advocacy combine to form a new understanding of the Church's responsibility for bringing forth the *Regnum Christi*.

### **3.14 Summary Observations**

The opening debate on the Council's response to poverty constituted the first major airing of a topic that was long awaited by the Council. At the same time, the overlapping and, at times, repetitive nature of the discussion represented a true moment of growth in Church teaching in this area. Apart from the commitment to change the reality, the Council's methodology operated on two broad levels. First was a desire to bring to the fore the reality of suffering before them. Second, the Council employed existing concepts, such as the natural and supernatural realms to explain why the Church was called to engage worldly realities. Lastly, the debate surfaced several theological concepts to guide the Church's activity in the world.

We can detect three movements in the development of the idea of a concrete organism in the debate. First, the Council planted the notion of Christian charity as the guiding virtue of all action of the Church and its members in favor of the needy. Under further discussion, this idea incorporated the concept of social justice that attempted to explore and explain the Church's role in dealing with structural barriers to equality and harmony among all peoples. A third concept can be detected in the notion of integral human development. Under these three nodes, the Council's commitment to the poor drew upon traditional concepts while expanding its horizon according to contemporary

insights into socio-economic development. Created in the image of God, the human person is situated at the heart of the development process, one that reaches all levels of human well-being as well as all levels of national and international civic organization in service of such development.

#### **4     *Theories on Human Development in Discussions about Justpax***

The energy with which many Council participants viewed the condition of poverty and hunger explains both the determination by the Council to address the world wide problem and the pertinence of such action for the Church's developing notion of its relationship with the world. At the same time, discussion of the Church's role in fighting poverty would serve as a platform to highlight the Council's teaching on the Church, recently codified in *Lumen gentium*, as well as the emerging consensus on the apostolate of the laity and ecumenical collaboration that would find their expression in *Apostolicam actuositatem*.<sup>222</sup>

In this section, we will offer some background to the expertise present among the *conspiratori* in the area of development. Barbara Ward and Arthur McCormack matched the experience of James Norris and Gerald Mahon in both their world-wide experience

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<sup>222</sup> For a comprehensive bibliography of the state of development studies as they intersected with theology and philosophy in the post-war period see *Towards a Theology of Development: An Annotated Bibliography* compiled by Fr. Gerhard Bauer, (Geneva: Sodepax, 1969).

and their access to public policy discussion about the problems of under-development. Joseph Gremillion had been writing and advocating on social justice issues since his days in the segregated southern United States.<sup>223</sup> Standing somewhat apart from this group in both background and experience, Fr. Lebreton shared many of the goals of the *conspiratori* and his work was well known by them. Both in terms of his intellectual heritage and his originality regarding the unity of Church teaching and the social sciences, Lebreton was a vital link between post-war European reconstruction and the new atmosphere of development surrounding the Council's debate on the Church's role in the world. Given their significant contribution to the overall effort, we will examine Fr. Lebreton's contribution to the theoretical underpinnings of *Justpax*. Following this, we will look at the work of Ward and McCormack as representative of their approach to the Church's efforts to combat hunger and poverty.

#### 4.1 Louis-Joseph Lebreton, O.P.

The life and work of Dominican Fr. Lebreton is too extensive to treat comprehensively in this dissertation.<sup>224</sup> However, his part in providing intellectual ballast to the idea of a new organism was a constant during and after the Council. As a confidant

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<sup>223</sup> Monsignor Joseph Gremillion, *Journal of a Southern Pastor*, (Chicago: Fides Publishers Association, 1957).

<sup>224</sup> Lydie Garreau, *Louis-Joseph Lebreton, 1897-1966: un homme traqué*. (Villeurbanne: Golias, 1997); H.A.R., "Timely Tracts: French Catholic Thinking," *Orate Fratres* 24/4 (1947): 168-175.

to Paul VI himself<sup>225</sup> with frequent interaction with the *cospiratori*, Lebrete's ideas were a part of the intellectual context out of which *Justpax* emerged.

As a long-time advisor to the French Bishops, Lebrete founded the social analysis center, *Economie et Humanisme* in Marseilles in 1941, which led efforts among Church and society in France to unite the advances made in the social sciences with Church teaching on development. Reflection on the Church's relationship to the world, especially in light of two world wars, gave momentum to France's emerging priest-worker movement that sought to concretize the desire to bridge Church and society in responding to the most basic of human needs.<sup>226</sup> This openness towards the world found a theological articulation under the category of *missiology* that characterized the work of the "Mission de Paris" after the Second World War. The contribution of French theologians such as Lebrete and the insights that Yves Congar, O.P. would bring to the Pastoral Constitution have as their context a Europe still recovering from war and its dislocation, seeking in many ways for a meaningful contribution to justice and peace from the Church itself.

With roots in the world economic crisis of the 1930s that devastated the Breton fishing villages where he worked and ministered, Lebrete's insight from the perspective of

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<sup>225</sup> Pelletier dates the "alliance" between Lebrete and Paul VI to their first meeting in March 1953, when the Pope was still a priest. They discussed the situation of the Church in Brazil and the rise of the African cults in Latin America, *Pelletier*, 374. Their relationship would develop such that Montini would seek out Lebrete's counsel on major Council documents such as the text on the laity as well as repeated requests for reactions to schema XVII. Paul VI made Lebrete an official peritus of the Council in February 1965, *Pelletier*, 403.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

a pastor and social scientist was that the moral content of the Church's preaching – at all levels of Church life – is insufficient in bringing about the changes to the economy that will promote development in all its aspects. The Church needed to complement its moral exhortation with rigorous and methodological analysis that was in dialogue with the social sciences:

You have seen the complexity of the socio-economic problem in our maritime industry and with our fishing; at each stage in our analysis, we have stated that disorders had moral reasons. But this theme would never be resolved if we wish to blame the economic problem on individual morality. In our society, social morality is first of all a structural issue.<sup>227</sup>

Lebret rejected the class struggle analysis at the heart of the Marxist critique of capitalism. At the same time, he critiqued a narrow understanding of development according to the capitalist model that examined economic growth as the prime indicator of social progress. In its place, Lebret offered the notion of “integral human development,” a concept that framed *Populorum progressio* itself.

Professor Denis Goulet has distinguished Lebret's writing from other trends in development thinking among two distinct groups: developmental economists and

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<sup>227</sup> “Vous avez vu la complexité du problème économique et social dans nos marines de commerce et dans nos pêches; à chaque étape de notre analyse, nous avons constaté que les désordres avaient des raisons morales. Mais ceci ne serait qu'un thème rebattu si nous voulions ramener le problème économique à la morale individuelle. En notre société, la morale sociale est d'abord structurale.” *Collectif, Anticipations Corporatif*, (Paris, Editions Desclées de Brouwer, 1937): 230.

theologians.<sup>228</sup> For Goulet, most development experts prescribed solutions to global poverty according to self-described “value-neutral” matrices. However, they failed to “systematically define the symbolic and institutional requirements of a good life or the just society excluding domination and exploitation in a world of convulsive technological changes.”<sup>229</sup> Goulet called such approaches “quasi-ethical” since they attempt to add an extraneous moral vision to what remains an economic or social scientific model of analysis.

A different but similarly flawed approach can be found among those offering a “theological reflection on underdevelopment, liberation and foreign aid as these affect mission enterprises in the Third World.”<sup>230</sup> Among these, Goulet cited theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez and Archbishop Dom Hélder Câmara. Goulet’s critique of Gutiérrez and Câmara appears generalized and truncated as a consequence. However, Goulet talked as one – like Lebret – attempting to straddle the breach between the social-sciences and theological reflection. His analysis was abbreviated, but it challenged anything less than a comprehensive and humble acknowledgement of the need for an inter-disciplinary approach to the effort to implement the consequences of the Church’s teaching for the modern world.

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<sup>228</sup> Denis Goulet, *A New Moral Order: Studies in Development Ethics and Liberation Theology*, (New York: Orbis, 1974), 4-6, hereafter *Goulet*.

<sup>229</sup> *Goulet*, 3.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid*, 4.

What Lebret achieves, Goulet argued, is an analysis that links economic science and moral philosophy in a way that brings technical expertise in prevailing economic activity and rigorous ethical critique. Lebret's uniqueness was his uncompromising synthesis of science and ethics. Underdevelopment, for Lebret, was a "symptom of a worldwide crisis in human values."<sup>231</sup> Merely tinkering with economic systems to make them more efficient without examining the community's spiritual and cultural values, with the exigencies of solidarity with others was itself an abandonment of the ethical dimension of human community. In 1959, Lebret wrote: "The problem of distribution of goods is secondary compared to the problems of preparing men to receive them."<sup>232</sup>

As important as the substance of Lebret's insights into the prevailing state of under-development and its causes was the methodology used. Lebret's methodology had several goals. Through this hermeneutical key, Lebret was attempting to plan a humanism that was open to the world in order to offer a channel that would lead to an encounter with non-Christian thinkers. Having established such a pathway, he thought, the Council would have an avenue for dialogue with specialists in eastern religions, for example, in an authentic search for God. This openness would also lead to a greater appreciation within Church circles of the human sciences.

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<sup>231</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>232</sup> Louis-Joseph Lebret, O.P., *Manifeste pour une Civilisation Solidaire* (Calurie: Éditions Économie et Humanisme, 1959) 49; also *The Last Revolution: The Destiny of over- and Under-developed Nations*, (Dublin: Gill, 1965).

Lebret's expertise garnered world-wide acclaim and he was asked to serve as consultant to several governments in Latin America and Africa on economic policy. Despite this work and his many commitments in propagating his teaching on *Economie et Humanisme*, it was the Council that offered Lebret the forum to articulate his life's work and to engage the Church at the highest and most diffuse levels in the challenges faced by the world's poor. His influence would be felt in the Council's deliberations through *Memoranda*, speeches and workshops for Council participants who met frequently in the various Roman seminaries and colleges.

More than an activist, Lebret's writing and public speaking influenced many Council members. Lebret was received by Paul VI in September 1963, just before the second session, and was asked by the Pope to develop a commentary on what was then schema XVII, which he did.<sup>233</sup> In 23 pages, Lebret offered his general overview of the document in the first part and then presented a section-by-section analysis of the entire schema. Overall he reached the point of dismissing the theology of "man as the image of God" present in the schema and proposed – in light of four citations from the Letter to the Ephesians – a Christocentric vision which would allow for an accent on the participation of human beings in the on-going creation of the world. This was at the heart of his understanding of Christian humanism.

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<sup>233</sup> See *supra*, Louis-Joseph Lebret, *Note demandé par Sa Sainteté Paul VI (audience du 25 septembre 1963)*.

Between this paper and his influence among the French hierarchy and others that he had come to know during his many visits to Rome, Lebreton had a significant presence in the first groping towards the new schema on the Church and the world. On September 30, 1963, Monsignor Felici, Secretary to the Council, announced the addition of several experts among which was Fr. Lebreton. Only in February 1964 did Paul VI communicate through Secretary of State Cicognani, Lebreton's nomination as Council *peritus*.

The connection between Lebreton and Paul VI cannot be simply explained in terms of their acquaintance from the 1950s. Instead it represents a meeting of like-minded people. Paul VI had a new inflection on the Church's openness to the world exhibited by the travels he undertook early in his pontificate. According to Cardinal Poupard, *Populorum progressio* began to take shape as early as 1963 and was buttressed by a "thick dossier" that Paul VI kept updating on the question of development.<sup>234</sup> More often, his notes force themselves to take the merely technical and to place them within a theological perspective that might then orient schema XIII.<sup>235</sup>

Between March and June 1964, Lebreton attended the first meeting of the United Nations Committee on Trade and Development. Lebreton was the spokesperson and

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<sup>234</sup> Paul Poupard "Le père Lebreton, le pape Paul VI et l'encyclique *Populorum progressio*, vingt ans après," *Istituto Paolo VI. Notiziario*, 14, May 1987, 71-84.

<sup>235</sup> *Pelletier*, 417.

Monsignor Giovannetti was the head of delegation for the Holy See.<sup>236</sup> He mobilized the French speaking Africans as well as others who came to know that Lebreton was one of the few who could speak with eloquence about the technical nature of global poverty. A year later, in the throes of the cancer that would take his earthly life, Lebreton would summarize his proposal in the final book published before his death in 1966, just weeks after the *ad hoc* meeting on Paragraph 90:

There are many reasons for the reluctance of the more advanced and consequently richer peoples to take an objective view of the world situation. The main reason is a certain kind of greed, that is, an immoderate love of possessions. The former Colonial powers were often steeped in this vice, and never succeeded in freeing themselves from it. But the new major powers are possessed by the same vice in an even more virulent form. – this is seen in some way as mirrored in art 65. “For this reason, doctrines which obstruct the necessary reforms under the guise of a false liberty, and those which subordinate the basic rights of individual persons and groups to the collective organization of production must be shown to be erroneous.”<sup>237</sup>

Two months before his death, Lebreton participated in the meeting of the *ad hoc* working group on article 90. In what Barbara Ward described as a “masterly” intervention, Lebreton sought to refocus the discussion of the participants on the objectives of the new organism. Up to that point, Monsignor Glorieux and James Norris had been

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<sup>236</sup> Betty Pilkington, “Trade is People, Too,” *The Christian Century*, 610-11.

<sup>237</sup> Louis-Joseph Lebreton, *The Last Revolution*, (N.Y.: Sheed and Ward, 1965) 135. Also *Gaudium et spes* 65: “Quare erroris arguendae sunt, tam doctrinae quae specie falsae libertatis reformationibus necessariis obstant, quam illae quae iura fundamentalia personarum singularum et coetuum organizationi productionis collectivae postponunt.”

tussling over the jurisdiction for article 90 and the right role of the *Concilium de laicis* in its implementation. Lebret cut through the politicking, reminding the group that structures should flow from the objectives of the organism. Ward recalled Lebret's intervention:

But my most vivid memories were of the agonizing patience and undimmed courage of the dying man, Père Lebret. This was moving beyond words, because he was in such pain, and sleeping not at all, and one felt one was in the presence of such living, faithful courage, that it was a benediction, but a painful benediction.<sup>238</sup>

Lebret stressed repeatedly the need for the Church to play a role in the promotion of an “ethics of development and a new international law to replace the old one, which was largely based on the relationship of a colonial period.”<sup>239</sup> Ward agreed with Lebret on the need for an “ethics of development,” saying “solidarity of the human race should be the guiding force of the new diplomacy.”<sup>240</sup> Lebret's contribution was both personal and principled. A lifetime of service has earned him respect that would grant him access to the inner core of the Church's process of formulating its teaching in the modern world. His ideas would transcend his personal presence and become solidified in the *magna carta* of *Justpax: Populorum progressio*.

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<sup>238</sup> Sr. Mary Evelyn Jegen, SSND, *Interview of Barbara Ward*, NC-UNDA.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*, 4.

## 4.2 Arthur McCormack, M.H.M.

Mill Hill Missionary and British economist and demographer, Fr. Arthur McCormack had been personal theologian to the Superior General of the Mill Hill Fathers, Fr. Mahon. With an academic background, McCormack had spent his professional life mixing academic study with policy debates and attempting to synthesize both within the context of the Church's teaching. McCormack was the principal drafter and coordinator of the series of interventions during the Council's third session on the theme of poverty. He had written commentaries on the schema's treatment of the theme, particular no. 24 of Chapter 4 that was subject to discussion in the *aula* in September 1964.<sup>241</sup> Around that time, McCormack addressed a gathering of the German bishops on the theme of "Christian Responsibility and World Poverty."<sup>242</sup>

McCormack introduced the topic by citing the facts: the divide between the *Haves* and *Have-nots*, lack of access to medical service or decent education and where 1.5 billion people live in extreme poverty. The tragic reality of poverty was not new, he said, nor was it caused by the population increase as some experts had claimed:

What is new, as [Indian Prime Minister] Mr. Nehru has said, is not poverty and misery. The new thing is that people are now aware of their plight, and of the affluence of others, and are determined to correct the situation. Since the end of World War II, there has been an awakening of the poorer half of the world of such magnitude as to justify Adlai Stevenson's phrase

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<sup>241</sup> Arthur McCormack, MHM, *Notes on Schema 13. Chapter 4, 24. World Poverty*, Norris-CUA.

<sup>242</sup> Arthur McCormack, MHM, *Christian Responsibility and World Poverty*, Norris-CUA.

“the revolution of rising expectations.” They have not done so in order to starve, but to win for themselves lives free from the degradation of poverty and worthy of their dignity as human beings.<sup>243</sup>

Following the ideas presented in the *Memorandum* distributed before the Third Session, McCormack called for an education campaign. Unless they know about the problem, people will not be moved to do anything about it. “In this sphere knowledge generates generosity.”<sup>244</sup> Knowledge would lead to an awakening which would, in turn, translate itself into action for change.

Having stated the traditional notion of Christian charity - sharing one’s resources with the needy – McCormack appeals to the German bishops to go beyond this notion in favor of one that deals with unjust structures. He told the German bishops that the technical expertise is available to end extreme poverty and hunger for good. What is lacking in making this happen is a “sense of urgency, a sense of optimism, a conviction that we can and must do it.”<sup>245</sup> As the Church had lost the proletariat after Vatican I for not addressing their plight, today there are “proletariat nations” that the Church will lose unless she develops “international social justice.”<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

Appealing to his audience, McCormack noted a lone exception to the indifference displayed by Vatican I in the person of German Archbishop von Ketteler of Mainz. He called on his audience telling them that any effort by them to “mobilize the moral force of the Catholic Church” to fight this scandal of the age would have missionary consequences among non-Christians as well as all men of good will. Besides fulfilling the command to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, the bishops would be availing themselves of a useful strategy in spreading the good news. McCormack listed what was required: a type of ecclesial war cabinet to coordinate these efforts; a special poverty day to highlight the problem; better use of missionary religious personnel in fostering development through the use of Church aid.

McCormack was careful in his scholarship and his analysis. However, he worked from the premise that moral outrage would mobilize people to action, to a great degree, and it was this organizing principles that the Church with her many structures could put at the service of development. His thinking was firmly planted within contemporary discussions of population studies, opinions that would skirt the limits of what could be consonant with Church teaching.

#### **4.3 Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson)**

Taught by nuns in the south of England, Ward spent her late teens at a finishing school in Europe learning French and German before heading to Oxford University where she graduated with the highest honors. As a journalist for the *Economist* magazine

and author of several seminal works,<sup>247</sup> Ward concentrated on international reporting while quickly becoming part of the London intellectual establishment. A popular radio guest, she lectured extensively in the United States and Europe dealing “brilliantly with the problems that beset the world in her lifetime.”<sup>248</sup> Before the war, Ward was commissioned to broadcast across Europe – frequently in great personal danger – in “missions” designed to counteract Nazi propaganda. Ward was combative in argumentation and sharp in discussion, tools that she used after joining the British lay movement, *Sword of the Spirit*. After marrying Robert Jackson in 1950, Ward traveled with him in various posts, spending fifteen years in Africa.

During this time, Ward continued to travel widely and lecture on the problems of underdevelopment in Africa. So well known was she, she received offers of fellowships at Harvard and Columbia Universities. Of the three people under consideration, Ward was unsurprisingly the most worldly. Given her husband’s job working for the United Nations, Ward moved freely in international circles where the problems of poverty and conflict were regularly up-dated. As a close adviser to U.N. Secretary General, U Thant,

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<sup>247</sup> Barabara Ward, *The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations*, (New York: Norton, 1962); *Faith and Freedom*. (New York: Norton, 1954); *The West at Bay*, (New York: Norton, 1948); *Spaceship Earth*, The George B. Pegram lectures, no. 6, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); *Progress for a Small Planet*, (New York: Norton, 1979).

<sup>248</sup> Vincent J. Horkan, “Carrying Catholicism with Quiet Confidence: Barbara Ward, Not to be Forgotten,” *New Oxford Review*, Vol. 60, 10, December 1993.

Ward would play a pivotal role in the relationship that would blossom between U Thant and Paul VI.

Ward was a nuanced thinker and had come to see that the development needs of the poorest nations went far beyond aid programs. From her many years living in Africa, she knew first hand how *progress* in basic social indicators such as literacy, nutrition and child mortality could be useful measures of development only when considered against the cultural and moral well-being of a given community. In *The West at Bay*, Ward analyzed the Marshall Plan and the problems confronting the West in the middle of the nineteenth century, declaring that the problems facing the West were ultimately moral in nature:

The first foundation of Western freedom is one that has been the support of every great civilization until our day – of Chinese and Indian, of Egyptian and Roman – the belief that underlying that ebb and flow of historical events and human happenings there exists a moral order of right and wrong, and good and evil, which transcends every particular interest and which, far from being created by man and events, is the yardstick by which they are judged. The justice of laws [is] judged by it, as well as the goodness and rightness of men's actions; and it is precisely because it is beyond the reach of human interests and cravings that it is the guarantee of an objective system of law and, at the same time, of the rights of individual men and women.<sup>249</sup>

Her optimism and enthusiasm for action was no palliative in the face of suffering or the difficulties in addressing such suffering. Her faith offered an overall vision for both

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<sup>249</sup> *The West at Bay*, 273

the reason and goal of all development. She approached the challenges of under-development as a moral question that carried with it economic solutions. Trained in economics more than theology, Ward had a different formation than Lebret and McCormack. Her scientific analysis was paramount in her presentation of the problem and potential solutions: her faith was what made sense of it all. Her Catholicism was a “quiet confidence. It was not the ‘fortress Catholicism’ of some of her predecessors in English letters (Chesterton and Belloc).”<sup>250</sup>

In a lengthy (undated) memorandum that must have been drafted sometime after the publication of *Populorum progressio* but early in the life of *Justpax*, Ward blended her own theoretical framework with the Church’s most recent teaching.<sup>251</sup> In summary, she saw the challenge from the Council assigned to the new Commission as to “divinize the planetization of human society.” The document has four sections, with the longest being the last and sub-divided into five parts.<sup>252</sup> The briefest sub-section by far is “II. Working Group on Theology of Development:”

Clearly some of the action to be taken above, particularly in education in seminaries, must be coordinated closely with the work of this group. One would like to see associated with its biblical theologians – with particular

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid. 10.

<sup>251</sup> Barbara Ward, “Notes on a Possible Strategy for the Commission,” March-April 1967, BW-GUA cited in *Kupke*, 362.

<sup>252</sup> I. Working Group on Development; II. Working Group on Theology of Development; III. Missions in Development; IV. Conditions in Developing Countries; V. Working Group on Peace and International Organizations.

emphasis on prophecy – and also priests connected with the missions. Here a theology of development would be of special importance in reconciling a new emphasis on the “corporal works of mercy” – feeding, building up the farms, technical training – with a more strict interpretation of evangelization. This aspect, of course, overlaps the work of the Working Group on the Missions in Development.<sup>253</sup>

Ward noted the complexity of translating the Church’s general principles into action, and admitted to being more of a strategist than a theoretician:

We then have to bring a specifically Christian contribution – our faith that God acts in our unfolding history, our hope that the vision of building a better human order is not in vain, our charity expressed in our commitment to action. However, all these are statements of high abstraction. How do they fit into the concrete work of the Commission and of its constituent working groups?<sup>254</sup>

#### **4.4 Lebre, McCormack and Ward and the Council**

An illuminating example of the contribution of Lebre, McCormack and Ward is seen in the proposals distributed to the Council participants before the final two sessions. Ward was principally responsible for the written output of the *conspiratori*. It was she who first advised Cardinal Suenens on the need for the Council to combat poverty and had drafted the foundational document that armed the *conspiratori* with their plan of action before the Third Session. McCormack helped re-write the document for distribution before the Fourth Session. Lebre had his own channel of influence. Paul VI, through Archbishop Dell’Acqua, had requested Lebre’s views on the proposals. Indeed, the

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<sup>253</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid, 2.

proposal for a new Secretariat offers an opportunity to analyze the thinking of three key authors behind the proposal.

The 1964 memorandum highlighted current efforts by developed-country governments to alleviate poverty through their aid programs. It presented a harsh indictment of the people of the West who Ward held accountable for having “had a profound influence over the last two centuries, on the rest of the world.”<sup>255</sup> In post-colonial countries that have now been swept up into a “single modernized export sector” designed by the West and in its favor, the local communities have been ignored: “Local industry has not been encouraged, local farming (outside the export sector) has been left stagnant and local education has not been expanded or adapted to the new conditions.”<sup>256</sup>

The facts of poverty and the realization that the West is directly responsible for such poverty should prick the conscience and stimulate action. The methodology begins with an analysis of the reality of modern poverty and then offers reasons - some biblical – for action:

No command of Christianity is more explicit – or accomplished with a more direct statement of Divine rewards and punishments – than the command to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and shelter the homeless. In the past, resources have limited the scope of this command. Today this is no longer so.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Memorandum, *World Poverty and the Christian Conscience*, 1964, NC-UNDA, 1.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

The role of the Church is to educate the faithful who, as citizens, demand action of their leaders. Absent in the proposal is any recommendation that the West, for its own sake, should make changes to its own economic model. The *Memorandum* remains silent on the model of development and the lifestyle it has yielded in the West itself. The biblical passage would seem to support traditional charity – giving of one’s possessions. Yet Ward’s analysis of the problem points to the systemic causes: Western industrialization, export-led growth in developing countries, lack of endogenous growth or technology transfer from richer to poorer nations.

The revised Memorandum that was distributed before the Fourth Session<sup>258</sup> retains much of the material of the previous iteration, supporting the presentation of poverty with reference to *Mater et magistra* and Paul VI’s Radio Message for Christmas 1963. It repeats previous argumentation that highlights the role of the Christian West in dominating the poorer continents. However, it contains more theological depth as well as a religious vision for the new Secretariat. Of the educational programs to be undertaken by the Secretariat, the text encourages use of an updated social teaching as well a spiritual formation in view of more simple lifestyles:

- c) The meaning of Christian truth and social ministry in view of the new realities [new world neighborhood and interdependence arising from

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<sup>258</sup> Memorandum, *The Holy Father’s Secretariat for Promoting World Justice and Development*, September 1965, NC-UNDA.

technological change] and of the ‘mind of the Church’ updated by the Council.<sup>259</sup>

d) The relevancy of the spirit of Christian poverty in the world of today, with emphasis on “the fullness of a more excellent life” for all the human family, promised by Pope John in the opening sentence of *Mater et magistra*.

Having stated the existence of foreign aid programs, the revised *Memorandum* offers more detail on the structure of economic relations between nations that need to be informed by a social justice framework. Fr. Lebreton is named and cited specifically:

Besides aid, long-term development in Africa, Asia and Latin America are heavily affected by investment, trade and monetary policies. In 1964 the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was held ... which was addressed as follows by Fr. Louis Lebreton, O.P., delegate of the Holy See:

Our delegation (of the Holy See) takes the view that the problem is not only of trade in the strict sense, but of the entire gamut of international relations and intercourse ... only radically changed attitudes will engender a deeper and more effective altruism, and open up wider prospects for trade and commerce, toward a day when a truly interdependent civilization emerges.

This is the great revolution that the Conference must initiate, a long-term bloodless revolution, whose first phase will be marked by the resolutions and decisions here adopted.

The recommendation does not stop there:

Christian leaders were disastrously slow in grasping and realizing the concept of social justice *within the nation*. Today’s Christians, with all men of good will, must lead their affluent societies in

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid, IV, 1, c, 2.

grasping and implementing the new concept of *international social justice*.<sup>260</sup>

Lebret's notion of intellectual missions, described in a *Note* he wrote to Paul VI in 1963 in response to an early schema of the Mixed Commission is also found in the *Memorandum*, with his own IRFED mentioned as a model:

These centers and their teams of social scientists also render invaluable services to the Church as she strives to adapt the apostolates to the fast-changing societies of the developing nations. They should be expanded and multiplied, and their programs should be constantly focused on world poverty and development.<sup>261</sup>

#### 4.5 Summary Observations

Each in his or her own way, Lebret, Ward and McCormack represented different strands in the theoretical underpinnings of the new organism. Beneath the idea of a dedicated organism that would engage not in operational assistance but in “educational, inspirational and moral force and influence, to bring about world justice and development for the conquest of world poverty,”<sup>262</sup> lay a vision of integral human development. Two elements emerge from this proposal: a strategy that would involve educating and organizing Catholics for action at an international level that would result in *Justpax* and, second, a model of development that surpassed traditional notions of wealth-sharing and encompassed a “new moral order” that would entail radical shifts in the current balance

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid, IV, 3, 4.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid, IV, 4, 5.I

<sup>262</sup> Ibid, III.

of economic power. This second goal was achieved in the encyclical letter *Populorum progressio*.

In addition to a *modus procedendi*, there was need of a comprehensive vision of what development entailed; especially one founded on the vision of the Christian message. Lebreton had been working on this all his life and had come to summarize such a vision in the concept of “integral human development,” one that had found echo in the Council interventions regarding the need to move beyond a materialistic conception of development focused largely on economic growth. The Church’s view encompassed the human person in all dimensions: cultural, spiritual, educational, physical, psychological as well as noting the primacy of the person-in-community. The threads of this new iteration of the fullness of human potential could be found in *Gaudium et spes* and its understanding of the Christian vocation based on the new life established in Christ. *Populorum progressio* would offer a more comprehensive vision of human fulfillment; one that *Iustpax* would use as its cornerstone.

A key distinction can be discerned between Ward and McCormack on one side and Lebreton on the other. Ward – not unsurprisingly – saw the Church as undulating between all sectors in society, seeking justice according to the Gospel. Her task could be described as Promethean; stealing the knowledge of wealth creation and privilege and giving it to the poor and vulnerable – the mortals. To describe this approach unkindly perhaps, the *cospiratori* exhibited patrician traits. Their power lay in their access to the

power-brokers, laying bare the levers of power and urging action in behalf of the poor.

As Norris, working off of Ward's draft proposed clearly to the Council itself:

It will be possible to eliminate poverty in the world if, in each wealthy country, many men and women with both dedication and a spirit of charity, begin to consider the problem of world poverty as one of the more serious problems of today's world. It requires that they continue to press steadily and to urge the formation of public policies that will provide assistance and more equitable international trade policies.<sup>263</sup>

There is no mention here of the constitutive nature of self-promotion by the poorer nations. The "poor" were the objects of the activity of the wealthy, with whom the *cospiratori* clearly identified. The "poor" were very much seen as "them" and not us.

There was little conscious condescension in this, however, as the intentions of the *cospiratori* were compassionate and selfless: "It is charity that is the bond of perfection; it is the by love that the Christian is to be known."<sup>264</sup> However, what the Church lacked in earthly power they could accumulate through raw lobbying by the masses – packaged neatly in the less overtly political language of "forming consciences."

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<sup>263</sup> "Possibile erit paupertatem eliminare in mundo si in omni terra opulente numerosi homines et feminae cum deditione et spiritu caritatis, parati sunt estimare problema paupertatis mundialis tamquam unum ex gravissimis problematibus in mundo huius temporis. Requiritur ut continuent instare atque urgere ut rationes rei publicae gerendae adhibeantur ad auxilium dandum et ad veram aequitatem in commercio internationali realizandam." *AS* III/6, 299. Of interest is one of the edits made to Norris's final draft by Monsignor Trisco. Norris's draft that he handed to Monsignor Trisco the morning of November 5, 1964 for correction used the phrase "pressionem applicare" [applying pressure] to describe the task of Christians in wealthy countries in bringing about reasonable public policy changes. Trisco's edit changes the text to "instare atque urgere" meaning "to set up and indeed to urge." Of course, "urgere" can be translated as "to drive, beset, to push." However, the notion of applying pressure is somewhat stronger language than the notion of urging.

<sup>264</sup> Barbara Ward, *Faith and Freedom*, op.cit., 293.

Lebret's vision was different. His methodology emerged from the reality of the people themselves, seeing within that reality the tools and the wisdom to articulate and seek their own human development. If systems needed to be changed, the process to bring about such change began at the local level. The process itself – in which the people are protagonists in their own development - is a key element in the development process.

## **5     *Gaudium et spes on Human Development***

### **5.1     Human Development in the Early Part of Part I**

The task set by *Gaudium et spes* was to establish a baseline of Christian convictions that would provide the justification for and determine the approach to be taken in engaging the world for the promotion of human development. A prior step in the Pastoral Constitution was to set forth an understanding of human development in the light of revelation and of a reading of the signs of the times and then to explain how and why such development was a concern of the Church. By combining a reading of the signs of the times with resort to revelation in this way, the notion of development would need to take on a necessarily theological character, linking it to the world of the Gospel and the Church's mission.

The document's analysis of the current situation facing humankind sets forth positive and negative elements. Despite the apparently intuitive obligation to care for one's neighbor contained within the fundamental commandment to love one another, a question emerges from *Gaudium et spes* as to the true nature of progress within the world

as well as what the Church understands as development. While some may consider development summarized in the command to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, the Constitution set itself the task of proposing a vision of human existence that moves beyond the satisfaction of basic necessities such as food and shelter to encompass the reality of the modern world, where the value of “progress” is all the time checked by the complex reality of inequality, persistent underachievement and disadvantage. Indeed, the emerging notion of social justice would advance the cause of true development at a structural and global level. But first, the Pastoral Constitution offered an understanding of human development that opened up the evangelical law of love.

The urgency is highlighted by the rapid changes that humanity has undergone in terms of self-understanding and the meaning of the world that followed from the Enlightenment. Such change requires the Church to address the reality of human wellbeing within society. The Pastoral Constitution would need to address the question in what way was development – to be defined more comprehensively than basic necessities – the proper task of Christians? And how was the Church as the People of God charged with furthering such development?

In presenting its analysis, the Council recognized that the world has a history to be unfolded by humankind, and that humankind will imprint upon this world a sense of direction and purpose. This anthropological dimension represented for then Fr. Josef

Ratzinger the Constitution's "most characteristic option."<sup>265</sup> Drawing on the *relatio* that introduced the draft schema during the last two Council sessions, Ratzinger noted that the goal of the Council's "discernment of spirits is said to lead to 'fully human solutions.'"<sup>266</sup> The vision offered by the Council in the document is designed to counter a false humanism – typified in contemporary atheism – that seeks to place faith and human development in opposition. Lamenting somewhat the line of argumentation that begins with an anthropology to which a Christology is subsequently added in a way that might appear to "burden" the reader, Ratzinger recommended:

It would also have been in complete accord with making the central idea of the *Pastoral Constitution* that of *humanitas* and with its attempt to show that true *humanitas* is something that can only be achieved theologically.<sup>267</sup>

This commentary is important for the entire notion of development which, accordingly, must be seen theologically from the very analysis of humanity's origin and end. For Ratzinger, the concept of the *imago Dei* which is ambiguously present in the Old Testament finds its definition when transferred to Christ in the New Testament. In this context, an idea that originated in a theology of creation takes on an "eschatological theme, concerned less with the origin than with the future of man."<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Josef Ratzinger, "The Church and Man's Calling," in *Vorgrimler*, 118.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid, 121.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

The person's ultimate goal – *ad finem suam ultimum*<sup>269</sup> – is unity with God and the removal of sin. Christ as the new Adam reveals one aspect of man's spiritual dimension. The form for this transformation towards one's ultimate goal, therefore, is Christological. Through the incarnation, therefore, the Word who is Christ becomes the new – *novissimus* – and “final Adam.”<sup>270</sup> What exists at the level of being i.e. the *assumptio hominus* is extended to the real plane of actual human existence. Chapter I concludes by elevating the great “mystery of man” now seen in its proper light: the light of faith. Apart from God, existence is empty of meaning and “suffering overwhelms us.”<sup>271</sup> The search for God, on the other hand, is action in the world mindful of a desire for unity with God and under his divine influence – the *influxus gratiae*.

The need to reorient modern moves towards development is made clear. Misguided direction will distort God's plan of salvation carried out in time. The motor of salvation history is the person's “total vocation” to follow where the Spirit of the Lord leads.<sup>272</sup> Humanity is guided by faith along this path “and directs the mind to solutions which are fully human.”<sup>273</sup> Words uninspired by faith will fall short of their ultimate purpose. For *Gaudium et spes* there is no description of the human without a spiritual

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<sup>269</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 13.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>271</sup> “Extra Eius Evangelium nos obruit.” Ibid.

<sup>272</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 11.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

perspective and that Christ and the Spirit show us how this fully spiritual person/community realizes its inbuilt finality in the course of history.

The Constitution welcomes the new experiences that have prompted scientific advances and a new perspective on creation and man's origin. Open to misinterpretation, the Council sought to clarify what is salvific in these new experiences so that modern life would not go astray. For Edward Schillebeeckx, the connection between these new experiences and God's salvific plan renders the very notion of "development" a theological statement:

It [the Constitution] does not register any protest against this new view of man and the world. On the contrary, in light of revelation through the Word, it wants to make clear that what is new in human experience is itself a salvational event whose meaning can be brought to light by the revealing Word. Nevertheless, this vision is implicit in the whole Constitution, and it comes clearly to the fore when ... the Constitution says: "The Spirit of God ... assists with this development."<sup>274</sup>

The text points to the dynamic of sin that ails humankind in responding to its vocation and presents the role of the Church in providing a way for the up-building of contemporary society. The Constitution affirms the syntony between human fulfillment and the action of the Church: "The mission of the Church will show its religious, and by that very fact, its supremely human character."<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Edward Schillebeeckx, "Christian Faith and the Future of the World," in *Church Today* (N.Y.: Newman Press, 1967) 63.

<sup>275</sup> "Ecclesia missio religiosam et ex hoc ipso summe humanum se exhibeat," *Gaudium et spes* 11.

The Constitution presents in some detail the modern challenge posed by atheism, seeing it as a lack of the vital link with God. For this reason, atheism is “one of the most serious problems of this age”<sup>276</sup> and is perhaps the most serious threat to the true path of development. More than a personal phenomenon, atheism takes on a systemic expression through its connection with the “desires of human independence to such a point that it poses difficulties against any kind of dependence on God.”<sup>277</sup> A cause of this breach between God and humankind is especially – *praesertim* – seen in a “false belief in social and economic emancipation.”<sup>278</sup> Alienation from God stems from a dualistic view that separates religion and human liberation. On the contrary, religious belief is “in no way hostile to man’s dignity, since the dignity is rooted and perfected in God.”<sup>279</sup> Connecting religious belief and dignity is the virtue of “hope related to the end of time.”<sup>280</sup> Indeed, “... it teaches moreover that eschatological hope does not take away from the importance of terrestrial duties.”<sup>281</sup> Here we have a contextualized explanation of the link between faith and action, explaining how the “fruitfulness of faith” can be seen in the way in

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<sup>276</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 19.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>278</sup> “Eius liberatione oeconomica et sociali expectat.” *Ibid*, 20.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid*, 21.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>281</sup> “Docet praeterea per spem eschatologicam momentum munerum terrestrium non minui,” *Ibid.*

which it moves – *movendo* - the person “towards justice and love, especially regarding the needy.”<sup>282</sup>

Through this Christian anthropology, human action – when properly ordered – becomes the instrument of the *logos*. The human vocation can only be said to be attained and human fulfillment achieved in and by human activity in the world. Chapter II expands on Christian anthropology to highlight the importance of the social dimension of human existence explaining the notion of solidarity between human beings in terms of a common human nature. Emerging from this humanity are ties of true friendship within the community. As article 27 describes:

[E]veryone must consider his every neighbor without exception as another self, taking into account first of all his life and the means necessary to living it with dignity, so as not to imitate the rich man who had no concern for the poor man Lazarus.<sup>283</sup>

According to Wilhelm Weber, the obligations to treat one’s neighbor as “another self” flow from the type of fellowship occasioned by the Incarnation through which “the very Word made flesh willed to share in the human fellowship.”<sup>284</sup> Recalling the

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<sup>282</sup> “Quae fides suam fecunditatem manifestare debet, credentium integram vitam, etiam profanam, penetrando, eosque ad iustitiam et amorem, praesertim erga egentes, movendo,” *ibid*.

<sup>283</sup> “Ad practica urgentioraque consecraria descendens, Concilium reverentiam inculcat erga hominem, ita ut singuli proximum, nullo excepto, tamquam alterum seipsum considerare debeant, de eius vita et de mediis ad illam digne degendam necessariis rationem imprimis habentes, ne divitem illum imitentur, qui pauperis Lazari nullam curam egit.” *Ibid*, 27.

<sup>284</sup> *Lumen gentium*, 32.

Thomistic axiom “Homo homini naturaliter amicus,”<sup>285</sup> the type of friendship envisioned in article 27 flows from the likeness that exists between human beings.<sup>286</sup> Friendship born of natural likeness is given an ontological status through the Incarnation and is thereby modeled on the life of the divine persons:

He [Jesus] implied a certain likeness between the union of the divine Persons, and the unity of God's sons in truth and charity. This likeness reveals that man, who is the only creature on earth which God willed for itself, cannot fully find himself except through a sincere gift of himself.<sup>287</sup>

Weber explains the consequences of the analogy between the intra Trinitarian relationship and that between God and creation as well as among human beings:

Just as the intratrinitarian unity manifests itself in the mutual self giving and receiving among the Divine Persons, in so far as the Father expresses himself in the Son with whom he is equal, the similarity between this unity and the fraternal unity of the children of God reveals that man cannot find himself except through a sincere gift of himself.<sup>288</sup>

The character of human community, described in natural terms as friendship among like species and with the eyes of faith as realized fully in self-gift describes a compenetration between the human and divine at the personal level that was similar to

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<sup>285</sup> *Summa Contra Gentiles*, 3, 117; 4, 54.

<sup>286</sup> Wilhelm Weber, “La comunità degli uomini,” in Guilherme Baraúna, *La Chiesa nel Mondo di Oggi: Studi e commenti intorno alla costituzione pastorale* Gaudium et spes. (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1967) 290, note 11, hereafter *Weber*.

<sup>287</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 24.

<sup>288</sup> “Ma siccome l’unità intratrinitaria si manifesta nel mutuo donarsi e ricevere delle Persone divine, in quanto il Padre si esprime nel Figlio che Gli è uguale, la similitudine tra questa unità e l’unità fraterna dei figli di Dio rivela che l’uomo non può ritrovarsi pienamente se non attraverso il sincero dono di sé.” *Weber*, 291.

the compenetration between the heavenly and earthly cities expressed earlier. The essential nature of social life for human fulfillment penetrates the discussion of the social order. Indeed, the social dimension of human existence helps humanity respond to its destiny, even in its religious dimension – *etiam religiosam*.<sup>289</sup>

Since this social life is not something added on to man, through his dealings with others, through reciprocal duties, and through fraternal dialogue he develops all his gifts and is able to rise to his destiny.<sup>290</sup>

The Pastoral Constitution notes the “growing interdependence of men one on the other,”<sup>291</sup> and discovers in this the common human right to access what is necessary to lead a life truly human – *ad vitam vere humanam*. The text provides a summary of such necessities:

food, clothing, shelter; the right to choose a state of life freely and to found a family, the right to education, to employment, to a good reputation, to respect, to appropriate information, to activity in accord with the upright norms of one’s own conscience, to protection of privacy and rightful freedom, even in matters religious.”<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>290</sup> *Lumen gentium*, 25.

<sup>291</sup> “Mutuarum inter homines necessitudinum multiplicatio adnumeratur,” *ibid*, 23.

<sup>292</sup> “... victus, vestitus, habitatio, ius ad statum vitae libere eligendum et ad familiam condendam, ad educationem, ad laborem, ad bonam famam, ad reverentiam, ad congruam informationem, ad agendum iuxta rectam suae conscientiae normam, ad vitae privatae protectionem atque ad iustam libertatem etiam in re religiosa.” *Ibid*, 26.

Social order is to be subordinated to the demands of human dignity<sup>293</sup> and “requires constant improvement.”<sup>294</sup> Presented in this manner, human dignity, therefore, is the cardinal hinge that leads to social mission. The purpose of activity in the world – in common with others – is to structure the social order in a way that ensures all lead a life that is fully human. Failure to recognize the rights afforded to one another “remains a blot on human civilization.”<sup>295</sup>

The disturbances which so frequently occur in the social order result in part from the natural tensions of economic, political and social forms. But at a deeper level, they flow from man’s pride and selfishness, which contaminate even the social sphere. When the structure of affairs is flawed by the consequences of sin, man, already born with a bent toward evil, finds there new inducements to sin, which cannot be overcome without strenuous efforts and the assistance of grace.<sup>296</sup>

In this paragraph there is recognition of the inherent difficulties in organizing the economic, social and political order so that even with the best intentions this will always require time and effort. However, as things stand this is made the more insecure because of sin, as it affects both the human spirit and the structures themselves. Thus the double task for the Church’s mission: first, to heal the sin which infects human order and, second, to seek the light which guides the well-intentioned in fostering development.

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<sup>293</sup> “...personarum subiicienda est et non e converse,” *ibid.*

<sup>294</sup> “Ordo ille in dies evolvendus,” *ibid.*

<sup>295</sup> E. Schillebeeckx, “Christian Faith and the Future of the World,” 70.

<sup>296</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 25.

Here begins a fuller treatment of the Church's relationship to the world. Christian revelation – irradiating from the Church – is vital because it “contributes greatly to the promotion of this communion between persons.”<sup>297</sup> The Constitution avoids any notion of the mystery of salvation revealed in Christ as “an ornamental element and purely external to the world.”<sup>298</sup>

Chapter III theologizes on the nature of human activity – the *navitas humana*. Schillebeeckx characterized this chapter as “a reaction against a misconceived ‘flight from the world,’”<sup>299</sup> which explains the exhortation of any separation between faith and life.<sup>300</sup> Human activity throughout the world is given a noble character for the way in which “it accords with God’s will.”<sup>301</sup> Indeed, such activity is part of God’s saving plan, uniting in one system both creation and covenant. Presented dualistically still, the two processes – human and divine – can work in harmony, when not distorted by sin. Indeed, human progress in the contemporary situation is itself a sign of God’s greatness.

Challenging the prevailing suspicion of religion’s impact on human freedom, the Constitution identifies human activity as constitutive of human development. Eschewing a material or technical definition of development, the text proceeds from the level of

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<sup>297</sup> *Lumen gentium*, 23.

<sup>298</sup> Weber, “La comunità degli uomini,” 288.

<sup>299</sup> Schillebeeckx, “Christian Faith and the Future of the World,” 71.

<sup>300</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 43.

<sup>301</sup> “Dei proposito respondere,” *Gaudium et spes*, 34.

human existence: “Human activity, to be sure, takes its significance from its relationship to man. Just as it proceeds from man, so it is ordered toward man.”<sup>302</sup> Or as Schillebeeckx explained, “The authentic good of man – expressed in religious terms as the will of God – must be the norm for all earthly design and effort.”<sup>303</sup> As the Pastoral Constitution says:

A man is more precious for what he is than for what he has. Similarly, all that men do to attain greater justice, wider brotherhood; a more human disposition of social relationships has greater worth than technical advances. These advances can supply the material for human progress, but of themselves alone they can never actually bring it about.<sup>304</sup>

Religion guides this process and ensures that true development takes place, aiding and correcting the ordering of values. This ordering requires a constant wrestling by the person involved whose integrity can only be achieved with great effort and with “the help of God’s grace” - *Dei gratia adiuvante*.<sup>305</sup>

The struggle for universal brotherhood finds its *arche* in the historical Jesus who gives hope to those called to seek a universal brotherhood on the earth, a brotherhood modeled after the one who reveals that God is love – *Deus caritas est*.<sup>306</sup> The love that

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<sup>302</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>303</sup> Schillebeeckx, “Christian Faith and the Future of the World,” 65.

<sup>304</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 35.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid, 37.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid, 38.

humanity is called to express – *hanc caritatem* - flows from a belief in divine love - *divinae credunt caritati*. It brings suffering to those who search after peace and justice.<sup>307</sup>

Each person has a different task in forging this brotherhood according to the diverse gifts bestowed by the Spirit.<sup>308</sup> There appears a dualism between those who are called to give a clear witness - *manifestum testimonium* – for a heavenly home and those called to the earthly service of men - *terreno hominum servitio*. While distinct, they both present ways of rendering humanity an offering acceptable to God.<sup>309</sup> The Constitution defines the contribution of each gift in terms of its sacramental character for its capacity of transforming human existence “where natural elements refined by man are gloriously changed into His Body and Blood, providing a meal of brotherly solidarity and a foretaste of the heavenly banquet.”<sup>310</sup>

However, one of the constant dangers in this process is the jumbling of values and order - *ordine enim valorum turbato et malo cum bono permixto*.<sup>311</sup> Examples of this jumbling are presented in the Constitution’s analysis, most extensively in its treatment of the problem of atheism. The need for a constant reordering and an ‘unjumbling’ of values

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>308</sup> “Diversa autem sunt Spiritus dona,” *ibid.*

<sup>309</sup> “Oblatio accepta Deo,” *ibid.*

<sup>310</sup> “...in quo naturae elementa, ab hominibus exculta, in Corpus et Sanguinem gloriosum convertuntur, coena communionis fraternae et caelestis convivii praelibatione.” *Ibid.*

<sup>311</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 37.

points to the redemptive power of the cross which assumes the world in all its sinfulness. Action in the world must be redeemed by this cross as this cross redeems the world. Such redeemed love, “is authentic possession of the world.”<sup>312</sup>

Insofar as this process [humanization] contributes to a better ordering of the community of man and this insofar as it means care for one’s fellowman, it is more intimately concerned with the growth of the kingdom of God.<sup>313</sup>

Human activity that accords with the divine will actually has a theological character – it reveals God’s saving plan:

The good fruits of human existence and human effort, dignity, brotherhood and freedom, which are propagated on earth in the Spirit of Christ, we discover again in the final kingdom, purified of all stain, inwardly transparent and transfigured. There will then be one kingdom of justice, love and peace. But this kingdom itself is already present in this world in a veiled manner; it comes to its final perfection in Christ’s *parousia* (no. 39).<sup>314</sup>

## Summary

The Pastoral Constitution explains human fulfillment in terms of the fullness of life as promised at the end times. Believers are called to live for a promise based on an alliance renewed through Christ’s pasch and the gift of the Spirit. As such, human activity is directed to a commitment to this world and to the task of creating a world imbued with the promise of God’s kingdom. This promise is being fulfilled inchoately in

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<sup>312</sup> Schillebeeckx, “Christian Faith and the Future of the World,” 72.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid, 73.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid, 73-4.

the historical moment in two ways: through the witness to the final vision of Christ's kingdom that is yet to come and activity that brings about a better earthly future for all, especially those who go without the bare necessities.

## 5.2 The Role of the Church in the Modern World (nn. 40-45)

Chapter IV contains a detailed presentation of the "Role of the Church in the Modern World." It presents the foundation for the work of justice and peace by describing how the notions of human dignity and human activity in the world relate to one another and what that says about the Church's presence and mission in the world. The chapter presupposes "everything which has already been said by the council concerning the mystery of the Church,"<sup>315</sup> thereby identifying *Lumen gentium* as a hermeneutic layer for a proper understanding of what is to follow.

Echoing the intervention of Cardinal Meyer, the text talks of heaven and earth *compenetrating* each other.<sup>316</sup> The purpose of the Church in this context is one of "pursuing the saving purpose which is proper to her." The purpose is explained:

Pursuing the saving purpose which is proper to her, the Church does not only communicate divine life to men but in some way casts the reflected light of that life over the entire earth, most of all by its healing and elevating impact on the dignity of the person, by the way in which it strengthens the seams of human society and imbues the everyday activity of men with a deeper meaning and importance. Thus through her

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<sup>315</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 40.

<sup>316</sup> "terrestris et caelestis civitatis compenetratio," *ibid*, 40;

individual matters and her whole community, the Church believes she can contribute toward making the family of man and its history more human.<sup>317</sup>

Humanization, therefore, comprises a religious dimension when properly considered, for which the Church is to be a guardian. Evidence of this religious dimension can be seen in daily life where “man is constantly worked upon by God’s spirit.” The religious sense of life to which no one can truly be indifferent – *indifferentem*<sup>318</sup> - is about the meaning of human existence, something which all yearn to know. The Church’s role is to point out the reality of the spirit’s activity, recalling both the search for this meaning and the obstacles to its true articulation.

Article 42 cites the description of the Church’s mission offered by Pius XII, firmly stating the religious dimension:

Christ, to be sure, gave His Church no proper mission in the political, economic or social order. The purpose which He set before her is a religious one. But out of this religious mission itself come a function, a light and an energy which can serve to structure and consolidate the human community according to the divine law.

Flowing from this religious mission is a function – *munus* – according to which the Church builds up society corresponding to God’s plan. The Church, whose innermost

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<sup>317</sup> “Ecclesia quidem, proprium suum finem salutarem persequens, non solum vitam divinam cum homine communicat, sed etiam lumen eius repercussum quodammodo super universum mundum fundit, potissimum per hoc quod personae humanae dignitatem sanat et elevat, humanae societatis compaginem firmat, atque cotidianam hominum navitatem profundiori sensu et significatione imbuit. Ita Ecclesia per singula sua membra et totam suam communitatem multa se conferre posse credit ad hominum familiam eiusque historiam humaniorem reddendam.” Ibid.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid, 41.

nature includes the promotion of unity, injects – *iniicere* - into modern society a force that consists in “faith and charity put into vital practice.”<sup>319</sup> Preserving the distinction made by Pius between the religious mission of the Church and its consequences in the socio-economic and political order, the text reiterates that the Church cannot be attached to any particular form of culture or government.<sup>320</sup> Any hesitancy towards collaboration in promoting human dignity is put aside, providing such collaboration pertains to the Church’s own mission:

The council affirms, moreover, that the Church is willing to assist and promote all these institutions to the extent that such service depends on her and can be associated with her mission.<sup>321</sup>

To describe the action whereby the welfare proper to humankind and founded on the inherent dignity is promoted in this world, the Constitution employs the Augustinian image of the two cities:

This council exhorts Christians, as citizens of two cities, to strive to discharge their earthly duties conscientiously and in response to the Gospel spirit. They are mistaken who, knowing that we have here no abiding city but seek one which is to come, think that they may therefore shirk their earthly responsibilities.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> “...ad effectum vitae adductis,” *ibid*, 42.

<sup>320</sup> “Suae missionis et naturae ad nullam alligentur,” *ibid*.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid*, 43.

Aware of those who consider earthly activity in favor of human welfare as unrelated to the mission of the Church or, indeed, those who espouse worldly action “divorced from the religious life,” *Gaudium et spes* fosters a unity between faith and daily life:

The split between the faith which many profess and their daily lives deserves to be counted among the more serious errors of our age ... [L]et there be no false opposition between professional and social activities on the one part, and religious life on the other.<sup>323</sup>

The document does nothing to deconstruct the dualism between the religious and “earthly” aspects of human behavior. It holds them in creative tension, urging a “vital synthesis” of all aspects of daily life subject to “religious values.” Religion is presented as the motivator and compass that should direct all earthly activity.

In article 44, the Church is presented as benefiting from advances in the social realm. Both the community of the faithful as well as individual members contribute to the Church “to the extent that she depends on things outside of herself”- *in quantum haec ab externis dependet*. As the Church gives to the world, so the Church receives from the world. Displaying the “optimism” towards the world that some have accused the Pastoral Constitution of exhibiting to an excessive degree,<sup>324</sup> *Gaudium et spes* welcomed

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<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

<sup>324</sup> The critique of the optimism of the schema was stated clearly by several Council fathers. See *supra*.

developments in human social life that can inform the Church's redemptive mission.<sup>325</sup>

This faculty offered by the world brings forth new expressions and new language through which the saving message of the Gospel may more readily reach all people. Remarkably, the optimism vis-à-vis the world extends even to the experience of hostility to the Church's mission. Even those who oppose the Church, in some way, contribute to a refinement of the Church's ability to evangelize.<sup>326</sup> The world, in this sense, is necessary for the fulfillment of God's design.

### 5.3 Human Development in Part II

The *cospiratori* fought to avoid having the implementation of article 90 fall to *Caritas Internationalis* or similar development organizations. In doing so, they relied on key concepts of the Pastoral Constitution: the concept of social justice and the concept of charity as it relates to social justice. Both concepts lead to an understanding of solidarity between nations. It is within the context of international solidarity that the article 90 organism is mandated.

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<sup>325</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 42.

<sup>326</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 44, citing the patristic heritage of those who suffer in behalf of the Church, particularly the witness of Tertullian.

**a Social Justice as a Response to Poverty and Under-development**

The phrase “social justice” appears twice in the Constitution.<sup>327</sup> The overall notion of social justice in the document is more expansive than these two sections, however. It is first found in Chapter II on “The Community of Mankind.” Article 29 deals with the nature of human dignity common to all people. This dignity leads to a fundamental equality among people, despite the clear differences that exist between them. This equality and concomitant dignity is rooted in the origin of the person (God) who creates them in his own likeness (*imago Dei*). Man is intrinsically akin because he shares the same nature and origin.

The section is at pains to expound on the consequences of this equality, particularly in light of ineradicable differences that exist between people in a variety of ways. Some differences between people, therefore, are not to be overcome. At the same time differences of this sort do not imply any difference in equality or dignity. The equality of women is singled out for specific reinforcement.

Some differences are, by comparison, unjust and their existence does not flow from a lack of equality but offends this equality and the dignity proper to each person. The document refers specifically to differences in living conditions and the “excessive [*nimiae*] economic and social differences” that currently exist between “members of one

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<sup>327</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 29 and 90.

human family or population groups” causes scandal and “militates against social justice, equity, the dignity of the human person, as well as social and international peace.”<sup>328</sup>

The poignancy of social and economic inequalities is such that – readily perceivable – they can lead to social discord and unrest. It is this notion of social consciousness that Ward and McCormack observed as a novel feature of the contemporary world: people are more aware than ever of their disadvantage. While excessive differences persist, the threat of war will loom, is the clear indication. A remedy is the promotion of social justice which eradicates these excessive differences, honoring the equality and dignity that belong to people and nations.

The article concludes by appealing to private and public institutions to take the dignity and equality of all people as a guiding light in bringing about social justice, despite the long and arduous road to travel before it can be achieved.

#### **b      *Caritas as Related to Justice and Peace***

As well as offering the concept of social justice to regulate relations between people and nations, the Constitution offers the notion of “charity” to govern such relationships, understood as the dominating attitude that Christians should have towards one another.

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<sup>328</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 29.

Section II of Chapter V opens with a lengthy analysis of the reality of injustice between nations and the threat this poses to world peace. It also recognizes the mutual interdependence that exists between nations and posits the pursuit of a “universal common good.”<sup>329</sup> In article 85, the existence of foreign aid is acknowledged but advice is offered on its proper use: not as an instrument of “overlords, but as helpers and co-workers.”<sup>330</sup> Financial assistance in the form of gifts and loans are one way of helping poor countries. In analyzing the current situation, the article offers a severe warning before concluding with a Jeremiad on the current economic system:

Developing nations will not be able to procure material assistance unless radical changes are made in the established procedures of modern world commerce. ... If an authentic economic order is to be established on a world-wide basis, an end will have to be put to profiteering, to national ambitions, to the appetite for political supremacy, to militaristic calculations, and to the machinations for the sake of spreading and imposing ideologies.<sup>331</sup>

Mindful of the need to offer some indication of how to create this “authentic economic order,” the text offers a series of concrete steps. The influence of the thinking of Lebret and others can be seen in article 86 which offers a comprehensive view of development:

a) Developing nations should take great pains to seek as the object for progress to express and secure the total human fulfillment of their citizens.

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<sup>329</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 84 §1.

<sup>330</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 85 §2.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.* §2-3.

They should bear in mind that progress arises and grows above all out of the labor and genius of the nations themselves because it has to be based, not only on foreign aid, but especially on the full utilization of their own resources, and on the development of their own culture and traditions. Those who exert the greatest influence on others should be outstanding in this respect.

b) On the other hand, it is a very important duty of the advanced nations to help the developing nations in discharging their above-mentioned responsibilities. They should therefore gladly carry out on their own home front those spiritual and material readjustments that are required for the realization of this universal cooperation.

Consequently, in business dealings with weaker and poorer nations, they should be careful to respect their profit, for these countries need the income they receive on the sale of their homemade products to support themselves.

c) It is the role of the international community to coordinate and promote development, but in such a way that the resources earmarked for this purpose will be allocated as effectively as possible, and with complete equity. It is likewise this community's duty, with due regard for the principle of subsidiarity, so to regulate economic relations throughout the world that these will be carried out in accordance with the norms of justice.

Suitable organizations should be set up to foster and regulate international business affairs, particularly with the underdeveloped countries, and to compensate for losses resulting from an excessive inequality of power among the various nations. This type of organization, in unison with technical cultural and financial aid, should provide the help which developing nations need so that they can advantageously pursue their own economic advancement.

d) In many cases there is an urgent need to revamp economic and social structures. But one must guard against proposals of technical solutions that are untimely. This is particularly true of those solutions providing man with material conveniences, but nevertheless contrary to man's spiritual nature and advancement. For, "not by bread alone does man live, but by every word which proceeds from the mouth of God" (Matt. 4:4). Every sector of the family of man carries within itself and in its best traditions

some portion of the spiritual treasure entrusted by God to humanity, even though many may not be aware of the source from which it comes.<sup>332</sup>

Christians are encouraged to “cooperate willingly and wholeheartedly in establishing an international order that includes respect for freedoms and amicable brotherhood between all.”<sup>333</sup>

The Pastoral Constitution’s concept of authentic human development cannot be separated from its understanding of global justice and the common good. The Church acknowledges the need for foreign aid and the practice of charitable works but also calls for a radical reform of the rules of global commerce. Indeed, the demands of *caritas* as the dominant attitude between Christian expands the notion of solidarity beyond mere charitable works to a more encompassing notion of mutual love. Hence, the type of integral development due to each person implies equitable relationships between wealthy and developing countries. The overarching principle for such relationships is the concept of solidarity founded on the kind of brotherly love described in Part I of the Constitution. The Church’s role is to serve as a reminder of that to which humanity is called, contributing “toward the reign of justice and charity between nations – *inter nationes*

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<sup>332</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 86.

<sup>333</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 88 §1.

*iustitia et caritas latius vigeant.*”<sup>334</sup> Such a contribution can only make sense if the transcendent vision is found in the openness to the absolute:

For man's horizons are not limited only to the temporal order; while living in the context of human history, he preserves intact his eternal vocation. The Church, for her part, founded on the love of the Redeemer, contributes toward the reign of justice and charity within the borders of a nation and between nations.<sup>335</sup>

As we saw in the Council debate itself, discussion on economic and social life generated further elaboration of the relative merits of a free market or state-controlled economy, prioritizing the universal destination of goods, the understanding of limitation on the right to private property, decent wages, good labor relations and a focus on the well-being of the family and community which should be served through such development.

### **c      International Solidarity as the Context for the Article 90 Organism**

Significant throughout the Council was discussion of the plight of the poor. As we have seen, there is no evidence that any voices rejected the notion that this concern should be adopted vigorously by the Council and by the Church itself. However, the body designed to stimulate people's conscience into action was located within the

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<sup>334</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 76.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*

Constitution's teaching on the international community and not, as discussion had indicated, on the section on socio-economic life.

During the final editing of schema XIII in the Mixed Commission, the idea of a post conciliar organism was inserted into Chapter V on "Fostering Peace and the Promotion of a Community of Nations."<sup>336</sup> The request of Archbishop Fernandes that a body be established in the context of the section on socio-economic (*De vita oeconomica-sociali*) in Chapter III of the second part of the constitution was rejected by the Mixed Commission in favor of inserting the call for a post conciliar organism in the section on promoting peace and the community of nations. This is reflected in the final document.

Discussion of ways to combat global poverty was more clearly related by the Council to the need to establish an international community built on centrality of human dignity and the promotion of that dignity in the social order using the principle of social justice. A crucial moment in solidifying this relationship took place during the final stages of the drafting process within the Mixed Commission.<sup>337</sup> As we saw above, Archbishop Fernandes of India sought to insert a mandate for a new organism of the universal church in the section on economic life in Chapter III of Part II. The request was voted and defeated. The Fathers clearly located the new *organismus* within the section on the Church's role in building the

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<sup>336</sup> Chapter V, *De Pace Fovenda et De Communitate Gentium Promovenda*.

<sup>337</sup> For a more complete discussion see the section on the Relation of Fr. Tromp, *supra*.

international community, an activity that would not be limited to the struggle to overcome poverty alone –despite its importance to the Council’s overall agenda.<sup>338</sup>

The context for the new organism is the reality of poverty in the world and the scandalous inequality between rich, with a majority of citizens who are counted as Christians (*pace* Ward), and those countries “deprived of the necessities of life and are tormented with hunger, disease, and every kind of misery.”<sup>339</sup> Recognizing the existing role of international Catholic organizations, the article calls for closer collaboration among them and between them and civil authorities.

Social justice appears in article 90, when describing the goals of the proposed organism. It is on the part to be played by Christians in international “institutions.” This is the first place where Christians fulfill their role, advancing cooperation between nations. To promote the community of peoples in fraternity and peace, it is useful to have international Catholic bodies, supplied with cooperators sufficient in number and well formed, and which can do much to promote a general sense of solidarity and responsibility among Catholics. Cooperation with “separated brethren” – *cum fratribus seiunctis* – and with all who seek true peace is needed. Therefore, the Council in order to address the “hardships” - *aerumnas* – by which the vast part of humanity is vexed and to foster justice and Christ’s love for the poor thinks it opportune to create a universal

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<sup>338</sup> See Chapter II *supra*.

<sup>339</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 88 §1.

organism of the Church whose work is to stimulate - *excitare* – the community of Catholics to promote the progress of regions suffering poverty, and social justice among nations.<sup>340</sup> Justice in this context is reaffirmed as the removal of scandalous inequality particularly in living conditions.

However, the concrete actions suggested in these articles are limited to what might be considered traditional notions of *charity*. One has in mind the prevailing model of humanitarian aid, which was discussed in the *aula* with the Fathers urging more intense collaboration for the good of the poorer nations. So, in articles 88-89, in calling to mind the obligation to relieve the suffering of the modern age, reference is made to wealth sharing “according to the ancient custom of the Church, out of the substance of their goods, and not only out of what is superfluous.”<sup>341</sup> Differences between wealthy and poor countries should be addressed with a “spirit of poverty and charity,” the section says, which are the “glory and witness of the Church of Christ.”<sup>342</sup>

For this reason the Church down through the centuries and in the light of the Gospel has worked out the principles of justice and equity demanded by right reason both for individual and social life and for international life, and she has proclaimed them especially in recent times. This sacred council intends to strengthen these principles according to the

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<sup>340</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 90.

<sup>341</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 88 §2.

<sup>342</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 88.

circumstances of this age and to set forth certain guidelines, especially with regard to the requirements of economic development.<sup>343</sup>

The role of the new body – which is not defined in terms of an organism of the Roman Curia as had been urged during the debate and in private by Norris and others – is to foster and promote formation of good consciences. Its task is to support the direct role played by Catholics in international organizations and the role of international Catholic bodies which are charged with fostering international cooperation and to develop a sense of solidarity and cooperation between peoples.

#### **5.4 Integration of Paul VI's Address to the U.N. into the *Acta* of the Council**

As if to underline the intention of Paul VI to frame the Church's mission to the world in the context of the mission to build solidarity between people, the Council went to novel lengths to incorporate the visit and address of the pope to the United Nations into the *Acta* of the Council itself. The symbolism of the pope's immediate return from New York to deliver a "report" on his address to the Council can be seen as the optic through which the new organism would be located within the Pastoral Constitution.

The visit by Paul VI to the United Nations on October 4, 1965, the feast of *il poverello* Francis of Assisi, was an important aspect of the Council itself. Paul VI traveled to New York – the first visit by a reigning pontiff to the New World – with some

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<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

of the Council's leading figures. This sent a clear signal that the Council itself was, through the Pope, present at the General Assembly. Indeed, Paul added to his address the greetings of the "Second Ecumenical Council now meeting in Rome."<sup>344</sup>

Despite exhibiting the style and openness towards dialogue with the world by the Church presented by the pope in *Ecclesiam Suam* and in the Council itself, the Pope insisted in his address on the "establishment of a world authority, able to act effectively on the juridical and political levels."<sup>345</sup> This idea had been raised repeatedly during the Council, especially in connection with efforts to end conflict and promote peace. Citing John XXIII's call for peace in *Pacem in terris*, the pope charged the U.N. with defending the dignity of human life in all its stages. The Church would play its part. Even at this stage, long before the tensions would arise concerning the new organism, Paul has in mind a reorientation of the Church's charitable bodies:

We, too, would set an example, even through the smallness of our means may hinder an awareness of its practical and quantitative implication: We intend to give Our charitable institutions a new development in order to combat the hunger of the world and to meet its principal needs. It is thus, and in no other way, that peace can be built.<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> Paul VI, "Summi Pontificis Allocutio In Consilio Nationum Unitarum," *AS IV/1*, 28-36; *AAS*, 57 (1965): 877-85.

<sup>345</sup> "Sans nul doute. Mais telle est l'entreprise, telle est votre très noble entreprise. Qui ne voit la nécessité d'arriver ainsi progressivement à instaurer une autorité mondiale en mesure d'agir efficacement sur le plan juridique et politique?" *Ibid*, 31.

<sup>346</sup> "Nous voudrions Nous aussi donner l'exemple, même si la petitesse de Nos moyens empêche d'en apprécier la portée pratique et quantitative: Nous voulons donner à Nos institutions caritatives un

Entering the *aula* directly from Rome's Fiumicino airport, Paul offered a firsthand report on his mission *ad extra*, saying "with this thought we end our journey."<sup>347</sup> As a messenger of peace, the pope reaffirmed the goals of the United Nations, which, only twenty years previously had begun to weave together an institution from the remnants of nations after World War II. Describing the mission of the Church as "mediator between God and man" Paul invoked once again the heavenly and earthly cities, the pope preached "peace to men."<sup>348</sup>

The urgency of the task of peace would require not just words but actions. On his return to the Council chamber, Paul VI reported on his visit to the United Nations. He cautioned that the Church's role – still less the role of the pope – is not to

enter into politics or into the field of economics, where the temporal harmony which constitutes civil peace is constructed in a direct way. But we can and must help even in this construction of a civil peace by means of an assiduous moral support and in some instance, such as works of charity, even with material and direct support.<sup>349</sup>

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nouveau développement contre la faim du monde et en faveur de ses principaux besoins: c'est ainsi, et pas autrement, qu'on construit la paix." Ibid, 34.

<sup>347</sup> "...qui in cogitatione finem esse volumus itineris Nostri." Ibid, 37.

<sup>348</sup> "...atque adeo numquam munus Ecclesiae, mediatrix inter Deum et homines, comprobatur esse argumentum magis perspicuis, magis opportunis ex Dei providentis consilio, magis huic aetati consentaneis." Ibid.

<sup>349</sup> "Sine dubio non est munus Nostrum neque vobis propositum ad res politicas et oeconomicas animam applicare, in quarum provincia ipse ille ordo constituitur, quo pax civilis efficitur. Sed possumus ac debemus etiam adiutricem operam praebere ad pacem civilem stabilidendam ac quidem assiduo auxilio morali et aliquo modo caritatis quoque praesentis veraeque officiiis." *AS IV/1*, 37-38.

The Church would play her part in building peace through promoting charity that flows from justice.<sup>350</sup> Indeed, the pope likened the goal of the Church in promoting a universal moral vision to that of the United Nations in the secular realm. In short, Paul's journey and speech were both an outgrowth of the Council and an early implementation of the direction being offered by the Council regarding the Church's mission in the world.

## **6     *Gaudium et spes on the Mission of the Laity***

### **6.1     The Mission of the Laity during the drafting of *Gaudium et spes***

The connection between the role of the laity and the Church's social mission was evident in the earliest stages of the Council's preparation. This connection had much to do with the increased attention paid to the laity and their role in the world after World War II. Already during the Council's preparatory period in early 1962, the importance of the mission and role of the laity was positioned for extensive conciliar discussion. The President of the preparatory commission on the laity was Cardinal Fernando Cento, Archbishop Achille Glorieux was the commission's Secretary. The Commission's work was divided into three sub-commissions: one dedicated to a consideration of role of the

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<sup>350</sup> "Hac ipsa re ad pacem firmandam operam conferimus, quae procul dubio validior et praestantior evadet, si, persuadum nobis habentes pacem in iustitia ut in fundamento inniti debere; iustitia erimus tutores." Ibid, 38.

laity in general, a second dealing with the laity's engagement in social action and a third to study the laity and charitable works.<sup>351</sup>

In the first outline of the proposed schema on the laity, after a discussion of the identity and place of the laity within the Church, the Commission outlined several elements of the work of the laity in the world. Among these challenges, and elaborated in some detail, was a plan for the laity to engage in "apostolic duty":

To seek solutions to urgent contemporary problems, among which was the presence of hunger in the world; to come to the aid of underdeveloped countries or those in the process of development; to attend to the relationship between the means of sustenance and the demographic increases in certain economically depressed countries; to embrace the new horizons opened up to the laity in the countries of Africa and Asia that have recently become politically independent; to international life, to the adequacy of school and educational structures...to the use of expressive means of extending the Christian way of thinking and feeling.<sup>352</sup>

Discussion at the powerful Central Coordinating Commission on the laity schema *De apostolatu laicorum* was brief.<sup>353</sup> In presenting the schema, Cardinal Cento admitted the flaws in offering for the first time a synthesis of the mission and role of the laity in the Church and society. Despite its excessive length, the schema's treatment of the Italian Catholic lay movement *Azione Cattolica* remained a source of deep controversy among the Commission members. While some feared that the privileged place enjoyed by

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<sup>351</sup> *Turbanti*, 78.

<sup>352</sup> *Turbanti*, note 110, 81-2.

<sup>353</sup> *Turbanti*, 95.

*Azione Cattolica* would be diminished by the Council, there were others who feared that the *modus operandi* of the bishop-run Italian Catholic movement would become the model for all lay involvement in social affairs. As a lifelong supporter of the *Legion of Mary*, Cardinal Suenens used his position to avoid any decision that would give priority to the form of lay involvement represented by *Azione Cattolica* arguing that such a move would prejudice the stability and viability of groups such as the less controversial *Legion of Mary*. In this light, Suenens urged a broader consideration of the many types of lay organizations that the Church should promote and encourage.<sup>354</sup> In this way, the idea of *lay apostolate* was given support by the Commission.<sup>355</sup>

The experience of Catholic lay movements in other countries was important in moving the debate beyond *Azione Cattolica*. Vocal during this meeting was Cardinal Paul Richaud of Bordeaux. The French prelate had been involved in *Action Catholique* in France during the first half of the century and was familiar with the emerging calls of the laity to take a fuller role in the life of the Church. Before the Council he had received advice from Fr. Lebreton who himself had become deeply involved in the French Catholic labor movement from his experience among the fishing communities in his native Brittany. One of Lebreton's early specializations had been the role of the Church's social

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<sup>354</sup> Turbanti, 96.

<sup>355</sup> Leon-Joseph Suenens, *Coresponsibility in the Church*, trans. Francis Martin (London: Burns and Oates, 1968), 30. Suenens called this notion the "co-responsibility" of all the Christian faithful for the mission of the Church.

teaching in the life of the laity.<sup>356</sup> Richaud regretted the excessive attention being paid to *Azione Cattolica*, seeking instead to focus on the two other elements of the Laity Commission's report dealing with social action and charitable activity. In doing so, Richaud pointed to the more robust treatment of social engagement found in John XXIII's recently published encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*.

As the various commissions began to regroup in light of the First Session, Bishop Hengsbach of the Commission on the Laity surmised that the hitherto unrevised schemata *De ordine sociali* and *De communitate gentium* contained some significant overlap with the schema *De apostolatu laicorum*. Hengsbach took the initiative to collate the different texts into one new document.<sup>357</sup> It was probably around this time in mid-December 1962 that the idea emerged of creating a hybrid document – part theological and part practical; part social justice and part apostolate of the laity – that would serve both purposes. At the end of December, Hengsbach wrote to Archbishop Glorieux suggesting a joint commission to write the new schema that would incorporate the three texts. It would be a document that contained both doctrinal and practical content.<sup>358</sup> The idea was shared with Cardinal Döpfner who had sketched a plan to reorganize the Council's business (the Döpfner Plan). By mid-January, the laity Commission had formalized the suggestion

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<sup>356</sup> Pelletier, 371-373.

<sup>357</sup> Moeller, 10.

<sup>358</sup> Turbanti, 172-3

during its plenary session, an idea that was presented to the Coordinating Commission by the *Relator* for the Laity Commission, Cardinal Giovanni Urbani. In this way, the Laity Commission would guarantee itself a role in formulating the new schema.

As the work of the First Intersession got underway, the underlying content of the new Mixed Commission was largely determined by the methodology adopted in combining similar Council concerns. Turbanti notes that the ongoing patronage of the Theological Commission and Laity Commission would ensure that certain reform elements present at the Council that had been so vocal during the First Session in calling for a radical reordering of the Council's focus would find it difficult to penetrate deeply into the very structure of the Council's life. For example, the demands made on the Council members by the *Church of Poor* remained, to a large degree, extraneous to the work of the Mixed Commission. This reason, among others, may account for the direction and focus on the laity that the post-conciliar discussions around article 90 had to contend with.

From April 24 to 26 1963, a group of laity was gathered in Rome under the umbrella of the Council to discuss what was then called Schema XVII. The decision to convoke this group was part of a growing call for greater participation. These deliberations were not part of the formal Council process, representing something of a focus group on the latest version of the schema. Yves Congar marveled at the gathering,

commenting: “The laity at last!”<sup>359</sup> Those invited had been approved by Cardinals Ottaviani and Cento. Fifteen people were invited, drawn mainly from COPECIAL and the International Catholic Organization (OIC). In presenting the draft text of the schema, Archbishop Glorieux explained the significant reordering of the content of the text in light of the first session and in light of the newly published encyclical, *Pacem in terris*. Dialogue required consultation, and while the conversations took place in clearly delineated groups, dialogue nonetheless was going on.

The lay invitees were overwhelmingly critical of the text, mainly on account of its theoretical approach based on the scholastic and manualistic traditions.<sup>360</sup> Instead, they offered an analysis that began with the situation of the world, urging concrete application of the Church’s teaching to some of the pressing social issues of the day, viz. married life, the economy, migration, death penalty, solidarity with the developing world, the Church’s relationship with the international community – all themes that would emerge during the discussion on Schema XIII. For the group, the schema’s analysis of the contemporary world was too simplistic. Divided into sub commissions, the group offered detailed feedback on specific themes. The result of the consultation was a clear call for the Council to translate its stated pastoral concern into serious reflection on the world’s pressing problems.

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<sup>359</sup> *Turbanti*, 233.

<sup>360</sup> *Turbanti*, 244.

The insights of the lay consultants had a larger significance. Their call for a Council agenda that included serious reflection on the world reinforced the need to reorient the scope and goal of the Council itself in light of the dissatisfaction expressed by many during the First Session. By May 1963, the purpose of the Council remained an open question: Would the Council remain an organ of the *magisterium* or one that was capable of reflecting on the problems of the current moment and offer a pronouncement on that moment that was both contingent and conditioned. Increasingly, the Council would be drawn into the latter direction. The inclusion of lay commentators nudged the Council in this direction, one that originated in the post-war developments among lay ecclesial movement charged with rebuilding European society according to a Christian vision.

## **6.2 The Mission of the Laity According to *Gaudium et spes***

The Council spoke about the mission of the laity within the context of the Church's one mission. There is a complementarity among the roles attached to the clergy, religious and laity within an understanding of the evangelizing and redemptive mission of the Church itself. The following offers a summary account of key concepts in the Council's final document.

The specific tasks afforded the differentiated members of the Church are described by the Pastoral Constitution in Chapter IV of Part I, "The Role of the Church in the Modern World." As we have seen, the Council's teaching on human dignity and

human community, as well as the meaning of human activity serve as a foundation and hermeneutical key to a proper understanding of the relationship between the Church and the world.<sup>361</sup> This relationship becomes concrete in the actions of the Church's members in a way that avoids any "split between the faith which many profess and their daily lives."<sup>362</sup> The connection between worship and daily life is unbreakable. So important is this link that the Christian who forgets his responsibilities in the temporal order imperils his "eternal salvation."<sup>363</sup>

Having stated the importance of action consistent with professed faith, the question remains: what can the Church "through Christians" contribute to human endeavor - *navitas*? Central to answering this question is the lengthy article 43. The first part of this article addresses the role of Christians in general – meaning all the faithful. The compenetration of the two cities is invoked, providing the terrain within which all are obliged to engage the world as a locus to bring about the betterment of all humanity according to the vision of the heavenly city. Indeed, fulfillment of the Church's mission actually *entails* such activity.

The document then moves from a general understanding of Christian responsibility (bishops, priests, lay people) to the particular responsibility for such

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<sup>361</sup> *Lumen gentium*, 40.

<sup>362</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 43.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*

perfection that belongs to the laity: “Secular duties and activities belong properly although not exclusively to laymen.”<sup>364</sup> While pastors and leaders are to illuminate the earthly activities through a sound preaching of the Gospel, it is up to the laity to engage the world in a transformative way, taking advantage of their position at the heart of the human community and acting – according to their baptismal character – as witnesses to Christ – *Christi sint testes*.<sup>365</sup> Laity are told to dedicate themselves to their temporal tasks so as to be witnesses of Christ in the world. In this way, the Constitution urges that the lay person be allowed to “take on his distinctive role.”<sup>366</sup> Distinctively secular, their worldly expertise does not limit the laity from playing a vital role “in the whole life of the Church.”<sup>367</sup>

Laity are to expect direction and counsel from priests and pastors so that they might act according to the Gospel and the teaching of the Magisterium, although concrete action may be theirs to judge rather than that of their pastors. Indeed, the text warns against too high an expectation of specific guidance from pastors:

Let the layman not imagine that his pastors are always such experts, that to every problem which arises, however complicated, they can readily give a

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<sup>364</sup> Ibid, paragraph #2.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid.

<sup>366</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 43: “Laicis proprie, etsi non exclusive, saecularia officia et navitates competunt.”

<sup>367</sup> “Laici vero, qui in tota vita Ecclesiae actuosas partes gerendas habent, non solum mundum spiritu christiano imbuiere tenentur, sed etiam ad hoc vocantur ut in omnibus, in media quidem humana consortione, Christi sint testes.” Ibid.

concrete solution, or even that such is their mission. Rather, enlightened by Christian wisdom and giving close attention to the teaching authority of the Church, let the layman take on his own distinctive role.<sup>368</sup>

Bishops and priests should, nonetheless, devote themselves to study so that they can truly dialogue with the world and guide the faithful accordingly. Under the guidance of the bishops and of the supreme Pontiff, priests have to be careful to maintain the unity of the whole Church in order to serve the unity of human society.<sup>369</sup>

Preparation for dialogue appears in *Lumen gentium* n. 28 which encourages study among bishops and priests, the aim of which is the eradication of “every cause of division.” The Pastoral Constitution cites this imperative as a prerequisite for the mission they hold in regard to leadership among all the faithful. It is a mission that extends beyond the faithful to the “whole human race.” Unity among the hierarchy is to become a model, therefore, of the unity among all of God’s people.

Of note is the exhortation in Chapter II regarding formation for the evangelization of culture. In this context, laity are encouraged to undertake theological training, traditionally reserved for those preparing for ordination. In the task of Christianizing the modern culture, laity are entitled to the same formation as the clergy:

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<sup>368</sup> “Neque tamen ipsi censeant pastores suos semper adeo peritos esse ut, in omni quaestione exsurgente, etiam gravi, solutionem concretam in promptu habere queant, aut illos ad hoc missos esse: ipsi potius, sapientia christiana illustrati et ad doctrinam Magisterii observanter attendentes, partes suas proprias assumant.” Ibid.

<sup>369</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 43: “Studiis assiduis se ita aptos reddant, ut in dialogo cum mundo et hominibus cuiuscumque opinionis instituendo partes suas agere possint.” Ibid.

In order that they may fulfill their function, let it be recognized that all the faithful, whether clerics or laity, possess a lawful freedom of inquiry, freedom of thought and of expressing their mind with humility and fortitude in those matters on which they enjoy competence.<sup>370</sup>

### 6.3 Summary Observations

We find that a Conciliar theology of the laity is grounded in a fundamentally sacramental and biblical notion of the status of the laity. Hence, it is their constitutive place among the entire People of God (*Lumen gentium*, Chapter II) that establishes the intimate link between the laity and the mystery of the Church itself.<sup>371</sup> This comes through clearly from the teaching of *Lumen gentium*. Laity are incorporated into the Church as the Body of Christ according to their baptism. They are configured in their own way to Christ as priest, prophet and king. This baptismal consecration serves to ground their active participation in the Church and the world regardless of any special deputation by the hierarchy. It is Christ himself who deposes the laity for ministry. The Council was aware of the need to make distinctions among the People of God. The notion of the body with its many parts expressed by Pius XII in *Mystici corporis* helps to explain a unity in diversity among the Church's members. All parts of the body enjoy equal

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<sup>370</sup> "Ut vero munus suum exercere valeant, agnoscatur fidelibus, sive clericis sive laicis, iusta libertas inquirendi, cogitandi necnon mentem suam in humilitate et fortitudine aperienti in iis in quibus peritia gaudent." Ibid, 62.

<sup>371</sup> See Ernst Niemann, "Laity," in *Sacramentum Mundi*, Vol. 3 edited by Karl Rahner, et al., (London: Burns and Oats, 1969), 259-263.

dignity, collaborating in the one mission of Christ. They do not, however, enjoy equal roles or at least identical ones.

What is said of the laity regarding incorporation into Christ's body and the participation in the life of the Church is said of the clergy and religious who are differentiated in *Lumen gentium*. What is specific to the laity relates to the secular character of their mission. Laity seek the Kingdom of God principally in temporal affairs. The Council makes this evaluation on the basis of a descriptive rather than a sociological analysis.<sup>372</sup> Indeed, the lay person is described for what he or she is not i.e. neither clerical nor religious.<sup>373</sup> Hans Heimerl claims this approach was fitting in a document such as *Lumen gentium* and that no positive definition of the laity was ever intended.

The Council did not ask itself what a layman is, but rather what is the mission proper to the numerically largest group in the Church today. It is *not* a question of *definition*. It is a question of *pastoral instruction*, for which a nominal description in approximate terms suffices.<sup>374</sup>

Being active in temporal affairs, seeking the justice of God's kingdom and making known the will of the Father in daily life becomes a theological statement of the vocation of the laity as found in *Lumen gentium*, 33:

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<sup>372</sup> Ibid, 262.

<sup>373</sup> Angel Antón, "Postconciliar Ecclesiology: Expectations, Results, and Prospects for the Future," in *Vatican II: Assessment and Perspectives*, Vol. 1, edited by René Latourelle, (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 407-438, 429.

<sup>374</sup> Hans Heimerl, "The Concept of the Laity in the Constitution on the Church," in Karl Rahner et al., eds., *Rethinking the Church's Mission*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1966), 141.

The lay apostolate ... is a participation in the saving mission of the Church itself. Through their baptism and confirmation, all are commissioned to that apostolate by the Lord himself. Moreover, through the sacraments, especially the Holy Eucharist, there is communicated and nourished that charity toward God and man which is the soul of the entire apostolate. Now the laity are called in a special way to make the Church present and operative in those places and circumstances where only through them can it become the salt of the earth.<sup>375</sup>

The mission of the laity is nothing less than “evangelization and sanctification of people and by their efforts to make the spirit of the gospel permeate and perfect the temporal order.”<sup>376</sup> It is because of their secular character that the laity can make the Church present in temporal affairs, a faculty not particular to the clergy or religious. Mundane activities such as work, raising a family, building a community, now take on a religious character as the laity are called not merely to represent the Church to the world, but to be the Church in the world – as salt of the earth. Of their very nature, carried on by lay missionaries, worldly activity itself partakes of the redemptive work of Christ himself. In a reflexive way, the laity bring the world into the heart of the Church.

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<sup>375</sup> *Lumen gentium* 33, *AAS* 57 (1965): 39: “Apostolatus...laicorum est participatio ipsius salvificae missionis Ecclesiae, ad quem apostolatium omnes ab ipso Domino per baptismum et confirmationem depuntantur. Sacramentis autem, praesertim sacra Eucharistia, communicatur et alitur illa caritas erga Deum et homines, quae anima est totius apostolatus. Laici autem speciatim ad hoc vocantur, ut praesentem et actuosam reddant Ecclesiam in eis locis et rerum adiunctis, ubi ipsa nonnisi per eos sal terrae evadere potest.”

<sup>376</sup> *Apostolicam actuositatem*, 2.

## 7 *Gaudium et spes on Ecumenical Collaboration*

### 7.1 *Ecumenical Collaboration during Debate on Gaudium et spes*

Debate on Schema XIII frequently included requests that social justice be undertaken ecumenically. Reasons for such awareness could be found not only within the growing amount of ecumenical dialogue but in the increased contacts in the post-war period between churches in their common effort to combat social injustice.

As we have seen, at the heart of the effort during the Council to create *Iustpax* was a series of speeches during the Fourth Session that coincided with the Pope's speech to the United Nations in New York. These speeches make repeated reference to this ecumenical collaboration that was already taking place among the *conspiratori*. During his intervention on Schema XIII, CRS Executive Director, Bishop Edward Swannstrom, supplemented the idea for a new "Secretariat of the Holy See" with a *modus procedendi*, namely the importance of ecumenical collaboration:

These educational and inspirational efforts should be carried on in close concert with our separated brothers, with other religious groups, and with all people of good will.<sup>377</sup>

Swannstrom saw the power of numbers: collaborating ecumenically increased the size of the group advocating and agitating for social justice. Cardinal Owen McCann,

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<sup>377</sup> "Quos conatus autem educationis et exhortationis coniunctum gerant cum seiunctis fratribus nostris, cum coetibus ceteris religiosis, cumque omnibus hominibus bonae voluntatis." *AS* IV/3, 268-9.

Archbishop of Capetown, referred to the existing language of the schema: “I should like to speak only of one aspect of number 90 in Chapter 5 where the statement is made ‘it pertains to the Church to invite to common and magnanimous action.’”<sup>378</sup> His speech echoed the one given by the Spanish Cardinal Benjamín de Arriba y Castro, Archbishop of Tarragona, who framed the work of the new Secretariat in terms of dialogue with the world and, in a particular way, with “non-Catholics as well as non-Christians.”<sup>379</sup>

Bishop Wheeler of England held up the model of the Secretariat for Christian Unity as an example of how a discrete area of the Church’s work could benefit from an organism of the Church’s central government.<sup>380</sup> He reminded Council participants of the importance for “all Christians of entering into dialogue with those responsible for development,”<sup>381</sup> as a way of ensuring an appropriate encounter between the gospel and the concerns of the most needy in society.

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<sup>378</sup> “Vellum loqui tantummodo de una paragrapho, n. 90, cap. V ubi dicitur in secunda pericopa: ‘Ecclesiae est invitare ad communem et magnanimam actionem.’” *AS* IV/III, 400.

<sup>379</sup> “Officia diversa instituta sunt ut Secretariatus pro fovendo dialogo cum coetibus acatholicorum et aliis pro non christianis.” *Ibid*, 264.

<sup>380</sup> “Omnes scimus quomodo paucis his annis secretariatus pro unitate christianorum promovenda, in melius emendaverit totam mentem Ecclesiae in re oecumenica.” *Ibid*, 619.

<sup>381</sup> “[n]ecessarium esse dialogum cum prae-eminentibus doctrina oeconomica moderna inire, secundum voluntatem Summi Pontificis, principia in Ecclesiam suam exponentis.” *Ibid*, 617.

**a      Memorandum of the *cospiratori* distributed prior to the Fourth Session<sup>382</sup>**

The *cospiratori* decided to repeat the step taken prior to the Council's Third Session and issue a revised proposal on the "Holy Father's Secretariat for Promoting World Justice and Development." The proposal was distributed to all Council participants. The memorandum records the series of steps taken by the Church since Leo XIII to address the social question. A key update in the new document was a citation from the recently approved Decree on Ecumenism:

The Council's Decree on Ecumenism stresses the special opportunity for co-operation with other Church bodies in the social field. The issue of world poverty, justice and development has already become the focus for the joint concern of all Christians.<sup>383</sup>

Reasserting discussions widely held on the nexus between the ecumenical movement and the justice and peace advocates, this latest memorandum demonstrates the compound nature of the Council's teaching –where advances made in one area of the Council's teaching spill over and are used in other areas. Section 5 of this memorandum reads as follows:

[T]he Secretariat would give attention to the ecumenical implications of its work and to appropriate liaison with non-Christian groups. These would

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<sup>382</sup> Barbara Ward, Arthur McCormack with the collaboration of Norris, Mahon and Gremillion, *The Holy Father's Secretariat for Promoting World Justice and Development*, Basic Documentation no. JP-67/17, PCJP. (Original in English). The entire memorandum is treated elsewhere and in greater detail given its significance in the overall history of *Justpax*.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid, I, 1.

be carried on through the respective secretariats set up by the Holy Father.<sup>384</sup>

## 7.2 Ecumenical Collaboration According to *Gaudium et spes*

Unlike discussion of the relationship between the Church and the world that developed significantly during the Council itself, efforts at increased ecumenical collaboration had started well before the Council began. The Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity under Cardinal Bea pre-dated the start of the Council in light, perhaps, of John XXIII's intuition in calling for an *Ecumenical* Council. Some have called it one of the first fruits of the Council, despite its establishment even before the Council bishops began to converge on Rome. Intended to help coordinate the presence of other Churches and World Communions at the Council, the Secretariat was soon placed on a more substantive footing and was responsible for shepherding the debate on the ecumenical decree itself. The Council described ecumenism in *Unitatis Redintegratio*, 4:

Today, in many parts of the world, under the inspiring grace of the Holy Spirit, many efforts are being made in prayer, word and action to attain that fullness of unity which Jesus Christ desires. The Sacred Council exhorts all the Catholic faithful to recognize the signs of the times and to take an active and intelligent part in the work of ecumenism.

The term "ecumenical movement" indicates the initiatives and activities planned and undertaken, according to the various needs of the Church and as opportunities offer, to promote Christian unity."<sup>385</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> Ibid.

<sup>385</sup> *Unitatis Redintegratio*, 4

Such efforts are divided into two kinds. First are those efforts of communication that avoid any mischaracterization of the different positions of the churches themselves which can lead – in a second movement – to a fruitful dialogue concerning respective understandings of Communion. This “dialogue” between Christians can prepare the way, accordingly, for “cooperation between them in the duties for the common good of humanity which are demanded by every Christian conscience.”<sup>386</sup> Again, the document alludes to the existing state of cooperation between Christians on social matters:

In these days when cooperation in social matters is so widespread, all men without exception are called to work together, with much greater reason all those who believe in God, but most of all, all Christians in that they bear the name of Christ.<sup>387</sup>

This point was made in a similar way in *Gaudium et spes* in the section on international affairs. Reminding Catholics about their duty and that of the whole people of God to do their utmost to alleviate poverty and the sufferings of the modern age, the Constitution says:

We do not forget that the unity of Christians is today awaited and desired by many, too, who do not believe in Christ; for the farther it advances toward truth and love under the powerful impulse of the Holy Spirit, the more this unity will be a harbinger of unity and peace for the world at large.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> Ibid.

<sup>387</sup> *Unitatis Redintegratio*, 12.

<sup>388</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 92.

In *Gaudium et spes*, the Council reflects the high esteem with which the new ecumenical movement is regarded and the anticipation that such common efforts will produce an attractive witness of faith in the face of the world's problems: "Wherever it seems convenient, this activity of Catholics should be carried on in unison with other Christian brothers."<sup>389</sup>

In April, 1965, Monsignor Gremillion wrote to Monsignor Marcinkus at the Secretariat of State concerning ideas for the Holy Father's Secretariat on World Poverty and Christian Responsibility. Gremillion attached a memorandum to the letter in which he outlined the educational, inspirational and moral force and influence to be developed by the proposed Secretariat. Gremillion planted the ecumenical character of the new Secretariat quite clearly:

[T]he Holy Father's Secretariat would treat with other high level authorities of comparable interests, such as the World Council of Churches, specialized agencies of the United Nations (when appropriate), mission sending societies, international Catholic organizations, and similar bodies.<sup>390</sup>

Gremillion adopted a multi-pronged approach, seeking ways for collaboration within Council documents as well as at the level of the local Church. Around this time, Gremillion wrote to Monsignor Ligutti with a copy of the memorandum of Dr. Maxwell.

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<sup>389</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 88.

<sup>390</sup> Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *History of Sodepax*, Undated manuscript. Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace Archives, Vatican City.

Alluding to a talk of Barbara Ward on the subject of world poverty at the Catholic Press Association to be held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City in the presence of Cardinal Spellman and Mayor Wagner, Gremillion noted that “other dignitaries will be present who are proceeding with the groundwork toward formal cooperation with the National Council of Churches here in the United States.”<sup>391</sup> These ideas would form part of the comprehensive memorandum that Gremillion and the other *cospiratori* would distribute during the fourth session of Vatican II.

## 8 *Concluding Observations*

This chapter examined in greater detail the discussion during the Council regarding the Church’s action on behalf of justice in the world and investigated the theological concepts that emerged during this discussion and how they were dealt with in the various documents produced by the Council itself. One set of issues touched upon the desire by the Council to incorporate the “joys and hopes, sufferings and pains” of the world into the very identity of the Church and to articulate a theological understanding of the Church’s activity to combat poverty. Beginning with the concept of Christian charity, the efforts to establish a specific organism dedicated to the theme of justice and peace served as a touchstone for the Council’s desire to develop an ever more comprehensive

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<sup>391</sup> Ibid, 26

notion of its activity in the world. This activity redounded inevitably not only on the Church's mission in the world but on the Church's identity. The path adopted by the Council in reaching this more comprehensive notion led through a more thorough understanding of the role of the laity in the world, the need for closer ecumenical collaboration and an updated conception of the virtue of Christian charity as the dominant attitude not only for the individual believer, but as an organizing principle for society as a whole as well as a principle for international collaboration. This can be seen most clearly in the placement of article 90 in the section on the international community in Chapter 5 of Part II of the Pastoral Constitution.

The expansive nature of all three developments highlighted above have implications for the understanding of the Church that was emerging in light of the Council's documents, e.g. the role of laity; the method of theological development in light of the development in Church structures; the importance of dialogue as evinced by the dynamic nature of the new organism as well as the inclusion of structures of joint collaboration with other Christian churches.

But greater than the significance of the new Commission for the distinct themes mentioned above is the orientation offered by the new Commission. By resisting attempts to limit the work of the Church in the world to the role of the laity, to traditional understanding of charity or to the work of Catholics alone, the Commission contributed to a universalizing presence of the Church in its relationship to the world. By attempting to offer a theological vision for the Church's activity in confronting poverty, the Council

drew upon its own teaching and incorporated insights into the lived reality of the Council fathers and sought to offer explanations as to why the aspirations for a more just and equitable world coincided (if not flowed from) the demands of the gospel and the Church's teaching.

Conciliar debate demonstrated a clear desire by the Council to assert the problems of suffering and draw upon the Church's experience in seeking solutions to poverty and inequality. For this reason, previous papal teaching was invoked on the question of worker rights, the centrality of the family and the dangers in adopting any particular ideological economic system as the only solution. Absent in all prevailing solutions, the Council repeated, was the importance of human development, a concept which itself would be subject to a great deal of reflection and which would emerge more clearly in *Populorum progressio*.

What also emerged was the Council's early application of the teaching on the different roles attached to the faithful and how these roles complement one another and are to be ordered. These roles would be important for the way in which the new organism would form consciences and develop the Church's teaching on justice and peace. The cumulative effect of Council teaching is seen here, as the debates on the laity and the Church are brought to bear on the Pastoral Constitution. The question remains, in what way does the Church "act" in the world. The importance of the Church's guidance through her teaching is emphasized. The Council was keen to offer direction to the faithful and the world in light of the tremendous developments in science, economics and

politics. The specificity of this guidance was a topic of debate and eventually was presented in the very structure of the Pastoral Constitution itself. Any activity by the laity in the world was to be guided by the pastors. Central to this *supportive* role (subsidiary to it, in other words) was the universal organism described in article 90. Catholics in international institutions would have the primary responsibility of fostering international cooperation by applying a Christian charity to the problems of the modern world. How this would happen was not ultimately clear, however, and it would be left to the post-conciliar years to work out the implications of these directives. It is to this further debate that we shall now turn.

## Chapter Four

### Development of a Theological Foundation for *Justpax* after the Council

Whatever victory was achieved through the inclusion of article 90 in Chapter V of Part II of the Pastoral Constitution, the likely outcome of the entire process entered another phase as the Council closed, one for which the *conspiratori* were only partially prepared. Given that the chief proponents of the new organism did not enter this phase with a comprehensive understanding of the role and mission of the new organism, the project to establish *Justpax* would be shaped through a dialectic process that began as soon as the Council ended and ran the length of 1966. Between the end of 1965 and the announcement of the new organism by Paul VI in January 1967, those who had intensely lobbied for the inclusion of article 90 in *Gaudium et spes* continued their efforts to shape the future *Justpax*. These lobbying efforts were concerned primarily with the structural aspects of the new organism, ensuring that it enjoyed both the maximum influence within the Roman Curia as well as relative autonomy from existing agencies. To secure both these goals, the *conspiratori* fended off proposals from other groups also interested in the implementation of article 90. This process of clarifying the intent behind article 90 is useful in determining the operative concepts that justified the new body.

These structural concerns, while related to the theological concepts highlighted in the previous chapter, neglected in large part the task of developing these concepts in

closer alignment with the new organism. *Justpax* would receive a more complete articulation of its mission in the Papal Encyclical Letter *Populorum Progressio*, published two months after the establishment of *Justpax* but identified by Paul VI as its *magna carta*.<sup>1</sup> Drawing on the Council's emphasis on engagement with the world, *Populorum Progressio* translated the Council's call for greater engagement with the world into a plan to foster the development of all peoples. This chapter is divided into two sections. First, we will investigate the reasons given – principally by the *cospiratori* – for the establishment of *Justpax* as a Pontifical Commission within the Roman Curia. Second, we will examine *Populorum Progressio* in depth to investigate the theological understanding given to *Justpax* by Paul VI. We will argue that it is precisely the lack of a theoretical justification for *Justpax* among its principal architects that warranted the vision for the new Commission's work presented by Paul VI in *Populorum Progressio*.

### **1     *Justification for a Separate Commission***

As we saw in chapter two, disagreements and tensions arose among key Council participants when the implementation of article 90 began to take shape and proposals were presented regarding the configuration, mission and action plan of the new organism.

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<sup>1</sup> Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La Doctrine Sociale de L'Église comme Idéologie*, (Paris: Cerf, 1979) 70 "C'est dans ce contexte qu'il faut situer et lire l'encyclique *Populorum progressio*. [It is within this context that one must read the encyclical *Populorum progressio*]."

It was necessary in advancing the general idea outlined in article 90 to take diverse threads of the Council's teaching and to weave together a justification for the new organism. Our investigation in this chapter will seek to examine how these threads were taken up in regard to the implementation of *Justpax*. Lobbying by *cospiratori* in the post-conciliar period was focused mainly on turning article 90 into an entity that could see the light of day. To do so, the group worked intensively, navigating the Vatican bureaucracy to further their cause. During 1966, the group pursued three broad strategies in this regard.

First, the group had to fend off the notion that the purpose contained in article 90 could be satisfied by including it in the work of the post-conciliar Council on the Laity. The implication of this for many was that justice and peace was considered the purview of the laity given their role in the secular order, commonly seen as the world. In response, argumentation was developed by the *cospiratori* to assign responsibility for the Church's social mission to the entire people of God.

Second and in a less contentious way, the *cospiratori* argued that the social mission of the Church offered a unique opportunity for ecumenical collaboration. Drawing on the Council's "ecumenical" nature and in light of existing friendships and other working arrangements particularly between the Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches (WCC), great lengths were undertaken to explore ever-closer ecumenical collaboration regarding the Church's social engagement to overcome poverty

and foster peace. That work for justice was considered by the *cospiratori* a unique area to test and strengthen ecumenical efforts among all believers.

The third moment in developing the new Commission's identity centered on the relationship between the Church's traditional activity in humanitarian assistance and its commitment to address the underlying causes of poverty and inequality in the world. Characterized as juxtaposing "charity" and "justice," the *cospiratori* were required to navigate the competing interests of existing Catholic aid agencies and to bring to the forefront the new thinking – some of it expressed in the Pastoral Constitution itself – regarding the ethics of development. It is this phase of the organism's development that will serve as a prelude to the theoretical framework provided in *Populorum Progressio* which we will examine in section two.

### **1.1 How the organism is defined through distinction from the Commission on the Apostolate of the Laity**

Given the origin of *Gaudium et spes* from within the Commission for the Laity, it was no surprise that the *Post-conciliar Commission on the Apostolate of the Laity* (*Laity Commission*) would remain closely involved in the implementation of article 90. This Commission was one of five that were officially established by Paul VI at the end of the

Council,<sup>2</sup> commissions that were identified by the pope as “conforming to the decrees of the Council.”<sup>3</sup> The aims of the commissions were to “promote study and to formulate norms in line with the new laws from the Council.”<sup>4</sup>

James Norris remained in Rome at the end of the Council to continue lobbying for the article 90 organism. As a layman and member of Laity Commission himself, it must have seemed ironic to him to defend the distinctiveness of the new Commission for Justice and Peace from the Laity Commission. For Norris and Ward – two key lay influences on the Council – the Church’s social mission could not be the exclusive preserve of the laity. To defend this position, they would have to demonstrate how justice and peace belonged to the core mission of the Church, one for which all the people of God were ultimately responsible.

A large part of the insistence on the part of the *cospiratori*, however, centered on the importance that the eventual organism would enjoy within the life of the Church. And for Norris at least, and very likely for the other *cospiratori*, importance was translated into the placing of the organism within the hierarchical constitution of the Church. In their correspondence, the *cospiratori* sought support for the new organism from the pope

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<sup>2</sup> Paul VI, “Finis Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II,” *AAS*, 58: 37-40.

<sup>3</sup> “Iuxta Concilii decreta, a Nobis sequentes Commissiones postconciliares constituuntur,” *Ibid*, 38

<sup>4</sup> “Idcirco ut studia perficiantur et aptae normae parentur, quibus novae a Concilio latae leges Nostra auctoritate ad effectum veniant. novas condimus Commissiones, quae post-conciliares appellabuntur.” *Ibid*.

himself. Some of this flowed from the pope's own interest in the topic of development.

At the start of a U.N. summit on development, Paul VI wrote to U Thant, U.N. Secretary General:<sup>5</sup>

The aim of development is to help the whole man to progress in harmony, and there is a threefold hunger to be satisfied, while needs and anxieties grow daily more pressing. Of this physical, intellectual and spiritual misery the United Nations Development Program is taking an ever clearer view, and has the will to remedy the situation. To achieve this, however, the whole world must recognize that misery is an unbearable evil, not merely for the victims, but also, inevitably, for every man worth his name. To enable man to survive, yes, but more than this, to give him the wherewithal to live fully, as a person fit to found a family and to educate his children satisfactorily; these are the tasks that call for the selfless teamwork of all men of goodwill, beyond all the differences of nation, race, culture or religion.<sup>6</sup>

Early in 1966, Norris intensified efforts for an organization distinct from the Laity Commission. On January 26 alone, he wrote to four key participants scheduled to take part in the meeting of the Laity Commission due to take place in February 1966. In a letter to the head of the Conference of International Catholic Organizations, Norris wrote:

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<sup>5</sup> See *L'Osservatore Romano*, February 10, 1966.

<sup>6</sup> Paul VI, "Ad Excellentissimum Virum Thant, Consilii Nationum Unitarum Secretarium Generalem, ob coetus Mediolana habitos a Consilio v.d. 'United Nations Development Program.'" "C'est l'homme en effet dans son intégralité que le développement veut promouvoir harmonieusement, et c'est donc une triple faim qu'il s'agit de combler, alors que les nécessités et les inquiétudes se font chaque jour plus pressantes. De cette misère physique, intellectuelle et spirituelle, le Programme des Nations Unies pour le développement a une vue toujours plus nette, avec la volonté d'y remédier. Mais il faut pour cela que le monde entier prenne conscience que la misère n'est pas seulement un mal insupportable pour celui que en est la victime, mais qu'elle doit l'être aussi pour tout homme digne de ce nom. Permettre l'homme se survivre, certes, mais lui fournir aussi les moyens de vivre pleinement, comme une personne apte à fonder une famille et à donner une éducation satisfaisante à ses enfants: telles sont les tâches que appellent le concours désintéressé de tous les hommes de bien, par-delà toutes les différences de nation, de race, de culture et de religion." May 26, 1966, *AAS* 58, 479-80, 479.

I have received word from Monsignor Glorieux that the subject of the Secretariat [of article 90] will be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of the [Laity] Apostolate Commission. We certainly need the help of the laity, but the organism we have in mind cannot be relegated to the laity alone. It must be an agency created at the highest level of the Church.<sup>7</sup>

Writing to Monsignor Luigi Ligutti, Permanent Observer of the Holy See at the Food and Agriculture Organization and close friend of the collaborators, Norris said:

Monsignor Gremillion and I plan to discuss tactics within the next two weeks. I have a feeling that we should write up the “legislative history” of the proposal to create a Secretariat. This would involve quotations from the eight interventions, and pointedly show that the interventions wanted a Secretariat of the Holy Father and not an office of *Caritas* or in the Lay Apostolate Secretariat.<sup>8</sup>

In a letter to Mr. Ramon Surgranyes de Franch, also of the Conference of International Catholic Organizations, Norris sought to correct comments of Surgranyes that had been circulated by Monsignor Glorieux, Secretary of the Laity Commission:

You are perfectly right in saying that the Secretariat of the Laity should have a special concern for the promotion of social justice in the world ... We have always insisted that this is a very important task of the laity.

On the other hand, the proposal in Paragraph 90 concerns the creation of an organism which is in the *mainstream of the teaching authority of the Church*. It has been said that the church lost the working classes because the great encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and other Popes were not

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<sup>7</sup> Letter of James J. Norris to Rev. Henry de Riedmatten, OP., January 26, 1966, NC-UNDA.

<sup>8</sup> Letter of James J. Norris to Rt. Rev. Msgr. Luigi G. Ligutti, January 26, 1966, NC-UNDA. Arthur McCormack compiled the ‘legislative history’ which was used extensively during this period to show the origin of *Justpax* in the Council’s discussions. See Arthur McCormack, “Legislative History,” UNDA-Norris.

implemented. There was no organ of the church to promote, stimulate and educate in carrying forward these great teachings.<sup>9</sup>

Norris also explained the purpose of the new Secretariat. It would be responsible for disseminating the Church's social teaching, creating text books and developing materials for "seminaries and seats of learning around the world." In short the Secretariat's "direct concern will be the day in and day out education and stimulation towards social justice."<sup>10</sup> Already, the educational aspect of the new entity is geared towards action for change in the world.

#### **a Minutes of Meeting of Working Group on Article 90**

The meeting of the Working Group on Article 90 in May 1966 brought together many of the prime movers in the Laity and article 90 commissions. It provides an insight into the thinking of the key architects of *Justpax*.

Questions of jurisdiction emerged early on in the meeting. Monsignor Glorieux asserted that "the Laity Commission was the body entrusted with the carrying out of the provisions of the Decree on the Lay Apostolate and the Pastoral Constitution '*Gaudium et spes*.'"<sup>11</sup> His account was disputed, with a note that "apparently conflicting mandates had been given to the Commission of the Lay Apostolate and the Working Party to be

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<sup>9</sup> *Letter of James J. Norris to Mr. Ramon Surgranyes de Franch*, January 26, 1966, NC-UNDA (emphasis added).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

convened by Bishops Swannstrom and Monsignor Rodhain at the request of the Archbishop Dell'Acqua.”<sup>12</sup> Clarification was sought in the group's discussion given the presence of several members of the Lay Commission itself. The question of the competent body for article 90 was an open one with Monsignor Glorieux, the Secretary of the Laity Commission, conceding that the Working Group on article 90 was “free to approach the subject without restriction.”<sup>13</sup> It was further noted that the Lay Commission had spent very little time earlier in the year discussing the mandate found in article 90, revealing perhaps either a packed agenda for the Laity Commission meeting or an inchoate understanding of the connection between *Gaudium et spes* and the document on the laity, *Apostolicam actuositatem*: “the objectives and functions of the organism go beyond the role of the Laity Commission.”<sup>14</sup>

The overlap of membership between the Post Conciliar Commission on the Lay Apostolate was used for maximum effect by the *conspiratori*. Norris had written to Glorieux prior to the May meeting to question assertions that article 90 should fall under the Lay Apostolate Commission. He had also met with Archbishop Pericle Felici, erstwhile Secretary of the Council and now Secretary of the Post Conciliar Central Commission, and had been informed by him that:

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<sup>12</sup> *Minutes of Meeting*, 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

[t]he creation of the organism [90] does not come within the competence of the Post Conciliar Central Commission. He said that the proposal was made directly to the Holy See and therefore the decision was up to the Holy Father and would not be handled by the Post Conciliar Central Commission.

I told him that it was your understanding that the Post Conciliar Commission on the Lay Apostolate had been delegated the responsibility for following up on Paragraph 90. He had doubts about the competence of the Lay Apostolate Commission to handle this matter.<sup>15</sup>

In other developments, Bishop Swanstrom had heard from another ally and member of the Laity Commission, Vittorino Veronese, who reported that the Laity Commission had, indeed, discussed article 90. Veronese, in a more irenic spirit, urged Swanstrom to contact Glorieux in the hope that the Laity Commission might include the work of the *conspiratori* in its entire planning process.<sup>16</sup>

As if to shed more light than heat on the debate over jurisdiction, Monsignor Benelli, the Holy See's representative at UNESCO,<sup>17</sup> spoke during the May meeting from his own experience at one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. The world is "waiting to see what the Church's claim to be interested in man really means in fact."<sup>18</sup> In this regard, the activity should be "disinterested," which offers "another reasons for

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<sup>15</sup> *Letter of James J. Norris to Rt. Rev. Msgr. Achille Glorieux, Secretary, Post Conciliar Commission of the Apostleship [sic] of the Laity*, January 26, 1966, NC-UNDA.

<sup>16</sup> *Letter of Vittorino Veronese to Bishop Edward E. Swanstrom*, April 27, 1966, 1966, NC-UNDA.

<sup>17</sup> *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*.

<sup>18</sup> *Minutes*, 5.

not being under the lay apostolate.”<sup>19</sup> Benelli feared a marginalization of social justice work if it were conferred on the laity. Invoking the teaching of *Lumen gentium*, Benelli said: “This is an activity of the Church and the Church of the people of God.”<sup>20</sup>

On the final day of the meeting, an important development took place. The session was dedicated to a discussion of a letter drafted by Monsignor Rodhain aimed at reporting the conclusions of the meeting to Archbishop Dell’Acqua at the Secretariat of State. During this discussion, M. de Habischt of the Conference of International Catholic Organizations made a clarifying distinction regarding the interpretation of the mandate prompted by article 90 and the role of the Laity Commission. He said that the responsibility of the Laity Commission extended only to seeing to the adequate implementation of article 90; it “did not mean that the adequate implementation would involve the Laity Commission taking control of the organism set up.” The *Minutes* continue:

Indeed, after the discussion it was clear to the members of the Laity Commission [present during the Working Group meeting] that to make an organism of the universal Church dealing with the ‘gigantic task’ of world poverty part of the Laity Commission was not an adequate implementation of paragraph 90.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 13.

For practical as well as theoretical reasons, the need for a separate entity to address the demands of justice emerged with greater force and any bias towards assigning the task to the Laity Commission was rapidly disappearing. The view of the *Working Group*, itself containing several members of the Laity Commission, was unanimous: the work for justice was beyond the scope of the lay apostolate.

**b        Report of Ad Hoc Working Group on Article 90, May 1966**

The Report of the Working Group that was submitted to the Holy See represented a consensus regarding the justification for their recommendations. It was divided into three parts. Part I contains three sections. The preamble lays out the nature of the problem and the urgency of the Church's action. Section two outlines the functions of the proposed organism and section three offers proposal for its structure. Part II of the document is divided between general and specific functions of the new organism. The first function identifies the main task of the new organism "in the field of education, stimulus and persuasion,"<sup>22</sup> while committing to avoid any operational aspect to its work. The third function commends the program to "all mankind,"<sup>23</sup> fully recognizing the need

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<sup>22</sup> *Report to the Holy See of the Working Group Charged with Making Proposals for the Implementation of Paragraph 90, "Gaudium et spes," Calling for the Creation of an Organism of the Universal Church to Stimulate the Catholic Community to Promote Development of Needy Regions and Social Justice Among Nations, Rome, May 9-12, 1966, NC-UNDA, 2.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

for a thoroughgoing ecumenical approach. The second general function described the role of the laity:

Since most of its [the organism's] activities will be concerned with temporal issues, it will take into account, both in its structures and in its work, the crucial role assigned by the Church to the laity in the temporal order.<sup>24</sup>

In recommending a structure for the new organism, the report highlights the importance of collaboration with *all* entities of the Holy See as well as other international Catholic bodies “affecting the field of competence of the organism.”<sup>25</sup> The Laity Commission is identified as one entity among several which would collaborate in furthering the goals of the new organism.<sup>26</sup> It would have been unusual not to identify outreach to the laity as a priority for the new commission. However, even at this early stage, proponents of the new commission resisted any limitation of the Church's social justice ministry to the purview of the lay faithful.

### **c      Provisional Committee of Cardinal Roy**

As we examined in the historical section, the Report of the Working Group yielded no immediate and definitive decision from the Apostolic Palace. Instead, Paul VI established the Provisional Committee of Cardinal Roy to investigate the issue further, a

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, III, B. 3, 4.

move that caused consternation among the *conspiratori*. Shortly after the announcement, Monsignor Gremillion was in Rome and discussed the implications of Cardinal Roy's pending committee for the future of the article 90 organism. In a memorandum to Bishop Swanstrom, Monsignor McCarthy and James Norris on July 21, 1966, Gremillion reported on his conversations with Vittorino Veronese and Barbara Ward and the initial reaction to the announcement by advisors to both commissions who were in Rome at the time. These included Monsignor Castelli from the Secretariat of State, Monsignor Glorieux and Ms. Rosemary Goldie from the Laity Commission. Gremillion reported:

(a) As the *Osservatore Romano* bulletin says, this committee is to begin "organic execution" of Lay Apostolate Paragraph 26 *as well as* to begin "organic execution" of Paragraph 90. Consequently, they are to start experiments concerning these. Also, they are instructed to move as quickly as possible. (b) This is not viewed as a committee concerned with the laity only, despite its composition. Its decisions and experiments are to be based on three documents: 1) The Report of the Post-Conciliar *Consilium de Laicis*. 2) A letter written to the Holy Father by the Commission on the Reform of the Curia. 3) The Report of our Working Group.<sup>27</sup>

Gremillion was attempting to quiet concerns among the *conspiratori*. Parsing the Vatican announcement, he found hope in the idea that the establishment of "an autonomous secretariat or commission"<sup>28</sup> was still likely. Such separation would indicate clearly the obligation of all the faithful – not just the laity - for the proper execution of the Church's

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<sup>27</sup> *Memorandum from Monsignor J. Gremillion to Bishop Swanstrom*, July 15, 1966, UNDA-GRM.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

social mission. Concerns were still expressed that the *case* for a distinct body had not yet been made sufficiently. If the lobbying effort itself would have any real effect on those responsible for establishing the new body, the reasons offered were not yet convincing enough. Perhaps one explanation for this failure was the lack of coherence in the reasons offered by the *cospiratori*. The theology of the lay apostolate developed in *Lumen gentium* flowed from a theology of the Church's mission founded on both the sacramental character of the Church and the sacramental foundation of discipleship common to all the faithful. Despite this "liberation" of the action of the laity from a strict association of the laity present in the pre-conciliar period, the *cospiratori* sought to reconnect the activity of the laity with that of the hierarchy, fearful perhaps that consigning the work for justice to the apostolate of the laity would render such work less effective.

#### **d      Report of the Provisional Committee<sup>29</sup>**

The Provisional Committee was charged with bringing to fruition the work already under way of implementing article 26 of *Apostolicam actuositatem* and article 90 of *Gaudium et spes*. Cardinal Roy's Committee had heard from the members of the

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<sup>29</sup> Working Group on Article 90, *Summary of the Discussion of October 3 & 5*, Rome, October 3-5, 1966, NC-UNDA.

Working Group on several occasions.<sup>30</sup> Roy's report began by posing directly the question of whether there was need of one or two distinct implementing bodies:

For many months the question had been: could and should the project for the *Consilium de Laicis*, formulated in terms of article 26 of the Decree *Apostolicam actuositatem* and the project for an "organization of the universal Church" of article 90 of *Gaudium et spes* be united in one single body?<sup>31</sup>

The Committee answered the question by recommending the creation of two separate entities. It did so for the following reasons:

The essences of the projects is clearly different: on the one hand the *Consilium de Laicis* aims at better integration of the laity and of its apostolate in the life and mission of the Church, whilst on the other hand it is a question of pledging the Church as a whole to the fulfillment of certain aspects of its mission.<sup>32</sup>

Returning to the new theology on the laity and on the Church's social mission presented by the Council, Roy identified the drawbacks from any proposal to unite the two efforts under the mandate of one body, chiefly the organism proposed by article 26 of *Apostolicam actuositatem*. Echoing some of the talking points expressed by the *conspiratori*, Roy's report warned:

Should (with reference to article 90) emphasis be laid in particular on the part of the laity in this effort of the Church in regard to the world, prospects would be too limited; moreover such an effort involves

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<sup>30</sup> See Report of Provisional Committee, *Appendix – Consultations Held During the Meeting*, 15.

<sup>31</sup> *General Report on the "Provisional Committee"* October 1966, PCJP Archives, Vatican City, 2.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

providing a true and overall image which can be achieved only through an appropriate organization.<sup>33</sup>

The demand for a single organization covering the work of the two bodies was thus rebuffed and reasons were given for creating two distinct entities. The Report went on to describe the reason for each body and the structural relationships desired by such bodies within the Roman Curia and with other international organizations. The Church's social mission should be carried on in a "unified" way.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, assigning the social mission to the laity in a special way would jeopardize that unity and the notion of the Church as the People of God:

[O]ne of the teachings of the Council is that the laity must not be separated from the People of God as a whole; the whole Church must be present in its effort of dialogue with the world.<sup>35</sup>

Regarding the article 90 organism, the report recognizes the contentious debate regarding its nature and notes the need for a clear statement of purpose so as to "avoid the confusion which has occurred in public opinion."<sup>36</sup> The report dwells on the "non-operational" nature of the entity preferring to see the organism as more of a "brain trust."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 9.

In Part B of Section IV, the report identifies the nature, name and aims of the new organization. Regarding the first, the body should follow the direction outlined in *Gaudium et spes*, being an expression of the “interest of the universal Church in the major problems of the present day world.”<sup>38</sup> The report identifies four aims: 1) gathering major studies on development; 2) generate original material that incorporates the studies into a theological, pastoral and ecumenical vision; 3) communicate these studies to other Church bodies; 4) network with other organizations in a way that avoids overlapping and duplication of efforts.<sup>39</sup> The structure follows the classical “see-judge-act” methodology evident during the Council and represented in the structure of the Pastoral Constitution itself.

Roy’s report is significant for the way in which it attempts a first interpretation of the Council’s teaching and applied that interpretation to a reorganization of Church structures. Underpinning these considerations is the new understanding of the Church as the People of God. At the same time, the specific role of the laity in the Church’s life and mission is identified as “action in the world.”<sup>40</sup> The close connection between the social mission and the laity is affirmed. To accompany and explore further this working out of this understanding of the laity in light of the Council’s broader teaching on the Church

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 9-10.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

and the laity, Roy recommends a specific commission under the direct control of the pope and the hierarchy, one that is distinct from the Commission on the Lay Apostolate.

Notwithstanding the two “definite projects”<sup>41</sup> identified by Cardinal Roy, the report concludes with a lengthy section offering suggestions on how the two projects might be presented to the Church and the world. It is evident that the history of the two projects overlapped considerably in Roy’s mind evidenced by the documents listed in support of the two entities that would serve to launch them. These ranged from a history of *Catholic Action*, the World Congresses of the Lay Apostolate, to the “finalization of the Council to mankind” and the commendation of the Council to the world by Paul VI on December 8, 1965.<sup>42</sup> The connection between the two new bodies was more than operational: it flowed from an understanding of the Church’s relationship to the world that privileged the role of the laity and the Church in the world.<sup>43</sup> The report’s *Notes* identify relief and development agencies as well as Catholic lay groups as organizations with the potential of “gathering and disseminating information on the Church’s teaching.”<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 12-3.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

*e Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*

The *motu proprio* of Paul VI issued on January 6, 1967 established both the Commission on the Laity and the Commission on Justice and Peace. To underline the intimate nature of the new entities, the pope appointed Cardinal Roy as President of both commissions. The document also offers a concise understanding of the relationship between the Laity Commission and the article 90 organism. The pope framed his decision to establish two separate entities under the one President in terms of the *aggiornamento* undertaken by his predecessor, John XXIII:

The Catholic Church, in her continuous effort of internal renewal and “aggiornamento” of her structures, in conformity with the times in which she lives, realizes “how much she should continually mature in the light of experience, in her relations with the world” (*Gaudium et spes*, n. 43), for whose salvation she is founded by the divine Redeemer.<sup>45</sup>

Experience, according to the pope, is a stimulant to the Church and is a source of investigation on how the Church can continue to be a means of salvation for the world itself. The salvific power of the Church, founded by Christ, depends for its efficacy on the renewal that comes from dialogue with the world. Drawing on several conciliar documents, Paul VI develops an understanding of the close relationship between the role

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<sup>45</sup> “Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam cum eo semper spectare oporteat, ut et seipsam intus renovet, et suam externam conformationem ad ea, in quibus vivit, tempora accomodet, in animo idcirco habet ex rerum usu, quem cursu saeculorum consecuta est, suas cum mundi hominibus rationes plus plusque in dies perficere (Cf Const. *Gaudium et spes*, n. 43) ad quorum salutem a divino Redemptore condita est.” *CCE*, 25.

of the laity and action on behalf of justice and peace. The pope explained the connection between the two initiatives as follows:

According to the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, every Christian, in the measure of his own strength, inasmuch as belonging to the People of God, must fulfill this mission of salvation (*Lumen gentium*, nn. 17 and 31). The Council, after examining in several documents the particular position of the layman within the People of God – such considerations being one of its special features – finally dedicated to the activity of the layman in the Church a Special Decree, which provided for the institution of an organism “for the service and promotion of the lay apostolate” (*Apostolicam actuositatem*, n. 26).

At the same time, the Council, wanting to establish a dialogue with the people of this age, gave due attention to some of the major aspirations of the contemporary world, (such as the problems of development, promotion of justice among nations and the cause of peace among peoples), proposing the institution of a *Concilium* of the Apostolic See, whose purpose should be to encourage the Catholic to investigate these questions (*Gaudium et spes*. N.90).<sup>46</sup>

The pope established the two bodies on the basis of the study and recommendations flowing from the mandates established during the Council and that took place during

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<sup>46</sup> “Ex Concilii Vaticani II monitis, omnes christifideles, pro sua quisque parte, eo quod ad populum Dei pertineant, necesse est, ut munus hoc salutis sustineant (Cf Const. *Lumen gentium*, nn. 17 et 31). Idem vero Concilium, quod in multis actis suis singularem locum, quem laici in populo Dei obtinent, illustravit, quodque ex hoc plane videtur urram e suis notis propriis accepisse, ut exponeret quam actionem laici in Ecclesia suscipere, peculiare fecit Decretum, quo Consilium quoddam constitui praecipiebatur *in servitium et impulsu apostolatus laicorum* (Decr. *Apostolicam actuositatem*, n. 26).

Eodem autem tempore, Concilium, quoniam colloquium cum huius aetatis hominibus serere quaerebat, considerationem suam in praecipuas quasdam appetitiones et studia hominum horum dierum intendit (cuius generis sunt quaestiones quae ad civitatum progressionem explicandas attinent, ad iustitiam promovendam inter nationes, ad pacem inter populos fovendam) et votis expetivit, ut ab Apostolica Sede Consilium quoddam statueretur, quod catholicorum communitatem excitaret, ad eiusmodi quaestiones investigandas (Cf Const. *Gaudium et spes*, n. 90).” Ibid.

1966. The two bodies are linked because their respective agendas overlap to a certain degree:

We have confidently established the two Councils in the firm hope that the lay members of the People of God, to whom We are giving a token of Our esteem and benevolence by this official organization, may feel themselves more closely associated with the action of the Apostolic See and, in future, dedicate to Holy Church with ever greater generosity their efforts, their energies and their activity.<sup>47</sup>

The article 90 organism is couched in terms of the Council's desire to establish a dialogue with the modern world, appealing to the entire People of God. It will constitute a mechanism whereby the Magisterium will offer ongoing direction on the challenges facing the modern world as they relate to social justice and peace. The token of esteem expressed in the pope's actions is extended to the laity in the hope that their ministry might feel ever more closely identified with the work of the papacy. The reason for establishing the "official organization" seems to be motivated by a desire to foster a more lively engagement of the laity in all areas of the Church's life. The pope signals an important interpretation of the Council's teaching regarding the status of the laity. The goal of the new organism in fostering dialogue and promoting action on behalf of justice and peace by the laity is designed to associate the work of the laity with the ministry of

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<sup>47</sup> "Ex binis hisce Consiliis, quae libenti sane animo condidimus, certa firmaque spes Nobis inicitur fore ut populi Dei laici homines, quibus publica hac ordinatione constituta novae existimationis et benevolentiae Nostrae testimonium tribuimus, artius se posthac cum Apostolicae Sedis actione et sedulitate sentiant coniunctos, atque propterea generosius cotidie operam, vires, alacritatem in posterum Ecclesiae sanctae navent." Ibid, 28.

the Holy See, implied to be the significant actor in representing the Church to the world. The laity in this understanding is not seen as Church in their own right, but associated to the work of the Church through their association with the Apostolic See.

#### **f        Summary Observations**

The Commissions established by *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam* were different not only in subject matter but also in *raison d'être*. The Laity Commission was attempting to bring a central truth of the entire gospel to a certain section of the people of God. *Justpax*, on the other hand, was to bring a section of the Gospel – by its teaching to care for the least of these – to the entire people of God. The fate of the two “apostolates” had been entwined for some time. They would remain closely aligned according to the pope’s *motu proprio*.

The reason offered in *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam* for establishing two new Commissions was both to establish and thereby justify the action of the laity as truly the action of the Church itself, giving meaning to the work on behalf of justice and peace prevalent among the lay faithful, particularly before the Council. However, the shift from Council teaching to post-conciliar instruments admits of some key distinctions. There is a clear tendency in this process of delegation by the hierarchy to the laity of the Church’s mission. Indeed, it could be argued that the description of the role of the laity in *Catholicam Christi Eccleisam* sets the stage for why *Justpax* cannot meet the promises contained in article 90. According to the document establishing *Justpax*, the laity assist

the hierarchy and are guided by the hierarchy. The role of the laity in the Church's social mission is now related to the work of the *munus pastorale* of the hierarchy.

The teaching role of *Justpax* is developed with some clarity. Hence, the teaching responsibility of the new Commission does not pertain to the work of the laity, who will be instructed by it in their tasks. In effect, Paul VI was adapting the model for *Catholic Action* proposed by Pius XI, namely that the laity are related to the mission of the whole Church through their association with the work of the hierarchy, and the guidance they receive from it.

The development in the theology of the laity during the Council was significant and represented a maturing of the relationship between the laity and the hierarchy as well as a fuller understanding of the proper role of the laity in their own right. Several *cospiratori* and others involved in the Article 90 working group were well aware of this tradition and had themselves been part of many lay movements prior to the Council. Their efforts were to awaken among all the people of God the exigencies towards suffering humanity that flowed from the Gospel.

However, debate on preserving the independence of the new Commission presumed the teaching on the laity rather than developing it to address the specific question of which body should have the competence to direct the new organism. If anything, there was a tendency to glide over the implications of the theology of the laity that emerged from the Council. The interpretation of the Council's message was partial in relation to social justice activity by the laity. Clearly the notion of worldly activity that

builds up the Kingdom of God was intuitively and historically linked to the laity. This was enough for the *cospiratori*. Their focus after the Council was to ensure that the newly minted theology of the laity did not develop in such a way that it included exclusive jurisdiction over the way the Church organized its social mission. In justifying their plan, the *cospiratori* adopted an interpretation of the mission of the laity that is connected to the mission of the hierarchy in a delegated way. To the extent that this understanding thrived, the goals of *Justpax* might serve to thwart a reading of the Council's teaching on both the laity and activity in the world that considered the laity as the Church in the world.

## 1.2 How the organism is defined in terms of Ecumenical Collaboration

The work of *Justpax* was imbued from its inception with a strong ecumenical thrust, seeking to strengthen efforts in ecumenical collaboration that had existed prior to the Council and that were intensified during and by the Council.<sup>48</sup> As early as April 1963, Bishop Guano and Fr. Tucci from the Mixed Commission sent draft texts of the Council documents to the World Council of Churches with the understanding that the issues being considered by the Mixed Commission were vital not only for the Roman Church but for

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<sup>48</sup> Charles O'Neill (ed.) *Ecumenism and Vatican II*, (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1964); Pedro S. De Achútegui, S.J. (ed.) *Ecumenism and Vatican II : select perspectives*, (Manila: Ataneo, 1972).

all the churches.<sup>49</sup> Rev. Dr. Lukas Vischer was the chief liaison at the WCC regarding preparations for the Council and would represent the WCC as an observer at the Council. Vischer was well respected by his Roman counterparts. In reviewing the early drafts of the schema on the Church's presence in the modern world, Vischer echoed the feeling of many of his colleagues at the WCC that cooperation on social justice could be seen as a privileged starting point for reciprocal dialogue between the Catholic Church and the WCC.<sup>50</sup>

**a      Report of Ad Hoc Working Group on Article 90, May 1966**

The Minutes of the meeting compiled by Monsignor Gremillion make only a passing reference to the importance of ecumenical collaboration. Participants likened the article 90 organism to the Secretariat for Christian Unity as a structure within the Curia. There was little reflection on the importance of collaboration for the Church's ecumenical work. In the Report that was submitted to the Holy See, however, what had remained implicit in the Minutes was presented as one of three "General Functions" of the new organism:

It will recognize that since the task of building a fully human order is a task for all mankind, Catholics can neither direct nor dominate the

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<sup>49</sup> *History*, III, described how Vischer had seen the text of January 21.

<sup>50</sup> Lukas Vischer, "Memorandum on *Gaudium et spes*." See also Carmen Aparicio, "Contributo di Lukas Vischer alla *Gaudium et spes*," in *Sapere teologico e unità della fede: Studi in onore del Prof. Jared Wicks*, (Roma: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2004): 3-19.

process. But they have their own vital contribution to offer to the common human effort and the organism should help them make it in the most effective way.<sup>51</sup>

The nature of this “vital contribution” is not specified. The Report was disseminated to collaborators in Rome and elsewhere.

**b      Provisional Committee under Cardinal Roy**

Cardinal Roy was keen to consult widely on the nature of the new organism. Perhaps facilitated by Monsignor Gremillion, Roy received officials from the WCC in Canada before any consultations in Rome. Eugene Carson Blake was briefed for the meeting by his Catholic counterparts and stressed with Roy the importance not only of ecumenical collaboration, but of the need for structures that would facilitate such exchange. The Report of the Provisional Committee notes the discussion of the ecumenical dimension of the proposed Commission:

The ecumenical factor was given considerable attention. It should even be recorded that the subject was brought up frequently during the meeting of the Committee in the same way as occurred during the Council. The projects concerning the two organizations were formulated according to the specific needs of the Catholic Church, but realizing however that one day they will be involved in the ecumenical dialogue, the Provisional Committee deemed it suitable that the nomination of the members of either body be based on their experience in this field. Moreover relations

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<sup>51</sup> *General Report on the “Provisional Committee” Meeting*, undated, NC-UNDA, II, A, 3.

with the Secretariat for Christian Unity and with those for non-Christians and non-believers will be of great importance.<sup>52</sup>

**c      Discussions among Ecumenical Partners on Justice and Peace**

The collegial contacts that had been going on for many years prior to the Council are key to understanding not only the theological perspectives brought to bear on the new organism, but also the spirit of optimism unleashed during the Council and in efforts to implement article 90. The collaboration among Christian scholars during this period is particularly illuminating for how the personal is at the center of the historical. In some ways, these contacts flesh out the spirit of the time more than joint texts or conciliar decrees.

***1. WCC Conference on Church and Society, Geneva, July 12-26, 1966***<sup>53</sup>

The WCC was keen to seize on the moment of optimism released by the Council to explore ways of greater collaboration with Rome. In 1966, the WCC facilitated a gathering of people from 80 countries, giving voice to those churches facing severe challenges in countries that could not provide for their people. The Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity sent eight official Catholic observers. It was one of the most significant assemblies convened by the WCC immediately following the Vatican

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, II, 4.

<sup>53</sup> World Conference on Church and Society, *Christians in the Technical and Social Revolutions of Our Time*, (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1967).

Council. The Report on the Conference listed some 158 theologians present from all around the world. Similar to the debate on the Pastoral Constitution, this Conference asked the question regarding the Christian's role in society. The Report lamented the lack of serious theological treatment of the social issues discussed. The question was raised "whether theological questions received sufficient attention at the Conference. Some observers have pointed out that these statements were slighted. Others have pointed out that theology was necessarily in the background."<sup>54</sup>

This Conference led to a shift in the theological and programmatic approach to social issues. The Conference stated: "We are called to serve God's peace among our fellow man. Although God's peace and peace in the world of nations are not identical, he who serves because he has been given the peace of God will seek peace among men."<sup>55</sup> The Conference continued: "Church and Christians live in solidarity with the needs of the world and share its responsibilities."<sup>56</sup>

Monsignor Gremillion represented the Holy See at the Conference and prepared a report for the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity on Section III of the Conference, which dealt with structures of international cooperation. Gremillion had several discussions concerning the organism suggested by article 90 of *Gaudium et spes*. WCC

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 62.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 122.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

officers responded to the idea by suggesting a similar structure within their own organization. Gremillion underlined in this report the need by all parties to ensure that the structures designed by the Holy See and the WCC had comparable status in their respective organizations that would encompass the authority with which they spoke, the goals for each organization and that the *modus procedendi* of each be compatible.<sup>57</sup> On the question of status and scope of the proposed WCC organism, Gremillion notes:

In response to my specific question, Dr. Blake, [then-General Secretary of the WCC] said that he would most certainly not assign such Church wide, society wide and world wide responsibilities to the World Council of Churches Department of the Laity. They would rather think of an *ad hoc* body, answerable directly to the General Secretary.<sup>58</sup>

The influence of current Catholic thinking on justice and peace on the final document was not limited to the presence of Mgr. Gremillion. Both Barbara Ward and Vittorino Veronese of the post-conciliar *Laity Commission* and confidant of Paul VI participated in the conference on behalf of the Holy See. In the final conference document there are echoes of the discussions taking place among the members of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Article 90 of May 1996:

We urge Christians in the Churches by every means at their disposal to join those who seek to rouse the conscience of their fellow men concerning justice and peace. This life of the Churches itself is the principal means, but others will also be needed. These will vary: patient

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<sup>57</sup> Monsignor J. Gremillion, *Report to the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity*, July 1966, GRM-UNDA.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

political effort and impatient protest, advocacy of peaceful measures, and projection of long-range goals. The creation of greater order and the transformation of existing orders will all be involved. Whatever the means, Christians must help to bear one another's burdens of loneliness and weakness and support one another in their common witness. But the goals must always be to arouse the conscience of all men everywhere, that it may be made sensitive to the claims of justice and peace in our world.<sup>59</sup>

In August of 1966, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the WCC met with Cardinal Roy for the first time. At that time, Roy had been charged with the task of consulting widely on the implementation of article 90. Blake urged stronger ties between the proposed organism and the WCC in the joint work of justice and peace.

## ***2. Parallel Structures for Ecumenical Collaboration on Social Justice***

The way in which the departments of the Roman Curia would relate to one another was a preoccupation of the officials charged with their operation. In March 1967, only two months after the establishment of *Justpax*, Bishop Willebrands, Fr. Hamer and Fr. Stransky from the Unity Commission met with Monsignor Gremillion to discuss the nature of the relationship between the two bodies. Moreover, the Roman officials had received word from their counterparts at the WCC that the latter was discussing proposals to create a parallel structure to *Justpax* that would facilitate cooperation for action.

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<sup>59</sup> *Proceedings of the World Conference of Church and Society*, WCC, # 126, 151.

The officials also discussed the first report of the Joint Working Group, the main body established in 1965 to continue discussions after the Council with the WCC.<sup>60</sup> The report stated:

[I]t (the Joint Working Group) intended to examine possibilities in the field of dialogue and cooperation...its business is the joint study of problems, and thereafter, to report to the competent authorities on both sides ... The group is not limited to settling the technical and administrative aspects of collaboration; it is called to discern the will of God in the contemporary ecumenical situation.<sup>61</sup>

Notably, the report recognized the human limitations placed on this new group and called for additional “specialized” groups to help develop relations. The important conclusion of these discussions was the decision that Bishop Willebrands would recommend to the Joint Working Group that the JWG, in turn, recommend to the WCC and the Roman authorities that there be established an *instrument of continued consultation*, study and appropriate initiatives in the field of the Churches’ joint presence in society, with a special emphasis on Justice, Development and Peace. The note from the *ad hoc* meetings explains the importance of a clearly understood relationship between these new entities:

It is clearly understood that while the Commission Justice and Peace would have the prime responsibility in this social sphere of ecumenical relations, there must evolve and continue, in closest and constant consultation with the Secretariat for Christian Unity, with full concern for the overall ecumenical issues, for example – theological, order, mission

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<sup>60</sup> On Catholic participation in the Joint Working Group see John J. McDonnell, C.M., *The World Council of Churches and the Catholic Church*, (N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1985) 274.

<sup>61</sup> *Report of the Joint Working Group*, GC-UNDA.

and others – and within the integral goal of all ecumenical collaboration,  
*ut unum sint.*”<sup>62</sup>

We see here a form of practical ecumenism employed as a way of building the consensus necessary to support unity at the theological level.<sup>63</sup> Coordination at the dicasterial level – rather than hostility among the two entities – would smooth the way to a more fruitful engagement with other Christian bodies: “One way in which these close relations could be assured,” the note continued, “would be the appointment of a staff member of the Secretariat for Christian Unity to the instrument, committee, group or other entity, which in due time would be set up for ecumenical activity in the social field.”<sup>64</sup>

Also around this time, there was an important meeting between Monsignor Gremillion and three officials from the WCC, including Lukas Vischer. On April 11, Vischer wrote a long letter to Gremillion in response to the meeting itself and most likely at the invitation of Gremillion as he prepared the agenda for the first plenary session of *Justpax* in April, 1967.

Vischer begins his reflection on the nature of ecumenical collaboration in general by saying that,

... the question of how to conceive dialogue and cooperation has been at the center of our common interest, especially since the calling of the

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<sup>62</sup> Note on meeting to discuss joint collaboration.

<sup>63</sup> See José Miguel Bonino, “Social Doctrine as Locus for Ecumenical Encounter,” *The Ecumenical Review* 42 (October, 1991): 392-400.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

Vatican Council and as so many new doors are being opened, it becomes even more important to reach answers on which we are agreed.<sup>65</sup>

Desiring unity, Vischer saw the problem as “how separated Churches which are not yet in a position to unite, can best cooperate.”<sup>66</sup> While each Church must be loyal to its convictions and traditions, they should nevertheless form a community which is sufficiently strong to provide the basis of common witness and work. This is only possible, he claimed, if each Church regarded the other as a partner in equal footing:

Only in this way, can the two requirements be fulfilled – on the one side, the integrity of the doctrinal and ecclesiological convictions; and on the other, the formation of provisional fellowship, which clearly appears as such to the world to which we want to bear common witness.<sup>67</sup>

As an observer during the Council, Vischer welcomed the *Decree on Ecumenism* because it laid the groundwork that fulfilled the tasks outlined above. In defining the ecumenical task of the Catholic Church, the decree had recognized that there is only one ecumenical movement, in which all the churches participate;

[C]ertainly, it stresses the doctrinal and theological convictions of the Roman Catholic Church, but at the same time, it recognizes that there must be equality in dialogue. It suggests that ecumenical work must be based on the methodological principle of *par cum pari*.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> *Letter from Lukas Vischer to Monsignor J. Gremillion*, GRM-UNDA.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *History of Sodepax*, 98.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

Vischer found a source for the equality for which he has called in number 12 of *Unitatis*

*Redintegratio*, which states:

Before the whole world let all Christians confess their faith in the triune God, one and three in the incarnate Son of God, our Redeemer and Lord. United in their efforts, and with mutual respect, let them bear witness to our common hope which does not play us false. In these days when cooperation in social matters is so widespread, all men without exception are called to work together, with much greater reason all those who believe in God, but most of all, all Christians in that they bear the name of Christ. Cooperation among Christians vividly expresses the relationship which in fact already unites them, and it sets in clearer relief the features of Christ the Servant. This cooperation, which has already begun in many countries, should be developed more and more.<sup>69</sup>

Such passages make the *Decree on Ecumenism* an important foundation for hoped-for unity. Vischer clarified:

Of course we would all maintain that our final goal is ecclesial unity, and do everything within our power to achieve this goal, but recognizing that we are not yet in a position to realize unity, and cannot even see how it could be achieved, we have to work by forming such an ecumenical fellowship which is provisional.<sup>70</sup>

These encounters indicate the enthusiasm for collaboration among key officials in the different churches – one that considered social cooperation as a privileged locus for greater unity. They also reveal the need for a theology of development that was lacking. Without this, the educational and advocacy programs would have no basis in a religious expression.

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<sup>69</sup> *Unitatis Redintegratio*, 12.

<sup>70</sup> *History of Sodepax*, 99.

**d Post-Conciliar Meeting on Vatican II: Notre Dame, March 20-26, 1966**

Shortly after the Council, the University of Notre Dame held a conference entitled “Vatican II: An Interfaith Appraisal.”<sup>71</sup> The Conference was significant not only because of the presence of so many Council *periti* and others. It was one of the first extensive interpretive gatherings about the Council in the English-speaking world. The Conference proceedings contain formal papers as well as a transcript of the *Questions and Answers* periods that followed each presentation and that were laboriously transcribed and reproduced.

Gremillion, Norris and Ward were in attendance and addressed the group. Ward prepared a paper but was forced to summarize her points due to “lack of time.”<sup>72</sup> Notable non-Catholic theologians were present and made their own contributions. Lutheran theologian George Lindbeck was present as was Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Executive Director of the Synagogue Council of America.<sup>73</sup> The Conference was divided into sixteen sessions that covered all aspects of the Council’s agenda.

Several details are worth noting. Norris reflected on the topic of the International Order within the context of *Gaudium et spes*:

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<sup>71</sup> John H. Miller, C.S.C., ed. *Vatican II: An Interfaith Appraisal*, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966) [hereafter *Interfaith Appraisal*].

<sup>72</sup> Elwyn A. Smith, “The Notre Dame Conference on Vatican II,” in *The Ecumenical Review*, 3 no 2 Spr 1966, p 453-456.

<sup>73</sup> For a complete list of Conference Principals as well as participants, see *Interfaith Appraisal* 643-650.

While the text does not use the term international morality, does it not still provide all the elements for a new Christian probing into the basis of international life and a study of a new theology in relation to the basic issues discussed in the text?<sup>74</sup>

Such morality could be brought to light through a consideration of global threats to human safety and well being: war, poverty, development.

May I ask our theologians: Has our theology developed sufficiently the basic concept of the gospel as applied to justice and charity within a single human family? Can the human race, inspired by the Church, move to this realization or is it an idle dream in the light of man's unredeemed tendency to selfishness? The message of *Gaudium et spes* is that it is possible and realizable but only by enduring, properly motivated efforts that stem from our commitment to Christ.<sup>75</sup>

Of interest is the fact that Norris poses the question around the adequacy of the theological understanding rather than offering an adequate understanding from his own experience. The exchange that followed illuminated the state of the efforts of the *conspiratori* in relation to article 90. Monsignor Gremillion freely volunteered the conspiratorial nature of the efforts of the group in seeking to implement article 90 with a new Secretariat. Aware of the struggle to bring this new Commission to life, a struggle that was *in medias res* in March 1966, Gremillion said:

I want to have a word on the Secretariat organism that Mr. Norris spoke of. I want to emphasize the ecumenical dimension of this. There is envisaged a Secretariat which is of the Catholic Church, and which is official, but by all means we are hoping and anticipating, and we are in

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 499.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 502.

discussion with leaders of the World Council of Churches and National Council of Churches, some sort of parallel development among them that could be a conjoint effort.<sup>76</sup>

Gremillion described the meeting he had attended the previous year with the WCC in consultation regarding the Church in Society. Indeed, Gremillion displayed a vision beyond the merely ecumenical:

We have to think then about Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism, all of which are undergoing the enlightenment, their French revolution, their industrial revolution, their social revolution. We are a very small enclave of the human race that is represented in this cockpit here – very small. We are all Westerners, for instance. In a few more years, there will be 4 billions of non-Christians as compared to us. As soon as we start speaking ecumenically, and it is particularly in this social issue that we have to relate, I would suggest, to Islam and the others. Let us look to the future, the thrust forward.<sup>77</sup>

Dr. Ralph Hyslop of Union Theological Seminary in New York reinforced Gremillion's enthusiasm while noting the shortfall in theological comity between the church bodies at that point but encouraging a move beyond the visible shortfall in unity:

It seems to me that God is working to bring us to the point of action together, despite the fact that we do not have the visible unity with which we theologians are so greatly concerned. I just wanted to point out that the document itself speaks of this agency of the universal Church as being set up for the world-wide promotion of justice for the poor, and of Christ's kind of love for them. And it seems to me that there we have the clue, because there is a universal Church in existence that is not identified with the Roman Catholic Church or with the ecclesial communities that are not in communion with Rome. This is the Church invisible, and it needs so

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 515.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 516.

badly to be made visible in simply and profoundly manifesting Christ's kind of love. I simply ask that we have the daring now to make visible our unity in this following of Christ in the expression of this kind of love in the world.<sup>78</sup>

From such cooperation, Hyslop represented the view that convergence on theology would likely follow:

And I am convinced, as a theologian, that then we will be able to answer your question: Has theology developed sufficiently the basic concept of the gospel as applied to justice and charity within the single human family? The answer to that now is no, because although the human family is there and Christ is there, we are not there. I think this is the way in which we must go in order to discover the unity, which then will be made visible in the forms of the Church.<sup>79</sup>

According to Hyslop, theology was behind the practice of the faithful. Practice should guide theoretical reflection. On the priority of action over theory, Sister Mary Luke Tobin, Superior General of the Sisters of Loretto and one of fifteen women auditors at the Council, pointed to the civil rights movement in the United States as an example that theoretical formulation will emerge from the experience of practicing social justice:

I think that Selma has been a proof that unless these things happen first the official opinion can't be easily formed. Unless there is witness, unless there is the courage to move into an area where this kind of conviction can be shown, then we are delayed all the more at arriving at any sort of official statement.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 517.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 517.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

Monsignor Gremillion introduced his paper entitled “The Church in the World Today – Challenge to Theology,” by announcing that he was not there “as a theologian.” He was a “social actionist ... an administrator, a bureaucrat, ‘an organization man’ of the Church.”<sup>81</sup>

#### **e Problems Related to Ecumenical Collaboration**

Participants in these discussions recognized that many obstacles remained on the level of doctrinal agreement. Vischer himself was wary of what he considered the concept of ecumenism of his Catholic interlocutors. This concept revolves around the image of concentric circles, in which the Roman Catholic Church is at the center and seen as the true Church that reaches out to other Christians, then to Jews, to other religious and finally to all people of good will. Dialogue in this concept would begin with fellow Christians, not yet in full communion with the Rome, next with the Jews and so forth. Vischer rejected this notion of a differentiated dialogue between different groups. To this end, he wrote a critique of a “recent text” which he had read that employed the terms “apostolic dialogue,” ecumenical dialogue” and “dialogue with the world.”<sup>82</sup> According to these categories, “apostolic dialogue” referred to the Church’s traditional missionary work; the second, “ecumenical dialogue” referred to the relation with other Churches.

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 521.

<sup>82</sup> The text referred to is probably *Ecclesiam suam*.

The intention of this dialogue is to clarify the differences between the Catholic Church and other churches so as to prepare the way for union. The “dialogue with the world” was aimed at a mutual understanding with non-Christian ideologies, secularists or representatives of other religions.

For Vischer, this image of concentric circles and the terminology that accompanied it made ecumenical collaboration difficult since it operated from the presumption that the Roman Catholic Church was the bearer of both the unity and the true witness to which all believers are called. Other churches, accordingly, are defined in relation to this center: “It conveys the impression,” according to Vischer, “that the non-Roman Catholics can enter into ecumenical work, together with the Roman Catholic Church, only by relating themselves with this center, and by supporting its initiatives.”<sup>83</sup>

Views such as those expressed by Vischer were typical of ongoing theological differences between the churches. While the plan for common social action envisaged further theological investigation by theologians and the like as the churches journeyed in their common effort, the lack of any clarity on these questions would make true cooperation difficult.

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<sup>83</sup> *History of Sodepax*, 100

## **f      Summary Observations**

Collaboration with other Christian churches was seen as an intrinsic part of the work of the new Commission from its beginning. This collaboration was considered in the four following aspects: a theological deepening of the theology of development; the preparation of a curriculum for educational planning; joint work on the up-coming development decade that involved direct advocacy to urge governments to contribute one percent of their Gross Domestic Product to development. And finally, ecumenism was to be prized not only at the level of the specific project. Rather ecumenical collaboration was to have a priority at the relational level between the WCC and the Roman Curia.

The affirmation of ecumenical collaboration expressed in the *aula* was muted when compared to the enthusiasm to which it led in the post-conciliar period. Those who had collaborated before the Council envisaged some form of joining of forces as the Council began to be discussed and implemented around the world. In his lengthy reflection on the nature of this enthusiasm in his book, *Barriers to Ecumenism*, Thomas Derr presented the period of excitement that followed the Council, concluding that there was little actual common social action at the institutional level between the Holy See and

the WCC.<sup>84</sup> The barriers discussed in the book are summarized under the following categories: 1) methodological differences, 2) structures, and 3) substantive issues.

Derr painted a pessimistic picture of attempts at collaboration. Efforts at developing a parallel structure that had been discussed during the period under investigation were bound to fail “if historical, social and cultural obstacles were not overcome.”<sup>85</sup> Indeed, the joint body on *Society, Development and Peace* established in 1968 by *Justpax* and the WCC and known commonly as SODEPAX would be severely restricted in its activities by its parent bodies, mainly the Holy See, and ultimately ended in 1980.<sup>86</sup>

Derr noted that the WCC was a confederation of churches whereas the Holy See spoke in the name of just one. The WCC, perhaps as a result of its constituency, worked from a “bottom up” methodology, relying on consensus at lower levels of governance before affirming its positions.<sup>87</sup> While the Holy See did not operate in such a consensus way, the proposal for *Justpax* did, in fact, envisage greater participation of the laity and of experts from around the world.

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<sup>84</sup> Thomas Sieger Derr, *Barriers to Ecumenism: The Holy See and the World Council on Social Questions*, (New York: Orbis Books, 1983).

<sup>85</sup> José Míguez Bonino, op. cit., 400.

<sup>86</sup> For a history of the limitations of SODEPAX, see Philip Land, SJ, “SODEPAX; An Ecumenical Dialogue,” *The Ecumenical Review*, 37, (January 1985): 40-46. See also Derr, op. cit., 30; “Some Lessons from the Ending of SODEPAX,” *African Ecclesial Review* 23 (October 1981): 258-259.

<sup>87</sup> Derr, 24-27.

The attendance at the Council of many ecumenical partners and their involvement in commenting on draft texts spilled over into conferences such as the one held at Notre Dame where the Council's teaching became a convening tool not only for ecumenical discussion but for reflection on the nature of the Church and its mission in the modern world. It might be easy to say with hindsight that "hopes had been raised too high and were soon disappointed. No doubt they were unrealistic from the beginning."<sup>88</sup> Aiming for institutional collaboration without having first traversed the necessary theological ground can be seen in the intention of *Justpax* to begin such an investigation after its foundation. Such a theology of development appeared in outline in *Populorum progressio* and applied to the theological concepts found in the Catholic Church. It would be difficult to retrace the steps within an ecumenical context that placed such a high priority on concrete action in the world.

### **1.3 How the organism is different from the Church's existing charitable agencies**

Perhaps the most attentive to any shifts in jurisdiction regarding the Church's social mission were the traditional relief and development agencies that were grouped into a loose but significant federation under *Caritas Internationalis*. Headed by Monsignor Jean Rodhain, *Caritas* was an umbrella organization for individual Catholic relief and development organizations that operated around the world, particularly in the

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<sup>88</sup> Derr, 2.

developing countries in the southern hemisphere. Its main focus had been on emergency aid delivered to areas hit by humanitarian disaster. Funded by Church organizations in developed countries such as Catholic Relief Services in the United States, *Misereor* in Germany and CAFOD<sup>89</sup> in the United Kingdom, *Caritas* would work through partner organizations operating in countries in need of emergency or development assistance. While their work went beyond emergency aid and supported programs for literacy, radio education as well as cooperatives and credit unions for small farmers in poor countries, these agencies were still considered as a part of the Church's charitable works. They responded to the human consequences of conflict and war, acting as one of the largest non-governmental resettling agencies for migrants and refugees.

Interest in longer-term development efforts was already ripe at the start of the Council and flowed from an increased emphasis in the post-war period on theories of development.<sup>90</sup> Three prominent European Cardinals coalesced around the idea of forming a working group to study ways in which existing development work undertaken by Catholic agencies in Europe could expand their research and advocacy efforts to influence national and international policies that would tackle the systemic challenges to poverty alleviation. They were Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens of Malines-Brussels,

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<sup>89</sup> The Catholic Fund for Overseas Development.

<sup>90</sup> Gerhard Bauer (ed.) *Towards a Theology of Development*, (Geneva: Ecumenical Centre Publications Dept., 1970).

Belgium, Cardinal Bernard Alfrink of Utrecht in the Netherlands and Cardinal Josef Frings of Cologne, Germany. All three had extensive experience in the Church's charitable activities. Alfrink headed the Dutch *Pax Christi* while Frings was the founder of the German Bishops' aid agency, *Misereor*. The commitment of Cardinal Suenens to justice and peace effort is well documented above. Their efforts in the early 1960s to respond to the new understanding of development that had emerged among economists and development experts after World War II centered around the work of Cardinal Suenens and what came to be called *The Group of Brussels*, today known as CIDSE (*Coopération Internationale Pour Le Développement et la Solidarité*).

The *cospiratori* were well versed in the current thinking around development and theories aimed at tackling not just the consequences of economic injustice, but getting at the root causes of poverty and inequality. Both Barbara Ward and Fr. Lebreton had written academic works on the subject. Fr. McCormack was also steeped in existing trends in development and had written regular commentaries on the draft schemata which were distributed among key collaborators. Meanwhile, as practitioners, Norris and McMahon kept abreast of current trends in the development literature and how to apply this new thinking to international cooperation efforts between governments at the level of the United Nations, but also between international non-governmental entities, of which the Church was one of the largest.

There was considerable concern expressed by existing charitable agencies that the new organism would, in some way, serve as a coordinating body that would supervise

and organize the efforts of the Church's long-standing humanitarian efforts. The anxiety and maneuvering of those engaged in relief and development was well documented in chapter two. The debates spilled over from the Council period to the period of implementation. In this section, we will examine the understanding of development that emerges from this contentious environment and becomes codified to a great extent in the encyclical of Paul VI, *Populorum progressio*, which will be examined in section two of this chapter.

In a letter dated June 26<sup>th</sup> 1967, the pope's Secretary of State, Cardinal Cicognani wrote to Cardinal Roy, President of the newly established Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace. The letter was significant as it sought to offer an authoritative statement on the distinct contribution offered by the different Church entities dedicated to carrying out the Church's social mission. The letter was a long time in coming. Disputes around the roles played by different Church groups engaged in social justice had existed for some time as we have seen. Cardinal Cicognani framed the question in the following way:

Questions have come to light here and there concerning the respective place in the Church of the *Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace*, of the international Catholic organization *Caritas Internationalis*, and of organizations such as "The Working Group of Brussels." It seemed opportune to bring the following to the attention of the headquarters of

these respective organizations, as well as to the representatives of the Holy See throughout the world, and through them the episcopal conferences.<sup>91</sup>

Tension surrounding responsibility for executing the Church's social mission began to intensify during the Council when the idea of a new organism of the Roman Curia began to gain momentum. The period of implementation of article 90 saw this tension come to the surface as the new organism was forced to distinguish its own role and purpose from existing agencies. It would do so by drawing on the new expression of the Church's mission in the world expressed in *Gaudium et spes*. Just six months after the establishment of *Iustpax*, Cardinal Cicognani made a decision regarding the nature and relationship between the different agencies as follows:

The *Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace*, regulated by the *Motu Proprio Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*, of January 7, 1967 (A.A.S. 59/1967/p. 27) shall orient its work according to the norms given by the Holy Father last April 20<sup>th</sup>: "It is therefore study which is the specific aim of the Committee: study for action. We wished to publish an encyclical letter on the development of peoples which would be a basic text for you, capable of usefully orienting your thought and your action." (O.R., 21 April, 1967).

*Caritas Internationalis* is the Catholic International organization, belonging to the Conference of the O.I.C. [International Catholic Organizations] which is authorized by the Holy See to unite all of the Catholic organizations, national and international, whose aim is to promote charity, assistance, social justice and development in the world, and to represent them on the interfaith level as well as on the international level.

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<sup>91</sup> Letter of Cardinal Cicognani to Cardinal Roy, June 26<sup>th</sup>, 1967, UNDA-NC.

The *Work Group of Brussels*, like all other organizations with their own specific activity, which might be treated by other free initiatives, is an autonomous organization, under the responsible Episcopates. It can obtain from *Caritas*, on request, the status of associate member, represented on the executive committee and on the council of administration, Caritas itself representing it, as it does for all organizations of this type, on the interfaith and international level, as explicitly provided for in the new statutes of Caritas, already submitted for the approval of the top leaders.<sup>92</sup>

The aim of Cicognani's instruction was to put order among the various agencies and to protect their distinct identity. His clarification would thereby...

...allow each one to realize his own vocation with all desirable liberty, under the control of the hierarchy, and they at the same time assure the indispensable unity of interfaith and international representation which the Holy See prizes most highly.<sup>93</sup>

A month before Cardinal Cicognani's clarifying letter, James Norris wrote a two-page "pro-memoria"<sup>94</sup> to Monsignor Paul Marcinkus, an official in the Secretariat of State. The document grew out of a conversation between Marcinkus and Norris regarding the "need for a study of collaboration among Catholic agencies." In the pro-memoria, Norris outlines the different functions currently undertaken by Catholic relief and development agencies around the world. These activities range from development, migration, emergency aid and refugee assistance. While Norris was not advocating for the unification of these agencies under one governing structure, he does call for a "structure

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> *Letter and Pro-Memoria of James J. Norris to Monsignor Paul Marcinkus*, May 19, 1967, UNDA-Norris.

at the top level which will assure more effective collaboration among themselves, and a better service for the various types of needs.”<sup>95</sup> Hinting at an underlying yet fundamental distinction between the different types of agencies, Norris noted, “The development agencies do not wish to be identified as ‘charity’ organizations. This is understandable because of the insistence that self help and development be distinguished from the dispensation of charity.”<sup>96</sup> Norris’s distinction is a crucial one and had entered into the post-conciliar discussion of the role *Justpax*.

In this section, we will offer some background to the debate around an “ethic of development” that emerged as part of the plan of the new organism of article 90. It is this new thinking that Lebreton promoted as a *peritus* at the Council and which found its way into Paul VI’s Encyclical Letter *Populorum progressio* – the *magna carta* for *Justpax*.<sup>97</sup> It would, thereby, serve as a main focus of the work of the new Pontifical Commission. In light of the mandate given to the new Commission by Paul VI – study for action<sup>98</sup> – and reiterated by Cardinal Cicognani, the way in which this new entity would take on theological significance would shape the way in which the Church’s social mission would be considered a key element in her relationship with the world.

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 1-2.

<sup>97</sup> Citation of Paul VI in *Populorum progressio*

<sup>98</sup> Paul VI, Address to *Justpax*, April 20, 1967, *AAS* 59, 421-423.

**a Ad Hoc Working Group on Paragraph 90**

Throughout the Council and now in its aftermath, it repeatedly fell to the *conspiratori* to re-draft the proposal for article 90 in light of developments. We have seen already how a view of social justice developed from the Ward Memorandum through the Council discussion. The post-conciliar period consisted of a series of skirmishes with existing relief and development organizations, principally *Caritas Internationalis*, on how article 90 was to be implemented.

In convoking the Working Group to discuss how to implement the mandate found in article 90, Bishop Edward Swannstrom and Monsignor Jean Rodhain began by reminding invitees that “during all four periods of Vatican Council II some hundred expressions of concern for the world’s poor were made by the Council Fathers.”<sup>99</sup> As the experts gathered in Rome, Italian Catholic newspaper *L’Avvenire* reported on the significance of the event, citing Fr. Lebrecht:

Father Lebrecht, a Dominican, provoked many comments during the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964, when he observed, in the name of the Holy See, that “only a radically different attitude was able to produce a deeper and more effective altruism and open up larger possibilities for commerce and for businesses, to the point where a new culture of interdependence will be born.”<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> E.g. see the *Letter of Monsignor Jean Rodhain and Bishop Edward Swannstrom to Rev. L.J. Lebrecht*, March 15, 1966, UNDA-Norris.

<sup>100</sup> “Allo studio un nuovo Segretariato per la giustizia internazionale,” *L’Avvenire*, May 8, 1966, GRM-UNDA.

Lebret's fundamental definition of development was planted amid the discussion of the working group like a tent pole around which contingent historical problems were discussed: "From a less human stage of development to a more human stage with the least cost, the greatest rapidity and the most human solidarity."<sup>101</sup> It would come to incorporate the traditional categories of charity, love for the poor, social justice and solidarity. At the same time, it had a very "modern" feel to it. The definition depended on a Christian anthropology for the working out of the details. But as an expression of the Church's view of human flourishing in the modern context, it hit all the right notes.

#### **b      Summary Observations**

The tension to provide an adequate explanation of the Church's vision for human development at the individual, social and international levels sees the Constitution employ both charity and justice, with the former being the a perfecting force on the latter. There are Thomistic routes to this characterization, as we saw in the Mixed Commission in which the supernatural virtue serves to perfect the natural notion of justice; even though the Constitution does not frame the relationship in terms of a natural/supernatural progression.

However, the rules that frame the Church's substantive contribution to solving world problems were governed by the concept of integral human development. In a world

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<sup>101</sup> Report, 5.

to which the Church was now open; a world populated by individuals from the broadest array of backgrounds (we remember that for the first time, a Constitution was addressed to all people of good will), the Constitution offered a prescription that contained both transcendental and immanent prescriptions, based on the fundamental understanding the human person in community presented in Part I of *Gaudium et spes*.

Fresh language was called for if the Church was not going to lose a generation of the faithful, as it had been accused of doing after Vatican I. A shift in the Church's perspective stemmed from the philosophical and theological developments regarding the nature of human community that preceded the Council and intensified during its debates. According to theologian Stephen J. Pope:

The natural theory employed by Catholic social teachings up to the Council had been crafted under the influence of ahistorical continental rationalism. The kind of method employed by Leo XIII and Pius XI developed a modern morality of obligation having its roots in the Council of Trent and the subsequent four centuries of moral manuals.<sup>102</sup>

Pope identifies the method of dialogue with the modern world as having a reflexive impact on the social morality of the Church. Accordingly, "*Gaudium et spes* was more attuned to the fact that not all human beings possess a univocal faculty called 'reason'

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<sup>102</sup> Stephen J. Pope, "Natural Law in Catholic Social Teachings," in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries and Interpretations*, ed. Kenneth R. Himes, O.F.M. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2005), 53-55.

that leads to identical moral conclusions.”<sup>103</sup> The experience belonging to the People of God coupled with an appeal to the image of the Church as servant became new authorizing agents in the Church’s social morality. Directions were clearly indicated for the laity and others to engage a host of dialogue partners and to explore questions of justice from a new set of perspectives. As Craig Prentiss explains:

A new engagement with democratic pluralism worldwide, coupled with ecumenical engagement, the earliest hints of the postmodern movement ... all assure that the Church’s new openness would have significant consequences for intra-Catholic dialogue.<sup>104</sup>

## 2 **Populorum Progressio on Integral Human Development**<sup>105</sup>

Lebret is credited with authoring the original draft of *Populorum progressio*.

Dominican Vincent Cosmao, successor to Lebret at *Economie et Humanisme* revealed:

The elaboration of *Populorum progressio* began on the occasion of the First United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, Geneva 1964) where Lebret, spokesperson for the Holy See’s delegation, presented the idea for the need for a new international economic order. Lebret intensely participated in the event and was, along with Che Guevara, the most applauded speaker at the plenary session. Within this

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Craig R. Prentiss, *Debating God’s Economy: Social Justice in America on the Eve of Vatican II*, (Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008) 241.

<sup>105</sup> *Populorum progressio* AAS 59 257-299. The encyclical has 87 paragraphs divided into an Introduction (paragraphs 1 to 5) and two parts, Part One “Towards Man’s Complete Development” (paragraphs 6 to 42) and Part Two “The Development of the Human Race and the Spirit of Solidarity” (paragraphs 43 to 80). There is a short “Final Appeal” (paragraphs 81 to 87).

context Lebreton began to write a document on development of peoples at the request of Paul VI.<sup>106</sup>

Given that Lebreton died before the document was completed, the most likely final author was Monsignor Pietro Pavan, erstwhile collaborator with John XXIII on *Pacem in terris*.<sup>107</sup> Pavan revealed that the original draft of the document was in French.<sup>108</sup> An altogether more personal document than *Gaudium et spes*, Paul VI issued *Populorum progressio* in March 1967, just over two months after establishing *Iustitiam*. The pope reinforced the connection between the Commission and *Populorum Progressio*:

We sought to fulfill the wishes of the Council and to demonstrate the Holy See's concern for the developing nations. To do this, We felt it was necessary to add another pontifical commission to the Church's central administration. The purpose of this commission is "to awaken in the People of God full awareness of their mission today. In this way they can further the progress of poorer nations and international social justice, as well as help less developed nations to contribute to their own development" (*Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*, 8).

The name of this commission, *Justice and Peace*, aptly describes its program and its goal. We are sure that all men of good will want to join Our fellow Catholics and fellow Christians in carrying out this program. So today We earnestly urge all men to pool their ideas and their activities for man's complete development and the development of all mankind.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Fr. Vincent Cosmao OP, "Populorum progressio, 30 Ans Après," *Foi et Développement, Bulletin of the Center Lebreton*, nos 250/251 (February-March 1997).

<sup>107</sup> See Allan Figueroa Deck, S.J., "Commentary on *Populorum progressio*," in Kenneth R. Himes, O.F.M., ed., *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries and Interpretation*, (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004): 292-314, 297.

<sup>108</sup> "Monsignor Pavan Elucidates," *The Tablet* 221 (April 8, 1967): 392.

<sup>109</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 5.

The pope reaffirmed the relationship between the program of the new encyclical and *Justpax* when he addressed its first Plenary Meeting in April 1967:

We have been pleased to publish an Encyclical Letter on Development of Peoples which should be for you a basic text capable of giving useful orientation to your reflection and action. You have already set yourselves – We congratulate you on this – to study *Populorum progressio*, to analyze it, to make yourselves thoroughly familiar with its leading ideas and to see how you can work effectively to put its guidelines into operation ... With the means at your disposal, with humility, method and perseverance, go boldly ahead, following the way We have opened to you by Our recent Encyclical, aware of what the Church and the world expects of you ‘in this decisive turning point in the history of humanity.’

It is legitimate in light of the connection made by the pope between *Justpax* and *Populorum progressio* to consider the latter as the hermeneutical key to the work of the former. While touching upon a series of specific issues confronting development such as international trade, education, technology transfer from richer to poor countries and such like, *Populorum progressio* presents the first comprehensive view of what is meant by the notion of human development. In what follows, we shall examine the “way opened up” by the pope in the encyclical in pursuit of our main theme of investigation of a theological foundation for *Justpax*.<sup>110</sup>

If *Justpax* was to mobilize the people of God to action, *Populorum progressio* contained the ideas that would stimulate such action. The pope was providing the blueprint for the Commission’s work, drawing on the experience of the Council that

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid, 422.

would hone the Church's action to alleviate poverty and foster human development.

Indeed even today, the history of this connection is stated clearly on the web page of the Holy See, where it says:

The Second Vatican Council had proposed the creation of a body of the universal Church whose role would be "to stimulate the Catholic Community to foster progress in needy regions and social justice on the international scene" (*Gaudium et Spes*, No. 90). It was in reply to this request that Pope Paul VI established the Pontifical Commission "Justitia et Pax" by a *Motu Proprio* dated 6 January 1967 (*Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*).

Two months later, in *Populorum Progressio*, Paul VI succinctly stated of the new body that "its name, which is also its programme, is Justice and Peace" (No. 5). *Gaudium et Spes* and this Encyclical, which "in a certain way... applies the teaching of the Council" (*Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, No. 6), were the founding texts and points of reference for this new body.<sup>111</sup>

## 2.1 On Development

John XIII began to update the Church's vision towards the modern world. In *Pacem in terris*, John noted that the social question had taken on global proportions, even threatening global peace. *Mater et magistra* continued to fill out this global vision by stating that "the most difficult problem today concerns the relationship between political communities that are economically advanced and those in the process of

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<sup>111</sup> Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Origin*, available at [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/pontifical\\_councils/justpeace/documents/rc\\_pc\\_justpeace\\_pro\\_20011004\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/justpeace/documents/rc_pc_justpeace_pro_20011004_en.html) (accessed on September 4, 2009).

development.”<sup>112</sup> *Gaudium et spes* made the “signs of the times” an optic through which the faith and mission of the Church were to be undeniably linked with the hopes and anxieties of humankind. Indeed, *Gaudium et spes* framed the unity aimed at through the Church’s mission in terms of the unity for which Jesus prayed to the Father in the power of the spirit.<sup>113</sup>

*Populorum progressio* examined the question of development from the perspective of the poor, especially in the global south. This explains the claim of the poor on the wealthy countries and the call for a new economic order, not marked by paternalism but by mutual interdependence. The “option for the poor” that emerged with John XXIII and found an echo in the Council is translated in *Populorum progressio* into viewing the world from the vantage of the poor.

The encyclical opens with an analysis of the current state of poverty and tension between the north and south, displaying less of the “optimism” in progress found in *Gaudium et spes*. The pope identified the “flagrant inequalities”<sup>114</sup> between rich and poor that are beneath contemporary cultural conflicts between traditional culture and the

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<sup>112</sup> *Mater et magistra*, 157.

<sup>113</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 23. “Indeed, the Lord Jesus, when He prayed to the Father, ‘that all may be one. . . as we are one’ (John 17:21-22) opened up vistas closed to human reason, for He implied a certain likeness between the union of the divine Persons, and the unity of God’s sons in truth and charity. This likeness reveals that man, who is the only creature on earth which God willed for itself, cannot fully find himself except through a sincere gift of himself.”

<sup>114</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 9.

process of modern industrialization. In this, an older generation is in conflict with a younger one which considers former traditions “useless obstacles.”<sup>115</sup>

At the same time, social unrest has gradually spread throughout the world. The acute restlessness engulfing the poorer classes in countries that are now being industrialized has spread to other regions where agriculture is the mainstay of the economy. The farmer is painfully aware of his “wretched lot.”<sup>116</sup>

It is this restlessness that undermines a global peace and threatens the type of conflict the world was still reeling from. Hence, “development” becomes the primary goal in the Church’s promotion of justice. In this regard, the pope explains that “development is the new name for peace.”<sup>117</sup>

Faced with such a glaring picture of injustice, *Populorum progressio* served to radicalize the Gospel call to be prophets and witnesses to the new order established in Jesus Christ. This entailed a more severe critique of the forces of oppression behind the scandalous inequality and conflict in the world, leading to a critique of the social structures that conditioned the relations between the rich and poor nations. The current problematic was defined according to the challenges posed by reading the “signs of the times” The task of education would include not just the Catholic faithful, but also the very structures of development current in secular thinking. *Populorum progressio* saw the

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<sup>115</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 10.

<sup>116</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 9.

<sup>117</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 76.

very process of development as in need of evangelization itself. Technical answers alone are insufficient:

If further development calls for the work of more and more technicians, even more necessary is the deep thought and reflection of wise men in search of a new humanism which will enable modern man to find himself anew.<sup>118</sup>

**a Full-bodied Humanism<sup>119</sup>**

In the substantive analysis of existing social ills, the letter draws from a history of post-war thinking on development, especially the work of Paul VI's longtime friend and philosopher, Jacques Maritain. The framework for this analysis is the notion of integral human development which appears twice, once in article 14 "of each man and of the whole man" and in a more focused way in article 42:

The ultimate goal is a full-bodied humanism.<sup>120</sup> And does this not mean the fulfillment of the whole man and of every man? A narrow humanism, closed in on itself and not open to the values of the spirit and to God who is their source, could achieve apparent success, for man can set about organizing terrestrial realities without God. But "closed off from God, they will end up being directed against man. A humanism closed off from other realities becomes inhuman."<sup>121</sup>

The human person has to be first and foremost considered according to his or her relation to God and the necessary openness towards the transcendent. This openness orients the

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<sup>118</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 20.

<sup>119</sup> Article 42, Subtitle in the English Translation

<sup>120</sup> J. Maritain, *L'humanisme intégral*, (Paris, Aubier, 1936).

<sup>121</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 42.

person's purpose and places him or her within the context of God's plan for the whole of creation:

Organized programs designed to increase productivity should have but one aim: to serve human nature. They should reduce inequities, eliminate discrimination, free men from the bonds of servitude, and thus give them the capacity, in the sphere of temporal realities, to improve their lot, to further their moral growth and to develop their spiritual endowments. When we speak of development, we should mean social progress as well as economic growth.<sup>122</sup>

Second, there is no other kind of authentic development other than integral development. All development takes into account this ethical dimension. *Populorum progressio* moves beyond an understanding of development considered according to the index of "economic growth" prominent in the post-war period. Development, therefore, is refocused on the totality of the human person. A merely economic understanding of achieving the wellbeing of the human person will be insufficient:

Development cannot be limited to mere economic growth. In order to be authentic, it must be complete and integral, that is, it has to promote the good of every man and of the whole man. ... In the design of God every man is called to develop and fulfill himself. Their coming maturity ... will allow each man to direct himself towards the destiny intended for him by his Creator ...<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 34.

<sup>123</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 14 and 15.

Development must correspond to the nature of the human vocation itself. The pope drew upon the thinking of his long-time collaborator, Fr. Lebreton and his 1961 study on development:<sup>124</sup>

As an eminent specialist on this question has rightly said: “We cannot allow economics to be separated from human realities, nor development from the civilization in which it takes place. What counts for us is man—each individual man, each human group, and humanity as a whole.”<sup>125</sup>

By offering a comprehensive view of development that surpasses merely economic indicators, the Encyclical presents the relationship with the Creator as one marked by the exercise of true freedom:

Man is truly human only if he is the master of his own actions and the judge of their worth, only if he is the architect of his own progress. He must act according to his God-given nature, freely accepting its potential and its claims upon him.<sup>126</sup>

The concept of human agency is contained within the idea that the human person is the principal protagonist in his or her own development. What is important is that “man act for himself,”<sup>127</sup> and not be a passive recipient of the good will and goods of others. The connection between development and freedom is an echo of *Gaudium et spes*:

Human freedom is often crippled when a man encounters extreme poverty, just as it withers when he indulges in too many of life’s comforts and

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<sup>124</sup> L. J. Lebreton, O.P., *Dynamique concrète du développement* (Paris: Economie et Humanisme, Les éditions ouvrières, 1961) 28.

<sup>125</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 14.

<sup>126</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 34.

<sup>127</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 35 §2.

imprisons himself in a kind of splendid isolation. Freedom acquires new strength, by contrast, when a man consents to the unavoidable requirements of social life, takes on the manifold demands of human partnership, and commits himself to the service of the human community.<sup>128</sup>

There is, according to this vision, a constitutive nature of human agency that flows from the person's freedom and that leads to authentic development. A fairer distribution of the world's resources alone is insufficient to bring about development if the person is not, in an essential way, instrumental in the progress achieved.<sup>129</sup> What is valid for the individual is applied to the collective. Those living in conditions of under-development move towards authentic development if they are not simply objects of such activity but subjects or agents of their own development.<sup>130</sup>

The relationship between human promotion and freedom is clearly stated. Escaping poverty and building genuine human community is essential for human freedom. Freedom, however, is a gift of the divine and is contained within the very dignity of the human person: it cannot be the gift from within the natural order. As M.D. Chenu notes, evangelization must impact freedom and human promotion, because it is the

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<sup>128</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 31 §1.

<sup>129</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 34.

<sup>130</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 55.

entire human being, body and soul and all people in multiple societies, who must be saved, according to the requirements of justice.<sup>131</sup>

## 2.2 Solidarity, Justice and Love

The vision for human development is further broken down according to a three-fold typology of existing approaches to the subject expressed in terms of solidarity, justice and love/charity. In offering a composite view of the Church's social mission, Paul presents a further clarification of the foundational vision of *Justpax*. The pope began with the current model of social assistance towards the poor. He recalled the campaign against hunger launched by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations as well as the work of *Caritas Internationalis* and the bishops' conferences appeals for India in 1966. Such acts of charitable sharing, while noble, remain insufficient as the true goal of the new Commission:

But these efforts, as well as public and private allocations of gifts, loans and investments, are not enough. It is not just a question of eliminating hunger and reducing poverty. It is not just a question of fighting wretched conditions, though this is an urgent and necessary task. It involves building a human community where men can live truly human lives, free from discrimination on account of race, religion or nationality, free from servitude to other men or to natural forces which they cannot yet control satisfactorily. It involves building a human community where liberty is not

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<sup>131</sup> M.D. Chenu, 74-5 "En vérité, l'évangélisation doit embrayer sur la libération et la promotion de l'homme, car c'est tout l'homme, corps et âme, ce sont tout les hommes en multiples sociétés, qui doivent être sauvés, selon les exigences de la justice."

an idle word, where the needy Lazarus can sit down with the rich man at the same banquet table (*Lk. 16:19-31*).<sup>132</sup>

Going to the heart of the post-war debate on development, the pope poses a “new” and concrete challenge to those who are asked to examine their consciences to see what might be required in answering the call of the Encyclical:

On the part of the rich man, it calls for great generosity, willing sacrifice and diligent effort. Each man must examine his conscience, which sounds a new call in our present times. Is he prepared to support, at his own expense, projects and undertakings designed to help the needy? Is he prepared to pay higher taxes so that public authorities may expand their efforts in the work of development? Is he prepared to pay more for imported goods, so that the foreign producer may make a fairer profit? Is he prepared to emigrate from his homeland if necessary and if he is young, in order to help the emerging nations?

In presenting a vision for the “Common Development of Mankind,” the pope described a “three-fold obligation” without which development was not going to happen:

1) mutual solidarity—the aid that the richer nations must give to developing nations; 2) social justice—the rectification of trade relations among strong and weak nations; 3) universal charity—the effort to build a more humane world community, where all can give and receive, and where the progress of some is not bought at the expense of others.<sup>133</sup>

#### **a      Solidarity**

Solidarity, justice and love are held in perfect balance according to this schema yet they are carefully distinguished from one another. This distinction is important and

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<sup>132</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 47.

<sup>133</sup> *Populorum Progressio*, 44.

reveals the operating concepts used to promote development. Paul VI builds on the reality of interdependence among nations addressed by John XXIII in *Pacem in terris* and *Mater et magistra*. The Church's contribution to the world defines its relationship, namely, to build ever more effective global humanism captured in the concept of solidarity. Kenneth Himes points to the evolution of this concept:

Solidarity ... moves interdependence to another level, beyond acknowledging the fact of interdependence. Solidarity shapes the response we should have to interdependence, evoking within us a desire to build a common life. As a virtue, solidarity, in the words of John Paul II, is not a feeling of vague compassion but a "firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good."<sup>134</sup>

According to this definition of the attitude that the Christian must display towards the reality of interdependence, development finds its true context and ramification for the ordering of the global society: "There can be no progress toward complete development of man without the simultaneous development of all humanity in the spirit of solidarity."<sup>135</sup>

Solidarity is conceived in terms of a traditional notion of social assistance: one tempered by the need to be more deliberative about the aid given to poorer nations through existing relief and development programs. Moving beyond the need for increased

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<sup>134</sup> Kenneth R. Himes, *Responses to 101 Questions on Catholic Social Teaching* (New York: Paulist, 2000), 38.

<sup>135</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 43.

resources in foreign assistance,<sup>136</sup> the Encyclical addressed the global trading system governing international commerce as well as the migratory demands associated with personal assistance to needy populations. In a remarkably prescient analysis, the pope pointed to the inadequacy of the economic liberalism in fostering authentic development. In comparing foreign aid policies and global trade policies through which poor countries pay increasing amounts to export their goods to developed-country markets, the pope declared that that “what is being given them [poor countries] with one hand is being taken away with the other.”<sup>137</sup>

## **b Justice**

Social justice, a concept used frequently during the conciliar debate, takes on a structural dimension as referring to international economic relations. If full-bodied humanism sheds light on the path towards genuine development, then justice is the means to such development. This can be seen in judging not just the state of inequality but the control of the means of production that lies at the heart of such inequality. A “free” market is not free if the participants are at very different stages of development:

But the case is quite different when the nations involved are far from equal. Market prices that are freely agreed upon can turn out to be most unfair. It must be avowed openly that, in this case, the fundamental tenet

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<sup>136</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 51-53 (promoting the idea of a World Fund for development).

<sup>137</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 56.

of liberalism (as it is called), as the norm for market dealings, is open to serious question.<sup>138</sup>

Commutative justice demands that unequal contracting partners should take their unequal positions into account when entering into trading relations. Warning of the perennial dangers associated with unrestrained concentration of economic power, the pope compared the current situation between countries to the relationship between owner and worker at the end of the nineteenth century:

The teaching set forth by Our predecessor Leo XIII in *Rerum novarum* is still valid today: when two parties are in very unequal positions, their mutual consent alone does not guarantee a fair contract; the rule of free consent remains subservient to the demands of the natural law. In *Rerum Novarum* this principle was set down with regard to a just wage for the individual worker; but it should be applied with equal force to contracts made between nations: trade relations can no longer be based solely on the principle of free, unchecked competition, for it very often creates an economic dictatorship. Free trade can be called just only when it conforms to the demands of social justice.<sup>139</sup>

The pope sets out what should be the work plan of the new Commission in establishing just rules of trade between nations in favor of those countries with weaker contractual powers. Justice demands that such weakness should find redress within the rules of the global trading system itself:

Now in trade relations between the developing and the highly developed economies there is a great disparity in their overall situation and in their freedom of action. In order that international trade be human and moral,

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<sup>138</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 58.

<sup>139</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 59.

social justice requires that it restore to the participants a certain equality of opportunity.<sup>140</sup>

And specifically, the Encyclical makes reference to the series of international instruments designed to regulate world trade. This is especially significant given the presence of the Holy See at the United Nations Committee on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964 where he introduced the call for a new international economic order.<sup>141</sup> The encyclical offers specific solutions to existing injustices, including price regulation,<sup>142</sup> the protection (through special domestic economic policies) of infant industries,<sup>143</sup> as well as regional integration,<sup>144</sup> which would be protected by an international authority with global reach.<sup>145</sup> The pope realized that if people are seen according to their material prosperity then the vision held out for them will itself condemn them to a different form of servitude. Left to function according to its own logic, the economy worsens rather than attenuates the situation of the poor.<sup>146</sup> Viewed from the perspective of the poor, free market models appear in opposition to development since models are inhuman.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 61.

<sup>141</sup> UNCTAD Address, 1964.

<sup>142</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 61.

<sup>143</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 61.

<sup>144</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 64.

<sup>145</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 65.

<sup>146</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 8.

<sup>147</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 55, 61.

### c **Charity/Love**

Charity/love is associated with humanism, pointing to what is at the heart of being a person in community. The practice of charity is distinct from the duty towards solidarity and justice. It is described as the essential counterpart to these acts and the heart of “brotherly love.”<sup>148</sup> More than providing for the stranger or the outcast, charity ensures the integrity of intention and action, thereby providing a “concrete example of wholesome living.”<sup>149</sup> Charity has an evangelizing dynamic through its exemplary nature and can draw from others a “high opinion of authentic Christian charity and spiritual values.”<sup>150</sup>

Throughout the letter, the pope presents a vision of Christian charity as offering an adequate response to the specific instances of injustice, starting with the practice of virtue by individuals. This becomes important for those called to welcome the stranger<sup>151</sup> or engage in “development missions.”<sup>152</sup> True development is motivated by charity through which “we are not just promoting human well-being; we are also furthering man's spiritual and moral development, and hence we are benefiting the whole human

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<sup>148</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 67.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 71.

race.”<sup>153</sup> The pope terms such charity as a form of “brotherly love” that begins with the cultivation of personal virtue and flows into genuine service of others.<sup>154</sup>

Charity in this context has a social dimension that builds up the local community and the society as a whole. It flows from an experience of faith within the Christian community, modeled on the person of Christ who came as one who “serves.” All three “duties” involve putting faith into practice, but charity is explained as pointing the way to the spiritual values that transcend material reality. The practice of charity, therefore, links the practice of the faith with the Church’s presence in history and is a mark of the presence of the Spirit active in the Church and its relationship with the world.<sup>155</sup>

### **2.3 Ecumenical Collaboration and the Role of the Laity**

At the very beginning of the Encyclical, Paul VI made it clear that the new Commission will work in an ecumenical way. The program of the Commission “can and should bring together men of good will with our Catholic sons and our Christian brothers.”<sup>156</sup> In closing, the pope returned to the ecumenical dimension of the social apostolate by making an appeal to “all Christians, our brethren ...to expand their

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<sup>153</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 76.

<sup>154</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 27, 86.

<sup>155</sup> See Bruno Seveso, “Il Ministero Della Chiesa Verso Il Povero,” in *La Carità e La Chiesa: Virtù e ministero*, (Milan: Glossa, 1993), 111-188.

<sup>156</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 5.

common cooperative effort ... to open up to all the road to a more human life, where each man will be loved and helped as his brother, as his neighbor.”<sup>157</sup> This appeal was one in a sequence of appeals, first addressed to Catholics in paragraph 81, then to other Christians, then to “men of goodwill.”

Reaction by ecumenical partners was of some interest. The World Council of Churches responded positively to the Encyclical. Paul Abrecht wrote an address on the new encyclical, noting a number of striking similarities between it and the conclusions reached by the WCC-sponsored conference on Church and Society held in Geneva in 1966. They included, 1) the dangers of a drift and inaction in coping with the need for world wide social economic development, 2) the emphasis on the need to change “oppressive social and economic structures,” where these are an obstacle to social justice and more rapid development; 3) the search for a new humanism in establishing the goals and the methods of development and description of the nature of society’s human conditions; 4) the acceptance of the possibility and the need for radical social change to safeguard human rights.<sup>158</sup>

The work to be undertaken in fostering development through restructuring society at all levels belongs in the hands of those who pay taxes, professional persons or laborers i.e. lay men and women.

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<sup>157</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 82.

<sup>158</sup> Cited in *History of Sodepax*, 92.

In the developing nations and in other countries lay people must consider it their task to improve the temporal order. While the hierarchy has the role of teaching and authoritatively interpreting the moral laws and precepts that apply in this matter, the laity have the duty of using their own initiative and taking action in this area—without waiting passively for directives and precepts from others.<sup>159</sup>

For this reason, Paul VI's insight in linking *Justpax* and the Council on the Laity under Cardinal Roy as President of both entities was more than symbolic. This decision, including the decision to select Cardinal Roy for this task, was important for the role of the laity and the Church's social mission. It showed "confidence in the capacity of the laity to bring their own response to the challenges of the 'signs of the times.'"<sup>160</sup>

## 2.4 The Spirit of Dialogue

The period and documents under investigation in this chapter were penetrated with the Council's exhortation to establish a dialogue with the modern world. Evidence for this can be found in the consultations that took place in the Council's aftermath both through the ad hoc working group on article 90 and the further discussion under the guidance of Cardinal's Roy's Provisional Committee. A clear intention of the pope in establishing *Justpax* was stated in the *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*, "At the same time, in the hopes of establishing a dialogue with the contemporary world, the Council focused

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<sup>159</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 81.

<sup>160</sup> Michel Beaudin, "*Populorum progressio*: fécondité et actualité," in *Routhier*, 76: "...pour la confiance manifesté dans la capacité des Laïcs de porter eux aussi la réponse ecclésiale aux défis des 'signes des temps.'"

its attention on some of the major aspirations of the current time...”<sup>161</sup> Support for such dialogue goes back to Paul VI’s first Encyclical *Ecclesiam suam*<sup>162</sup> where dialogue is aligned with a self-awareness and renewal as defining characteristics of the Church of God. As outlined briefly in chapter one, part three of this encyclical explains the attributes of an attitude of dialogue: “To this internal drive of charity which seeks expression in the external gift of charity, We will apply the word ‘dialogue’.”<sup>163</sup>

Perhaps leery of exaggerated expectations associated with a call for dialogue and its impact on authority within the Church, Paul VI prepared for the Council’s final session by cautioning against anything that would undermine the existing authority structure in the Church. Turbanti notes:

In these allocutions [prior to the final session] Paul VI never referred to the principle of dialogue that he himself had proposed in *Ecclesiam Suam* as a program. Instead he warned against the danger of an excessive assimilation of the Church and the modern world.<sup>164</sup>

The Pastoral Constitution makes reference to how the Church is assisted in its fruitful engagement with the world and its analysis of contemporary problems:

“With the help of the Holy Spirit, it is the task of the whole people of God, particularly of its pastors and theologians, to listen to and distinguish the

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<sup>161</sup> *Catholic Christi Ecclesiam*, op. cit, 25: “Eodem autem tempore, Concilium, quoniam colloquium cum huius aetatis hominibus serere quaerebat, considerationem suam in praecipuas quasdam appetitiones et studia hominum horum dierum intendit.”

<sup>162</sup> *AAS* 56 (1964): 609-659.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid*, n. 3, 637-659.

<sup>164</sup> *History*, V, 22.

many voices of our times and to interpret them in the light of the divine Word.<sup>165</sup>

Dialogue between the Church and the world is urged frequently in *Gaudium et spes*<sup>166</sup> and was manifest in the series of addresses made by Paul VI in presenting the Council's conclusions to the world. *Populorum progressio* continued in this vein, citing *Ecclesiam suam* and the call for dialogue found within it, which is then applied in to the field of human development. Hence, nations are encouraged to dialogue as a way to overcome conflict.<sup>167</sup> Also, donors and recipients of aid should engage in dialogue for assessment purposes of the effectiveness of such aid.<sup>168</sup> Dialogue paves the way for "sincere brotherhood" in which knowledge and know-how is shared for mutual benefit.<sup>169</sup> Combining efforts among all Christians, the pope recommends the type of dialogue which he himself had during his pastoral visit to Bombay.<sup>170</sup> Given that much of this dialogue involves citizens, government leaders or aid workers, the encyclical translated a theological characteristic of the Church found in *Ecclesiam suam* into a practical way of

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<sup>165</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 44.

<sup>166</sup> See arts. 23 (on building true community); 25 (on social nature of humankind); 28 (on encountering atheists); 40 (between Church and world); 43 (on bishops and priests obligation to study modern developments); 56 (on inter-cultural dialogue in fostering peace); 68 (on resolving socio-economic tensions); 90 (on importance of joint projects); 92 (as a sign of Church's missionary commitment and role in arriving at truth).

<sup>167</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 51.

<sup>168</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 54.

<sup>169</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 73

<sup>170</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 82.

building human community among the laity and between the laity and the hierarchy. This last point is significant for the role of the laity in bringing forth the Church in the world.

Dialogue is foreseen by *Populorum progressio* as being practiced differently and in different times and in distinct areas of the world. Under the rubric of progress, dialogue becomes an aspect of solidarity, justice and love wherever those elements are brought into play. Dialogue will facilitate solidarity between richer and poorer nations, it will enlighten the structural readjustment entailed by the demands of justice and is an expression of the “brotherly love” encouraged by the document itself.

## 2.5 Ecclesiological Significance

*Populorum progressio* exhibited the marks of ecclesiological consciousness determined by *Gaudium et spes*. Accordingly, the Church has an obligation to “read the signs of the times and to interpret them in light of the Gospel.”<sup>171</sup> In *Gaudium et spes*, the theological category of the signs of the times rested just as much on “human experience” as on the “light of the Gospel.”<sup>172</sup> Both elements would be invoked in seeking a response to the questions confronting humanity. If the Church is, as the Encyclical affirmed, an expert in humanity, such expertise flowed not from a separate and privileged vantage point. Rather it came from the unique combination of experience viewed from the

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<sup>171</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 13.

<sup>172</sup> *Gaudium et spes*, 46, 1.

perspective of God's on-going work of salvation in history. The Church's expertise is hereby presented as the product of a dynamic process, one that encompassed engagement with the world in all its dimensions, economic, social, political and cultural.

In this context, the pope's own experience is relevant. He was the first reigning pope to travel outside of Italy for apostolic purposes. He visited Jerusalem in 1964 and attended the Eucharistic Congress in Bombay a year later where he visited a children's ward in the Hospital of Bombay, saying afterward:

It grieves Us to see the young suffering, and Our heart goes out to them and their families. In their name and in the name of all suffering children the world over, We express appreciative thanks for all the work being done on their behalf.<sup>173</sup>

In his travels and his life's work he had the opportunity to observe and to touch the situations of poverty and hunger. Presented in *Populorum progressio*, the pope echoes the testimony offered regarding the Lord's own epochal engagement with the chosen people set forth in the Book of Exodus: "I have seen the misery of my people who reside in Egypt ..."<sup>174</sup>

Michel Beaudin described the approach adopted in the encyclical as typical of both the time in which it was issued and of the trajectory that it launched in promoting

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<sup>173</sup> Paul VI, "Medicis Bombayensis Valetudinarii Generalis," *AAS*, 57 (1965):134-135, 135.

<sup>174</sup> Ex. 3:8.

the Church's social mission; one characterized more by the impulse to communicate a vision for human living than to impart specific doctrinal information:

This approach is faithful to the priority that the Church has claimed to give to this first "moment" of its social teaching, namely a process that flows from analysis and experience of a confrontation between the problems that emerge from life in society and the gospel message. The second moment, namely the construction of a doctrine comprised of "principles of reflection, of criteria for judging and directives for action," is born progressively from the implementation of that first moment which continually holds the essential and permanent stimulus.

More than a knowledge that is transmitted cognitively, the Church's social teaching is an experience on how to live, a praxis. Paul VI himself, at the end of his Encyclical, urgently calls on the laity to use their own initiative and take action in this area—"without waiting passively for directives and precepts from others" (no. 81).<sup>175</sup>

M.D. Chenu called this approach an "evangelical proclamation"<sup>176</sup> in which the notion of "social doctrine" is put aside in favor of the notion of shedding the light of the Gospel on the social questions of our time.<sup>177</sup> The scope of the document corresponds to the global

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<sup>175</sup> Michele Beaudin in *Routhier*, 76: "Cette approche me semble aussi être fidèle à la priorité que l'Eglise déclare donner au premier 'moment' de son enseignement social, soit celui d'un processus, de l'expérience d'une analyse et d'une confrontation des problèmes émanant de la vie en société avec le message évangélique. Le second moment, celui de la constitution d'une doctrine faite de 'principes de réflexion,' de critères de jugement et de directives d'action,' est né progressivement de la mise en œuvre continue du premier moment qui en reste le terreau essentiel et permanent. Plus qu'un savoir à transmettre cognitivement, l'enseignement social de l'Eglise est une expérience à faire vivre, une pratique. Paul VI allait lui-même, à la fin de son Encyclique, appeler les laïcs à prendre avec urgence des initiatives, 'sans attendre passivement consignes à directives' (no. 81)."

<sup>176</sup> Chenu, op. cit., 70 "L'encyclique ne se présente pas comme un programme économique ou politique, qui n'est aucunement de la compétence de l'Eglise, mais comme une proclamation évangélique."

<sup>177</sup> Ibid, "Le mot 'doctrine sociale' n'est pas employé il s'agit de 'projeter sur les questions sociales de ce temps la lumière de l'évangile' (n. 2)."

nature of the problems under consideration, and corresponds to the “catholicity” of the faith itself and the identity of the Church’s worldwide mission. Chenu likens the reorientation of the Church’s vision towards social questions to the new understanding of the Church’s mission *ad gentes*. Rather than expanding the outer circumference of a circle in a way that maintains the same nucleus, the teaching of the Council as expressed through *Populorum progressio* re-centers the notion of the Church’s mission in a way that alters the definition of that mission to include engagement with social questions.<sup>178</sup>

Fr. Vincent Cosmao, OP, successor to Fr. Lebreton, highlighted the significance of this reorientation of the Church’s mission for an understanding of the Church itself:

What was new in this post-conciliar optimism, was not so much this consciousness raising, which flowed from the first Catholic Action, but the calm evidence which imposed itself as the axis of a Church in the process of discovering that it was building up itself by participating in building up the world.<sup>179</sup>

## 2.6 Summary Observations

The division of the Church’s mission between solidarity, justice and love is not entirely specific to the encyclical. Solidarity appeared in *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pius XI

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid, “L’encyclique considère cette nouvelle dimension avec complaisance, car elle éprouve l’universalité, la ‘catholicité’ de l’Eglise, jusqu’ici enclosée dans la civilisation occidentale, de telle manière que les ‘missions’ se présentaient comme des adjonctions à une chrétienté établie.”

<sup>179</sup> Fr. V. Cosmao, OP, Cahiers, *Foi et développement*, 45 mars 1977 “Ce qui était nouveau dans cet optimisme post-conciliaire, ce n’était pas tant cette prise de conscience, qui venait de la première action catholique, que la sereine évidence avec laquelle elle s’imposait comme axe d’une Eglise en train de découvrir qu’elle se construisait dans la participation à la construction du monde.”

where the principle that moderated the benefits of economic growth was not solidarity but “social justice.” And in *Gaudium et spes* 69 the foundation for a moral economic order is clearly justice. All actions should be inspired by Christian charity not only in the sense of giving to others but the gift of self as a spiritual act. *Populorum progressio* employs an analytic style that addresses socio-political questions in a pointed way that does not depend for the veracity of its observations on expressions of faith alone. At the same time, the document is bold enough to offer a synthetic understanding of the current state of inequality, particularly along the North- South axis common at the time. To this extent, it was faithful to the experience of the Council. This synthesis is marked by the “great *et et*”<sup>180</sup> – the both/and – that combines traditional forms of charity with the new demands of solidarity and the requirements of justice. As Chenu notes:

It is true that, several times, appeal is made to the good will of the powerful, to the generosity of the rich, an appeal to their social consciousness, for “assistance” to the distress of poor people. This vestige of moralism stems from the fact that one is speaking from the perspective of the capitalist west rather than the complaint of the under-developed peoples...

However the encyclical ... distances itself from a reformist illusion: it strongly condemns a “system” built on profit, on competition, on the

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<sup>180</sup> See Pope Benedict XVI, *Meeting with the Clergy of the Dioceses of Belluno-Feltre and Treviso*, 24 July, 2007 available at [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/benedict\\_xvi/speeches/2007/july/documents/hf\\_ben-xvi\\_spe\\_20070724\\_clero-cadore\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2007/july/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20070724_clero-cadore_en.html) accessed 6 September 2009: “Catholicism, somewhat simplistically, has always been considered the religion of the great ‘*et et*’: not of great forms of exclusivism but of synthesis ... I would simply like to commit myself to the great Catholic synthesis, to this ‘*et et*,’ to be truly human.”

private possession of the means of production (n. 26). In truth, the tragic division within humankind between rich and poor is the challenge and the condemnation of capitalism.<sup>181</sup>

Johan Verstraeten considered *Populorum Progressio* an “excellent articulation” of the balance between love, justice and solidarity: “The three principles are presented as equivalent and carefully distinguished from one other.”<sup>182</sup> In the same analysis, Verstraeten argued that this balance helped make *Populorum progressio* a watershed document in the history of magisterial teaching: “Despite its partial top-down approach, *Populorum progressio* contributed to a shift from a classic development paradigm (solidarity as helping the poor) to the paradigm of liberation and justice.”<sup>183</sup> The novelty suggested here indicates a break with the past. The question arises: when does a new emphasis within the Church’s teaching constitute a new paradigm? Verstraeten’s article complained mostly about more recent declarations by the magisterium that appear to welcome a regulated form of liberal capitalism, one which he claims was wholly rejected by *Populorum progressio*. That notwithstanding, the analysis of a balanced articulation of

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<sup>181</sup> Chenu, op. cit., 72 “Il est vrai que, a plusieurs reprises, est fait appel a la bonne volonté des puissants, a la générosité des peuples riches, a leur sens social, pour une ‘assistance’ a la détresse des peuples pauvres. Ce vestige de moralisme provient du fait que l’on parle a partir du monde occidental capitaliste plus que de la contestation des peuples sous-développés ... Cependant, l’encyclique ... se dégageait déjà de l’illusion réformiste: y est très sévère la condamnation d’un ‘système’ édifié sure le profit, sur la concurrence, sur la propriété privée des biens de production (n. 26).”

<sup>182</sup> Johan Verstraeten, “Justice Subordinated to Love? The Changing Agenda of Catholic Social Teaching Since *Populorum Progressio*,” in *Responsibility, God and Society: Theological Ethics in Dialogue*, (Festchrift for Roger Burggraeve) Johann de Tavernier, Joseph Selling, Johan Verstraeten, Paul Schotsmans, eds., (Leuven: Peeters, 2008): 389-405, 390.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, 389.

the three core and differentiated principles of solidarity, justice and love is well stated and reflects the “balance sheet” of the Council itself. Accordingly, all three core principles are placed in service as “means” towards the progress of peoples in building the reign of Christ and summed up in the concept of integral human development.

Verstraeten also noted a “partial top-down” approach regarding method. However, it is within the approach adopted by *Gaudium et spes* – a theoretical reflection followed by suggestions for action – that *Populorum progressio* solidifies a new methodology for Church teaching. The influence of Lebreton’s method of social analysis is evident. The document seeks to “think anew” about ways to achieve a new form of solidarity. The encyclical’s insights into the current failures of the global economic system and an accompanying analysis as the sources of these failures represent the heart of *Populorum progressio*. They offer a daring combination of social scientific analysis and the moral demands that flow from the Church’s tradition. Drawing upon magisterial teaching, biblical witness and the experience of human efforts to confront human suffering, the pope presented both theoretical but more forcefully practical solutions to contemporary problems associated with the lack of development.

### **3     *Concluding Observations***

The comments on the material presented in this chapter fall into two broad, related categories. The first is structural in nature and deal mainly with the first section. The second is theological and correspond to the entire chapter. We shall present these

comments in order followed by a critique of these two approaches in the project to establish *Justpax*.

### 3.1 Structural Critique

While the *conspiratori* were attentive to the theological discussions contained within the Council's debate, their focus in the period under investigation were mainly strategic and revolved around the structural form that the article 90 organism would take within the Church. As administrators and policy experts operating at the highest levels of international bureaucracy, they knew the importance of institutionalizing the Church's commitment to development within a clearly defined structure. In this regard, most of their efforts were focused on lobbying for an independent agency that would be associated with the Holy See and part of the Roman Curia.

Independence, freedom of action, agility yet the maximum level of influence within the Church were high priorities for the *conspiratori*. These criteria led ineluctably into the creation of a "pontifical" framework. This is most clearly a post-conciliar development since the text of article 90 did not specify that the new organism should be part of the Roman Curia, only that it be "some organism of the universal church" (*alicuius Ecclesiae universalis organismus*). However, a Curial entity was considered a *sine qua non* for the *conspiratori*, most especially Norris. This optic dominated all attempts at blending the article 90 organism with existing structures. Deeper questions

such as the need for a theology of development or the Church's contribution to an understanding of a Christian humanism were postponed until structures were in place.

It could be argued that creating a central coordinating agency in Rome under the umbrella of the existing Curial structure would have a centralizing impact on the organization of the Church's social mission: a tendency that had been challenged during the Council and that prompted a rejection of the original schemata. Gilles Routhier identifies a strong decentralizing tendency expressed not only through the make-up of the Council but in its desire to locate the activity of the Church at its local level.<sup>184</sup> The presence of laity and clergy – including bishops - in a joint working relationship is evidence of a new *modus operandi*. However, *Justpax* was destined to become similar in style and operation to other Roman dicasteries, especially given the concern over jurisdiction expressed by the Secretariat of State in temporal affairs. The centralizing tendencies of the Church were reinforced by locating *Justpax* in the Roman Curia.

The decision to have the headquarters in Rome was based on a political reading of the use of the Church's power in the secular realm. The *cospiratori* sought to use the Church's moral influence and tie that to the influence expressed by the size and expanse of the Church's members so as to bring about structural change in the world. Their

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<sup>184</sup> Routhier, op. cit. 19 "On observe d'abord un fonctionnement fort décentralisée, ou se construit un rapport nouveau entre Rome et les Eglises locales. [One could see first of all the operation of a strong decentralization, which builds a new relationship between Rome and the local Churches]."

arguments were built upon not only the size of the Church's membership but the particular role that Catholics could play in decision-making in the "Christian West."<sup>185</sup> To a great degree, their vision was a long way from the theology of *kenosis* espoused by the *Church of the Poor* group and modeled on the image of the poor Christ.<sup>186</sup> Fr. Arthur McCormack reveals this approach in a letter to Monsignor Gremillion in May 1966:

Father Lauwers, of World Justice, told me that Mgr. L'Arnaud ... had tried to set up a No. 90 Secretariat himself in Paris with the French and was going to present it as a *fait accompli* to the Holy See. When Mgr. Benelli heard this he was furious and he got a personal letter from the Pope about it, (which no doubt he had got the Pope to write himself), telling them to keep hands off as this was an "organism of the Universal Church" in the Pope's words.<sup>187</sup>

The effort employed by the *cospiratori* acting as a "pressure group"<sup>188</sup> to seek the creation of a distinct agency focused on education and lobbying is present throughout. Their understanding of the Church's mission focused on the need to organize the faithful at the political level to change unjust structures. The cultural background of the group – Anglo-American – placed a large value premium on the value of "efficiency" and organization.

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<sup>185</sup> *Letter of Barbara Ward to Monsignor Joseph Gremillion*, August 11, 1969, NC-UNDA. "We have a difficult fight – to keep the wealthy nations conscience-stricken and to prod the Vatican into seizing the vast opportunity of becoming part of that conscience."

<sup>186</sup> See *supra*.

<sup>187</sup> *Letter of Fr. Arthur McCormack to Mgr. Joseph Gremillion*, May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1966, GRM-UNDA.

<sup>188</sup> *Routhier*, 36.

It could equally be argued, however, that the effort to establish *Justpax* was also an effort to bring a new style of government into the Church. Admittedly, the structure discussed would involve research and education on modern developments and, as such, would avail itself of experts in the field so as to address ever more expertly such developments. In this way, *Justpax* could serve as both a listening-post and instrument of dialogue at the heart of the Church's central government – mediating between Church and society at different levels of organization. This was certainly in line with the “spirit of dialogue” encouraged by *Ecclesiam Suam* and the Council's teaching. However, when measured against the style of the then-existing curial bodies, *Justpax* was still conceived along the lines of the prevailing filter theory. The field of experts and consultants for the new Commission was widened, especially to include voices from the global south. However, the teaching model was decidedly one-sided. If the Church – and particularly the laity – were to be included in the decision-making process through dialogue and consultation on the lived reality of people in under-developed countries, the decision-taking remained with the hierarchy and in the case of *Justpax* with the Roman Pontiff. Accordingly, teaching and “guidance” flowed out from above towards the masses below.

#### **a        The Preference for Temporal Power**

The understanding of the roles assigned to different members of the Church reveals some distinctions from the previous period. The *cospiratori* were clear that the role of the laity was necessary in bringing about a more just social order. However, action

on behalf of justice in the world was not to be assigned an exclusive role to the laity. Instead, the new organism was designed to animate the entire Church, organizing the different levels of Church life and activity towards the common goal of social change. The best way to carry this out, for the *cospiratori* at least, was to seek an entity that would have the most political leverage both within the Church and also among international institutions. This can be seen in the characteristics of the new organism that would 1) create an entity that was within the Roman Curia, thereby linking its activity with the work of the pope himself – a detail not specified in article 90; 2) associate its activity with the teaching office of the hierarchy; and 3) serve as a way of instructing the laity through the exercise of an on-going organism of the Church's magisterium.

According to this framework, ecumenical collaboration is seen as one more tool in the effort to organize all Christians in search of social change. The *cospiratori* frequently admitted the need to develop a theology of development that was only tentatively discussed during this period. Ecumenical collaboration on social justice questions was seen as a form of “practical ecumenism” designed to avoid the deeper questions associated with the nature of the Church and her mission in the world. Directing social action after the Council would stumble when the question of teaching authority emerges and the implications of joint efforts for development appear to gloss over the distinctions between ecclesial communities.

The concept of development contained within the efforts of the *cospiratori* remains mainly at the level of material improvement and fails to account fully for the

spiritual dimension of progress found in *Gaudium et spes* and that appears in *Populorum progressio*. In short, the *cospiratori* were so focused on the technical solutions to existing problems of such a massive scale, that the conciliar teaching on the virtue of brotherly love and charity are, at times, neglected. The obligation found in the Pastoral Constitution to render the world “more human” is lost in the struggle to create *Iustpax*. The questions that face modern humanity regarding existence and meaning and are in danger of being subsumed. What results is a social activism that sees the person as an instrument or agent of the Church, one who is motivated by an ethical command but who risks losing the constitutive nature of integral human development while focusing on the end of human activity and not equally on the means of arriving at the desired end.

### **3.2 Theological Critique**

#### **a Practice before Theory**

The foregoing structural critique is not without its consequences for the theological vision of the new Commission. Ward, Norris and McCormack, while experts, espoused a development model that focused on technical fixes to the existing economic order. Wealth sharing and fairer trade rules were to be promoted by educating the West on the vicissitudes associated with the existing model and on how to fix it. Human development according to this model would continue to depend upon intervention from elsewhere. *Populorum progressio*, however, was rooted in the idea that the person was the protagonist of development. Lebrecht's experience among the poor fishing villages and

his Christian Marxism emerged more clearly in *Populorum progressio* where the concept of the person and the energy from below is at the heart of all development. The structural concerns that dominated the agenda of the *conspiratori* meant that they did not develop adequately the ideas (theology) that would give meaning to *Iustpax*.

While their structural efforts did have implications for a theology of development, it would be incorrect to say that the *conspiratori* set about developing such a theology. This can be seen in their conversations with ecumenical partners. In discussing the structural form of ecumenical collaboration on social questions, the need to develop a theology of development is clearly stated as one of the priorities of the new structures. Coupled with this lacuna in theological agreement was the larger debate on the differences in the theology of authority in the Church or an understanding of the Church's sacramental life. That is to say that even in the area where so-called "practical ecumenism" could take place, i.e. social justice concerns, there was little common theological understanding that went beyond a mutual acceptance of the great commandment and an eschatological vision of the *Regnum Christi*.

This approach, one could argue, was intentional and mirrored the long-standing frustration expressed by the *conspiratori* with the Council's treatment of the poverty question. The correspondence among the group during this period reveals intense tactical planning aimed at convincing the key Vatican players of their proposal. The argumentation was mediated more through experience and praxis than through the meaning afforded such experience through theological reflection. Gremillion expressed

the *modus operandi* of the group well in a note to Cardinal Roy's Provisional Committee regarding models of collaboration between the article 90 organism and the Secretariat of State. Gremillion wrote: "It must develop out of experience in the concrete situation."<sup>189</sup> Theory would emerge from practical experience according to this method, which would render the need for *a priori* principles of development not only unnecessary but perhaps even a hindrance. Efficiency for this group was dominated by what we might term "practicalism" that prized a results-based approach to social change.

Fr. Vincent Cosmao O.P. expressed this methodology in reflecting on the decade after *Populorum progressio*:

Prior to any and all theory is practice ... The anteriority of practice to theory opens to theology a field of work from which it should never have departed to indulge in elaborations claiming to tell us what ought to be done. Theological reasoning can be normative only in the sense that the craftsman can be normative: telling us how something should be done because experience shows it is the best or only way to do it. The validity of such an explanation is verified by practice.<sup>190</sup>

## **b      The Role of the Laity**

The educating and animating aspects of *Justpax* presented in *Gaudium et spes* and proposed by *Catholic Christi Ecclesiam* have implications for a theology of the laity and a theology of the Church's teaching authority. In *Gaudium et spes* and *Populorum*

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<sup>189</sup> Monsignor J. Gremillion, *Gaudium et spes – Article 90: Summary of the Discussion*, October 3 & 5, 1966, GRM-UNDA.

<sup>190</sup> Fr. Vincent Cosmao, O.P., *Changing the World: An Agenda for the Churches*, translated by John Drury, (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1984) 107.

*progressio*, the laity are presented as the Church in the world. They are not the totality of the Church in the world or even the exclusive actors in building up the *Regnum Christi* in the world. *Gaudium et spes* made provision for clerical involvement in secular affairs but assigned such involvement in a special way to the laity. The justification offered by Paul VI in establishing *Iustpax* and the *Council of the Laity in Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam* alters this understanding. The pope began by stating clearly:

According to the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, every Christian, in the measure of his own strength, inasmuch as belonging to the People of God, must fulfill this mission of salvation [of the world].<sup>191</sup>

However, in concluding, the pope defines the work of the lay apostolate and the fulfillment of the Church's social mission by the laity in terms of its relationship with the Holy See:

We have confidently established the two organisms in the firm hope that the lay members of the People of God, to whom We are giving a token of Our esteem and benevolence by this official organization, may feel themselves more closely associated [*sediant coniunctos*] with the action of this Apostolic See and, in the future, dedicate to Holy Church with ever greater generosity their efforts, their energies and their activity.<sup>192</sup>

Emerging in this description is an understanding of the laity as associated with the work of the Church expressed supremely by the Roman Pontiff. One could argue that conciliar teaching on the nature of the laity *as* the Church in the world is jeopardized in this

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<sup>191</sup> "Ex Concilii Vatican II monitis, omnes christifideles, pro sua quique parte, eo quo ad populum Dei pertineant, necesse est, ut munus hoc salutis sustineant." *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*, op. cit., 25.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

formulation and represents a pre-conciliar mindset. This is not to say that the architects of the new organism were characterized by docility to the pope or the hierarchy. Quite the opposite. However, rather than fill out the new space and renewed identity of the laity as Church in the world, there was a strong pull to resort to traditional centers of influence – viz. the hierarchy – and to wield what amounted to a temporal power that flowed from the hierarchy’s decision-taking role within the Church. It could be argued that well-intentioned developments by the *cospiratori* served to minimize an understanding of authority within the Church as one of “an exercise of obedience, the obedient performance of a service, a ministry of truth and charity.”<sup>193</sup>

The conception of the laity according to this model is more redolent of the Catholic Action model of Pius XI. The laity are, once again, encouraged to act in the world as representatives of the Church, under the mandate of the hierarchy in a way that had been challenged by Conciliar teaching. For the Church’s mission, activity in the world becomes, once again, associated with the work of the laity under the direction of the hierarchy.

### **c      Theology of the World**

*Populorum progressio* offers a perspective that hews closely to the direction offered in *Gaudium et spes*. Reading the signs of the times, taking the world as a *locus*

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<sup>193</sup> *Ecclesiam suam*, 115, AAS 658.

*theologicus* and engaging in a fruitful dialogue represents a methodological development in the Church's attitude towards the world, one that *Populorum progressio* manifests in its own methodology and encourages in setting forth a vision for human development. *Populorum progressio* sees the world as the place where the truth about the human person can be discerned, especially through the globalizing nature of the problems of development and peace. Technical solutions that flow from the logic of these "globalizing" tendencies will not suffice unless they are open to the transcendent which only the spiritual can provide. The Church offers herself in "generous and unselfish service"<sup>194</sup> of humanity.

The perspective of the *cospiratori* is somewhat different. Commitment towards the poor provides the criteria for judging the world. While well-intentioned and committed, the perspective of the architects of *Justpax* is unabashedly patrician, flowing from a belief that expertise from above can best solve the world's problems. The world is a place to be acted upon according to the judgment that emanates from the Church's discernment. They act like adults, addressing a problem seriously and urgently, but not with the depth prompted by the Encyclical. Without such depth, it becomes natural for Arthur McCormack to entertain ideas to curb population growth as a way of preserving the earth's resources and rendering them more "effective" in responding to the needs of

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<sup>194</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 12.

the poor.<sup>195</sup> The *cospiratori* were very much people of the Church and people of the contemporary world. However, their service of the world was marked by a desire to master new developments and harness them towards a new international order in which the Church as a truly global institution would exercise significant influence. While the image of being a leaven for change in the world was part of this vision, the program for education and coordination within the Church and in collaboration with others was more akin to the grand designs of the pre-modern period. To this extent, their plan was marked by the desire for efficient collaboration among all peoples. Absent from their vision was any social analysis of the world as had begun to develop in Latin America and as appeared in the work of Fr. Lebreton. Uncharitably, one might say they were more akin to neo-imperial reconstructionists, albeit very compassionate ones.

These reflections on the efforts of the *cospiratori* within the overall framework offered by *Gaudium et spes* and *Populorum progressio* are necessarily tentative. It would take another study to examine the extent to which the differences outlined here were put into practice as *Iustitiam* embarked upon its initial experimental period. In the final chapter we will offer a synthesis of the results of our investigation and offer comments on questions that remain valid today from the period under investigation and suggest avenues for further inquiry.

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<sup>195</sup> Arthur McCormack, *The Population Problem*, (New York: Crowell, 1970).

## Concluding Reflections and Questions for Further Development

### *1    Synthesis*

In the preceding chapters we researched the history of the foundation of *Justpax* and investigated the theological foundations of this new ecclesial entity in light of both the debate that gave rise to it during the Second Vatican Council as well as during the immediate post-conciliar period. The history demonstrates the determination of a small group of Anglo-American laity and clergy that formed a self-identified group and, calling themselves the *conspiratori*, lobbied in favor of the establishment of what became *Justpax*. They were responsible for a significant amount of coordination during the Council on the need for the Church to address the question of poverty and development and continued to push for a specific organization in the Council's aftermath. Without their efforts, the prospect of a concrete organism of the universal Church such as appeared with the creation of *Justpax* might never have materialized.

While their efforts were pivotal in overcoming the bureaucratic hurdles associated with this project, they were by no means the only people responsible for the initiative. Many Council participants were equally if not more committed to the cause of the poor and marginalized during the Council and pursued their own strategies to ensure the Council responded to these needs in a clear and concrete way. Powerful Council members, including Paul VI, demonstrated their sympathy for the proposal and spoke with urgency not only

about the plight of the poor, but of the relationship between the Church's mission and action on behalf of the poor.

In this process, the politicking of the *cospiratori* was met with the theoretical and theological contribution of others who had also dedicated their lives to the development of peoples. Most noteworthy among this group was Dominican Fr. Louis Lebreton. His contribution was clearly appreciated by Paul VI who consulted the French priest repeatedly and, according to reports, Lebreton composed the first draft of the "basic text" *Justitiae Populorum progressio*. At the heart of the Encyclical Letter on the *Development of Peoples* lay the concept of "integral human development." In many ways, *Populorum progressio* represents one of the earliest practical expressions of *aggiornamento* called for by John XXIII. Through it, development was cast as the keystone in the post-conciliar project for the Church to engage the world.

The period under study reveals the development of an increasingly comprehensive explanation of the consequences for the Church's relationship to the vision of the *Regnum Christi*. A love for the poor, eloquently proclaimed by John XXIII on the eve of the Council was intensely examined during the final two sessions. During this period, the Council moved beyond a notion of charity as seen as assistance and aid to the needy to implant with increasing insistence the concept of social justice as a criterion to govern relations between peoples and nations. Not a novel category, justice was seen as a requirement of the Gospel commandment to love one's neighbor as oneself. Applied to the relationship between the First World and Third World, justice became supplemented (or expanded) according to the

concept of solidarity which expressed in a new way the Church's solicitude for the poor and abandoned in a world that had become ever more "globalized" and integrated. The rapidly expanding connectivity that had given rise to a global consciousness of integration that carried with it a logic that stressed *economic growth* and the growth in material possession as the key indicator for development. Having more rather than being more became the definition of development. The Council gathered with a world divided in at least two ways: East and West ideologically and North and South economically. Responding to the interrogation presented by this situation, the Council drew on its teaching on the dignity of the human person in society as well as its experience from a worldwide perspective to articulate an ethic of global integration that promoted solidarity within and between nations. In this sense, it displayed what Paul VI called its expertise in humanity itself.

The *cospiratori* and other allies brought these concerns to the Council chamber and the other venues that hovered around the discussion in the *aula*. Debate on schema XIII served as a watershed not only on the Church's engagement with the world but the contribution that the Church would bring to the needs of the world. On the first question, engagement would begin through a focused effort to address the needs of the abandoned whose cries represented one of key reasons for the very *aggiornamento* proposed by Pope John. The structure of the Church's engagement was shaped by the concept of the *Regnum Christi* that was at the heart of the Church's mission and activity in the world.

Two major themes would recur during the implementation of this vision. The first centered on the notion of the mission of the Church as the People of God and the roles

assigned to the hierarchy and the laity in implementing the Church's social mission. The second focused on the virtue of Christian charity that underwent significant scrutiny and development. Bringing all to the knowledge of salvation was a mission assigned to all the People of God. The secular character of the laity was affirmed in this mission, founded on a renewed understanding of their role as members of the baptized and, as such, responsible for the Church's mission. Their expertise would predominate in the secular sphere.

The second key development could be found in the understanding of the virtue of Christian charity. This dissertation demonstrated that the development of a more comprehensive consideration of the Christian mission in a truly global context would entail the articulation of both a means and an end in fulfilling this mission. Both these aspects would be encompassed within a robust definition of Christian charity. First, Conciliar debate expanded on the notion of charity as assistance to those in distress to take account of the connectivity between peoples and nations in the contemporary world. Into this environment, popular discussion on social justice and the practice of solidarity were reaffirmed as appropriate Christian attitudes that more fully express the Christian virtue of charity. Aware of the complex nature of the forces of exclusion, the Council encouraged justice and solidarity towards all, especially the poorest. This was to be of special concern of the Church, according to the exhortations of both John XXIII and Paul VI.

In doing this, the Council moved from a traditional examination of the relationship between the natural and the supernatural to explain the relationship between the world and the Church to a more complete account of the nature of human destiny in the contemporary

world, offering a response to the problems facing the human person. Answers were not sought from within the Church's tradition alone. Rather, the world itself would become a place where God's plan for his people would unfold and it was where the Church would exercise its faculty of scrutinizing the modern world *sub luce evangelii*. Certain aspects of the world's response to human suffering were not only inadequate but were misleading. In this context, the Church could offer a discerning presence of evaluation. For the first time, the world was to be considered a partner (albeit junior) in this endeavor. The Church's teaching on the virtue of charity underwent closer scrutiny in light of the contemporary situation. Its practice would require the exercise of justice and solidarity. Both attitudes took account of the worldwide nature of the problems and the demands of a global ethic where obligations towards one's fellow human being were extended and touched all levels of human organization.

Lebret described the goal of this process of extending the Christian conscience through the practice of charity that could comprehend the dimensions of the world:

Once a person is taken over by charity and puts it into action, humanity itself is lifted up. Charity is the continuous impulse for the ascent of humanity.<sup>1</sup>

Concern for the poor that was manifested in justice and solidarity would need constant reference to the goal of such activity. The "end" of the Church's mission in and to

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<sup>1</sup> "Dès qu'un homme est envahi par la charité et la met en œuvre, l'humanité s'élève. La charité est l'impulsion continue de la montée humaine universelle." *Dimensions de la charité*, 26.

the modern world was presented as “integral human development.” Developed in the post-war period, the idea of such development was seen as the fulfillment of the hopes for humanity of the *regnum Christi* in the present time. Encompassing the entire human person and every human person, the notion of integral human development constituted the “end point” of the Church’s action for justice and solidarity in the world and provided a comprehensive explanation of the consequences of the virtue of Christian charity in the modern world. In this sense, charity would perfect justice (and solidarity) in forming societies in right relationship with one another because they were composed of people in right relationship with each other.

The Church’s vision for its engagement in the world was spelled out in *Gaudium et spes* and subsequently in greater detail in *Populorum progressio*. The Council’s teaching would become stale if it remained as texts and speeches. The *cospiratori* knew the importance of *action* as a way of implementing not only the change called for by the Council but of institutionalizing such a program for change within the Church’s own structures. Aware of the weaknesses of existing international structures, this group of Catholics brought all their worldly expertise to bear on marshalling the Church’s resources in the fight against poverty and exclusion. Whatever pent-up energy was present among the *cospiratori* was let loose in their singular focus to create a Curial body charged with the new commitment towards development. Less concerned with a theoretical foundation for the new body, the *cospiratori* adopted a basic theological conception of the Church’s mission for development and ran with it. Once established, *Iustpax* would be able to avail itself of the

considerable reach of the Church across the globe and would serve as the vanguard in propagating the call to care for the most abandoned.

Theology and praxis combined in this effort to supply the Church and its members with form and content for its relationship with the modern world. These developments served as the immediate backdrop to the establishment of *Justpax*. The project for *Justpax* was meant to give concrete expression to the Council's call for engagement with the world through the education and animation of Catholics on behalf of the requirements of development.

## 2 *Questions for Today*

If the Council presented the Church with a privileged moment for self-reflection and readjustment to challenges to the Church's life *ad intra* and *ad extra*, then Vatican II clearly responded to the need identified by John XXIII for the Church to engage in *aggiornamento*. Through the many contributions that went into establishing *Justpax*, the Church emerged from the Council with an emboldened sense of its own leadership in promoting a worldwide communion aimed at integral human development. So much so that Pope Paul reasserted the Church's expertise in the fundamentals of human society – the human person.<sup>2</sup> The contours of this leadership, however, still remained to be defined. Several questions arise from our

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<sup>2</sup> *Populorum progressio*, 42 on “full-bodied humanism.”

study of the people and the period that have some relevance in today's context. We will examine three.

## 2.1 Development and Evangelization

The *cospiratori* were leaders in their own fields. Through their efforts they brought the *new things* of the world into the Church's inner sanctum and oriented the Church's gaze more squarely on the needs of suffering humanity. Experience mixed with theological reflection in the *aula* to produce a dynamic word of teaching for the modern world. Other Christians were seized by this dynamism and the desire for ever greater collaboration with the Catholic Church expressed itself in plans for new structures of dialogue and joint education on the challenges of the modern world.

However, even amid the enthusiasm for a worldwide effort to promote human development, concerns continued about the implications of this agenda for the Church's mission. With license to engage more freely with other Christians and non-Christians alike, *Iustpax* was set to become the practical expression of the implementation of the Council's teaching. Any pre-conciliar mindset that saw the Church as the irreplaceable and unique vehicle for God's definitive action in the world was replaced with a deeper appreciation for the role and activity of the Reformation churches and an openness to the world as a place of discovery and enrichment of the Church itself. If the Church had once seen its role as Christianizing the state in the hope that the state itself would and could propagate the faith, the Church's post-conciliar posture towards the state adopted an all together more secular

hue: human development. The promotion of human development became the mark of the Church's activity in the world. The connection between the social mission and the Church's evangelizing activity did not receive careful analysis either in *Gaudium et spes* and less so in *Populorum progressio*. This is perhaps unsurprising given the drafting process involved. In the absence of a fully developed theology of the Church's social mission and how that would be communicated in the Church-World relationship, people like the *cospiratori* focused on organizing Church personnel to petitioning their governments on behalf of the poor.

The question would remain as to whether the promotion of development would become a surrogate for the work of evangelization. Instead of explicit evangelization programs focused on a creed and religious practice, the Church's engagement in the world became characterized by the promotion of a social justice, with any and all who shared these common goals.

Such questions can be raised today. What is the Church's role in the secular realm? It was, perhaps, less threatening in the mid-1960s to experiment with different ways of organizing the Church's mission if one emerged from a tradition marked by strong sense of belonging and commitment to that mission. Questions would start to resurface, however, about the nature of the Church's mission in the world and its relationship to a "core" mission of evangelization.

The nature and identity of the social mission would come under repeated scrutiny and critique. Central to this critique would be the role of religious identity within a

pluralistic cultural setting in which the idea of social mission and the promotion of development became a common denominator for both believers and non-believers. A nagging concern with the notion of the distinctive identity of the faith would grow louder as lines of demarcation were drawn between the distinct approaches to the apostolates espoused by the different churches or between those motivated by religious purposes and those claiming no faith-based motivation for their work. The relationship between the Church's social mission and the task of evangelization emerged repeatedly in the decade after the Council with Paul VI himself insisting repeatedly on a greater clarification of the nature and identity of the Church's social mission.<sup>3</sup> Any rethinking of the Church's enthusiasm for engagement with other churches as codified in the establishment of *Justpax* might explain Lukas Vischer's retrospective comments:

One can speak with reason today of a growing discrepancy between the extensive agreement reached at the various dialogues and the actual situation of the Churches...Consensus is not finding the open ears and hearts needed for reception ... Today the Churches are once more laying renewed emphasis on their own identity and tradition.<sup>4</sup>

## **2.2 Activity and Identity**

Pope John XXIII's convocation of Vatican II contained an ecclesial call to arms. The underlying confidence in Pope John's decision to bring the Church and its mission into the

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<sup>3</sup> See for example the repeated concern raised by Paul VI on the relationship between salvation and liberation in *Evangelii Nuntiandi*. "The relationship has not been fully worked out."

<sup>4</sup> Lukas Vischer, *One in Christ*, 17 (1981): 294-305, 294-5. Found in Evans, G. R. *Method in Ecumenical Theology: The Lessons so Far*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

modern world jolted, to some extent, the Church's understanding of its place and role in the world, while, at the same time giving expression to an emerging restlessness with the question of the Church's relevance in the modern world. The energy and enthusiasm unleashed by John's initiative would have to come to terms with an institution still reeling, to some extent, from the after-shocks of the Second World War and questions regarding the Church's effectiveness in speaking to the modern world.

The activity among those studied in these pages can also be categorized as a form of social activism. Implicit in an energized Church, seemingly confident in its willingness to enter and engage the world, the notion of Christian activism deserves reflection. Becoming active presumes a certain level of frustration with the *status quo*. It presupposes at the very least a negative judgment on the current state of affairs. While not always in command of a comprehensive normative vision for society that can project itself onto the entire spectrum of human cooperation, activism bespeaks at least an inchoate sense of the good which is being thwarted or insufficiently pursued in current affairs. Activism certainly benefits from a strong ideological drive; but can remain more an exercise in human expressiveness than social change.

At its heart, however, lies a sense of the self that is structured towards an engagement with others over and against certain obstacles and that seeks transformation, regardless of prevailing opinion – a posture towards the world that could easily flow from the Gospel command to preach the good news to the ends of the earth. Activism arguably implies a rupture brought to bear on the *status quo* from the outside, rather than an organic

development that flows from the nature of existing social or political arrangements. Indeed, implicit in an activist model is some form of rejection with current modes of social change, demanding an interruption that, while often explained *post facto*, brings genuine novelty to current *modus operandi*. This is significant since activism throws into question the nature and process of change within society and the evaluation of such change against the goals pursued by a group or society. Activism can be a particularly brute form of expression, indignant almost that a more ideal state of affairs does not currently prevail. To some extent, activism lacks tolerance.

One might also say that activism prioritizes external change over internal transformation. What counts most for the activist is the achievement of social and political goals that manifest themselves in different forms of behavior. The motive for such behavior is a secondary consideration. The ends can become the evaluative key for the means employed in activism. Activism evokes confrontation that can call forth and justify violence. While not insignificant, of less importance for an activist agenda are values such as social cohesion, the internalization of principles behind the social or political program, and the need for personal conviction of the values espoused.

Activism is known best in its movements and its protagonists. Black activism, judicial activism, anti-poverty activism all have their history and their heroes. The conciliar milieu was filled with such activists and the Council chamber became home to many of them, not least of whom were the *conspiratori*. The contexts that give rise to these discrete stories of vigorous engagement are key in understanding their rise and impact. They are

present in every age, leading to the supposition that activism is a human response to this-worldly existence as something essential to the human condition. While expressed in different ways, through education, writing, speech-giving and the like, activism pushes theory to one side as the driving force in making change happen. This was key to the vision for social change most keenly espoused by the *conspiratori*.

Without activity, there can be no movement; however, such activity has to be moored to a recognizable form of belonging, something which could describe the aspect of identity. Simply, identity suggests the qualities that belong to a person or thing by which it can be distinguished from another person or thing. In relation to people, identity implies a relatively stable core that can be recognized in light of changes that take place. For institutions as for individuals, the question of identity comes into sharp relief during times of upheaval.

Perhaps the process of change reveals something about the importance of identity. We indicated the need to recognize a stable core by which a thing can be set apart, named for its possession of a specific identity. Contemporaries talk about the loss of identity, an identity crisis, at institutional and individual levels. Such crises challenge a collective understanding of what constitute the defining qualities of a person or institution, recognizing the dynamic interplay between the internal and external forums. As outside pressure impinges on an acting subject, identity that is channeled or manifested in some essential way through observable realities – words, actions mainly – becomes open to interpretation or

even reinterpretation. Hermeneutics, then, becomes an essential tool in the identification process not only for observers but reflexively so for the subject.

Aiding this process, one might argue, is the drive to unmask, demythologize and deconstruct identities given in history and passed on. Many talk today of all identity as being constructed rather than given; settled by convention rather than conviction. Adding to the contemporary dilemma or even negation of identities that are fixed is a post-modern denial of a transcendent horizon against which identities can be adumbrated and distinguished.

Arguing that there is a similar preoccupation with identity in today's Church, we can see signs of an emphasis, in the United States at least, on documents related to core Church teaching that one could associate with an assertion of identity. There are many voices urging the Church to make distinctions between itself (and its message) and prevailing political and cultural expressions. In this, as in the recurrent reference to "secularity" in Western society, the role of identity emerges. Used as bulwark against such tendencies, identity becomes susceptible to reductionism, made up of perennial verities, of appearances in speech and action, in ritual and cultic language that appeals to eternal truths that have become dislodged from their place in history. Without such a place, identity loses its ability to speak of something that continues and has expressive power in the contemporary moment.

Two aspects of the above analysis have re-emerged in recent discussion of the Council and its consequences for the Church's teaching and for its teaching authority. They are the concept of "rupture" associated with activism and of "continuity" in the case of identity. Discussion of the nature of the Council as an event in the life of the Church has

reached the highest levels of the Church. Shorthand has been developed that divides opinion between those who see the Council as representing a break with prior teaching, and those who consider the Council as a moment of continuity with what went before.<sup>5</sup> Shorthand can be precarious, especially when evaluating significant and multi-faceted moments. However, these epithets contain important underlying conceptions of the development of doctrine and the historical nature of the faith. They also divide people into liturgical or ecclesiastical “camps.”

Whether the Council’s represented a “rupture” with the past or expressed “continuity” with it can be evaluated in light our own investigation into the Council’s teaching on the theology of the Church’s relationship with the world. We saw during the Council debate how the concept of Christian charity was deployed to ground the nature of the Church’s love for the poor in a way that incorporated the contemporary reality. The globalizing nature of poverty demanded an equally globalizing concept of charity, one that incorporated the principles of justice, solidarity and human development. In this sense, as the title suggests, justice was perfected by charity.

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<sup>5</sup> See the explanation of the two schools of interpretation along these lines explained by Jared Wicks, in “New Light on Vatican II,” *Catholic Historical Review* 92, no. 4 (October 2006): 609-628 at 613: “For [Archbishop] Marchetto this school [Bologna] lacks a proper sensibility for the continuity present in the Council’s *aggiornamento* and for the fidelity to tradition characterizing Vatican II’s renewal of the Catholic Church.”

In recent times, Pope Benedict XVI addressed this dynamic, a reflection that is apposite given that the Pope himself occupied a front row seat to the theological discussions during the Council. The Pope has described this dual understanding:

On the one hand, there is an interpretation that I would call “a hermeneutic of discontinuity and rupture;” it has frequently availed itself of the sympathies of the mass media and also one trend of modern theology. On the other, there is the “hermeneutic of reform,” of renewal in the continuity of the one subject-church that the Lord has given to us.<sup>6</sup>

The Pope proceeds with the “hermeneutic of reform” presenting it as a more proper way of understanding the Council’s heritage. The Pope interprets the methodology of the Council with reference to the three major challenges that the Council addressed in its second part: the relationship between faith and science; between Church and state of the proper understanding of religious freedom in an age of pluralism. These “three circles” prompted a response from the Council.<sup>7</sup> The Pope explained:

These are all subjects of great importance - they were the great themes of the second part of the council - on which it is impossible to reflect more broadly in this context. It is clear that in all these sectors, which all together form a single problem, some kind of discontinuity might emerge. Indeed, a discontinuity had been revealed but in which, after the various distinctions between concrete historical situations and their requirements had been made, the continuity of principles proved not to have been abandoned. It is easy to miss this fact at a first glance.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Pope Benedict XVI, “Ad Romanam Curiam ob omnia natalicia,” *AAS* 98 (2006): 40-53, 47; English translation in *Origins*, 35/32 (2006): 534-539, 536.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 49; 437-8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

A combination of continuity and discontinuity emerges, therefore, through a process whereby “basic decisions, therefore, [are] ... well-grounded, whereas the way they are applied to new contexts can change.”<sup>9</sup>

Something akin to the Pope’s insight can be detected in the investigation of this dissertation. Novelty is part of the Church’s activity expressed in *Justpax*. Novel also is the more comprehensive vision of Christian charity expressed in the call for integral human development founded on justice and solidarity. At the same time, our study has shown that the virtue of Christian charity is preserved in the Council’s vision, one that can better respond to the needs of the world *in hoc tempore*.

### 2.3 Ecclesiology and Method

Some major ecclesial images offered by the establishment of the Pontifical Commission from conciliar teaching were the Church as “Instrument of the Kingdom of God,” the Church as “People of God,” the Church as *communio*. These images can be seen in the way in which dialogue and consultation, particularly among those impacted by the social challenges of poverty and conflict, are seen as priority for the new organism of the Church. The focus that this places on the experience of individual Christians is important to the overall legacy of the Council since it was *experience* that moved the hearts of many Fathers to urge concrete action in the face of contemporary challenges. What is the status of

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

this experience and how does it relate both to the Church's teaching and to scripture? There is little evidence that these issues were addressed between the end of the Council and the founding of the Pontifical Commission.

The reality of dialogue and engagement are important in other ways. The coherence between faith and reason is necessary for a genuine dialogue to take place and is at least presumed in the make up of the new Commission. Reflecting on the experience of the secular world from its "doctrinal, pastoral and apostolic aspect"<sup>10</sup> will entail a coming together of the content of the faith with the results of the activity of human reason. This activity of the Pontifical Commission can be seen within the calls of Fr. Lebreton and Barbara Ward for a new "ethics of development." Analysis of the problems facing the world and the lessons learned from politics and social sciences would need to be intrinsically linked to the theological content of revelation. Rahner had complained that this methodology was missing in the Pastoral Constitution.<sup>11</sup> We've already raised the question: did the new Commission by-pass this lacuna in favor of a focus on activism? If so, and this may have happened, then the communicability of the Church's social teaching will suffer; and the Church's counsel will contain no distinctive quality – a salvific quality – appearing no different than many secular theories or political movements.

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<sup>10</sup> *CCE*, II, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Karl Rahner, "On the Theological Problems Entailed in a 'Pastoral Constitution,'" in *Theological Investigations*, vol. 10, (London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1961- ): 293-317.

Failure to combine faith and reason in a dialogical method would also undermine the place afforded to experience as a genuine theological *locus* worthy of prioritization by *Justpax*. According to the Commission's plan of action, education about the social mission of the entire People of God (and all of humanity, for that matter) was accompanied by a second movement that involved mobilization for social change. This model re-locates the Church's ministry at the level of the individual believer, gathered within the context of a parish, diocese or national bishops' conference. The importance of this dialogue stands out clearly as the implementing agent of the Pastoral Constitution is established. From within the Roman Curia and at the request of the Holy Father himself, this new body indicated the desire for a new interface of a *learning* Church (*ecclesia discens*) - one that listened to the world - with a *teaching* Church (*ecclesia docens*) that spoke a word of wisdom about contemporary problems. This *discens/docens* faculty was not the exclusive preserve of the new Commission, but served as a model to the entire Church and to each local Church. As People of God, the hierarchy and laity together discern the signs of the times and then – with the aid of this coordinating body – interpret in the light of the gospel the moral demands placed on the Christian conscience. This process will be a dialectical one, with the teaching office returning to the agents most impacted by the world's problems for an ongoing validation and verification of their insights.

However, the ascending role given to experience and insight from among the vast majority of laity is complemented (or contrasted) with a concomitant descending role that originates with the hierarchy. Despite the democratizing tendencies within the model offered

by the Pontifical Commission, all decision-taking and articulation of the Church's education and outreach activities are centrally directed, beyond the veil of participation and dialogue. Whether through the Curia or the local bishops' conference, such dialogue plays an advisory role. In matters of dogmatic articulation of the faith this may seem natural. However, the very project launched with the Pastoral Constitution offered a model of engagement in which those closely impacted by the secular order – the laity according to *Lumen gentium* and *Apostolicam actuositatem* – should have a special role to play in the working of salvation in the day-to-day of Christian life. In the final analysis, the People of God model can seem to give way to an emphasis on an institutional model. Both are important, but one can never make up for the absence of the other.

Between the democratizing language of *People of God* and the institutional assertion of the teaching role of the *magisterium*, another theological concept can serve to provide coherence to the Church's methodology related to social ethics. The notion of the Church as *communio* maintains the validity of the Church as hierarchically constituted with the equally valid role played by all the People of God, and in particular the laity, in being the Church in the world and bringing the Church's teaching and moral commitment to bear on the world's problems. Accordingly, the Church is a community of understanding and interpretation, each member playing his or her distinctive role but no one excluded and all subject to the guidance of the Spirit according to the charisms given to the Church. By seeking to impact the world through its social structures and a body of faithful energized and empowered to bring their gifts of faith and reason into their public life, the Church as symbol and mystery

of communion serves to nourish the faith of its members while motivating them to bring about the fullness of the Church's presence in the world. A *communio* model of the Church may serve to unravel questions that remained unresolved right to the end of the writing of Schema XIII and failed to be adequately spelled out during the foundation of *Justpax*. However, when viewed as an *expression* of communion, the Pontifical Commission fulfils the Church's mission to evangelize to the ends of the earth.

### **3     *A Final Word***

Throughout this short period in the Church's life, there is an overriding sense of urgency among the key players that comes from a mix of both embarrassment and outrage. Outrage can be seen clearly in the picture of dehumanizing poverty repeatedly painted by the *cospiratori*. References are made to the colonial past and its consequences in the present; to the hegemonic West and the spirit of self-interest and greed. At the same time, the proponents of concrete action presume that the very identity – even credibility– of the Church itself is at stake in the battle against dehumanizing poverty. If, as was suggested, the existence of such poverty is a blight and stain on the reputation of humankind, then the Church should take a portion of the blame for any lack of ability or even willingness to bring about change. It pertains to the essence of the Church's presence that the fight against poverty be a singular sign of its legitimacy. The Council was haunted by two world wars in quick succession, the plight of refugees and casualties after the war as well as other instances of social injustice. For Monsignor Gremillion's world marked by racism and

segregation or Barbara Ward's world marked by the threat of hunger, disease and nuclear war, the presence of the Church in the world of the 1960s had an obvious calling. Similar crises exist today.<sup>12</sup> Where are the *cospiratori*? Barbara Ward's prompting is as urgent today as it was then: "If Christians do not provide the needed stiffening of hope, faith, fortitude and love, who will?"<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> For a most recent articulation of the Church's understanding of the challenges facing humanity in the contemporary age and a theological presentation of the concept of integral human development, see Benedict XVI, *Caritas in Veritate*, available at [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/benedict\\_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_ben-xvi\\_enc\\_20090629\\_caritas-in-veritate\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20090629_caritas-in-veritate_en.html) (accessed on 13 September, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Barbara Ward, *World Poverty and the Christian Conscience, Memorandum Circulated to the Council Fathers during the Third Session of Vatican II*, 1964, undated. NC-UNDA, 3.

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### 4 *Primary Sources*

A significant amount of the archival material consulted for this dissertation was found in the University of Notre Dame Archives. James J. Norris was an avid preserver of documentary materials and therefore the greatest source of material for this study. Monsignor Joseph Gremillion was the one who managed to secure the housing of the Norris papers in Notre Dame during his tenure as director of the University's Pastoral Institute. During his time at Notre Dame, Gremillion helped catalog his own papers as well as serving as a guide in preserving the documentary record of the Council and of *Justpax*. The archives of Catholic University of America contain notes and drafts of documents that Norris kept from the Council period, particularly from his participation in Subcommission X of *Gaudium et spes* as well as his work for the *Concilium de Laicis*. Georgetown University Archives provided valuable information on this period from its collection of papers of Barbara Ward. While this study relies on significant historical research of the period under investigation, it does not claim to be an exhaustive historical work. However, sufficient archival material was consulted and sufficient overlap between the sources came to light such that there is a high degree of confidence that the original historical material authentically reflects the state of correspondence and other documentation of the period in question.

The *conspiratori* were not the only contributors to the establishment of *Justpax*, nor as we have seen to its theological underpinnings. For this reason, other sources were consulted. Besides the comprehensive study of Fr. Louis-Joseph Lebreton O.P., by Denis Pelletier and briefer studies on Barbara Ward by Pamela Pelzel,<sup>1</sup> the archives of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace in Vatican City, Rome and the *Alfonsianum* Academy, also in Rome, offered important documentary evidence from the period.

#### **4.1 Archival Material**

*James J. Norris Collection*, University of Notre Dame Archives.

*Monsignor Joseph Gremillion Collection*, University of Notre Dame Archives.

*Barbara Ward (Baroness Jackson) Collection*, Georgetown University Archives.

*Fr. Bernard Häring Collection*, Academia Alfonsiana Archives, Rome.

*Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace*, Archives, Vatican City.

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<sup>1</sup> Pamela Martin Pelzel, "Barbara Ward: Advocate for Social Justice," *The Living Light*, (Washington, D.C.: USCCB Publishing, 1978): 60-68, 62.

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