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At the Vanguard of the Geo-Apostolate: Pax Romana (1946–1971)

Kevin Ahern

In September 1963, Pope Paul VI appointed thirteen lay auditors to the Second Vatican Council. For the first time, lay people who were not monarchs or diplomats were invited to participate in an ecumenical council. By the final session of Vatican II in 1965, the number of auditors had grown to fifty-three. Among these, six were involved as leaders or former leaders of Pax Romana, a pioneering network of socially engaged Catholic intellectuals and students.

These included Rosemary Goldie, an Australian who would be the first lay woman to hold a position in the Roman curia; Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, a Catalan intellectual in Switzerland; Vittorino Veronese, an Italian who would serve as the Director General of UNESCO; Mieczyslaw De Habicht, a Polish exile who joined Goldie in the Pontifical Council for the Laity; and Silvio Golzio the president of Pax Romana's Italian graduate movement. For nearly two decades before the council these leaders collaborated together within Pax Romana along with other lay leaders, theologians and bishops, most notably Pope Paul VI, Marcos McGrath, and Emilio Guano.

While much has been written about the Second Vatican Council, the story of the auditors and their apostolic movements in facilitating elements of the conciliar renewal has yet to be fully appreciated. In considering Pax Romana, it can be difficult at first glance to see the connections between various national movements each with their own names, and how they fit within the two autonomous movements of students and intellectuals that comprise the organization. Parts of this story are told in the personal testimonies of people involved, studies on European left Catholicism, and in an important book on the first two world congresses of the lay apostolate.¹ Nevertheless, questions remain. What role did Pax Romana play as a network in preparing, developing and receiving the council's

¹ See, for example, Rosemary Goldie, *From a Roman Window: Five Decades of the World, the Church and the Laity*, Melbourne 1998; Rosemary Goldie, *Ramon Sugranyes: Catholic*

teaching? What enabled it to be a mediating force at this critical moment in the life of the church?

This paper aims to connect some of the missing dots. Understanding these connections and the role of lay movements as instruments of pre-conciliar renewal can help to illuminate insights for the Catholic church today as it reflects more deeply on questions of synodality and lay participation.

Mediating the Apostolate

By the time Pope John XXIII announced his call for the Second Vatican Council, Pax Romana was well prepared to welcome a new model of the lay apostolate. For more than a decade, this global network of intellectuals had been «re-thinking» the nature and meaning of the lay apostolate and forming leaders and new structures to promote such as vision. By the 1950s it had grown from a loose coordination of mostly European student groups founded in 1921 to a global network comprising two international lay movements, several specialized professional networks, and 115 member organizations in more than fifty countries worldwide.²

The new approach taken by Pax Romana to its own mission, and by extension to the mission of the church, took root immediately following the catastrophe of the Second World War. Post-war reconstruction presented new opportunities for European integration and intergovernmental cooperation; the Cold War raised serious questions about the vocation of science; decolonization offered new hopes; and the growing access to higher education worldwide transformed the very nature of the milieu in which Pax Romana sought to work. These dynamics called for a new model for organizing the intellectual apostolate. Following the war, Pax Romana reframed its mission, going beyond the Christendom models that marked earlier periods. The understanding of Catholic action that demanded Pax Romana defend the church from a hostile secular society transformed into a more proactive

International Organizations, COPECIAL and Vatican II, in: Notes and Documents, September–December 1998, 20–27; Rosemary Goldie, Lay Participation in the Work of Vatican II, in: *Miscellanea Lateranense*, 40–41 (1974/1975), 503–525; Vittorino Veronese: *un laico nella chiesa e nel mondo*, Roma 1994; Bernard Minvielle, *L'Apostolat des laïcs à la veille du concile (1949–1959): histoire des congrès mondiaux de 1951 et 1957*, Fribourg 2001; Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, *Militant per La Justicia: Memories Dialogades Amb El Pare Hilari Ragner*, Barcelona 1998. See also the testimonies of Goldie and Sugranyes in *Mémoire et espérance*, Pax Romana MIIC-ICMICA 1947–1987, Genève 1987; Michela Trisconi (ed.), *Mémoires Engagés; Memorias Comprometidas; Memories of Committed Persons: 76th–50th Anniversary Pax Romana ICMICA/MIIC*, Fribourg 1997.

² Pax Romana de 1946 à 1950, Fribourg 1950, 5.

and socially engaged model for students and graduates. To do this, however, demanded that it also rethink its own structure at two levels.

Differentiation into Two Branches

The first and most dramatic structural change for Pax Romana was its differentiation into two autonomous branches, the International Movement of Catholic Students (IMCS) and the International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs (ICMICA) for graduates and professionals. The nineteenth World Congress in Salamanca, Spain in 1946, under the leadership of Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez made the first steps forward with the proposal to create *Universitas*, an association of Catholic university professors.³ This idea would take shape more clearly two months later at the twentieth congress (August 27–September 5) in Fribourg, Switzerland. More than 600 delegates from forty-one countries gathered to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the movement and to study the theme, «The Christian Duty of the University Student».⁴ The delegates approved the proposal to transform Pax Romana into two autonomous movements: IMCS for university students and ICMICA for intellectuals and graduates.

Hubert Aepli, Chancellor of Fribourg University, was charged with the task to lead a provisional committee to create the group of intellectuals. The committee included Francis Aylward of Great Britain, Roger Millot of France, and Vittorino Veronese of Italy. Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, a Catalan intellectual in Fribourg, was asked to serve as first Secretary General of ICMICA, a post he held until 1958 when he was elected as ICMICA president (1958–1965).⁵

Among others, Sugranyes was joined by Rosemary Goldie, a young Australian who had participated in the 1937 Congress of Pax Romana. After helping to create the first Australian affiliate of Pax Romana during the war, Goldie returned to Europe and joined the Fribourg staff.

The 1946 reorganization plan was solidified the following Easter with the first IMCS Interfederal Assembly in Anzio, Italy and the first ICMICA Plenary Assembly in Rome. José González Torres of Mexico and Roger Millot were elected presidents of IMCS and ICMICA respectfully. Veronese was also elected to the first of two terms as vice president. The assembly of the graduates included a number of prominent figures who helped envision the future, including Jacques

³ Guillaume de Weck, *Histoire de la Confédération Internationale des Étudiants Catholiques «Pax Romana» 1887–1921–1946*, Fribourg 1946, 193–195.

⁴ Urs Altermatt/Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, *Pax Romana 1921–1981: Fondation et Développement*, Fribourg 1981, 38–39.

⁵ Guillaume Weck, *L'Association des Amis de Pax Romana: Son Passé, Son Avenir*, Fribourg 1948, 50–53.

Maritain, Etienne Gilson, and Giovanni Battista Montini (later Paul VI), a former chaplain of the Italian student affiliate (FUCI) and founding member of the movement of Italian graduates. IMCS and ICMICA delegates came together on April 12, 1947 at the Apostolic Chancellery for formal approval of the new statutes by the pope and a conference on the theme: «Christianity and the Intellectual.»⁶

For both IMCS and ICMICA, there was a strong concern to instill in students and graduates a sense of apostolic responsibility for the transformation of the social order, an approach developed in conversation with the political philosophy of Jacques Maritain.⁷ This can be seen in the *Pax Romana Journal* (later *Convergence*), the official magazine of the IMCS and ICMICA, and in meetings and conferences. Topics of meetings included Social Responsibilities of the Student (1948); Political Responsibility of the Christian (1954); Social Responsibility of the University Today (1959); The Responsibility of the Christian Intellectual in the World Today (1961); The Christian Responsibility in a Technological Era (1961) and The Responsibility of the University Towards Society (1962). One way ICMICA promoted this was through the creation of at least eight specialized secretariats or autonomous federations based on specific professions, such as doctors, lawyers, and artists.⁸

The creation of the United Nations (UN) offered Pax Romana an opportunity to exercise their collective responsibility in new ways. Building on Pax Romana's earlier engagement with the League of Nations, IMCS and ICMICA made separate applications in 1947 to be considered for accreditation with the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). After initial opposition to their application from the Soviet Union and France, ECOSOC proposed a compromise in 1948 to admit Pax Romana under the condition that the two movements be jointly represented.⁹ This opened the door for Pax Romana (ICMICA-IMCS) to be accredited

⁶ Roger Pochon/Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, *Pax Romana down the Years (1921–1961)*, Fribourg 1961, 17.

⁷ While he does not address Pax Romana directly, Gerd-Rainer Horn offers a constructive summary of how apostolic lay groups reflected and pushed past Maritain's framework, see Gerd-Rainer Horn, *Left Catholicism, 1943–1955: Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, Leuven 2001, chap. 2.

⁸ Here, ICMICA built on specialized groups already existing within IMCS. These included the International Federation of Catholic Doctors, the International Federation of Catholic Pharmacists, the International Secretariat of Catholic Artists, the International Committee of Catholic Writers, the International Secretariat for Secondary School Teachers, the International Secretariat of Catholic Engineers, the International Secretariat of Catholic Jurists and the International Secretariat for Scientific Questions.

⁹ This was decided with the Resolution 133(VI)A. See Bernard Cook, *Pax Romana and the Reconstruction of a United Europe along Christian Lines*, in: *Une Europe malgré tout, 1945–1990: Contacts et Réseaux culturels, intellectuels et scientifiques entre Européens dans la Guerre Froide*, ed. Antoine Fleury/Lubor Jílek, vol. 9, Brussels 2009, 271–74. For a more

by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and it was formally granted status by ECOSOC the following February.

Pax Romana did not wait until 1949, however, to begin direct engagement with themes on the UN agenda. The second ICMICA Plenary Assembly took place in the United Kingdom in 1948 and examined the draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Following the session, a memorandum was sent to the president of ECOSOC. According to Bernard Cook and Jules Henri Levasseur, the contribution of this meeting can be seen in the final texts of Articles 18 and 23 of the Universal Declaration.¹⁰

Decentralization and Growth

As Pax Romana developed its international advocacy work and created new structures for graduates, it was also developing new programs and structures beyond Europe. Among the sixteen leaders of IMCS (presidents and secretary generals) between 1947–1971, for example, only six were from Europe. The chronology of events in the 1950s and 1960s highlights a growing number of training sessions, seminars, assemblies and congresses organized outside of Europe. At the 1960 IFA in Lisbon, IMCS's formulated «a policy of decentralization, envisaging the eventual establishment of regional secretariats».¹¹ Latin America was the first region to have a definitive secretariat in 1963 after several attempts. Bishop Marcos McGrath CSC of Panama, once a student delegate to the first Inter-American Assembly in 1941, took the role as chaplain. The office coordinated events and issued the magazine, *Vispera*, and a documentation service. Eventually, the secretariat developed closer ties with the regional programs of the International Young Catholic Students (IYCS). By 1970, IMCS and IYCS joined into a common regional secretariat under the name MIEC-JECI.¹²

During the 1951 IFA in Rhimes, IMCS leaders proposed a series of Asian seminars. The election of Joseph Kuriacose of India in 1954 as IMCS President helped to put this plan into effect. The first Asian regional seminar was organized

detailed study of Pax Romana's role as an NGO see chapter 6 of Karsten Lehmann, *Religious NGOs in International Relations the Construction of «the Religious» and «the Secular»*, London 2017.

¹⁰ Jules H. Levasseur, *Pax Romana: Its Higher Educational Role* (Dissertation, Washington, DC, Catholic University of America), Washington, DC 1965, 88–89; Cook, *Pax Romana* (see note 9), 274–275.

¹¹ International Movement of Catholic Students Pax Romana, *Christian Student Leadership for Asia*; Report of the Pax Romana, IMCS Asian Survey Team, 1963, Kandy, Sri Lanka 1964, 146.

¹² Buenaventura Pelegri, *IMCS-IYCS: Their Option Their Pedagogy*, Hong Kong 1979, 21.

in December 1954 in Madras (Chennai). The second regional seminar was organized in Manila in a series of five Pax Romana meetings over the course of three weeks in December of 1959–January of 1960. These included the IMCS Asian seminar, IMCS IFA, a meeting for chaplains, a meeting of Catholic doctors, and the First Asian Conference of Pax Romana Graduates.¹³

These four events coincided with a joint Pax Romana-UNESCO conference on the theme «The Present Impact of the Great Religions on the Lives of Men in the Orient and Occident», one of the first inter-religious conferences to receive papal approval.¹⁴ Eventually, a regional secretariat was established in Hong Kong in 1970 with Fr. Tissa Balasuriya OMI of Sri Lanka as chaplain.

Expansion into Africa would also take shape in the 1950s. Under the leadership of Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, the first woman president of IMCS, and later the first woman Prime Minister of Portugal, IMCS organized an All Africa Seminar in Accra, Ghana on the theme «Africa... Christian Continent?»¹⁵ This was followed up by a second seminar at the end of 1960 in Leopoldville (Kinshasa). In 1962, Ghana hosted the First African Seminar for Graduates and by 1963 the first African Regional Secretariat was set up in Leopoldville, Congo.

A North American regional office was briefly established in New York with the World Student Christian Federation. In Europe, regional programming continued out of the Fribourg office for both students and professionals, including the Servicio Europeo de Universitarios Latinoamericano or SEUL to serve Latin American students in the region. Eventually, like in Latin America, IMCS would organize a joint regional structure for Europe with the IYCS under the name JECI-MIEC.

Organizing the Geo-Apostolate

To achieve its goals, Pax Romana developed important points of cooperation with other international organizations. In the years following the refoundation in 1946, Pax Romana leaders were involved in the creation and animation of two distinct, yet overlapping, umbrella networks.

¹³ Roque Ferriols et al., The Pax Romana Conferences in Manila: A Special Report, in: *Philippine Studies*, 8/2 (1960), 362–388.

¹⁴ UNESCO Pax Romana Meeting at Manila and First Pax Romana Graduate Conference in Asia, Fribourg 1960.

¹⁵ Africa-Christian Continent?, Fribourg 1958.

The Conference of International Catholic Organizations

The first umbrella network to emerge related to Pax Romana's pioneering role in civil society. In 1927, Pax Romana had been among a group of eleven organizations working with the League of Nations to create the *Conférence des Présidents des Organisations Internationales Catholiques*. In 1947, as several Catholic groups sought formal relationships with the newly created United Nations, the *Conférence des Présidents* was reformed into the Conference of International Catholic Organizations (CICO).¹⁶ In the absence of any other canonical category for international lay groups, the term, «international Catholic organization», originally coined by the groups themselves in relation to their political engagement, became an ecclesial designation for what Goldie described as a «geo-apostolate»¹⁷.

From the beginning to its dissolution in 2008, Pax Romana took on leadership roles in the CICO. Leaders were as president of the CICO at several critical moments, including Roger Millot (1947–1948), Ramon Sugranyes de Franch (1961–1965); and Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez (1971–1973). Mieczysław De Habicht, a Polish exile and a delegate at the founding of IMCS in 1947, took a job as the first permanent secretary of the CICO from 1951–1967 after serving in the Fribourg secretariat of Pax Romana from 1947–1951.¹⁸

COPECIAL and The World Congresses of the Lay Apostolate

In the Holy Year of 1950, a second network took shape as Veronese, then vice president of ICMICA and president of the *Azione Cattolica Italiana*, called a meeting of eighty lay delegates representing twenty-two counties and fifteen ICOs. Together, they envisioned a «World Congress for the Lay Apostolate» in October 1951.

The groundbreaking congress convened representatives of nearly forty ICOs and national delegations from over seventy countries and seventeen ethnic groups in exile from communist regimes. The presence of Pax Romana at the congress was notable. In addition to the eighteen international delegates of IMCS and ICMICA, many national delegates came from local Pax Romana affiliates.¹⁹ Pius XII praised

¹⁶ See Goldie, *From a Roman Window* (see note 1), 46–50; Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, *Le Christ dans le Monde: Les Organisations Internationales Catholiques*, Paris 1972.

¹⁷ Rosemary Goldie, *Le panorama de l'apostolat de laïcs*, in: *L'apostolat des laïcs: Décret «Apostolicam Actuositatem»*, ed. Yves Congar (*Unam Sanctam* 75), Paris 1970, 142; Pontifical Council for the Laity, *Respiciens Normas Quibus Instituta Internationalia Catholica Definiuntur*, in: *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, LXIII/1 (1971), 948–956.

¹⁸ François Blin, *Repères pour l'histoire de la Conférence des Organisations Internationales Catholiques (1927–2008)*, Paris 2008.

¹⁹ Comité Permanent des Congrès Internationaux pour l'Apostolat des Laïques (ed.), *Actes du 1er Congrès Mondial pour l'apostolat des laïques*, vol. 2, Roma 1951.

the event for encouraging the laity to consider their responsibilities in the church and in the world.²⁰

In January 1952, the pope created the *Comité permanent des congrès internationaux pour l'apostolat des laïcs* (COPECIAL). Veronese was named as secretary and a modest secretariat was established in Rome staffed by a group of three women, including Goldie who had worked in the Pax Romana Fribourg secretariat since 1946.²¹

Among the first activities of this new committee was the organization of an experts' meetings in May 1953 that brought together lay leaders with several clerics who would later contribute to the drafting of *Apostolicam Actuositatem* and *Gaudium et Spes* a decade later. They included Pietro Pavan and Gérard Philips, Joseph Cardijn and Emilio Guano, Montini's successor as the national chaplain of IMCS in Italy.²² The group called for an inductive preparation for the next world congress. Questionnaires on the status of the laity were sent to faculties of canon law. At the same time, Goldie organized consultative meetings in Africa, Asia and Latin America to seek lay input. Her travels often paralleled with Pax Romana events happening in the regions.²³

In October 1956, a COPECIAL meeting prepared three «basic texts» to be used by the delegates at the second congress. According to Goldie, these documents would play a role unforeseen at the time as «part of material used in drafting *Apostolicam Actuositatem* and *Gaudium et Spes*». ²⁴ Jean Pierre Dubois-Dumée, president of the CICO drafted a text on the sociological and political situation of the modern world and the role of the laity.²⁵ Ramon Sugranyes de Franch joined a group of theologians and worked to develop two texts: «The Mission of the Church: The Mystery of the Church and of Her Mission» drafted by Guano and «The Nature and the Apostolic Vocation of the Laity» drafted by Philips.²⁶

²⁰ Address of His Holiness Pope Pius XII, in: Laymen in the Church, vol. 1, Second World Congress for the Lay Apostolate, Rome, 5–13 October 1957, Rome 1958, 14.

²¹ Goldie, From a Roman Window (see note 1), 24–25.

²² Ibid., 25–27.

²³ See Actes de la première rencontre des dirigeants d'apostolat des laïcs en Terre Africaine: Kisubi (Ouganda) 8–13 Décembre 1953, Rome 1953; and Acts of the First Asian Meeting for the Apostolate of the Laity: Manila (Philippines), 3–8 December 1955, Rome 1956.

²⁴ Goldie, Ramon Sugranyes (see note 1), 31–32.

²⁵ Jean Pierre Dubois-Dumée (ed.), The World of Today: The Responsibilities of the Laity, Basic Text , in Laymen Face the World, vol. 2, 3 vols., Second World Congress for the Lay Apostolate, Rome, 5–13 October 1957, Rome 1958, 255–278.

²⁶ Emilio Guano (ed.), The Mission of the Church: The Mystery of the Church and of Her Mission, Basic Text <A1>, in Laymen in the Church, vol. 1, 3 vols., Second World Congress for the Lay Apostolate, Rome, 5–13 October 1957, Rome 1958, 211–216; Gérard Philips (ed.), The Nature and the Apostolic Vocation of the Laity, Basic Text <A2>, in: ibid. 217–236.

With these three basic documents, the Second World Congress for the Lay Apostolate met in October 1957 on the theme «The Laity in the Crisis of the Modern World: Responsibilities and Formation». With over 2,000 participants from eighty countries, the gathering considered questions relating to the role of the laity in the church as well as the role of the church in the world.²⁷

In his address, Pius XII requested that the congress consider how the term and organizational structure of «Catholic action» might be reformed.²⁸ The congress responded to this unprecedented act of consultation by establishing a committee that drafted a resolution requesting COPECIAL and the Conference of ICOs to «act, in fraternal collaboration, as instruments for the gathering of data on the problem, as it arises in the various countries, for the circulation of the studies which will be carried out and for the transmission of ideas exchanged as to the best method to be adopted in such study».²⁹ For the first time, the laity were being asked by the hierarchy to define themselves. Before they could finish their study, however, a new pope would offer a radical idea.

Preparing for the Council

The election of John XXIII and his call for the Second Vatican Council in 1959 raised questions for many lay leaders, including those in Pax Romana. Would the experiences developing in COPECIAL and the CICO be allowed to continue? Would they be given a voice in any way in this major event? It was, as Goldie recounts, a «period of anxious waiting...What would the new pope do with the «Committee?»»³⁰ Ultimately, their fears were allayed in July 1959 when he appointed a directing board of nine members for COPECIAL including Sugranyes. Nevertheless, participants encountered several roadblocks. The conciliar Preparatory Commission for the Lay Apostolate was prohibited from formally consulting COPECIAL or the lay organizations.³¹ To circumvent this, Cardinals Franz König and Fernando Cento encouraged the organizations to proactively send them material.³²

²⁷ See the acts of the congress, *Texts, Second World Congress for the Lay Apostolate*, 3 vols., Rome 1958.

²⁸ Address of His Holiness Pope Pius XII (see note 20), 21–22.

²⁹ Texts Adopted by the Congress, in: *Laymen in the Church*, vol. 1, 3 vols., Second World Congress for the Lay Apostolate, Rome, 5–13 October 1957, Rome 1958, 35–46, 37–38.

³⁰ Goldie, Ramon Sugranyes (see note 1), 23.

³¹ See Joseph Komonchak, III. The Struggle for the Council During the Preparation of Vatican II (1960–1962), in: *History of Vatican II*, vol. 1, 178 n. 45 and Goldie, *Lay Participation* (see note 1), 509.

³² Goldie, *Lay Participation* (see note 1), 509.

Pax Romana responded to this challenge by collecting input from members, particularly those from outside of Europe. In July 1960, it hosted a confidential consultation meeting in Fribourg. Bishop François Charrière, the general chaplain of Pax Romana and the bishop of Lausanne, Geneva and Fribourg, presided over the meeting and agreed to «make its findings available for the Preparatory Commissions of the Council».³³ Participants representing six continents made suggestions on several topics, including: «the status of the laity in the Church, Christian unity, Church-state relations, peace and the international community, the governance of the Church, pastoral problems among workers and intellectuals, the training of priests to work with the laity, [and] the Church in the newly emerging nations.»³⁴ The confidential report of this meeting produced by Pax Romana opened with an explicit and groundbreaking statement that the lay people sought to participate in the work of the council: «The whole Church is from now on in a state of Council».³⁵ A few months later, its magazine, *Convergence*, published selected responses of lay women and men from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe as to what they expected from Vatican II.³⁶

Lay Auditors

By 1963, the situation changed dramatically with the election of Pope Paul VI. The conciliar commission on the lay apostolate, which included Guano, now a bishop, was formally granted permission to directly consult with COPECIAL and the ICOs.³⁷ Most significantly, Paul VI appointed the first group of lay auditors in September 1963, including Sugranyes, Veronese, De Habicht, and Silvio Golzio, president of the Italian ICMICA group, the *Movimento laureati* and president of the standing committee for COPECIAL. While the thirteen men were chosen in their personal capacity, the representative nature of the ICOs was clearly a factor as Pope Paul explained in an address to the CICO in November of 1963.³⁸

³³ Goldie, Ramon Sugranyes (see note 1), 24.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Goldie, Lay Participation (see note 1), 511.

³⁶ What Do You Expect of Vatican II?, in: *Convergence*, 1 (1961), 5–10.

³⁷ Jan Grootaers, VIII. The Drama Continues Between the Acts: The «Second Preparation» and Its Opponents, in: *History of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo/Joseph A. Komonchak, trans. Matthew O'Connell, 5 vols., vol. 2, Maryknoll, NY 1995, 440–441.

³⁸ «Il Nous sembla, à la suite de Notre inoubliable Prédécesseur Jean XXIII, que quelques représentants qualifiés du laïcat pouvaient et devaient être associés, à titre d'auditeurs, à cette grande «révision de vie», et admis à siéger au Concile. Et Nous Nous sommes tourné d'abord vers les mouvements qui le représentaient avec le plus d'autorité et sur une plus vaste échelle: les Organisations Internationales Catholiques.» Paul VI, Discours aux Organisations Internationales Catholiques, in: November 11, 1963, www.vatican.va.

Though present throughout the second session, the lay auditors were not afforded a formal voice. In a move of creative scheduling, the celebration of the fourth centenary of the Council of Trent on December 3, 1963 presented an opportunity for two auditors to address the Council Fathers without it being part of the formal record. Jean Guitton, a French philosopher who had been invited by John XXIII to attend the first session, spoke on ecumenism.³⁹ The second speaker, Veronese, stressed the laity's responsibility to share the teachings of the council in the world.⁴⁰

COPECIAL and the CICO found other creative ways to have their voice heard. In the second session they shared with the council their response to Pius XII's request for clarification on the nature of Catholic action in a book: *Panorama of the Organized Lay Apostolate in the World*.⁴¹ With the permission of the council leadership, the text was distributed to all the participants of Vatican II. The 88-page text in Latin, included a country-by-country listing of national lay organizations, descriptions of each ICO, and an overview of Conference of ICOs, COPECIAL and the Pius XII Foundation.⁴² The book's analysis on the terminology «Catholic action», would later help to shape no. 20 of *Apostolicam Actuositatem*.

Between the second and third sessions, Pax Romana leaders worked closely with the Commission on the Lay Apostolate. Ramon Sugranyes, for example, co-chaired a joint meeting of the commission with the World Council of Churches in February 1964 in Zurich. Much of the conversation in this period centered on Sugranyes' proposal for the creation of a formalized secretariat for the laity. In April, the CICO, under the presidency of Pax Romana, established a group to study the question and they organized a special assembly in June to formulate a proposal to the council. At the same time, Cardinal Cento organized a consultative group to see how such a secretariat might be implemented.⁴³

For the third session, the group of auditors was expanded to thirty-six including eight women religious and seven laywomen.⁴⁴ The new additions included Goldie and Luigi Gedda, president of the International Federation of Catholic Doctors, once a specialized group within Pax Romana. In the third session, three auditors

³⁹ «Jean Guitton», in Council Daybook: Vatican II: 3 vols., ed. Floyd Anderson, Washington 1965, I: 325–326.

⁴⁰ «Vittorino Veronese», in: Council Daybook (see note 39), I: 326–327.

⁴¹ COPECIAL (ed.), *De Laicorum Apostolatu organizato hodie toto in orbe terrarum diffuso: documentatio collecta et systematice exposita pro Patribus Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II*, Rom 1963.

⁴² The Pius XII Foundation was created in 1953 as a fund to support the work of the ICOs in the lay apostolate. COPECIAL, *De Laicorum Apostolatu* (see note 41), 84.

⁴³ Goldie, *Lay Participation* (see note 1), 517.

⁴⁴ Carmel Elizabeth McEnroy, *Guests in Their Own House: The Women of Vatican II*, New York 1996.

were able to address the council directly: Patrick Keegan, the secretary general of the World Movement of Christian Workers, James Norris, the president of the International Catholic Migration Commission and Juan Vazquez of the International Federation of Catholic Youth.⁴⁵

In October, 1964, Pax Romana circulated among the council leadership a confidential report to the «Internal Consultation Within Pax Romana Regarding the Creation of a Roman Organism for the Lay Apostolate Throughout the World». The text lays out a proposal for what would become the Pontifical Council for the Laity. Pax Romana's proposal envisions a much more lay-driven structure than what would eventually develop with a lay secretariat general, and mixed board where the lay people would be named by the pope from lists furnished by the CICO or the World Congresses of the Lay Apostolate.⁴⁶

Pax Romana's engagement in the work of Vatican II continued during the intersession between the third and fourth sessions. Sugranyes and Goldie were among those invited to a meeting of the Mixed Commission from January 31 to February 6, 1965, which helped to formulate the draft of *Gaudium et Spes*.⁴⁷ During the fourth session, Eusèbe Adjakpley, a lay auditor from Togo and regional secretary of the International Confederation of Catholic Youth, addressed the aula. Veronese gave the final lay voice in the council, where he thanked Pope Paul VI, his longtime collaborator from their time in the Italian student movement, for inviting lay people to participate in the council.⁴⁸

In the amended text of the pastoral constitution distributed to the council in November 1965, the Mixed Commission noted twelve instances where a specific idea was included in the text only because of the lay auditors.⁴⁹ Rosemary Goldie spoke directly to Pax Romana's impact on several sections of both *Gaudium et Spes* and *Apostolicam Actuositatem*. For example, *Gaudium et Spes* no. 36 reflected a proposal by Pax Romana's specialized secretariat for scientists to repeal the condemnation of Galileo. In April 1965, the group presented to the preparatory commission a petition on this issue which eventually resulted in the inclusion of a reference to a book on the subject in an rare non-magisterial footnote.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Goldie, Roman Window (see note 1), 72–73.

⁴⁶ Pax Romana, Conclusions of an Internal Consultation Within Pax Romana Regarding the Creation of a Roman Organism for the Lay Apostolate Throughout the World, October 13, 1965, Pax Romana Archives, University of Fribourg.

⁴⁷ Goldie, Lay Participation (see note 1), 519–520. See also the historical overview in Roberto Tucci, *La Chiesa e il mondo contemporaneo nel Vaticano II*, in: *Introduzione storico-dottrinale alla costituzione pastorale «Gaudium et Spes»*, Torino 1966, 17–134.

⁴⁸ Goldie, Lay Participation (see note 1), 516.

⁴⁹ Goldie, *From a Roman Window* (see note 1), 75.

⁵⁰ Goldie, Ramon Sugranyes (see note 1), 25.

Gaudium et Spes no. 90 explicitly commends the work of Pax Romana and others in the UN system and calls for greater financial support and coordination of these groups. Moreover, this section echoes the proposals already put forth by the lay leaders, for the creation of an official structure on social justice that would eventually lead to the creation of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace.

Complementing *Gaudium et Spes* no. 90, *Apostolicam Actuositatem* no. 26 reflects the concerns of the laity for permanent structures or «councils» at all levels in the church «to promote the mutual coordination of various lay associations and enterprises». Responding to the proposals of the laity, the decree sets the stage for the Pontifical Council for the Laity by calling for the creation of a «special secretariat» in the Holy See «for the service and promotion of the lay apostolate». This secretariat, it continues, should involve representatives of «movements and projects of the apostolate of the laity throughout the world». While this was not as ambitious as the proposals put forth by Pax Romana a year earlier, this new structure opened the door for lay leadership in the Roman Curia. Eventually, both Goldie and De Habicht would take on roles in this new structure and members like Joaquin Ruiz-Giménez and Sugranyes would be named consultants.

Third World Congress

The hopes and momentum of Pax Romana and other lay leaders continued after the Council with the Third World Congress of the Lay Apostolate with the theme: *God's People on Man's Journey* (October 11–18, 1967).⁵¹ More than 2,000 national and international delegates, 88 ecumenical observers and 900 consultants arrived in Rome for what Sugranyes described as the second «greatest event in the history of the Church in this century».⁵²

The event was organized in conjunction with the first meeting of the Synod of Bishops, opening the possibility of a lay consultative body to feed into the synod process.⁵³ Ultimately, however, this would not be the case. In its memorandum to the synod the congress called for the creation of «representative structures» at all levels in the church that would include elected lay people.⁵⁴ In his synthesis at the conclusion of the congress, Joaquin Ruiz-Giménez, then president of ICMICA, echoed this point by insisting on the importance of participatory structures: «But this change in mentalities is not enough; there must also be normal channels for

⁵¹ Rosemary Goldie and Achille Glorieux, Foreword, in: *God's People on Man's Journey*, vol. 1, 5.

⁵² Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, Introduction, in: *God's People on Man's Journey*, vol. 1, 9.

⁵³ Goldie, *Roman Window* (see note 1), 90–91.

⁵⁴ Third World Congress for the Lay Apostolate, *Memorandum to the Synod of Bishops*, in: *Lay Apostolate*, 3 (1967), 10–11.

this dialogue, for this interconnection and intercommunication, if you like; channels at all levels of the Church, from the parish to the Holy See...in a sincerely representative and democratic spirit.»⁵⁵

Vatican official did not, however, welcome all the proposals made during the 1967 event, particularly its resolutions related to contraception and the role of «women within the sacramental order.»⁵⁶ The mixed reaction to the event is clearly present in Paul VI's Christmas Message of 1967. While he praised the event for bringing about «many good things», the pope acknowledges that not everything produced by the congress can be «given unreserved approval and agreement».⁵⁷

Ultimately, the Roman authorities moved to dissolve COPECIAL and the tradition of World Congresses for the Lay Apostolate. In December 1969, the COPECIAL formally concluded its work with an audience with the pope who praised the body as a prophetic gesture («*un gesto profetico*») in the life of the church.⁵⁸ «Without COPECIAL», he said, «there would have been something lacking in the Council.»⁵⁹

Within a decade, Pax Romana would be in a very different location. The 1968 student revolutions and the awakening of Pax Romana to the emerging theology of liberation had a enormous impact on the life and mission of this network as can be seen in the 1971 Fribourg IFA on the theme of «Liberation – How?». The move to a liberation model, was aided by chaplains of the movement, and in particular Gustavo Gutiérrez, Tissa Balasuriya, and Albert Nolan. Moreover, this concern intensified Pax Romana's advocacy on human rights in the UN and a shift toward the global south as Pax Romana leaders sought to receive the conciliar teachings in new ways and new contexts.

Conclusion

By the start of Vatican II, Pax Romana was well positioned to play a mediating role in the emergence of a new model for the lay apostolate in at least three different ways, areas that merit further research. First, as a global movement with growing regional programs and elected leaders from outside of Europe, Pax Romana was already attentive to the growing consciousness of the «world church». Second, Pax Romana and its leaders played animating roles within the two wider

⁵⁵ Joaquin Ruiz-Gimenéz, *Towards the Future*, in: *God's People on Man's Journey*, vol. 1, 167.

⁵⁶ Third World Congress for the Lay Apostolate, *Resolutions Adopted by the Assembly of Heads of Delegations*, in: *Lay Apostolate*, 3 (1967), 16–17.

⁵⁷ Paul VI, *Pope Paul's Evaluation of the Congress*, in: *Lay Apostolate*, 3 (1967), 19.

⁵⁸ Paul VI, *Discours du Pape Paul VI aux membres du Comité permanent des congrès internationaux pour l'apostolat des laïcs*, 1966, www.vatican.va.

⁵⁹ Goldie, Ramon Sugranyes (see note 1), 27.

networks of Conference of ICOs and COPECIAL. As «federations of federations», both IMCS and ICMICA were sensitive to the value of networking similar structures. Finally, the spirituality and identity of Pax Romana's student movement to form student leaders to be their own mature agents of evangelization awakened in many young lay people a sense of responsibility and agency in life, the church and politics that continued well past graduation. The lives of Goldie, Ruiz-Giménez, Veronese, and De Habicht, all former leaders in the student movements of Pax Romana decades before the council, speak to this dynamic.

Not content to sit on the sidelines of the council's deliberations, Pax Romana served as a structure of dialogue, facilitating conversations among lay people on the topics addressed by the council and between lay people and council fathers. Recalling this often-overlooked role by lay movements in the conciliar renewal might go a long way to help the church today as it seeks new ways to engage lay people in decision making.

At the Vanguard of the Geo-Apostolate: Pax Romana (1946–1971)

When Pope John XXIII convened the Second Vatican Council, Pax Romana was well prepared to welcome a new model of the lay apostolate. For more than a decade, this global network of students and intellectuals had been «re-thinking» the nature and meaning of being a lay person in the church and in the world. By the 1950s it had grown from a loose coordination of mostly European student groups founded in 1921 to a global network comprising two international lay movements, several specialized professional networks, and 115 member organizations in more than fifty countries worldwide. This paper examines the role of Pax Romana as a mediating structure within the Church during the critical moment of conciliar renewal, including its animating role in the wider networks of the Conference of the International Catholic Organizations (ICO) and the planning committee for the World Congresses of the Lay Apostolate (COPECIAL). Understanding the role of Pax Romana and other international lay movements as instruments of pre-conciliar renewal can help to illuminate insights for the Catholic church today as it reflects more deeply on questions of synodality and lay participation.

Pax Romana – Second Vatican Council – Lay Apostolate – Synodality – Catholic Students – Catholic Intellectuals – Lay Movements – COPECIAL – Lay Auditors.

An der Spitze eines weltweiten Apostolats: Pax Romana (1946–1971)

Als Papst Johannes XXIII. das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil einberief, war Pax Romana gut darauf vorbereitet, ein neues Modell des Laienapostolats willkommen zu heißen. Mehr als ein Jahrzehnt lang hatte dieses globale Netzwerk von Studierenden und Intellektuellen das Wesen und die Bedeutung des Laien-Daseins in der Kirche und in der Welt «neu durchdacht». Bis in die 1950er Jahre war es von einer losen Koordination meist europäischer Studierendengruppen, die 1921 gegründet worden war, zu einem globalen Netzwerk herangewachsen, das zwei internationale Laienbewegungen, mehrere spezialisierte berufliche Netzwerke und 115 Mitgliedsorganisationen in mehr als fünfzig Ländern weltweit umfasste. Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Rolle von Pax Romana als vermittelnde Struktur innerhalb der Kirche während des kritischen Moments der konziliaren Erneuerung, ein-

schließlich ihrer animierenden Rolle in den größeren Netzwerken der Konferenz der Internationalen katholischen Organisationen (ICOs) und des Planungskomitees für die Weltkongresse des Laienapostolats (COPECIAL). Die Rolle von Pax Romana und anderen internationalen Laienbewegungen als Instrumente der vorkonziliaren Erneuerung zu verstehen, kann helfen, Einsichten für die katholische Kirche heute zu gewinnen, insofern sie tiefer über Fragen der Synodalität und der Laienbeteiligung nachdenkt.

Pax Romana – Zweites Vatikanisches Konzil – Laienapostolat – Synodalität – katholische Studenten – katholische Intellektuelle – Laienbewegungen – COPECIAL – Laienauditoren.

À l'avant-garde du géo-apostolat: Pax Romana (1946–1971)

Lorsque le pape Jean XXIII a convoqué le Concile Vatican II, la Pax Romana était bien préparée à accueillir un nouveau modèle d'apostolat des laïcs. Depuis plus d'une décennie, ce réseau mondial d'étudiants et d'intellectuels «repensait» la nature et le sens du rôle des laïcs dans l'Église et dans le monde. Dans les années 1950, il était passé d'une coordination souple de groupes d'étudiants principalement européens, fondée en 1921, à un réseau mondial comprenant deux mouvements laïcs internationaux, plusieurs réseaux professionnels spécialisés et 115 organisations membres dans plus de cinquante pays. Cet article examine le rôle de la Pax Romana en tant que structure de médiation au sein de l'Église pendant le moment critique du renouveau conciliaire, y compris son rôle d'animation dans les réseaux plus larges de la Conférence des organisations catholiques internationales (OCI) et du comité de planification des Congrès mondiaux de l'apostolat des laïcs (COPECIAL). Comprendre le rôle de Pax Romana et d'autres mouvements internationaux de laïcs en tant qu'instruments du renouveau préconciliaire peut aider à éclairer les perspectives de l'Église catholique d'aujourd'hui qui réfléchit plus profondément aux questions de synodalité et de participation des laïcs.

Pax Romana – Concile Vatican II – Apostolat des laïcs – Synodalité – Étudiants catholiques – Intellectuels catholiques – Mouvements laïcs – COPECIAL – Auditeurs laïcs.

All'avanguardia del geo-apostolato: Pax Romana (1946–1971)

Quando Papa Giovanni XXIII convocò il Concilio Vaticano II, Pax Romana era ben preparata ad accogliere un nuovo modello di apostolato laico. Per più di un decennio, questa rete globale di studenti e intellettuali aveva «ripensato» la natura e il significato dell'essere laico nella Chiesa e nel mondo. Entro gli anni '50 era cresciuta da un coordinamento informale di gruppi di studenti per lo più europei, fondato nel 1921, ad una rete globale che comprendeva due movimenti internazionali laici, diverse reti professionali specializzate e 115 organizzazioni in più di cinquanta paesi del mondo. Questo articolo esamina il ruolo di Pax Romana come struttura di mediazione all'interno della Chiesa durante il momento critico del rinnovamento conciliare, così come il suo ruolo di animazione nelle reti più ampie della Conferenza degli organizzazioni cattoliche internazionali (ICO) e del comitato di pianificazione dei congressi mondiali dell'apostolato laico (COPECIAL). Comprendere il ruolo di Pax Romana e di altri movimenti internazionali di laici come strumenti del rinnovamento preconciliare può aiutare ad offrire prospettive alla Chiesa cattolica di oggi quando riflette più profondamente sui problemi della sinodalità e della partecipazione dei laici.

Pax Romana – Concilio Vaticano II – apostolato laico – sinodalità – studenti cattolici – intellettuali cattolici – movimenti laici – COPECIAL – revisori laici.

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