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Truth Prevails: the Catholic Contribution to Czech Thought and Culture*

JONATHAN LUXMOORE AND JOLANTA BABIUCH

The date is 22 November 1989. On a narrow balcony overlooking Prague's long, tree-lined Wenceslas Square, now filled to overflowing with an excited mass of demonstrators, a young dark-haired priest is reading aloud into the microphones. The message is from the Czech Primate, Cardinal František Tomášek, at 90 years too infirm to attend in person; and the text is from the Beatitudes: blessed are the hungry for justice. 'These words are meant for you!', the Cardinal's message echoes through distant loudspeakers. 'When you are united in a mighty protest against the injustice imposed on you for four decades, I cannot be silent.'

Noone witnessing the dramatic events of 1989, when Czechoslovakia's 40-year communist regime collapsed in the face of peaceful protests, could fail to discern the deep resonance of these words. Among the many Czechs now celebrating their liberation, there were Christians who had defended their faith for years against the onslaught of a hostile state. Never before had such people been so visible and so trusted, or their link with the nation so strong.

Today, however, as the revolutionary euphoria wanes, important questions remain open. What role has Christianity played in Czech national history? What role should it play in future? To find the answers, the Czechs must first look back, and begin a complex work of reconstruction. Building democracy will involve an examination of the past performance of important institutions, and their adaptation to new conditions. This is especially true of the Catholic Church. Its popular image has been that of a retrograde force, ambivalent towards national aspirations, hostile to social reform and intolerant of dissenting opinion. Closer examination of the historical record, however, will reveal that these stereotypes are unjust. Reforming Christians regularly contested the stand of their conservative leaders and contributed decisively to the national cause.

The Historical Conundrum

The history of the Czechs is the story of three competing influences. Catholicism and Protestantism vied with each other to shape the course of national development in the early modern centuries; and they were joined in the eighteenth century by liberal secularism, originating in the European Enlightenment. In the nineteenth century, this Enlightenment secularism would assume a variety of more practical forms, including that of atheistic Marxism; initially, however, it was primarily a reaction to the Christian traditions of Czech life and culture.

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The Czech Church was founded under the combined influences of Rome, Constantinople and the Eastern Frankish Empire. In the ninth century, the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the last major figures to be revered by both eastern and western Christians, gave the church a combination of Slavic and Latin liturgical forms. The Magyar invasions of Pannonia severed links with Constantinople, but Roman and German influences remained in fruitful competition. By the thirteenth century the church, in alliance with the higher nobility, had achieved considerable autonomy. When the king of Bohemia was appointed one of the seven German Electors in 1212, the church successfully resisted his centralising power, securing freedom for ecclesiastical appointments and wide-ranging economic exemptions.

Relative independence, combined with growing European contacts, paved the way for the church's institutional expansion in the fourteenth century. In 1344, a Bohemian archbishopric was founded, predating by five years the royal foundation of Charles University in Prague. But the church's rapid growth entailed a certain degree of corruption. When the reformist ideas of John Wyclif were brought to Prague from England, they found ready champions in critics of the church like Jan Milič of Kroměříž and Tomáš of Štítné. The work of theologians like these sowed the seeds of a national cultural renaissance, in the course of which the Bible was translated into Czech – the third vernacular edition in Europe after the German and Italian. In this climate of growing national restlessness appeared Bohemia's great prophet, Jan Hus.

In its political and theological ramifications, the Hus controversy marked a first stage in the crisis soon to confront the whole of Europe in the sixteenth century. In itself, however, it sought to modify forms of central authority within the church rather than to supplant them; and its purpose was to renew the Christian faith rather than to question its tenets. Hussite demands, such as that sinners be barred from church leadership and that communion be administered in both kinds, embodied above all an assertion of national identity against an oppressive Catholicism allied with German power.

Although they were couched in fifteenth-century terms, ecclesologically the Hussite postulates also foreshadowed later reforms within the church. In its initial stages at least, the Hussite movement evinced none of the rejectionist fervour associated with Luther and Calvin. Instead, it saw itself as an autonomous, reorganised branch of the Universal Church and sought to remain within it, even when the conflict widened. Though put to death at Constance in 1415, Hus himself died a Catholic priest, loyal to the church's dogmas. Later, when a breakaway Union of Czech Brethren parted company with Rome for good, it was condemned as heretical by Hussites and Romanists alike.¹

Anti-Catholic Tendencies

The critical loyalty of the Hussites gives some insight into the Czech character. Although the martyrdom of Hus exacerbated already radical tendencies, its anti-Catholic propaganda value would be realised fully only centuries later, as historians and politicians battled to define the true characteristics and aspirations of the Czech nation.

When the Habsburgs acquired the Bohemian throne in 1526, Catholics had dwindled to a mere 10 per cent of the population. Counter-reformation and despotic rule failed to discourage independent religious movements, involving both reform-minded Protestants and Catholics.² It was only after 1620, when a short-lived

Bohemian revolt was crushed by Habsburg armies at the Battle of the White Mountain, that the first severe repression began. Moderate Hussite groups were suppressed, the German language reinstated in place of Czech, and Catholicism declared the sole religion of the Bohemian kingdom. In 1648, when the Treaty of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years' War, the reimposition of Catholicism, under Jesuit guidance, gained momentum. Gifted churchmen like Jan Komenský, the last bishop of the Czech Brethren, were driven abroad. With baroque Catholicism holding sway, the nobles and scholars who had continued throughout the sixteenth century to nourish the spirit of an independent Czech culture were hounded and dispersed.

Habsburg repression accentuated the differences with neighbouring Slovaks, whose homeland then formed part of predominantly Lutheran Upper Hungary. Ottoman occupation weakened the impact of Counter-Reformation ideas here, until the re-Magyarisation campaign of the late eighteenth century. Slovak language and culture continued to develop, assisted both by Catholic priests like Anton Bernolák and Juraj Papanek, and by Protestant intellectuals like Ludovít Štúr.

Even in the more repressed Czech lands, however, hopes of a new national revival were never entirely crushed. The upper ranks of the Catholic Church were, it is true, Germanised: they used Latin as their *lingua franca*, while Czech became the language of the common people. But another element in the church emerged during the eighteenth century – reforming priests and laymen whose attitudes differed widely from those of the hierarchs.

As early as the 1740s, Benedictines from Austria under the Swabian Magnauld Ziegelbauer had attempted to establish a Prague academy which would teach the Czech language as well as mathematics and the sciences. The plan collapsed under Jesuit pressure. Others, however, led by the Jansenist Josef von Petrasch, went on to found a Czech library in the Moravian capital of Olomouc.

As the century progressed, such efforts gained political significance thanks to polemicists like the Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín, whose critique of absolutism was so comprehensive that it was barred from publication for over 100 years. When novel Enlightenment ideas arrived in Bohemia, they were propagated largely by discontented Catholic publicists.

Culture and the Enlightenment

These facts are worth stressing today. They highlight the key role played by Christian reformers in preparing the ground for the future national struggle – and the extent to which later versions of Czech history, usually dominated by a secular, anti-Catholic perspective, have tended to ignore or conceal the full truth.

With Russian, French and German territorial ambitions encroaching on Habsburg territory, the late eighteenth century was a time of strengthened absolutism. In 1781, Joseph II's Edict of Toleration restored limited rights to the Lutheran and Calvinist communities, and also granted partial emancipation to the peasants. But it was coupled with tighter supervision of the Catholic Church.

Josephinist toleration was intended to neutralise the Roman Curia, while at the same time attracting the active loyalty of otherwise disaffected minority groups. The church gained institutional benefits by being allowed to expand its parish network. In return, at the prompting of the Bohemian-born Imperial Chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, a former pupil of the Protestant University of Leipzig, church leaders consented to give Josephinist measures a theological justification. The unintended consequence was an ideological vacuum, into which Enlightenment ideas from abroad continued to flow.

While the Catholic hierarchy was endorsing Josephinist policies, priests and laymen were busy at lower levels disseminating the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu, explaining the new methods of historical research and natural science, and popularising the notions of national unity and civil freedom. By the end of the century, the patriotic role of Christians had become increasingly visible. It was the Jesuit Josef Dubrovský who in 1791 made the first public appeal for official patronage of the Czech language, during a speech in Prague delivered in the presence of Leopold II. It was the Catholic literary historian Josef Jungmann, an acerbic critic of the institutional church, who gave such demands a forceful philosophical and intellectual rationale.³

Even when measures were taken to stem the new ideas in the time of Metternich, national energy continued to be channelled into the work of cultural rediscovery. The Czech nobility supported the revival too, in the hope of reasserting its regional power against the centralised monarchy. Meanwhile, an educated middle class was emerging in the expanding cities, producing a new stratum of Czech intellectuals who were ready and willing to provide a dynamic sense of direction.

The National Reawakening

In the early nineteenth century, many of the new elite looked for guidance to a Catholic priest and mathematician, Bernard Bolzano. In 1820, after official objections to his rationalist approach to theology, Bolzano was dismissed from his chair of religious philosophy at Charles University. He had already played a key role, however, in educating the generation of Czech intellectuals who were to be active in the country's national reawakening.

For the time being, the principal intellectual figurehead was the Lutheran historian František Palacký. The key to a rediscovered national identity, Palacký believed, was to be found in the Hussite legacy. The best guarantee of that restored identity in future, however, would be provided not by an independent Czech state, but by an autonomous province enjoying equal rights within a multinational Austrian federation.

The same combination of a radical understanding of national identity with a moderate attitude to national independence was reflected in the political writings of Palacký's younger contemporary Karel Havlíček, a former Catholic seminarian. Like Palacký, whose first historical works were written in German, Havlíček identified Catholicism with Austrian cultural domination. Although professing himself an atheist, he nevertheless shared Palacký's conviction that religious and ethical values were vital to the national struggle. There was essentially little to distinguish either Palacký or Havlíček from their Christian contemporaries. Both were held in awe as much by Catholics and Protestants as by the rational, humanistic intellectuals from whose ranks they had emerged.⁴

Throughout the nineteenth century Catholic priests and laymen did not stand against the tide of national feeling, as liberal historians have suggested, but on the contrary were prominent in every area of the national movement. Certainly, the stultifying impact of Josephinism had limited the scope for innovative theological and philosophical achievements. But in practical terms, the Christian contribution was a decisive one. During the turbulent revolutionary events of 1848, when a short-lived National Committee demanded full cultural and religious freedoms from the Austrian government within a reconstituted Czech state, there were priests both in the radical anti-clerical groups who called for redistribution of the church's wealth, and

in the more moderate groups who argued against precipitate change.

As these events unfolded, the conservative Catholic hierarchy remained just as firmly committed to Austrian interests as the major landowners. But in cultural and social life, the hierarchy were entirely isolated. Their attitude did not reflect the prevalent mood among Catholics.

Although the failure of the 1848 revolution brought a reassertion of absolutist power, the pressure was less intense than in neighbouring Hungary, where the defeat of the nationalist Honvéd army unleashed a reign of terror. Under a Concordat in 1855, the church hierarchy reaffirmed its support for the Habsburg monarchy in return for the lifting of Josephinist controls. There were prelates who had different ideas, however. One of these, the bishop of Hradec Králové, continued to foster the activities of independent groups. After the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Settlement, when the monarchy was made a constitutional one, he encouraged open political initiatives as well.

With the church's control over education now at an end, the political power of its hierarchy began to wane, a process encouraged by increased press freedom and rights of association. In 1891, Pope Leo XIII's social encyclical *Rerum novarum* gave official blessing to the work of Christian social reformers, enabling significant figures like the Catholic priests Jan Šrámek and Bohumil Stašek to strengthen their positions within the emerging political order. Industrial disorders forced further reforms from the government and drew attention to the need for Christian parties and worker organisations to match the influence of Bohemia's powerful Social Democratic movement. By the early 1900s, new Christian parties were represented in the imperial parliament at Vienna.

The historian Josef Pekař called these achievements a Czech *Missa Solemnis*. The national reawakening, he conceded, had been predominantly Christian in inspiration. 'In no calling or profession had the Czech national movement so many adherents and protagonists as in the clergy,' Pekař wrote in 1920. 'Czech priests were not merely the most arduous writers and the most effective apostles of love for fatherland and nation. It is no exaggeration to say that, without the Czech clergy, the revival would never have achieved such swift progress.'⁵

Masaryk and Independence

Why then, as independence beckoned, did the old anti-Catholic impulses begin to reassert themselves? The patriotic Christian tradition which had contributed so much to the national struggle was recognised and appreciated; but it lacked personalities enjoying the popular esteem of such figures as Palacký and Havlíček. Meanwhile the church hierarchy was, understandably, still deeply distrusted. At the First Vatican Council in 1870, the Czech bishops had voted against Papal infallibility and had vetoed encroachments by the Roman Curia. But they had done so not in recognition of the anti-Rome feeling now emanating from Bismarck's Germany, but in order to defend their own close relationship with the Austrian rulers.

The 1880s and 1890s had seen the foundation of a Czech National Theatre and Academy of Sciences, half a century after those of Hungary, as well as the belated separation of Charles University's Czech and German sections. The atmosphere of greater freedom accentuated political and social divisions, while education, art and literature were dominated increasingly by a liberal, secular perspective. It was in this period that the animosity towards Catholic tradition which was to dominate the years of independence took shape. Powerful political forces encouraged it.

Among the younger Czech intellectuals now coming to prominence, the revived cult of Jan Hus had assumed nationalistic, anti-clerical overtones. Hus had become for them a champion of liberal rights and freedoms, and above all a symbol of Czech uniqueness. This symbolic importance had not generally been recognised even by conciliatory Catholic politicians, just as it had been downplayed by ‘Pan-Slavists’ like Karel Kramář, who advocated a single, united Slavic movement against Austrian domination.

Elements of both these traditions helped to constitute the outlook of the younger generation’s intellectual mentor, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. As a former Catholic, Masaryk was to remain deeply and conspicuously religious throughout his life, seeing inner spirituality as a fundamental part of Man’s make-up, essential to an intuitive awareness of his own limitations. But he concurred with Palacký that it was the humanistic values contained in Hussite reformism, reinterpreted in a modern context, which most clearly expressed the Czech national spirit.⁶

Masaryk’s approach to social issues, moreover, borrowed heavily from Marxist and social democratic thinking. It was, therefore, not surprising that it had anti-Catholic implications. Masaryk saw the Catholic Church as inherently subservient to the claims of absolute power. He had little if any sympathy for the generations of Catholic reformers who had sought to rid the church of its distorted image. ‘Nothing can be expected of reformed Catholicism,’ Masaryk wrote. ‘For us, ecclesiastical religion, and Catholicism in particular, are things surpassed.’⁷

Masaryk’s convictions were reflected in the Washington Declaration drawn up under the supervision of President Woodrow Wilson in 1918. In this way, his convictions largely determined the place of Christians in national life for the next two decades. Moreover, as Habsburg power collapsed, removing the last bastion of support for the distrusted church hierarchy, it was clear that Masaryk’s outlook found echoes among the population. When independence was formally declared, it was accompanied by a wave of anti-Catholic protests, during which statues of the Virgin Mary and St John Nepomuk, installed by Habsburg designers in the age of baroque Catholicism, were torn down by the Prague crowd.

Thereafter, church – state separation was enshrined in law, and Christian parties were offered disproportionately few seats in the provisional National Assembly. Citizens were encouraged to leave the Catholic Church, and a new ‘Czechoslovak Church’, founded by Fr Karel Farský in 1920, soon boasted over 800,000 members. Masaryk saw to it that the First Republic’s cultural and educational establishment was dominated by sympathetic friends and followers, like the playwright Karel Čapek and the philosopher Emmanuel Rádl. The new state was to be the embodiment of a liberal, humanistic Czech heritage. ‘Theocratic autocracy has been defeated by democracy, resting on principles of human morality,’ Masaryk declared in his first message to the nation.⁸

A Catholic Revival

Despite Masaryk’s intentions, the First Republic was to witness a substantial Catholic revival. Liberated from its centuries-old association with foreign rulers, and brought up to date by a growing infrastructure of Christian parties, social groups and cultural associations, the church wasted little time in adjusting itself to the new conditions.

Undeterred by the uncertain atmosphere marking the run-up to independence, the great majority of priests welcomed the new republic’s proclamation. Under Benedict XV, the Vatican did likewise, establishing diplomatic relations within a year – a con-

ciliatory gesture publicly lauded by Masaryk himself.⁹

Meanwhile, the Catholic reformers continued their activities. In 1919, despite constitutional obstacles, a united People's Party with an explicitly Christian programme emerged in Bohemia and Moravia, drawing together several earlier political formations. Its leader, Jan Šrámek, had been one of the few Catholic politicians to be assigned to the National Committee after the collapse of Austrian rule, and was to rise to high office under successive coalition governments. In the 1925 election, though dogged by disagreements with its Slovak counterpart under Fr Andrej Hlinka, the People's Party won third place in the popular vote. When government-sponsored Hussite celebrations in the same year turned into an anti-Catholic demonstration, it was the People's Party which helped to repair the resulting breach in relations with the Vatican.

By the time of the accession of President Edvard Beneš in 1935, the anti-Catholic struggle conceived and encouraged by Masaryk and his contemporaries had virtually petered out. With social and ethnic division assuming menacing proportions all over Europe, more important issues were on the agenda. National unity was essential; and a well-attended international Christian convention held in Prague after the new President's inauguration testified to the readiness of Catholics and others to participate actively and imaginatively in the creation of this unity.

In the wake of Pius XI's social encyclical *Quadragesimo anno*, the concepts of Christian Democracy gained currency, developed under the influence of French political thinkers like Albert Gortais and Georges Bidault. Lay Catholics had by now begun to involve themselves in a wider spectrum of political activity; but the People's Party had stood up well. It rejected both liberal *laissez-faire* capitalism and the rising totalitarian ideologies. It also stood for closer links with the western democracies and vigorously opposed Czechoslovakia's projected alliance with the Soviet Union.¹⁰

Later historical assessments would tend to pass over these events. Propagandists of the ruling Communist Party would have obvious reasons for attempting to blacken the image of Christian politicians under the First Republic; but more liberal studies would be marred by a secularising, anti-Catholic attitude as well. There were compelling reasons why this should be so.

By the late 1930s, events in Slovakia were eclipsing the positive role played by Catholics in the Czech lands. Since 1918, many Slovak Catholics had felt closer to the Catholic traditionalism of Poland than to the liberal, humanistic outlook fostered by Masaryk. Under Mgr Josef Tiso, Czech – Slovak differences reached a head. The eventual outcome would be open conflict. While Šrámek himself spent much of the Second World War leading Czechoslovakia's government-in-exile from London, Slovakia passed its first six years of independence for more than half a millennium as a German client-state, in which Nazi policies were harshly applied.

Tiso's political miscalculations, made more telling by their stark contrast with his own carefully enunciated Christian social principles, were the object of protests from both the church hierarchy and the Vatican. The prestige of independent Slovakia was to be substantially redeemed by a heroic uprising against Nazi rule in 1944. But the disastrous legacy of Tiso, who was hanged for war crimes by a Soviet military court in 1947, set back the cause of Slovak self-determination. It also tarnished the image of Catholicism under the First Republic, providing a rich fund of anti-church propaganda for decades to come.¹¹

In spite of these impending developments, the 1930s also witnessed a substantial revival of Christian culture in both Slovakia and the Czech lands. There was, it is true, no wave of religious conversions comparable to that occurring in Poland. But in

Moravia especially a spirit of renewal was actively fostered by the Jesuits, Dominicans and Benedictines, as well as by the less exclusive Unity of Czech Brethren, whose leaders, Jindřich Baar, Xaver Dvořák and Sigismund Bouška, gave energetic and sophisticated backing to Czech independence while also supporting church reforms.

Under the guidance of priests like Fr Metoděj Habán and Fr Silvester Braitto, two Moravian-based centres for Christian intellectual life in Olomouc and Starou Říši rapidly acquired a reputation for open-minded and incisive theology. They attracted many of the best-known Czech writers and poets, including such figures as Jaroslav Durych, František Křelina, Jakub Deml and Jan Zahradníček, whose close contacts with the French Personalist school of Léon Bloy, François Mauriac, Maurice Blondel and Emmanuel Mounier placed them in the forefront of progressive Catholic thought. The Moravian centres thus had an ambivalent relationship with the still-conservative Czech hierarchy, although they nevertheless remained loyal to it.

In the more secular atmosphere of Prague, where the works of Franz Kafka testified to the powerful feelings of alienation prevalent among intellectuals, there was no cultural centre to rival those of Moravia. But by the late 1930s lay poets outside the church like František Holas and Jaroslav Seifert were increasingly addressing mystical and metaphysical themes, encouraged by sympathetic confidants like the Jesuit Fr Josef Kajpr. During the post-war years, the new Christian writers would be among the few Czech intellectuals to withstand the pressures of Stalinism. Already by the time of the 1938 Munich debacle, the church had become the last substantial bastion against the sweeping intellectual radicalisation already being reflected in the expansion of the Communist Party.¹²

Post-war Repression

In Bohemia and Moravia, support from Catholics for the anti-Nazi resistance during the war was to achieve impressive levels. The role of priests, in particular, was exemplified by the case of Fr Josef Štemberk, the pastor of Lidice, who in July 1942 chose to die alongside his parishioners during the reprisal massacre following the assassination of Heydrich rather than accept a German invitation to flee. 'I am well aware of how the priests behaved,' confided President Beneš at the end of the war. 'I know that they acted patriotically, that many suffered in concentration camps and that they did their patriotic duty.'¹³

In the post-war period, however, such acknowledgements would be of little avail. By 1948, when the Czechoslovak Communist Party seized total power by ousting its rivals, a relentless campaign was already being waged to discredit Christianity as a patriotic, progressive force. The religious orders had attempted to maintain an infrastructure of Christian intellectual life. But their efforts were to prove short-lived. It was a time of ideological turmoil. Very many Czech intellectuals, terrified or spellbound by the siren song of Stalinism, were ready to give the party's messianic programme a chance. Those who stood alone against the emerging order faced savage retribution.

'The Catholic Church has won a bitter reward,' declared the Czech Primate Archbishop Josef Beran, a former Dachau inmate, in a pastoral letter of June 1949. Beran and his fellow-bishops had refused to give pledges of loyalty to the new ruling party, and had condemned all priests who collaborated with communist-controlled organisations. It was to be their last public cry of protest:

We have always known the burden of responsibility for saving souls; and we have always endeavoured, and still endeavour today, with little hope of

success, to defend and ensure the sacred rights of Christians as free citizens of the state, as is naturally demanded by God's order.¹⁴

In the repression that followed, Catholic priests and intellectuals were prime targets. With Beran and other church leaders now interned, Catholic newspapers, publishing houses, associations, schools and religious orders were swiftly and ruthlessly suppressed. In its bare outline at least, the party's campaign resembled a re-application of Josephinist controls, combined with an attempt to rekindle and exploit the anti-Catholic feeling already evident under the First Republic. But there was an important difference. This time, the objective was not to harness the church as an instrument of social unity and discipline, or even to manipulate it for ideological purposes. Rather it was to destroy the church completely.

The stage was set for a 40-year campaign of relentless propaganda and repression, which would seek by all possible means to erase the historical memory of patriotic Catholic achievements. In the end, the entire strategy would be counter-productive, strengthening rather than weakening the church's bonds with the nation, and discrediting the very idea of an anti-Catholic struggle. But the price of ultimate survival would be devastatingly high.

Throughout the 1950s alternative political formations, both real and imagined, were savagely suppressed, and prisons were filled to capacity. Among Catholic prisoners were senior priests like Fr Antonin Mandl, former leader of the wartime Catholic Action movement, and prominent writers like Jan Zahradníček, who denounced the earthly utopia of communism as a 'tower of Babel'. Members of the former Christian Democratic Party suffered harsh punishment too, as well as co-conspirators in a supposed Habsburg restoration plot, dubbed the 'Green International'.

Especially intense reprisals, however, awaited members of a network of secret religious groups set up in Prague by a Croatian-born Jesuit, Fr Tomislav Kolakovič. A veteran of the 1944 Slovak Uprising, Kolakovič had used his contacts with the Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne movement in Belgium to work out a method of sustaining the rudiments of a Christian community under communist rule. In certain respects at least, his deeply held conviction that the church should be open to the challenges of the modern world anticipated the thinking of the Second Vatican Council. His network was successful in preparing many young people for the rigorous conditions to come.

Several of these young people, including Frs Oto Mádr and Josef Zvěřina, would later be active in fostering the Christian revival of the 1970s and 1980s; but they first had to survive draconian prison sentences of up to 25 years. Even when an amnesty was proclaimed in 1960 for the victims of Stalinism, Kolakovič's followers were so feared and distrusted that most of them were excluded from the amnesty and, along with Beran and other bishops, not released until the short-lived thaw in Soviet – Vatican relations which began in 1963.¹⁵

Why did the church succumb so easily? The level of violence and intimidation can provide only a partial answer. One fundamental problem was that while the church lacked the support provided by deep reserves of popular faith like that to be found among the peasant communities of Poland and Hungary, it was unable to count on the support of intellectuals either. It was thus ill-equipped to resist the onslaught of the Communist Party.¹⁶

Beginnings of Dialogue

Despite all its efforts, the party never succeeded in completely eradicating organised Christian activity. Even during the worst years of repression, Catholic families in Prague continued to organise private prayer and study meetings. Meanwhile, in the prisons, a generation of Catholics was acquiring not only a common experience of suffering, but also a deep knowledge of Protestant and liberal humanist ideas. Personal attitudes varied. Some, like the conservative moral theologian Oto Mádr, looked askance at ecumenical endeavours. But there were others, like Antonin Mandl, who would react enthusiastically to the reformist thinking ushered in by the Second Vatican Council. In prison, there was time to talk. The resulting exchanges laid the foundations for later forms of dissident cooperation which would carry immense political significance.

The first concrete initiatives towards dialogue were taken by Protestant intellectuals. In the early 1960s Josef Hromádka, dean of the Protestant Comenius Faculty at Charles University, began to organise regular discussion seminars on the role of Christians in communist society. Catholic and non-religious intellectuals seized the opportunity to participate as well.

Hromádka was sincere in his social and theological views. He believed that 'real socialism' would sooner or later be transformed, despite its brutal beginnings, into a positive, creative force. His methods did not, however, evolve to exploit new possibilities. By 1963, when the ecumenical seminar was moved to the university's Philosophy Faculty under the direction of the Marxist Milan Machovec, many participants were already branching out to establish contacts with liberal Christian circles like the *Wież* and *Znak* groups in Poland. But Hromádka was still confining his own attempts at dialogue to sympathetic Marxist thinkers, among whom the French theorist of Christian–Marxist collaboration, Roger Garaudy, featured prominently.

Meanwhile, reformist currents were making themselves felt among Czechoslovakia's own Marxists. The ideological shock-waves caused by Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956 had been less dramatic here than in Poland and Hungary, but the postulates of post-1956 'revisionism' had found an echo in the work of party thinkers like Karel Kosík, Zdeněk Mlynář and Ludvík Vaculík. The influence of Kosík, in particular, was comparable to that of Leszek Kołakowski in Poland or György Lukács in Hungary. In his later writings, Kosík drew increasingly on the indigenous philosophical heritage of Hus, Masaryk and others, and began to stress the primacy of ethical considerations in political affairs, highlighting the need for spiritual values in judging human potential.¹⁷

The Campaign for Reform

The anxieties and tensions now building up among the Marxist revisionists finally came into the open in 1964, when a new semi-independent journal of art and literature, *Tvář*, first offered a forum for representatives of all tendencies to engage in public dialogue. Its contributors ranged from the Catholic convert Jiří Němec to the Protestant philosopher Ladislav Hejdlánek and the reform Marxist Eduard Goldstucker, then chairman of the Writers' Union. Within a year, the party-approved editorial staff had been eased out and *Tvář* was publishing the work of mainstream writers and thinkers, from Proust, Pound and Heidegger to Gombrowicz, Beckett and Eliade.

In the run-up to the 1968 Prague Spring, the high profile of liberal figures like Němec gave Catholic ideas a modern, upbeat image. This was one reason why, in early 1968, virtually all restrictions on Catholic intellectual and cultural activity were lifted, prompting an official pledge of support for Alexander Dubček's reformist regime from the apostolic administrator of the church's Prague archdiocese, Bishop František Tomášek.

Led by Němec and other fellow-Catholics like Jan Sokol and Václav Vaško, a Movement for Conciliar Renewal began belatedly to encourage the implementation of the directives of the Second Vatican Council. The Council documents had been barred as subversive literature by the pre-Dubček regime, and limited liturgical modifications were the only visible point of contact with contemporary church teaching. Now, however, the works of Teilhard de Chardin, Walter Kaspar, Karl Rahner, Yves Congar, Jean Danielou and others could be published officially. The essays of Masaryk were reprinted, accompanied by a full-length biography by Milan Machovec, the first for over half a century. So too, in journals like *Ví šehrad*, were the poems of Zahradníček, Deml and other pre-war writers. Among contemporary European influences, the writings of G. K. Chesterton had a profound impact on many younger Christians.¹⁸

The Prague Spring marked the return of Czech intellectuals to national life after 20 years in the Stalinist and post-Stalinist wilderness. That it also made Christian ideas fashionable was largely thanks to the work of liberal Catholics from the Movement for Conciliar Renewal. There were other groups too – one led by the ageing pre-war Thomist, Fr Metoděj Haban, a one-time pupil of Maritain and Gilson, and another by the former Kolakovič followers, Mádr and Zvěřina. Between them such personalities did a great deal to enhance the church's public reputation.

The Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968, followed by Dubček's removal the following April, resulted in the dispersal of these groups; but the bonds of dialogue and friendship forged among their members were to hold firm, and were in time to produce something akin to a philosophical consensus. In the years to come, Czech intellectuals were to devote themselves to moral resistance, and a persistent and painstaking effort to resist the policies of 'normalisation'. They were to become, once again, free articulators of the national spirit, just as their nineteenth-century forerunners had been. Czech Christians would add their own vital contribution to this grand endeavour.

Living in Parallel

Throughout the 1970s, Vatican negotiators were preoccupied with seeking institutional concessions from the communist regime. The policy yielded certain dividends, including the appointment of several regime-approved bishops to Czechoslovakia's long-vacant sees. But the real work, it soon became clear, was being done at home, through a chain of local initiatives.

By 1970, the composition of the Catholic clergy reflected a clear generational division. While most older priests had suffered harsh repression in the 1950s, their younger counterparts had been educated under the communist system, becoming students or seminarians during the ill-fated reform movement of the 1960s. Relations were not always warm. Older priests had a tendency to accuse their younger colleagues, many of whom were converts, of lacking a firm grounding in Christian culture. Younger priests often criticised their elders for showing a dogmatic lack of appreciation of the complexity of modern dilemmas. The two generations neverthe-

less also influenced each other in positive ways, and were equally instrumental in promoting Catholic involvement in the 'parallel culture' now emerging. 'Catholic texts soon became the most lively and widespread of all the unofficial *samizdat* publications,' says the exiled writer Josef Skvorecký, an authority on Czech literature, 'but the Catholic contribution was never noticed sufficiently outside Czechoslovakia. Most western observers, even after 1968, were interested only in the work of the reform communists.'¹⁹

Inevitably, Catholic *samizdat* publishing required a high degree of cooperation with non-Catholic dissident circles. This in turn created a fund of common interests and experiences, which stimulated intellectual sympathy for the church. The result was a continual discourse, which brought religious and spiritual themes into secular writing.

Important outlets for this intellectual collaboration also existed abroad, in the form of the London-based publishing houses Rozmluvy and Jan Palach Press, and the Paris journal *Svědectví*. The latter, edited by the Jewish convert Pavel Tigrid, continued also to play a key role in publicising reform communist ideas. A Catholic quarterly, *Studie*, published in Rome by Karel Skalický, a Lateran University professor, offered a forum for Catholics, Protestants, Marxists and liberal humanists alike, while the Benedictine discussion centre 'Opus Bonum' brought émigré intellectuals of varying convictions together for periodic consultations in the German town of Scheinfeld.

At home, Oto Mádr's *Teologické texty* served as a specialist *samizdat* journal for priests and theologians, while *Informace o církvi*, edited in Prague by Václav Vaško, provided news of church activities for a wider readership. Their distribution was assisted by an underground network of monks and nuns, as well as by priests and even bishops who ministered secretly after being denied state licenses. The Dominican and Salesian orders, both officially outlawed, were especially important in fostering religious practices among students and academics.

The preoccupation with practical tasks of survival naturally reduced the scope for innovative thinking. But efforts were maintained to rebuild Czechoslovakia's battered Christian intellectual infrastructure as well. Western theologians, ranging from Hans Küng and Edward Schillebeeckx to Johan Metz and Paul Valadier, visited Prague and other cities to address unofficial seminars, often at considerable personal risk. Those unable to do so, such as Rudolf Bultmann or Hans Urs von Balthasar, contributed occasional papers.

One seminar group, 'Křesťanská akademia', met in the riverside flat of Radím Palous, a Catholic philosopher and one-time communist youth union member. Another, organised by the Protestant Ladislav Hejránek, a veteran of Hromádka's ecumenical discussions in the early 1960s, pursued a new philosophical theme each year, attracting students and lecturers dismissed from the universities.

By providing a forum for dialogue, seminars like these sustained an independent spirit of enquiry among Czech intellectuals. In so doing, they also prepared the ground for greater initiatives.

The Coming of Charter 77

In January 1977, the efforts of isolated but determined dissidents were rewarded by the unofficial publication of Charter 77, a human rights declaration. Its initial signatories included leading Catholics, one of whom was particularly notable. Almost a decade after being expelled from his post at Charles University, the distinguished

Radím Palous was still working as a cleaner and stoker when unexpected news came. As a concession, the government had consented to his reappointment; and his new post would even carry with it a chance to lecture abroad. During the same month, however, Palous obeyed the voice of his conscience and signed the Charter instead, thereby ending forever any hopes of eventual rehabilitation.

He was at least in distinguished company. Other Catholic signatories included the veteran liberals Jan Sokol and Jiří Němec, as well as younger figures like Václav Benda, Eva Kantůrková and Marie Rut-Křížková. Benda himself would go on to propound a theory of the 'parallel polis' which was similar to the 'new evolutionism' advocated by Adam Michnik and the KOR group in neighbouring Poland. Like his Polish counterparts, Benda had concluded that the methods of peaceful resistance should now be applied to the creation of alternative social and economic forms of organisation alongside the official structures of the state.²⁰

In addition, the Charter had the active support of priests, including now-familiar personalities such as Zvěřina, and younger men like Václav Malý and František Lízna. 'Catholics were a minority among Charter 77 signatories,' Sokol has acknowledged, 'but it was most important to show our agreement with it and stand at the forefront of the struggle for rights and freedoms.'²¹

Did Charter 77 signify only a tactical alliance for practical purposes, or did it embody a deeper philosophical rapprochement? Certainly the varied convictions and outlooks of its signatories, who included liberal, secular dissidents and recent party officials, as well as practising Protestant and Catholic Christians, appeared to rule out any real agreement on questions of political belief. Since all such questions had to be treated warily, the Charter could never have constituted the basis for an organised opposition movement. But it did nevertheless create something unique – an opportunity to work together in pursuit of common objectives, whose importance appeared to override individual opinions and priorities.

There was philosophical agreement too – at least enough to allow shared notions of human rights and legality. In time, this agreement in principle would be given substance by further initiatives, in which deeper mutual influences were increasingly apparent. These influences had various consequences, including the religious conversion of many former atheists.

Even at the height of its influence in the 1980s, Charter 77 mustered no more than 1000 signatories – which testifies to the hardship and self-sacrifice awaiting those bold enough to take a public stand against the communist abuse of power. But its importance as an ever-present testimony to values and principles denied by the ruling system was incalculable. 'Charter 77 has no political ideology, mode of behaviour or programme of its own,' explained the playwright and dissident Václav Havel,

but this does not mean that it offers no support for people who do have them. It does not really matter so much whether Charter 77 has a thousand or a million signatories. What is more important is whether or not it has truth on its side. This truth exercises an indirect and invisible influence, which represents a special kind of power.²²

Patočka and Zvěřina

Among the many Christian and secular intellectuals who played their part in articulating the philosophical propositions of Charter 77, two men stand out. The first is Jan Patočka, the celebrated humanist philosopher, who in 1977 joined Havel

and the former Prague Spring Foreign Minister Jiří Hajek as a pioneer Charter spokesman. Just three months into the year, Patočka paid the ultimate price, when his police interrogators beat him so badly that he later died. But his influence, especially among younger Czechs, was to deepen over subsequent years.

Patočka identified the impulses of European spirituality in the dual streams of Platonic philosophy and the Christian religion. Both, he concluded, had created metaphysical notions of value and truth, and practical theories of law and justice, which were still waiting to attain harmony in a manner capable of sustaining modern life and culture.²³

As a baptised Catholic, though sceptical towards Christian practices, Patočka was also deeply versed in western religious traditions. In later life, furthermore, his own religious inclinations became increasingly evident, lending credibility to claims that his phenomenology had much in common with the progressive Christian thinking of Kraków, including the ideas of the future Polish Pope, John Paul II. Evaluating the objectives of Charter 77, Patočka argued that it had merely reaffirmed the inseparability of morality from state power and could not therefore be regarded as a political initiative. The Chartists had no intention of infringing legitimate state prerogatives, of organising themselves in pursuit of particular interests, or even of attempting to speak as the ‘conscience of society’. Rather, their timely declaration was founded on a ‘sentiment of duty’, an unassailable certainty that absolute morality was essential. Patočka put it succinctly:

Without a moral foundation, a sense of conviction going beyond considerations of opportunity, circumstance or calculated advantage, no society, however advanced technically, can function. The object of morality is not merely to make society work, but to make each person a human being. It is not Man who determines morality in accordance with his needs, desires, tendencies and aspirations; it is morality which determines Man.²⁴

The humanistic vision in Patočka’s writings – supplemented by the work of other notable figures like the cultural historian Václav Černý – was a key influence on the emerging spiritual and ethical outlook of the man who was later to become Czechoslovakia’s democratic president. But Václav Havel’s deep personal convictions owed just as much to Catholic influences. He regularly attended the ‘Křesťanská akademie’ seminars of Radím Palous, and also invited fellow-participants every summer to his north Bohemian country house. From 1979 to 1983, moreover, he was in prison with two priests, the Jesuit Fr František Lízna and the Dominican Fr Dominik Duka, who had a discernible influence on his thinking.

Another major figure, Fr Josef Zvěřina, was to clarify the implications of Catholic involvement with Charter 77. As the most recent Czech theologian of international significance Zvěřina stood at the orthodox centre of the Catholic Church. But like Mádr, Mandl and other members of the post-war generation, he also sought, despite the obstacles, to give his theology a distinctive Czech flavour. In particular, he drew on the ideas of his former teacher, Tomislav Kolakovič, in order to propound a form of Christian witness capable both of withstanding the rigours of persecution and of meeting the need for forgiveness. Ultimately, Zvěřina found the answer in the concept of *agape* – the preservation of a loving community as the basis for church survival.

This endeavour depended increasingly on unlicensed priests, so Zvěřina also attempted to provide a theological justification for the idea of ‘worker-priests’ in Czechoslovakia – those forced to hold ordinary civil jobs while ministering in secret.

During covert meetings with representatives of the French 'Prêtres Ouvriers' movement in Hungary, he raised the possibility that such people could now be recognised as a third force within the Catholic priesthood, alongside the existing categories of 'diocesan priests' and 'order priests'.

Zvěřina wrote little, however, and is remembered less for his theoretical investigations than for his unremitting practical efforts to recreate a living church out of the ruins of recent decades. He bridged the gap between old and young Catholic generations; and it was largely thanks to his work that priests, monks, nuns and countless lay Christians who would otherwise have been isolated and demoralised were encouraged to look optimistically towards the future.²⁵

Forging an Alliance

During the 1980s, Zvěřina's influence was to extend still further. At the start of the decade the ageing Czech Primate, Cardinal František Tomášek of Prague, was still maintaining that compliant attitude towards the state which had characterised his leadership since the 1960s. Coming from simple country origins, Tomášek was the only bishop whose appointment had been unreservedly approved by Rome. Ten of Czechoslovakia's 13 Catholic sees, however, had no diocesan bishop at all, while the other two sees were led by bishops belonging to 'Pacem in Terris', the government-sponsored association of 'peace priests' which combined rigid doctrinal conservatism with a disloyal attitude towards the church leadership.

In theological matters, Tomášek was a liberal. He had studied and taught in Olomouc archdiocese during the 1930s and had chaired the Movement for Conciliar Renewal in 1968. But he had sought to appease the church's opponents too; and when Charter 77 was published, Tomášek distanced himself from it, angrily accusing its priest-signatories of engaging in politics and endangering the church.

The Polish Pope John Paul II came to office in October 1978, and the conciliatory Vatican policies of the past began to be supplemented by a firmer line. Tomášek was made an archbishop in 1978, but as a result of continuing government refusal to sanction auxiliary appointments he was hopelessly over-worked. In 1982, therefore, at the prompting of Fr Zvěřina, an unofficial group of advisers, including heads of illegal religious orders, was set up to help him. The effect was almost immediate. In that same year, Tomášek denounced 'Pacem in Terris' and withdrew the *imprimatur* from its newspaper, *Katolické noviny*.²⁶

In July 1985, the mass arrival of pilgrims at the Moravian village of Velehrad for the 1100th anniversary of the death of St Methodius suggested that popular pressure was mounting for an even tougher church stance. Now able to count on formidable local support, Tomášek quickly emerged as a major national leader. In open letters to the government, he condemned human rights abuses and commended lay Catholic and dissident initiatives. During 1987 and 1988, these included two mass petitions demanding respect for religious rights, as well as a 10-year programme to foster spiritual renewal. Tomášek also developed his contacts with the secular signatories of Charter 77, showing a sympathetic attitude towards people whom he had once distrusted. In March 1988, Slovak Catholics in Bratislava staged a prayer meeting – the first mass city gathering since the Prague Spring. It was savagely broken up by the Slovak police; but a precedent had been set. While it was secular intellectuals who provided the tactical expertise and political direction needed to bring down the Czechoslovak communist system, it was the involvement of Catholics which did most to transform the once-isolated pockets of intellectual resistance into a mass

movement. In November 1989, defying even the most optimistic expectations, this newly forged alliance of common purpose was to achieve dramatic results.

Less than five months later, reflecting on the extraordinary sequence of events which had transformed Czech Catholics from distrusted outcasts in the 1920s to champions of freedom in the 1980s, the Pope would express the feelings of many in a speech evoking the words of the Catholic poet Jan Zahradníček on the eve of his imprisonment. 'Today we stand before the ruins of one of the many towers of Babel in human history', said the Pope addressing a meeting of writers and academics.

At this hour of new beginnings, the quest for unity comes as a challenge from history. It is a history which starts with the shining figures of Cyril and Methodius, Wenceslas and Adalbert; and in which, for century after century down to the present time, examples of Christian authenticity shine forth. Their striking testimony has enabled Christians to withstand the slanders showered upon them by hostile propaganda and be recognised as trustworthy partners in dialogue over the nation's future... You have overcome fear and found new confidence, a new courage for living in truth, for lives which draw on spiritual values.²⁷

The Return to Truth

Since the dramatic winter days of 1989, when Cardinal Tomášek's message was read to cheering crowds in Wenceslas Square, the authentic features of Czech culture have begun to reassert themselves. The outcasts and misfits of the past have become the leaders and rulers of the present; and the Christian impulses of Czech identity have reentered the mainstream of national life.

Even today, many Czechs have still to learn the truth of their own history. But enough is already known for some long-established assumptions to be overturned. It is now becoming clear that the subservience so often characteristic of the church's hierarchy never truly reflected the attitudes of ordinary Catholics. While the church's leaders were supporting the Habsburg imperial order, priests and laymen were rebuilding the national culture and struggling for rights and freedoms. Successive rulers in Czechoslovakia sought to give their regimes a Christian stamp; but the inspiration behind the continuing struggle for freedom and dignity was largely Christian too. The result was a historical dichotomy, in which the rival traditions of a despotic and a reforming Catholicism competed for ascendancy in the national consciousness.

In the twentieth century, those hoping to weaken the church had only to distort this historical record by highlighting its worst features and suppressing its many positive aspects. This was what communist propagandists did in the post-war years; but their efforts had largely been foreshadowed by secular historians in the First Republic. Despite these efforts, however, it was reforming Catholicism which, chastened and strengthened by both liberal and communist challenges, emerged preeminent in the 1970s and 1980s to join the resistance to totalitarian rule.

'Religion was and remains the primary area in which Czech spirits excelled from the outset,' wrote František Palacký in the early nineteenth century, in a passage on the natural predilection for spiritual ideas which he viewed as inherent in the national character.²⁸ In recent years, the search for unity has meant a search for common values, to be found at a point where all philosophies meet in simple respect for truth. As yet, the 'courage for living in truth' to which the Pope paid tribute awaits coherent

expression in a permanent system of ideas. But it remains a Czech conception and claims its own uniqueness.

It can be traced back immediately to the search by Masaryk, Rádl and their contemporaries for a national philosophy in the late nineteenth century. Its roots are buried still deeper, however. In the fourteenth century the precursors of Hussite reformism expounded a forgotten theme from the Old Testament – *veritas vincit in aeternitatem*. The motto ‘Truth Prevails’ was later to be carried on the banners of the Taborite armies, radical defenders of the Hussite legacy.

Now, in the past two decades, ‘living in truth’ has reached its fullest articulation in the context of a return to religious faith – a culmination of that restless ‘anxiety of spirit’ which Patočka saw as the greatest motivating force in Europe’s historical development. According to Patočka, the modern age began in the sixteenth century, when the preoccupation with the life of the spirit characteristic of medieval man gave way to a quest for methods of subduing and ruling the external world. The rationalist world view of the Enlightenment was to engender the two streams of liberal capitalism and Marxist collectivism. In their moral relativism, Patočka argued, these two streams increasingly resembled each other. ‘The real problem’, wrote Patočka,

lies not in a conflict between liberalism and socialism, democracy and totalitarianism. Despite all their deep differences, they have a common feature – seeing nothing which is not objective and plays no concrete role. Resolving the conflict between them will not resolve the problem of finding the right place for the human person.²⁹

This ultimate task could be accomplished, Patočka concluded, only when the lessons of history were finally taken to heart, and Europe returned to its Platonic and Christian roots – the dual source of consciousness from which all ideologies and world views, cultures and philosophies derive. The Czech experience today demonstrates that the enduring ethos of European thought and culture has remained, despite everything, deeply rooted in Christianity.

Notes and References

- ¹ The case for Hus was argued in February 1986 by the Polish historian Stefan Świeżawski, writing in the Kraków-based Catholic weekly, *Tygodnik Powszechny*. For a summary of Świeżawski’s arguments, see the interview in *National Catholic Register*, 7 May 1989. See also: Karel Skalický, ‘Jan Hus, the Catholic Church and Ecumenism’, *Occasional Papers on Religion in East Europe*, vol. 10, no. 4 (July 1990); and M. Spinka, *Jan Hus: a Biography* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1968).
- ² Jaroslav Krejčí, *Czechoslovakia at the Crossroads of European History* (I. B. Tauris, London, 1990), pp. 64–84.
- ³ Walter W. Davis, ‘The origins of religious Josephism’, *East Central Europe*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1974); and *Přehled československých dějin—do roku 1848* (Czechoslovak Academy of Historical Affairs, Prague, 1958), pp. 620–30.
- ⁴ See, for example, the assessment of their many points of agreement, in Thomas G. Pesek, ‘Palacký and Havlíček: their political relationship’, *East European Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Spring 1981), pp. 29–42.
- ⁵ Josef Pekař, *Dějiny československé* (Prague, 1921); arguments reaffirmed in *Smysl českých dějin* (Prague, 1929). See also Robert Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks* (Hutchinson, London, 1943).
- ⁶ For a detailed examination of sources for Masaryk’s historical and religious ideas in Machovec, Černý, Patočka and others, see H. Gordon Skilling, ‘The rediscovery of Masaryk’, *Cross Currents* (1983), pp. 95–104.

- ⁷ Tomáš G. Masaryk, *Modern Man and Religion* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1938). Masaryk not only viewed the legacy of Hus in a positive manner but also advocated, albeit in vague language, a 'new religion' to resolve contemporary dilemmas. See also Roman Szporluk, 'Masaryk in search of authority', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, no. 7 (1965).
- ⁸ Quoted by Karel Skalický, 'The vicissitudes of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, 1918 to 1988', in Norman Stone and Eduard Strouhal, (eds), *Czechoslovakia: Crossroads and Crises 1918–88* (Macmillan, London, 1989), p. 298. Rádl himself described these developments as the 'political negation of Catholicism'.
- ⁹ *ibid.*, p. 299.
- ¹⁰ The link with France was to prove especially important later after Šrámek's flight to Paris in 1939. The development of a national liberation movement was assisted by Cardinal Verdier of Paris, as well as by Catholics associated with the periodical *l'Aube*, then under the editorship of Bidault. In 1947, the personal link between Šrámek and Bidault facilitated preparations for a Czechoslovak–French alliance. In December 1951, when the pro-regime priest Josef Plojhar was elected president after Šrámek's arrest, control of the People's Party passed to the Czechoslovak communists.
- ¹¹ For a detailed assessment of the Slovak role, see Bohdan Cywiński, *Ogniem próbowane: z dziejów najnowszych Kościoła katolickiego w Europie środkowo-wschodniej* (Polish Institute for Christian Culture, Rome), Vol. 1, *Korzenie tożsamości* (1982 pp. 189–93; and Vol. 2, *I was prześladować beda* (1983), pp. 224–30. See also Lisa Guarda Nardini, 'The Social Doctrine of Josef Tiso', *Slovak Studies*, no. 20 (1983), pp. 139–65.
- ¹² Anastáz Opasek, 'Úvaha o katolícké moderné a jejím poslání', *Studie*, vol. 5, no. 59 (1978), pp. 323–30; and Alexander Heidler, 'Katolícká literatura v novém státě', *op. cit.* pp. 331–40.
- ¹³ Skalický, 'The vicissitudes . . .', p. 307.
- ¹⁴ *The Tablet* (2 July 1949).
- ¹⁵ Josef Slavník, 'Profesor Kolakovič', *Studie*, vol. 2–4, nos. 104–6 (1986), pp. 196–226. See also Robert Galter, *The Red Book of the Persecuted Church* (Newman Press, London, 1957), pp. 341–94.
- ¹⁶ This feature is discussed at length in Vladimír Kusin, *The Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 1–27; and Jacques Rupnik, 'Intellectuals and power in Czechoslovakia', paper prepared for the Wilson Center, Washington DC (June 1988).
- ¹⁷ Karel Kosík, *Dialektika konkrétního: studie o problematice člověka* (Prague, 1963), pp. 35–55. See also Kusin, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–52; and Peter Hruby, *Fools and Heroes: the Changing Role of Communist Intellectuals in Czechoslovakia* (Pergamon Press, London, 1978), pp. 188–95.
- ¹⁸ See, for example, Jonathan Luxmoore, 'A spiritual harvest' (profile of Tomáš Halík), *National Catholic Register* (16 December 1990).
- ¹⁹ Recorded interview, Warsaw, 22 May 1990.
- ²⁰ See Václav Benda, 'Catholicism and politics', in John Keane (ed.), *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens against the State in Central-Eastern Europe* (Hutchinson, London, 1985), pp. 110–24.
- ²¹ Recorded interview, Budapest, 17 November 1990. See also Zdeněk Mlynář, 'Exkomunisté a křesťané v Chartě 77', *Studie*, vol. 6, no. 60 (1978), pp. 414–27; Ivan Medek, 'Křesťané a Exkomunisté nejdříve v Chartě 77', *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 62 (1979), pp. 147–9; and Jiří Lederer, 'Charta 77 a křesťané', *ibid.*, vol. 6, no. 84 (1982), pp. 581–6.
- ²² Jonathan Luxmoore, 'Two Czech dissidents on party, state and faith' (interview with Václav Havel and Václav Malý), *National Catholic Register* (3 July 1988).
- ²³ Jan Patočka, *Eseje heretyckie o filozofii historii* (Aletheia, Warsaw, 1988); and 'European culture', *Cross Currents*, no. 3 (1984), pp. 3–6.
- ²⁴ Jan Patočka, 'La Charte 77: ce qu'elle est et ce qu'elle n'est pas', *Cahiers de l'Est*, no. 9–10 (1977), p. 167.
- ²⁵ A collection of Zvěřina's theological and cultural essays was published in Italian, *L'esperienza della Chiesa* (1971) and *Coraggio di essere Chiesa* (1978). See also Josef

Zvěřina, 'On not living in hatred', in Keane, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–16.

- ²⁶ Vatican Radio broadcast, 2 December 1982, Tomášek's warning letters to *Pacem in Terris* were published in *Informace o církvi*, nos. 9–10 (1982) and attacked in *Tribuna* (30 March and 4 May 1983).
- ²⁷ 'Address to representatives of the world of culture, to students, and to representatives of non-Catholic churches', Press Office of the Holy See (21 April 1990).
- ²⁸ František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě* (Kvašnicka a Hampl, Prague, 1941).
- ²⁹ Jan Patočka, *Eseje*, p. 57.