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# IDENTITY STUDIES

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## **Political Theology in Socialist Czechoslovakia: A Forgotten Story?**

### *Introduction*

Like many other humanitarian concepts, the concept of “political theology” may be understood differently; in the following article I use it both for the description of the implications of theology for political and social life, and for the representation of current political life through theological concepts. I would like to draw the attention to an insufficiently studied topic—specific features, transformations and, maybe, deformation (?) of theology under the state pressure, in the underground. More precisely, my article is dedicated mostly to the subject of social and political activity as represented in Catholic theology in socialist Czechoslovakia, especially in the last twenty years of its existence.

The history of theological thought in Czechoslovakia is not an unknown subject, at least in Czech literature.<sup>1</sup> However, Czech authors pay attention mostly to Czech lands, and Slovakia remains outside the range of their interest. In addition, the fundamental feature of these studies is that their authors place their subject in the context of “normal” West European post-Vatican II theology, while I was primarily interested in those theological features that were pre-conditioned by the situation of state repressions, in the responses of Catholic thinkers to the challenges posed by the socio-political reality.

This article is supposed to be only an overview, it is not intended as detailed coverage of all the trends that existed in the theological thought of Czechoslovakia at that time, not even as the comprehensive representation of all its spectrum. The author’s purpose is to offer a brief sketch of the evolution of theological sentiment in the country and to outline some of the forms it has taken—in particular, I will stress the difference between Czech and Slovak approaches to the problem. This article will focus on “underground,” “dissident” Catholic theology—although the theological justification of loyalty to the regime as suggested by various Catholic movements established “from above” are also of considerable interest, these two currents is logical to consider separately. Moreover, I will leave out the thinking on political theology of Czech and Slovak emigrants, even those whose texts were distrib-

uted in Czechoslovak samizdat—since, as it seems, the development of their thought was influenced by other factors and shows another logic.

It is also necessary to mention (as an explanation for the choice of the subject) that Catholic church in Czechoslovakia was much less tolerated by the state than Protestant churches—for many reasons; and traditions of “political Catholicism”—in Moravia, as well as in Slovakia (including the history of Slovak State) were only one of those. Logically enough, Catholic antagonism to the regime was the strongest among the churches; it was not possible to imagine such person as Josef Lukl Hromádka<sup>2</sup> being a Catholic.

### *Historical Context*

February 25, 1948 in Czechoslovakia a coup d'état took place, and a Communist government came to power. During “the period of Stalinism” (1948-1952) the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia undergoes one of the most brutal repressions among the European countries of the socialist bloc, comparable with Albania and Romania. Almost all Czech and Slovak bishops were interned or imprisoned. In accordance with the special powers granted by Vatican, a secret episcopal hierarchy starts to develop in the country. In 1950, the monastic orders were virtually eliminated, in the same year, the Greek Catholic Church was forcibly integrated with the Orthodox Church. A series of show trials with the most active monks, clergy and laity has been conducted during these years; all seminaries except from two were closed. All clergy had to swear allegiance to the People's Democratic Republic. Property of the Church was nationalized. From now, any ordination of a priest or appointment of a priest in a parish required state approval. All church documents were supervised by a “church secretary”—an official of the regional or district party committee.

As a result of such effort of state and secret services, in the prison camps of Czechoslovakia the whole departments consisting of Catholic priests and monks have emerged (one of them was even called “Vatican of cons”).<sup>3</sup> In these cells people with different background mutually corrected their theological and philosophical views; thus new connections were formed that came to be later of great importance. In 1960, 1962 and 1965 President Antonín Novotný has granted several amnesties; by 1968, virtually all surviving political prisoners from the Stalin era were released.

## *The Second Vatican Council, “Prague Spring” and its aftermath*

At the time Communists came to power in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, the specific features of Roman Catholic Church in the country, according to the characteristics of Jiří Skoblík, were autocracy, clericalism and apologetic orientation.<sup>4</sup> Typically, monks and clerics who received traditional theological education, when they get out from prison camps, they discovered that their new theological views quite meet Western theological trends embodied in the decrees of the Second Vatican Council. The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) was the key event in the history of the Catholic Church in the 20th century; then, it is appropriate here to say a few words about its reception in Czechoslovakia.

The “Iron Curtain” of 1950s—the first half of 1960s safely isolated the country from the influence of changes that took place at this time in the theological thought of the West. At that time, even official theological schools in Czechoslovakia had no opportunity to get literature from abroad.<sup>5</sup> But in the second half of 1960s information borders were to a certain extent opened, and some literature was published in connection with the Council: an edition of its documents was prepared in Bratislava in the years 1969-1972, and, for example, in Prague in the year 1970 a brochure on the Council has appeared; its author was priest Stanislav Krátký, a friend and an associate (sometimes rather critical one) of Felix Maria Davídek—we will speak more about him later.

The “Prague Spring” of 1968 brought more freedom to the Catholic church, as well to the whole society of Czechoslovakia. It is necessary to remark, though, that at that moment the authorities have almost achieved their goal and almost dried up the religious life in the country: when Vladimír Jukl and Silvester Krčméry, two Catholic activists of 1940s, were released—even in Slovakia, traditionally Catholic region, they were advised to begin with the evangelization of priests.<sup>6</sup>

In early 1968, apostolic administrator of Prague, bishop František Tomášek required the dissolution of the pro-regime Peace Movement of the Catholic clergy, which was founded in 1951. It was replaced, during the “Prague Spring,” by a movement which united both clergy and laity—the so-called “Work of conciliar renewal.” The movement has never been formally registered, but until 21 August it was quite active. It included, in particular, Working center of theology, which after the invasion came under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Administration of Prague. Under his auspices in 1968-1969 school year, in particular, lectures of foreign scholars, including Karl Rahner, were conducted.<sup>7</sup> In 1970, on the basis of the Center, the Theological Commission was formed, which was attached to the Council of

Bishops and Vicars General; its task was “a revival of our theology, mainly on the basis of *aggiornamento*”.<sup>8</sup> The commission consisted mostly of those theologians who survived prison camps: priests Josef Zvěřina, Oto Mádr, Zdeněk Bonaventura Bouše OFM, Dominik Pecka OP, František Šilhan SJ, Metoděj Habaň OP, Antonín Mandl, Jan Evangelista Urban OFM and others. In this form, the Commission lasted until 1973, but had no effect on the public practice of the church.

It should also be said that in 1968 apostolic administrator of Prague František Tomášek organized a pastoral council, which included also the laity and survived for a few months. It became the prototype of a number of more or less formal circles which have formed around Tomášek during the subsequent two decades. The above-mentioned priests Josef Zvěřina, Oto Mádr and some lay people became close associates of Tomášek, who later became the Archbishop of Prague and Cardinal; in the 80s Catholics who signed the “Charter-77,” and active members of the Slovak Catholic underground entered the spectrum of his assistants.

As for literature, in 1968-1970 Catholic journals were in the hands of liberal editorial boards and had the opportunity to publish translations of modern Western theological literature (Henri de Lubac, Yves Congar, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, Romano Guardini, Jacques Maritain, Karl Rahner were especially popular). In 1968, the apostolic administrator of Prague František Tomášek got permission from the authorities to found the so-called Liturgical (also known as Postconciliar) Library at the Prague Archbishopric; he was also permitted to receive books for the library from abroad. The same applied to the Archbishop’s library in Olomouc. Through that way, a lot of “*tamizdat*” published in Rome, by the Slovak Institute of Sts. Cyril and Methodius and the Czech Christian Academy, was brought to the country.

During the period of “normalization” border control has tightened, but until the very 1989 it was not possible to block the flow of illegal literature completely. It was transported by foreign tourists, diplomats, it was smuggled also on large scale: in trucks, in cars with false bottoms, and under the guise of tourist equipment — through the mountains. In Czechoslovakia, this literature was translated and circulated in *samizdat*, which was quite widespread, especially in Slovakia.

August 20, 1968, members of the “Work of conciliar renewal” have started theological and pastoral course for priests (which was open, however, for the laity as well), but the next class could be had only in the fall. The course somehow survived until 1971, the lecturers were priests Antonín Bradna, Jan Evangelista Urban, Josef Zvěřina and others.<sup>9</sup> In the fall of 1968 a course of lectures “Living Theology” has began (and lasted until 1970); it

was intended for wide public and enjoyed great popularity. The course was supervised by the Prague archbishopric, Faculty of Theology (where in 1969–1970 the same people have taught) and editorial board of the journal *Via*; its chief editor was Josef Zvěřina. In 1968, all those who have not had such opportunity earlier, have entered the Faculty. After 1970, people from the time of “Prague Spring” lost the opportunity of public activity, and theological education went underground.

In 1970–80s, there was a number of so-called “underground universities,” religious and philosophical courses and seminars that were open to the laity; at these seminars the postconciliar Catholic theology was studied. Such meetings were organized by a variety of underground groups, in particular, by the Franciscan Order, Salesians of Don Bosco, Oto Mádr and his assistants, a group led by Felix Maria Davídek, Václav Dvořák, Jan Konzal; in Slovakia — groups led by Silvester Krčméry, Vladimír Jukl, Ján Letz, Fridolín Zahradník, etc. As educational materials, they used translated Western literature, “tamizdat” and their own original theological work based on ideas of recent Council (Zvěřina’s “theology of agape”, Davídek’s “theology of parusia”, etc.). In general, it should be stated that since the early 1970s the actual application of the ideas of the Council of Czechoslovakia took place mainly outside official church structures. But in a number of memoirs it is said that the end of the 1960s became a breath of freedom which made it possible to survive for the next twenty years.

In the situation of persecution by the authorities of the Catholic Church of Czechoslovakia many theses of the Second Vatican Council were accepted and brought into reality, not only on a theological, but on a purely practical level. In particular, it is important to note the development of ecumenical sentiment among faithful — since the time of prison camps of 1950s, Protestants and Catholics to actively cooperate with each other. The laity has played more and more important role in the life of the Church. In a number of underground church communities deacons have acquired an important role, etc.

### *The Theology of Felix Maria Davídek: Fulfillment of Creation*

Let us begin, however, with several quotations from earlier texts of a person whose theology is perhaps the most timeless among those we will be speaking about in this paper. Thinking of Felix Maria Davídek (1921–1988) was influenced primarily by the cosmogony of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, who envisioned the human history as natural evolution of all creation towards its fullest realization in God. Davídek brought to being one of the ma-

major structures of the underground church in Czechoslovakia, and some of its branches exist up to this day.

Political prisoner in 1950-1964, when released, he began with organization of an “underground university”, according to vision which he developed in prison;<sup>10</sup> Stanislav Krátký, who was already mentioned here, became his assistant in this work.<sup>11</sup> Lectures were held at first in Davídek’s apartment, then at the place of Ludmila Javorová’s family, where he later lived; in addition, Davídek traveled throughout the country—Fiala and Hanuš tell that he has lectured at such places as Prague, Košice, Prešov, Spišská Nová Ves, Poprad, etc.<sup>12</sup> At Davídek’s seminars everybody could participate: monks and priests, students and lay people.<sup>13</sup> Davídek was ordained as bishop in 1967; it is interesting that, unlike some other Catholic hierarchs who have lived through prisons, in 1968 Felix Maria Davídek did not consider as necessary to make his episcopal dignity public.<sup>14</sup>

Davídek was a natural born charismatic leader, tireless activist and quite original and independent thinker; there is some literature, mainly in Czech and German languages, dedicated to his biography, to the history of “the hidden church” (*skrytá církev*) which emerged thanks to his efforts, as well as to his intellectual legacy.<sup>15</sup> In his practice and theory, Davídek was directly inspired by events and processes happening in the Czechoslovak society of his time. His essay “The Christian worldview” from the year 1948, shows the clarity of his perception of socio-political reality: “...Let us recall another slogan of the day: the socialist regime, the totalitarian state. Probably many would object to the fact that we put together the words “socialist regime” and “totalitarian state.” But what to do if a situation where all rights to decide the fate of an individual belong to a state is called totalitarianism? It does not matter, a fascist or Marxist regime executes totalitarian power. It is only important that a person is deprived of freedom, and it is done in the name of a state. Let us understand correctly: the parable about a denarius with the portrait of a Caesar says clearly—Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s... Totalitarian state wants more than belongs to him: it wants personal freedom... There are instructions as to think so that it will not threaten the state. Here is an apparent analogy between the Church and a totalitarian state. The Church also tells us how to think, so that human community would not be threatened. But the Church is the community of faithful, the voluntary community, where nobody is not forced to anything, and most importantly—no one is forced to evil”.<sup>16</sup>

Davídek’s theological views were generally rather liberal, which brought to him and to his followers a number of problems in relations with the Vatican hierarchy. In communicated to him the ban on the episcopal ministry,

Humanity is suffering in the iron grip of authority, which is mechanically generated, mechanically operates, is mechanically applied to the barbarous despotisms and the kingdoms of tyrants, just as in the constitutional monarchies, in republics and democracies <...> AUTHORITY, ITS TRUE VALUE (reality—its authenticity, its function, its emanation and its actio) does not depend on THE NUMBER OF DECREES, CODEXES, INSTRUCTIONS, MONITAE ETC., ETC., BUT HOW MANY PEOPLE FOLLOW IT VOLUNTARILY... All the other things are IMITATIONS OF THE AUTHORITY, which demands the more obedience, which is the more repressive, with an ever-increasing repressive constituent, the less such “authority” is able to lead”.<sup>17</sup>

Antagonism between Davídek and official church authorities continued to the end of his life. Vatican on several occasions (1972, 1976, 1987 (?)) communicated to him the ban on the episcopal ministry, which he did not follow. Many members of this branch of the Catholic Church, which was founded by Felix Maria Davídek, remain in the underground up to this day.

### *“In the World of Victorious Communism”—1970–1976*

Below we shall have only those heroes of the Czechoslovak Catholic resistance, who had no major problems with the Catholic hierarchy. In the intellectual legacy of some other important Catholic thinkers in Czechoslovakia it is easy to trace a certain development during the 1970s and 1980s, which reflected (or influenced) the change of sociopolitical situation in the country.

After the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968, after Gustáv Husák became General Secretary of the CPCz in April 1969 and the regime of “normalization” was established, the state did not immediately regain control of the Catholic church. But in the early 1970s the personnel of state institutions responsible for church policy has been completely changed; those active in the redactions of Catholic magazines and newspapers, professors at seminaries at the time of Prague spring were, at the best, fired away, and sometimes persecuted.

During the 1970s, Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia practically went underground. Now the experience of the older generation of activists—former political prisoners—turned to be quite useful. They managed to unite around young people who could not find their point of reference in the hollow atmosphere of enfolding “normalization.”

After the rise of 1968-1970, the first half of the 1970s became a period of decline for the Catholic Church of Czechoslovakia—not just moral, but also quantitative decline, as evidenced by official statistics.<sup>18</sup> Religious life in the country had seemingly stopped; although some activists continued their quiet fieldwork, its fruits were almost not noticeable. The situation was even more complicated by the fact that the Czech and Slovak Catholics, who tried in the 1970s to lead more or less authentic religious life (which was possible only in secret) not only felt pressure from the state, they also felt betrayed by Vatican. Beginning with the pontificate of John XXIII, during the entire period of Cold War in relations with the Soviet bloc Vatican followed principles which came to be called *Ostpolitik*: the Holy See considered its main goal to ensure the formal perseverance of Catholic church in the country through, for example, appointment of new bishops in place of those interned, imprisoned or dead in vacant dioceses; for that purpose, Vatican (mainly represented by Agostino Casaroli) was ready for certain compromises in negotiations with the communist governments of the Soviet bloc—in Czechoslovakia sometimes even by the cost of silencing some representatives of the “underground church”, which were, of course, extremely inconvenient for the authorities. The degree of moral decline, which prevailed among the Catholics of Czechoslovakia partly for that reason, was not understandable neither for the Czech and Slovak exiles, nor for the Vatican hierarchy. In this respect, a comment that the editors of Czech exile journal *Studie* added to the publication of a text smuggled out of Czechoslovakia in 1976, is quite typical: “We have reprinted these fragments... not because we agree with all views and conclusions therein, but because the document testifies for personal and collective feelings and experiences of some faithful in today’s Czechoslovakia”.<sup>19</sup>

The memorandum begins with critics of the Vatican policy in Czechoslovakia. From the document is clear that its authors have (yet) believed that Christianity should remain apolitical, over-political: it should “beware of producing any kind of ideology... The church must proclaim the coming kingdom of God without becoming capitalist, Marxist, etc”.<sup>20</sup> A characteristic and surprising part of the text is, from our point of view, as well as from the point of view of Western observers of the time, is a victimized belief in the inevitable universal triumph of Communism, when the church will become only a group of marginals: “Given the inability of the Western world to change the current deeply flawed system, it is possible that different forms of Communism will enslave the entire world. Thus, it is likely that once the Gospel will find itself in the Communist world... then, the Gospel and Christianity will be able to serve society, Communist world and themselves in no way through conformity, but through their authenticity; they will become a call

for radical reform, or better yet, for a *metanoia*, internal conversion”.<sup>21</sup> “The future church, in the world that will be, most probably, Communist, cannot not be the “Mother and teacher”,<sup>22</sup> the symbol of the unity of mankind, etc., as is suggested by the solemn language of encyclicals. The church present in the world, which, as it seems, will come, is a serving church, like Mary, a church in the wilderness, ready to preach the Gospel and unrevealed, like John the Baptist... “<sup>23</sup> “Christians should participate in the creation of positive values, but also take a critical stand in the sense of the Gospel, the position of non-violence, protest against any injustice, every infringement of human dignity, human rights abuses and suppression of legitimate freedom of every person”.<sup>24</sup> Thus, Christianity is something essentially different than politics, but it can and should be a touchstone, an absolute measure of value, and can serve as a basis for criticism of a political regime.

In the same 1976 year in samizdat and in tamizdat an essay was published, which became a symbol of the era of “normalization” in the history of the Catholic Church of Czechoslovakia; its title was “Modus moriendi of the church” (in that way Agostino Casaroli described the subject of his negotiations with the Czechoslovak authorities), and his author was a political prisoner from Stalin’s era. The first sentence was “Let’s suppose that the church is dying”,<sup>25</sup> and the aim of the author was to develop a “theology of a dying church.” The essay is rather concise, and Mádr does not pay much attention to political theology as such, his perspective is broader: while a church is dying, one should be prepared “to take death!.. To face courageously the future. Not to delude oneself or others with false consolations... completely reject only one way for the church to die: the betrayal”.<sup>26</sup> “To pray and to make sacrifices to save the world. Not to grieve among the people as a sad angel, but instead endow everybody with the light and warmth of his presence”.<sup>27</sup> Here also the Christian mission is represented from a sociopolitical viewpoint: although there is not a word about political protest, the ban on betrayal implies the readiness to stand for one’s values in the secular world as well.

### *“Charter 77” and the New Paradigm in Political Theology of Czechoslovakia*

In the late 1970s the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia (or, at least, in the Czech lands) has come to see its tasks and perspectives rather differently. The symbol of this change became the “Charter 77”—an appeal to the Czechoslovak government to observe its own international obligations for protection of human rights and freedoms. The Charter was signed also by

some Catholic activists, primarily Czechs, although they remained a minority in comparison with those Catholics who were suspicious of this all too risky and openly political initiative; anyway, it was these signatories who later on became the most active members of Catholic resistance and shaped public opinion of the Czechoslovak underground. Essays of priests Josef Zvěřina, Oto Mádr (although he never signed the Charter), as well as of layman Václav Benda etc. actively circulated in Czech, but also Slovak samizdat and tamizdat.

One of such popular texts was Zvěřina's essay "Courage to be the church".<sup>28</sup>

"To be the church", in the opinion of Josef Zvěřina, means to constitute a true consolidated and daring community, since "Christianity has never been a *private religious belief*. Even less—in the times of persecution. A compromise, a retreat, a surrender will not save us, but only alliance in the good".<sup>29</sup> Zvěřina describes the goal of the existence of the church as a community in rather sociopolitical terms:

*We are cast down by the increasing violence, oppression, manipulation of consciousness and conscience, by the terror and lack of freedom—we want to create a brotherhood of the defenseless, free and loving...*

*We reject the life in lie and darkness—we want to live in truth and light.*<sup>30</sup> *We do not recognize the class justice, because it consciously became a part of injustice—we want justice for all, first of all, however, for the dispossessed, oppressed, blackmailed, frightened. Human rights are not privileges to us or to the church, they are our duty towards others.*<sup>31</sup> *Our community cannot lock up in itself, cannot escape from the world and to refuse the responsibility for it.*<sup>32</sup>

According to Zvěřina, there are four models of church-state relations: "general obedience," "critical obedience," "active disobedience" ("When a secular authority fails to carry out its mission or seizes more than it has the right to, or does both, it cannot lay claim to obedience any more"), and "passive disobedience"—which implies the readiness for martyrdom.<sup>33</sup> "God summons us to participate in his work... We want to engage into the *conspiracy of helplessness*... We should become servants, even martyrs (because martyrdom can be also bloodless) for freedom and justice... The only force that can overcome the unimaginable force of arms is *love*".<sup>34</sup> Josef Zvěřina, one of the key figures of the Catholic resistance in Czechoslovakia, created also his own theological system, which he called "the theology of *agape*." This priest, one of the most famous figures of Czech Catholic resistance, has traveled throughout

the country and was known in a variety of communities and groups; he considered social service to be a part of every Christian's mission.

### *Theology of the Church Under Threat: Oto Mádr and Václav Benda*

Oto Mádr and Václav Benda, priests from Prague, known through their social and political activities, although of different kind, built on the turn of 80s their own theological and philosophical systems to give a base for church activities in the existing situation. Oto Mádr, in his 1980 essay<sup>35</sup> entitled, in contrast to his previous text, "How the church does not die",<sup>36</sup> develops in detail the "theology of the church under threat," investigates aspects where activities of the state pose a threat to the church, and the ways in which the church can resist this threat. "The main program of the Gospel for this land is peace... Genuine peace is impossible without justice, and therefore the Christian must guard the law, if its observance is endangered. The weakness of good people makes free way to lawlessness. One should fight for peace and against injustice".<sup>37</sup> In Mádr's interpretation, the theology of "church under threat" transforms into the theology of the "world under threat": "The Church is the gift of God, and the product of our creativity. To such an extent that it may die because of our (in) activity... At this fateful hour the humanity becomes aware of its responsibility for the seemingly self-evident gifts of nature, air and water, now really endangered. On a spiritual level, we face a no less terrible perspective — for the first time in history there is a possibility that entire countries, if not continents will become atheistic... In today's gigantic *struggle for the soul of humanity*, which is in many respects superior to past battles, it is not at all clear that precisely this church in this corner of the world will somehow automatically stand out and survive. All Christians should come to fight, defending himself against the spirit of this world, no matter who is its father - Voltaire or Marx. But in the first place they should struggle with the spirit of their own indifference, lukewarmness — which is the most dangerous".<sup>38</sup> What means are permissible for a Christian in this battle? According to Mádr, "a perfect tool, the one recommended in the Gospel is the non-violent fight for justice. It is not necessarily just a moral gesture, in our times, one can achieve through it a real success (M. Gandhi, M. L. King, *Amnesty International*, some of the civil grassroots movements). We Christians should subsequently set against strategy of violence and lies the strategy of justice, truth and love".<sup>39</sup>

If for Oto Mádr, a Christian has to fight with the spirit of this world, for Václav Benda this spirit has a rather definite name. Czech Catholic philosopher Václav Benda was a famous activist of the Charter 77 and other groups of Prague dissent (by the way, along with Josef Zvěřina, he was one of the few Prague residents who regularly visited Slovakia<sup>40</sup>), his texts circulated in samizdat and tamizdat; in particular, he authored the idea of “parallel polis” built by people who felt independent from the totalitarian state. The subject of relationship between religion and politics permeates practically all his philosophical and essayistic legacy. After 1989, Václav Benda has founded the Czech Christian Democratic Party. Benda, perhaps, most directly reacts on the socio-political challenges and dangers faced by Catholics of contemporary Czechoslovakia: its authorities “automatically perceive every act of faith as having a political (unfortunately, in my country it always means also police) meaning”.<sup>41</sup> Václav Benda is perhaps the most radical Catholic thinker of Czechoslovakia: only “at the level of the struggle for political power”, according to his opinion, the Catholics can carry out their mission to be “salt of the earth”.<sup>42</sup>

In this struggle one should be afraid not so much state power, as his own cowardice. In the fact that “the most part of Czech Catholics is sure that already by visiting the masses and by private confession of their faith they show the courage and readiness to suffer for Christ’s work to such an extent that nobody has any right to ask from them other demonstration of their civil virtue and engagement”, is “an element of failure” and the exchange of “the Kingdom of God for certain rootedness in the world”.<sup>43</sup> For the individual salvation, of course, small good deeds are enough, even without any danger of persecution; “however, we are in a situation where the very foundations of the universal community of the Church, the *polis* in the broadest sense of the word, are under threat, when everyone willy-nilly faces a choice, what to save: his own life or the life of this community, of this so cruelly tormented body of Christ? And in front of such challenge this kind of behavior is not sufficient, and as an example to follow it can be even dangerously misleading. Because in the same way as the flight from civic responsibility into the sphere of family or friendship, which is practiced by an absolute majority of our people, it is also a retreat, maybe a little more honest: a retreat into a ghetto, a voluntary refusal from the openness and universal responsibility”.<sup>44</sup> A characteristic which Benda gives to the regime existing in Czechoslovakia since the late 1940s, is also worth quotation, even an extensive one, since here he names the enemy of every Christian by his proper name:

“For most of our Christians Communism was and remains identical with Satan and the Antichrist—and I readily agree with them. However, in

history the Communism used to have two faces: in the fifties, it was more of Lucifer (the Light-bearer), the most noble of God's angels, the spirit of delusion and deceit and eternal volatility. It was, in fact, a Manichean struggle between good and evil, when the lie with its loudness deafened the truth, the apparentness with its logic surpassed reality, the way to downfall with its simplicity—the history of salvation. And that one stood out who, when so many left and many were tortured as an example, cared for his soul and stood in the truth. On the contrary, Communism of the last decade is, rather, a well-known Nietzschean “spirit of gravity”, indifferent, gloomy, all-absorbing: power against truth, nothingness against reality, quiescence of the cycle “from the anniversary to the anniversary” against history. And in this era, rather unbearable than brutal, he will not pass the test that cares only about his own soul...<sup>45</sup> Benda subtly characterizes contemporary spirits among the faithful of Czechoslovakia, and fairly accurately describes the perspectives of Catholic resistance: “If current political evil is, first of all, a particularly oppressive burden that each citizen bears in him or her, then the only possibility is to shake off this evil, escape from under its power, and go on the road of truth. And under such circumstances, each real battle for one's own soul becomes a directly political act, even a creatively political one, because it is not simple “definition of one's boundaries” in relation to something, but also the dropping of a burden and the discovery of something new and unknown. And thus, paradoxically, in a society where mass flights into privacy and complete disregard for the scenes of the official pseudopolitics, it is possible to speak about latent politicization, about the growth of the political potential—and Christians could and should have become one of the connecting tools, through which this potential is realized and acquire a visible form”.<sup>46</sup> Thus, Václav Benda saw Catholic faithful as a real political force. It should be noted that, apparently, his views were shared by a few Catholics in Czechoslovakia, and, moreover, many Catholics, while embarking on a path of an open political protest, for example, by signing the Charter 77, were obstructed by other believers.<sup>47</sup>

### *Turning Point of the mid-1980s: Velehrad*

Here it is appropriate to say a few words about the evolution of the Catholic resistance in Czechoslovakia since the late 1970s. As František Mikloško (one of the central figures of the Catholic resistance in Slovakia) testifies, the secret bishop Ján Chryzostom Korec, who enjoyed an indisputable authority in the country, adhered to the principle: “They can take away

from us everything, but not small communities.’ It was a principle. Small communities should grow. One can take away samizdat, one can take and put to prison a journal’s editors, but small communities cannot be wiped off”.<sup>48</sup> “During the seventies... we have long lived in a kind of anonymity... Korec and Jukl, and Silvo Krčméry defended the thesis that we cannot go into politics”.<sup>49</sup> As a result, although the leading activists of the Slovak underground dared to write open letters to the authorities and pleaded for the rights of the faithful, they did not intend to make such kind of actions especially popular; in fact, they tried to keep the church affairs from the public affairs separately. Nevertheless, in the situation of public prosecutions, any independent activity truly acquired the character of political protest, as Václav Benda noted; first undoubted confirmation of this thesis became the mass pilgrimage into Moravian Velehrad in 1985, which marked 1100 anniversary of the death of St. Methodius. The celebration had an official character and had to become, according to the Czechoslovak government, a demonstration of religious freedom in Czechoslovakia. According to different estimates, the celebration was attended by up to 200 000 people, despite the fact that the authorities sought to limit access to the place of the festivity; at least half of them were the Slovaks. Official speakers were hissed off by the crowd; according to evidences, the event had an atmosphere of unparalleled freedom and genuine piety.<sup>50</sup>

Václav Benda dedicated to this event the article “What to do after Velehrad?”,<sup>51</sup> which received considerable notoriety in the Catholic underground. According to the philosopher, after Velehrad “opposition movements, churches and, eventually, every responsible citizen of this country already for several years face more and more clearly drawn... main tasks that can be characterized as primarily political”.<sup>52</sup> One of such tasks is “to influence thinking of the church majority in the sense of true catholicity, necessary component of which is... a certain “social” and “civil” overflow beyond one’s own limits (understood as a service and responsibility...) ... and contribute to the general understanding that in conditions of total oppression and persecution, such an overflow is something natural, which concerns the very foundations of faith and is the touchstone of authenticity”...<sup>53</sup> “The church not only preaches the Gospel to the believers and unbelievers, it is not only an intermediary on the path to eternal life, but it also gives people their last earthly hope. Indeed, in this state it remains the only major social force that is well organized and at the same time relatively independent of the totalitarian regime; it is the only relatively large community which is generally successful in resisting destruction and atomization”.<sup>54</sup>

It is worth mentioning that similar idea about the role of the Catholic Church as an alternative to state-imposed order was expressed by Ján Čarnogurský (like Václav Benda in the Czech lands, after 1989 he founded in Slovakia the Christian Democratic Movement): “The significance of small religious groups is emphasized by the paradoxical fact that in Slovakia they have no ideological rival, maybe except for the entropic crowd of their primitive-minded peers, interested only in consumption and not involved in any activity. No ideology, except from Christianity, has so many ardent supporters in Slovakia. And the Communists have the least of them”.<sup>55</sup> However, Ján Čarnogurský preferred not to speak too explicitly about the “openly political” function of Christianity; he knew that Slovak Catholics have perceived this rhetorics with certain caution.

### *Slovakia: the Cautious Freedom*

In comparison with the Czech lands, the situation of the Catholic Church in Slovakia had a number of specific features. Catholics here formed the majority, and Catholic religion created an important component of Slovak national identity (this was noted, for example, by Václav Benda,<sup>56</sup> but also by Slovak “Eurocommunist” from 1968 Miroslav Kusý.<sup>57</sup> The commitment towards acquiring the support of the broader public presupposed certain caution: as it was already mentioned, political protest was not a priority for the Slovak Catholic activists. In fact, already in 1977 they tried to initiate a subscription campaign in defense of religious rights and freedoms, but it failed because of the small number of signatures collected. “We realized that for such protests the time has not come yet in Slovakia. People had to mature, the underground had to gain power. We decided to continue to build small communities. They never betrayed us”.<sup>58</sup>

It is rather difficult to speak about the political theology in the Slovak context—in general, the original texts published in the Slovak Catholic samizdat were more easy-written and dealt mostly with issues of private piety. As František Mikloško, one of the founders of a first “large-circulated” Slovak samizdat Catholic journal, recalls, this journal “was focused more on presentation of information and its interpretation... it existed maybe on a more basic level, not so highly intellectual... He was made first and foremost for people, I would say, for ordinary people”.<sup>59</sup> In any case, Slovaks as well as Czechs often reprinted different international conventions on human rights, Pope John Paul II’s speeches and encyclicals on the same subject. Sometimes the idea of inseparability of Christian religion and human rights could take

not really common, but quite practical forms: for example, Slovak Catholic were advised to take part in the evening worship on the day of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.<sup>60</sup> Articles by Josef Zvěřina, Václav Benda and other Czech authors also appeared in Slovak samizdat journals. Generally, however, freedom here is more often understood as freedom from the standards of the consumer society, as freedom to be with Christ: “freedom manifests itself through the internal distancing of the worldly affairs”.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, civil courage was presented as an admirable ideal, as in an interview with the Franciscan provincial Peter Růčka, who went through jail because of his activities: “The problem is that we are waiting for freedom as if it could come from above, from the state, we are waiting that institutions solemnly allow us something that has long been rooted in our tradition. I believe that we must be free on our own, that we just need to practice something that our country supports in the treaties all around the globe and in our Constitution. This means that we must find the freedom for ourselves, to leave our internal prison. As it was in Velehrad, where members of the Franciscan Order publicly wore habits... This is not a fight for freedom, but its demonstration; this is the independence from temporal power and from the fear of her”.<sup>62</sup>

Closer to the end of the 1980s, articles in Slovak samizdat journals became increasingly radical. “Christians fight and build foundations of the better world where there will be more justice, love and peace for two thousand years already. Where they did not give up, did not surrender, they were able to establish, in accordance with the scope of their efforts, a bigger or smaller space where people could have been accepted, protected and wisely led”.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, it does not mean that Christians should lock themselves up in this “bigger or smaller space”: “God has made the world for us, so that we would build it. We are the builders of a temple which is much higher than our church. We are the workers in a vineyard which is much wider than my family, village or country... [in the distant future] all humankind on the earth will be united through the knowledge of the essence of life, God and mutual love which embraces everybody and everything. And wherever I will be at that time, I will be proudly aware that I helped to build this unity, that I had to do something with it”.<sup>64</sup> The idea of man as a helper to God in making the world a better place for living unites different Catholic thinkers of Czechoslovakia, such as this Slovak anonymous author and Felix Maria Davídek.

Logically enough, quite a lot of discussion in the line of political theology was carried on in the journal which was published by Ján Čarnogurský in the years 1988–1989 — *Bratislavské listy*. Rather political than theological orientation of its editor had an impact on the choice of its topics and authors.

Here I would like to give a longer quotation from an essay of a Slovak singer and writer, a representative of both artistic and Catholic underground Ivan Hoffman. We deal in this text with an interesting contraposition of the City of God and the city of earth, which has been overcome in the texts of Felix Maria Davídek and unnoticed in the essays of Josef Zvěřina, Oto Mádr, Václav Benda. Thus, “the realism of a Christian is a unique phenomenon nowadays. It does not presuppose an existence of an ideal world, the destruction of all forms of evil, it knows that perfect harmony and justice will never exist on earth. But even though he knows that to build an ideal society is impossible, it does not exempt him from the necessity to strive for the ideal, to fill it with his own life. Thus, the motivation of a Christian is resistant towards the world, but at the same time it can only act in the world. The paradox culminates in the understanding of the fact that although salvation cannot be earned (salvation can only be a matter of God’s grace), one still can hinder it—through one’s uselessness in the world.

Thus, a Christian does not aspire for democracy, even for the plural one—he aspires for love and kindness. At the same time he feels, of course, that in plural society it would be easier for him to make these values work than in a totalitarian dictatorship that considers the biggest danger an unselfishly loving person, and sees in Christians the political opposition which has to be neatly eliminated. <...> Christian either does not dare, or must engage in politics. Of course, there is no single answer for everybody... Only individual answer is possible, because the answer is the personal acceptance of God’s will, the readiness or reluctance to accept one’s own vocation, to earn interest from one’s talent and to get it bring good fruits, while firmly fastened in God. Not everyone is called to one and the same, but each called (including those called to the public service) is responsible for the answer he would give with his life to the voice which appealed to his conscience out of the eternity”.<sup>65</sup> Ivan Hoffman, being a layman, could not deny the necessity of secular politics, however, as a Slovak, he believed that one can serve Christ and remain aside of politics.

### *A new unity*

After Velehrad, as it was predicted by Benda, resistance groups in Czechoslovakia entered a new period of their history, which was characterized by the gradual achievement of a larger degree of cooperation between different opposition movements in the Czech Republic, as well as in Slovakia. In addition to several other mass pilgrimages, one of the most famous expres-

sions of such collaboration became the success of a petition for religious freedoms, which was written by Moravian Catholic activist Augustin Navrátil; in the first months of 1988 it has collected 600,000 signatures, half of which belonged to the Slovaks and was collected through the efforts of the Slovak underground,<sup>66</sup> of course, far not all the signatories were Roman Catholics.

In March 1988, on the day of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, another manifestation took place, at that time almost purely Slovak one, which successfully incorporated the Christian idea with political protest: for half an hour on one of Bratislava's squares people gathered with lit candles to pray silently for religious freedom in Slovakia and for revival of the Catholic church. It was organized by Slovak Catholic underground, and the amount of participants, the cruelty of police actions, as well as the detailed and timely coverage in foreign media gave it the character of a highly successful political protest.<sup>67</sup>

Something like that, although on a smaller scale took place in Prague on March 6 of the same year, when at St. Vitus' Cathedral was a pilgrimage to the relics of the blessed (at the time) Agnes of Bohemia. For the 70th anniversary of existence of Czechoslovakia (October 28 of the same 1988 year) "Declaration of the Czech and Slovak Catholics on the 70th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic" appeared in samizdat (translated by: Studio 121, 1989, pp.62-63). "Among all human rights we are particularly committed to the freedom of conscience. In accordance with the decree of the Council on religious freedom and the numerous statements of the Pope, we do not demand freedom of religion or thought only for ourselves but for everyone. Christianity demands that we respect and cooperate with people from different nations, cultures, races and ideologies. Faith teaches us also to love our country, it deepens and refines our patriotic feelings... our belonging to the Catholic Church strengthens above all our consciousness of belonging to Europe and its culture, which is inconceivable without Catholicism... We believe that the essential feature of truly Catholic universalism is the readiness to accept all positive values that have grown on another confessional ground. A necessary requirement of our faith and our patriotism towards us believers is to be responsible for our peoples, society and state and to remember that church should serve to all people..."<sup>68</sup>

In November of the next 1989 year the canonization of Blessed Agnes of Bohemia was held in Rome. Archbishop of Prague, František Cardinal Tomášek, who for a long time closely cooperated with various groups of the Czech Catholic underground, after the canonization returned into a new country. On 21 November he made public proclamation (prepared by Oto Mádr<sup>69</sup>) that contained, in particular, the following words: "We are with you, my friends that appeal for justice for everybody... I want to talk also to you,

my Catholic brothers and sisters, and to your priests. At this critical moment of our history, let's none of you will stay away. Lift up your voice again, this time along with other citizens, Czechs and Slovaks and others, believers and nonbelievers. The right to believe cannot be separated from other democratic rights. Freedom is indivisible".<sup>70</sup>

I would like to conclude this article with that which seemed to be a fulfillment of the underground political theology, which used to have in socialist Czechoslovakia quite practical meaning. It was a moment of the unity of all non-official trends and worldviews, communities and groups which did not last long. The next period of the country's history has put before its citizens and Catholics new tasks, which demanded other solutions, and a new division has replaced the short unity.

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## Notes:

1. Lenka Karfíková, Josef Kuře, Alois Kříšťan, ed., *Život se tvoří z přítomné chvíle: česká katolická teologie po druhé světové válce* (Life is created from the present moment: Czech Catholic theology after the Second World War) (Brno: CDK, 1998); Vojtěch Novotný, ed., *Česká katolická eklesiologie druhé poloviny 20. století* (Czech Catholic ecclesiology of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) (Praha: Karolinum, 2007); Vojtěch Novotný, *Teologie ve stínu: Prolegomena k dějinám české katolické teologie druhé poloviny 20. století* (Theology in the shadow: Prolegomena for the history of Czech Catholic theology of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) (Praha: Karolinum, 2007).
2. Josef Lukl Hromádka (1889-1969) was a prominent figure of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, loyal to the Communist government; he offered a theological interpretation of Marxism, he also was the chairman of pro-communist Christian Peace Conference, founded in Prague in 1957.
3. See, for example, Josef Petr Ondok, *Muklovský Vatikán* (Vatican of cons) (Brno: CDK, 2005).
4. Jiří Skoblík, "Česká eklesiologie padesátých let v teorii a praxi (Reminiscence, nikoliv reflexe)" (Czech ecclesiology of the 50s in theory and practice—Reminiscences, not reflections), in: Vojtěch Novotný, ed., *Česká katolická eklesiologie...*, 49.
5. Vojtěch Novotný, *Teologie ve stínu...*, 145-146.

6. Ján Šimulčík, *Zápas o nádej: Z kroniki tajných kňazov, 1969–1989* (Struggle for hope: From the chronicle of secret priests, 1969–1989) (Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 2000), s. 37.
7. Oto Mádr, *V zápasech za Boží věc: Vzpomínky, texty a rozhovory* (In battles for the work of God: Memoirs, texts and interviews) (Praha: Vyšehrad, 2007), 57.
8. Vojtěch Novotný, *Teologie ve stínu...*, 153.
9. Oto Mádr, *V zápasech za Boží věc...*, 57.
10. Petr Fiala, Jiří Hanuš, *Skrytá církev. Felix M. Davídek a společenství Koinótés* (The hidden church: Felix M. Davídek and community Koinótés) (Brno: CDK, 1999), 61–74.
11. Stanislav Krátký, Jan Mazanec, *K plnosti: Rozhovory Jana Mazance s dobrým bratrem a biskupem skryté církve* (To the plenitude: interviews of Jan Mazanec with good brother and bishop of the hidden church) (Brno: Cesta, 2004), 30–31.
12. Petr Fiala, Jiří Hanuš, *Skrytá církev...*, 62.
13. Ondřej Liška, *Církev v podzemí a společenství Koinótés* (The church in underground and community Koinótés) (Brno: Sursum, 1999), 73.
14. Petr Fiala, Jiří Hanuš, *Skrytá církev...*, 92.
15. Among the books which were not mentioned earlier: Franz Gansrigler, *Jeder war ein Papst. Geheimkirchen in Osteuropa* (Salzburg: Müller, 1991); Miriam Therese Winter, *Out of the Depths. The Story of Ludmila Javorova, Ordained Roman Catholic Priest* (New York: Crossroad, 2001); Erwin Koller, Hans Küng, Peter Križan, ed., *Die verratene Prophetie: Die tschechoslowakische Untergrundkirche zwischen Vatikan und Kommunismus* (Luzern: Edition Exodus, 2011).
16. Felix Maria Davídek, “Křesťanský světový názor” (Christian’s worldview), in Petr Fiala, Jiří Hanuš, *Skrytá církev...*, 228–229.
17. Felix Maria Davídek, “Teologie parusie...”, 252–253.
18. See, for example: Jaroslav Cuhra, *Československo–vatikánská jednání 1968–1989* (Czechoslovak–Vatican negotiations, 1968–1989) (Praha: ÚSD, 2001), 101.
19. “Memorandum křesťanů z Československa” (The Memorandum of Christians from Czechoslovakia), *Studie* 48 (1976): 280.
20. “Memorandum křesťanů z Československa,” 278.
21. Ibid.
22. “Mater and Magistra,” the title of John XXIII’s 1961 encyclical on the role of the Church.
23. “Memorandum křesťanů z Československa,” 279
24. Ibid.

25. Oto Mádr. "Modus moriendi církvi", *Studie* 69 (1980): 265.
26. Oto Mádr. "Modus moriendi církvi": 268.
27. Oto Mádr. "Modus moriendi církvi": 268-269.
28. Josef Zvěřina, "Odvaħa být církvi," *Studie* 63 (1979): 177-195.
29. Josef Zvěřina, "Odvaħa být církvi," 189.
30. Here Zvěřina operates with concepts from the lexicon of civil dissent—in fact, international ones. In the Czechoslovak context, the concept of "life in truth" refers to Václav Havel's essay "The power of the powerless" (1978), one, of course, should recall also the famous text by Alexander Solzhenitsyn "Live not by lies" (1974)—Solzhenitsyn's texts were well-known in Czechoslovakia.
31. Josef Zvěřina, "Odvaħa být církvi," 189-190.
32. Josef Zvěřina, "Odvaħa být církvi," 191.
33. Josef Zvěřina, "Odvaħa být církvi," 192.
34. Josef Zvěřina, "Odvaħa být církvi," 195.
35. Tomáš Machula, "Čeští dominikánští laici v kontextu Evropy" (Czech Dominican laity in the European context), *OPusculum* 2008, 7-8: 18.
36. Oto Mádr, "Jak církev neumírá," *Studie* 104-106 (1986): 93-133.
37. Oto Mádr, "Jak církev neumírá," 107-108.
38. Oto Mádr, "Jak církev neumírá," 113.
39. Oto Mádr, "Jak církev neumírá," 132.
40. See, for example, František Mikloško's testimony: František Mikloško: "Eto chudo, chto my eshe zhivy" (It is a miracle that we are still alive), *Sibirskaya katolicheskaya gazeta*, August 2010, sine pagina <http://sibcatholic.ru/2010/08/06/frantisek-mikloshko-eto-chudo-chto-my-eshhe-zhivy/>
41. Václav Benda, "Katolicismus a politika: kořeny a perspektivy dnešní situace" (Catholicism and politics: the roots and perspectives of the current situation), *Studie* 69 (1980): 211.
42. Václav Benda, "Katolicismus a politika...": 215.
43. Václav Benda, "Katolicismus a politika...": 214.
44. Václav Benda, "Katolicismus a politika...": 215.
45. Václav Benda, "Katolicismus a politika...": 215-216.
46. Václav Benda, "Katolicismus a politika...": 216.
47. Interviews with Róbert Gombík (7.2.2004), František Lízna (29.9.2005; 1.3.2006). Archive of the Center of Oral History at the Institute of Contemporary History in Prague (no signature).
48. František Mikloško: "Eto chudo, chto my eshe zhivy"...
49. Interview with František Mikloško. 22.04.2010, Bratislava. Author's archive.
50. See, for example, Róbert Letz, "Prenasledovanie kresťanov na Slovensku v rokoch 1948-1989" (Persecution of Christians in Slovakia in 1948-1989), in: *Zločiny komunizmu na Slovensku, 1948-1989*, ed. František Mikloško, Ga-

- briela Smolíková, Peter Smolík.(Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 2001): 325-326.
51. Václav Benda, "Jak dál po Velehradě?," *Rozmluvy* 6 (1986): 8-37.
  52. Václav Benda, "Jak dál po Velehradě?": 19.
  53. Václav Benda, "Jak dál po Velehradě?": 20.
  54. Ibid.
  55. KaRoL [Ján Čarnogurský], *Vydajú Vás* (They'll betray you) (Bern: MPK, 1986): 14-15.
  56. Václav Benda, "Jak dál po Velehradě?": 22.
  57. Miroslav Kusý, "Náboženská otázka" (The question of religion), *Studie* 104-106 (1986): 226-228.
  58. Rudolf Fiby, "Hugo," in *Zápas o nádej: Z kroniky tajných knázoov 1969-1989*, ed. by Ján Šimulčík (Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 2000): 77.
  59. František Mikloško: "Eto chudo, chto my eshe zhivy"...
  60. "Slovenskí katolíci k 40. výročiu Deklarácie o ľudských právach" (Slovak Catholics for the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), *Svedectvo* 2 (1989): 3.
  61. "Sloboda kresťana 3" (The freedom of a Christian 3), *Rodinné spoločenstvo* 15 (1987): 27.
  62. "Udeľme si slobodu sami (Úryvky z interview [s Petrom Rúčkom])" (Let us take the freedom ourselves: fragments from the interview), *Rodinné spoločenstvo* 6 (1986): 22.
  63. "Práca a povolanie" (Work and vocation), *Rodinné spoločenstvo* 14 (1987): 2.
  64. "Práca a povolanie": 4.
  65. Ivan Hoffman, "O účasti kresťanov na veciach verejných" (On the participation of Christians in public affairs), *Bratislavské listy* 3 (1989): 3.
  66. František Mikloško: "Eto chudo, chto my eshe zhivy"...
  67. A collection of documents concerning the demonstration was published as a samizdat edition and republished later on as: Ján Chryzostom Korec a spolupracovníci, *Bratislavský veľký piatok* (The Good Friday of Bratislava) (Bratislava: Lúč, 1994).
  68. "Prohlášení českých a slovenských katolíků k 70. výročí vzniku Československé republiky", in *Studie* 121 (1989): 62-63.
  69. *Kardinál Tomášek: Svědectví o dobrém katechetovi, bojácném biskupovi a statečném kardinálovi* (Cardinal Tomášek: Evidence on the good catechist, wary bishop and brave cardinal), ed. Jan Hartmann, Bohumil Svoboda, Václav Vaško (Praha: Zvon, 1994): 143.
  70. "Prohlášení Otce kardinála Františka Tomáška všemu lidu Československa" (The appeal of Father Cardinal František Tomášek to the all people of Czechoslovakia), *Studie* 126 (1989): 407.