
P O V Z E T K I

Gašper Mithans

Politizacija kulturnega polja na Slovenskem v obdobju prve Jugoslavije: katoliška in marksistična percepcija avtorske svobode

V članku je predstavljena politizacija književnosti in filmografije na Slovenskem v času Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije s poudarkom na analizi kulturnih revij in sporih okoli avtonomije avtorjev in urednikov. Ti konflikti so v 30. letih 20. stoletja skoraj po istem modelu povzročili delitve in/ali večja nesoglasja med vsemi tremi večjimi političnimi tabori in v njih: katoliškem, liberalnem in marksističnem. Med notranjimi obračuni z vključitvijo širše javnosti izstopa prelom med katoliško desnico in levico prav na kulturnem polju ob objavi Kocbekove razprave o španski državljanški vojni v *Domu in svetu*.

S strani večine kulturnikov podcenjena filmografija se je tudi na Slovenskem – čeprav s precejšnjim zamikom v primerjavi z drugimi evropskimi narodi – pred in med drugo svetovno vojno (ter po njej) uporabila kot propagandno sredstvo političnega katolicizma in tudi marksistov oziroma v Osvobodilni fronti.

Ključne besede: katoliški tabor, marksisti, Kraljevina Jugoslavija, kulturno polje, avtorska svoboda, književnost, filmografija.

Mateja Režek

Iskanje poti k dialogu med krščanstvom in marksizmom v socialistični Sloveniji v prvem povojnem desetletju

Članek obravnava poskuse dialoga med krščanstvom in marksizmom v socialistični Sloveniji v prvem desetletju po drugi svetovni vojni, ko so bili odnosi med državo in Katoliško cerkvijo najbolj zaostreni in je bilo javno delovanje katoliških intelektualcev skoraj onemogočeno. Osredinja se predvsem na prosocialistično usmerjene duhovnike, zbrane v Cirilmетодijskem društvu katoliških duhovnikov in okoli revije *Nova pot*, takrat edine slovenske revije, ki je objavljala teološke članke in v kateri so lahko katoliški intelektualci predstavljali svoja stališča. Analiza njihovih razmišljjanj ponuja vpogled ne le v srečanje med največjo evropsko religijo in velikim sekularnim narativom 20. stoletja, temveč tudi v konkretno politične,

ideološke in intelektualne dinamike v postrevolucionarni Sloveniji, ki se kažejo v veliko bolj kompleksni in protislovni podobi, kot je veljalo doslej.

Eden najprodornejših piscev v *Novi poti* je bil teolog in filozof Janez Janžekovič, ki je v prvi polovici petdesetih let objavil serijo člankov, s katerimi je poskušal spodbuditi razpravo o odnosu med državo in Katoliško cerkvijo ter iskal možnosti za dialog med krščanstvom in marksizmom s prepoznavanjem skupnih točk med etikama, v katerih se vladajoča ideologija in krščanstvo ne bi samo srečala, ampak tudi sodelovala. Janžekovič je zagovarjal socializem, vendar je zavračal njeovo udejanjanje na znanstveni podlagi dialektičnega materializma, saj je menil, da vsaka ideologija z nekaj ekstrapolacije prehaja v vero in da nobena ni ekskluzivno znanstvena. V člankih je načenjal tudi aktualna vprašanja odnosa med državo in Katoliško cerkvijo. Zavzemal se je za brezpogojni dialog in pozival k ureditvi medsebojnih odnosov, pri čemer je bil kritičen tako do nepopustljivosti cerkvenih kot državnih oblasti.

Maloštevilna, toda intelektualno propulzivna skupina katoliških intelektualcev, ki so zavračali cerkveno dikcijo o nezdružljivosti krščanstva in socializma, je predstavljala izviv in grožnjo ne samo uradni doktrini Katoliške cerkve, temveč tudi komunistični oblasti. Toda prosocialistično usmerjeni katoliški intelektualci so bili dejansko brez moči in brez vsakega institucionalnega zaledja: cerkvene oblasti so njihovo spogledovanje s socializmom in poskuse iskanja dialoga z marksizmom zavračale, vladajoči režim pa jih je namerno spregledal in preslišal, saj bi uresničitev političnih potencialov krščanskega socializma ogrozila ideološko in politično hegemonijo komunistov. Soočeni s pričakovanji socializmu naklonjenih katoliških intelektualcev so se politični voditelji še bolj utrdili v svojih rigidnih stališčih ter potisnili možnosti za dialog med marksisti in kristjani za skoraj dve desetletji v prihodnost.

Ključne besede: marksizem, krščanstvo, Cirilmетодиско društvo (CMD), Nova pot, Janez Janžekovič.

Anja Zalta

Poudarki dialoga med kristjani in marksisti na Slovenskem v 80. letih 20. stoletja

Prispevek izpostavi (nekatere) poudarke dialoga med t. i. marksisti in katoličani v 80. letih 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Osrednja os razprave se vrti okoli (razumevanja) metode historičnega materializma in naglaševanja marksizma kot svetovnega nazora. Na podlagi predstavitev zgodovinskega ozadja, predvsem odnosa Cerkve in papeških stališč do socializma in posledično do marksizma in komunizma,

ter vprašanja rekatolizacije, se prispevek posveti teološkim odzivom na historični materializem. Izhajajoč iz konteksta protikomunistične restavracije ostaja posebej problematična retorika »kulturnega boja« kot spopada med dvema svetovnima nazoroma, ki posledično prinaša in utrujuje ideje, da gre pri marksizmu in (katoliški) religioznosti prav za takšen spopad. Članek problematizira tovrstne pozicije, hkrati pa pokaže na pomen vpeljave metode historičnega materializma, ki jo je (do neke mere) posvojila socialistična teologija mariborskega pomožnega škofa Vekoslava Grmiča in njegovega kroga.

Ključne besede: marksizem, katolicizem na Slovenskem, socialistična teologija, Vekoslav Grmič, historični materializem.

Igor Jurekovič
Gibanje teologije osvoboditve: geneza, razcvet in zaton

Zametki latinskoameriške teologije osvoboditve kot družbenega gibanja segajo v 50. leta minulega stoletja. Gibanje je nato počasi rastlo do svojega vrhunca v začetku 70. let 20. stoletja. Sledec relacijski sociologiji Pierra Bourdieuja, trdimo, da so formaciji gibanja botrovali tako objektivno-strukturni družbeni pogoji kakor tudi primerna percepcija družbenih akterjev. Med ključnimi družbenimi pogoji, na katere se osredotoča prispevek, so industrializacija Latinske Amerike, institucionalna kriza latinskoameriške RKC, drugi vatikanski koncil, nastajajoča intelektualna neodvisnost celine ter izoblikovanje v Evropi in ZDA izobraženih teologov osvoboditve. Razcvet gibanja v začetku 70. let je sledila odločna sprva notranja, nato pa tudi vatikanska konservativna restavracija, ki je v dobrem desetletju uspela uspešno zatreti gibanje teologije osvoboditve. Ob upoštevanju končne predstavitve zatona teologije osvoboditve se kot nastavek za nadaljnje raziskovanje ponudi priljubljenost binkoštnega protestantizma, gibanja, ki se opazno povečuje v zadnjih 30 letih, sočasno s pojavom neoliberalnih strukturnih reform na globalnem jugu.

Ključne besede: teologija osvoboditve, gibanje, Pierre Bourdieu, Latinska Amerika, Rimskokatoliška cerkev.

Nikola Milosavić

Karizmatična oblast in civilna religija v Jugoslaviji – »titoizem«

Minilo je natančno 40 let od smrti jugoslovanskega predsednika Josipa Broza Tita. Številni teoretički spomina pravijo, da v tem času nastopa »mrzlo« spominjanje, vendar smo priča temu, da v Titovem primeru ta trditev ne drži, saj je spominjanje nanj v postjugoslovenskih družbah še vedno »vroče« oziroma aktualno. Povezava karizmatičnega vladanja, sekularizacije in lokalne zgodovine nam je odprla popolnoma novo delovišče v razumevanju postjugoslovenskih humanističnih znanosti. Zato bom preveril, kakšna sta način in pomen, ki ju ima titoizem v kolektivnem spominjanju postjugoslovenskih družb.

Ključne besede: Tito, karizma, revisionizem, Jugoslavija, civilna religija, titoizem.

Igor Škamperle

Krščanstvo in marksizem: bližina in razlike

Članek pokaže bližino krščanstva in marksizma, ki se izraža v zavzemanju za svobodnega človeka in pravično družbo. Razlikujeta pa se pri pojmovanju človeške osebe in v razumevanju končne destinacije človeka, ki v krščanstvu ostaja odprta ter pomeni prestop v večno božjo ljubezen in poveličanje, za marksizem pa je ta vizija immanentna, omejena na predmetni svet in pravično družbo. Oba nazora prihajata v konflikt, ker nastopata kot vera, pri čemer želi krščanstvo spremeniti predvsem človeka, marksizem pa ves svet.

Ključne besede: marksizem, krščanstvo, lažna zavest, religija, eschatologija, revolucija, družba, oseba.

Ignac Navernik

Prelom logike božjega profita v perspektivi nespodobne teologije

Marcella María Althaus-Reid opredeli svoj teološki diskurz kot kritiko teologij osvoboditve s primesmi queerovske teologije. Očita jim vzpostavitev uniformirane novega razreda ubogih, ki so jih tudi te prikrajšale za lastno resničnost, saj so bile preveč pod vplivom zahodnjaške oz. totalitarne, T-teologije. Koncept dostenosti je pomemben za družbe Južne Amerike in tradicionalna teologija ga pomaga

ohranjati. Da bi prišlo do resnične osvoboditve, jo je treba postaviti v resničnost ljudi, ki je z vidika dostojnosti nedostojna: skrajna revščina je tesno povezana s spolnostjo, saj so telesa edino, kar revni še posedujejo. V krščanski teologiji, zlasti pa duhovnosti, je zelo prisoten vidik božjega profita: načelo, da Bog v razmerju do človeka ne sme biti v imaginarni izgubi. Gre za neke vrste odplačni odnos. Ta je lepo viden v pripovedi o Abrahamovem pogajanju z Bogom, da bi prizanesel Sodomi in Gomori. Nasproti tej pripovedi so postavljene tri podobe iz Jezusovega življenja, ki so transgresije ustaljene spodobnosti: učenci smukajo klasje, kjer gre za vprašanje prekoračitve sobotnega počitka, Jezusov pogovor s Samarijanko, kjer Jezus prekorači ustaljeni red medosebnih odnosov na spolni in religiozni ravni, ter križanje in vstajenje, ki pomenita prelom na bivanjski ravni. Če je profit eden glavnih značilnosti patriarhalno-heteronormativne konstrukcije družbe, potem pomeni Božje popolno samodarovanje v Jezusu dokončen prelom z logiko božjega profita. To je osvobajajoče za človeka in za podobo Boga. Nespodobnost je tako vpisana v samo evangelijsko sporočilo.

Ključne besede: nespodobna teologija, teologija osvoboditve, božji profit, kenoza, Abraham, Samarijanka.

A B S T R A C T S

Gašper Mithans

Politicization of the Cultural Field in Slovenia during the Time of the First Yugoslavia: Catholic and Marxist Perceptions of Artistic Autonomy

The article addresses the issue of the politicization of literature and filmography in the Slovenian part of the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia, focusing on the analysis of cultural journals and disputes over the autonomy of authors and editors. These conflicts in the 1930s, following almost the same pattern, led to divisions and major disagreements between and in all three major political camps: Catholic, Liberal, and Marxist. A striking example of internal conflict would be the dissent between the Catholic Right and the Catholic Left precisely in the cultural field with the publication of Edvard Kocbek's treatise on the Spanish Civil War in the journal *Dom in svet*. The general public became involved in the heated debate.

Filmography, although underrated by most cultural figures, was used in Slovenia – albeit with a considerable lag compared to other European nations – before, during, and after World War II as a propaganda tool of the agents of political Catholicism and the Marxists (including the Liberation Front) alike.

Keywords: political Catholicism, Marxists, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, cultural field, artistic autonomy, literature, filmography.

Mateja Režek

Searching for a Path to Dialogue between Christianity and Marxism in Socialist Slovenia in the First Post-War Decade

The article deals with the attempts at a dialogue between Christianity and Marxism in socialist Slovenia in the first decade after the Second World War, when the relations between the state and the Catholic Church were most strained and when the public activities of the Catholic intellectuals were almost impossible. It focuses mainly on the pro-socialist priests gathered in the Cyril-Methodius Society and around the magazine *Nova pot* [New Path], the only Slovenian magazine at the time that published theological articles and in which Catholic intellectuals were able to present their views. The analysis of their views provides an insight not only into the encounter between this major European

religion and the grand secular narrative of the 20th century, but also into concrete political, ideological and intellectual dynamics of post-revolutionary Slovenia, which reveal a much more complex and contradictory image than hitherto.

One of the most productive contributors to the magazine *Nova pot* was the theologian and philosopher Janez Janžekovič. In the first half of the 1950s, he published a series of articles in which he searched for a dialogue between Christianity and Marxism by detecting a common point between the two in ethics, where the ruling ideology and Christianity would not only meet but even cooperate. Janžekovič defended socialism but rejected its realization on the scientific basis of dialectical materialism, as he believed that any ideology with some extrapolation devolves into a religion and that none is exclusively scientific. In his articles, he also raised issues regarding the relationship between church and state. He promoted unconditional dialogue and called for a regulation of the relationship between church and state, criticising the intransigency of both church and state authorities.

A small, yet intellectually propulsive group of Catholic intellectuals, who rejected the Catholic Church's stance regarding the incompatibility of Christianity and Socialism posed a challenge and threat not only to the official doctrine of the Catholic Church but also to the communist authorities. However, these pro-socialist Catholic intellectuals were virtually powerless and without any institutional background: on the one hand the church authorities rejected their flirtation with socialism and the attempts to seek a dialogue with Marxism, and on the other the ruling regime deliberately overlooked them, as the realization of the political potentials of Christian socialism could threaten the ideological and political hegemony of the Communists. Faced with the expectations of socialist oriented Catholic intellectuals, the ruling establishment entrenched even more in its rigid views and delayed the possibility of a dialogue between Marxists and Christians for almost two decades into the future.

Keywords: Marxism, Christianity, Cyril-Methodius Society, *Nova pot* magazine, Janez Janžekovič.

Anja Zalta

Emphasis of the dialogue between Christians and Marxists in Slovenia in the 1980s

The paper presents (some) highlights of the dialogue between so-called Marxists and Catholics in the 1980s in Slovenia. The central axis of the debate revolves around (understanding) the method of historical materialism and emphasizing Marxism as

a worldview. The paper focuses on theological responses to historical materialism on the basis of presentations of the historical background, especially the attitude of the Church and papal positions towards socialism and consequently towards Marxism and communism, as well as the issue of re-Catholicization. Proceeding from the context of anti-communist restoration, the rhetoric of the “cultural struggle” as a conflict between two worldviews remains particularly problematic, which consequently brings and consolidates the idea that Marxism and (Catholic) religiosity are in a kind of a conflict. The article problematizes such positions, and at the same time shows the importance of the introduction of historical materialism as a method adopted (to some extent) by the socialist theology of the Auxiliary Bishop of Maribor Vekoslav Grmič and his circle.

Keywords: *Marxism, Catholicism in Slovenia, socialist theology, Vekoslav Grmič, historical materialism.*

Igor Jurekovič

Liberation Theology Movement: Genesis, Blossoming and Downfall

The formation of the Latin American liberation theology as a movement begun in the 50s and gradually gained momentum up to its peak in the early 70s of the 20th century. In accordance with Pierre Bourdieu's sociology, the article claims that the formation of the movement was aided by objective, structural social conditions as well as the corresponding perception of social actors. The key social conditions that the article focuses on are Latin American industrialization, an institutional crisis in the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America, the Second Vatican Council, an emerging intellectual independence of the continent and the formation of well-educated theologians of liberation. The blossoming of the movement was followed by an internal then a Vatican conservative restoration, which managed to curtail the movement in ten years' time. In light of the concluding discussion of liberation theology's downfall, the article suggests further research on Pentecostalism, which has grown in popularity in the last forty years, coinciding with the implementation of neoliberal structural reforms in the Global South.

Keywords: *liberation theology, movement, Pierre Bourdieu, Latin America, Roman Catholic Church.*

Nikola Milosavić

Charismatic Power and Civil Religion in Yugoslavia – “Titoism”

40 years have passed since the death of the Yugoslavian president Josip Broz Tito. Many experts in the field of the “theory of memories” claim that, over time, the memory of Tito has grown “cold”. However, given the use of the memory of Tito in the public discourse of the post-Yugoslavian societies, it seems a case could be made that the memory is far from cold.

The connection between charismatic leadership, secularization, and local history has given us a new field of study in the post-Yugoslavian humanities. The extent and meaning of Titoism as a facet of memory will be examined in post-Yugoslavian societies.

Keywords: *Tito, charisma, revisionism, Yugoslavia, civil religion, Titoism.*

Igor Škamperle

Christianity and Marxism: Affinities and Differences

The article illustrates the concurrences of Christianity and Marxism, expressed in the advocacy of a free man and a just society; and where the two depart: in the conception of the human person and in the understanding of the final destination of a man who remains open in Christianity and thus transfers to eternal love of God. For Marxism, this vision is immanent, confined to the subject world and a just society. The two views come into conflict because both act as religions; and Christianity is primarily about human beings, and Marxism inculcates the whole world.

Keywords: *Marxism, Christianity, false consciousness, religion, eschatology, revolution, society, person.*

Ignac Navernik

A break with the logic of God's profit in the perspective of indecent theology

Marcella María Althaus-Reid defines her theological discourse as a critique of liberation theologies, with an admixture of queer theology. She accuses liberation theologies of establishing a new uniform class of the poor, who have also been de-

prived of their own reality as liberation theologies were too influenced by western or totalitarian T-theology. The concept of decency is important to South American societies and traditional theology helps to maintain it. In order for true liberation to take place, it must be embedded in the reality of people which in these terms is indecent in that extreme poverty is closely related to sexuality as bodies are the only thing that the poor still possess. There is an aspect that is very present in contemporary Christian theology, especially spirituality: that of God's profit, i.e., the principle that the total balance of the God/man relationship must be in God's surplus. It is kind of a transactional relationship that leans toward analogous to bonded labour, which is well seen in the story of Abraham's bargain with God to spare Sodom and Gomorrah. As opposed to this narrative, there are three images from the life of Jesus which are transgressions of established decency: disciples plucking ears of wheat, thus violating the Sabbath; Jesus' conversation with the Samaritan woman, where Jesus transcends the established order of interpersonal relationships at the level of gender and religion; and the crucifixion and resurrection, which means a disruption on the existential level. If a profit is one of the main characteristics of the patriarchal-heteronormative construction of society, then God's complete self-donation in Jesus suggests a final break with the logic of God's profit. That is liberating for man as it is for the image of God. Indecency is thus inscribed into the Gospel message itself.

Keywords: indecent theology, liberation theology, God's profit, Abraham, Samaritan woman, kenosis.