

Viktor Novak

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CRIMEN



Dva izostavljena poglavlja
Two omitted chapters
from the book

002

Viktor Novak

ECCLESIA MILITANS AT WAR WITH
THE IDEOLOGY OF TYRCH
AND
LIBELLUS ACCUSATIONS

—•—
Two omitted chapters from the book
MAGNUM CRIMEN by Viktor Novak

—•—
Edited by VASILJE KRESTIĆ
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2005

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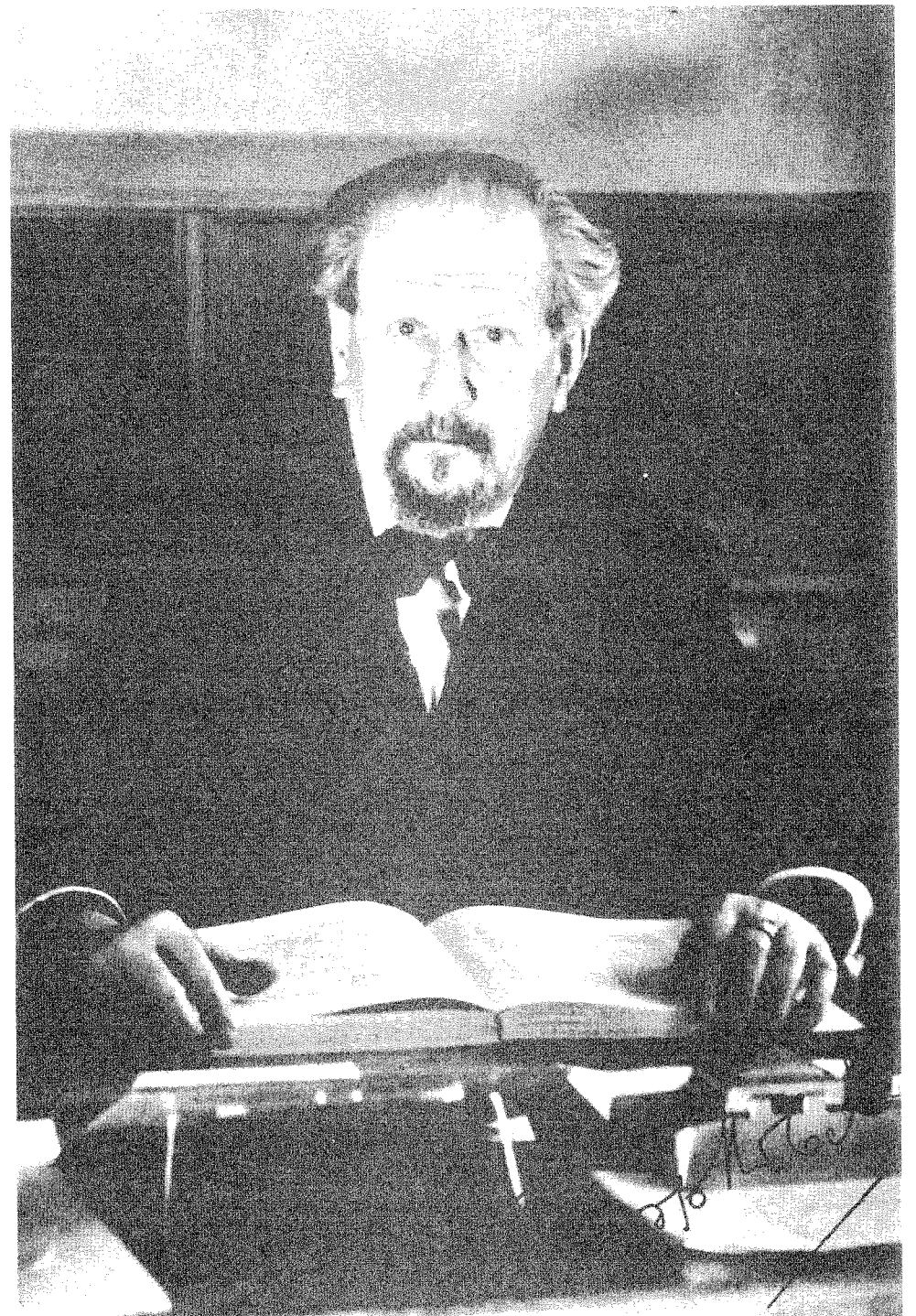
Viktor Novak

ECCLESIA MILITANS RATUJE
S TYRŠEVOM IDEOLOGIJOM
I
LIBELLUS ACCUSATIONS

—•—
Dva izostavljena poglavlja iz knjige
Magnum crimen Viktora Novaka

—•—
Priredio VASILJE KRESTIĆ
Prevod na engleski Ileana Ćosić

2005



Viktor Novak

PREFACE

Viktor Novak's manuscripts are stored in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade (sign. no. 14.474). In the files containing the written material regarding his book *MAGNUM CRIMEN* there are also sheets of two chapters not published in the final version of the book. One of these chapters, number XIV, entitled *ECCLESIA MILITANS AT WAR WITH THE IDEOLOGY OF TYRCH*, is printed on 25 sheets and the other, number XV, *LIBELLUS ACCUSATIONIS* is printed on 4 sheets. Professor Novak has corrected all the errors in these sheets with his own hand. The shape and dimension of the letters are the same as those in the book *MAGNUM CRIMEN* from which they were omitted at the very last moment.

Those who know that during the process of writing *MAGNUM CRIMEN* Viktor Novak was under the pressure of censorship and those who could witness about that are probably no longer among the living. His close friends and associates were familiar with that fact and were not silent about it. Sima Simitch, a respectful publicist and author of several outstanding books on the ustashi movement and Roman Catholic clericalism, told me that Viktor Novak was compelled to omit the chapter on the Sokol Movement under the pressure of Maks Batche, a high official of OZNA (Police in Tito's Yugoslavia) from Croatia who was an extended hand of Vladimir Bakaritch, the supreme political authority in Croatia. This chapter had to be omitted because it completely unmasks the top of the Roman Catholic church revealing that it was anti-Yugoslav, ultra clerical and pro fascist. The same applies to the chapter *LIBELLUS ACCUSATIONIS*, actually a pro memoria don Frano Ivanishevitsh, a great and devoted supporter of Yugoslavism, addressed to Archbishop Stepinec.

The editors of the second edition of *MAGNUM CRIMEN* were aware of the fact that some chapters had been omitted in the first edition under the pressure of the Croatian political top but, unfortunately, they simply could not find the omitted chapters in over one hundred big files of randomly stored manuscripts Viktor Novak left as his heritage. Since these chapters, previously omitted for political reasons, have been discovered, we think that they should be published now. With them *MAGNUM CRIMEN* will be finally completed. The public will be in a position to get acquainted with their

PREDGOVOR

U rukopisnoj zaostavštini akademika Viktora Novaka, koja se čuva u Arhivu SANU u Beogradu (sign. br. 14.474), u materijalima koji se tiču njegove knjige *Magnum crimen*, nalaze se šifovi dva poglavlja kojih nema u konačnoj verziji pomenute knjige. Jedno poglavlje nosi naslov *Ecclesia militans ratuje s Tyrševom ideologijom*, a drugo *Libellus accusationis*. Prvo poglavlje označeno je brojem XIV a drugo brojem XV. *Ecclesia militans* ima ukupno 25 šifova a *Libellus accusationis* 4 šifa. Šifovi su korektorski ispravljani rukom profesora Novaka. Tipovi slova i dimenzije sloga u svemu odgovaraju knjizi *Magnum crimen*. Nikakve sumnje nema da su ovo odeljci knjige *Magnum crimen*, koji su iz nje u poslednjem trenutku izostavljeni.

Danas verovatno i nema onih ljudi koji znaju da je *Magnum crimen* Viktora Novaka u samom procesu nastajanja doživljavao cenzuru. Novakovi bliski prijatelji i saradnici to su znali i o tome nisu ćutali. Ugledni publicista Sima Simić, pisac nekoliko poznatih knjiga koje se tiču ustaštva i rimokatoličkog klerikalizma, pričao mi je da je Novak bio prinuđen da izostavi poglavlje o sokolskom pokretu pod pritiskom tadašnjeg visokog funkcionera OZN-e iz Hrvatske Maksa Baće, iza kojeg je svojim političkim autoritetom stajao Vladimir Bakarić. Pošto je tim tekstom Novak razobličio vrh rimokatoličke crkve i pokazao koliko je bio antijugoslovenski, antislovenski, ultraklerikalan i profašistički, morao je biti izostavljen. Sada znamo da se to, iz istih razloga, desilo i sa odeljkom knjige *Libellus accusationis*, u kojem je reč o promemoriji upućenoj 1934. godine nadbiskupu Stepincu od strane don Frana Ivaniševića, velikog i iskrenog Jugoslovena.

Kada je pripremano drugo izdanje *Magnum crimen*-a znalo se da su neki delovi Novakovog rada, pod pritiskom političkog vrha Hrvatske, bili izostavljeni. Međutim, priređivači drugog izdanja te knjige tada nisu imali mogućnosti da dođu do izostavljenih poglavlja, jer preobimna Novakova rukopisna zaostavština, koja ima više od stotinu arhivskih kutija, ni najgrublje nije bila sređena. Sada, kada smo došli do tih poglavlja, koja su iz političkih razloga bila izostavljena, smatramo da zaslužuju da budu objavljena. Njima će se *Magnum crimen*, konačno, kompletirati. Javnost će biti upoznata sa sadržajem tih izostavljenih poglavlja a nauka obogaćena novim sazna-

content and science enriched with a new knowledge about the attitude of the Croatian Roman Catholic Episcopate towards Yugoslavia and the Yugoslavs, towards the Sokol Movement and the reasons why it (the Episcopate) was so vehemently hostile to it.

The chapter ECCLESIA MILITANS AT WAR WITH THE IDEOLOGY OF TYRCH has been found among the manuscripts of Viktor Novak type written. The difference between this type written text and the text on the sheets is negligible. Only some words are Croatized and some minor editing correction made. Since Novak has with his own hand corrected the already printed text we deem that he has thus authorized it. This is the reason why we decided to publish the thus latest version printed on the sheets and omitted from the book MAGNUM CRIMEN.

Viktor Novak's texts we are publishing are identical with the texts on the sheets. Nothing has been changed. Only some printing errors have been corrected.

We would like to emphasize that remark no. 29 in the text of ECCLESIA MILITANS could not be found either in the type written text or in the text printed on the sheets. Remarks no. 93 and 103 refer to chapter XVI of MAGNUM CRIMEN entitled ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME – NDH (Independent State of Croatia) – AN OLD AND LONG COVETED DREAM. Due to the omission of chapters XIV and XV all chapters in the book have been renumbered and some of their titles changed. BLOODY HARVEST was the over title of the chapter entitled NDH-AN OLD AND LONG COVETED DREAM which was chapter XVIII on the sheets.

njima o odnosu hrvatskog rimokatoličkog episkopata prema Jugoslaviji i Jugoslovenima, kao i prema sokolskom pokretu i razlozima zbog kojih mu se odlučno suprotstavio.

U zaostavštini Viktora Novaka sačuvan je i pisačom mašinom prekucan tekst *Ecclesia militans ratuje s Tyrševom ideologijom*. Razlika između njega i teksta odštampanog na šifovima je neznatna. Ona je lektorske prirode i, bezmalo, svodi se na hrvatizovanje Novakovog jezika. Kako je Novak svojom rukom obavio korekturu već odštampanih tekstova, smatramo da ih je time i autorizovao. Zbog toga smo se i odlučili da šampamo posljednje verzije sa šifovima, koje su izostavljene iz knjige *Magnum crimen*.

Tekstovi Viktora Novaka koje objavljujemo u svemu su isti kao oni sa šifova. U njima ništa nije menjano. Ispravljene su samo poneke sitne štamparske pogreške.

Dužni smo da kažemo da u tekstu *Ecclesia militans* napomene br. 29 nema ni u rukopisu prekucanom pisačom mašinom, niti u tekstu odštampanom na šifovima. Napomene pod br. 93 i 103 odnose se na poglavlje koje u knjizi *Magnum crimen* nosi br. XVI, s naslovom *Zanosni doček*. – NDH – „*Davno sanjani i željkovani ideal*“. Izostavljanjem XIV i XV poglavlja došlo je do prenumeracije odeljaka knjige i do izvesnih promena u njihovim naslovima. *Krvava žetva* bio je nadnaslov ispod poglavlja naslovljenog s NDH – „*Davno sanjani i željkovani ideal*“. To poglavlje odštampano u šifovima nosilo je br. XVIII.

XIV ECCLESIA MILITANS AT WAR WITH TYRSH AND HIS IDEOLOGY

The first SOKOL (FALCON) Society was founded in Prague in 1862, soon after the fall of Bach's absolutism and the failure of the policy of national alienation and assimilation of non-German ethnic groups, practiced in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy according to elaborate plans. The ideological founding fathers of this new organization were Jindřich Fügner and Dr. Miroslav Tyrš. This was one of the many organizations founded in Bohemia according to the same pattern within the of national renaissance drive. Their aim was to revive and enhance national awareness and promote the mental and physical health of Czech people through physical and moral education. The slogan of the Sokols LET US GET STRONGER implied not only physical strength and stamina, but also vigor and toughness of character as spiritual assets, moral awareness, love for the native country, love for freedom and independence. MENS SANA IN CORPORE SANO, a healthy mind in a healthy body, was the slogan adopted in the XIX-th century in the aim of strengthening the ideals of the nationally awakened nation, within the Slavic Renaissance as a much broader movement. In 1871, on the eve of the Tenth Anniversary of the Sokols, Tyrš spelled out the fundamental aims of the whole movement:

„Our first and primary tasks is to safeguard the vitality of our people, the kind of vitality that secures their survival and prevents their extinction, help promote their physical, mental and moral health and thus enable them to successfully cope with serious difficulties, including various calamities such as aggression and backwardness, the worst crime of all inflicted on a nation.“¹

The Sokol Movement very quickly emerged in other Slavic countries. In Ljubljana the Sokol Society was founded in 1863 under the title SOUTHERN SOKOL. The Austrian authorities dissolved it in 1867, but it reemerged the following year, in 1868 under a slightly altered title: THE SOKOL

XIV ECCLESIA MILITANS RATUJE S TYRŠEVOM IDEOLOGIJO

Prvo Sokolsko društvo osnovano je u Pragu 1862. Bilo je to ubrzo poslije sloma Bachovog apsolutizma i politike odnarođavanja, koju je austrijski sistem sa planom izvodio nad nenjemačkim narodnostima Habsburgova carstva. Osnivači ideolozi ove nove narodne ustanove bili su Jindřich Fügner i dr. Miroslav Tyrš. Ovo društvo, kao i druga, koja su se po njegovu uzoru stala osnivati po Češkoj, postala su sastavnim dijelom općeg narodnog preporoda. Cilj je društvu bio podizanje nacionalne svijesti, oplemenjivanja duševne i fizičke snage češkog naroda, putem fizičkog i moralnog uzgoja. Sokolska deviza: Jačajmo se! značila je ne samo za tijelo, nego je obuhvatila i duh, moral, svijest, ljubav ka domovini, ka slobodi i nezavisnosti. Zdrav duh u zdravom tijelu imao je da očeliči ideale koje je probuđena nacija u XIX. stoljeću, u vrijeme slovenske renesanse, postavila u prvi plan svojih nastojanja. Pred prvu desetogodišnjicu postojanja već velikog broja društava, Tyrš je 1871. podvukao osnovnu misao zadatka Sokolstva:

„Naš prvi i opći zadatak je da smo prije nego itko drugi pozvani da očuvamo svoj narod u onoj svestranoj živahnosti koja ne da narodima da izumru, u ovoj stalnoj i svježoj snazi, u onom tjelesnom, duševnom i moralnome zdravlju koje ne da da se pojavi bilo kakva propast, ni zastoje, pa ni nazadnjaštvo, najgori smrtni zločin, koji može da se vrši nad narodima.“¹

Sokolstvo se vrlo brzo pojavilo i u drugim slavenskim zemljama. Već slijedeće godine 1863. osniva se prvo Sokolsko društvo u Ljubljani kao Južni Sokol. Austrijske vlasti raspustile su to društvo 1867., a onda se javlja ponovno 1868. kao gimnastičko društvo Sokol u Ljubljani. Prvi sokolski slet slovenskih sokolskih društava bio je održan 1888. na koji su došli i osnivači sokolstva Česi. U duhu Tyrševih gimnastičkih načela razradio je sokolsku ideju u Sloveniji dr. Viktor Murnik devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća. U Zagrebu

¹ „ALL SOKOL RALLY IN PRAGUE IN 1938“. (Svesokolski slet u Pragu) Beograd 1.

¹ Svesokolski slet u Pragu 1938. Beograd, 1.

GYMNASTIC SOCIETY IN LJUBLJANA. The FIRST RALLY OF SLAVIC SOKOL SOCIETIES took place in 1888, with the participation of the Czechs, as founders of the Movement. In the 90's of the XIX-th century Dr. Viktor Murnik developed in Slovenia the idea of the Sokol Movement, in the spirit of Tyrsh, his ideology and his principles in gymnastics. In Zagreb the first Sokol Society was founded in 1874. In Serbia the Sokol Movement was reorganized in 1882. In Croatia and Slovenia the first Sokol Alliances were founded at the beginning of the XX-th century. The Sokol Rallies greatly helped develop solidarity among the South Slavs and with other Slavs and nationalities. ALL SOKOL RALLIES developed into prominent public manifestations of Slavic mutuality. In 1911 the All Sokol Rally in Zagreb brought together the Sokols from: Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Poland and Russia. Evidently, the Sokol Movement in the Slavic countries greatly contributed to the promotion of the idea of Slavic mutuality and offered to Slavic people the opportunity to get to know better one another.

In view of the nature of the principles they promote and the importance of their objectives it is understandable why the Bishop of Djakovo Strossmayer liked the Sokol Movement from its very foundation and was giving it not only his love and attention, but also his great support. Strossmayer fully approved the tasks of the Slavic, and within that framework the Croatian Sokol Movement, and generously supported the Yugoslav and Czech Sokols. When the Sokols in Istria decided to build their Center (called HOME) he was the first to send his blessing, his contribution and a very significant letter in which he emphasized the patriotic task the Croatian Sokols are expected to fulfill in the endangered Istria.² On their part the Sokols reciprocated the Bishop's favorable attitude towards them by expressing love and respect for him, the great supporter of the idea of brotherhood among all South Slavs. In his lifetime Strossmayer epitomized the lofty ideals of the Sokol Movement. Later, his memory was cherished as a national and moral lodestar. Actually, Strossmayer's first encounter with the Sokols took place in Prague, only a year after the foundation of the Movement, at the end of October 1863. On that occasion the Bishop also met its leaders: Fügner and Tyrsh. Strossmayer was one of the first honorary members of the Czech Sokol. At the celebration of Strossmayer's Jubilee in Djakovo, in 1888, the Slovenian and Croatian Sokols were also present. At the celebration of the second Jubilee in 1898, in Djakovo, Dr. Lazar Tzar (Car), on behalf of the Croatian Sokols, in his speech expressed some views and ideas which every Catholic Bishop would

je osnovano prvo sokolsko društvo 1874. U Srbiji je reorganizirano Sokolstvo 1882. U početku XX. stoljeća osnivaju se i prvi sokolski savezi u Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji. Sokolski sletovi pomažu razvijanje svijesti i solidarnosti između južnoslavenskih i ostalih naroda. Svesokolski sletovi postajali su vidne manifestacije slavenske uzajamnosti. 1911. bio je svesokolski slet u Zagrebu na kome su se uz Hrvate našli Slovenci, Srbi, Bugari, Česi, Poljaci i Rusi. Nema sumnje da je Sokolstvo u slovenskim zemljama učinilo ogromno mnogo u propagiranju ideje slavenske uzajamnosti i međusobnog upoznavanja.

Sasvim je shvatljivo da je ovakvu ustanovu zavolio đakovački biskup Strossmayer od samog početka poklonivši Sokolstvu punu pažnju i ljubav, ali i svoju pomoć kadgod je stigao, poznavajući potpuno ciljeve i osnove na kojima je ono počivalo. Strossmayer je uistinu pravilno shvatio zadatke sveslavenskog, pa tako i hrvatskog sokolstva. Strossmayer je na sve strane dijelio svoje pomoći, pa tako je nije uskratio ni jugoslavenskom, kao ni češkom sokolstvu. Kad je istarski sokol u Puli stao graditi svoj dom, prvi dar i prvi blagoslov poslao je Strossmayer sa jednim vanrednim pismom u kome je označio rodoljubni zadatak hrvatskog sokolstva u ugroženoj Istri.² Zato je i sokolstvo uzvraćalo ljubav i poštovanje tom velikom propovjedniku jugoslavenskog i sveslavenskog bratstva. I kao što je za života Strossmayer bio veliki ideal sokolstva tako mu je ostao i kasnije trajno kao zvijezda predvodnica u njegovim nacionalnim i moralnim stremljenjima. Poznato je da je Strossmayer upoznao sokolstvo odmah, godinu dana poslije njegova osnivanja i to u samome Pragu krajem oktobra 1863., gdje je upoznao i njegove vođe Fügnera i Tyrša. Strossmayer je među prvim počasnim članovima češkog sokola. O Strossmayerovu jubileju 1888. nalaze se u Đakovu i predstavnici slovenskog i hrvatskog sokolstva. O drugom jubileju 1898. u Đakovu je održao govor u čast Strossmayera predstavnik hrvatskog sokolstva dr. Lazar Car u kome je iznio i takve misli koje je mogao potpisati svaki biskup katoličke crkve.³ Jasnije je bilo za svakoga da ni ono staro, kao ni mlade sokolstvo, nije bila neka protuvjerska ustanova. Dosta je napomenuti da je veliki broj hrvatskih i slovenskih svećenika bio ne samo član nego i vođa pojedinim sokolskim društvima. Osim toga da se nije u sokolstvu gledalo neko protuvjersko i bezbožno društvo očigledno izlazi iz toga što je zborovanje prvog Euharističkog kongresa godine 1900. održano u Zagrebu u Sokolskom domu. Svakako nije bez značenja da pri svečanostima prvog hrvatskog svesokolskog sleta sudjeluje i tadašnji nadbiskup koadjutor dr. Ante Bauer sa izaslanicima

² „JOSIP JURAJ STROSSMAYER“, 1850-1900. Zagreb 1904., 791.

² Josip Juraj Strossmayer. Godina 1850-1900. Zagreb 1904., 791.

³ Josip Juraj Strossmayer, 829, 842.

readily support.³ In his speech Dr Tzar emphasizes that the Sokol has never been an anti-religious organization, nor is it now. On the contrary. A great number of Slovenian and Croatian Catholic priests are not only its members but also leaders of its local branches. Moreover, the Sokol Center in Zagreb was the venue of the First Eucharistic Congress held in 1900, which proves that the Sokols were not regarded as an anti-religious and impious movement, the proof being the presence at the First Croatian Sokol Rally of Dr. Ante Bauer, at that time Archbishop-Coadjutor, the delegation of the Captol and the parish priests of Zagreb. Even the Chairman of the First Catholic Congress, Count Miroslav Kulmer, attended the event.⁴ At that time none of them viewed the Sokols as an anti-religious or impious organization.

By 1911 the Croatian and all other Sokol organizations in Slavic countries had fully adopted the principles established by Miroslav Tyrš, actually the perennial Sokol principles. It was in 1912, at the ALL SLAVIC SOKOL RALLY, held in Prague that for the first time unification of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Sokols was discussed as a possibility. Ten days before the assassination in Sarajevo, at the meeting held in the Croatian Sokol Center in Zagreb, the representative of the Slovenian and Serbian Sokols expressed themselves in favor of unification which implied joint work, use of the same terminology, use of the same flags, the same commands, orders, etc. Even common Rule were drafted in that aim. The First World War was a serious challenge to the Sokol Movement. The THIRD ALL SOKOL RALLY was scheduled for August 1914 in Ljubljana. It never took place, being prohibited by the Austrian-Hungarian government already on June 20, 1914. The Serbian Sokols were the most persecuted in Sremski Karlovci, Zagreb, Sarajevo, etc. In Slovenia too. The Sokols were among the first arrested and in a great number.

After the end of the First World War The Sokols resumed their activities in the spirit of the proposals adopted in 1912 and 1914. The Extraordinary Sokol Assembly was held in Zagreb, on May 11, 1919. Dr. Vlatko Maček (Maček), one of the speakers, addressing the Assembly said:

„We are all Yugoslavs! Therefore, all South Slavs, the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Bulgarians should be members of the same Slavic organization. The Sokols have nothing to do with politics and this fundamental principle should be honored by both the Sokols

zagrebačkog kaptola i gradskim župnicima. Štoviše, prisustvovao je i nekadašnji predsjednik prvog katoličkog kongresa, grof Miroslav Kulmer.⁴ Niko od njih nije našao tada da je sokolstvo nevjerska ili protuvjerska ustanova.

Bilo je to 1911. kad je i hrvatsko sokolstvo, kao i sve ono iz ostalih slavenskih zemalja, bilo prožeto sokolskim načelima Miroslava Tyrša, koja su bila pravo sokolsko vjerovanje. O sjedinjavanju hrvatskog i srpskog i slovenskog sokolstva prvi put se raspravljalo na svesokolskom sletu u Pragu 1912. Deset dana prije sarajevskog atentata održana je u domu hrvatskog sokola u Zagrebu sjednica, na kojoj su se predstavnici slovenskog i srpskog sokolstva izjasnili za ujedinjenje koje treba da se manifestira u zajedničkom radu, terminologiji, zastavama, naređenjima i t.d. U tu svrhu sastavljena su i zajednička pravila. Za vrijeme prvog svjetskog rata sokolstvo je imalo da izdrži naučna iskušnja. Treći svesokolski slet u Ljubljani zakazan za august 1914. bio je već 20. juna 1914. od vlade zabranjen. Progonima su bili izloženi prije svega srpski sokoli u Sremskim Karlovcima, Zagrebu, Sarajevu i drugdje. A u Sloveniji su stali među prvima da zatvore pune, upravo sokoli. Poslije okončanja rata produžilo se u duhu prijedloga iz 1912. i 1914. Izvanredna glavna sokolska skupština u Zagrebu bila je 11. maja 1919. Na toj skupštini govorio je i dr. Vlatko Maček. On je među ostalim rekao:

„Svi smo Jugoslaveni! Zato je potrebno da se u slavenskoj sokolskoj organizaciji udruže svi: i Srbi i Hrvati, i Slovenci i Bugari. Načelo je da se u soko ne smije unositi politika. No to načelo mora da valja za jednu i za drugu stranu, za političare i za sokolstvo. Mi moramo već danas u našem novom sokolskom savezu sačuvati slobodno četvrto mjesto za braću Bugare.“⁵

15. juna 1919. pod predsjedanjem dr. Lazara Cara zaključeno je, da se sve hrvatske sokolske organizacije imaju sa srpskim i slovenskim stopiti u jedan jedinstven sokolski savez. Prvi sokolski sabor održan je u Novom Sadu od 28. do 30. VI 1919. gdje je i sprovedena nova sokolska reorganizacija. Mjesec dana kasnije održan je u Mariboru prvi pokrajinski slet na kome se savez sokola SHS prozvao Jugoslavenski sokolski savez. U svojoj prvoj deklaraciji udarene su i smjernice radu sokolstva u novoj državi. U njoj se kaže pri kraju:

„Pomlađeno, obnovljeno i ujedinjeno sokolstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca pozdravlja radosno narod za čiju slobodu, napredak i cvjetanje daje sebe. Pa snažno vjerujući, da će pobjeda narodne mi-

³ „JOSIP JURAJ STROSSMAYER“, 829, 842.

⁴ „TYRŠ, ARCHBISHOP BAUER AND THE SOKOL MOVEMENT“ (Tyrš, Nadbiskup Bauer i Sokolstvo). „NOVOSTI“, January 21, 1933.

⁴ Tyrš, Nadbiskup Bauer i Sokolstvo. „Novosti“ 21. I. 1933.

⁵ „Jugoslavenske novine“ 2. IX. 1937.

and the politicians. Also, as of today the Sokol Alliance should keep the fourth seat vacant for our Bulgarian brothers."⁵

On June 15, 1919, the Meeting chaired by Dr. Lazar Tzar decided that all Croatian Sokols should merge with the Serbian and Slovenian Sokols into one, united Sokol Alliance. The FIRST SOKOL CONVENTION which took place in Novi Sad, from 28 to 30 June, 1918, adopted a new organizational pattern of the Sokols. A month later the FIRST REGIONAL SOKOL RALLY took place in Maribor and on that occasion the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Sokols changed their name into THE YUGOSLAV SOKOL ALLIANCE. Its first Declaration provides guidelines for the Sokol activities in the new state. At the end it reads as follows:

„Rejuvenated, renewed and united the Sokol Movement of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is most cordially greeting all of you, our people for whose freedom, progress and blossoming all Sokols are ready to sacrifice themselves. We strongly believe that the victory of the national idea and the ideal of truth and justice will bring happiness and peace to all of us. We also remain devoted to the idea of Slavism which epitomizes our cultural and ethical strength and which, we hope, will continue to keep our human soul alive even after the death of old Gods.“⁶

It is interesting to note that already in 1919 and 1920 the Croatian Sokols left the Alliance and founded their own national organization. This happened before 1921 when differences between the Zagreb Sokol Society and the Yugoslav Sokol Alliance emerged due to internal conflicts on political grounds. It was actually a conflict between the concept of particularism and separatism, on the one hand, and the concept of integral Yugoslavism, on the other. However, the Croatian Sokol remained faithful to the Sokol principles of Tyrsh and his progressive ideology. Even the separatism prone Croatian clergy did not deny support to Croatian Sokols. They did not refuse to bless their flags in spite of the fact that the Leaders and Senior members of the Croatian Sokol still fostered the ideals and ideology of their founding fathers. At that time the clerical organization ORLOVI (the Eagles) was founded with the support of high Catholic clergy, the Seniorate and Episcopate. The idea was to take young people away from the Sokols and attract them to join the new independent gymnastic clubs. When in 1919 the Ministry of Education issued a directive to all schools to organize physical education

sli, istine i pravde donijeti obilne plodove i sreće i mira, duboko je osvjedočeno da će Slavenstvo biti ona kulturna i etička sila, što će u času smrti starih bogova na svojim leđima prenijeti i spasiti čovječju dušu.“⁶

Međutim, još prije nego što je nastupio spor između sokolskog društva u Zagrebu i Jugoslavenskog sokolskog saveza (1921) pod utjecajem unutrašnjih partijsko-političkih previranja (i na kraju istupio iz Jugoslavenskog sokolskog saveza i osnovao Hrvatski sokol), već 1919. a pogotovo 1920. stali su se javljati znaci kritike i negodovanja sa Jugoslavenskim sokolstvom. Bio je to sukob ideja, partikularizma i separatizma s jedne strane i integralnog Jugoslavenstva s druge strane. Hrvatski sokol je i dalje zadržao Tyršova sokolska načela sa svom njegovom naprednom ideologijom. Prema njemu se separatistički orijentirano svećenstvo ophodilo i dalje naklonjeno i ono mu nije ustezalo svoju pomoć. Ti se svećenici nisu opirali da blagoslove njihove zastave, iako su vođe i starješine izjavljivale da ostaju vjerni ideologiji osnivača sokolstva. U isto vrijeme pada i osnivanje klerikalnog Orlovstva kojemu su utirali puteve vođe klerikalizma seniorat i episkopat. Prije svega najprije odvajanjem omladine od sokolstva pa onda uklanjanjem u samostalna gimnastička udruženja. Kad je Ministarstvo prosvjete 1919. izdalo naređenje da se u svim školama vrši tjelovježba u sokolskom duhu, ta je činjenica bila predmet raspravljanja jugoslavenskog episkopata na aprilskoj konferenciji 1920. Nije bez značenja podvući da se na toj konferenciji na kojoj se prvi put odrazio antisokolski stav episkopata nalazio i papinski nuncij Cherubini. Ova podudarnost zapažena je bila u javnosti i o njoj se u novinama sa suprotnih gledišta raspravljalo. Protest episkopata upućen Ministarstvu prosvjete bio je motiviran tezom da u školi mora sav odgoj biti vjerski i na vjeri osnovan. Ovako organiziran sokol u Jugoslaviji, u kome su bili sjedinjeni katolici, pravoslavni i muslimani i koji je stao da propovijeda načelo „brat je mio koje vjere bio“, punu i istinsku vjersku snošljivost i naklonost i ljubav prema braći bez razlike ispovijedanja, od samog početka bio je gledan sa nepovjerenjem. Teza o vjerskoj toleranciji smatrana je kao veoma opasna za katolicizam. Napredno shvaćanje vođa sokola formirala je u očima klerikalaca sliku veoma složenih opasnosti za klerikalizam. Sokolske manifestacije za neoslobodenu braću u Julijskoj Krajini i u profašističkom periodu, označavane su od talijanske štampe kao imperijalističke provokacije. Uz neklerikalnu i klerikalna štampa u Italiji zauzela je prema sokolstvu vrlo oštar stav napadajući ga kao ustanovu opasnu na istočnim granicama Italije. Stari sokol

⁵ THE YUGOSLAV GAZETTE („Jugoslavenske novine“) September 2, 1937.

⁶ THE SOKOL HERALD („Sokolski glasnik“), 1919, no 1, 1.

⁶ „Sokolski glasnik“ 1919., br. 1, 1.

according to the principles of the Sokol Movement the document was discussed by the Yugoslav Episcopate at its Conference held in April 1920. It was at this Conference that a negative attitude against the Sokols was taken for the first time. The presence of Nuncio Cherubini at the Conference was publicly discussed and commented in all papers in different ways. The Episcopate even lodged a protest with the Ministry of Education under the pretext that all aspects of school education should be based on religious principles and conducted in the religious spirit. The Catholic Church could not accept the Sokols who bring together the Catholics, Orthodox and Moslems, who launch the idea that „a brother is dear regardless of his faith“ and who promote true religious tolerance, affection and love for the brothers irrespective of their confession. Actually, the clerics considered religious tolerance and progressive ideals as extremely dangerous to the Catholic Church. Moreover, The Sokol protests in support of the brothers in Julian Alps region during the pro fascist period the Italian press qualified as an imperialist provocation. According to both clerical and non-clerical Italian press the Sokols were viewed as a threat to the Italian Eastern border Dr. Laza Popovitch (Popović), and outstanding and old member of the Sokols, refuted all these accusations on the ground of valid arguments.⁷

The members of the Clerical Party and their supporters (in further text CLERICALS) tried to disguise the political background of their anti-Sokol campaign by transferring the whole issue to the sphere of religious education. It was for the very first time that they brought up the problem of philosophical naturalism and indifference to the principles of Christianity in the learning of Tyrsh, assessing them as dangerous to perennial Christian values. Actually, the clericals, favoring separatism, were much more apprehensive of the idea of Yugoslavism than of the philosophy of Tyrsh. One month before the Meeting of the Episcopate (March 1920) the Yugoslav Sokol Alliance issued a Declaration on its attitude to the idea of Yugoslavism, which reads as follows:

„The Revolution of the Yugoslav peoples for liberation and unification, brought to its successful end in 1918, epitomizes its greatest achievement – the idea of Yugoslavism which implies freedom, unity, independence, survival and progress of all Yugoslav nations living united in one state. The idea of the Sokol Movement actually stems from the national idea of Yugoslavism. Its aim is to unite all

dr. Laza Popović odlučno je reagirao na ove klerikalne napadaje u zemlji i na strani.⁷ Da bi se osnovna politička misao sakrila koja je klerikalce rukovodila u njihovom antisokolskom stavu potrebno je bilo cijelo pitanje prebaciti na vjerski odgojni teren. Odatle prvi put iskrsava u polemikama Tyršev filozofski naturalizam i kršćanski indiferentizam kao strahovita opasnost za čistoću kršćanskih načela, koja inače nikad nisu u sokolu bila napadana. Više nego Tyrševa filozofska naziranja bila je jugoslavenska misao koja je bola oči separatističkih klerikalaca. Na mjesec dana prije zasjedanja episkopata mjeseca marta 1920. predsjedništvo Jugoslavenskog sokolskog saveza u svome proglasu odredilo je svoj odnos prema jugoslavenskoj misli.

„Oslobodilačka i ujedinjavajuća revolucija jugoslavenskog naroda, završena 1918., dala je kao jednu od glavnih sinteza jugoslavensku narodnu misao, misao slobode, jedinstva, samostalnosti, održanja i napretka jugoslavenskog naroda, u [o]bliku jedne i jedinstvene države. Iz jugoslavenske narodne misli ponikla je jugoslavenska sokolska misao ujedinjenja i jedinstva bivših plemenskih sokolstava u jedno jugoslavensko sokolstvo, u jedinstvenu sokolsku organizaciju, sa potpunim razrešenjem svih pokrajinskih, plemenskih, vjerskih i staleških razlika, u cilju krepljenja i jačanja i množenja fizičke, intelektualne i moralne snage cijeloga jugoslavenskoga naroda za životnu borbu... U borbi za ideju jedinstva jugoslavenskog sokolstva, u radu, muci i krajnjem naprezanju da ova ideja bude realizirana, ukorjenjena i postavljena u temelj svega jugoslavenskog sokolstva, ima da sa potpunim angažiranjem svih sposobnosti i sila sudjeluje cjelokupno jugoslavensko sokolstvo... U radu za ideju jugoslavenstva svi ste jednako veliki, jednako potrebni i jednako vrijedni...“⁸

Osnovna Tyrševa ideja bratstva i samodiscipline koja je imala prožeti i jugoslavensko sokolstvo u iskrenim i istinitim preporodnim pregnućima za jugoslavensku misao postajala je protivnik svim ekskluzivizmima i separatizmima, pa dosljedno i onima hrvatskih klerikalaca. Znatnom dijelu sokolskih prvaka, osobito u prvim počecima razvoja ne može se nikako poreći iskrenost i zalaganje za pravu sokolsku misao koja je imala da služi isključivo narodnim interesima. Međutim, treba naglasiti da su u pojedinim stranama izvjesni političari sa pretjeranim neprijateljskim stavom naškodili jednako sokolskoj kao i jugoslavenskoj ideji. Naročito od trenutka kad su

⁷ LAZA POPOVITCH: „THE YUGOSLAV CATHOLIC EPISCOPATE AGAINST THE SOKOLS“, (Laza Popović, Jugoslovenski katolički Episkopat protiv Sokola) „JUGOSLAVENSKA OBNOVA NJIVA“, 1920, n. 32, pp. 495-496.

⁷ Laza Popović, Katolički episkopat Jugoslavije protiv Sokola. „Jugoslavenska obnova njiva“ 1920., br. 32, 495-496.

⁸ „Sokolski glasnik“ 1920., 145-146.

former ethnic Sokol societies into one Sokol organization and thus overcome all regional, ethnic, religious and class differences and help our people get stronger and improve their physical, intellectual and moral qualities so as to be ready to cope with all challenges along that way, including struggle for life... In the struggle for the unity of the movement all Sokols should spare no effort to translate their ideals into reality and help them take deep roots in the Movement... Within the common strive to keep the idea of Yugoslavism alive all of you are equally great, equally useful and equally valuable..."⁸

The idea of Yugoslavism and the principles of the Sokol Movement based on brotherhood and self-sacrifice as a prerequisite for national revival and progress were a serious threat to all promoters of separatism, particularly the Croatian clericals and their supporters. Most of the Sokol leaders, particularly during the initial stage of the Movement, were sincere supporters of the Sokol ideology that the Movement should exclusively serve the national interests. However, it should be emphasized that the hostile ideas of some politicians jeopardized the Sokol Movement and the idea of Yugoslavism. But a similar damage to the Sokol Movement and the idea of Yugoslavism was done by those who encouraged education of the Sokols in the spirit of Monarchism and support to the Royal Family, or abused the Sokols in promoting the interests of some political parties, or against some social movements. It is from these positions that most criticism, not always unjustified, was addressed to the promoters of the Sokol Idea which till 1918 had played a positive role in the struggle for Slavic solidarity. The Catholic Episcopate and the clericals very smartly took advantage of these differences and transferred the whole issue to the sphere of education. They were not only against secularization of religious education but also against general education promoting national features and features of national cultural heritage, not organized or approved by the Church. Evidently, The Sokols who promoted brotherhood and equality of all religions had a great enemy in the Catholic Church for whom religious tolerance was equal to religious indifference and as such a great enemy of the Church and religion.

The conflict of these totally opposing concepts of the progressive and conservative, the Yugoslav and exclusively Croatian, tolerance and intolerance, continued in Zagreb and in all regions populated by Croats and was gaining impetus with the increasing resistance of the clerical movement to the idea of Yugoslavism, brotherhood and religious tolerance, from its ma-

je stali otvoreno odgajati za dinastiju u svim mogućim izrazima, a onda i zloupotrebljavajući je u svoje uske partijske ciljeve protiv socijalnih pokreta u zemlji. Odatle osnove sa kojih će se uveliko i sa opravdanjem pobijati sokolstvo kao cjelina i njeni predstavnici kao nosioci sokolske ideje koja je do 1918. izvršila jednu pozitivnu ulogu u duhu slavenske solidarnosti. To je vješto iskoristio i klerikalizam i episkopat onoga trenutka kad se je suprotstavio ne samo laiciziranju vjerske nastave nego i unošenju u škole svih onih pomoćnih sredstava za nacionalni i kulturni odgoj, koja nisu potekla iz same crkve ili bez odobrenja i suglasnosti sa crkvom. Sokolstvo, koje je načelno i programski težilo da pobratimi i društveno pomogne izjednačivanje vjerama podvojenog naroda moralo je naći svoga protivnika u crkvi, koja je vjersku toleranciju izjednačivala sa indiferentizmom, time za nju opasnim protivnikom crkve i religije.

U duhu ovih suprotnih shvaćanja, naprednog i konzervativnog, jugoslavenskog i samohrvatskog, snošljivosti i nesnošljivosti, vjerske i narodne, odvijati će se daljna borba u Zagrebu kao i u unutrašnjosti, u pokrajinama u kojima stanuju Hrvati. Što se jače razvijala i organizirala klerikalna misao otpora protiv jugoslavenstva kao nosioca bratstva i vjerske snošljivosti utoliko je bila izrazitija suprotnost klerikalnih stremljenja, manifestiranih i u Orlovstvu a tako i u vodstvu klerikalnog pokreta, naročito pako organizirano od vremena organiziranja Katoličke Akcije.

Provalija tih shvaćanja izbila je prilikom svesokolskog sleta u Pragu 1926., kad se primjetila akcija zamjenika papinskog nuncija, čija je intriga dovela do apstiniranja poljskog sokolstva na sletu. Krajem novembra 1926. saopćio je Poljski sokolski savez dokumente iz kojih se ogleda pozadina uticaja Vatikana, koji je zbog nuncijske afere bio naročito nenaklonjen prema čehoslovačkoj vladi, a posebno prema njenom ministru vanjskih poslova dr. Eduardu Benešu. Poljsko sokolstvo je najprije odlučilo da će u velikom broju učestvovati na praškom sokolskom sletu. I upravo kad su priprave bile u najvećem jeku, zamjenik papinskog nuncija Msgr. Arata obavijestio je Poljake da će sokolske svečanosti u Pragu imati protukatolički značaj pa stoga zahtijeva da poljski sokoli ne učestvuju na sletu. Papinski nuncij u Varšavi i varšavski nadbiskup kardinal Kakowski učinili su svoje kod starješinstva poljskih sokola. Pritisak poljskih crkvenih dostojanstvenika i papinskog nuncija bio je toliki da je poljsko starješinstvo na kraju odkazalo posjetu Pragu. Iz objavljenih dokumentacije vidi se da su nuncij i nadbiskup apodiktčki tvrdili da će se manifestacije u Pragu pretvoriti u antipapinske demonstracije. Papinski nuncij u Varšavi doslovno je napisao ovo: „Apostolska stolica bi morala svako učestvovanje u Pragu smatrati za tešku uvredu katoličke crkve i Svetog

⁸ THE SOKOL HERALD („Sokolski glasnik“), 1920., pp.145-146.

jor strongholds: the ORLOVI (Eagles) and CATHOLIC ACTION Movement (Katolička akcija).

The chasm between these two concepts surfaced at the ALL SOKOL RALLY in Prague, in 1926, where due to Deputy Nuncio's intrigues the Polish Sokols decided to abstain from participation. In November 1926 the Polish Sokols submitted the documents revealing the clandestine influence of the Vatican, hostile to the Government of Czechoslovakia, and particularly its Foreign Minister Dr. Edward Benesh, because of some problems with the Nuncio. At first the Polish Sokols were ready to massively participate in the Rally, but when applications were to be submitted Deputy Nuncio Msgr. Arata warned the Poles of the secret intention of the organizer to turn the Rally in Prague into a demonstration of anti-Catholicism. Actually, the Nuncio in Warsaw, Cardinal Kakowski Archbishop of Warsaw and Polish high clergy exercised a strong pressure on the Polish Sokols not to participate and they obeyed. The documents also reveal that the Archbishop, on the ground of his allegedly incontestable proofs, claimed that the Prague Rally was conceived as a protest against the Pope. In this connection the Nuncio said: „The Holy See would regard participation in Prague as a gross offense against the Catholic Church and the Holy Father.“ This is how the Vatican managed to break up the Slavic unity in connection with that particular event. On the other hand, during the Rally not a single negative gesture against the Church was noticed.⁹

Evidently that this smartly orchestrated campaign involving one Deputy Nuncio (Msgr Arata) and one Nuncio was undertaken on the instructions of the Vatican. Actually, it was a well pondered and planned coincidence of interests of the Vatican, on the one hand, and fascism constantly attacking the Sokols, on the other. Thousands of South Slavs who participated in the event took back home with them a bitter feeling, having realized that all of them living along the banks of the rivers: Vltava, Warta and Socha have the same enemy. It is with this awareness in mind that they started developing their national strategies which were not in line with the interests of the Vatican and fascism. The Sokol Movement very well understood the reasons for the hostility of the Roman Curia against them and the implications of the hostility which had nothing to do with religion. The Roman Curia simply could not accept brotherhood between the Poles-devoted Catholics and the liberal, progressive sons of the people of Jan Huss, Jan Ziska, Prokop and Jan Amos

⁹ „THE VATICAN AND ITS INTRIGUES AGAINST THE ALL SOKOL RALLY IN PRAGUE“. The Poles brought up interesting details of the policy conducted by high clergy behind the scene. (Vatikanse spletke protiv svesokolskog sleta u Pragu...), WORD („RIJEČ“), 1926 no. 277.

Oca pape“. Tako je Vatikan uspio i, u jednom trenutku, razbio je slavensku slogu. Poslije održanoga sleta moglo se konstatirati da se nije desila ni jedna protucrkvena manifestacija.⁹

Nema sumnje da su se pri ovoj aferi, koju su tako vješto izveli jedan zamjenik papinskog nuncija (Msgr. Arata) i jedan nuncij (Msgr. Lavra), očigledno ne bez instrukcija Vatikana i na vlastitu odgovornost, nego smišljeno i planski, stekli interesi Vatikana i fašizma koji je stalno napadao sokolstvo. Hiljade Jugoslavena koji su učestvovali na tome sletu, ponijeli su u domovinu jedno novo saznanje o neprijatelju Slavenstva, koji je jedan isti, na Vltavi, Visli kao i na Soči. Svakako, ova saznanja nisu mogla ostati bez svojih unutrašnjih uvjerenja na kojima se izgrađivala jedna nacionalna orijentacija koja nije mogla da bude draga ni Vatikanu kao ni fašizmu. Sokolstvo je shvatilo značenje ovog neprijateljskog stava ne pobrkavši talijansku politiku Rimske Kurije sa vjerom. Rimskoj Kuriji nije moglo biti svejedno da se Poljaci, toliko vjerni i odani, bratime sa naprednim sinovima naroda Jana Husa, Žiške, Prokopa i Jana Amosa Komenskoga, tog „učitelja naroda“, „Galileja odgoja“, čiji se narod rado naziva i ponosno ističe da je narod Komenskoga. I kasnije kao što se vidjelo u slučaju prvog antisokolskog stava episkopata, uz učešće beogradskog nuncija Cherubinija, javljat će se sličnosti, koje će jasno govoriti da je slavensko snaženje u duhu naprednog i slobodarskog sokolstva jednako nemilo Vatikanu kao i njegovom očiglednom savezniku fašizmu.

Sarajevski nadbiskup Šarić kao i njegova najbliža okolina žalili su se na Hrvatski Sokol što nije prišao Orlovstvu kad ga i onako spajaju zajednički ekskluzivistički nacionalni pogledi i jednaki separatistički osjećaji. Povod za jednu vrlo karakterističnu diskusiju između sarajevskih klerikalaca i predstavnika Hrvatskog Sokola u Zagrebu dao je starješina Sokola Aleksandar Freudenreich, na svome predavanju održanom u Sarajevu o sokolstvu. Na užas sarajevskih klerikalaca Freudenreich je rekao da je „sve jedno da li tko nosi fes, ili se križa, ili se krsti, da li se klanja ili se moli jer vjera je etički motiv koji je nastao u srcu čovjeka, pa zato mi poštujemo svačiju vjeru“. Šarićev „Katolički tjednik“ veoma je oštro reagirao na ovakve misli (15. V. 1927.). „Katolički roditelji, opominje klerikalni polemičar, zamislite se u to: ako vjerujete, da je crkva katolička jedina luka vječne i vremenite sreće, onda znajte da vašoj djeci nema mjesta u društvu, gdje se šire nauke oprečne Kristovom evanđelju!“ Prema tome tolerancija za koju se zalagao ovaj sokol bila je povod da se odgovori najžučnijim ogorčenjem. U polemici koja se produžila

⁹ Vatikanske spletke protiv svesokolskog sleta u Pragu. Zanimljiva poljska otkrića iza kulise visoke klerikalne politike. „Riječ“ 1926., br. 277.

Komensky, „the national teacher“, „a Galileo of education“ who were proud to be called the people of Komensky. The first anti-Sokol Epistle of the Catholic Episcopate in Yugoslavia and later on the attitude of the Nuncio in Belgrade, Cherubini, reveal a similar approach, which proves that the strengthening of the Slavic idea and its dissemination through the progressive and freedom loving Sokol Movement was equally unacceptable to both the Vatican and its obvious ally-fascism.

The Archbishop of Sarajevo, Sharitch and his close associates reproached the Croatian Sokols for not joining the Eagle Movement (Orlovi) since they share the same feelings of national exclusiveness and separatism. Aleksandar Freudenreich, one of the Sokol leaders, delivered in Sarajevo a lecture on the Sokol Movement, which ignited a very interesting discussion between the Sarajevo clericals and the representatives of the Croatian Sokol. The Sarajevo clericals and their supporters were appalled to hear from Freudereich that: „it is absolutely irrelevant whether one wears a fez on his head, or a cross, whether while praying one crosses himself or keeps bowing because religion motivated by ethics is a matter of heart. We respect everyone's religion.“ Sharitch's KATOLIČKI TJEDNIK (Catholic weekly) of May 15, 1927 vehemently reacted to this statement warning the Catholic parents to take this idea seriously. „If you believe that the Catholic Church is the only stronghold of everlasting celestial and earthly happiness then you must know that the movement disseminating the ideas contrary to the Gospel is not the right place for your children.“ Evidently, the idea of tolerance the Sokols were disseminating was rejected with bitterness. The polemics that followed was a good opportunity for Freudenreich to give a long lecture on tolerance and brotherly love in the spirit of the Jesus:

„Love your next...“ and emphasize that the Sokols simply cannot transform love for the next into hatred of a brother of different religion which is neither his merit, nor his guilt.

It should, however, be emphasized that all Catholic Bishops did not share the views of Archbishops Sharinitch and Bauer on the Sokols. It is interesting to note that in his letter of July 30, 1928 to the Sokol Society in Vinkovci Bishop Akshamovitch (Akšamović) thanks them for the Memorial Book and at the end says: „Greetings Sokols! (Zdravo Sokoli) God bless you all and help you get stronger and stronger!“¹⁰

¹⁰ „ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERN OF THE SOKOL ALLIANCE OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA“ (Organizacija Saveza sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije), Ljubljana, 1930., 7, 18.

sokolski starješina iz Zagreba održao je čitavu lekciju o toleranciji i bratskoj ljubavi u duhu Kristovih misli „ljubimo bližnjega svoga“. Sokol ne može da ljubav prema bližnjemu pretvori u mržnju na brata svoga samo zato jer je bez ikakve zasluge ili krivice druge vjeroispovijesti.

Međutim svi biskupi nisu jednako gledali na sokolstvo kao što su to učinili svojim raznim postupcima nadbiskup Šarić i nadbiskup Bauer. Zanimljivo je da je biskup Akšamović 30. jula 1928. zahvalio pismom Sokolskom društvu u Vinkovcima na pažnji što mu je poslalo spomenicu svoga društva pa je na kraju završio: „Zdravo sokoli! Bog vas jačao i blagoslovio!“¹⁰

Kad je došlo do državnih promjena 6. januara 1929. i zavedena diktatura, onda je ukinuto Orlovstvo kao i Jugoslavenski, Hrvatski sokol i Jugoslavenski sokolski savez, a osnovan od strane vlade Savez sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije (5. XII 1929.). Sada je velik dio starih sokola napustio ovu ustanovu, smatrajući da ovo novo sokolstvo znači prelom sa starim, a oni koji su i u njemu zaostali imali su često da odgovaraju na opravdane prigovore da je Sokol postao ustanova koja indirektno pomaže diktatorski režim, i da daje kompromitiranim idejama moralni legitimitet. Nema sumnje, da je i pored sve dobre volje znatnoga dijela vodstva novog Saveza sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije kome su na čelu bili Engelbert Gangl i Oton Gavrančić, i koji su htjeli produžiti staru sokolsku tradiciju mimo svih tendencija vlade i šestojanuarske klike i partijskih satelita, nailazili kod pristalica šestojanuarskog režima na mnoge smetnje koje su u mnogim slučajevima kompromitirale sokolsku ideju. Kao što je jugoslavenska misao naturenom, podržavljenom i eksploatiranom diktatorskom jugoslavenskom misli bila unižena i kompromitirana, tako je i sokolska misao pretrpjela velike moralne i nacionalne štete. Međutim, klerikalci stari neprijatelji Sokolstva produžili su svoj otpor prema ovakvom sokolstvu. I to iz istih osnovnih razloga kakvih su ih vodili i ranije, jer su Tyrševa načela ostala i dalje u općim odredbama statuta Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Naime Čl. 11. općih odredaba SKJ-e kaže da se u sokolskim društvima „po Tyrševom sokolskom sistemu izvodi tjelesno, moralno i nacionalno odgajanje po uputama i pravilnicima koje izrađuje Uprava saveza, odnosno uprave sokolskih župa“. U svome manifestu od 28. I 1930. Savez Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije (SKJ) podvukao je osnovne ideje vodilje kojima će se rukovoditi reorganizirano sokolstvo. Jugoslavenstvo, slavenska solidarnost, napredan i tolerantan duh, prema svima djelovima naroda bez obzira na vjeru, kao i osnovne misli osnivača Tyrša i Fügnera bile su i novom starješinstvu pred očima. Dakako i ovako reorganiziran Sokol, zapeo je za oči ne samo

¹⁰ Organizacija Saveza sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Ljubljana 1930., 7, 18.

As a result of the political changes of January 6, 1929, and the establishment of dictatorship the EAGLES, the YUGOSLAV and CROATIAN SOKOLS and the YUGOSLAV SOKOL ALLIANCE were all abolished and on December 5, 1929, the Government founded the SOKOL ALLIANCE OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA. A great number of „old“ Sokols left the organization believing that the new Sokol Alliance had nothing to do with the perennial one. On the other hand, the old members who adhered to the new Sokols were often and rightly criticized for supporting the organization indirectly serving the dictatorial regime, thus granting legitimacy to compromised ideas. Many leaders of the new Sokol Alliance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia headed by Engelbert Gangle and Otton Gavranchitch who were using their best effort to keep alive the ancient tradition of the Movement, had serious problems because the Government, the supporters of dictatorship and various political fellow travelers tended to compromise the perennial ideas of the Sokol Movement. The same applies to the idea of Yugoslavism, compromised to the point of humiliation by the state imposed Yugoslavism. The clericals, traditional enemies of the Sokols, continued their old hostilities against the new Sokol, for the same reason. Namely, the Statute of the Sokol Alliance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Article 11 of the General Provisions reiterates the idea of Tyrsh that: „The Sokol societies organize physical, moral and national education as envisaged by the Rules and Regulations issued by the Main Board and the Boards of the local societies called ŽUPA.“ In its MANIFESTO of January 28, 1930 the Sokol Alliance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia spells out the major objectives of the reorganized Sokol, which are: Yugoslavism, Slavic solidarity, the spirit of progress and tolerance for all nations and ethnic groups, irrespective of their religion, and respect of all principles laid down by the founders of the Movement: Tyrsh and Fügner. These ideas were still alive in the minds of the new Sokol leaders. The clerics and their supporters in Croatia and other Slavic countries did not like this new, reorganized Sokol either. Nor did the Italian clerics, their supporters and Italian fascists in whose eyes the Sokol Alliance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was a military organization with the primary task to neutralize their appetite for some Yugoslav lands.

The book PUTEVI I CILJEVI (Ways and Objectives) adopted by the General Assembly of the Sokol Alliance of the Kingdom Of Yugoslavia of March 29, 1931, is devoted to the ideology of the old (perennial) Sokol Movement and its approach to the concept of relations on the national level, on the level of the state and on the level of the Slavic community. Already at that time the clericals accused the Sokols of promoting religious indiffer-

hrvatskim i slovenskim klerikalcima, nego i talijanskim, a tako i fašistima u Italiji, koji su u Sokolstvu, već ranije, a pogotovo od pojave SKJ vidjeli u tome jednu vojničku organizaciju – uperenu prvenstveno protiv njihovog apetita s obzirom na Jugoslaviju. Cjelokupna ideologija Saveza sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije razrađena je u knjizi „Putevi i ciljevi“ koje je primila glavna skupština SKJ 29. III 1931. „Putevi i ciljevi“ jesu u prvom redu rezultati shvaćanja stare sokolske ideje i pogleda na sva pitanja, javnog, nacionalnog, državnog i opće slavenskog života. Jer se već tada prigovaralo od strane klerikalaca da Sokol zastupa ideju vjerskog indiferentizma, u „Putevima i ciljevima“ dodirnuo je i ovo pitanje. „Sokolstvo priznaje slobodu uvjerenja i misli svakog pojedinca. Sokolstvo poštuje svako vjersko uvjerenje i osjećanje, jer smatra da je vjera najintimniji dio unutrašnjeg duševnog života. Sokolstvo usvaja načelo vjerske snošljivosti“.¹¹

U zasebnoj glavi „Sokolstvo i vjera“ ovaj je stav još preciznije određen.

„Sokolstvo kao ideja slobode priznaje i slobodu uvjerenja i misli svakog pojedinca. Od svog članstva zahtjeva, da poštuje svako otvoreno i iskreno uvjerenje i mišljenje drugih i pri tome da čuva čistoću sokolske ideologije. Sokolstvo naročito poštuje i svako vjersko uvjerenje i osjećanje, jer smatra da je vjera najsvetiji dio unutrašnjeg života svakog pojedinca. Svaki pripadnik sokolske organizacije može slobodno da izvršava svoje zapovjesti i propise svoje vjere i crkve.“

Pa opet ni ovim nikako nisu bili zadovoljni klerikalci, ni episkopat. Pogotovo kada je Sokolstvo i sada bilo još povezanije nego ranije sa školom, osnovnom i srednjom. Jer cjelokupni tjelesni odgoj u srednjim i stručnim školama imao se provoditi po sokolskom sistemu.

Orlovstvo i klerikalizam osjetili su da je zakonom o osnivanju Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije i njegovom funkcijom u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi uveliko pogođen dalekosežni plan o njihovom klerikalno-separatističkom djelovanju. Kao što je Zakon o SKJ primljen sa velikim negodovanjem od jugoslavenskih klerikalaca i episkopata on je podvrgnut kritici u talijanskoj fašističkoj štampi kao i u onoj službenoj i poluslužbenoj u Vatikanu. Nema sumnje da je Vatikan bio izvješten od pojedinih biskupa i nadbiskupa o značenju tog novog zakona, a zacijelo sa komentarima, koji su se podudarali sa političko-separatističkom orijentacijom crkvenog velikodostojnika. Pa i sam nuncij već po svojoj funkciji bio je u tom pogledu u prvom planu. Kako će se vidjeti da je već ranije ulagao protestne note radi sokolskog zakona kao i uvođenja fizičkog odgoja u školi. Ako su se 1925. pojedini jugoslavenski

¹¹ Putevi i ciljevi, 21.

ence. This book (Ways and Objectives) devotes due attention to the Sokol's approach to religion. „The idea of the Sokol Movement is full respect for all religious beliefs and feelings as the most intimate aspects of spiritual life of each individual and full support to the principle of religious tolerance.“¹¹

The book deals in details with the topic of religion in a separate chapter entitled: THE SOKOL MOVEMENT AND RELIGION.

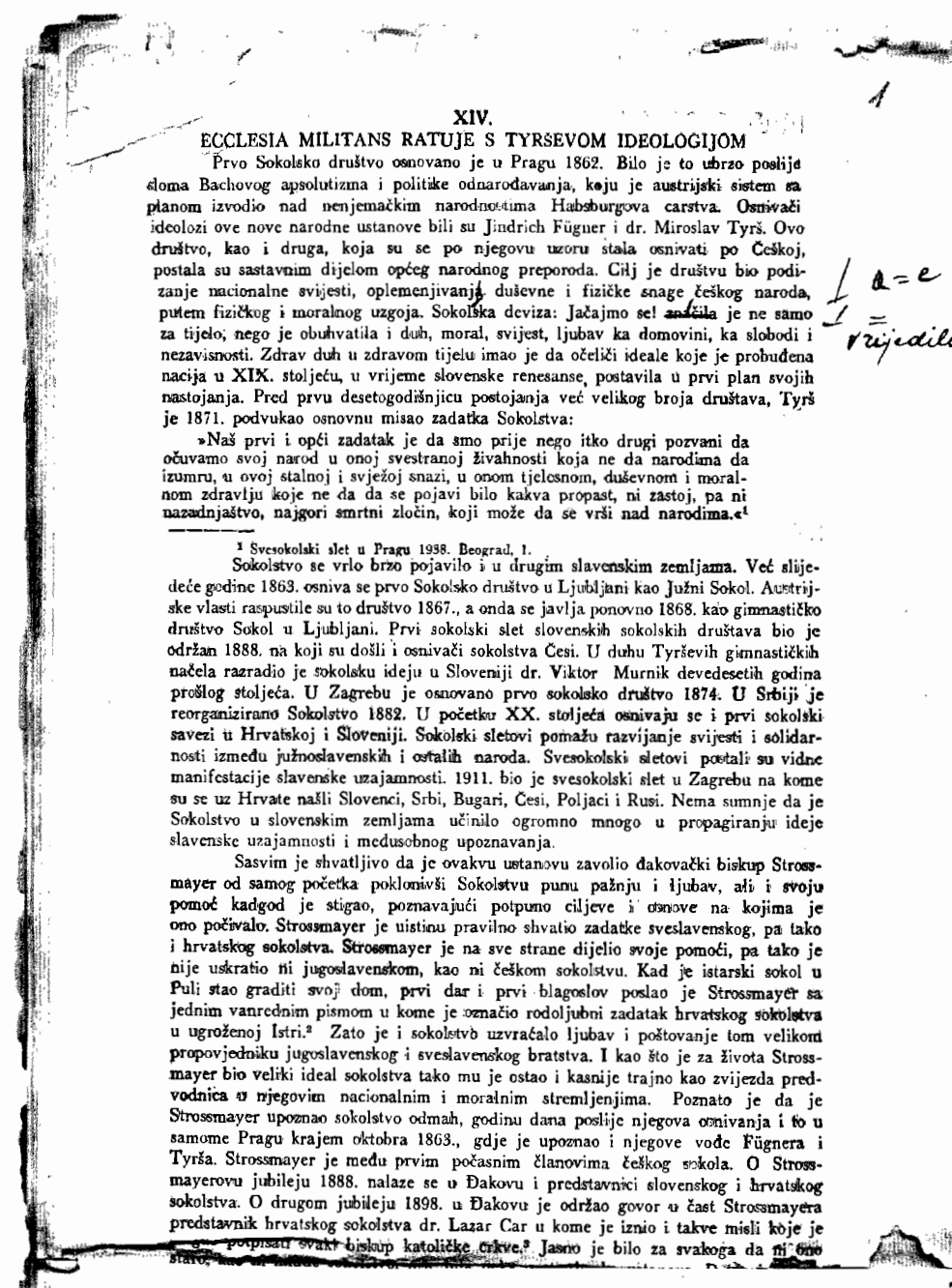
„The Sokol ideology implies the right of the individual to freedom of thought and belief. Its members are expected to respect all other different, openly professed and sincere beliefs and convictions by, at the same time, safeguarding the purity of the Sokol ideology. The Sokols fully respect all religious beliefs and feelings as the loftiest aspects of the intimate life of each individual. Each member of the Sokol is free to honor the principles of his religion and church and behave accordingly.“

The clericals and the Episcopate did not like this approach, particularly now when the Sokol Movement got more closely linked to the elementary and secondary school education. Actually, the entire concept of physical education at school was developed according to the Sokol system.

The clericals and the supporters of ORLOVI (Eagles) realized soon enough that the establishment of the SOKOL ALLIANCE OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA and its role in the elementary and secondary school education will seriously impede their separatist activities. The Law on the Sokols of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was vehemently criticized not only by the Yugoslav clericals, their supporters and the Yugoslav Episcopate, but also by the Italian fascist press and the official and semi-official Vatican press. Evidently, some bishops and archbishops were involved in the campaign with the task not only to keep the Vatican informed about the implications of the new law, but also send their political comments with special emphasis on the prospects of separatism in view of that law. By the very nature of his position the Nuncio was prominently active in this campaign. He is known for lodging protests against the Law on the Role of the Sokols in Physical Education. In the talks with the Yugoslav delegation in Rome negotiating the CONCORDAT Cardinal Gasparri said that already in 1925 some Catholic bishops in Yugoslavia were hostile to the state of Yugoslavia (at that time called the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) and in Rome conducted a campaign against it.¹² In the light of that fact it is not difficult to assume

¹¹ WAYS AND OBJECTIVES (Putevi i ciljevi), p. 21.

¹² See Chapter X.



Naslovna strana izostavljenog poglavlja
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the nature of their comments on the Sokols. Since censorship during the 6-th of January regime was very strict the bishops smartly decided to use the authority of the Holy See and its Encyclical devoted to general matters with special emphasis on Christian education. Everything in the Encyclical dealing with education refers to Yugoslavia, without mentioning its name. The Vatican also reacted promptly. On December 31, 1929 Pius XI announced his Encyclical on Christian Education of the young. In the introduction the Pope explains that it is the nature of education in different countries and the wish expressed by a number of bishops and their believers to hear his views on that subject that he decided to openly announce them in this Encyclical.¹³ Evidently the suggestion came from Yugoslavia where in November 1929, a month before the Encyclical, a Law on the Sokol Alliance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and a Law on School Education was enacted. The clericals and their supporters were profoundly dissatisfied with both of these laws. To the best of our knowledge at that time this issue was not raised in any other country, except Italy which resulted in a conflict between Mussolini and the Pope over the role of the CATHOLIC ACTION. Pius XI admits that according to church principle it is the church, the state and the family that share the responsibility for the education of the young, but emphasizes that church education has priority with regard to the other two because the spirit of the church as a supreme and most reliable teacher of religion, should permeate the complete school education.

„The Church is, therefore, entitled to open and support schools and other institutions teaching science and arts and culture, on all levels. The same applies to physical education which should also be under the motherly care of the Church because in view of its nature this education may be developed to the benefit, or detriment, of Christian education in general...^{13a} Furthermore, it is an inalienable right and imperative duty of the Church to monitor in all public and private schools and institutions not only the program of religious education but also all other aspects of teaching involving religion and ethics. The use of that right should not be interpreted as interference of the Church because it only reflects its motherly care for the children and their protection against all kinds of dangerous scientific and moral poisons.“¹⁴

¹³ THE ENCYCLICAL OF THE HOLY FATHER PIUS XI ON CHRISTIAN EDUCATION OF YOUTH (Enciklika Svetog oca Pape o kršćanskom uzgoju mladeži), Zagreb, 1930.

^{13a} Reprinted from the „KATOLIČKI LIST“, 1930.

¹⁴ THE ENCYCLICAL (Enciklika) 6-7.

biskupi vladali u Rimu kao neprijatelji države, kako je to rekao jugoslavenskoj delegaciji za zaključenje konkordata kardinal Gasparri,¹² onda ne treba mnogo fantazije da se predoči duh i sadržina tih političkih komentara. Kako je cenzura šestojanuarskog režima bila veoma stroga, to su se jugoslavenski biskupi ovaj put vješto zaklonili iza autoriteta Svete Stolice i njoj su prepustili da u jednoj enciklici od općeg značenja raspravi pitanje kršćanskog odgoja, pa tako posredno dodirne i ovo jugoslavensko pitanje ne pominjući ga dakako poimenično. I Vatikan se dao brzo na djelo. Već na posljednji dan 1929. objavio je Pio XI svoju Encikliku o Kršćanskom odgoju omladine. Sam papa kaže u uvodu ove Enciklike da su ga na nju ponukali savremeno raspravljanje školskog i odgojnog pitanja u raznim zemljama kao i želje mnogih biskupa i njihovih vjernika.¹³ I upravo u ovom priznanju vidimo i inicijativu za tu Encikliku koja je bez sumnje potekla i iz Jugoslavije, u kojoj se 1929. na mjesec dana ranije donio Zakon o SKJ, kao i o školama, sa kojima su klerikalci bili jednako vrlo nezadovoljni. Koliko nam je poznato u drugim zemljama nije se u to vrijeme baš o tom problemu diskutiralo, osim što je u Italiji nastao sukob između Mussolinija i pape zbog K. A. Prema načelima crkve i Pije XI tvrdi da odgoj pripada crkvi, obitelji i državi. Ali u prvom redu, podvlači papa, odgoj pripada crkvi. Pošto je crkva vrhovna i najpouzdanija učiteljica ljudi u vjeri i uređivanju čudoređa, crkva mora da prožme svu školsku nastavu.

„Zato ona može osnivati i uzdržavati škole i vlastite zavode za svaku nauku i svaki kulturni stepen. Ni sam takozvani fizički odgoj ne smije se smatrati tuđim njezinom majčinskom učiteljstvu i to baš zato, jer i ona imade narav sredstva, koja može biti na korist ili štetu kršćanskog odgoja...“^{13a}

Nadalje crkva ima neotuđivo pravo i dužnost koje joj se ne može oteti, da nadzire sav odgoj svoje djece, vjernika, bilo u kojoj ustanovi javnoj ili privatnoj; i to ne samo u pogledu vjerske pouke, koja se ondje podaje, nego i u pogledu svake druge znanosti i odredaba, ukoliko stoje u vezi s vjerom i moralom. Izvršivanje ovoga prava ne smije se smatrati kao neko nedopušteno uplitanje, nego kao dragocjena materinska briga crkve, da zaštiti svoju djecu od teških opasnosti svakog naučnog i moralnog otrova.“¹⁴

„Ipak je jasno, da u svim ovim načinima promicanja odgoja te javnog i privatnog poučavanja, država mora poštivati prirodna pra-

¹² Vidi naprijed poglavlje X.

¹³ Enciklika Svetog Oca pape Pia XI. o kršćanskom uzgoju mladeži. Zagreb 1930.

^{13a} Preštampano iz „Katoličkog lista“ 1930.

¹⁴ Enciklika, 6-7.

„This means that in all public and private schools and institutions of learning the state has to respect the natural rights of the Church and parents and secure Christian education for their children. The State should guarantee that right to the Church according to the principles of proportionate distribution, so as to avoid any aspect of possible state monopoly. Moreover, it is inadmissible, against the spirit of Christianity and the principle of equality to exercise any physical or moral pressure on the parents to send their children to public schools. This, however, does not mean that the state should be excluded from the process. On the contrary. The State is responsible for the administration, management of public affairs, defense of the country and internal and external peace, in the interest of public good. In that aim the State should open professional schools providing special, including military education, indispensable for securing services of special state interest. Only, the State should always be very careful never to infringe on the rights of the Church and family in this field of education either.

At this point we feel it our duty to draw attention to a phenomenon of nationalism which is nowadays being spread in its artificial and exaggerated version and which is, as such, an enemy of peace and progress. This also applies to physical education for boys (and girls too, although it is against their natural features) which include some elements of military drill. Moreover, such activities are often organized on Sundays and Church holidays which should be devoted to church and family life. Our intention is not to criticize the beneficial effects of this kind of education fostering courage and discipline; we only want to say that aggressiveness should not be a substitute for courage and noble feelings of valor as a basic principle of all activities undertaken in the defense of the native country and its peace and public order. The only thing we want to criticize is the exaggerated importance attached to athletics which already in the era of paganism brought about degeneration and disintegration.“¹⁵

„We would like to reiterate and endorse their statements (those of Pius IX and Leo XIII) and recall the Canonical Rules according to which Catholic youth is prohibited to attend non-Catholic, neutral or mixed schools, namely the schools equally accessible to Catholics and non-Catholics. The Ordinarium is the only entitled to allow exceptions to the Rule, in special circumstances and upon serious de-

va Crkve i obitelji na kršćanski odgoj; a k tomu je dužna izvršivati distributivnu pravednost. Zato je nepravedan i nedopušten svaki uzgojni ili školski monopol, koji bi fizički ili moralno silio obitelji na polazak državnih škola protiv obveza kršćanskih savjesti ili protiv opravdanog davanja prednosti drugima. To dakako ne isključuje, da si država zbog valjane uprave javnih poslova i zbog unutarnje i vanjske obrane mira – stvari – koje su tako nužne za opće dobro i koje traže posebnu sposobnost i posebnu spremu – pridrži osnivanje i upravljanje stručnih škola za nekoje svoje službe, napose za vojničku, samo da imade brigu, da se ne povrijede prava crkve i obitelji u onome, što spada na njih. Nije beskorisno ovdje napose ponoviti ovu opomenu. U naša se naime vremena (kad se širi neki nacionalizam, koliko pretjerani i lažni, jednako toliko neprijatelj mira i napretka), običavaju prekoračiti pravedne granice u tome, što se na vojničku uređuje takozvani fizički odgoj dječaka (a kadikad također i djevojčica, premda je to protiv same naravi ljudskih stvari), koji k tome često puta na dan Gospodnji preko mjere zadire u ono vrijeme, koje mora biti posvećeno vjerskim dužnostima i svetištu obiteljskoga života. Uostalom nećemo Mi da pokudimo ono, što u tim metodama može biti dobra u duhu discipline i prave srčanosti, nego samo kudimo svaki eksces, kakav je na primjer duh silovitosti koji se ne smije zamijeniti s duhom hrabrosti ni s plemenitim osjećajem vojničke vrline u obrani domovine i javnog poretka; a i ono uzveličanje atletizma, koji je za pravi fizički odgoj već u klasično pogansko doba značio degeneraciju i rasulo.“¹⁵

„Mi obnavljamo i potvrđujemo njihove izjave (tj. papa Pija IX. i Lava XIII), a ujedno i propise svetih kanona po kojima je katoličkoj mladeži zabranjeno pohađanje akatoličkih, neutralnih ili mješovitih škola, tj. onih koje su jednako bez razlike otvorene katolicima i nekatolicima... To se pohađanje može trpjeti i to jedino po sudu Ordinarija i u određenim prilikama vremena i mjesta i pod osobitim oprezima. Ne može se za katolike dopustiti ni ona mješovita škola ... u kojoj mladež dobiva doduše napose vjersku obuku, ali ostalu obuku prima *ona od učitelja nekatolika* i u zajednici sa svim nekatoličkim pitomcima... Potrebno je da svu nastavu i sav uređaj škole: učitelje, nastavne osnove i knjige i to u svim predmetima prožima kršćanski duh pod upravljanjem i materinskim nadzorom crkve tako da vjera bude uistinu temelj i kruna cijele obuke u svim stepenima, ne samo

¹⁵ Idem, 13-14

¹⁵ Enciklika, 13-14.

liberations on the case. The Catholics are also prohibited to attend mixed schools –namely the schools which provide separate religious education for Catholics, but where all other subjects are taught by non-Catholic teachers and where they attend class with non-Catholic pupils..... The curriculum, the whole teaching process, the teachers, the books and all teaching aids should be permeated with the spirit of Christianity and under the auspices and motherly care of the Catholic Church. This means that religion should be the foundation and the crown of the whole teaching process not only in elementary schools, but also in the secondary and high level education. We cannot accept the explanation that this approach to education is too expensive in a multi-confessional country because neutral and mixed schools also cost.... In the regions with a multi-confessional population the situation is different. There, the Catholics themselves finance Catholic schools for their children, with the help of the Episcopate, the clergy and other Catholic donors. In spite of being a heavy financial burden on them they accept it voluntarily, out of conscious commitment to their Church and pious religious feelings..... In case this right is denied to them, or in any way jeopardized, the Catholics will use their very best efforts to defend their schools on the ground of the Law on Education guaranteeing them that right.¹⁶

It is evident that in this Encyclical Pius XI refers to the circumstances in Yugoslavia, both in the political and in the field of education, because there is no other country in the world with such confessional diversity. But, in spite of the presence of other religions too, the Pope requires only Catholic teacher in mixed schools. According to Pius XI in multi-confessional states CATHOLIC ACTION (Katolička akcija) has a special task to fulfil. „Therefore, the Catholics all over the world, regardless of their nationality and ethnic origin, should support Catholic schools for their children. It should be emphasized that this request has nothing to do with politics. It only means commitment of the Catholics to their faith and their conscious choice.“¹⁷

It should be noted that the Encyclical was not written in Latin- the universal language of the Roman Catholic Church, but in the language of the fascist Italy. Written in Italian language this Encyclical denies the universal nature of the Catholic Church and shows that it is actually Italian and universal only to the extent it serves the imperialist strivings of the Italian fascists to revive the Roman Empire. The Fascists were very happy with the content and

osnovne nego i srednje više škole... Neka se ne kaže da je u narodu, koji je podijeljen na više vjeroispovijesti državi nemoguće, da se za javnu izobrazbu poskrbi drukčije nego sa neutralnom ili mješovitom školom... U drugim krajevima izmiješanih vjeroispovijesti događa se protivno (tj. da se pomažu katoličke i konfesionalne škole), dakako na teški teret katolika, koji pod zaštitom i vodstvom Episkopata i uz neumornu saradnju svjetovnog i redovnog klera uzdržavaju sasvim svojim troškom katoličku školu za svoju djecu, jer to traži preteška obveza njihove savjesti... A gdje se i ta osnovna sloboda sprečava ili na razne načine krnji, katolici neće nikada dosta nastojati, da makar i pod cijenu ogromnih žrtava uzdrže i brane svoje škole i da se brinu da se uzakone pravedni školski zakoni.“¹⁶

Koliko je ovim stavom Enciklike Pio XI zahvatio u jugoslavenske prilike, školske i političke samo je po sebi jasno jer jedva ima poređenja sa ma kojom zemljom u svijetu gdje postoji ovolika vjerska raznolikost. Pa opet on traži da u tim mješovitim školama učitelj i profesor budu isključivo katolici. Pio XI je u takvim vjerskim mješovitim državama namijenio zasebnu dužnost i zadatak K. A. „Zato katolici bilo kojeg naroda na svijetu brinući se za katoličku školu svoje djece – neka bude glasno proglašeno i neka dobro razume i priznadu svi – ne čine stranačkog političkog djela nego vjersko djelo, koje im neotklonivo nalaže njihova savjest.“¹⁷

Treba podvući da ova Enciklika nije izdana na univerzalnom jeziku rimske crkve, nego na jeziku fašističke Italije. Tako ova prva talijanska Enciklika i svojom vanjskom formom demantira univerzalni karakter crkve, pa je ustvari prikazuje onakvom kakva ona uistinu jeste, – talijanska, a univerzalna utoliko ukoliko služi imperijalističkim ciljevima fašističke obnove rimske imperije. Pio XI obradovao je fašističke redove i izazvao entuzijazam kakav se rijetko javlja kod fašista u odnosu prema Rimskoj Kuriji.

Enciklika je objavljena ubrzo i u Jugoslaviji u pojedinim listovima ordinarija, ali i u zasebnoj knjižici januara 1930. Tako joj je dat veoma širok publicitet i ona je odmah zapažena u javnosti kao neobično jasan politički potez Rimske Kurije. Enciklika je došla i episkopatu kao i klerikalcima kao poručena. Naime, sada su imali za svoje ranije antiškolske i antisokolske teze autoritativnu potvrdu izrečenu ex cathedra. Enciklika je odmah izazvala diskusiju. I to veoma žučnu na sasvim političkom terenu. Vanjsko-politička situacija tada je bila i veoma složena i vrlo teška. Revizionizam razmahao se

¹⁶ Idem, 22-26.

¹⁷ Idem, 23-24.

¹⁶ Enciklika, 22-26.

¹⁷ Enciklika, 23-24.

message of the Encyclical and their enthusiasm for the Roman Curia at that particular moment was almost unprecedented in the history of their mutual relations.

The Encyclical was very soon published in Yugoslavia in some papers of the ORDINARIUM and in JANUARY 1930 as a separate booklet. Thus, the Encyclical was given wide publicity and very soon attracted great public attention as a significant and open political move of the Roman Curia. The Episcopate and the clericals welcomed it with great enthusiasm because it meant support from a high place to their negative attitude towards the existing school education and the Sokol. The Encyclical immediately aroused animated discussions on the political level. At that time the situation in foreign policy was very complex and unfavorable. Revisionism was in full swing in Austria and Hungary and wholeheartedly supported by fascist Italy. The Encyclical on Education of Youth may be interpreted as part of the same effort. According to Milanese CORRIERE DELLA SERA the Encyclical on Christian education of Youth primarily addresses the circumstances in Yugoslavia. For evident reasons L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO of January 16, 1930 rejects the accusation and its connection with fascist ideology and insists that the Encyclical has in view all states and reflects the attitude of the Catholic church to education of youth in general. On January 23, 1930 Roman TRIBUNA published an article by its Budapest correspondent under the title: „Anti-Catholic Aspects of Serbian Struggle against Croats“ in which the author makes biased comments on the situation in Yugoslavia. He even goes so far as to claim that the laws adopted by the 6-th of January regime endanger the property of some Croatian religious societies and institutions. He also mentions the case of NAPREDAK which decided to transfer its whole property to the Catholic Archbishopric of Sarajevo. All these comments indicate that negotiations on the CONCORDAT will not be continued. This and some other cases from time to time discussed in the Austrian, Italian and Hungarian press represent only smart links in the chain of activities undertaken and campaigns launched by the Vienna clerical REICHPOST and very keenly taken over by the Italian fascist and the clerical press. The counter-attack was published soon in the article entitled: AN ARTIFICIAL EFFORT TO CREATE A CATHOLIC FRONT.¹⁸ The author of the article signed CROAT CATHOLIC, evidently on the ground of relevant information and data from the Foreign Ministry, discusses a number of developments in foreign policy aimed against the interests of Yugoslavia and

svim svojim snagama u Mađarskoj i Austriji kao što ga je uveliko podupirala fašistička Italija. Nema sumnje da izvjesne podudarnosti daju osvjetljenje i za pojavu papinske Enciklike o odgoju omladine. Milanski „Corriere della Sera“ podvukao je da se Enciklika o kršćanskom odgoju odnosi u prvom redu na jugoslavenske prilike. Mada je ovu fašističku tezu „L'Osservatore Romano“ 16. I 1930. iz sasvim shvatljivih razloga demantirao izjavivši, da se ta Enciklika odnosi na sve države bez razlike, jer sadrži nauku katoličke crkve o odgoju mladeži. Osim toga rimska „Tribuna“ objavila je 23. I 1930. od svog peštanskog dopisnika komentare o situaciji u Jugoslaviji sa karakterističnim naslovom „Antikatolički izgled srpske borbe protiv Hrvata“. U čitavom nizu očigledno tendencioznih navoda dopisnik saopćuje da su došla u pitanje imovina izvjesnih hrvatskih društava i ustanova vjerskog karaktera pogodne zakonima šestojanuarskog režima. Tu se navodi slučaj sarajevskog „Napretka“ koji je prenio svoju imovinu na nadbiskupiju što daje naslućivati da se nikako ne misli na obnovu pregovora za zaključivanje konkordata. Ovaj neosamljen slučaj od čitavog niza koji se pojavljuju čas u austrijskoj, čas u talijanskoj, čas u mađarskoj štampi, samo je jedan vješto sačinjen lanac akcija i kampanje koju je započeo bečki klerikalni „Reichpost“ a objeručke ju je prihvatila talijanska, fašistička i klerikalna štampa. Ovo sve je podvrgao kritici anonimni pisac članka „Umjetno stvaranje katoličke fronte“.¹⁸ Znalo se da je pisac dobio podatke od Ministarstva vanjskih poslova. Anonimni autor „Hrvat katolik“ obuhvatio je čitav splet vanjsko-političkih zbivanja usmjerenih protiv interesa Jugoslavije i njene konsolidacije. U članku je pisac objasnio prije svega pojačanu nervozu katoličkog episkopata u vezi sa zakonom o školama i zakonom o SKJ. Štoviše i sam nuncij Pellegrineti uputio je protestne note Ministarstvu vanjskih poslova kao i ostalim nadležnim ministrima. Mjerodavni su tvrdili da su note bile tendenciozne i da nije ni jednom zakonu bilo pred očima da bilo u čemu omalovaži ili suzbije položaj katoličke nauke i crkve. To se najbolje vidjelo što je ministar prosvjete mogao da izda Pravilnik u duhu tog istog školskog zakona i da formulira primjenu toga zakona na takav način da je formulacija mogla potpuno zadovoljiti najviše predstavnike katoličkog episkopata u državi. Sasvim je bilo prirodno da šestojanuarski režim nije htio da namjerno izaziva sukob sa katoličkom crkvom, pošto je u vladi bio od 6. januara 1929. do 30. septembra 1931. ministar dr. Anton Korošec. Štoviše, đacima je dozvoljeno da se izvan škole udružuju u katoličkim društvima. Međutim, klerikalci su bili neobično nezadovoljni zato što

¹⁸ The author was actually Milan Marjanovitch, Director of PRESS BUREAU. Minister Koroshetz was very disturbed by the article, but remained in office.

¹⁸ Sada se zna da je pisac bio Milan Marjanović, tadanji šef Presbira. Članak je uznemirio i ministra Korošeca, mada je on i dalje ostao u vladi.

its consolidation. He starts by explaining why the Catholic Episcopate is so irritated by the Law on Education and the Law on the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Nuncio Pellegrineti even lodged a written protest with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and other relevant ministries in this regard. But the relevant ministries rejected these protests as groundless, since, according to them, the Law in no way underestimates or jeopardizes the role of the Catholic Church. The Minister of Education even issued the RULES OF CONDUCT and INSTRUCTIONS for their implementation. The wording of these documents absolutely meets the requirements of the Catholic Church and the Episcopate in Yugoslavia. Naturally, the 6-th of January regime did not want to enter into conflict with the Catholic Church owing to the fact that Dr Anton Koroshetz (Korošec) was one of its ministers from January 6, 1929 to September 30, 1931. Catholic pupils were free to attend Catholic institutions outside school. The clericals, particularly irritated by the status of the new Sokol and its presence in schools, denied to the Eagles (Orlovi), decided to react. Thanks to a smart maneuver they dealt a severe blow on the Government by converting the Eagle Movement into a religious organization in disguise, under a new name GREAT FRATERNITY OF CRUSADERS (VELIKO KRIŽARSKO BRATSTVO). In spite of its Statute of an exclusively religious organization it was conceived so as to enable the EAGLE to continue its political engagement.¹⁹ Moreover, the clericals started spreading rumors that, within its efforts to impose the unitarian (centralized) regime, the State intends to confiscate the property of all Catholic institutions which do not follow its Rules of Behavior. The point was to find a pretext for giving up their property to the benefit of the Church. In their negative campaign they went even so far as to claim that these institutions would have to merge with other religious or ethnic organizations in view of making them uniform. This was only one of numerous attempts to justify the transfer of property to the Catholic Church. Following this example NAPREDAK from Sarajevo handed over to Archbishop Sharitch (Šarić) its several million worth property. The Croatian Public Reading Room in Tomislav grad did the same. In his circular letter fra Mishitch, (Mišić) Bishop of Mostar, calls on all Croatian institutions to seek refuge under the auspices of the Catholic church. The aim of these efforts and activities was to make the most of the already created specific atmosphere and psychosis in which some bishops would act not only as protectors and defenders of the dissolved Croatian institutions, but also become the leaders of their members. This approach was adopted in view of creating

¹⁹ See op. cit. Chapter XI.

je Sokol ma i u izmijenjenom obliku ušao u školu, a Orlovi su bili zabranjeni. Međutim, klerikalci su na drugoj strani iznjeli osobit manevar i zadali dobar udarac vlastima, kad su Orlovstvo pretvorili u kamufliranu vjersku ustanovu. Naime, orlovske organizacije pretvorile su se u Veliko križarsko bratstvo, koje je prema statutima potpuno vjerska ustanova, ali je tako vješto organizirana, da u potpunosti zamjenjuje izivljavanje političkih tendencija nekadašnjih orlova.¹⁹ Iz klerikalnih krugova proturane su vijesti kako država prema novim unifikatornim težnjama namjerava konfiscirati imovinu svim onim društvima koja se ne žele uniformirati, a to samo stoga, kako bi ta društva prenijela ovu svoju imovinu na crkvu. Štoviše, agitiralo se da će se vjerska i plemenska društva morati stopiti sa inovjernim i inoplemenskim, pa će biti bolje ako ga predadu crkvenim vlastima. Tako je sarajevski „Napredak“ predao veliku milijonsku imovinu nadbiskupu Šariću a tako i hrvatska čitaonica u Tomislav gradu. Mostarski biskup fra Mišić pozvao je okružnicom hrvatska društva da se sklone pod okrilje katoličke crkve. Sve je to učinjeno da se iskoristi jedna psihoza i da pojedini biskupi tako postanu ne samo zaštitnici i branitelji nego i vođe članstva tih hrvatskih rasturenih društava. Sve je to učinjeno u očiglednoj namjeri da se stvori jedan naročiti katolički front prema svim drugima i prema čitavoj državi. Nije bez značenja da se sva ta akcija podudara sa stvaranjem Lateranskog pakta, sa izmirenjem Mussolinija i Pia XI, i sa odlaskom Ante Pavelića u inostranstvo, najprije Bugarsku pa onda u Italiju, gdje je naišao na punu podršku za svoje rušiteljske ciljeve protiv Jugoslavije. Postoje jasni znaci da se ustvari ova akcija ne vodi iz Hrvatske, nego izvana i za tuđi račun. U Hrvatskoj ta akcija ide za tim da kanalizira ostatke starog nezadovoljstva kako bi se povezao plemenski momenat sa konfesionalnim, da se sugerira masama, pa i inteligenciji da jedini oslonac Hrvatima može da bude u njihovoj borbi, u jednoj internacionalnoj konfesionalnoj organizaciji. Unatoč tome, što hrvatsko pitanje nikad nije bilo postavljeno kao konfesionalno. To najsugestivnije pokazuju oba njegova vođe, oba antiklerikalca Ante Starčević i Stjepan Radić. Sada bi se svi trebali staviti pod vodstvo crkve, pod vodstvo kojemu je sjedište Rim. Bečki katolički i reakcionarni elementi ne podržavaju bez razloga tezu o srpskim antikatoličkim tendencijama u Jugoslaviji opravdavajući time stvaranje katoličke fronte. U Beču i Rimu prikazuju se stvari tako kao da Hrvati ne mogu doći do ravnopravnosti u Jugoslaviji, i to ne zato što su Hrvati, već stoga što su katolici. Kad se uoči akcija papinskog nuncija u Beogradu, koji na upadan način kritizira prosvjetnu politiku u Jugoslaviji, prebrojava broj stanovništva i činovništva u

¹⁹ Vidi naprijed poglavlje XI.

a Catholic front against all others and the whole state. Some other interesting developments along these lines should also be mentioned: the signing of the LATERAN TREATIES, reconciliation between Mussolini and Pius XI and the trip of Ante Pavelitch (Pavelić) to Bulgaria and Italy where he obtained full support for his destructive activities against Yugoslavia. According to evidences these activities were not conducted from Croatia, but from abroad, to serve foreign interests in the first place. The aim of combining the ethnic with the religious aspect was to bring together all dissatisfied Croats, not only Croatian masses, but also Croatian intelligentsia, and persuade them that the Catholic church as an international religious organization is the only one capable of providing them the support they need for their struggle. It should, however, be recalled that the Croatian question has never been a religious issue. The case in point are two Croatian leaders: Ante Starchevitch (Ante Starčević) and Stjepan Raditch (Stjepan Radić) who both maintained anti-clericals political views. Now, the idea was to accept the leadership of the church and the Holy See in Rome. In Vienna the Catholics and reactionaries accused Serbia for being anti-Catholic. Actually it was only their pretext within the effort to establish a Catholic front. In Vienna and Rome best endeavors were being used to sell the idea that the Croats were denied equality in Yugoslavia, not as Croats but as Catholics. The Nuncio in Belgrade vociferously criticized the policy of education in Yugoslavia. Also, he organized the population census in the Banovinas on religious grounds and compared the number of Catholics with their number employed in the regional administration head offices (Banovina) in order to determine the percentage of Catholics in public administration. The point was to impose some kind of a „key“ in the employment policy on that level.

This approach was in line with the plans of Croatian clericals, the Episcopate, the policy of fascist Italy and the Roman Curia. In their view this was the right moment for pressure on Yugoslavia to sign the CONCORDAT. In his circular letter the Bishop of Ljubljana, Jeglich (Jeglić) vehemently criticized the new laws and regulations on education and the status of the Sokol, calling on the devoted members of Catholic church to close ranks and persevere in their resistance. The author of the article continues by quoting the Encyclical in which the clericals call on Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools only, although they are under some kind of state control. Actually, in spite of their independent administration and autonomous development all churches, including the Catholic Church, are not separated from the state because the state partly budgets their activities and salaries of clergy. It is difficult to believe that the Vatican did not

banovinama prema njihovim vjeroispovijestima i nabacuje pitanja o vjerskim „ključevima“ kod namještanja činovnika, onda se može uočiti povezanost ove akcije u vremenu, tendencijama i planovima hrvatskih klerikalaca, Episkopata i politike fašističke Italije i Rimske Kurije, koja je smatrala da je situacija u Jugoslaviji povoljna da je se stegne i prisili na konkordat. Ljubljanski biskup Jeglič u svojim okružnicama veoma je oštro napao nove školske zakone i odredbe a tako i Sokole i pozivao je vjernike na otpor. Što se tiče papine Enciklike, pisac kaže, da papa poziva katolički svijet da svoju omladinu daje samo u katoličke škole, iako se zna da su škole podržavljene i da katolička crkva, kao i ostale crkve, iako se samostalno upravljaju i razvijaju, nisu odvojene od države, koja plaća dio njihovih troškova i njihovo svećenstvo. Ne bi se moglo pretpostaviti da za sve to ne zna Vatikan, pa izgleda kao da se namjerno u toj formi pokušava harangirati miran katolički svijet protiv svih dobara, koja njemu kao građaninu i kao vjerniku pruža Jugoslavija. Time se želi stvoriti u vanjskom svijetu uvjerenje kao da u Jugoslaviji postoji vjerska nesnošljivost i da je ugrožen katolicizam, a sve sa ciljem da se sa tom psihozom doista može stvoriti jedna fronta, koja će naoko biti vjerska i crkvena, a stvarno ima svoju političku pozadinu. Treba da se kaže da sve hrvatsko svećenstvo ne učestvuje u toj akciji koja je inspirirana izvana i koju nekolicina fanatika vješto održavaju držeći ih budno ovom psihozom. Oni slušaju više ovaj glas koji dolazi izvana nego li glas svoje krvi, kako bi pod svoje okrilje skupilo i pod svoju disciplinu stavilo cijelo katoličko svećenstvo i sav katolički svijet u Jugoslaviji. Štoviše, u tim se krugovima ne gleda rado na nastojanje vlade da dođe do jednog *povoljnog* konkordata s Vatikanom koji bi za obje strane definitivno sredio odnose. U tim krugovima nikome ne pada na um da podrži vladu u njenom zahtjevu, postavljenom 1924. da, kod izbora biskupa, Sveta Stolica može da vrši izbor iz reda onih kandidata koje će joj predložiti zbor biskupa jedne provincije. Rimska Kurija, naprotiv, stoji na stanovištu da u izboru ne može



Sokolsko odelo
The Sokol uniform

know anything about these activities of the church. Evidently, the aim of the anti-Yugoslav harangue was to antagonize the law abiding Catholics against Yugoslavia and ignore the benefits and rights they enjoy in it as citizens and believers. Evidently the intention was to leave the impression with the international community that there is no religious tolerance in Yugoslavia and that Catholicism is jeopardized. In such an atmosphere the call for a front in defense of the Catholic faith and Catholic Church sounds natural and was actually planned as a smokescreen for the political aspect of the whole campaign.

It should be emphasized that all Croatian Catholic priests did not participate in that campaign, inspired from abroad and in the country conducted by a few fanatics who were very skillfully maintaining high tension. They obediently follow the instruction by listening to the voice from abroad and are deaf for the call of their own flesh and blood, in the effort to bring under their wing the whole Catholic clergy and all Catholics in Yugoslavia. These circle are not prone to the efforts of the Yugoslav government which is using its best efforts to reach a favorable agreement with the Vatican and solve the problems jeopardizing their mutual relations. It does not occur to them to support the request of the Government from 1924 that when appointing the bishops the Holy See should select them from the list of candidates proposed by the Bishops' Council of that particular region. The Roman Curia does not accept that limitation. The author of the article goes on by wondering whether the clerical circles have the slightest feeling for the national aspect. If they are sincere Croats they should support this request of the Yugoslav government and thus prevent foreigners, Italians, Arnauts (Albanians), Hungarians or Germans, to be appointed bishops in Dalmatia, Croatia, Slovenia and Vojvodina. Efforts are being made to uproot from memory the old request of Croatian priests to use the Glagolitic missal for Catholics on the whole territory of Yugoslavia. Why, wonders the author of the article and answers: „Because it is not in the interest of the political background of the whole campaign in support of the establishment of a Catholic front in Yugoslavia. Actually, this is not in line with the old Croatian tradition and their struggle for national identity. This is an obscure machination which Bishop Strossmayer would call FURTIM, which means a specific, psychotic atmosphere created in view of achieving a given aim. This high tension is very smartly designed. The intention is to attract numerous former followers of Stjepan Raditch (Radić) who used to insist on the religious, but NOT on the confessional and clerical aspect, and also attract the intelligentsia, always progressive, in the spirit of Starchevitch or Strossmayer, and put them all un-

biti ograničena predlozima biskupa jedne provincije. Ali, pita se pisac, ako naši crkveni krugovi imaju doista osjećaja za nacionalni momenat i ako u njima doista Hrvati treba da nađu oslonac svojim nacionalnim nastojanjima, zašto oni ne podrže ovo zahtjevanje vlade, po kome bi bila spriječena opasnost, da jednoga dana u jugoslavenskim biskupijama na sjeveru i na jugu, a naročito na zapadu, u Dalmaciji, u Hrvatskoj, u Sloveniji i u Vojvodini, ne osvanu biskupi iz reda Talijana, Arnauta, Madžara ili Nijemaca? Zašto su tako temeljito zabašurili stari zahtjev Hrvata za uvođenje glagoljice u katoličkom bogoslužju na cijeloj teritoriji Jugoslavije? Naprosto stoga, odgovara sasvim pravilno pisac, jer te stvari nisu u interesu one političke pozadine koja stoji iza čitavog ovog forsiranog nezadovoljstva i forsiranog formiranja katoličke fronte u Jugoslaviji. Sve je to protivno i daleko od stare hrvatske tradicije i čitavoj narodnoj pa i plemenskoj borbi Hrvata. Može se nešto pokušati sa kriumčarenim, zaobilaznim načinom koji je Strossmayer nazvao „furtimaškim“. Jedino „furtim“, „furtimaštinom“ može da se podvali ovako nešto Hrvatima, iskorišćujući postojeću i stvarajući novu psihozu među njima. Ova se psihoza stvara jednim prepredenim načinom, da se one mase, koje je do nedavna vodio Radić i uzgajao ih u religioznom, ali ne i u konfesionalnom, klerikalnom pravcu, i onu inteligenciju koja je u duhu bilo Starčevića, bilo Strossmayera, bila uvijek napredna i kulturna, podredi vodstvu nekoliko fanatika iz provincije, ili političara iz Ljubljane, a pod uticajem Pešte, Beča i Rima.²⁰

Ovakav prikaz političke atmosfere toga vremena u vezi sa klerikalnim akcijama bio je uistinu vjeran odraz stvarnosti koje će u kasnijem zbivanju naići na punu potvrdu, naročito u uvodu u ustašku NDH, a u samom ustaštvu dat će hiljade naknadnih dokaza za njihovo ranije postojanje, pa i onovremene klerikalne akcije. U tom trenutku, kada se prstom ukazalo na ovu klerikalnu akciju, klerikalci su u koru povikali da su to najopakije i najnepravednije denuncije. Odatle i odlučna reakcija zagrebačkog nadbiskupa Bauera na članak koji je u umjerenom i stvarnom izlaganju bez ikakvih ličnih uvreda samo iznio opće uvjerenje širih, naprednijih krugova u Jugoslaviji.

Nadbiskup Bauer ustvrdio je da je teško ikada kroz ovo 50 godina što prati javni život u Hrvatskoj izašao u javnosti teži napadaj na glavu katoličke crkve, kojoj pripada hrvatski narod i gotovo polovina pučanstva Jugoslavije kao i na katoličku crkvu uopće. Međutim, u tom trenutku je zacijelo zaboravio nadbiskup Bauer na postojanje recimo zagrebačkog „Hrvatskog đaka“, „Pokreta“, „Slobodne misli“, „Vala“, šibenskog „Naprednjaka“, splitske

²⁰ „Novosti“ 26. I. 1930.

der the leadership of a few provincial fanatics, or politicians from Ljubljana under the strong influence of Budapest, Vienna and Rome."²⁰

This description very faithfully reflects reality which later on culminated in the establishment of the fascist Independent state of Croatia - NDH and the USTASHI movement, proved that it had its roots in this clerical campaign as well. Those who tried to expose the background of that clerical campaign were immediately unanimously accused by all clericals of being dirty denouncers. It is exactly in this spirit that Bishop Bauer vehemently reacted to this article which, in a moderate tone and offending no one, publicly and openly only expressed the opinion of the progressive circles in Yugoslavia.

Archbishop Bauer claims that for fifty years of his following the public life in Croatia there has never been a more vehement attack on the Head of the Catholic Church and the Catholic Church in general which is the church of all Croats and almost of one half of the population in Yugoslavia. It is obvious that the Archbishop decided to ignore many papers such as: HRVATSKI DJAK (Croatian schoolboy), POKRET (Movement), SLOBODNA MISAO (Free Thought), VAL (Wave) and VIHOR (Wind), published in Zagreb, NAPREDNJAK (Progressive), published in Šibenik, ZASTAVE (Flags), published in Split, PREPOROD (Renaissance), published in Ljubljana which were all engaged in hot discussions on anti-clerical issues. Even the Zagreb paper RIJEČ (Word) in 1929 published several extremely critical articles on this issue. NOVOSTI (News) criticized the Vatican and fascists for their anti-Yugoslav policy before and after the conclusion of the LATERAN TREATIES. Obviously, the Archbishop disregarded the articles in JUGOSLOVENSKA NJIVA (the Yugoslav Field) and in Old Catholic magazines REFORMA (Reform) and PREPOROD (Renaissance). He had in mind something else. He wanted to send a message to a „particular group“ which was actually the source of all relevant information. It is with the „source“ that the Archbishop wanted to argue in his effort to refute all accusations against the Holy See, the Episcopate, Nuncio Pellegrinetti and the CATHOLIC ACTION. The Archbishop particularly emphasized that all of them had always conducted activities strictly within the framework of Law. Had Archbishop Bauer lived to witness the developments in 1941 he would have probably been ashamed of the CATHOLIC ACTION and e.g. KRIŽAR (Crusader) which bragged about the contribution of that organization to the destruction of Yugoslavia and establishment of NDH (Independent State of Croatia). At the end of this argument the Archbishop, in his capacity of Chairman of the Bishop

²⁰ „NOVOSTI“, January 26, 1930.

„Zastave“, ljubljanskog „Preporoda“, zagrebačkog „Vihora“ i tolikih drugih listova koji su najodlučnije raspravljali antiklerikalna pitanja. Ta sama zagrebačka „Riječ“ 1929. donijela je nekoliko nemilosrdnih kritika, kao što su to donijele i „Novosti“ u vezi fašističko-vatikanske antijugoslavenske politike prije i poslije Lateranskog sporazuma. Zacijelo je nadbiskup Bauer sasvim zaboravio i na „Jugoslavensku njivu“ i starokatoličku „Reformu“ i „Preporod“. Ali nadbiskupu Baueru trebalo je da to naglasi zato da pogodi tu „naročitu stranu“ od koje su „Novosti“ dobile svoja obavještenja. Nadbiskup Bauer polemizira sa tom „naročitom stranom“ braneći od svih prigovora Svetu Stolicu, episkopat, svećenstvo i K. A. a nada sve nuncija Pellegrinettija. Naročito nadbiskup brani K. A. za koju kaže da nigdje nije prekoračila svoj djelokrug i da se nije upuštala u akcije koje bi bile u suprotnosti sa državnim zakonima. Da je nadbiskup Bauer doživio 1941., zacijelo bi bio uveliko pošteđen izjavama najmnogobrojnije organizacije K. A., „Križara“, koji će se hvaliti kako su pomagali rušiti Jugoslaviju i stvarati NDH. Pri kraju ove polemike nadbiskup je podvukao da kao predsjednik biskupskih konferencija izjavljuje „ovako potpuno istinito i kao hrvatski mitropolit“²¹ i kao zagrebački ordinarij da unutar episkopata i klera nema razmimoilaženja u ljubavi prema svetoj majci Crkvi i njezinom vrhovnom poglavaru, prema svom narodu, iz kojeg niče i za koji živi i radi i prema državi i zakonitim vlastima. Episkopat i kler je u svojim dužnostima jednodušan, nema sile koja će ga uskoлебati i skrenuti od puta kojim je i dosada išao“. Dakako, i ovom prilikom nadbiskup, skidajući s episkopata i klera svu odgovornost, prebacuje je na „međunarodne tamne sile“ (misli, naime, na masone, kao tobožnje podržavatelje šestojanuarskog režima), koje „idu za tim da rezbukte u Jugoslaviji vjersku borbu i potaknu na progon katoličke crkve“.²²

Svakako je ova polemika odložila za izvjesno vrijeme punu akciju i primjenu te Enciklike, u prvom redu u školskom pitanju, a onda i u sokolskom. Stalo se na gladište da nikako nije oportuno da se od strane episkopata već

²¹ Ovaj termin „Hrvatski mitropolit“ je potpuno proizvoljan naziv, potpuno samozvani, i preuzet je iz hrvatske štampe, ma da ga nikad i nigdje nije Rimski Kurija upotrijebila. Mitropolita Croaticus ne postoji. Postoji Mitropolita zagrebačke biskupije, a nikako Hrvatski mitropolit ili Mitropolita Hrvatske koji bi naziv imao da odgovara mađarskom Primas Hungariae. Postoji i naziv Primas Serbiae, ali Mitropolita Hrvatske ne. Reformno svećenstvo predlagalo je među prvim svojim zahtjevima i željama da se zagrebačkom nadbiskupu da titula Primasa Jugoslavije. Svakako je karakteristično da se tako naziva sam nadbiskup Bauer. Njegovim primjerom poći će i njegov nasljednik A. Stepinac.

²² Hrvatski Mitropolit na obranu crkve i Svetoga Oca. Izjava zagrebačkog nadbiskupa dr. Antuna Bauera uredniku „Hrvatske straže“. „Hrvatska straža“ 30. I. 1930. Vidi i „Katolički list“ 1930., br. 5, 56–57.

Conference declared that as a Croatian Archbishop²¹ and Ordinarius of Zagreb he could claim in all sincerity and with full responsibility, that the Episcopate and clergy share the same love for their Holy Mother Church, the Holy Father, their co-nationals with whom they live and work and for the State and its legal authorities; that the Episcopate and the clergy unanimously accept to carry out their duties and that there is no might or power which could force the Church to swerve from its path.“ This time too the Archbishop is using his best efforts to exculpate the Episcopate and clergy and throw all the blame on „international dark forces“ (meaning free masons accused of supporting the 6-th of January regime) whose aim is to ignite religious conflicts in Yugoslavia and launch a persecution campaign against the Catholic Church.²²

This polemics has, undoubtedly, postponed the implementation of the Encyclical, primarily the items on education and Sokol. It was decided that the moment was not right for raising these issues because of their possible serious implications which may produce a negative affect on the authority of the Holy See and Pius XI himself. Under the circumstances they decided to patiently follow the developments in Yugoslavia and at the most appropriate moment take action, but only upon approval of the Roman Curia.

The discussion continued after the ALL SOKOL RALLY organized on VIDOVDAN (June 28). Croatian clericals decided to counteract by organizing their own Rally as an event parallel to the Eucharistic Congress in Zagreb, in August, in order to show how strong they are. The public opinion rightly concluded that the Eucharistic Congress was a smartly conceived reaction to ALL SOKOL RALLY in Belgrade. Both, the organizers of the event and the participants admitted that fact. The atmosphere surrounding both events revealed the intentions and goals of each organizer. The Eucharistic Congress lasted from 14 to 17 August 1930. Nuncio Pellegrinni was the Envoy of the Holy Father. Archbishop Bauer explained the reasons for organizing the Eucharistic Congress „and why it required so much money, effort and sac-

sada postave neki naročiti zahtjevi u vezi sa Enciklikom, jer bi time još i više u prvi plan bio uvučen autoritet Svete Stolice i same ličnosti Pia XI. A to se imalo pod cijenu teško nametnute strpljivosti odložiti za najpogodniji trenutak, kad ga budu odredile prilike u Jugoslaviji i suglasnost Rimske Kurije. Diskusija se nije stišala ni poslije sveskolskog sleta koji je održan sa velikim svečanostima na Vidovdan 1930. Hrvatski klerikalizam manifestirao je svoje snage i svoj stav u antipodnim svečanostima, u Zagrebu na Euharističkom kongresu mjeseca augusta. U javnosti je smatrano da je objava i održavanje Euharističkog kongresa došlo kao odgovor na odluku održavanja sveskolskog sleta u Beogradu. Uostalom tako su to tumačili i priređivači i učesnici Euharističkog kongresa. Jer, duh izvođenja obiju svečanosti bio je najrječitiji tumač u namjerama i ciljevima priređivača. Zborovanje Euharističkog kongresa započelo je 14. augusta 1930. a završeno 17. augusta. Papin delegat bio je nuncij Pellegrinetti. Nadbiskup Bauer je dao i odgovor na pitanje zašto se drži ovaj Euharistički kongres „skopčan sa toliko troška, napora i žrtava? Nije Isus Krist samo naš spasitelj, On je i naš Kralj, pa treba da mu se kao Kralju klanjamo. Zato ćemo ga svečano iznijeti na ulice grada Zagreba, da mu se svi, svi javno kao Kralju poklone, da mu to bude naknada za sve uvrede što mu ih ljudi čine i zadovoljština za grijehе kojima ga vrijeđaju“. Predsjednik priređivačkog odbora, vikarni biskup Premuš, ponovio je zaključnu misao nadbiskupa Bauera kad je otvarajući kongres pozdravio kongres i izrazio „nadu da će kongres proći sretno, koju nam daje i prisustvo delegata Svetog Oca pape Msgra Pellegrinettija, jer je po njemu među nama sam Sveti Otac papa, namjesnik Isusa Krista na zemlji, pa je tako i sam Krist među nama!“²³ Sa kongresa upućen je telegram u Beograd kralju i u Rim papi. Hrvati i Slovenci zahvaljuju papi na počasti koju je ukazao kongresu što je na nj izaslao svog nuncija.

„Izražavaju nadalje svoju vjernost i odanost Rimskoj Apostolskoj Stolic i Vašoj Svetosti kao zamjeniku onoga Isusa Krista, čijoj prisutnosti u presvetoj Euharistiji hoće ovaj kongres odati poštovanje i slavu, uvjereni da je zaloga njihove narodne budućnosti ljubav prema katoličkoj crkvi i njenoj vidljivoj glavi na zemlji. Konačno mole od Vaše Svetosti blagoslov u svome radu i zborovanju, koje ima za cilj da presveta Euharistija preporodi duhovni život svih vjernika i zavlada našim javnim životom.“²⁴

Priprave koje su činjene za taj kongres u klerikalnoj, a i u ostaloj separatističkoj orijentiranoj štampi u Zagrebu, Sarajevu, Splitu i drugdje, a tako i

²¹ „Croatian Metropolitan“ („Hrvatski metropolit“) is an arbitrary term, invented and launched by Croatian press. The Roman Curia has never used it. Metropolita Croatica does not exist. And never did. There is only the METROPOLITA of the Zagreb bishopric. Metropolita Croatica was invented as a counterpart to the Hungarian Primus Hungariae. The term Primas Serbiae does exist, but Metropolita Croatica does not. The clergy that supported the Reform requested that the Archbishop of Zagreb be renamed to the PRIMAS OF YUGOSLAVIA. It is interesting to note that Archbishop Bauer also calls himself PRIMAS. A. Stepinatz, his successor, will use the same title.

²² „CROATIAN METROPOLITA DEFENDS THE CHURCH AND THE HOLY FATHER.“ Statement of Dr. Bauer, Archbishop of Zagreb, to the editor of „HRVATSKA STRAŽA“ (Croatian Guard) of January 30, 1930. See „KATOLIČKI LIST“, 1930, no. 5, pp. 56-57.

²³ „Politika“ 16. VIII. 1930.

²⁴ Idem.

rice. Jesus is not only our Savior He is also our King and we should bow to him. Therefore, we shall take him to the streets of Zagreb in a solemn procession so that everyone can publicly bow before him and by doing so expiate for all wrongs done to Him and give Him satisfaction for all sins committed against him."

The Vicar Bishop Premush (Premus), Chairman of the Organizing Committee, reiterated the message, with which he concluded his opening address to the Congress. „Expressing hope that the Congress will take place in a favorable atmosphere he particularly emphasized that thanks to the presence of Msgr Pellegrinetti, Envoy of the Holy Father, Christ is among us through his representative on Earth.“²³

The Congress sent a telegram to the King in Belgrade and the Pope in Rome. The Croats and Slovenes most cordially thanked the Holy Father for the tribute he paid to the Congress by sending his Nuncio to represent him.

„The participants in the Congress also made a solemn pledge of allegiance, faithfulness and devotion to the Roman Apostolic See and the Holy Father who represents Jesus Christ on Earth and who, through the Envoy of the Holy Father, is also present among us. It is to his presence at this Holy Eucharistia that this Congress wants to pay tribute and respect to our Lord, convinced that the future of our people lies in love for Catholic Church and its visible LORD on Earth. The Participants beg your Holiness to bless the Congress and support it in its efforts to help the Eucharistia enrich the spiritual life of all believers and take the lead in our public life.“²⁴

All information about the Congress in the clerical and other press advocating separatism in Zagreb, Sarajevo, Split and elsewhere and the atmosphere surrounding the Congress revealed that the connection between Eucharistia and true religious feelings, on the one hand, and the Congress, on the other, was only formal. The general public understood the message coming from the organizers and within that effort took part in violent demonstrations staged in favor of separatism. There was not a single flag hoisted in Zagreb, simply because Croatian flags, as ethnic, were prohibited and the State flags were not acceptable. Actually, the absence of the state flag is indicative of the state of mind both of the organizers and participants. Only an enormous flag of the Holy See was hoisted on the tower of the Old Cathedral with two tiny Yugoslav flags at each side, to meet the legal requirement.

²³ „POLITIKA“, August 16, 1930.

24 Idem.

samo izvođenje kongresa pokazalo je da je taj kongres u stvari imao samo formalne veze sa Euharistijom i sa istinskim vjerskim osjećajima. Naprotiv, široke mase shvatile su priređivače i odazvale su se na taj kongres na kome su se demonstrativno manifestirale separatističke tendencije. U Zagrebu nije bilo zastava. Naprosto stoga što su hrvatske bile zabranjene, a državne se nisu htjele da iznesu. Svakako ovo odsustvo državne zastave bilo je osvetljenje duhovne strane kojom su se rukovodili priređivači i učesnici. Jedino na tornju starodrevne katedrale vila se ogromna papinska zastava, zastava pape-Kralja, a uz nju dvije male jugoslavenske, bez kojih se zacijelo ne bi mogla izvijesiti ona pape-Kralja. Nema sumnje, ovaj kongres bio je ono sredstvo, koje je omogućilo da okupi tolike hiljade separatista, da kažu, ma i bez riječi, ali sadržajno i prkosno, kakav je njihov stav prema toj državi u kojoj se kongres održava. Nijedna molitva nije očitana za državu Jugoslaviju, dok su se prosula bezbrojna isticanja o vezama hrvatskog naroda sa Svetom Stolicom, sa Rimom. Duhovno, s ovim još nepovezanim klero-fašistima povezao se i ustaški emigrant Ante Pavelić, koji je velikim interesiranjem pratio pripreme za ovaj manifestacioni zbor hrvatskih masa nezadovoljnih nekojim opravdanim razlozima sa šestojanuarskim režimom. Zato je Pavelić iz Italije poručio svojim pristalicama da će „*papinski Rim osloboditi rimokatoličke Hrvate od pravoslavnih Srba*“²⁵

Tokom čitavog kongresa bila je stalno naglašavana u propovjedima, govorima i predavanjima ideja Krista-Kralja, koju je toliko pontifikat Pia XI uzdigao i razvio, a objeručke ju je prihvatio hrvatski klerikalac u svome isticanju božanskog kralja, kao antitezu zemaljskom, srpskom i pravoslavnom kralju u Beogradu. Ova ideja nebeskog monarhizma u Hrvatskoj, na zemlji nije bila izraz nekih možda republikanskih kamufliranih osjećanja, već naprosto vješto korišćen termin antipravoslavnih raspoloženja klerikalnih i separatističkih masa. Stara teza Bonifacija VIII koji se proglasio kraljem kraljeva kao zamjenik Isusa Krista, oživjela je više nego ikad za Pia XI, koji postaje tako u očima vjernih i prvi vladalac nad svim vladaocima na zemlji. To je još prije Lateranskog sporazuma trebalo i te kako Piu XI u Italiji, to je klerikalizmu u Jugoslaviji došlo osobito u pomoć u vrijeme najtežih političkih previranja. U istome se duhu vršila propaganda u crkvama i novinama. Sva hodočašća koja su se kretala iz Hrvatske u Rim polazila su zamjeniku Krista Kralja. Kad su 1925. hrvatski biskupi odlučili proslaviti hiljadugodišnjicu hrvatskog kraljevstva onda su odlučili da to učine pred nogama „Zamjenika Kralja Krista“. Prema ovoj tezi, koju je na svoj politički način tumačio narod, on je u svom

²⁵ Niko Petrić, Zagrebački Euharistički kongres. „Naša sloga“ 22. VIII. 1930.

This Congress was successful in rallying thousands and thousands of separatists who tacitly, but publicly, openly and spitefully demonstrated their attitude towards the Kingdom of Yugoslavia where the Congress was taking place. Not one single prayer was offered for Yugoslavia. On the other hand, particular attention was devoted to the links between Croatian people and the Holy See and Rome. Ante Pavelitch (Pavelić) an Ustasha emigrant, availed himself of the opportunity to get in touch with clero-fashists, not yet united at that time. Actually, Ante Pavelitch followed with keen interest the preparations of this massive protest of the Croats who did not accept some of the solutions envisaged by the 6-th of January regime. Aware of what was going on Pavelitch sent a message from Italy to his supporters in which he says: „The Pope and Rome will liberate the Roman Catholic Croats from Orthodox Serbs“²⁵

All the time the Congress kept glorifying the idea of Christ-the-King, in all addresses, speeches and lectures. Actually, it was Pius XI who particularly insisted on that idea. The Croatian clericals further developed that same idea insisting on the divinity of God-the-King on Heaven as opposed to the Serbian Orthodox King on Earth-in Belgrade. This idea of celestial monarchism in Croatia was not an attempt to sell the republican idea in disguise, but rather encourage the already existing anti-Orthodox feelings of the clericals and the Croatian masses calling for separatism.

Pius XI very strongly supported and disseminated the idea launched by Bonifacius VIII, according to which the Pope, being the King-of-Kings, is the envoy of Jesus Christ on Earth. Thus, in the eyes of the believers the Holy Father is the supreme Lord on Earth, above all others. Even before the LUTERAN TREATIES the Pope in Rome and the clericals in Yugoslavia found this idea very useful in politically turbulent circumstances. Propaganda in Catholic Churches and papers was conducted in that same spirit. All Catholics pilgrims from Croatia were in Rome received by the Envoy of Christ-the-King. When in 1925 the Croatian Bishops decided to mark the Thousandth Anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom they organized the ceremony at the feet of the Envoy of Christ-the-King. Further elaborating on the idea of separatism the Croats decided to also get their own Croatian Queen by crowning the statue of the Holy Mother of Bistrice, on the 7-th of July, 1935. The intention was more than evident so that it was very difficult to put it under the umbrella of devotion to Holy Eucharistia and the Holy Mother.

²⁵ Niko Petritch, „EUCCHARISTIC CONGRESS IN ZAGREB“ (Niko Petrić, Zagrebački Eukarististički kongres) „NAŠA SLOGA“, August 22, 1930.



Sokolski duvački orkestar
The Sokol wind orchestra

separatističkom stremljenju i u istom duhu dobio svoju kraljicu, hrvatsku kraljicu, krunivši kip Matere Božje na Bistrici, 7. jula 1935. Očiglednost ovih tendencija bila je jasna i najširim narodnim masama, pa i onda kad su te tendencije bile zaodjenute pobožnošću prema Svetoj Euharistiji ili prema Materi Božjoj.

Nuncij Pellegrinetti, u svojim je odgovorima isticao istu misao da je Krist kralj nad kraljevima i vladar nad vladarima. U posvetnoj molitvi Srcu Isusovu podvučena je na prvom mjestu misao Krista Kralja koji ima da kraljuje nad Hrvatima katolicima. U političkim kao i u vjerskim krugovima zapažene su jasno ove prozirne tendencije koje su već ranije izbile jasno u „Katoličkom listu“ kad je dr. Stjepan Bakšić, profesor univerziteta i kanonik u borbenom stavu izrekao ovu misao: „U borbu dakle s devizom: „Nemamo Kralja – nego Krista Gospoda“. Ova igra riječi bila je ista 1926., na inat Stjepanu Radiću, koji je sa republikanstva prešao na monarhizam, kao što je to bilo i 1930. Njihovi protivnici, starokatolici koji su ih najbolje poznavali, protumačili su ovu monarhističko-republikansku propagandu, vezujući je sa Euharistijom. „Pred Euharistijom klicati Krista Kraljem, znači obnavljati prizor, kada su židovi pred Isusom Kristom, odjeveni u skrletu i okrunjeni trnovom krunom na porugu klicali: „Zdravo, Kralju Žudijski! Kada se pak sakupljaju pod zamamljivim imenom Euharistije, a stvarno u svrhu da se podiže veličina, moć i slava ma koje bilo crkve ili njezina poglavara, tada je to: profanacija Euharistije – svetogrđe!“²⁶

²⁶ Euharistija, „Starokatolik“ 31. VIII. 1930., 1.

In his speeches Nuncio Pellegrinetti insisted on the same idea: Jesus Christ is the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords. In his prayer dedicated to the Holy Heart the idea of Christ-the-King comes first, Christ, who is to be the King of all Catholic Croats. This idea fostered by clerical circles, was earlier disseminated through KATOLIČKI LIST and the writings of Stjepan Raditch, university professor and a cleric. He launched the following militant slogan: „We do not have our king, but we have Jesus Christ, the Almighty.“ In 1930 this play on words was the same as that in 1926, actually a sting addressed to Stjepan Raditch who turned coat, gave up republicanism and became a monarchist. The Old Catholics and their opponents very well understood the background and implications of that monarcho-republican game and its connection with Eucharistia. To hail Christ before Eucharistia reminded of the scene in which the Jews, wearing scarlet gowns and crowns of thorns on their heads derisively saluted Christ by chanting: „Hail King of Judea!“ When gatherings under the auspices of Eucharistia are used to glorify the church and its Head in this way it is nothing but desecration of Eucharistia, it is actually sacrilege.²⁶

The introduction of the prayer to the Eucharistic Heart of Jesus Reads as follows: „We, your Croatian people are fully aware that our beautiful country is a gift of your merciful generosity so that we may freely live in it and prosper Thanks to the gift of your love the Croats were among the first in Europe to adhere to the Catholic Church. Thus you have protected us from the sin of heresy and assigned us the task to serve as ante muralis of Christianity for centuries... We bow to your celestial wisdom, your celestial power and love with which you rule over Croatian People. Today, together with the entire Croatian people we pledge devotion to you-our King... In you we believe because you are TRUTH and in your hands we put our lives and all our hopes, convinced that your true faith will bring us freedom and your Commandments peace to our mind.“²⁷

In 1930 the Episcopate actually revives Mahnich (Mahnich) and his thought from 1917 and 1918 when he spoke about unification of the churches according to the principle of unitarism (centralism). The implication of the prayer to the Holy Heart is that Christ is not yet in the hearts of all other non-Catholic Slavic brothers.

„We pray to you, our celestial king to ignite our hearts with the flame of your love and devotion to the Sacred Roman Catholic

²⁶ „EUCARISTIA“ (Eukaristija) „STAROKATOLIK“, August 31, 1930., I.

²⁷ MORNING PAPER („Jutarnji list“), July 18, 1930.

U „posvetnoj molitvi hrvatskoga naroda Euharističkom Srcu Isusovu“, kaže se u uvodu, da „hrvatski tvoj narod priznaje da je od tvoje dobrote primio lijepu svoju domovinu, da se u njoj slobodan razvija... Dar je ljubavi tvoje, što si ga među prvim narodima Evrope pozvao u svetu katoličku crkvu, što si ga sačuvao od krivovjerstva i jačao, te je bio kroz stoljeća predziđe kršćanstva... *Mi se klanjamo tvojoj božanskoj mudrosti, moći i ljubavi, kojom vladaš hrvatskim narodom... Tebi se evo danas s nama sav hrvatski narod posvećuje kao svome kralju, Tebi izruča sebe i sve svoje.* U Tebe, koji si istina, put i život stavljamo svu nadu svoju, uvjereni da će nas istina vjere Tvoje osloboditi, put zapovijedi Tvojih mir nam povratiti.“²⁷

I sada 1930. vraća se episkopat na Mahniča, misli iz 1917. i 1918. kad govori o sjedinjenju crkava, na način koji je nedvosmisleno unijatski. U „posvetnoj molitvi“ naime aludira se da Krist još ne vlada srcima ostale slavenske, nekatoličke braće.

„Molimo Te, dakle, o Božanski Kralju naš, da žarkom ljubavi srca svoga ražariš srca naša te Ti ostanemo vjerni u svetoj rimokatoličkoj crkvi. Ti nas vodi i blagoslovi, da izvršimo narednu zadaću svoju, koju nam ljubeznom Providnošću namjenjuješ da preko nas Ti zavladaš u srcima ostale slavenske braće naše te se svi u Tebi radujemo u sretnoj vremenitoj i vječnoj domovini. Amen.“²⁸

Narod, koji je već odavna bio naučen da mu se u crkvi tumači politika u alegorijama i aluzijama, umio je dodati od čega će ga Krist, Kralj nad kraljevima, dotično njegov zamjenik i namjesnik, osloboditi i vratiti mu mir. Mnogi su znali za Pavelićevu poruku iz Italije, mnogi su je prenosili od usta ka ustima i mnogi su joj dali svoj karakteristični komentar. Radikalnija struja priređivača ovoga kongresa želila je da na najgrublji način iskoristi opću političku psihozu u državi. Šta više, njoj su podlegli i najviđeniji hrvatski intelektualci, koji su osuđivali šestojanuarski režim.²⁹ Prije početka kongresa razgovarao sam sa dr. M. Dežmanom, urednikom „Obzora“ o političkoj pozadini kongresa, koja je i za manje upućene bila očigledna. „Obzor“, nekadašnji liberalni, jugoslavenski i Strossmayerovski, sada se dao u službu izrazitog klerikalizma zalažući se za što uspješniji rezultat kongresa, kako bi što veći broj Hrvata tih dana došao u Zagreb. Dr. Dežman mi je objašnjavao da su Hrvati, svi bez razlike koji su nezadovoljni s režimom u Beogradu, koji hoće

²⁷ „Jutarnji list“ 18. VII. 1930.

²⁸ Idem. – Osvrt na Euharistički kongres u Zagrebu. „Starokatolik“ 31. VIII. 1930., 2.

²⁹ Autor nije dao komentar.

Church. Lead us and bless our efforts to fulfill our next task you have kindly assigned us in your divine providence, that through us we win the hearts of all our Slavic brothers so that together, in you we all find joy and an eternal, happy homeland. AMEN²⁸

People very well understood the figurative language of the Church and from whom Jesus, the King of Kings, through his envoy on Earth, will liberate them and restore their peace of mind. The message Pavelitch sent from Italy was spreading from mouth to ear, always spiced with some personal comments. The most radical organizers of the Congress wanted to take advantage of the atmosphere prevailing in the country in the most aggressive way possible. Eminent Croatian intellectuals who condemned the 6-th of January regime joined forces with them.²⁹ Before the beginning of the Congress I talked to Dr Dežman, editor of OBZOR, about the Congress and its political background, obvious even to the much less informed. OBZOR started as a liberal paper which fostered the ideas of Strossmayer and Yugoslavism, but later changed its political stands. Now it was giving its full support to the Congress and tried to bring to Zagreb as many Croats as possible to support the event. Dr Dežman tried to explain that all Croats, with no exception, do not support the Belgrade regime. They want freedom and independence and in pursuing that aim they are ready to pull forces with the devil himself, even with the black International, with everybody willing and ready to help them achieve their goal.

„This Congress very well serves our purpose. We shall use this occasion to openly demonstrate our hostility. We can feel the political atmosphere surrounding the Congress, which makes us particularly happy, because it contributes to our success too. The clericals believing that all these people are there for their sake will brag about it. Their illusion is irrelevant. Let them enjoy in their daydreaming. Let them. It does not matter. In view of the prevailing circumstances we all have to join forces and be on the same side: the clericals, conservatives, liberals or progressives. The Croats are fortunate enough to have the Catholic Church through which they can speak both at home and abroad.“³⁰

²⁸ Idem. „ABOUT THE EICHARISTIC CONGRESS IN ZAGREB“. (Osvrt na Euharistički Kongres u Zagrebu), „STAROKATOLIK“, July 31, 1930.

²⁹ No comment by the author.

³⁰ Prof. I. Tkalchitch (Tkalčić) and prof. Tch. Lichar (C. Ličar) also participated in the talks which took place in mid August 1930., in the summer house of Dipl. Ing. Peyer, on the island of Korčula (Korčula).

slobodu i nezavisnost, spremni da idu i za crnim đavlom, pa i za crnom internacionalom, ako im to može da bude od pomoći pri njihovu nastojanju.

„Zato je nama dobro došao ovaj kongres. Mi ćemo se i njim poslužiti da demonstrativno demonstriramo naše neraspoloženje. Nama je neobično drago što se osjeća da će taj kongres imati i svoju političku notu, jer ćemo tako i mi uspjeti. Da će se i klerikalci time hvaliti, uobražavajući da su sve te mase njihove, nas to ne smeta i to je drugostepena stvar. Uostalom sada su došla takva vremena da se svi moramo naći na jednoj fronti, bez obzira da li smo konzervativci, klerikalci, liberalci ili naprednjaci. Sreća je da Hrvati još imaju katoličku crkvu kroz koju mogu i u zemlji i napolju da kažu svoju riječ.“³⁰

Daljni razgovor ukazao je da je zagrebačka Kurija već dotad učinila velike političke usluge separatističkim tendencijama hrvatske opozicije – preko Vatikana. Dr. Milivoj Dežman bio je savršeno upoznat sa zakulisnim režijama hrvatske politike. Pisanje „Obzora“ iz toga vremena u historijskom razmatranju i poređenje utvrđenih stvarnosti dokazuju točnost ove konstatacije.

Euharistički kongres u Zagrebu bio je nesumnjivo prva pokusna i odvažna demonstrativna osuda politike kralja, više nego ma koji drugi politički akt toga vremena kao i onih koja su slijedila. Nadvisit će ga samo izvjesne političke „punktacije“ i antisokolska poslanica jugoslavenskog episkopata. Pa opet, kralj Aleksandar išao im je u svemu na ruku, želeći, ma i zlatnim lancima povezati sa sobom episkopat. Bio je tu slab poznavalac problema. Nisu pomogle ni Karađorđeva Zvijezda, koju je skinuo ispod svoga vrata i prikopčao je na Bauerove grudi. Klerikalizam bio je na osnovnom polasku. On je tražio sve. Tako mu je bilo spolja naređeno.

Kao što je ovaj Euharistički kongres, tako su i brojni ostali, lokalni i župski imali uvijek istu političku pozadinu, pa je često dolazilo i do sukoba sa policijskim vlastima, koje su kruto primjenjivale zakon o zabranama plemenskih nesnošljivosti. Mase su se susticale na kongresima više prema svojim političkim i opozicijskim raspoloženjima, nego motivima unutrašnjeg vjerskog osjećanja. Političke izazovne manifestacije, koje su dovodile nerijetko i do tučnjava, nisu nastajale uslijed smetnji koje bi se činile štovanju Euharistije ili radi sprečavanja molenju i klanjanju Kristu Kralju, već radi prekršaja o postojeće zabrane, naročito plemenskih zastava, koje su klerikalci, pomoću slika M. Božje, kristijanski i t.d. Episkopat ni svećenstvo nisu dje-

³⁰ Razgovoru su prisustvovali na Korčuli polovinom augusta 1930. u vili ing. A. Peyera još i profesori J. Tkalčić i Č. Ličar.

Further talks revealed that through the Vatican the Zagreb Curia had already rendered important political services to the Croatian opposition advocating separatism. Dr Milivoj Dežman was to the very detail familiar with the secret machinations of the Croatian politicians. The articles published in OBZOR at that time are the case in point.

The Eucharistic Congress in Zagreb was, undoubtedly, the first and most courageous condemnation of the King and his policy, more than any other political act at that time and those that followed. Only stronger in that respect will be some later political „punctuations“ and Epistles of the Yugoslav Episcopate against the Sokol. In his effort to win the Episcopate over to his side, even at the cost of golden chains, King Alexander only played into their hands. He was not smart enough to understand the problem. Even the medal KARADJORDJEVA ZVEZDA he took off his chest and put it on the chest of Bishop Bauer did not do any good. The offensive of Clericalism was in full swing and they wanted everything. It was the order from abroad.

Like the Eucharistic Congress in Zagreb all other local and district congresses always had the same political background. Therefore, frequent conflicts with the police force, which was under strict orders to implement the Law prohibiting ethnic intolerance. The masses were coming to the congresses mainly for political and not religious reasons and in order to manifest opposition to the regime. All these politically challenging controversies, which often times ended up in physical conflicts had nothing to do with the respect for Eucharistia or prayers to Christ-the King. The police reacted to the violation of the Law according to which all tribal flags were prohibited. The clergy did not respect that Law and used to carry these flags along with the statues of the Holy Mother and the statues of other saints. Actually, neither the Episcopate, nor the clergy respected the Church and State laws in force. On the contrary. All these activities were, actually, a smart mixture of Catholic and religious feelings, on the one hand, and political aggressiveness and intolerance, on the other. A highly respected Catholic priest Dr Mirko Perkovič (Perkovič) in his article says openly and courageously:

„Dangerous phenomenon-Dumping Jesuits“ very bravely writes about a phenomenon already present for two years, which may be very dangerous for future cultural and political life. This phenomenon is accompanying all religious events taking place in all Catholic parts of Yugoslavia. Nothing is wrong with such events when they remain restricted to religious life. But this is not the case. All these events have a political and nationalistic background. Obviously, their organizers have different, not religious objectives in mind. The

lovali ni savjetovali u duhu crkvenom i postojećih zakona. Naprotiv. Sve je to vješto spajalo katolicizam i vjerske manifestacije sa političkom nesnošljivom isključivošću. O tome je hrabro i bez ustezanja progovorio jedan bez sumnje uzorni katolički svećenik, dr. Mirko Perković u članku:

„Opasna pojava – Dumping jezuita“. Taj svećenik konstatira da se u posljednje dvije tri godine zapazila pojava, koja je opasna za budući kulturni i politički život. To se vidi u priređivanju raznih vjerskih manifestacija, koje se javljaju u svim katoličkim krajevima Jugoslavije. I dok bi se te manifestacije kretale na vjerskom terenu, one ne bi padale u oči. Ali sve te priredbe vezane su sa političkim, nacionalističkim manifestacijama. Svakako, inicijatori tih priredbi imaju sasvim druge ciljeve, nego što su vjerski. Kroz te manifestacije žele priređivači, t. j. biskupi i župnici, da baštinu velikog Slavena i Hrvata Stjepana Radića poklopi jezuitski klobuk.³¹

Sistematskiji i organiziraniji ofenzivni potez klerikalizma u vezi sa Enciklikom Pija XI zapazio se, pored ostalih akcija pojedinih biskupa u kojima su napadali i novije ublaženije Pravilnike o školskom zakonu, u anti-sokolskoj akciji krčkog biskupa dr. Josipa Srebrnića u njegovoj korizmenoj poslanici pod naslovom „Presvetoj Bogorodici Mariji“.

Naime, u toj poslanici, krčki biskup, ma da je ona posvećena temi štovanja Bogorodice, posvećuje čitav jedan pasus ideologiji Miroslava Tyrša. Tako se prvi put desilo, i to službeno, da se o Miroslavu Tyršu govorilo u crkvama i njegovo ime, dakako sa osudom, pronijelo kroz božje hramove. Ovo što je uradio krčki biskup u Jugoslaviji, to nije učinio nijedan češki biskup, ni onaj koji je živio u Tyrševo vrijeme rada, kao ni onaj poslije punih pet decenija iza njegove smrti. Svakako, katolička crkva u Jugoslaviji imala je naročitih razloga da korigira dotadašnji propust češkog episkopata. Ali, jasno je bilo, da je ovaj udarac preko Tyrševa groba, bio u stvari namijenjen ustanovi koja je bila njegovo životno djelo t. j. Sokolstvu.

„U posljednje doba, riječi su biskupa Srebrnića, počeo se narijavati neprijatelj Presvete Bogorodice u novom podmuklom obliku. Hvali i preporuča, širi i hvata Tyršev duh, Tyrševu ideologiju, Tyršev način mišljenja o svijetu, o čovjeku, o naciji, o državi... Tyršev je duh, duh naturalizma i materijalizma. Tyrš je uzimao svoje ideje najprije od njemačkog filozofa Schopenhauera, zavolio je kasnije tjelesnu kulturu poganskih Grka, učio se također od muhamedanaca te prešao u materijalističko shvaćanje ljudskoga društva i svijeta uo-

³¹ „Jugoslavija“ (Zagreb) 23. VII. 1932.

organizers, actually the bishops and priests, want to put the heritage of Stjepan Radich, a great Slav and Croat, under the hat of Jesuits.³¹

Following in the wake of the Encyclical some bishops also launched an intensive campaign against the amended Law on Schools. In his Epistle addressed to the Holy Mother Bishop Dr Josip Srebrnitch (Srebrnić) vehemently attacks the Sokol.

Although devoted to the cult of the Holy Mother in his Epistle Bishop Srebrnitch devotes a whole paragraph to Miroslav Tyrsh and his ideology which was severely criticized in all churches where the Epistle was read. What Dr Srebrnitch, Bishop of Krk, said was unprecedented in church practice. In Bohemia it never occurred to any of the bishops, at the time of Tyrsh, or fifty years upon his death to launch a campaign in the style of Dr Srebrnitch, Bishop of Krk. Evidently, the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia had a special reason to even belatedly make up for the omission of the Bohemian Episcopate. Actually, this blow to dead Tyrsh was addressed to his life achievement-the Sokol Movement.

This is what Dr Srebrnitch says in his Epistle: „As of lately the enemies of the Holy Mother have decided to change the tactics and act meanly. They started extolling and disseminating the spirit and ideology of Tyrsh and his views on the world, the man, nation, state.... Tyrsh is a state of mind. He fosters the spirit of naturalism and materialism. At first Tyrsh was under the influence of the German philosopher Schopenhauer and later fell in love with the physical culture of pagan Greeks. He also fell under the influence of some Mohammedan ideas and adopted the materialistic view on human society and the evolution of human species according to Darwin's theory. His ideology does not recognize God, nor the eternal life of the Soul... Tyrsh preaches freedom, brotherhood and equality in the sense of naturalistic humanism... He calls for education of the human mind and strength of will thanks to which man will love his country and his people, love freedom, be ready to defend his people, support education and moral values, but all that as part of secular culture, without God, without Christ, without Church, without prayer, even without the Holy Mother, because his ideal is the Greek ideal of Man. According to him „no one in history has ever created a better man than the Greeks.“ This was the approach Tyrsh, the founding father of numerous organizations for education of youth, was promoting in his work, eliminating every possible religious,

pće prema Darwinovoj teoriji. Njegova ideologija ne poznaje Boga ni neumrle duše... Propovijeda slobodu, bratstvo i jednakost u smislu naturalističkog humaniteta... Hoće da se odgaja um, volja i čuvstvo u čovjeku za ljubav prema narodu i državi, za slobodu i stegu, za narodnu odbranu, za prosvjetu i moral, ali dakako u svijetlu ovozemne kulture te dosljedno bez Boga, bez Krista, bez crkve, bez molitve – pa i bez Presvete Bogorodice, jer njemu je ideal grčki čovjek; „boljeg većeg čovjeka nije proizvelo ni jedno kasnije doba“, ovako se sam izjavio. Tyrš je među Česima otac opsežnih omladinskih odgojnih organizacija; u smislu svoje ideologije izlučio je iz njihova odgojnog rada svaki upliv religioznih naročito katoličkih momenata te je neprestano djelovao da budu u vjerskom obziru ateističke. Ovo je Tyrševa ideologija. Nitko je od dobrih katolika ne može prihvatiti, jer je ona jednostavno negacija ne samo čitavog katolicizma, nego uopće vjere u Boga... Apsolutno je dakle za nas isključeno, mirno dopustiti odgoj u smislu Tyrševa duha kao što je uopće suprotno katoličkoj nauci, da je ma bilo koji odgoj isključiva stvar laičkih elemenata dotične crkvene vlasti... Ta ideologija je najveća pogibao za našu djecu... Ta se ideologija danas preporuča i širi i mnogi zbog svoga položaja niti ne mogu da je mimoilaze, premda je iz dna duše mrze i osuđuju. Ali mi hoćemo da se protiv nje borimo, da se borimo za slobodu savjesti roditeljskih prava pod vodstvom nebeske Bogorodice! Ne stoji ona na strani Tyrševe ideologije! Silna, jaka žena iz raja, Presveta Bogorodica Marija, ona je uz nas. Mi nećemo Tyrša, mi hoćemo u odgoju djece i mladeži Bogorodicu Mariju.“³²

Ovako je Miroslav Tyrš, svijetlo ime u generaciji čeških preporoditelja XIX. stoljeća, svojom nekrivicom bio upoređen dakako na svoju štetu sa Bogorodicom Marijom. Miroslav Tyrš, čovjek velike duhovne kulture i univerzalne naobrazbe, profesor univerziteta, historičar umjetnosti, kritičar, filozof, estetičar, političar, odgojitelj omladine, propovjednik idealnog zdravlja fizičkog i moralnog nije ni slutio da će jednom doći u priliku da ga se upoređuje i unizuje u vezi sa Materom Božjom. Tyršev nacionalizam nije bio ni uskogrudan, ni šovinistički, nego oplemenjen i snošljiv. Tyrš je vjerovao da u svijetu treba da zavlada duh ljubavi i prosvjećenosti koji će pobijediti laž, mržnju i nesnošljivost i otvoriti vrata idealima čovječanstva i čovječnosti. Ovakvim su smatrali sokoli svoga osnivača, a onako je o njemu mislio i svojim vjernima predstavljao Tyrša krčki biskup Srebrnić. Dobri poznavaci

³¹ „JUGOSLAVIJA“ (Zagreb), July 23, 1932.

³² Korizmena poslanica 1931: „Presvetoj Bogorodici Mariji“.

particularly Catholic influence in this regard. This was actually his ideology. No good Catholic could accept it because it simply denies not only Catholicism, but religion as such and God in the general sense.... We simply cannot recognize education based on the philosophy of Tyrsh because Catholic Church does not accept any form of secular education. Actually, secular approach to education ... is fatal for our children... Nowadays this ideology enjoys support by people on high positions. In spite of the fact that they strongly condemn its implications they support and disseminate it only because it helps them make a career. But we want to fight against this ideology, we want to fight for the rights of the parents and for the freedom of conscience under the leadership of the Holy Mother! The Holy Mother is not on the side of Tyrsh and his ideology, the Holy Mother is on our side. We want the Holy Mother to be present in the education of our children³²

This is how Miroslav Tyrsh, an outstanding Czech reformer and one of the most prominent personalities of his generation, although innocent, was set against the Holy Mother as a negative example. A man of remarkable spiritual culture and general education, a university professor, historian of art, critique, philosopher, aesthetician, politician, educator of youth disseminating the principles of ideal moral and physical health, could have never dreamed of being compared to the Holy Mother in such a humiliating context. The nationalism of Tyrsh was neither narrow minded nor chauvinistic. His nationalism was noble and based on tolerance. He believed in a world of love and enlightenment, a world without hatred, falsehood and intolerance, a world based on humane feelings. This is what the Sokols thought about the founder of their movement, which was in sharp contrast to what Dr Srebrnitch, Bishop of Krk preached about him to his believers. Those familiar with the life and work of Miroslav Tyrsh claim that he never denied or attacked God and the church. Dr Srebrnitch has concocted such conclusions. On the other hand, Bishop-Frano Uccellini-Titze, a highly educated and learned theologian with a rich pastoral experience, had a different opinion. He said: „I have thoroughly analyzed the principles of the Sokol Movement and in them I did not discover anything that could have a negative affect on religious feelings“³³

³² LENT EPISTLE TO THE HOLY MOTHER (Korizmena poslanica posvećena Presvetoj Bogorodici Mariji), 1931.

³³ Ivan Ivanchitch: THE SOKOLS AND RELIGION (Ivan Ivančić: Sokolstvo i vjera), „SOKO NA JADRANU“, 1931, NO.3, 47.



Sokoli vežbači na spravama

The Sokols – Athletes practicing gymnastics on appliances

Tyrševih djela i njegova života tvrde da nije ni u jednom spisu niti odricao Boga ni crkve niti ih je napadao, sve je to pronašao dr. Srebrnić. Naprotiv drugi biskup, Frano Uccellini-Tice, učeni teolog i opće kulturni erudita, sa velikim životnim i pastoralnim iskustvom još je ranije rekao: „Proučio sam načela po kojima sokolstvo radi i uputio sam se u taj rad, ali nisam našao ništa, u čemu bi se vjerski osjećaj mogao povrijediti“³³

Srebrnićeve poslanica izazvala je ne samo pažnju nego i veliku polemiku. Sokoli su izdali svoj odgovor „Tyrš na lomači“ u kojem pobijaju Srebrnićeve optužbe protiv Tyrša.

„Kao što su plamenovi proždrali živo tijelo Tyrševog zemljaka Jana Husa (1415.), tako bi trebao da oganj gnjeva rimokatoličkog svećenika sažge i uništi osnivača sokolstva – 47 godina po njegovoj smrti (1884.); ... Sa mirnim ponosom postavljamo svoju čast i svoje grudi tom novom napadu srdžbe rimokatoličke vojujuće crkve u uvjerenju, da će se od nas odbiti valovje strasti, jer nam je možda bolje nego biskupu krčkomu poznata u sokolskom životu tvrdo prokušana riječ: „Ako s njim umremo s njim ćemo također živjeti; ako s njim trpimo, s njim ćemo također kraljevati.“

³³ Ivan Ivančić, Sokolstvo i vjera. „Soko na Jadranu“ 1931., br. 3, 47.

The Epistle not only aroused great interest but also triggered a hot controversy. The Sokols responded in an article entitled TYRSH ON THE STAKE in which they refute all accusations concocted by Srebrnitch.

„In 1415 John Huss was burnt alive. By the same token, now in 1884, 47 years after his death, a Roman Catholic priest is trying to destroy the founder of the Sokols by burning him on the stake of his hatred... Against this new attack of the militant Catholic Church with pride and dignity we set our chests and honor, convinced that we shall be able to cope with that wave of hatred. We, Sokols know it perhaps better than the Bishop of Krk that if we die with them with them shall we live; if we suffer with them with them shall we triumph!“

The ensuing polemics was only an introduction to an organized attack against the Sokols. Actually, the attack on its privileged status within the school system and its ideology was only an attack in disguise on Yugoslavia and a smart effort to bring to the attention of the international community the difficulties the Catholic Church is allegedly facing in Yugoslavia. In vehement protests emphasis was placed on the evident fact that Srebrnitch was only the first link in a smartly concocted clero-fashist campaign. „In spite of different messages coming from Rome we are fully aware that the progressive ideals of the Yugoslav intelligentsia will come true only if we develop a strong national awareness, severe religious links with Rome, set up a national Church and create a genuine Yugoslav amalgamation. The ideology of Tyrsh may be helpful in this regard, because it is the ideology of truth and progress.“³⁴ This message came from Sushak (Sušak) the most vulnerable point on the Yugoslav-Italian border and was addressed to the Bishop of Krk, highly respected by Italian fascists. Fascism was triumphing because it had found an ally against the Sokols. A reliable one, there was no doubt about it.

At that time only at the mention of these activities and only a finger pointed at someone of them triggered violent reaction and protests against cruel and unjust denunciations.

Archbishop Bauer vehemently reacted to that article claiming that Bishop Srebrnitch wanted to justify his views on the ideology of Tyrsh by producing more convincing proofs. For that purpose two new brochures were published: FIAT LUX and THE SPIRIT OF TYRSH, which, according to Bishop Srebrnitch, „contain some ideas very important for the education of our

Polemika koja je uslijedila ukazivala je da će uskoro uslijediti pravi organizirani napadaj na Sokolstvo. Ne samo unutar sokolskih redova nego i izvan njih, jer se osjetilo da je Sokolstvo i njegov nadahnuti favorizirani položaj u školi i njegova ideologija samo izlika da se napadne Jugoslavija i da se ukaže svijetu u kakvim se teškoćama nalazi katolička crkva. Dakako u polemici nisu izostajali i najgorčiji protesti i upozoravanja da je Srebrnić samo avangarda jedne vješto zamišljene klerofašističke akcije. „Pa i ako nam papinski Rim drukčije poručuje, mi, nažalost, znamo da jedino u našoj jakoj nacionalnoj svijesti leži ostvarenje ideala napredne jugoslavenske inteligencije: kidanje s crkvenim Rimom, osnivanjem autokefalne crkve i stvaranjem definitivnog jugoslavenskog amalgama. Tu će nam pomoći donekle i Tyrševa ideologija, jer ona voli istinu i napredak.“³⁴ Ovako su sa Sušaka, sa ugrožene točke na jugoslavensko-talijanskoj granici, poručivali biskupu Krka, na kog su Talijani – fašiste sa velikim poštovanjem gledali. Fašizam je likovao, jer je našao saveznika protiv sokolstva. I, s pravom.

Biskup Srebrnić htio se opravdati od svih prijekora i još više utvrditi svoje gledanje na Tyrševu ideologiju. Zato su i ponikle dvije nove brošure „Fiat lux“ i „Tyršev duh“, kako on kaže u cilju „vrlo važne stvari odgoja naše mladeži.“³⁵ Ove dvije brošure još su i više utvrdile da su se sukobila dva nazora na svijet i domovinu, dakako u vezi sa Jugoslavijom, koji su se jedan od drugog sve više odmicali. Još jednom Srebrnić podvlači da katolici, u stvari klerikalci, moraju najodlučnije istupiti protiv Tyrševe ideologije. Jer,

„U tome nazoru nema mjesta Bogu; nema mjesta kralju vjekova i Spasitelju Isusu Kristu, komu treba da se svako stvorenje klanja kao Bogu i apsolutnom gospodaru svome; nema mjesta katoličkoj crkvi i papi, koji zamijenjuje Isusa Krista na zemlji kao vrhovni poglavar njegova stada nepogriješivo vodi narode putevima istine; nema mjesta Promislu božjem, koji upravlja najvećom mudrošću... Kako se može dakle očekivati, da bilo koji dobar katolik mirno dopušta, da se ta ideologija narivava i da joj se pače povjerava odgoj njegove djece i mladeži? Pače dužnost je njegova, da se svetim ogorčenjem prosvjeduje proti svim ovakvim pokušajima!“³⁶

Međutim, stav i mišljenje krčkog biskupa dra. Srebrnića nije ostalo lokalizirano. Ono je postalo opće u svim dijecezama i kod svih ordinarija, osim

³⁴ Ljubo Serdar: „BISHOP Dr. SREBRNITCH, SHOPENHAUER, DARVINISM AND THE IDEOLOGY OF TYRSH“ (Biskup Srebrnić, Schopenhauer, darvinizam i Tyrševa ideologija), „NAŠA SLOGA“, March 29, 1931.

³⁴ Ljubo Serdar, Biskup dr. Srebrnić, Schopenhauer, darvinizam i Tyrševa ideologija. „Naša sloga“ 29. III. 1931.

³⁵ Josip Srebrnić, Crkvi slobodu. Zagreb 1932., 31.

³⁶ Josip Srebrnić, „Fiat lux“. Zagreb 1931., 20–21.

youth“³⁵ These two brochures prove that the whole controversy is actually a conflict between two different concepts of life and the fatherland, in other words Yugoslavia, which were getting increasingly incompatible. Srebrnitch reiterated his call on Roman Catholics and Old Catholics to adopt a negative attitude towards Tyrsh and his ideology because:

„In that ideology there is no room for God; there is no room for the King of the centuries and our Savior Jesus Christ who should be venerated by all of us and before whom, our God and Lord, we all should bow; there is no room for the Catholic Church, nor the Pope representing Jesus Christ on Earth, at the head of His flock leading it along the road of truth; there is no room for Celestial Providence governing this world with great wisdom... A good Catholic cannot be expected to entrust the education of his children to the system fostering that spirit. On the contrary. Every good Catholic should reject such system of education with indignation!“³⁶

The views of Dr Srebrnitch, Bishop of Krk, spilled over the local boundaries and were disseminated in all Catholic Dioceses and by all ordinariats, except in the Kotor Dioceses headed by the old Bishop Frano Uccellinni-Titze. Srebrnitch was in constant conflict with the Sokols. When the SOKOLS OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA decided to mark the Hundredth Anniversary of their founding father Miroslav Tyrsh on March 5 or 6, 1932, only a few days before the envisaged event, on February 25, 1932, Bishop Srebrnitch circulated his Epistle to all Sokol Societies in which he argues with the ideology of Tyrsh in his well known manner, rejecting it as impious and dangerous for true Catholics. His request that the Epistle be read during the ceremony aroused derision among the Sokols. In his Epistle Srebrnitch does not mention the Encyclical the Holy Father announced on Christian education because he did not want to jeopardize his authority. The Holy Father was not openly engaged in the anti-Sokol campaign, following it from the shade. Actually, Srebrnitch took advantage of every opportunity to engage in conflict with the Sokols, which is evident from the letters they exchanged, e.g. in 1932 the Bishop's reaction to their invitation to celebrate the morning mass on St. George's Day (Djurdjevski uranak), or his angry comments on the privileged status of the Sokols who on state holidays always had a prominent place in the Cathedral. When in the Summer of 1932 The Sokol Society in Supetar asked the priest to bless its flag he asked Bishop M. Pushitch (Pušić) for permission

u kotorskoj dijecezi kojom je upravljao starac biskup Frano Uccellinni-Tice. Srebrnić je sada stalno u sukobu sa sokolima. Kad je SKJ odredio da se 5. ili 6. marta 1932. održi u svim sokolskim društvima proslava stogodišnjice rođenja Miroslava Tyrša, onda je biskup Srebrnić uputio svim sokolskim društvima 25. II 1932. svoju poslanicu u kojoj je na svoj poznati način polemizirao sa Tyrševom ideologijom, pobijajući je kao bezbožničku i opasnu za prave katolike. Svakako je njegov zahtjev, da se poslanica pročita na samoj proslavi, izazvao opću veselost u sokolskim redovima. Ni u ovoj poslanici ne poziva se Srebrnić na papinu encikliku o kršćanskom odgoju. Naprosto stoga da ne bi u borbi izložio papin autoritet. On ostaje u pozadini čitave antisokolske kampanje. Sukobi između dra. Srebrnića je izražavao svakom prilikom kadgod se ona ukazala. O tome rječito govori prepiska između biskupa i krčkog Sokola tokom 1932. u vezi sa đurđevdanskim urankom, kad su Sokoli tražili od biskupa da im odsluži misu prije polaska na uranak ili radi biskupove ljutnje što su sokoli zauzimali vidna mjesta u katedrali prilikom raznih državnih svečanosti.

Kad je sokolsko društvo na Supetru u ljeto 1932. zatražilo od svog župnika da mu blagoslovi zastavu, ovaj se obratio biskupu M. Pušiću, koji je to načelno odbio, a pristao, ako društvo prethodno pismeno izjavi da osuđuje Tyrševa „protuvjerska, kulturna i uzgojna načela“. Kad je tu biskupovu odluku objavio splitski „Križ na Jadranu“ (4. IX. 1932.), razmahala se oštra polemika. U isto vrijeme izdao je zagrebački nadbiskup svome svećenstvu načelnu zabranu blagosivljanja zastava SKJ-e. U nadbiskupovoj motivaciji te zabrane kaže se da je Tyrševa ideologija osnova SKJ-e i stoga se ne može dopustiti takav crkven čin. „Dr. M. Tyrš nije bio samo bezvjerac, nego bezbožac, a napose je nastupao protiv katoličke vjere i katoličke Crkve. Prema tome je jasno, da je i njegova ideologija materijalistička i naturalistička, dakle protuvjerska, protukršćanska. Blagosivljati barjak društva sa ovakvom ideologijom značilo bi u najmanju ruku preporučiti vjerski indiferentizam. Stoga uopće ne mogu dozvoliti da se barjak blagoslovi“. Nadbiskup je 1932. zaboravio, da je 1911. na Svesokolskom sletu u Zagrebu i na banketima učestvovao kao nadbiskup koadjutor sa predstavnicima ovog kaptola. Na sletu koji je također tada slavio Tyrša. Ali onda nije bilo Mussolinija ni klerofašističke direktive!

Primjerom nadbiskupa Bauera ići će i đakovački biskup Akšamović, koji je još prije kratkog vremena onako lijepo pisao vinkovačkom Sokolu.³⁷ Sve je

³⁵ Josip Srebrnitch: „FREEDOM FOR THE CHURCH“ (Crkvi slobodu), Zagreb, 1932., 31.

³⁶ Josip Srebrnitch: „FIAT LUX“, Zagreb 1931., pp. 20-21.

³⁷ Sušački „Mornar“ 1. IX. 1932. poređujući radnje talijanskih prelata na granici Jugoslavije s ovima jugoslavenskih biskupa u odnosu prema Sokolu kaže i ovo: „Kad je na Rijeci biskup Celso Constantini u crkvi sv. Vida blagoslovio bodež što su ga riječke žene obuzete erotičkim furorom poklonile D'Annunziu, ovaj mitrirani prelat nije ni poslije toga zatražio od D'Annunzia da javno

who agreed to give it provided the Society accepted to previously condemn in written the anti-religious, cultural and educational principles maintained by Tyrsh. On September 4, 1932 the paper KRIŽ NA JADRANU (Cross on the Adriatic) published the text of the Bishop's decision which ignited a hot discussion. At the same time the Bishop of Zagreb prohibited his priests to bless the flag of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, under the pretext that the Alliance is based on the ideology of Tyrsh. This religious act cannot be allowed because „Dr. M. Tyrsh was not only a man without religion, he was an atheist, particularly hostile to Catholic religion and the Catholic Church. Evidently, his ideology is materialistic and naturalistic which means that it is anti-religious and anti-Christian. Blessing a society fostering such ideology would, at least, mean support to religious indifference. This is the reason why I cannot allow the blessing of the flag.“ In 1932 the Archbishop forgot that in 1911, as Archbishop-Coadjutor, together with the representatives of his Captol he attended the All Sokol Rally in Zagreb and the festivities dedicated to the memory of Tyrsh. But, at that time there was neither Mussolini, nor the clero-fascist directives coming from these sources.

Akshamovitch (Akšamović) Bishop of Djakovo, followed in the wake of Archbishop Bauer, the same Bishop Akshamovitch who shortly before the controversy expressed his positive opinion about the Sokol organization in Vinkovci.³⁷ Which added new heat to the polemics.³⁸

It was only the introduction to a decisive attack of the Episcopate on its most hated institution. At the Conference of the Yugoslav Episcopate, on November 17, 1932 all Bishops condemned Tyrsh and, consequently, the Yugoslav Sokols. Before the Conference Bishop Srebrnič published a booklet FREEDOM FOR THE CHURCH (Crkvi slobodu) in which he was trying to accuse Yugoslavia for persecuting the Catholic Church. In this booklet

³⁷ „MORNAR“, (published in Sushak), in its article of September 1, 1932, comparing the activities of the Italian Prelates across the Yugoslav border with those of the Yugoslav Bishops with regard to the Sokols, among other things says: „In the Church of St. Vitus, Celso Constantini, Bishop of Rijeka, blessed the dagger, a gift of sexually obsessed women to D'Annunzio, but the Prelate never asked D'Annunzio to publicly refute in front of the church all dirty words he has used against Christ and Catholic morality in his books on the Index of Prohibited Books. And the Holy Father, Pius XI? He very well knows who Mussolini is and what he is doing. He also knows that in Geneva, in front of some friends, Mussolini claimed that there was no God!... Before he blessed Mussolini and decorated him with the highest Order, Medal of the Golden Spur, did the Holy Father ask him to publicly, in front of the church, refute this blasphemy? NO! And before decorating the notorious bandit and arsonist Giunto and some fascists directly involved in the murder of the honest man Matteotti did the Pope ask them to repent in public for the committed crimes? NO! After his recent reconciliation with the Duce did the Pope ask him to stop persecuting our priests in the Julian region? NO!“

³⁸ „SOKOLSKI GLASNIK“, July 14, 1932.

to dalo povoda novim, u mnogom uzbudljivim, polemikama.³⁸

Tako je tokom 1932. bila pripravljena atmosfera za odlučan napad episkopata na mrsku ustanovu. Taj je uslijedio na konferenciji jugoslavenskog episkopata 17. XI 1932. kad je u čitavom zboru prisutnih biskupa osuđen Miroslav Tyrš, a s time dosljedno i jugoslavensko sokolstvo. Prije nego što je došlo do konferencije, biskup dr. Srebrnić najodlučniji zagovornik osude Sokola na konferenciji, objavio je brošuru „Crkvi slobodu“ u kojoj je dokazivao da je katolička crkva u Jugoslaviji progonjena. Sada se dr. Srebrnić prvi put poziva na papinu Encikliku. I to u oba njena glavna momenta, školskom i fizičkom odgoju omladine.

„Samo neprijatelj Crkve i Njezina Božanskog poslanstva, samo oni, koji su pogledom na crkvu velike neznalice, samo oni, koji ni-jeću Boga i neumrllost duše, te gledaju svu svrhu čovjeka u životu na zemlji, mogu crkvi osporavati pravo odgoja mladeži. *Tog se prava Crkva nikada ne može odreći, s tim pravom Crkva živi i pada, te se mora naglasiti, da je Crkva u punom stanju progonstva u svakoj državi, u kojoj se vršenje toga prava osporava, otežćava ili pače onemogućuje.*“³⁹

Dr. Srebrnić htio je nesumnjivo pokazati koliko je teško katolicima u Jugoslaviji koji žive pod hegemonijom pravoslavnih Srba. Ovo i ništa drugo. A to se i te kako rado slušalo u oba žarišta talijanskog nacionalizma, koji je strahovao od jugoslavenskog konsolidiranja. Niko, nikad ranije nije tako vješto i hipokritski izvodio jednu makijavelističko-jezuitsku politiku nego što je to činio dr. Josip Srebrnić. U tome je on za čitavo koplje nadvisio, inače velikog majstora, dr. Ivana Šarića. I zato su riječi dr. Srebrnića ukoliko se odnose na crkvu i o njenoj neslobodi u Jugoslaviji nepravedne i neistinite. One su za osudu i u onom slučaju kad bi bile samo zabluda, a ne i strahovitom cilju usmjerena tendencija. Pri kraju ove svoje knjige kaže Srebrnić:

„Sloboda, što je Crkva u Jugoslaviji uživa vrlo je gorka. Prava je ironija, govoriti o slobodi Crkve u Jugoslaviji... Svako ropstvo je zločin. Najveći je

pred crkvom opozove sve svinjarije, što ih je u svojim na index postavljenim djelima sasuo na Kristov katolički moral. A Njegova Svetost Papa Pio XI? Sveti Otac zna, ko je i što je Mussolini. Zna da je Mussolini pred jednim svojim društvom u Ženevi ustvrdio, da nema Boga!... Da li je papa, prije nego li je Mussolinija blagoslovio i odlikovao onim visokim ordenom (Zlatna ostruga) zatražio od njega, da javno pred crkvom opozove onu strahovitu hulu na Boga? Nije! A prije nego li je odlikovao poznatog palikuću i razbojnika Giuntu i neke fašiste, što su direktne učestovali u umorstvu poštenjaka Matteottija je li papa tražio od njih da se javno pokaju za ona bogomrska zločinstva? Nije! Je li nakon nedavnog ponovnog izmirenja pape Pia XI. zatražio od Ducea da ne progoni naše svećenstvo u Julijskoj Krajini? Nije.“

³⁸ „Sokolski glasnik“ 14. VII. 1932.

³⁹ Josip Srebrnić, Crkvi slobodu, 1932., 14.

Srebrnitch for the first time makes reference to the Encyclical only in connection with two major subjects: general school education and physical education for youth.

„Only the enemy of the Church and its Celestial mission, only those who know nothing about the Church, only those who deny God and immortality of the Soul, only those who believe that human life is only life on Earth dare deny the Church the right to educate young people. Church will never give up that right. The future existence of the Catholic Church depends on its right to perform that mission. Therefore, it should be emphasized that the Church is, in fact, persecuted in every state which denies or in any way jeopardizes that right to the Church.“³⁹

Evidently, Dr. Srebrnitch wanted to emphasize that in Yugoslavia life is very difficult for the Catholics under the hegemony of the Orthodox. Serbs. This was the only intention of the booklet. Also, this was music to the ears of both centers of Italian nationalism which actually feared the consolidation of Yugoslavia. Dr. Josip Srebrnitch was an absolute champion in conducting a hypocritical, Machiavellian and Jesuitical policy. He was definitely superior to Dr. Ivan Šarić (Šarić) otherwise a grand master of that skill. Speaking about the status of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia Dr. Srebrnitch, being what he was, completely distorted the truth and his comments were sheer falsehood. It was not his blunder. It was part of a well pondered campaign with a perfectly defined aim. At the end of his book Srebrnitch makes the following comment:

„Bitter is the freedom which the Catholic Church enjoys in Yugoslavia. Freedom of Church in Yugoslavia is sheer irony... Every kind of slavery is a crime and the greatest of all crimes is to deprive the Church of its rights and reduce to slavery the loftiest Celestial Providence turned into reality on Earth, in the aim of alienating the believers and push them to impiety.... High State officials should be better acquainted with Church Canons, its spirit, its history and its organizational pattern. Our High officials do not know or do not want to know, anything about that.. This is the source of all our conflicts, crisis, dissatisfactions, deviations from the right course and so much injustice done to our Catholic Church and to the Catholics! Before concluding I would like to launch and appeal: FREEDOM

³⁹ Josip Srebrnitch: „FREEDOM FOR THE CHURCH“, 1932., 14.

zločin lišiti Crkvu njezine slobode i njezinih prava, te nastojati, da bude Ona, najljepša realnost Božjih zamisli na zemlji, ropkinjom, te pače sustavno ići za tim da se narod Crkvi otuđi i zavede u bezvjerstvo... Državnici bi morali tu Crkvu temeljito poznati, do dna bi morali poznati njezin Zakonik, duh Crkve, njezinu prošlost i njezin ustroj. Naši je državni nažalost ne poznaju ili neće da je poznaju. Radi toga, eto toliko nezadovoljstva, toliko kriza, toliko lupanja, pa i toliko velikih nepravdi Crkvi i nama katolicima!... Završujem: Crkvi Slobodu! U Krku, na blagdan Majke Božje, Kraljice Svete Krunice, 27. listopada 1932.“⁴⁰

Srebrničevu misao prevela je najmnogobrojnija organizacija K. A. sa „Hrvatskoj slobodu“. Ovdje su se tako sustekle dvije misli koje su se i jednako dopunjale i pomagale.

Na drugoj strani, u talijanskoj fašističkoj štampi, sve su ove pojave u Jugoslaviji bile registrirane i na svoj način komentirane. Kad je SKJ priredio izložbu u Beogradu, bili su prikazani i oni jugoslavenski djelovi koji su poslije Rapalla došli u sklop talijanske države, a u kojima je nekad cvjetalo sokolstvo. Naročito Rijeka, Zadar, Gorica i Trst bila su mjesta iz kojih je zračila sokolska misao. Zastavice, zavite u crno uz imena ovih gradova na velikoj geografskoj karti za milanski „Corriere della Sera“ bile su strahovita provokacija. Jer, „one pokazuju da još ima braće koju treba osloboditi i da je cilj sokola da pripravi njihovo otkupljenje“.⁴¹ Zato istodobni fašistički i jugoslavenski klerikalni napadaji na SKJ dovođeni su u uzročnu vezu kod velikog dijela rodoljuba, pa i takvih koji su bili prema sokolu u kritičkom stavu, što je pristao da radi pod diktatorskim režimom. „Jugoslavenski katolički episkopat i talijanski fašizam kao po dogovoru, u isto doba, našli su se na istom terenu u borbi protiv sokolstva. Najnovija dva ispada protiv sokolstva, jedan sa strane fašista, a drugi sa strane našeg episkopata, pokazuju, jer su istodobni, da se borba protiv sokolstva vodi s jedne zajedničke fronte po jednom skupnom planu sa svim raspoloživim sredstvima“.⁴² Svima rodoljubima bila bi ova stvar zagonetna da nije bila i odviše očigledna. Jer decenijama je postojalo sokolstvo, decenijama su se blagosivljali sokolski domovi i zastave... Decenijama je svećenstvo bilo naklonjeno sokolstvu, koje je uvijek radilo u duhu Tyrševe ideologije. I sad se najednom otkrilo da je sve to bila jedna ogromna zabluda, da su blagosivljali ustanovu, njene zastave i domove, koja se osnivala na bezvjerskim načelima.

⁴⁰ Josip Srebrnić, Crkvi slobodu, 42–43.

⁴¹ Još o sokolskoj izložbi u Beogradu. Jedan glas talijanske štampe „Sokolski glasnik“ 9. XII. 1932.

⁴² Ljubidrag Garčina, „Bezvjerac“ Tyrš. „Jugoslavija“ (Beograd) 30. XII. 1932.

FOR OUR CHURCH! Krk, on the Day of the Holy Mother, Queen of the Rosary, October 27, 1932.⁴⁰

CATHOLIC ACTION, the organization with the most massive membership, took over the ideas of Srebrnitch and published them in the paper HRVATSKA SLOBODA (Croatian Freedom). This was actually the convergence of two complementary ideas.

The Italian fascist press closely followed these developments in Yugoslavia, informing about them and commenting them from their angle of vision. When the SOKOLS OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA organized their exhibition in Belgrade they also indicated on the maps the parts of Yugoslavia which after the RAPPALO TREATIES were handed over to Italy, because the Sokol Movement used to flourish there, particularly in Rijeka, Zadar, Gorica and Trieste. According to CORRIERE DELA SERA it was an unprecedented provocation to put the flags wrapped in black next to the manes of these places, because it meant „that some of our brothers are not free and that the Sokols intend to bring them freedom.“⁴¹ Many patriots, even those who criticized the Sokols for accepting to continue their activities under the dictatorship, recognized the connection between the simultaneous attacks of the Fascists and Yugoslav clericals and their supporters on the Movement „The Yugoslav Catholic Episcopate and the Italian Fascists, as if by agreement, are side by side struggling against the Sokol Movement. The two simultaneous attacks on the Sokol Movement, one coming from the Fascists and the other from the Yugoslav Episcopate are evidently part of a joint front organized according to the same plan and with all available means“⁴² Everything was so evident that there was nothing enigmatic about it. The Sokol Movement has existed for decades and for decades their centers and flags have been ceremonially blessed... For decades the clergy had been prone to the Sokol Movement, always faithful to the ideology of Tyrsh. All of a sudden they discovered that everything was only a blunder, that they used to bless the centers and flags of an institution based on religious indifference. Evidently, the issue was raised for completely different reasons and by different circles, both from Yugoslavia and abroad.

On November 22, at the end of its work the Bishop Conference adopted a Resolution later published in CATHOLIC GAZETTE (Katolički list), the

⁴⁰ Idem, pp. 42-43.

⁴¹ „More Details on the Sokol Exhibition in Belgrade. a comment in the Italian Press,“ (Još o sokolskoj izložbi u Beogradu), „SOKOLSKI GLASNIK“, December 9, 1932.

⁴² Ljubidrag Garchina: „Tyrsh, the Infidel“ (Ljubidrag Garčina: „Bezvjerač“ Tyrš), „JUGOSLAVIJA“, Beograd, December 30, 1932.

Svakako sve je to dalo povoda da je trebalo na drugoj strani tražiti uzroke, u i izvan zemlje.

Biskupska konferencija koja je zaključena 22. novembra izglasala je rezoluciju, koja je bila odštampana u službenom listu zagrebačke dijeceze, „Katoličkom listu“. Državni tužilac pogriješio je što je bio odviše samostalan kad je našao, da rezolucija sadrži protivdržavne denuncijacije, pa ju je zabranio. Time je dao neupućenima osnove da pomisle da se uistinu istina i pravica gone. Da ju je dopustio, a s njome i otvorenu polemiku, više bi koristio u samoj stvari i državi. Dakako episkopat je uspio da je razasla svećenstvu. Šta više objavili su je pojedini klerikalni listovi, kao na primjer dubrovačka „Narodna svijest“ (30. XI 1932.), pa su onda naknadno zabranjene. Zato je donosimo u cjelosti.

„Katolički episkopat Jugoslavije sakupljen mjeseca novembra ove godine na svojim godišnjim konferencijama pretresao je važne crkvene administrativne poslove i crkveno-politička pitanja. Nakon svestranog raspravljanja stvoreni su vrlo važni zaključci i među ostalima donesene su ove rezolucije:

1. Episkopat najodlučnije prosvjeduje protiv nekulturnih napadajima, što ih sustavno provode neprijatelji crkve i pripadnici nekakoličke vjeroispovijesti na vrhovnoga glavara katoličke crkve Svetog Oca Papu i katoličke svetinje.

2. Episkopat odlučno traži, da se pitanja, koja spadaju u zajednički djelokrug crkvene i državne vlasti, rješavaju međusobnim sporazumom. Napose traži, da se pitanje vjerske nastave na osnovnim, srednjim i njima sličnim te stručnim školama rješavaju na način da dođu do jasnoga izražaja prava crkve i roditelja.

3. Episkopat konstatira, da se u školskim udžbenicima obrađuju mnoga pitanja na način, koji teško vrijeđa vjeru i moral katoličke



*Prestolonaslednik Petar
u sokolskoj uniformi
The Crown Prince
in Sokol uniform*

official gazette of the Zagreb Diocese. The Public Prosecutor, being absolutely independent, decided to prohibit it as „a threat to state interests.“ It was a mistake because the uninformed general public was thus led to believe that everything in the Resolution was true and that the prohibition meant persecution of justice. Otherwise, the issue would have aroused only a limited public interest with no detrimental effect on the interests of the State. In the meantime the Episcopate managed to disseminate the Resolution. It was even published in some clerical papers, e.g. in Dubrovnik NATIONAL AWARENESS (Narodna svijest) of November 30, 1932, which was immediately prohibited.

Here is the whole text of the Resolution:

„At its regular Annual Conference held in November of this year the Catholic Episcopate in Yugoslavia discussed important Church and administrative matters and political issues regarding the Church. After a very detailed discussion some important conclusions were arrived at and the following Resolutions adopted:

1. The Episcopate strongly protests against uncivilized attacks on the Holy Father and Catholic holy objects by non-Catholics and enemies of the Church;

2. The Episcopate demands that the Church and the State, by mutual agreement, find a solution to all issues of common interest. Religious education in elementary and secondary schools and professional schools of the same level should be devoted special attention so as to fully guarantee the rights of the Church and parents;

3. The Episcopate has come to the conclusion that in school text books many topics are presented in a way insulting to the Catholic Church and its moral standards and grounded on distorted historical facts. The Episcopate demands immediate corrections;

4. The Catholic Episcopate protests against evident injustice done to Catholic parents by appointing mostly or exclusively non-Catholic teachers for their children. According to the Law on Education secular school teachers may also teach religion, which is unacceptable and makes this protest fully justified;

5. Owing to the fact that the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia fosters the naturalist philosophy of Tyrsh the Catholic Church demands that Catholic youth be spared the fatal influence of that educational system;

6. The Catholic Episcopate condemns the insults and various other forms of persecution Catholic bishops, priests and Catholic intelligentsia are exposed to through mean denunciations. This prac-

crkve, i da se iskrivljuju historijske činjenice, te zahtijeva, da se ove povrede odmah uklone.

4. Katolički episkopat prosvjeduje protiv očitih nepravdi, koje se nanose katoličkim roditeljima time, što se na škole, gdje su djeca isključivo ili pretežno katoličke vjeroispovijesti, namještaju nastavnici inovjerci. Ovaj prosvjed je to opravdaniji, što nastavnici u smislu školskog zakona zamjenjuju vjeroučitelje.

5. Budući da je Sokol kraljevine Jugoslavije usvojio naturalističku kulturnu ideologiju Tyršovu, episkopat odlučno traži, da se od katoličke mladeži ukloni pogubni utjecaj ovoga odgojnoga sistema.

6. Katolički episkopat osuđuje insulte i mnogovrsne oblike progona biskupa, svećenika i katoličkih civilnih inteligenata na temelju neopravdanih i zlobnih denuncijacija, koje ruše sklad i mir između crkvene i državne vlasti.⁴³

Jedan osobito povjerljiv izvještaj, čije informacije potiču iz jedne kaptonske Kurije u Zagrebu, upućen predsjedniku vlade mjeseca decembra 1932. govori o borbenom duhu koji je vladao na toj biskupskoj konferenciji. Pouzdanost ovih informacija je potpuna. Iz njih se vidi da su „najoštrij, najintransigentniji i najprotivdržavniji bili sarajevski nadbiskup dr. Šarić i krčki biskup dr. Srebrnić“. Obojica su zahtjevali da se rezolucija sastavi u još odlučnijem i oštrijem tonu. Zahtjevali su da se sve državne vlasti sabotiraju, da se stupi u bliski kontakt sa opozicijom, i da se izposluje kod Svete Stolice opozivanje papinskog nuncija Pellegrinettija, kako bi se došlo do prekida diplomatskih odnosa između Jugoslavije i Vatikana. Od toga je odvratio borbene biskupe sam nuncij Pellegrinetti, koji je došao u Zagreb na konferenciju posljednjih dana. U izvještaju se tvrdi da je čitava konferencija vođena pod predhodnim instrukcijama jezuita, koji su najenergičnije tražili da se dopusti osnivanje katoličkih gimnastičkih društava. Sve bi to trebale sprovesti organizacije „Križara“, poput sličnih ustanova u Austriji i Njemačkoj, na sasvim vojnički način. Zato se nagovaraju bivši austrijski oficiri koji nisu primljeni u jugoslavensku vojsku da pristupe među Križare. Na kraju konferencije povjerenje je biskupu Gariću i jezuiti Mülleru da održavaju veze s opozicijom, naročito s frankovačkim ustaškim krilom, koje vodi dr. Mile Budak najintimniji saradnik emigranta dr. Ante Pavelića. Jezuita Müller se naime trudio da poravna neskladnosti u redovima opozicije kako bi čitava opozicija (HSS i SDK) zajedno s klerikalcima i ustašama činila jednu jedinstvenu i jaku frontu, ne samo protiv vlade, nego i protiv države. Nastup ove opozicione

⁴³ U sedmoj točki rezolucije preporuča se svećenstvu i vjernima karitativna akcija.

tice has a negative effect on peace and harmony between the Church and state authorities."⁴³

A confidential report based on information coming from one of the Captol Curiae in Zagreb, addressed to the Prime Minister in December 1932, describes the militant spirit prevailing at the Bishop Conference. These information are absolutely reliable. According to the Report „the most intransigent and hostile with regard to the state were: Dr. Sharitch, Bishop of Sarajevo and Dr Srebrnitch, Bishop of Krk. Both demanded a more severe and vehement resolution, including sabotage of state authorities, establishment of closer contacts with the opposition and recall of Nuncio Pellegrinetti in view of breaking off diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the Vatican. It was Nuncio Pellegrinetti who came to the Conference in Zagreb on the last day that persuaded them to withdraw these demands. According to the Report the Conference developed in line with the instructions of the Jesuits who insisted on the right of the Catholics to found their own, Catholic athletic clubs. The CRUSADEERS (Križari) should be in charge of these Athletic clubs (Gymnastic societies), like in Austria and Germany and organize them according to the military system. Therefore, all former Austrian officers who were not accepted in the Yugoslav Army were called upon to join the CRUSADEERS. At the end the Conference assigned Bishop Garitch (Garić) and Jesuit Müller to maintain contacts with the opposition, particularly with the FRANKOVCI-USTASHA wing and its leader Dr Mile Budak, the closest collaborator of Dr Ante Pavelitch, in emigration. Jesuit Müller was using his best efforts to persuade the opposition parties to overcome their differences and together with the clericals and ustashas establish a united front, not only against the government but also against the state. This newly established united front was particularly active during the elections for the National Assembly in November 1931. Archbishop Bauer convened in a conference all prominent members of the Captol, Catholic priests and members of the CATHOLIC ACTION and asked them to boycott the elections, but at the proposal of Canon Dr Raditchevitch (Radićević) the Captol rejected this idea with a great majority of votes. Only Archbishop Bauer and his closest collaborators were in favor of the proposal. Before the elections Secretary to the Archbishop, Dr Slamitch (Slamić), in a confidential circular letter, requested the boycott of elections, which was in line with the decision of the opposition. One of the conclusions of particular interest was the call of this

⁴³ Item seven of the Resolution recommends the priests and devoted Catholics to engage in Charitable activities.

klerikalno jezuitske fronte zapažen je kod izbora za Narodnu skupštinu u novembru 1931. Tada je održana konferencija istaknutih članova zagrebačkog kaptola i drugih svećenika i članova K. A. kod nadbiskupa Bauera, na kojoj se tražilo da sve vodeće svećenstvo apstinira od izbora. Međutim zagrebački Kaptol je na predlog kanonika dr. Radićevića odbio to sa velikom većinom, te je nadbiskup ostao osamljen sa užom okolinom. Još prije izbora uputio je tajnik nadbiskupa dr. Slamić povjerljiv akt, da se sabotiraju izbori kako će to učiniti i ostala opozicija. Od osobitog je značaja bio zaključak da se započne otvorena i odlučna borba protiv pravoslavlja. Vodstvo ove akcije povjereno je profesoru dr. Janku Šimraku, glavnom uredniku „Hrvatske straže“ koji inače piše u „Katoličkom listu“ pod pseudonimom dr. K. B. (Kosta Bohačevski) dok je njegov eksponent u Beogradu dr. Augustin Juretić.⁴⁴

Na konferenciji biskupa zaključeno je da se izradi opširna poslanica svećenstvu i vjernima koju će potpisati svi prisutni biskupi i uputiti je na čitanje 8. januara 1933. Sa akcijom episkopata podudara se i politički potez dr. Korošeca sa takozvanim „punktacijama“ koje je objavio ne samo u jugoslavenskoj, nego i stranoj štampi. Naime dr. Korošec nalazio se već od oktobra 1931. u odlučnoj opoziciji, istupivši iz vlade 30. septembra 1931. U punktacijama tražio je preuređenje države u federativnom smislu, kako je to prošle godine naglasila i Hrvatska seljačko-demokratska koalicija. Dosljedno tome tražio je i ujedinjenje svih slovenskih krajeva u jednu jedinicu.⁴⁵

Biskupska poslanica katoličkog episkopata bila je objavljena ne samo u svim dijecezanskim listovima nego ju je iz njih prešampala i ostala štampa u Jugoslaviji. Rijetko koja biskupska poslanica imala je takav širok publicitet. U klerikalnoj kao i ostaloj štampi. Dakako da ju je objavila u izvodima i prokomentirala i fašistička štampa. U poslanici ponavljaju se već ranije iznošeni razlozi zašto se osuđuje Tyrš i njegova ideologija kao i svi oni koji u njegovu duhu rade. Treba podvući da se u ovoj poslanici stalno govori o „Jugosokolu“ a ne i o Hrvatskom sokolu, koji je doduše tih godina bio zabranjen. SKJ je isto što i „Jugosokol“ t. j. onaj sokol u Jugoslaviji do 1929., i prema tome oba stoje na istoj ideologiji, i zaslužuju jednaku osudu. Za ovaj dokaz pozivaju se

⁴⁴ Iz prepisa sa originala, ustupljenog od ličnosti, koja je autor ovog izvještaja. O tim planovima episkopata, naročito o diplomatskom prekidu sa Jugoslavijom, prodrle su vijesti u stranu štampu, češku i austrijsku („Narodny Listy“ i „Neues Wiener Tagblatt“). „Ljubljansko Jutro“ tim povodom donijelo je decembra 1932. članak: „Konferencija jugoslovenskih škofov v Zagrebu. Senzacionalne vesti inozemnih listov o poteku in o sklepkih škofovske konferencije.“ Odbijajući tvrdnje da postoji progonoštvo katoličke crkve u Jugoslaviji i poređujući progone julijsko-krajinskih crkava, „Jutro“ tvrdi da danas nema u Evropi države koja bi sa toliko obzira štitila interese crkve i poštovala vjerska osjećanja naroda kao što je to u Jugoslaviji.

⁴⁵ „Punktacije“ dr. Korošca. „Novosti“ 12. I. 1933.

Conference for an open and decisive struggle against Orthodox religion. Dr Janko Shimrak (Šimrak) editor-in-chief of HRVATSKA STRAŽA (Croatian guard) was assigned leader of that project. Dr Shimrak published his article in KATOLIČKI LIST (Catholic Gazette) under the pen name of K.V. (Kosta Bohačevski). His representative in Belgrade is Dr Augustin Yuretitch (Juretić).⁴⁴

The Bishop Conference decided to address to the clergy and believers an Epistle signed by all bishops present, to be read on January 8, 1933. This decision of the Episcopate coincides with the political action of Dr Korošetz (Korošec) who published his PUNCTATIONS (Punktacije) both in the Yugoslav and foreign press. Namely, Dr Korošetz resigned from government on September 30, 1931 and in October 1931 joined the vehement opposition. In his PUNCTATIONS Dr Korošetz calls for the reorganization of the state on the federal principle, thus repeating the request made the previous year by the PEASANT-DEMOCRATIC COALITION (Seljačko-demokratska koalicija). He also requested that all Slovenian regions be united into one single unit.⁴⁵

The Epistle of the Catholic Episcopate was published not only in the papers of all Catholic Dioceses but in the whole Yugoslav press as well. The wide publicity of this Epistle in clerical and secular press was almost unprecedented. The fascist press published its summarized version with comments. The Epistle repeats the well known arguments against Tyrsh and his ideology and condemns all those who follow in his wake. It should be emphasized that the Epistle only speaks about the YUGOSOKOL and does not mention the CROATIAN Sokol, which was prohibited three years before. THE SOKOL OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA means for them the same YUGOSOKOL from before 1929, because they share the same ideology and therefore deserve the same condemnation. They support this statement by quoting a high-ranking Sokol official who, on January 11, 1931 said in

⁴⁴ The copy of the original document was provided by the author of this Report. The news about the plans of the Episcopate, particularly regarding the break off of diplomatic relation with Yugoslavia leaked out and was published in Austrian and Czech press. („Narodny Listy“ and „Neues Wiener Tagblatt“). „LJUBLJANSKO JUTRO“ (Ljubljana Morning Paper), in December 1932 published the article entitled: „CONFERENCE OF YUGOSLAV SOKOLS IN ZAGREB“... Sensational news in foreign newspapers on the course and conclusions of the Conference of Bishops in Zagreb. „Denying the persecution of the Catholic church in Yugoslavia and describing the forms of persecution of our church in the Julian region the paper „JUTRO“ (Morning) concludes that there is no country in Europe in which the interests of the church and the religious feelings of the people are more respected than in Yugoslavia.“

⁴⁵ „Dr. KOROSCHETZ AND HIS PUNCTATIONS“ (Dr. Korošec i njegove „PUNKTACIJE“), „NOVOSTI“ (News), January 12, 1933.

biskupi na izjavu prvog podstaroste SKJ koju je dao na sjednici pretsjedništva Slavonskog sokolstva u Pragu 11. januara 1931. Tada je on rekao da je Sokolstvo „po unutrašnjoj strani u srcima i dušama ostalo, kako je bilo i prije u smislu sokolske ideje. Naše sokolske organizacije sve su u duhu starih tradicija sokolskog bratstva Tyršovih ideja. Dok stojimo na čelu mi stari sokoli, u novoj organizaciji vladat će stari duh slavonskog sokolskog bratstva“.

Dakle, ova slavska misao bila je ta koja je bola oči separatističkom episkopatu. Slovenac Engelbert Gangl mogao se uvjeriti poslije deset godina kako je njegov biskup dr. Gregor Rožman 1933. koji je tada kamuflirano vršio misiju rimskog klerofašizma, otvoreno i javno surađivao sa najvećim neprijateljem Slavenstva i jugoslavenskih naroda. Prirodno je, da je ova poslanica izazvala ne samo u redovima sokola, nego u čitavoj javnosti veliko uznemirenje i revolt protiv episkopata i klerikalaca. U polemici učestvuju pored sokola klerikalci i liberalci sviju struja.

„Sokolski glasnik ogorčen i uvređen započeo je polemiku uvodnim člankom Englberta Gangla, koji je bio ilustriran slikom sahrane Miroslava Tyrša 9. XI 1884. na Vaclavskom trgu, a u povorci se vidi svećenstvo, koje vrši crkvene funkcije. U članku je obuhvaćen cijeli problem u svoj širini. Hrabro i odlučno se podvlači da ova poslanica nije jedna izuzetna pojava crkvenih puritanaca, vezana čistim domaćim interesima, nego da je to jedna akcija, smišljena i sistematska, koja se već duže vremena vodi iz Italije protiv Jugoslavije. Propašću Austrougarske monarhije izgubila je Rimski Kurija svoje najmoćnije uporište, na kome je zidala svoju političku moć. Ultramontanizam i težnje Vatikana da nad zemljama rimokatoličke konfesije proširi svoj uticaj poslije prvog svjetskog rata, smanjile su se. Unatoč tome, Rimski Kurija ne odriče se zemaljskog carstva, koje po svemu izgleda, pretpostavlja onom nebeskom. Jer, takve su njene aspiracije, očigledne i manje upućenima, u toku svjetske politike. Ona sve to pravda time što će njena svjetska moć biti zaštitnik katoličke crkve i Kristove nauke. Toj političkoj supremaciji želi se dati posve religiozni karakter. Ovakve borbe preživjeli su mnogi narodi, koji su težili da se oslobode političkog gospodarstva Vatikana, koji teži da zadrži primat i nad svjetovnom vlašću. Za tu se ideju pušila krv, mjesto tamnjana kao slavonsjev Bogu. Ona se danas služi drugim, suvremenim sredstvima, koja nose u sebi sva obilježja najveće diplomatske rafiniranosti i takta. Raznovrsno primjenjena u vremenu i prilikama pojedinih naroda gdje djeluje nuncijatura. Tu se stalno imaju u vidu psihološki momenti i politička raspoloženja naroda pa se oni isko-

Prague that „the ideas of the Sokol Movement live unchanged in the hearts and minds of all Sokols. All our Sokol societies are organized in the spirit of the old tradition of Sokol brotherhood promoted by Tyrsh. As long as we, old Sokols, stay at its head the old spirit of Slavic Sokol brotherhood will prevail in our new organization.“

Actually, the Episcopate was in favor of separatism and therefore vehemently opposed to the idea of Slavic brotherhood. Engelbert Gangl, a Slovenian by nationality, ten years later, when cooperation of Bishop Dr Gregor Rozman with the greatest enemy of Slavism and the Yugoslav peoples became open and evident, discovered that already in 1933 this bishop secretly worked for Roman clero-fascists. Naturally, the Sokols and the general public were greatly disturbed by the Epistle and embittered against the Episcopate, the clericals and their supporters. The Sokols, the clericals and liberals of all colors were engaged in very animated polemics.

„Offended and embittered SOKOLSKI GLASNIK (the Sokol Herald) initiated the polemics by publishing the editorial signed by Englbert Gangle, illustrated with a picture of the funeral of Miroslav Tyrsh, taken on November 9, 1884 at Vatslav Square in Prague, showing the participation of clergy in the procession. The article discusses the problem in a very detailed manner, emphasizing that this Epistle is not an isolated case and that it has nothing to do with the interests of clerical puritans at home. The article assesses it as a very well planned action within the campaign Italy has been conducting against Yugoslavia for a long time.

With the fall of the Austria-Hungarian monarchy the Roman Curia lost the most powerful stronghold of its political authority. After the First World War the idea of ULTRAMONTANISM and the efforts of the Vatican to enhance its influence in all Catholic countries were greatly jeopardized. In spite of that the Roman Curia was not ready to give up its empire on earth, which is, obviously, the Vatican's first priority with regard to the Celestial one. These aspirations of the Vatican were obvious even to the less familiar with the developments in international politics. These activities were conducted under the guise of protection of the Catholic Church and Christianity. Best efforts were used to sell political aspirations under the label of religious matters. Many peoples trying to get rid of the Vatican's tutelage had to engage in similar struggles in which the smell of human blood replaced the scent of incense to the glory of the Almighty. Nowadays struggle is replaced by refined diplomatic means and patience. The approach actually depended on the circumstances in which the

rištavaju, čas otvorenije čas skrivenije, već prema diktatu potreba. Rimska Kurija majstorski uspjeva da identificira svoje težnje za političkim gospodstvom sa pitanjima vjere i Kristove nauke. Ispravno držanje jednog dijela svećenstva, koje umije da diferencira politiku Rimske Kurije od Kristovog nauka smatra se u Vatikanu kao i od jugoslavenskog episkopata otvorenom nepokornošću prema crkvi, pa su takvi svećenici podložni presijama, prijetnjama, pa i kaznama, ako se ne pokore diktatu svojih ordinarija.⁴⁶ Plod ovakve višegodišnje politike hrvatskog i slovenskog episkopata je i antisokolska, antityrševska poslanica, koju je potpisalo 19 katoličkih nadpastira i njihovih zamjenika. Pri čitanju ove poslanice pojedini svećenici dali su maha ne samo svojoj fantaziji, nego i mržnji prema sokolstvu, u stvari jugoslavenstvu, u komentarima ispred oltara Boga ljubavi i zapovijesti o bližnjemu.“ Odlučno odbijajući sve, što se u tom pastirskom pismu pokazuje, jednovremeno sve to označuje kao „proste i nečuvane klevete, tim nečuvanije, što dolaze iz ustiju Kristovih sljedbenika, čime oni kaljaju veliko i svijetlo ime Božje.“⁴⁷

Izvršni odbor SKJ-e održao je sjednicu u Beogradu 16. I 1933. i donio je potrebne odluke povodom ove poslanice. Poslije svestrane diskusije prihvaćena je rezolucija koja je preko štampe upućena svoj jugoslavenskoj javnosti, u kojoj se odbijaju sve uvrede i klevete episkopata.

„U tome „pastirskom pismu“, koje u nizu sistematskih napada na Sokolstvo za posljednjih nekoliko godina iz redova visokog katoličkog klera pretstavlja najbezobzirniji i najoštiri, nastoji se zlonamjerno i na način nedostojan onako visokog tijela: tendencioznom, nevjernim i neistinitim prikazivanjem sokolske ideologije i sokolskog rada, proizvoljnim generaliziranjem i očigledno krivim zaključivanjem, mistifikacijama i providnim sofizmima, obilježiti Soko Kraljevine Jugoslavije kao ne samo protukatoličku nego i protivjersku i bezbožničku organizaciju, koja pijankama, širenjem odvratne golotinje i rušenjem morala u našoj omladini i u našem narodu uopće potkapa i ubija vjerski i moralni život, kao i pokret koji je „nepriznavaanjem poštenog hrvatskog odnosno slavenskog imena“ protiv tradicija i svetinja ovih dijelova našeg naroda.

Savez Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije najodlučnije odbija od sebe sve ove nečuvane insinuacije i objede, koje najrječitije pobijaju svi

⁴⁶ Vidi niže slučaj biskupa Bonefačića i don Frana Ivaniševića.

⁴⁷ Pastirski list katoličkog episkopata protiv Sokolstva. Izazivanje kulturne borbe? – „Sokolski glasnik“ 13. I. 1933.

Nunciature manipulated the mentality and political attitude of the general public. Also, depending on the circumstances, these activities were more or less open and evident. The Roman Curia is a true virtuoso in dovetailing its political aspirations into the matters of religion and Christianity. The Vatican and the Yugoslav Episcopate accuse of disobedience those Catholic priests who make a difference between the political activities of the Roman Curia and Church matters. They are exposed to pressure, threats, even punishments if they do not follow the orders of their Ordinariae.⁴⁶ This anti-Tyrsh and anti-Sokol Epistle signed by 19 members of Catholic high clergy is the result of a policy for many years practiced by the Croatian and Slovenian Episcopates in Yugoslavia. During the reading of this Epistle some did not know what to think and some did not hide their hatred for the Sokols which was actually hatred for Yugoslavia, and they expressed it openly in front of the Almighty, a symbol of love, his Altar and his Commandments. „The author of the article rejects with indignation all allegations in the Epistle „as mere insults coming from the followers of Christ, which is deplorable because in this way they besmirch the lofty and luminous name of the Almighty“⁴⁷

At its Meeting held in Belgrade on January 16, 1933, the Executive Board of the SOKOL OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA, after a detailed discussion about the Epistle, adopted a Resolution addressed to the Yugoslav public and published in the Yugoslav press, refuting all insults and falsehoods concocted by the Episcopate.

„This Pastoral letter is, undoubtedly, the most brazen of all numerous affronts and attacks against the Sokol in the last few years. Coming from Catholic high clergy the text is bellow all standards; it is biased and gives a false picture of the Sokol ideology and the activities of that Movement. Generalizations are arbitrary, the conclusions evidently wrong, mystification and sophisms cheap. The main objective is to present the Sokols not only as an impious, but as an anti-religious movement which by organizing drinking parties, tolerating nudity and destroying moral principles in our youth and people in general actually undermines and destroys the religious and moral life. Moreover, „by refusing to accept the honest Croatian,

⁴⁶ See the case of Bishop Bonefatchitch and don Frano Ivanishevitch, later in the text.

⁴⁷ „THE PASTORAL PAPER“ (Pastirski list) OF THE CATHOLIC EPISCOPATE AGAINST THE SOKOLS-declaration of cultural war? - „SOKOLSKI GLASNIK“, January 13, 1933.

ma dobro poznati sokolski ciljevi i težnje, kao i pred svima širom otkriveni sokolski život i rad, te koje mogu da proizlaze samo iz zle volje, političkog računa ili fanatičke zaslijepljenosti.

Savez Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije s ogorčenjem u duši diže svoj glas protiv ovakvog načina borbe najviših predstavnika katoličke crkve u državi protiv sokolstva, koje tu borbu ničim nije izazvalo i sa žaljenjem utvrđuje, da se baš sa onog mjesta odakle treba da Kršćanska ljubav i pomirljivost zrače na cijeli naš narod i cijelu našu zemlju, u tako nada sve ozbiljno vrijeme nacionalnog i državnog života, nastoji u široke slojeve našeg naroda unijeti razdor i mržnju, i raspirivanjem vjerskih i plemenskih strasti, te unošenjem zabune i uznemirenosti oslabiti otpornu snagu jugoslavenskog naroda, baš onda kada mu je ona najpotrebnija.

SKJ na prvoj svojoj skupštini od 29. marta 1931. godine u Beogradu, u onde jednoglasno primljenim rezolucijama, iznio je na jedino mjerodavan način svoje stanovište u odnosu Sokolstva prema vjeri, i, u potpunoj suglasnosti sa tradicionalnim sokolskim shvaćanjima, utvrdio: Sokolstvo kao ideja slobode, priznaje i slobodu uvjerenja i misli svakog pojedinca, i da naročito poštuje svako vjersko uvjerenje i osjećanje, smatrajući vjeru najsvetijim dijelom unutrašnjeg života svakog čovjeka; da sljedstveno jednako poštuje i ispoljavanja svakog vjerskog uvjerenja i osjećanja, i da svaki pripadnik sokolske organizacije može slobodno da izvršava zapovijesti i propise svoje vjere i crkve...“⁴⁸

U savršenoj podudarnosti episkopatskog napadaja, u kome se pri kraju kaže pozivajući vjernike da ostanu čvrsti u vjeri otaca i neka se ne daju od te vjere odvratiti od Sokolstva „koje neće da znade za Spasitelja našega ni za pošteno naše hrvatsko i slovensko ime“, došao je i napadaj glavnog organa fašističke stranke u Italiji („Lavoro Fascista“) koji je 12. januara 1933., dakle poslije čitanja pastirske poslanice nazvao SKJ „zločinačkom i nemoralnom organizacijom“ bacivši na nju masu pogrda.

Sa svih strana zemlje gdje god je bilo sokolskih društava, naročito iz Hrvatske i Slovenije iz posve katoličkih krajeva stizali su protestni telegrami protiv ove biskupske poslanice. Ali ne samo i sokolska društva, nego i brojne druge nacionalne ustanove osudile su ovaj biskupski postupak koji se pojavio u trenutku najživlje fašističke antijugoslavenske akcije. U tim trenucima

⁴⁸ „Politika“ 17. I. 1933.

also Slavic, name in the title, the Sokol Movement actually stood up against our tradition and everything sacred to our people.“

THE SOKOL ALLIANCE OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA strongly rejects all these groundless and appalling accusations and insults. The aims and aspirations of the Sokols are very well known. In their life and work there is nothing hidden from the public eye. It is the facts that refute all these slanders concocted by ill will, political calculations and fanatical blindness.

THE SOKOL ALLIANCE OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA, with bitterness raises its voice against the kind of campaign the highest representatives of the Catholic Church in this country are waging against the Sokols who have not provoked it in any way. The Sokols deplore the fact that at this crucial moment in the life of our people and our country, instead of disseminating Christian love and tolerance, the highest representatives of the Catholic Church disseminate hatred and dissent, instigate religious and ethnic intolerance and thus confuse and disturb the Yugoslav people and undermine the indispensable defensive ability of the country.

In one of the Resolutions adopted by its Assembly held in Belgrade, on March 29, 1931, the Sokols presented their attitude to religion and in line with the Sokol tradition declared that: „The Sokol Movement is based on the idea of freedom and freedom of thought and belief. The Sokols respect all religions. Every member of the Sokol Movement is free to express his religious feelings which are viewed as the most sacred aspect of his life as an individual. This means that every member of the Sokol Movement is free to respect the principles of his faith and Church and behave accordingly...”⁴⁸

At the end of its attack on the Sokols the Episcopate calls on the believers to remain devoted to the faith of their forefathers and do not allow the Sokols to persuade them to give up that faith, because „the Sokols reject our Savior and our honest Croatian and Slovenian name. At the same time another attack came from the top of the Fascist party in Italy (LAVORO FASCISTA) which, on January 12, 1933, after the reading of the Epistle, addressed dirty insults to the Sokol Alliance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, even calling it „a criminal and immoral organization.“

The Sokols from all over the country, particularly those from the Catholic Croatian regions and Slovenia, massively reacted to the Epistle by sending telegrams of protest. Numerous other national institutions also condemned

⁴⁸ „POLITIKA“, January 17, 1933.



Venčanje jednog Sokola
A Wedding Photo of a Sokol

očekivalo se u javnosti što će reći o svemu tome oni narodni svećenici, koji su ostali vjerni nekadašnjem Strossmayerovom stavu prema Sokolstvu.

Uskoro se čuo glas kotorskog biskupa Frana Uccellini-Tice. Upitan od suradnika „Politike“, kako gleda na tu poslanicu, pošto on nije prisustvovao konferenciji episkopata već njegov zamjenik, starac je spomenuo i odlučno odgovorio:

„Ja znam što me čeka, a znam što ću odgovoriti. Nikad u životu nisam se ustručavao da rečem što mislim i osjećam, pak neću ni danas. *Vjera nije* bila u pitanju. Zato poslanicu nisam potpisao i ona nije oglašena u mojoj *biskupiji*. Član sam Jugoslavenskog sokola. Bio sam i ostajem. Ne vidim u tome grijeh. Ako me pozovu da blagoslovim njihov rad, blagoslovit ću ga radi Boga. Radu Sokola u mojoj *biskupiji* nema prigovora, koji su osnova poslanice i vjerujem da ih neće biti.“⁴⁹

Ova izjava kotorskog biskupa odjeknula je senzacionalno u narodu, Sokolstvu kao i među klerikalnim krugovima. Više nego ma koja polemična knjiga ili održani mitinzi, odjeknuo je udarac koji se spustio na glave njegovih drugova.

⁴⁹ „Politika“ 29. I. 1933.

this move of the Bishop Conference, at the moment of the most vigorous fascist anti-Yugoslav campaign. The general public expected to hear the opinion of those priests who have remained faithful to Strossmayer and his views on the Sokol Idea.

In his interview to the Belgrade daily POLITIKA Frano Uccellini-Titze, Bishop of Kotor, asked to comment the Epistle said:

„I know what I am going to say and what to expect after having said it. I have never hesitated to say what I think and feel, nor will I do it today. IT WAS NOT A RELIGIOUS ISSUE. That is why I did not sign the Epistle and it was not read in my bishopric. If they invite me to bless their work I will do it, in the name of God and for His sake. Contrary to what is said in the Epistle I have nothing to reproach to the activities of the Sokols in my bishopric and believe that there will be no reproach in the future either.“⁴⁹

The statement of the Bishop of Kotor greatly impressed the general public, the Sokols and the clergy and caused a true sensation. His blow on the heads of his colleagues produced a stronger effect than any polemical book on that issue, or any public protest.

When they heard what the Bishop said the Sokols from Cetinje decided to go to Kotor and personally thank the old bishop for his courage and his words which were a balm on the souls of the slandered and insulted. The old Bishop was sincerely touched by their words of gratitude. Emphasizing that their national work has always been correct and in line with the principles of Christianity, he also said: „Our only true salvation lies in the harmony among the brothers of the same blood: the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. I have been fostering this ideal since my young days and under Austria I dedicated my DIVNA GLUMA (Perfect Acting) to the harmony and love between the Serbs and Croats. I have always cherished that idea and I am not going to give it up now! Dear brothers, thank you for coming and continue to foster and disseminate the feelings of love!“ On that same day the Sokols took part in the procession headed by the Bishop himself.⁵⁰

The Meeting of the Executive Board of the Sokol Alliance, held on February 6 and 7, 1933, forwarded to Bishop Uccellini-Titze a letter of gratitude for his nice words of consolation and promised to continue to behave according to the highest moral principles and respect the faith and Church. When Tzarevitch (Carević) the Bishop of Dubrovnik refused to bless the

Kad se pročulo za ovu biskupovu izjavu, crnogorski sokoli sa Cetinja, pošli su sa Cetinja na Tripundan u Kotor da se zahvale starom biskupu za junački stav koji je *oblagorodio* duše povrijeđenih i napadnutih. Tople i zahvalne riječi crnogorskih sokola dirnule su starog vladiku. Odgovarajući im i priznavši njihov ispravan nacionalni rad koji nikad i nigdje nije dolazio u sukob s moralnim kršćanskim načelima, on im je rekao između ostaloga i ovo: „Jedino što nas može potpuno i konačno najtješnje vezati i spasiti jest sloga jednokrvne braće Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Od najmlađih svojih dana gojio sam ovu misao, a u teškim vremenima, pod Austrijom, posvetio sam moju „Divnu glumu“ baš „slozi i ljubavi Srba i Hrvata“. Ta me misao uvijek pratila i s njom sam se zanosio pa kako ne bih i sada! Širite braćo ljubav i hvala vam što ste došli!“ Sokoli su istoga dana učestvovali i u svečanoj procesiji koju je predvodio sam biskup.⁵⁰

Sokolski savez je sa svoje sjednice Izvršnog odbora, održane 6. i 7. februara 1933. uputio biskupu Uccelliniju-Tice zahvalnost za njegove utješljive riječi obećavajući mu da će se Sokoli ubuduće rukovoditi načelima najvišeg morala i poštovanja prema vjeri i crkvi. Kad je pak dubrovački biskup Carević odbio da blagoslovi zastave sokolskih četa iz dubrovačke okoline, blagoslovio ih je u Kotoru biskup Uccellini-Tice. Tom je prilikom biskup održao rodoljubivi govor u kome se dodirnuo i poslanice. Biskup je rekao: „*Nijesam potpisao poslanicu jer su u njoj bile očite klevete*. Tužili su Sokole za ono što nijesu krivi. *Oni su poslanicom učinili veliko nedjelo*. Zato sam je kritizirao. Fakta nijesu bila istinita a na podlozi tih neistinitih fakata oni su osuđivali Sokol. Meni je zbog toga dolazilo do suza!“⁵¹

Još je jednom biskup Uccellini-Tice dao izjavu, poslije godinu dana, kad je spomenuo da se i poslanice samoga Svetog Oca pape mogu kritizirati 14. maja 1934., kazao je:

„Tužili su sokole za ono zašta nisu krivi. U mojoj biskupiji sokoli su valjani, oni su sve. Ja ih sve blagosivljam. Ja sam im (t. j. biskupima) odmah kazao: nije tako. Mi u Dalmaciji živimo drugim životom. Rekao sam jednom od njih: „Ako budeš tako radio, naše će biskupe pljuvati po obrazu. Oni su poslanicom učinili veliko nedjelo. Zato sam je ja kritizirao. Fakta nijesu bila istinita, a na podlozi tih neistinitih fakata oni su osuđivali sokol. Meni je zbog toga dolazilo do suza!“ Ovako je govorio starac, gotovo doslovno 1933., 1934. u jednoj te istoj stvari.“⁵²

⁴⁹ „POLITIKA“, January 29, 1933.

⁵⁰ „SOKOLSKI GLASNIK“, February 17, 1933.

⁵⁰ „Sokolski glasnik“ 17. II. 1933.

⁵¹ Frano Uccellini-Tice, biskup kotorski. „Dubrovnik“ 8. VI. 1937.

⁵² Senatori i poslanici u posjeti kotorskom biskupu. „Štampa“ (Beograd) 15. V. 1934.

flags of the Sokols from the surroundings of Dubrovnik it was the Bishop of Kotor Uccellini-Titze who did it. On that occasion, in his patriotic address, the Bishop, mentioning the Epistle, said: „I refused to sign the Epistle because it was slanderous. The Sokols did not commit the guilt they are accused of. The Epistle is a great error. That is why I criticized it. It was not based on true facts and consequently condemned the Sokols on false grounds. Tears were coming to my eyes.“⁵¹

A year later, on May 14, 1934, Bishop Uccellini-Titze made a statement in which he said that the Epistle of the Holy Father could also be subject to criticism.

„The Sokols are not guilty of what they accuse them for. In my bishopric they are beyond reproach. I immediately told them (the bishops) that they were wrong. We in Dalmatia live differently. I told to one of them: „If you don't change they will start spitting us in the face. Their Epistle is a big mistake. Therefore I criticized them. The facts they mention are not reliable. Their accusations against the Sokols are false. Tears were coming to my eyes!“ This is what the old bishop said speaking about the same thing in 1933 and 1934.⁵²

The Bishop of Kotor was not the only one to condemn the Epistle. Several priests met in Split and also condemned the Epistle and its demagogical political messages as damaging for the Church. One of the Catholic priest present at the meeting even sent a letter to NOVOSTI (News) a Zagreb newspaper, in which he explained their views. High clergy and the clericals were enraged. It was a new and vigorous condemnation of high clergy. The letter speaks about distortion of facts, lack of precision and falsehood. In addition to that he author of the letter commends the Sokols for sincerity, openness and generosity, qualities fully in line with the idea of Catholicism.

„The Epistle is sheer demagogy. Its intention is to instigate intolerance and Pharisaism. It grossly violates the Constitution of our Kingdom. Those who should be the first to respect the law are setting a deplorable example. The Epistle is sheer Pharisaism which is very sad. The Sokols have always respected the same principles and they decided to attack them only now.

⁵¹ „FRANO UCCELINI-TITZE, BISHOP OF KOTOR.“ „DUBROVNIK“, June 8, 1937.

⁵² „SENATORS AND MPs VISITING THE BISHOP OF KOTOR“, „ŠTAMPA“ (Press), Beograd, May 15, 1934.

Međutim kotorski biskup unutar svećeničkih redova nije bio osamljen u osudi ove poslanice. U Splitu našlo se na okupu, povodom objave poslanice, nekoliko svećenika koji su jednodušno osudili postupak episkopata, osjetivši da u demagoškim i političkim tendencijama poslanice ima više štete nego koristi za crkvu. Jedan od njih formulirao je njihovo gledište i uputio ga u zagrebačke „Novosti“. Ovo pismo katoličkog svećenika, koji je govorio u ime mnogih drugih, izazvalo je novo ogorčenje u klerikalnim i visokim hijerarhijskim redovima. Bila je to nova i teška osuda crkvenih velikodostojnika. U tom uvodnom članku govori se o grubom izvrtanju činjenica, netočnostima i neistinama. Štoviše, dotični tvrdi da Sokol naučava iskrenost, otvorenost, nesebičnost u punom skladu sa naukom katoličke crkve.

„Poslanica je naprotiv plod demagogije; iz nje izvire namjera potpirivanja strasti u duhu nesnošljivosti i farizejštine. Po tom i takvom sadržaju ona je u očitoj i gruboj opreci sa temeljnim zakonom, sa Ustavom naše kraljevine. I time, oni koji bi u poštivanju zakona morali prednjačiti, daju grub primjer, poguban primjer. *Rekao sam da je poslanica farizejska. To je vrlo teško za nju.* Jer, odavna, od uvijek, ima Sokol ista načela, pa kako to, da su se presvjetla gospođa sjetila tek sada... da Sokol napadnu. Čudne li baš koincidencije, da ova poslanica dolazi istodobno kad i razne „punktacije“, razne izjave žalosnih emigranata i otvorena kampanja nama neprijateljske štampe! Nego, recimo otvoreno i bez uvijanja: ne napada se Sokol zbog navodnog protuvjerskog djelovanja i naročito zato i zbog toga, što je on jugoslavenska nacionalna ustanova! *Ja sam uvjeren da ne griješim kad kažem, da izvor napadaja na Sokol treba tražiti izvan naših granica.* Napadaj na Sokol ima svoju osnovu i u strahu, da ne bi Sokol okupio svu našu omladinu i onemogućio time razne „Križare“, ili slične anacionalne ustanove i pokrete. Kažem anacionalne, jer se uzalud traži u izjavama takvih ustanova ili pokreta, u njihovoj štampi i jedna riječ nacionalne svijesti! Napadaj na Sokol izazvan je dalje i strahom da ne bi povampireni plemenski separatizam našao svoj put i mimo i protiv klerikalnog pokreta. Odatle ono demagoško nadliciranje prema raznim punktacijama.“⁵³

Ovaj članak izazvao je postupak biskupa splitskog dr. Klementa Bonefačića protiv don Frana Ivaniševića, koga je biskup osumnjičio kao autora. Naime biskup Bonefačić bio je još i više uvjeren da članak potiče od don Frana Ivaniševića jer je on na nekoliko dana ranije održao u solinskoj sokola-

⁵³ Pismo katoličkog svećenika. „Novosti“ 21. I. 1933.

...Why only now? Oddly enough, the Epistle comes together with different PUNCTATIONS, statements made by miserable emigrants and an open campaign conducted by hostile press.

Let us be open and straightforward. They do not attack the Sokols for their anti-religious activities. They attack the Sokols as a Yugoslav national institution! I believe that the attacks on the Sokols come from foreign sources. The attack is also orchestrated out of fear that the Sokols may attract to their ranks all our young people, which would greatly jeopardize the activities of various CRUSADEERS (Križari) and similar anti-national organizations and movements. I say anti-national because in their statements and in their press there is not a single word about the national aspect. The attacks on the Sokols are also motivated by the fear that the clericals and their supporters could lose control over various efforts of ethnic separatism which, in the final account, might even turn against them. This is the explanation for demagogical bargaining in connection with various PUNCTATIONS⁵³

Dr Klement Bonefachitch (Bonefačić), Bishop of Split, reacted to this article, accusing don Frano Ivanishevitch (Ivanišević) of authorship. Namely, several days before the publication of this article don Frano Ivanishevitch, in his lecture delivered in the Sokol Center of Solin said that 120 000 red Yugoslav shirts are ready to stand up and give their lives against 400 000 black shirts. The Bishop sent to don Frano Ivanishevitch a copy of his letter to Dr Rachitch (forwarded on January 17, 1933) regarding the Epistle of the Episcopate in which he says:

„I have heard the big bell of the masons ringing through you in the effort to hush up the truth. On my personal behalf and on behalf of all Bishops I reject with indignation all falsehoods meant to persuade the uninformed public that the Epistle is closely connected with the Punctations, the fascist declaration and what not! The Epistle was drafted and adopted by the Bishop Conference held on November 17, 1932... and then we looked up the calendar in order to determine the most appropriate date for reading it in public. The following were the weeks of Advent and you know that there are no sermons on these Sundays. Then came Christmas and on the 8-th of January the Holiday of the Holy Family, a very suitable day for the Epistle. On the 17-th and 19-th November this was the only thing we had in mind. It did not occur to us to connect the Epistle

ni predavanje u kome je rekao da će protiv 400.000 crnih košulja znati ustati i poginuti 120.000 crvenih košulja Jugoslavena. Biskup je uputio don Franu Ivaniševiću prijepis jednog pisma koje je on uputio dr. Račiću (17. I 1933.), povodom poslanice episkopata. Biskup Bonefačić kaže da

„čuje da i Vama isponira glas velikog zvona masona, kojim se hoće zaglušiti, da se ne čuje istina. Kategorički i s gnušanjem odbijam od sebe, a mogu bez straha reći i za sve biskupe, insinucije, koje se serviraju javnosti i kojima se hoće da zavede neupućene, da je poslanica u savezu s punktacijama, deklaracijom fašizma i što ti ja znam! Poslanica je odlučena i uglavnom sastavljena na sjednici biskupske konferencije 17. XI 1932... Sa kalendarom u ruci se je tražilo, kada bi zgodno bilo da se pročita. Slijedile su neposredno nedjelje adventa, a vi znate, što se bar u glavnim crkvama i većim mjestima u te nedjelje propovijeda, pa božićni blagdani. Epifanija je za dan misija, a nedjelja 8. I Sveta Obitelj. Nikad zgodnijih dana za jednu i drugu poslanicu. Tko je 17. odnosno 19. XI sanjao o svemu drugom, što se u savez donosi s poslanicom! Samo masonska perfidija može da to ustvrdi i širi.“⁵⁴

Ovako su biskup Uccellini-Tice, don Frano Ivanišević a uskoro i uzorni svećenik Vjekoslav Spinčić postali „glas velikog zvona masona“. Već sutradan 18. I odgovorio je don Frano Ivanišević biskupu Bonefačiću. Objasnivši biskupu stanje našeg naroda u Julijskoj Krajini, kao i organiziranu akciju fašističkih ustanova protiv Jugoslavije, iskreno kazuje don Frano da smatra potrebnim u Jugoslaviji mobilizirati sve zdrave nacionalne snage za obranu.

„Vi mi spočitavate, riječi su don Frana Ivaniševića, da svećenik ne smije govoriti za vrijeme mira o ratu. Ja vam odgovaram da ja nisam svojim govorom poticao na rat, nego baš obratno na obranu protiv rata, te mislim, da svećenik za vrijeme mira može i mora govoriti proti takvom osvajačkom ratu, koji vrti mozgom u glavi osvajača Mussolinija, pogledom na naše primorske krajeve. Takve sam javne govore izrekao na više mjesta u Jugoslaviji, dok sam bio predsjednik Jugoslavenske matice, te izaslanik Jadranske Straže, i nitko zdrava shvaćanja nije mi što opazio.“ Don Frano odbija biskupovo mišljenje, da mu „imponira vlast velikog zvona masona“, jer njemu imponira glas njegove savjesti i kriterij njegove pameti. „U mojem skromnom radu, vjeran načelu biskupa Strossmayera, ja sam uvijek nastojao da uzdržim ravnotežu i harmoniju između pojma vjere i domovine,

⁵³ „LETTER OF A CATHOLIC PRIEST“, „NOVOSTI“, January 23, 1933.

⁵⁴ Pismo biskupa dr. Bonefačića don Frani Ivaniševiću (17. XI. 1933.). Prepis s originala.

with any other document. Only perfidious free masons are capable of planting such falsehoods.”⁵⁴

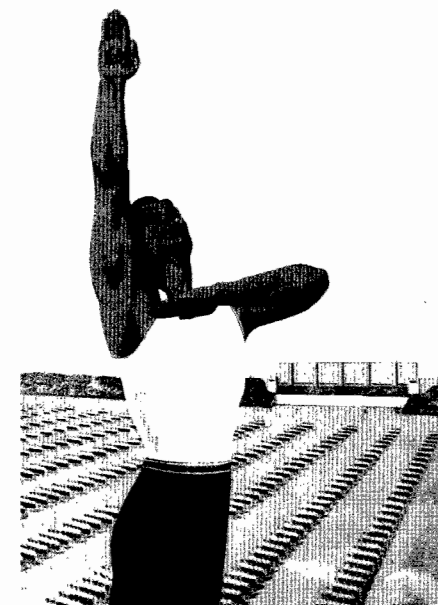
This is how Bishop Uccellini-Titze, don Frano Ivanishevitch and a highly respected reverend Vjekoslav Spinchitch (Spinčić) were promoted into „the ringing bell of free masons.“ In his answer to the Bishop (already on the following day, January 18), Frano Ivanishevitch describes the situation and the living conditions of our people in the Julian Alps region and speaks about an organized fascist campaign against Yugoslavia. He is of the opinion that in view of the situation Yugoslavia should mobilize its patriotic forces for defense.

„He also rejected the criticism of the Bishop that war is not a topic for priests to discuss. I emphasize that in my speech I was not calling for war. On the contrary. I only spoke against the war. In my opinion in peacetime the priest should speak against an aggressive war concocted in the head of Mussolini and against his appetite for our coast. I tackled that issue in several of my public speeches in Yugoslavia, as Chairman of the JUGOSLOVENSKA MATICA and deputy of JADRANSKA STRAŽA and so far no one in his right mind has reproached me for discussing that subject in public.“ Don Frano also rejects the insinuations of the Bishop that „he enjoys listening to the big bell of free masons“, emphasizing that „he only listens to the voice of his conscious and behaves according to the criteria of his wisdom. „In my modest work-continued don Frano-faithful to the principles of Bishop Strossmayer, I have always tried to strike the right balance between the ethnic and the religious, between the notion of Faith and the notion of the fatherland. I have never swerved from that path and I note with great satisfaction that my attitude has always been well accepted. And now, with all due respect for you as my Spiritual Father, strictly speaking about the interest of the Catholic Church only, I feel free to tell you that by attacking the Sokols the Catholic Episcopate has gone too far. It does not stand to reason, nor is it honest to say that it was you who wanted to endanger our country and particularly compromise its reputation abroad, because that would be a crime punishable by law and you could be held responsible and tried for that. Now, when Italy is supplying Hungary with weapons and concocting intrigues in the effort to flare up a war in the Balkans and Europe, Catholic Bishops

te nikada nisam sašao sa te staze, a uvijek postizavao dobre uspjehe na moje veliko zadovoljstvo. A sada imajući pred očima isključivo interese naše crkve, dozvolite mi, Preuzvišeni, da Vam kao svojem duhovnom ocu u ovom pitanju iskreno kažem: Katolički episkopat u Jugoslaviji s onim nesmotrenim istupom protiv Sokola izgubio je tu ravnotežu. Nitko pametan i pošten neće reći, da ste vi onim činom hotili neumice oštetiti ugled naše države osobito u vanjskom svijetu, jer bi to bio zločin, za koji bi vas država mogla pozvati na odgovornost, ali svako će vam reći da nije bilo pametno ni taktično u ovom času, kada Italija šalje u Mađarsku oružje, kada intrigira na Balkanu i Evropi, da nam navijesti rat, nije bilo umjesno da biskupi katolički navještuju vjerski rat protiv Sokola i države, jer je Sokol Jugoslavije ustanovljen državnim zakonom i smatra se donekle polu-državna ustanova, obranbeni zid protiv propaganda izvana i rastrojenih elemenata unutra. Promislite, Preuzvišeni, bili se to usudili i pomisliti, a kamo li učiniti katolički biskupi protiv Mussolinija, koji je poznat kao izraziti ateist? Ne bi, jer su po srijedi državni interesi, koji se kod nas nažalost zaboravljaju...”⁵⁵

Ovim pismom nije završena polemična prepiska između don Frana Ivaniševića i biskupa Bonefačića. Ona će na kraju završiti upotrebom duhovne sile, koja je bila na raspoloženju Bonefačiću, upotrebom crkvenih kazni kojima će biskup udariti na sjajnog slugu božjeg, starca i rodoljuba svećenika koji je bio uistinu integer vitae!

Kad su stigle u Split zagrebačke „Novosti“ sa člankom „Pismo katoličkog svećenika“ uznemirila se Bonefačićeva kurija. Tu se odmah pomislilo da je autor članka don Frano Ivanišević. 3. februara 1933. obratio se biskup na don Frana saopćivši mu pismeno sumnje splitskih kao i zagrebačkih klerikalaca



*Vežba sokola
A Sokol exercising*

⁵⁴ LETTER OF BISHOP Dr. BONEFACHITCH TO DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH, (November 17, 1933), copy of the original document.

⁵⁵ Don Frano Ivanišević biskupu dr. Bonefačiću, 18. I. 1933. Prepis s originala.

have no justification for declaring a religious war against the Sokols and the State, Because the Yugoslav Sokol was established by a legal decision, it has the status of a semi-official organization and it represents a shield against foreign propaganda and subversive elements inside the country. Would it occur to any Catholic Bishop in Italy to engage in a similar campaign against Mussolini, a militant atheist? Never, because state interests would be at stake. But, when it comes to Yugoslavia state interests, apparently, do not count...⁵⁵

This was not the end of the argument between don Frano Ivanishevitch and Bishop Bonefachitch. At the end the Bishop used the authority of the Church to punish the old priest, a patriot, a devoted servant of the Almighty, a true INTEGER VITAE!

When the Zagreb paper NOVOSTI (News) with the article entitled A LETTER OF A CATHOLIC PRIEST reached Split the Curia of Bishop Bonefachitch got extremely disturbed and immediately concluded that don Frano Ivanishevitch must be its author. In his letter of the 3-rd of February the Bishop informed don Frano about his personal and the suspicions of the clergy of Split and Zagreb regarding the authorship of the LETTER published in NOVOSTI. In support to this conclusion the Bishop quotes don Frano's letter of the 18-th of January in which the reverend expressed similar views.

„The very fact that only your name is mentioned in connection with the LETTER is very compromising for you as a priest, for your honor, for the honor of the clergy of you Diocese and for the clergy of Dalmatia in general. In case it is planted by the Editorial Board it would be your sacred duty to offer a public apology and thus take the suspicion off your name and disassociate yourself from the LETTER... The Bishop, the Ordinarium of the Bishopric, the clergy of the Diocese and all devoted Catholics expect you to do your duty without any official warrant and thus behave according to the moral standards a Catholic priest is bound to honor.“⁵⁶

At that time don Frano Ivanishevitch was in Belgrade and visited me on the 2-nd of February, 1933, On that occasion I asked my old friend to tell me all about the argument surrounding the Epistle and the background of the whole issue. I wanted the whole country to hear his voice, like in the case of Bishop Utticellini-Titze.

⁵⁵ DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH TO BISHOP Dr. BONEFACHITCH, January 18, 1933, copy of the original document.

⁵⁶ BISHOP Dr. BONEFACHITCH TO DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH, February 3, 1933, no 426, copy of the original document.

kao i svoje. Biskup nalazi za to potvrde i u don Franinom pismu od 18. I u kome nalazi idejne sličnosti sa mislima u članku.

„Sama činjenica, da se uopće ime ni jednog drugog svećenika iz Dalmacije ne spominje s tim člankom, t. j. u razgovorima, nego samo vaše, bez dvojbe već teško kompromitira vašu osobnu svećeničku čast, pa čast dijecezanskog svećenstva i općenito dalmatinskog, te bi Vam bila i u slučaju, da je članak potekao iz samog uredništva ili zlonamjerno podmetnut, velika i sveta dužnost, da se javno i jasno izjavite, kako biste od sebe odvratili svaku i najmanju sumnju u kakvom svom udjelu u spomenutom članku... Pravom očekuje Biskup i Biskupski Ordinarijat i Diecezansko svećenstvo i svi svijesni katolici, da ćete Vi obzirom na izloženo bez formalnog poziva ili naloga učiniti svoju dužnost, kako se dolikuje katoličkom svećeniku.“⁵⁶

U času, kad se don Franu Ivaniševiću uputilo ovo pismo, on se nalazio u Beogradu. U posjetu koji mi je učinio (2. II 1933.), kao davnašnji prijatelj, zamolio sam ga da me izvijesti o cijeloj stvari kao i pozadini poslanice, sa željom da se njegov glas čuje kroz čitavu zemlju, kao što se čuo i biskupa Uccellini-Tice. Naglasio sam da bi njegov glas i njegovo mišljenje u veliko doprinijelo razbistravanju ove neobično mučne i mračne situacije. Kao što sam predviđao i očekivao, mišljenje don Frana Ivaniševića se potpuno podudaralo s onim kotorskog biskupa. Poslije razgovora ovlastio me je don Frano Ivanišević da glavne misli iz toga razgovora objavim u „Politici“. To sam i učinio već sutradan, reproduciravši vjerno taj razgovor čuvajući se da ne dodam ništa od svojih ličnih zapažanja.

„Iako mi je neugodno govoriti, reče don Frano, ipak mislim da ću poslužiti dobroj stvari, ako Vam kažem što znam, mislim i



Vežba sokolice
A Sokol girl exercising

⁵⁶ Biskup dr. Bonefačić don Franu Ivaniševiću 3. II. 1933., br. 426. Prepis s originala.

I emphasized that his publicly expressed opinion greatly contributed to shedding light on this very painful and gloomy situation. As expected, the opinion of don Frano Ivanishevitch fully coincided with the views of the Bishop of Kotor. Moreover, he gave me the authorization to publish his views in the daily POLITIKA, which I did, on the very following day. Our conversation was faithfully reproduced, without any of my personal comments.

This is what don Frano told me: „In spite of feeling ill at ease I decided to speak up in the hope that what I know about this subject may serve a good cause, because conflicts and blunders stem from ignorance of what the whole campaign is really about... I have been following the developments in our national life since 1880, which means for over 50 years, I am familiar with the cultural and political situation on both sides of the Drina river and Mount Velebit and I speak from personal experience. The Sokol Movement was founded in Bohemia and introduced to Dalmatia via Croatia and Slovenia. I claim with full responsibility that in the eyes of our clergy the Sokols have always been an eminent national institution whose aim, in addition to strengthening the muscles, is to strengthen the spirit in order to prepare our youth to successfully cope with foreign subversion. Nothing else. The priests close to the people support the Sokols because in their activities they have never noticed a trace of any anti-religious feeling. On the contrary. The priests from the rural areas tell me that the Sokols are their best Christians and most devoted Catholics, that they take part in Church processions, sing in church choirs and play music at church event and festivities. I am not familiar with the scholarly views of Dr. Tyrsh. In my opinion a distinction should be made between Dr. Tyrsh, the scholar and Tyrsh the Sokol. Qui bene distinguit bene docet. I have never noticed that Tyrsh used the Sokols for disseminating atheism. In 1908, as a delegate of the Yugoslav Parliamentary Club in Vienna I attended the ALL SOKOL RALLY IN PRAGUE. In 1920 I attended the same event, but this time as member of the Yugoslav delegation, together with numerous Catholic dignitaries and members of High Clergy in Prague. The Nuncio of the Holy See, next to the Pope in Church hierarchy, attended the banquet in honor of the Sokols, actually the organization founded by Tyrsh. If the Sokols were a hotbed of atheism this would be easily revealed in the fatherland of Tyrsh, in the first place, and the Catholic Church would not have been represented at the RALLY and the BANQUET. The political aspect of the Epistle is something very serious and totally inappropriate in the period of consolidation

želim, jer nepoznavanje pravoga stanja stvari najviše zavađa u bludnju i prouzrokuje ovakve sukobe... Pratim narodni život u našoj domovini od 1880., dakle preko pedeset godina, te su mi prilično poznate kulturne i političke prilike i s jedne strane Drine i Velebita, da mogu kazati, što sam doživio. „Sokol“ je potekao iz Češke, a u nas se u Dalmaciji preselio iz Hrvatske i Slovenije. Mogu Vam pouzdano reći: da se „Sokol“ i u našim svećeničkim krugovima uvijek smatrao isključivo kao eminentno nacionalna ustanova, koja uz jačanje tjelesnih mišica, ima za cilj da jača i duh, kako bi ga očeličila za obranu protiv infiltracije tuđinštine. I ništa drugo. Narodni svećenici podupirali su to društvo, jer u njemu nisu nikad opazili niti traga bezvjerstvu. Štoviše, obratno. Čuo sam od mnogih mojih drugova župnika na selu, gdje je bilo sokola, da su im sokoli najbolji kršćani i vjernici, oni su obično crkveni pjevači, svirači u sokolskoj glazbi spremni na svaku uslugu prema crkvi, njezinim obredima i pobožnostima. Što je dr. Tyrš u naučnom naziranju mislio i pisao meni nije poznato, ali mislim, da i tu treba razlikovati Tyrša naučnika od Tyrša sokolaša. Qui bene distinguit, bene docet. Da je Tyrš širio kroz sokolske čete bezboštvo, to ja nisam nikada i nigdje opazio. Sjećam se da sam 1908. godine kao delegat jugoslavenskog parlamentarnog kluba u Beču prisustvovao velikom sokolskom sletu u Pragu, a tako i 1920. kao član delegacije naše države iz Jugoslavije, pa sam tom prilikom vidio uz ostale odličnike i najveće dostojanstvenike katoličke crkve u Pragu, štoviše, zadnji put na banketu priređenom u čast „Sokolu“, koji je zasnovao dr. Tyrš, prisustvovao je Nuncij Apostolske Stolice, iza Pape najveći dostojanstvenik katoličke crkve. Da je sokolstvo gnijezdo bezvjerstva i bezboštva, to takve pojave bi se morale pojaviti najprije u Tyrševoj domovini, van svake sumnje, da katolička crkva ne bi bila zastupana na tom sletu i banketu. Najteža je strana ove poslanice u političkom pogledu. Sasvim je nezgodna i neumjesna u ovom času i značajnom razdoblju naše državne konsolidacije, kada nam se sveta dužnost nameće, da se svi sinovi odani ovoj državi bilo kojega imena ili plemena, bilo konfesije ili profesije... i da stisnemo naše redove proti pohlepnim očima izvana i destruktivnim elementima iznutra. Niti svijesno, niti nesvijesno ne smijemo slabiti naše državno i narodno jedinstvo, jer u tome nam jedino leži spas. Nitko ne smije osporiti pravo i dužnost episkopata na duševni odgoj svojih vjernika i župa, da čupa otrovni korov na njivi Gospodnjoj, ako se on pojavi. Ali i tu treba imati velike vještine i opreznosti, da se ne dogodi, kao onom evanđelskom kosaču, koji sjekuci neoprezno otrovni

of our State, when the most sacred duty of all its sons, regardless of their name, ethnic origin, religion or profession, is to close ranks against foreign aggression and domestic subversion... We must not undermine our national unity, intentionally, or unintentionally, because our survival and salvation depend on our national unity. No one should deny the right and duty of the Episcopate to take care of the spiritual education of the Catholics and work on the eradication of poisonous weeds, if they, by any chance, start growing in the pasture of Heavens, but we should be very careful not to damage the healthy wheat, as in case of the Epistle. The reaction to it should have been anticipated because such serious cuts are always risky. Therefore, an experienced surgeon, dealing with the physical and spiritual aspects of human life should avoid all negative consequences. To anticipate developments means to be open for the right counsel and guidance. As I have already said, this direct attack on the Sokols, and on top of that THE SOKOLS OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA, the national organization which fosters the idea of Yugoslavism and stands in defense of its interests, is a state issue. The reaction of the state officials and all those to whom the interests of Yugoslavia are sacred is, therefore, understandable. Even the Church itself never denied the importance of state interests. It must be very painful for Yugoslav patriots to read in Italian papers their comments of the Epistle announced by the Croatian Catholic Episcopate in Yugoslavia. On the other hand, these Italian papers have never discussed the Policy of the Italian Episcopate, their *balillas*, or the attitude of the Czech and Polish Episcopate towards the Sokols. The country hostile to Yugoslavia is faced with enormous problems, but Italian press does not write about them. Also, some Austrian papers again report in the old style, from the period before the First World War, spreading falsehood that for the Catholics in Yugoslavia life is unbearable. As an old priest I very well know what was the status of the Catholic Church like before the First World War and what it is now. I therefore claim in full honesty that in the former Austria-Hungarian Monarchy the Catholic Church did not enjoy the rights and support it is enjoying today in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. It is gratifying to witness the development of the Catholic Church here in Belgrade where it now has 5 Dioceses. The Catholic Church is welcome among the citizens of Belgrade who are over 80% Orthodox. The Municipality of Belgrade has granted a five million dinars worth site for the construction of the Cathedral! I have also

korov, zahvatio je i zdravu pšenicu, te nanio više štete nego li koristi, kao što se zbilo, čini mi se, i sa biskupskom poslanicom. Trebalo je prije predvidjeti kakva će reakcija nastati, jer su ovakve teške operacije uvijek skopčane sa komplikacijama, koje vješt kirurg, fizički i duhovni, treba da nastoji izbjegnuti. Znati predvidjeti znači dobro upraviti. Kazao sam da ovaj direktni nastup protiv „Sokola“ i to „Kraljevine Jugoslavije“ tangira direktno i državu, za čije se interese i ideale zalaže osobito taj isti „Sokol“. Stoga se može i lako pojmiti i osjetljivost državnih faktora, ali i sve javnosti, kojoj su interesi domovine svetinja prvoga reda, svetinja, kojoj i crkva nije odričala svu njenu važnost, sav njen značaj. *Koliko samo boli mora da osjeti srce rodoljuba, koji čita talijanske novine, koje na svoj način komentiraju ovaj istup hrvatskog episkopata, one iste novine, koje nisu imale priliku, da kritiziraju ili hvale svoj talijanski episkopat u pogledu njihovih balilla.* Jer, nepoznato mi je, da su se talijanski biskupi digli protiv balilla, ili češki i poljski protivu svojih sokola. Koliko nevolja zemlji u inostranstvu koje nije Jugoslaviji prijateljski naklonjeno! *Nikako ne odgovara vijestima talijanskih novina, a onda i one povampirene austrijske štampe, koja propagira lažne vijesti, kao da je nepodnošljivo stanje katolika u našoj državi. Meni su kao starom svećeniku dobro poznate crkvene prilike od prije i sada, te Vam mogu kategorički utvrditi ovo: katolička crkva nije nikada u bivšoj Austrougarskoj monarhiji uživala toliku slobodu i potporu koliku uživa danas u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji.* Dosta je pogledati ovdje na Beograd kako se lijepo razvija katolička crkva, koja ima ovdje sada pet župa. Uživa veliku susretljivost građanstva, koje je više nego 80% druge vjeroispovijesti: pravoslavne. Općina grada Beograda ustupila je besplatno teren za novu katoličku katedralu, koja se ima graditi, a taj teren predstavlja vrijednost od pet miliona dinara! Sve ovo što sam Vam kazao, kazao sam i nekim biskupima u najboljoj namjeri da se spor što prije izgadi, jer je to u interesu crkve i države.⁵⁷

Dakako, ova izjava don Frana Ivaniševića, koju je i ostala štampa prenijela, bila je nov udar i novo uzbuđenje za don Franinog biskupa dra Bonefačića. Čim je stigao 6. II u Split odgovorio je don Frano na biskupovo pismo od 3. II 1933. U tom odgovoru don Frano Ivanišević odriče da je on autor članka u „Novostima“ i da je upravo radi toga što su i njega neki pitali da li je on

⁵⁷ Viktor Novak, Don Frano Ivanišević o poslanici katoličkog episkopata. „Politika“ 3. II. 1933.

informed several Bishops about everything, including that valuable donation, in the best intention to help overcome the controversy, as soon as possible, because it is in the interest of both the Church and the State."⁵⁷

This statement, reprinted in many other papers, was a new blow to Bishop Bonefachitch, who was very annoyed by what was going on. Immediately upon arrival to Split, on the 6-th of February, 1933, don Frano answered the Bishop's letter of the 3-rd of February, 1933. In his answer he denies authorship of the LETTER published in NOVOSTI and explains that the purpose of his talks with professor Novak in Belgrade, later published in an official newspaper, was to reject all such insinuations and publicly express his personal views.⁵⁸

This letter crossed with a new letter the Bishop sent to don Frano on the 6-th of February, 1933, in which he talks about the article in POLITIKA and asks whether the text is authentic, or not.

„The Ordinarium of Bishops wants to know whether you have really talked with Dr. Viktor Novak about that issue, whether the article faithfully reflects your words, or whether it is a partial, or total mystification? You are requested to inform the Ordinarium, at your earliest convenience, in what way you intend to make up for the damage caused by the ARTICLE, regardless of the veracity of its content.“⁵⁹

I have no comment. I only suggest that these letters serve as a ground for assessing the approach of the Bishop to freedom of conscious and evaluating his moral concepts within his effort to refute the truth and distort it into falsehood. Again, the two letters crossed on the same day. In his letter of the 8-th of February don Frano Ivanishevitch replies to the Bishop:

„I confirm what I told you in my letter of the 6-th of this month, namely that I authorized Dr. Viktor Novak to publish in POLITIKA my talks with him about the Epistle, which he did. There are some slightly different nuances in the wording and style, but this is irrelevant. I take full responsibility for the content of the article because

⁵⁷ Viktor Novak: „DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH ABOUT THE EPISTLE OF THE CATHOLIC EPISCOPATE“, „POLITIKA“, February 3, 1933.

⁵⁸ DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH TO BISHOP Dr. BONEFACHITCH, February 6, 1933, copy of the original document.

⁵⁹ DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH TO BISHOP Dr. BONEFACHITCH, February 6, 1933, copy of the original document.

njegov autor, dao izjavu profesoru Novaku u Beogradu, na čiji ga tekst upozorava kao i na cilj koji je ovim intervjuom imao.⁵⁸

U isto vrijeme su se razmimoišla pisma don Franino, i novo biskupa Bonefačića koje je uputio don Franu 6. II 1933. Biskup ovdje govori već o članku, dotično o izjavi datoj za „Politiku“ i raspituje se da li je tekst vjerodostojno reproduciran?

„Biskupskom ordinarijatu je potrebno da znade, jeste li Vi s gosp. dr. V. Novakom doista o predmetu razgovarali i jeli u spomenutom članku taj Vaš razgovor u cijelosti i vjerno prikazan ili je potpuno ili djelimično mistifikacija? Ovim Vas se poziva, da u najkraćem roku biskupski ordinarijat o tomu izvjestite, odnosno izjavite, što kanite učiniti, ako je razgovor bio iskrivljen i za popravak sablazni što ju je čak izazvao po sebi, bez obzira na njegovu ispravnost.“⁵⁹

Uzdržavajući se od svakog komentara, ostavljam da se neposredni utisci dobiveni iz tih pisama povežu sa zaključcima o jednom sasvim izuzetnom moralnom shvaćanju jednog biskupa u pogledu ataka na slobodu savjesti, kojim se želi postići poricanje jedne istinite tvrdnje, da je istina neistina. I opet istoga dana mimoišla su se 8. II pismo don Frana Ivaniševića i biskupa Bonefačića. Don Frano daje obavještenja koja je biskup od njega tražio.

„Kako sam u mojem listu od 6. ov. mj. priopćio, tako Vam i ovim listom potvrđujem, da sam ja ovlastio gosp. Viktora dr. Novaka neka moj razgovor s njime o biskupskoj poslanici objelodani u „Politici“ što je on to i učinio. Za nekoje stilističke izreke, sporedne naravi, koje su potekle iz njegova pera, ne mogu da odgovaram, ali za čitav sadržaj u glavnom ja uzimljem odgovornost i u savjesti sam potpuno miran, da sam onom izjavom mnogo doprinio ublaženju onog oštrega i zlovolje što je prouzrokovala poslanica kod dobrih rodoljuba katolika, na prvi mah. Po treći put Vam, preuzvišeni, iskreno izjavljujem, da sve što sam dosada uradio i što ću i dalje uraditi to je sve u interesu i ugledu naše katoličke crkve. Eto Vam dokaza:

Pri prvom uzbuđenju proti poslanici u našem gradu, nastojao sam kod nekih članova Sokola, neka se o prelazu na drugu vjeru, kako su neke ugrijane glave mislile, niti ne govori i mogu Vam reći, da je moja preporuka dosta djelovala. Kada je ovih dana došao glas iz Zagreba i Sušaka, da se započne sa rastavom od Rima i osnuje nova jugoslavenska katolička crkva, nastojao sam kod onih, koji su se za to

⁵⁸ Don Frano Ivanišević biskupu dru Bonefačiću 6. II. 1933. Prepis iz originala.

⁵⁹ Don Frano Ivanišević biskupu dru Bonefačiću 6. II. 1933. Prepis s originala.

it actually reflects everything I said. My conscious is clear because I only wanted to slightly dull the edge of sharpness of the Epistle and mitigate its venomous effect on good patriots and Catholics. The Right Reverend, I am repeating it for the third time: Everything I have done so far and everything I intend to do in the future has been and will be in the interest of the Catholic Church and its reputation. I have proofs for what I am saying:

First, reacting to the great concern aroused by the Epistle I have used my very best efforts to convince some Sokols that it is far from being a call for religious conversion and that such interpretation of the Epistle is totally wrong. My words have produced a positive effect. Second, when the message came from Zagreb and Sushak that we should establish a new, Yugoslav Catholic Church separated from Rome, I managed to dissuade the proponents and supporters of the idea to take action in this regard. Third, during my visit to Belgrade, when I heard that the Financial Committee of the National Assembly is drafting a proposal to the Assembly to abolish the subsidies to our Bishops I contacted some Members of Parliament and tried to persuade them to reject that proposal, explaining that such a move would only aggravate an already hot situation which both sides should endeavor to calm down.

The Right Reverend, I feel free to tell you in strict confidentiality that in the evening of Wednesday, February the 1-st, I had a rather long audience with His Majesty in the Royal Palace, at Dedinje. On that occasion we also tackled the issue of the Epistle against the Sokols and discussed how to overcome the conflict. If you are interested to hear more about that encounter I am ready to submit to you my oral report, as already mentioned in my letter of the 6-th of this month.

I claim that everything I said is true and that I have proofs for every word I uttered. You also mention the effect of „abomination“ produced by my words. I can only tell you that a possible „abominable“ effect of my words is only a far cry of the negative reaction of our people to the Epistle, which, God forbidding, may have very serious negative effects on the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia if we do not put down the big fire immediately.

Acting according to their moral principles the Right Reverend Uccellini-Titze, Bishop of Kotor and many other Reverends negatively reacted to the Epistle. So did I and for the same reason, in the effort to mitigate the negative attitude towards our Church. I hope

zanimali, da se ta misao osujeti što mi je dosada uspjelo. Treće, kad sam zadnjih dana u Beogradu boravio i doznao da se u finansijskom odboru Narodne skupštine predlaže ukinuće državne dotacije našim biskupima, nastojao sam kod nekih poslanika da se tome protive, jer bi se takovim neopreznim mjerama sve to više zaoštrilo ovo pitanje, koje treba nastojati s jedne i druge strane, da se izravna.

U tu svrhu, mogu Vam, Preuzvišeni, i ovo povjerljivo kazati, da sam dne 1. februara u srijedu u večer bio u dužoj audijenciji Njegova Veličanstva Kralja na Dedinju, kojom prigodom poveo se govor i o biskupskoj poslanici proti Sokolu i o načinu kako bi se sukob izravnao. O tomu, kako sam Vam već pisao 6. ov. mj. spreman sam ako želite usmeno da Vas izvijestim.

Za ispravnost moje izjave spravan sam navesti dokaza i uvjeriti Vas, da odgovara potpuno istini. Što se tiče „Sablazni“ koju je, po Vašim riječima prouzrokovala moja izjava, mogu Vam reći, Preuzvišeni, da ona nije ni sjena one silne zlovolje, koja je prouzrokovana kod čitanja biskupske poslanice u našem narodu, i koja, ne dao Bog, može dati povoda teškim brigama i sudbonosnim posljedicama crkvi katoličkoj u Jugoslaviji, ako se požar odmah u početku ne ugasi.

Kao što je, Preuzvišeni biskup kotorski Uccellini Tice i mnogi drugi odlični svećenici, bili ponukovani od svoje savjesti, da iskažu svoje negodovanje prema toj poslanici, ti su isti motivi vodili i mene, da se onako izjavim u cilju, da se zapriječi zlovolja prema našoj crkvi, što se je uistinu djelomično i postiglo. Nemojte mi zamjeriti, Preuzvišeni, što Vam sve ovo napominjem, jer mi se čini, da Vam nije poznato što se misli, govori i radi van zidina Vaše biskupske palače, pak je meni dužnost kao odanom sinu i svećeniku katoličke crkve, da Vas na to upozorim i očitujem moje misli i pobude. Takve su misli i pobude i mene vodile kroz svih 47 godina mojeg svećeničkog života, takve pobude želim da me prate i dalje do groba u istom pravcu, u neodvojenom radu za Boga i narod, za vjeru i domovinu.⁶⁰

Sa ovim pismom don Frana Ivaniševića mimoišlo se biskupovo od 8. II

„Buduć Vašim odgovorom od 6. ov. mj. glede članka u „Novostima“ poričući svaki udio u njem, niste udovoljili pozivu, a još manje on raspršava i može da rasprši sumnju koja se među svećentvom u katoličkoj javnosti uporno drži, da ste Vi auctor njegov,

⁶⁰ Biskup dr. Bonefačić don Franu Ivaniševiću 8. II. 1933. Prepis s originala.

to have, at least, partially succeeded. The Right Reverend, I apologize for talking about all these matters at such great length, but I have the impression that you are not familiar with what is going on outside the walls of your Palace and that you have no idea of what people think and talk about. As a devoted son of the Catholic Church I feel it my sacred duty to bring to your attention what actions I have undertaken and what were the ideas and motives that induced me to act. During my 47 years of priesthood my ideas and feelings have not changed and I hope they will remain the same till the day I die. In my work I have never made a difference between God and my people, nor between my Faith and my Fatherland.⁶⁰

This letter crossed with the Bishop's letter of the 8-th of February, in which he says:

„In your letter of the 6-th of this month you deny authorship of the LETTER published in NOVOSTI, but you did nothing to dispel this doubt prevailing among the Catholic priests and the Catholic public. You are, in fact, the co-author, because you admit to have authorized Dr. Viktor Novak to publish in POLITIKA what you told him about the Epistle and also authorized the reprinting of the same article in JADRANSKA STRAŽA (Adriatic Cost Guard) and NOVO DOBA (New AGE). The readers and the public were abhorred, particularly in view of your claim that all your actions were motivated by the principle: QUI BENE DISTINGUIT BENE DOCET.

I therefore call on you to publicly deny any connection with the LETTER published in NOVOSTI, publicly revoke the content and wording of the article by Dr. Viktor Novak published in POLITIKA and publicly repent. In case of the contrary the ORDINARIUM OF BISHOPS will have to take action in line with the Canonic Rules.“

On the 11-th of February Bishop Bonefachitch sent a private, confidential letter to don Frano Ivanishevitch in which he does not question his good intentions, but reproaches him for publishing his views in POLITIKA, as if, in that way, he wanted to teach a lesson on patriotism to the Bishops, in a language used by the informers and free masons, and taking into account the political aspect only. The Bishop once again called on don Ivanishevitch to revoke his statement, if he wanted to avoid punishment.

In his reply to his letter don Ivanishevitch says: „As I already said in my letter of the 8-th of this month I take full responsibility

⁶⁰ BISHOP DR. BONEFACHITCH TO DON IVANISHEVITCH, February 8, 1933., copy of the original.



*Sokolski slet
The Sokol Rally*

a priznajete, da je u „Politici“ po Vašem ovlaštenju iznesao dr. Viktor Novak Vaš razgovor s njime, baš radi toga sumnjičenja po Vašem mišljenju i pisanju o biskupskoj poslanici – po Vašem nalogu pre-tiskanoj u „Jadranskoj Pošti“ i u „Novo Doba“ – objavljenjem toga razgovora je zgražanje u javnosti još veće postalo, jer ste se držali postavljenog načela: Qui bene distinguit, bene docet.

Stoga Vas pozivljem da posebnom izjavom kategorički odbijete od sebe svaku sumnju za članak u „Novostima“ kao također da požalite i pred javnošću opozovete razgovor sa dr. V. Novakom u formi i sadržaju kako je objavljen, jer inače biskupski ordinarijat bit će ponukan da postupi prema kanonskim propisima.“

Biskup Bonefačić je, međutim, 11. II, uputio don Franu Ivaniševiću privatno i povjerljivo pismo, u kome mu ne odriče dobre namjere, ali mu prigovara da s izjavom u „Politici“ želi da biskupima dijeli lekcije o patriotizmu i da piše u žargonu masonstva i denuncijantstva, jer da gleda sve kroz političke naočare. I sada ga pozivlje neka opozove svoju izjavu, inače neka čeka kaznu.

Na ovo je don Frano Ivanišević, kao i na pismo od 8. II odgovorio.

„Kako sam u mojem odgovoru 8. ov. mj. izjavio ja uzimljem svu odgovornost za izjavu u „Politici“ a ne mogu da odgovaram za članke u „Novostima“, jer ih nisam napisao uistinu, kako sam već izjavio,

for the statement published in POLITIKA, but, in spite of its similarity with my statement, I cannot be held responsible for the LETTER published in NOVOSTI, because I have not signed it. On the other hand, you call on me to refute the article in NOVOSTI and take full responsibility for the statement in POLITIKA, which would be preposterous. Since both articles have a similar content serious people would make fun of me and I definitely do not want to become a public laughing stock. It would be even more deplorable if, at your order, I accepted to revoke everything I said to Dr. Novak and he published in POLITIKA with my permission.

The Right Reverend, you know me very well. I am not an irresponsible young boy, but a serious old man and an experienced writer who thinks twice before putting his thoughts on paper. This means that everything I said was the result of my thorough consideration of the matter, in the best intention to put down the first small flame of a big fire ignited by the Epistle. I am not a renegade. I am a devoted believer and a devoted son of the Catholic Church. I was born and educated as a Catholic, I am an ordained Catholic priest and with God's help I hope to die as a Catholic. I did not achieve what I intended to, but I am not embittered in my disappointment. I accept things as they are because I am in the service of the Almighty, not in the service of any earthly power, nor in the service of men. It is not his position, or salary, that makes a man a Man. A true Man is endowed with spiritual wealth and works for lofty aims. You demand that I revoke the statement written by my soul and my pen. That would mean lying to myself and lying to you. I do not think that there is a justification for such a demand. Does it make sense? It would be a mystification, an immoral act, actually a moral suicide which my conscious and my honor do not allow me to commit. I would also like to inform you that JADRANSKA POŠTA (Adriatic Post) did not publish my statement at my request. I returned from Belgrade to Split on the 4-th of this month at 8 p.m. and the article was published in the morning edition of that same day. The statement published in JADRANSKA POŠTA was so distorted that I asked the editor of NOVO DOBA (New Age) to publish the original integral text, which he did, in order to help the reader understand the core of the problem and my good intention.

The Right Reverend, among many letters I also got this one from a Bishop⁶¹ in which He inform me about how my statement

iako po sadržaju mnogo su slični mojoj izjavi. Da se ja pak, kako mi Vi naređujete, izjavim proti ovim člancima u „Novostima“, a kroz to uzmem svu odgovornost za izjavu u „Politici“, izgledalo bi odveć smiješno kod ozbiljnih ljudi, pošto su članci istoga sadržaja, a ja ne želim, da mi se ljudi u javnosti smiju. Još bi bilo žalosnije, kada bih na jedan mah požalio, kako mi Vi naređujete, sve ono što sam kazao profesoru Novaku, a on u „Politici“ objavio.

Vi mene, Preuzvišeni, dobro poznate. Ja nisam lakoumno mlado đače, koje ne zna ozbiljno da promisli što piše, nego sam iskusni stari pisac, koji sam svjesno i promišljeno kazao u onoj izjavi što mislim i što želim u najboljoj namjeri, da se priguši prvi plamen požara, koji je nastao u našem narodu iza čitanja one poslanice; nisam odmetnik nego vjernik i odani sin katoličke crkve u kojoj sam rođen, odgojen, ređen kao svećenik i u kojoj uz pomoći milosti Božje, želim dovršiti moj život; niti nosim u srcu kakav prkos, zato što nisam od Vas postigao ono što sam od Vas tražio, a što me je po zaslugama išlo, jer ja ne služim ljude nego Boga, i jer visoki položaj i masna plaća ne čini čovjeka čovjekom, nego njegov duh i rad i viši cilj, koji mu lebdí pred očima. Ima li dakle smisla da izlažem i sebe i Vas, jer mi naređujete, te da opozovem onu izjavu, koja je spontano izašla iz moje duše i mogega pera? To bi bila gadna mistifikacija, nemoralno djelo, ili točnije rečeno, moralno samoubojstvo, koje ja, Preuzvišeni, ne mogu na sebi da počinim, jer mi savjest i obraz to ne dopušta. Istodobno dajem Vam na znanje, da nije po mojem naređenju tiskana ona izjava u „Jadranskoj Pošti“ jer ja sam došao iz Beograda u Split tek u 8 sati u večer dne 4. ov. mj., a „Jadranska Pošta“ izašla je istoga dana već pred podne. Ali pošto je ona prenijela izjavu rastrgnutu bez pravoga smisla, ja sam zamolio urednika „Novog Doba“ neka ju pretiska u cjelini, što je on to i učinio, a da se vidi prava suština i dobra namjera.

Da Vas pak, Preuzvišeni, uvjerim koliko je odjeka i priznanja našla ona moja izjava kod dobrih katolika svećenika i svjetovnjaka, evo Vam par redaka iz pisma jednoga biskupa,⁶¹ koji mi ovo piše:

„Dva puta sam najpomljivije pročitao Tvoj članak u „Politici“ i potpisujem ga do zadnje riječi. Naš se episkopat s onom poslanicom po mome shvaćanju silno izložio: pa baš u ovom času mahnitih punktacija. Ti si učinio patriotsko djelo i veliku uslugu crkvi. Radim i ja s istim uvjerenjem. Star sam, nemamo što ni dobiti ni izgubiti, ali obraz i poštenje nadasve. Ostario sam i prošio sam toga dosta,

⁶¹ THIS IS BISHOP UCCELLINI-TITZE.

⁶¹ To je biskup Uccellini-Tice.

was received and commented by the Catholic priests and devoted Catholics. Here are some excerpts:

„I have carefully read twice your article published in POLITIKA and I subscribe to every word written in it. In my view our Episcopate has exposed itself too much just at the moment when irrational PUNCTUATIONS were brought to the attention of the general public. You behaved as a patriot and did a great service to the Church. I fully share your views. I am old and have nothing to lose, or gain, but my face and honor come first. Yet, in spite of my long memory and a rich experience I simply could not imagine that the Episcopate in Yugoslavia would draft such an ugly Epistle to be read from the Altar!“

I also got a letter from a very learned priest from Split in which, among other things, he says: „Many of us are positively impressed by your sober and courageous reaction to the Epistle, for which I cordially congratulate you. Rest assured that you have the support of our best priests.“

Also, two respectful Franciscans have visited me, one from the surroundings of Drnish (Drniš) and the other from Tzetina (Četina), near Sinj. Both fully endorse my way of reacting to the Epistle as useful for the Church at this moment. A number of respectful citizens, some of whom are members of Church Boards and for sure good Catholics, also support the way I reacted to the Epistle as useful for the Church. I thought that these information could interest you.

In your letter of the 8-th of this month you call on me to revoke my statement or else you intend to take action against me according to the Canonic Rules. You are fully entitled to use that right. You are my Senior. I am under your authority and you are duty bound to monitor my work. I very well understand your position and your responsibility to your conscious and to the Bishops who signed the Epistle. I admit to have violated the Rules of Church Discipline by publicly commenting the decisions of my Seniors. But, if you take into account the seriousness of the circumstances that induced me to react in this emergency situation of inflammatory feelings of hatred against our Church and an evidently pending tragedy you will understand that one of us had to breach the rules, jump over the fence and put down the fire... My reaction should not be judged as a sin but rather appraised as a merit. I am convinced that my statement was beneficial for the Church because it mitigated the negative feelings and public bitterness against our Church and I personally

ali ne bi se bio nikada nadao, da bi mogla ovakva grdoba izaći na svijetlo potpisana od jugoslavenskog episkopata s naredbom, da se štije s oltara!“

Od jednog vrlo učenog svećenika iz Splita primio sam list u kojemu mi piše: „Vaš trijezni i odvažni nastup učinio je i na mene i na druge najljepši utisak, pa Vam srdačno čestitam. Budite uvjereni, da stoje iza Vaših leđa najvrijedniji elementi našeg svećenstva.“

Osim toga mogu Vam napomenuti, da su došli ovih dana do mene dva ugledna postarija župnika franjevac, jedan u okolini Drniša, a drugi iz Četine, okolice Sinja, te najvećim oduševljenjem odobravaju moj istup kao veoma koristan u ovom času za crkvu. Također među svjetovnjacima ima veoma čestitih građana, između kojih i nekoji članovi crkvinarstva stolne crkve – dakle bez sumnje dobri katolici – koji odobravaju moj istup, jer smatraju da će koristiti crkvi. Sve ovo smatrao sam potrebitim da Vam predočim, Preuzvišeni, da vidite kako drugi ispravni ljudi shvaćaju moju dobru namjeru.

U spomenutom dopisu od 8. ov. mj. Vi mi, Preuzvišeni, javljate, da ako ne opozovem moju izjavu, da ćete postupiti prema meni po kanonskim propisima. To je Vaše neosporivo pravo. Vi ste moj crkveni starješina, ja spadam u Vašu nadležnost, jer je Vaša dužnost da kontrolirate moj rad. Pojmim dobro Vaš položaj i odgovornost prema svojoj savjesti i ostalim biskupima potpisanim na poslanici. Ja sam se, priznajem ogriješio o crkovnu disciplinu kad sam u javnosti prenjeo u pretres djela svojih pretpostavljenika; ali ako uvažite okolnost i pobude, koje su me potakle, u onom prvom času požara, strašne zlovolje proti crkvi i očite pogibelji, da netko iz naših katoličkih redova istupi i preskoči ogradu dužne discipline, samo da požar ugasi, mislim da njegovo djelo, ne smije se upisati u grijeh nego u zaslugu. Potpuno sam uvjeren i zadovoljan u svojoj savjesti da je ona izjava puno doprinijela koristi crkvi, jer je suzbila u narodu ogorčenje i njegove posljedice. Ja ću svaku Vašu opomenu i naredbu dragovoljno od Vas primiti, bude li opravdana i cilju shodna, ali molim Vas, Preuzvišeni, nemojte da čupajući korov zahvatite i zdravu pšenicu, te se ne dogodi novissimus error pejor priori.

Još ću Vas za jednu uslugu, Preuzvišeni, u interesu iste stvari zamoliti, da prilikom Vašega sastanka u Zagrebu date do znanja Preuzvišenom nadbiskupu ova moja razjašnjenja, ako li smatrate shodnim. Puno me vesele glasovi, koji dolaze iz Beograda i Zagreba, po kojima rek bi već se nastoji, da se ovaj sukob izgadi. Za ovu ple-

feel very happy for having done it. On the other hand, I am ready and willing to accept from you every reprimand serving a given purpose, but I beg you, the Right Reverend, to be cautious and by trying to pull out the weeds not to also pull out healthy wheat. I beg you not to take any action resulting in NOVISSIMUS ERROR PEJOR PRIORI.

The Right Reverend, in the interest of the same cause I would kindly ask you for a favor. Namely, when you see the Archbishop of Zagreb if you deem it pertinent, please bring to His attention my explanation for what I have done. I hear from the circles in Belgrade and Zagreb that efforts are being used to overcome this conflict, which I most cordially welcome. If you find that my modest self could be of any help in this regard I am wholeheartedly at your disposal.⁶²

On the 15-th of February don Frano Ivanishevitch answered the Bishop's private letter of the 11-th of February, in a style which reflected stoical patience, modesty and readiness to help his Church in a difficult situation. On his part, the Bishop retaliated by vehemently attacking the old patriot who only wanted to draw the Bishop's attention to the possible negative effects of the Epistle on state interests. Being a patriot, like many other patriots, he was convinced that the Epistle served the interests of those who undermine our state unity, although personally he did not believe that the Episcopate did it deliberately.

„We should not close our eyes, nor turn a deaf ear to what is going on around us and to what people talk about. I wonder whether the Right Reverend Bishops have read the statements of Prime Minister Herriot and the former Italian Minister Sforza in which they openly speak about Mussolini's intention to invade our whole Adriatic coast and all our islands. I can understand the attitude of Bosnian Bishops and the Bishops in the hinterland. They are far from the coast. But we, living along the coast, the first target and the first to bear the brunt, must never forget that this tragic development will take place if we weaken the position of our state. The Right Reverend, I am deeply convinced that all those working against the unity of our state now, in the present political circumstances, are actually working against its survival. The reaction of the State is, therefore, not surprising. The strict measures are meant to save the State from destruction. The actual behavior of our Church is not wise be-

menitu svrhu, ako li moja malenkost može išta doprinijeti, stavljam Vam se od svega srca na raspoloženje.“⁶²

Don Frano Ivanišević odgovorio je 15. II i na biskupovo privatno pismo od 11. II, i opet pravom stoičkom strpljivošću, skromnošću i gotovošću da pomogne crkvi u teškoj situaciji. Međutim, biskup je zavatlao oštro nad glavom starog i zaslužnog rodoljuba, koji je biskupa upozorio, još jednom, od kolike je štete ta poslanica za državu. I sada se on ne može da otme uvjerenju svome i mnogih rodoljuba da se je sa poslanicom crkva postavila u službu rušitelja državnog jedinstva, iako on lično ne misli da je tu svrhu imao pred očima episkopat.

„Ne treba ipak zatvoriti oči i uši na sve ono, što se oko nas govori i događa. Jesu li preuzvišeni biskupi čitali što je bivši ministar predsjednik Heriot izjavio, što je bivši talijanski ministar Sforza napisao o aspiracijama Mussolinija da nam svu obalu s otocima osvoji? Ne čudim se bosanskim biskupima i drugim u zaleđu, oni su daleko, ali mi sa primorja moramo imati uvijek pred očima ovu neizbježivu pogibelj, ako li se rastrojimo bilo radi koga razloga i oslabimo položaj naše države, mi smo prvi na udarcu. Moje je tvrdo uvjerenje, Preuzvišeni, da u današnjim teškim političkim okolnostima, tko radi protiv jedinstvu naše države, taj radi i protiv njezinu opstanku, pa onda nije ništa začudno, ako država poduzme korake i oštre mjere bez obzira na ma koga, a da se od propasti očuva. Je li pametno, da se naša crkva tako izlaže te stvara, iako nehotice i sebi i državi nepri- lika? Sve me je ovo potaklo, da u mojoj izjavi utvrdim, kako je i ona poslanica u ovakvim političkim vremenima sasvim nezgodna...“⁶³

Biskup Kvirin Klement 18. II 1933. završio je svoju prepisku sa don Franom Ivaniševićem, koji je od starog svećenika tražio da u interesu crkvene discipline poreče jednu istinu, ustvari, da laže. U tome aktu izrekao je splitski biskup inkvizitorsku presudu nad svećenikom koji se nije htio pokoriti zahtjevu svoga biskupa da pred čitavim svijetom poreče što je pri zdravoj svijesti rekao s uvjerenjem da koristi crkvi. Čestitom don Frani biskup je oduzeo titulu počasnog kanonika Stolne crkve u Splitu, šest dana mu je zabranio čitanje službe Božje, a za godinu dana mu je zabranio ispovijedanje i propovijedanje i naredio trodnevne duhovne vježbe. Sve je to bilo stoga, što je don Frano „prouzročio sablazan te stoga zaslužio primjerenu kaznu... uočiv kanone C. Z. i 27, i 386 § i, 2300, 22344 i 2355, a u smislu zaključka

⁶² DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH TO BISHOP Dr. BONEFACHITCH, February 13, 1933, copy of the original document.

⁶² Don Frano Ivanišević biskupu dru Bonefačiću 13. II. 1933. Prepis s originala.

⁶³ Don Frano Ivanišević biskupu dru Bonefačiću 15. II. 1933. Prepis s originala.

cause it is detrimental both to the Church and the State. Taking into account all the above I was induced to say in my statement that at the present political moment the Epistle is absolutely pointless..."⁶³

On the 18-th of February, 1933 Bishop Kvirin Klement sent his last letter to don Frano Ivanishevitch calling on the old priest to revoke his statement in the interest of Church discipline. In other words, he asked him to lie. Since the old priest did not repent the Bishop of Split found him guilty, according to the Canonical Rules of Inquisition, only because the old priest refused to publicly and in his right mind deny a statement he strongly believed was in the best interest of the Catholic Church. „The honest don Frano lost his title of Honorable priest of the Cathedral of Split, was prohibited to celebrate the mass for six days, preach sermons and take confessions for one year and was ordered to practice spiritual exercises for three days. This was an exemplary punishment for his „abomination“, according to Canonical Law i 27 and 385 and paragraphs: 2 300, 22 344 and 2 355. The Consistorium pronounced the verdict at its Meeting of the 14-th of February, for non-compliance with the order of the Ordinarium to publicly repent for the committed evil.”⁶⁴

Falsehood and mystification were behind the order „to repent for the committed evil.“

The old priest was appalled and deeply offended by the unjust punishment and even more hurt by the fact that in the XX-th century coercion and punishment were used against moral scruples and wisdom. The intention was, on the one hand to stigmatize and humiliate the liberal opponent, and on the other, help the Episcopate improve its compromised reputation. Don Frano Ivanishevitch found consolation in the letters he had exchanged with the old Bishop Ucellini-Titze who completely shared his views. These letters prove that Bishops: Srebrnitch, Yeglicht and Bonefachitch, each of them in his own way, tried to convince the old priest to revoke his statement as planted on him! These letters also prove how low one may fall by using the power of senior authority in the effort to justify an erroneous approach.

When in his answer of the 7-th of February, 1933, don Frano informed Bishop Ucellini-Titze about the statement the Bishop expressed his full agreement with every word in the text. The Bishop was also against the whole campaign launched at the politically most inappropriate moment, consider-

⁶³ DON FRANO IBANISHEVITCH TO BISHOP Dr BONEFACHITCH, February 15, 1933., copy of the original document.

⁶⁴ BISHOP Dr. BONEFACHITCH TO DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH, February 18 1933., catalogue no.616, copy of the original document.

konsistorijalne sjednice dneva 14. II o. g. pošto se nije odazvao pozivu ovog Biskupskog Ordinarijata, da sam pred javnosti popravi zlo!”⁶⁴

Dakle, laž i mistificiranje javnosti trebale su poslužiti da se „popravi zlo!”

Zgranut i pozlijeden nepravdom kaznom, a još više saznanjem, da se i u XX. stoljeću nedostatak morala i pameti nadoknađuje silom i kaznom, jer se nije htjelo poslužiti laži i mistifikacijom dvostrukom cilju. S jedne strane da se liberalni protivnik obilježi kao mistifikator, da ga se unizi kao lašca, a s druge da se tim sredstvom unekoliko popravi pomračeni ugled episkopata. Don Frano Ivanišević našao je utjehu u tom krajnjem razočaranju u prepisci sa starcem biskupom Ucellini-Tice koji je doista dijelio potpuno don Franino gledište. Iz te se prepiske vidi da su trojica biskupa, Srebrnić, Jeglič i Bonefačić, svaki nezavisno uticali na starog biskupa da i on povuče svoju izjavu kao netočnu! Jer, i ova pisma pokazuju koliko se može moralno pasti kad se silom želi opravdati rđavi postupak.

Kad je don Frano obavijestio biskupa Ucellini-Tice o svojoj izjavi, on mu je odgovorio 7. II 1933., složivši se s njime do kraja, do najzadnje riječi. Ucellini-Tice je ogorčen još i stoga što je to sve došlo u najnezgodnije političko vrijeme. Ivaniševićev gest mu je patriotsko djelo, a onda kaže, što smo već spomenuli u citatu, u don Franinu pismu biskupu Bonefačiću, još i ovo:

„Ostaro sam i prošio sam toga dosta – ali ne bih se nikada bio nadao, da bi mogla onaka grdoba izaći na svijetlo, potpisana od Jugoslavenskog Episkopata, s naredbom da se štije s oltara! Samo oni nesretni zadnji kapovers! i zaključak. Po srijedi je profurtimašenje! A dokazi! Ti si ih upravo uništio! Došao si zgodno u pomoć i meni, jer što nije bilo moguće da ja učinim, to jest da ih učeram u laž, to si učinio Ti. Sada će naši (biskupi) vikati i na Tebe, kao što viču i na mene. Imaš ti druga, imam i ja druga, pa je to neka utjeha. Šaljem Ti ga ovdje u slici, da Ti bude bliži.”⁶⁵

Don Frano Ivanišević i dalje je obavijestio biskupa Ucellini-Tice o toku svog sukoba sa biskupom, šaljući mu u prepisu sva akta. Dva Ucellinijeva pisma, od 19. II i 23. II bacaju nove zrake svjetlosti na tu antisokolsku poslanicu. Ali ne samo i na to. Jer i na moral trojice biskupa, dra Srebrnića, dra Jegliča i dra Bonefačića, koji su od starca tražili da se odreče svojih izjava, koje je javno dao protiv potpisnika poslanice.

⁶⁴ Biskup dr. Bonefačić don Franu Ivaniševiću 18. II. 1933. K. br. 616. Prepis s originala.

⁶⁵ Biskup Frano Ucellini-Tice don Franu Ivaniševiću 7. II. 1933. Prepis s originala.

ing don Frano's statement an act of patriotism. After repeating some ideas already quoted in don Frano's letter to Bishop Bonefachitch, he also said:

„I am very old, I have a very long memory and I have very much pardoned in my life, but I could never dream that the Catholic Episcopate in Yugoslavia would one day announce such an abominable Epistle to be read from the Altar! Be it only the last misfortunate paragraph and the Conclusions. This is a trick. And the so called proofs! You have disqualified them all! You helped me a lot by proving what I tried to prove, but did not succeed. You proved that they were lying. Now our Bishops will raise hue and cry against you, like they did against me. But both of us have the same friend. This is our CONSOLATION. I am sending you His picture so that you can have Him close to you.“⁶⁵

Don Frano Ivanishevitch continued informing Bishop Uccellini –Titze about the course of the conflict with the Bishop, enclosing the copies of the relevant letters. Two letters by Bishop Uccellini, one of the 19-th and the other of the 23-rd of February shed new light not only on the anti-Sokol Epistle, but also on the moral scruples of Bishops: Dr. Srebrnitch, Dr. Yeglitch and Dr. Bonefachitch, who all three called on the old Bishop to revoke his public statements against the signatories of the Epistle.

On the 19-th of February, irritated by the reaction to don Frano's statement and his controversy with Bishop Bonefachitch, Bishop Uccellini Titze made the following comment:

„I have never experienced anything similar in my life, nor did I expect it to happen to me. Stand firm on the ground and mind the traps. Those who speak the truth praise God. Bonefachitch is a great surprise to me, but if he decides to go too far try to contact Rome through the Nuncio in Belgrade. Yesterday I received a letter from Fra Miloshevitch (Milošević) about his visit to the Nuncio in Belgrade. We also discussed these issues He told me about numerous letters he had received, signed and anonymous. He does not agree with the anti-Sokol Epistle either. He is of the opinion that it was a mistake to generalize some cases and mention Croatia and Slovenia at the end of the Epistle. According to him the task of the Bishops is to understand and disseminate religion in the right way and behave

⁶⁵ BISHOP FRANO UCCELLINI-TITZE TO DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH, February 7, 1933., copy of the original document.

19. II 1933. piše biskup Uccellini-Tice, ogorčen nad svime što se događa, kao refleks don Franinih izjava i raspravljanja sa biskupom Bonefačićem.

„Što slična u životu nijesam doživio, niti sam se nadao doživiti. Ti se držiš dobro i ne puštaj se smesti od nikoga. Tko govori istinu Boga hvali. Čudim se Bonefačiću, ali ako Ti dodija obrati se na Rim preko Nuncija u Beogradu. Jučer sam primio od Miloševića iz Beograda list, u kom mi piše o njegovu posjetu kod Nuncija: 'Razgovarali smo se o svim pitanjima. Rekao mi je da on prima otud razna pisma sa potpisom i bez potpisa, anonimna. On ne odobrava onu poslanicu o Sokolima. Pojedine slučajeve nije se imalo generalizirati. Svršetak poslanice – hrvatsko i slavensko ime – osuđuje. On kaže da biskupi moraju jednako misliti i naučiti u pitanju evanđelja i vjere. U ostalim pitanjima mogu misliti kako hoće, pak su slobodni i u političkim pitanjima.“⁶⁶

Na mene se obratio pismeno biskup krčki, jer da sam strašno sablaznio kod njeg cijeli svijet, pak hoće da povučem što su o meni pisali listovi – ali odrešito, a da će me on braniti! Da ga ovlastim! Kratko sam mu odgovorio, ali fino i opapreno. Između ostalog: da oni nesretni dočetak opoganio cijelu poslanicu. Naputio sam ga i na Tvoja pisanja u „Politici“. I knez-biskup ljubljanski, jučer me je molio da se izjavim, je li istina što piše o meni „Vreme“? Uputio sam njega na broj 7 „Sokola“ od 10. II, koji se tiska u Ljubljani, pa da će vidjeti ogromnu štetu, što su nanijeli biskupi katoličkoj crkvi, osobito u ovim stranama.

U ovom pitanju, moj dragi Frane, evo kako mislim ja: Naši biskupi javno su optužili i javno osudili Sokole; pa su tu osudu najsvečanijim načinom u božjem domu, s oltara i s amvona kroz blagdansku sv. Misu proglasili kršćanskom puku, ukim i neukim, pismenim i nepismenim. To je nešto vrlo ozbiljno i znamenito i vrlo teško. Sokoli nijesu bili pri optužbi saslušani, a oni sada i čine kroz ufcijezni svoj organ sasma pametno i zakonito. To im se ne smije zaniijekati. Suci koji su ih tako svečano i oštro javno osudili, dužni su po savjesti i svakom ljudskom božjem pravu pomno savjesno i pocijelo štiti ova opravdanja, pa nađu li da su ih krivo osudili, javno poreći, kako su ih i javno osudili. Ne učine li, za vijeke su se osramotili i nanijeli ogromnu štetu svetoj crkvi.

Neka se koprcaju koliko hoće, oni se neće opravdati. Da ti odgovorim s darom na dar, šaljem Ti fotografiju što sam učinio prošlo-

⁶⁶ Biskup Frano Uccellini-Tice don Franu Ivaniševiću 19. II. 1933. Prepis s originala.

accordingly. Regarding other issues, they are entitled to personal, private opinion, particularly on political matters.⁶⁶

In his letter the Bishop of Krk informs me that my statements have shocked his congregation and demands that I vehemently reject everything written about me in various papers. This is his prerequisite for his support to me and he asks me to comply. My answer was short, decent and direct. Among other things I emphasized that the beginning and the end of the Epistle are particularly detrimental for its overall effect. I also recommended him to read your article in POLITIKA. Yesterday, the Bishop of Ljubljana asked my comment on an article on me published in VREME (Time). I referred him to SOKOL no. 7 of the 10-th of February, published in Ljubljana, from which he will see for himself how enormous is the harm caused by the Epistle.

Dear Frano, this is what I think about the issue. Our Bishops have publicly accused and publicly condemned the disobedient Bishop and pronounced the condemnation from the Altar during the holiday mass, so that all Christians, the educated and uneducated, the literate and illiterate ones may hear it. As a symbol this is a very serious and meaningful issue of crucial importance. The Sokol side was not heard. Now they react through their legal body, in a legal and rational manner. They cannot be denied the right to defense. The judges that have condemned them so severely and in such a high sounding manner are bound by their conscious and the Celestial and Secular Laws to listen to the Sokols and their arguments with due attention and if the accusations prove ungrounded publicly revoke them and exculpate the Sokols. Otherwise, the verdict they have pronounced will remain their eternal shame with a very detrimental effect on the Catholic Church.

They are trying to wiggle, let them wiggle as much as they can, but they will never be able to justify themselves.

And now I would like to reciprocate your gift. I am sending you a picture I took last January. The Almighty is much more merciful than some people over there. I have problems with my legs and eyes. They do not serve me well any more. Let me know if there is something important going on. Non fallare, non tremare! Our Catholic Church has its Codex. It is a law for all of us, from a just baptized

ga januara. Dragi Bog imade milosrđa bolje nego neki ljudi tamo. I noge me pa i oči dobro služe. Slava mu i hvala! Molim Te prijavi mi se imadeš li što nova da mi pišeš. Non fallare, non tremare! Mi u katoličkoj crkvi imademo naš Codex, to je zakon za svakoga, od maloga djetesca što je kršteno danas, do Sv. Oca Pape. A sad idem na objed.⁶⁷

Kroz nekoliko dana, 23. II mogao je biskup Uccellini-Tice da doda dvojici biskupa, koji su od njega tražili da odreče svoje date izjave, i trećega. Biskupa dra Bonefačića.

„Dok sam iščekivao odgovor na moj zadnji list gdje sam Ti bio priopćio razgovor don Antuna Miloševića sa apoštolskim Nuncijem u Beogradu, zatekao me spis tamošnje biskupske kurije u komu mi je priopćena i Tvoja osuda. Evo Ti ovdje moga odgovora, drži ga molim Te za sebe.⁶⁸ I meni biskupi Koroševci slovenski htjeli bi da nametnu brnjicu, najprije Srebrnič, za njim knez biskup ljubljanski, pa sad evo i Istranin Bonefačić. Po mome mnijenju Ti si osuđen bez povoda i nelegalno. Kada bi se pozvati na Rim molim Te prijavi mi se.

A sad moj dragi prijatelju budi miran. I meni se početkom moga episkopata dogodilo nešto slična. Bio sam kažnjen zabranom pontificalium, koja je trajala duga 4 mjeseca, a bila bi trajala i godinu. A zašto? Za jedno djelo, koje sam ja smatrao Bogu najugodnije i za moju biskupiju najčasnije i najprobitačnije. Bila mi je savjest čista, pa nijesam zbog te kazne izgubio ni pet časa moga mirnoga sna. Sve je svršilo sa imenovanjem assistens solio pontificio, da nekako poližu (u Vatikanu) grdnu svoju pogriješku. I Ti po mome sudu, možeš i kao svećenik i kao patriota kazati: Savjest mi je čista i pred Bogom i pred svijetom, a oni što su Ti krivo učinili neka dobro promisle, da se ne može Boga varati kako se može ljudima dati rog za svijeću. Ne idem dalje, a još uhvam primiti odgovor na moj zadnji list.“⁶⁹

Ovu neobično važnu prepisku po tome pitanju završilo je pismo don Frana Ivaniševića, koje je 28. II uputio biskupu u Kotor.

„Vrlo me veseli Vaš odvažni i ustrajni duh, odlična vrlina u čitavom Vašem životu, poznata nama, koji pratimo Vaš rad još sa školskih klupa, pa evo i sada u ovom okršaju sa ljudima kratkih i nebi-strih pogleda. Mene je silno začudio pokušaj biskupa Bonefačića, koji mi naređuje, neka opozovem ono što sam svijesno i promišlje-

⁶⁶ BISHOP FRANO UCCELLINI-TITZE TO DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH, February 19, 1933., copy of the original document.

⁶⁷ Idem.

⁶⁸ Zato ovo pismo, na žalost nisam mogao dobiti.

⁶⁹ Biskup Frano Uccellini don Franu Ivaniševiću 23. II. 1933.

baby up to the Holy Father. And now I have to stop and have my lunch.⁶⁷

On the 23-rd of February Bishop Uccellini-Titze got a letter from Bishop Bonefachitch in which, like the previous two bishops, he asks him to refute his statement.

„While waiting for your answer to my letter in which I inform you about the talks between don Antun Miloshevitch and the Nuncio in Belgrade I received from the Curia of the Bishops the information about your verdict. Here is my strictly confidential answer, just for you.⁶⁸ The Slovenian bishops, followers of Koroshetz, wanted to muzzle me as well, first Srebrnitch, Bishop of Ljubljana and now Bonefachitch, Bishop of Istria. In my opinion the accusation against you is groundless and the verdict is not legal. If you decide to appeal to Rome against the verdict let me know.

Take it easy, dear friend. Something similar happened to me at the beginning of my Episcopate. I was prohibited to pontificate for four months, although it could have been much longer. Why? For doing something that I deemed would be pleasing to God and honorable and beneficial for my bishopric. My conscious was clean and I only lost less than five hours of peaceful sleep. In order to make honorable amends they appointed an *assistenens solio pontificio*. In my view, as a priest and patriot you can also say: my conscious is clean before God and the whole world and those who did you wrong should remember that they can deceive men but they cannot deceive God. I will stop now, expecting your answer to my last letter to you.⁶⁹

This very important exchange of letters ended with the letter don Frano Ivanishevitch sent to the Bishop of Kotor on the 28-th of February.

„I admire your courage and perseverance, the qualities accompanying you all your life. We who know you since your school days are very well aware of them. You displayed these qualities also now in this conflict with shortsighted people with hazy views. I was very surprised by the order I received from Bishop Bonefachitch to refute what I have declared in full awareness and after a serious consideration of the effects of my words, having in mind only the interests of

no izjavio, imajući pred očima isključivo interese katoličke crkve; ali još me nije ozlovoljio, kako doznajem iz Vaših listova, pokušaj triju biskupa, koji su od Vas tražili, da opozovete Vaše izjave. Vjerujte mi, Preuzvišeni, ja ne mogu da pojmem kako se ti ljudi usuđuju činiti takove pokušaje, koji nisu drugo nego *atentat na naše savjesti*. Kako ne mogu da uvide, da takovo opozivanje, kada bi po nesreći i slijedilo s naše strane, bilo bi moralno samoubojstvo našega poštenja, obraza i duše naše. *Te pokušaje ja smatram nemoralnim činom*.

Ali ti pokušaji s druge strane očiti su dokaz da je njihova savjest nemirna i da su htjeli proturiti sa mjesta istine (oltara u crkvi) jednu neistinu, koja im se sada osvećuje. Govorio sam ovih dana u Beogradu i Zagrebu sa mnogim vrlo odličnim našim ljudima (Hrvatima katolicima) i svi mi rekoše ovo: Biskupu Uccelliniu, kanoniku Ivaniševiću i profesoru Spinčiću crkva katolička ima da zahvali što prigodom čitanja biskupske poslanice protiv Sokola stotine i stotine tisuća katolika nije istupilo iz njezinih redova. Između tih odličnika spominjem Vam samo bivšeg bana profesora Šilovića, odličnog učenjaka i iskrenog vjernika katolika.

Velika Vam hvala, Preuzvišeni, i s moje strane, što ste im onako odriješito odgovorili, da se okane ćorava posla i onakvih pokušaja te ih dobro savjetovali, neka se vrate sa polovine puta, još imaju vremena. Uklapam Vam osudu što je Biskupski Ordinarijat izdao protiv mene. Molim Vas, četiri kazne, a zašto? Zato što sam pomogao da stotine tisuća katolika ne pobjegne iz naše crkve. Vi ste dobro rekli, da se slična nije još upamtilo u Dalmaciji. Dakako ja se osjećam i uvrijeđen i nepravедно osuđen na kaznu, koju nisam zaslužio, ali mi je savjest mirna.

I u samoj odluci koju uklapam, ima jedna točka, proti koje sam ja protestirao na Ordinarijat. Tu se krije laž, koja prikazuje u ružnom svijetlu našu kuriju. Po stilu te odluke izgleda kao da sam ja tobože priznao sablazan što je proizvela moja izjava u „Politici“. Uprav protivno, kao što se vidi iz mogeg dopisivanja sa biskupom Bonefačićem proističe, da sam ja uvjeren u mojoj svijesti o dobru uspjehu i zasluži za ugled i korist crkve, dočim je njihova biskupska poslanica proizvela veliku zlovolju i sablazan. Ja sam samo lojalno priznao, da sam propustio u formalnom pogledu propise crkvene discipline po kojim ne smije svećenik pisati o pitanjima koja se tiču crkve bez dozvole crkvene vlasti i zato su mogli udijeliti ukor i zabranu za daljnje pisanje, ali u meritornom pogledu po sadržaju i dobroj namjeri moje izjave, naime da se izgubi ovaj spor na korist crkve i države, nisu smjeli

⁶⁷ Idem.

⁶⁸ Unfortunately, I could not get this letter.

⁶⁹ BISHOP FRANO UCCELLINI-TITZE TO DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH, February 23, 1933.

the Catholic Church. But I have not yet lost my temper. I see from your letters that you have been contacted by three bishops who demanded that you also refute your statement. Believe me, the Right Reverend, I simply cannot understand how dare they do that. This is an attempt on your conscious. They should understand that the act of your refuting the statement would be equal to moral suicide of your honesty, your face and soul. In my view such requests are immoral.

On the other hand, all their attempts prove that their conscious is not clean and that from the loftiest place of Truth, the Altar, they were trying to disseminate falsehood instead of truth, which is surfacing and acting against them. I have contacted our people in Belgrade and Zagreb, all good Croats and Catholics and they all agree that the Catholic Church should be thankful to Bishop Uccellini, reverend Ivanishevitch and professor Spinchitch that after the reading of the anti-Sokol Epistle hundreds of thousands of Catholics did not give up their church. One of them was professor Shilovitch (Šilović), former Ban of the Croatian Banovina (Banovina Hrvatska) an outstanding scholar and a devoted Catholic.

The Right Reverend, thank you for having been so open with them and for advising them to be reasonable and come half way back before it is too late. Enclosed please find a copy of the verdict of the Ordinarium of the Bishops against me. Four sentences, can you believe it? And for what? For having prevented hundreds of thousands of Catholics from giving up their church. You rightly said that something similar had never happened in Dalmatia. Of course, the unjust punishment hurts a lot. But, my conscious is clean.

In the verdict there is an item against which I protested with the Ordinarium. It explains the root of the whole falsehood because the decisions sounds as if I had admitted the abomination caused by my statement published in POLITIKA. On the contrary. The letters I exchanged with Bishop Bonifachitch clearly show that I believed in what I was doing and was doing it for the benefit of the Catholic Church, because it is their Epistle that gave rise to great disappointment and abomination. I only admitted to have formally violated the Rules of Church Discipline according to which the priests are not allowed to write about church matters without a previous approval of church authorities. For that I could have been reprimanded and my further writing prohibited. On the other hand, the only intention of my statement was to help overcome the conflict to the satisfaction

izdavati onakve preoštire kazne kao za kakova kriminalnog zločinca ili razvratnog svećenika, kakovim se ja pred Bogom i narodom ne osjećam, što i oni dobro znaju. Tako ja shvaćam, Preuzvišeni, a tako mislim da je i Vaše shvaćanje. Sada na zaključak: Quid faciendum? Što mislite, Preuzvišeni, bi li zasluživalo, da se protiv ovoj osudi pritužim preko Nuncija na Rim? Molim Vas, Vi me posavjetujte, ja se nisam nikada našao u ovakvom slučaju, bit ću Vam puno haran na usluzi...⁷⁰

U ovoj intimnoj prepisci dva uzorna svećenika, oba rodoljuba, a na visokim položajima, ugledna i priznata u narodu, odražava se unutrašnja slika metode kojom se predstavnici klerikalizma mogu poslužiti samo da postignu izvjesnu svrhu, ma da tom metodom i sa tom svrhom stoje u suprotnosti sa osnovnim zakonima kršćanskog morala.

Dok je don Frano Ivanišević raspravljao svoje pitanje sa biskupom Bonefačićem i savjetovao se sa biskupom Uccellinijem, dok su trojica biskupa nastojala da sklone Uccellinija da demantira svoju vlastitu izjavu, pojavila se na užas episkopata još jedna nova prosokolska i antiposlanička izjava u beogradskoj „Politici“ 19. II 1933., koju je sva ostala štampa prenijela i dala joj najširi publicitet. Bila je to izjava starog narodnog borca i istarskog preporoditelja Vjekoslava Spinčića, uzornog svećenika, koji je u svojim visokim godinama živio u rodnom Kastvu, na domak rapallske granice, preko koje je taj rodoljub sa boli gledao na braću koja su ostala u talijanskom ropstvu, u kome nisu uživali ni vjersku slobodu!

I stari Vjekoslav Spinčić bio je užasnut pojavom episkopatske poslanice. Kad je javnost zaželila da čuje i Spinčićovo mišljenje, on se najspremnije odazvao i dopustio jednom dugogodišnjem sokolskom radniku dru Miloradu Dragiću, da razgovor sa njime objavi u beogradskoj „Politici“.

Daleko oštrije, otvorenije i frontalnije istupio je Vjekoslav Spinčić protiv poslanice, nego što su to učinili sa najvećom obazrivošću biskup Uccellinije i don Ivanišević. I sam sokol, na Rijeci kao đak gimnazije (1868), Spinčić je upoznao rad sokolstva u Pragu, gdje je studirao 1872.–1875. Tu je saznao da sokolska ideja predstavlja rodoljublje najvišeg stepena. Kao član parlamenta u Beču došao je u dodir sa najizrazitijim češkim rodoljubima, koji su svi od reda bili sokoli. Nikad nije čuo za ma kakav bezvjerski rad sokola, a upoznao je neke koji su bili ljudi velike pobožnosti. Jednako, kasnije u svom nacionalnom radu nikad nije sokolstvo vršilo drugu osim nacionalno-prosvjetnu funkciju, ostajući uvijek u prvim redovima borbe u preporodu Istre.

⁷⁰ Don Frano Ivanišević biskupu Uccelliniu 28. II. 1933. Prepis s originala.

of both the Church and the State. The sentence is too severe. I am not a criminal, nor a debauch priest, and they know it very well. The Right Reverend, I believe that you share my view. And now QUID FACIENDUM? WHAT TO DO? Do you think that I should lodge an appeal with Rome, through the Nuncio? I beg your advise because I have never been in a similar situation before and I simply do not know what to do. I would be very thankful to hear from you...⁷⁰

Two exemplary priests, on high positions in Church hierarchy, highly respected, both of them patriots, in their letters reveal that the clerics, in view of achieving a given goal, do not hesitate to resort to the methods contrary to the basic principles of Christianity.

While don Frano Ivanishevitch was discussing his issue with Bishop Bonefachitch and seeking advice from Bishop Uccellini and while the other three bishops were using their best efforts to persuade Bishop Uccellini to refute his statement the Episcopate was shocked by a new pro-Sokol and anti-Epistle statement published in POLITIKA of February 19, 1933, which was reprinted by all other papers and had a wide public echo. Its author was Vjekoslav Spinchitch (Spinčić) an old fighter for the national cause from Istria, an exemplary priest who was living in his native town Kastva, close to the Italian boarder established by the Rapallo Treaties, so that he literally could see his brothers living under Italian occupation, deprived of their religious rights.

The old Vjekoslav Spinchitch was also shocked by the Epistle. When he was asked to publicly express his opinion on that issue he did not hesitate to give an interview for POLITIKA to an old Sokol Dr. Milorad Dragitch (Dragić).

He was far more open and vehemently against the Epistle than Bishop Uccellini-Titze and don Ivanishevitch. Vjekoslav Spinchitch was a Sokol already in high school (1868) which he attended in Rijeka and later during his studies in Prague from 1872 to 1875. He realized that the Sokol Idea embodied the loftiest patriotic ideals. As Member of Parliament in Vienna he established contacts with Czech patriots who were all, without exception, Sokols. He never heard that the Sokols had anything to do with atheism, and he personally knew some who were devoted believers. Later on, during his work for the national cause he got familiar with the Sokol Movement in Istria. Their

„Imajući sve to na umu zaprepastila me je poslanica naših biskupa... Zaprepastilo me je tvrđenje, da je Tyrš zasnovao Sokolstvo na bezvjerstvu kad znam, da su katolički svećenici izvršili opijelo nad posmrtnim ostacima Tyrša prilikom sprovoda do mjesta vječnog počinka. Sokolstvo postoji već sedamdeset godina. Za sve ovo vrijeme ni svećenici ni biskupi katolički, ni češki ni naši, ni ma koji drugi nisu ništa prigovarali Sokolstvu. Katolički svećenici i biskupi mnogo puta su prisustvovali sokolskim manifestacijama, a mnogi od njih su i aktivni članovi sokolske organizacije. Zbog svega toga i ja sam se nedavno vrlo rado odazvao želji sokolskog društva u Kastvu da... blagoslovim zastavu kastavskih sokola.

Zaprepastila me je ta poslanica, jer poznajem mnoge dobre sokole, koji su u jedno i dobri kršćani i dobri katolici. Zaprepastilo me je tvrđenje poslanice jer nikada ni na jednoj sokolskoj manifestaciji ili zabavi nisam vidio ništa neprijatno ili nemoralno. Zaprepastila me je ova poslanica naročito i s toga, što smatram Sokolstvo kao eminentno nacionalnu organizaciju, koja baš i radi toga postoji, da goji međusobnu ljubav i snošljivost kod našeg naroda s tim, da je pripravno braniti domovinu u svima, pa i najtežim momentima.

Zbog svega toga poslanica je porazno djelovala na sve naše ljude. Naročito mi je teško kad pomislim, kako su morali duševno trpiti oni svećenici, koji su i sami uvjereni sokoli ili prijatelji Sokolstva i koji su pri tom morali čitati poslanicu u crkvama ispred oltara ili sa propovjedaonica. A trpili su i oni vjernici koji su sokoli i prijatelji sokola, a uz to dobri katolici. Uvjerio sam se da su ovi ljudi bili teško uznemireni, ne znajući prosto što da rade... *Svima ovim ljudima, koji su i meni dolazili, ne može nikako da ide u glavu, da je ona poslanica mogla biti proglašena bez znanja Sv. Stolice i njenog predstavnika u našoj državi.* Dobri su katolici i žele da ostanu dobri katolici. I vjeru ipak ne žele da mijenjaju! *Ali ta poslanica boli tim više što se zna da i Sv. Stolica radi ruku pod ruku sa tvorcem i pročelnikom fašizma.*

U cijeloj našoj državi javljali su se protesti protiv biskupske poslanice. Ali ovi su protesti utoliko jači, ukoliko su mjesta protesta bliža granicama Italije. Stanovnici onih krajeva naročito jako osjećaju karakter ove poslanice. Na taj način može se protumačiti okolnost, da kotorski biskup i zamjenik barskog nadbiskupa nisu ni dozvolili da se čita poslanica u crkvama njihova područja. Isto tako u mnogim crkvama Dalmacije poslanica nije čitana. A protiv poslanice najžešće se protestiralo u Primorju: na Sušaku, u Kastvu, Crikvenici, Novom, u Krku, na Rabu. *Primorci dobro znaju i pamte sve ono što se*

⁷⁰ DON FRANO IVANISHEVITCH TO BISHOP UCCELLINI-TITZE, February 28, 1933., copy of the original document.

activities were restricted to the field of national education and culture only and they were always in the first line of struggle for the renaissance of Istria.

„In view of my past experience I was shocked by the Epistle... I was appalled to hear from our bishops that Tyrsh grounded the Sokol Movement on atheism because I know that the Catholic priest celebrated his funeral mass. The Sokol Movement has been existing for seventy years. During all that time neither our, nor the Czech Catholic priests and bishops, or anyone else had a word of reproach in that regard. Catholic priests and bishops used to attend the Sokol events, and many of them were active members of the Sokols. For that reason I have recently accepted the invitation of the Sokols in Kastva to bless their flag.

I was shocked by the Epistle because I personally know many good Sokols who are also good Christians and good Catholics. I was shocked by the Epistle because I have never seen anything immoral or indecent at any of their events. I was shocked by the Epistle particularly because I deem that the Sokols are an eminent national organization whose primary task is to foster mutual love and tolerance among our peoples and prepare them to defend the country in case of danger.

For all these reasons the Epistle dismayed all our peoples I particularly have in view the priests who are great supporters or friends of the Sokol Movement and their pain when they had to read the Epistle in their churches, from the Altar or the pulpit. The Sokols, good Catholics and their friends were also dismayed. They were all so dismayed that they did not know what to do... They simply cannot believe that the Holy See and its Nuncio in Yugoslavia did not know anything about it. They are all good Catholics and they want to remain good Catholics! But the Epistle hurts, particularly in the light of the fact that the Holy See goes hand in hand with the founder of fascism, the Duce.

Protests against the Epistle were organized all over the country. The closer to the Italian boarder the more vehement they get. People living in the border region are particularly hurt by the Epistle, which explains why the Bishop of Kotor and Deputy Bishop of Bar did not allow the reading of the Epistles in the churches of their respective dioceses. In many churches in Dalmatia the Epistle was not read either. The protests against the Epistle were most vehement in Sushak (Sušak), Kastva, Tzrikvenitza (Crikvenica), Novi, Rab and Krk. People in these regions very well know and remember what is

protiv našeg naroda govori i radi u susjednoj državi. I to u svjetovnom tako i u crkvenom Rimu. Naši Primorci dobro znaju, da je tršćansko-koparski biskup Andrej Karlin, sada biskup u Mariboru, bio prisiljen i od same Sv. Stolice, da položi čast i službu biskupa u Trstu, a da napusti Trst. Oni znaju da je na Rijeci osnovana na brzu ruku biskupija, bez vjerskih potreba, već iz čisto političkih razloga. Znaju također da je iz crkvenog Rima poslat za biskupa Isidor Sain, koga je ustoličio jedan kardinal. Biskup Sain nije međutim znao naš narodni jezik, te prema tome nije mogao ni vršiti svoje biskupske dužnosti. Biskup Sain osnovao je na Rijeci sjemenište za uzgoj svećenika. Tim mladim ljudima zabranjeno je da među sobom govore hrvatski i to na jedan strašan način: kod ispovijedi morali su ispovijedati kao grijeh, ako su kad među sobom govorili maternjim jezikom.

Primorci znaju i za Sedejev slučaj, koji je dao ostavku tek onda kad mu je rečeno da je to želja Sv. Stolice... Kad je na njegovo mjesto došao potalijančeni fašista Giovanni Sirotti, to je izazvalo bol i najzad smrt Sedejevu. Na sve ovo misli Primorac, brižan zbog ovakve biskupske poslanice.

Primorci znaju i za Lateranski sporazum između svjetovnog i crkvenog Rima. Po ovom sporazumu duhovni pastiri i župnici naroda pod Italijom ne treba da znaju narodni jezik, dok mnogi svećenici-misionari uče jezike najdivljih plemena, da bi mogli poučavati i širiti kršćansku vjeru. Uslijed ovakvog postupka crkve su se ispraznile, a vjernici u njima veoma su rijetki.

Mislim da je potrebno i ovdje ukazati na fašističke postupke u Italiji. Fašizmu je posljednja stvar vjera i vjerska nauka. Čak svojim postupcima i radom fašisti vrijeđaju kršćansku nauku. Pa ipak tamošnji biskupi, ni pojedinci ni in corpore, nisu nikad istupili protiv fašizma... A ovi fašiste, sa svojim pročelnikom ne propovijedaju ljubav, nego mržnju, ne žele mir već rat. Njihovi učitelji u školama na zapadnim granicama naše države pokazuju na nas, s ove strane granice, i govore svojim učenicima i djeci našeg naroda: „Nemojte ići preko, tamo žive samo divlji ljudi koji su kadri čovjeka napasti, istući, pa čak i ubiti.“ Na brzu ruku sastavljeni sudovi ubijaju Mateottija, Morzinija i druge u staroj Italiji. A u Istri, Trstu i Gorici ubijaju naše Gortane, Bidovce, Marušice, Miloše i Valentiće. Fašiste nekažnjeno napadaju njima nepoćudne ljude, naročito naše. Premlaćuju ih, zlostavljaju ih, provaljuju u kuće, pale narodne domove, provaljuju u crkve tjerajući svećenike ispred oltara. Zatvorene su ujedno sve naše

the neighboring country doing and speaking against us. Both the secular and clerical Rome. They very well remember that Andrey Karlin, Bishop of Trieste and Kopar, now Bishop of Maribor, was forced by the Holy See to leave Trieste and his service there. They also know that the bishopric in Rijeka was established in great haste, for purely political and not religious reasons. They also know that the official Rome appointed Bishop Isidor Sain, who was installed by a Cardinal. But, Bishop Sain did not speak our language and therefore could not carry out his duties. However, Bishop Sain founded in Rijeka a Clerical school (Sjemenište) for education of priests. The students were prohibited to communicate in their mother tongue-Croatian. The violation of that rule was considered a sin which they had to admit at confession.

People from the coastal region also remember the case of Sedey who had to resign at the request of the Holy See... Soon after he was replaced by the Italianized fascist Giovanni Sirotti he died of pain and sorrow. People of that region very vividly remember all that and are therefore even more hurt by the Epistle.

They also know about the Lateran Treaties between the secular and clerical Rome. According to that Treaties priests and spiritual shepherds of the ethnic groups under Italy do not have to speak their language. On the other hand, many priests-missionaries learn the languages of wild tribes so as to be able to properly teach them religion and spread Christianity. This is the reason for empty churches and a decreasing number of devoted believers.

I think that we should also speak about fascism in Italy. Fascism could not care less for religion and religious education. Some of their activities are an offense to Christianity. In spite of that the bishops over there, either as individuals, or in corpore have never raised their voice against fascism... And these fascists and their Duce do not disseminate love, but hatred, they do not want peace, they want war. Their teachers on the other side of our border brainwash our children by advising them not to go across the border because „they may be attacked, beaten even killed by the people living there.“ Summary courts kill one Mateotti, one Morzini and people like them in old Italy. In Istria, Trieste and Gorizia they kill our people by the name of Gortan, Bidovac, Marushitch (Marušić), Milosh (Miloš) and Valentitch (Valentić). Fascist attack all people they find suspicious, particularly those of our origin. They beat them to death, maltreat them, break into their homes, burn their houses, break into our churches and drive the priests out. Over there we once had several

narodne škole kojih je bilo više stotina; rasturena su sva naša društva – prosvjetna i privredna.

Našem narodu u Istri ne dozvoljava se da pređe preko granice u našu državu na Trsat da se pomoli trsatskoj Majci Božjoj. *Pa sve ovo nije pokrenulo ni Svetu Stolicu ni talijanski episkopat da uzme u zaštitu povrijeđeni princip vjere i pobožnosti. A čovjeka, pod čijom upravom strašno pati naš narod u Italiji najviši vatikanski dostojanstvenici nazivaju providencijalnim čovjekom, poslatim od Boga za dobro talijanske države. Taj čovjek želi da uz pomoć Svete Stolice obnovi Rimsko carstvo, a najprije da osvoji našu Dalmaciju. A što to znači znamo iz historije kao iz svega onoga što se zbiva u Istri, Trstu i Gorici, naime: Rimljanin gospodar, a stanovništvo zauzetih zemalja – roblje.*⁷¹

Kad na sve to mislim, poslanica mi postaje još teža po svome značaju. Naročito kad pomislim na doba u kome se pojavila. Italija prijeti svakoga dana, naoružava se, gradi tvrđave, brodove, nastoji da pridobije i naoruža i druge države radi toga cilja. Sve akcije upe-rene su protiv nas. Izdržava i neke naše emigrante koji davaju toj zemlji Dalmaciju za tobožnju Hrvatsku, koja bi nesumnjivo postala plijenom Italije i Mađarske. Uopće naslanjanje nekih naših ljudi na vanjske neprijatelje pretstavlja najodvratniju pojavu u našem životu. To je izdajstvo. Svi smo dužni da radimo unutra, u svojoj državi, da nam se kuća uredi i da jačamo ono što su nagovještavali vijesnici bolje budućnosti, zašto su dali svoje živote stotine hiljada naših ljudi... I baš u ovo vrijeme u koje podižu glavu razni protivnici naši, u vremenu kada Italija jasno i otvoreno govori što hoće protiv nas, u to doba pojava poslanice djeluje još poraznije. A to se može vidjeti još i iz toga, što je talijanska štampa, a naročito riječka, prihvatila ovu biskupsku poslanicu sa najvišim oduševljenjem.

Šta treba Sokolstvo sada da radi? Treba da prikupi sve svoje sile da se i u hrvatskim, slovenskim i srpskim krajevima što više pomno-ži broj sokola, uvijek razumije se kao i do sada što nisu bili ni bez-vjerci ni protuvjerci, i da sve svoje sile posvete dobru naše mlade Jugoslavije; da intenzivno rade na duševnom stapanju i produbljivanju jugoslavenskog narodnog jedinstva i da ovakvim odgojnim radom pripremaju narodu sretnu budućnost...⁷¹

Ovako je Vjekoslav Spinčić na zalazu svoga života, kao prvoklasni po-žnavalac jugoslavenskih i talijanskih prilika, svjetovnih i crkvenih, svih poli-tičkih aspiracija fašizma i Vatikana, kroz prizmu talijanske štampe, obuhvatio

⁷¹ „Politika“ 19. II. 1933. „Novo doba“, 23. II. 1933.

hundred schools in Croatian language and now they are all closed and all our cultural, educational and economic societies dissolved.

Our people living in Istria are not allowed to cross the border to go to Trsat to the Church of the Holy Mother of Trsat for prayer. In all these cases the Holy See and the Italian Episcopate did not react to the violation of the principles of religious freedom. Moreover, for the highest dignitaries of the Vatican the man most responsible for the sufferings of our people in Italy is a God sent savior of the Italian state and its well being. This man has the ambition to restore the Roman Empire with the help of the Holy See, but before that he wants to take our Dalmatia. We know from history and from the situation in Istria, Trieste and Gorizia what that means: the Romans will be the masters and the population of the invaded countries-slaves...

In the light of these facts the Epistle acquires an even more tragic meaning, at this particular moment. Italy is accumulating weapons, building fortresses and ships and trying to attract to its side and arm other countries in the pursuit of the same objective. All these actions are organized against us. They also financially support some emigrants from Yugoslavia ready to give up Dalmatia in exchange for an allegedly free Croatia which would very soon fall prey to Italy and Hungary. The support some of our people accept from our enemies is the most despicable phenomenon in our national life. This is treason. It is our duty to be active inside our country, establish order at home and work in favor of our better future because these were the goals for which hundreds of thousands of our people had given their lives... And right now, when our enemies are raising their heads, when Italy is clearly and openly expressing its appetites for parts of our country. In such a situation the effect of the Epistle sounds even more terrifying, the proof being a very enthusiastic reaction to the Epistle in the whole Italian press, particularly in Rijeka.

What is the Sokol Movement expected to do? It should use its very best efforts to increase the number of its members in Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia, who, like the previous members, are not atheists or hostile to religion and work hard to the benefit of our young Yugoslavia;

Work hard on the unity of all our Yugoslav peoples and through education in this spirit pave the way to our better future....⁷¹

cijeli problem i označio i osvijetlio ovu poslanicu najtežom osudom, kao pravo izdajstvo.

Starina Spinčić bio je sa svih strana Jugoslavije obasut telegramima u kojima mu se čestitalo i zahvaljivalo za taj herojski podvig ne samo prema domaćem episkopatu nego i stoga što je neobičnom odvažnošću ukazao i na svu pozadinu ovoga problema. Izjava je zaprepastila i ogorčila ne samo episkopat i sve klerikalce, inicijatore poslanice nego naročito beogradsku nuncijaturu. Spomenuto je već u Uccellinijevom pismu, kako mu njegov vikar A. Milošević javlja da nuncije nije odobravao poslanicu. Ta je izjava očigledno bila prozirni manevar pošto je nuncije dobro znao da govori pred vikarom kotorskog biskupa, sa namjerom da otkloni od Svete Stolice i Vatikana svaku sumnju. Spinčićeva izjava je utoliko još značajnija bila što je došla i od strane jednog dugogodišnjeg visokog političara i uzornog svećenika, koji je više od šezdeset godina u javnom životu Istre i Hrvatske zračio osobitim sjajem. Ovo je bio nesumnjivo težak udarac za episkopat i za sve jugoslavenske protivnike kada su osjetili, tko to sve skida episkopatu masku s lica, tako hipokritski zabrinutog za Boga i vjeru u vezi sa Tyrševom ideologijom na granicama Italije!

Kao što se pokušalo uticati na savjesti biskupa Uccellinija i don Frana Ivaniševića, tako je i sada senjski biskup dr. Ivan Starčević, u čijoj se dijecezi nalazio Spinčićev Kastav, posegao za ovim istim sredstvom, koje su koristili Bonefačić, Srebrnić i Jeglič. Biskup Starčević je 3. marta poslao Spinčiću dvojicu svećenika sa pismenim nalogom senjskog ordinarijata da od Spinčića uzmu protokolarno odgovor na izvjesna pitanja. Prema tome nalogu Spinčić je imao da kaže da li je točna njegova izjava, objavljena u „Politici“, iz koje su je i drugi listovi preštampli. *Od njega se tražilo da izjavi da li je voljan da objavljenu izjavu demantira, bez obzira da li je njegova ili nije.* Zatim je zatraženo od njega da se izjasni zašto je napao Svetu Stolicu i katolički episkopat,



Dr Miroslav Tirš (1832-1884)

Dr Miroslav Tyrsh (1832-1884)

⁷¹ „POLITIKA“, February 19, 1933 and „NOVO DOBA“ (New age), February 23, 1933.

These are the words of Vjekoslav Spinchitch, perfectly familiar with the situation in Yugoslavia and Italy, both in the secular and clerical field and fully aware of the political aspirations of fascism and the Vatican, clearly expressed in Italian press. On the ground of his life long experience and living his last days he very well understood the implications of the Epistle and therefore condemned it as TREASON.

Telegrams of gratitude for his courage started pouring on Vjekoslav Spinchitch from all over Yugoslavia, and particularly for having revealed the background of the problem. The Catholic Episcopate, all clerics and particularly the Nuncio were appalled and embittered. In his letter Bishop Uccellini mentions that Vicar Antun Miloshevitch told him about the negative attitude of the Nuncio to the Epistle. This was, evidently, only a cheap maneuver of the Nuncio aware that he was talking to the Vicar of the Bishop of Kotor in order to dispel every suspicion about the possible involvement of the Holy See and the Vatican. This statement was particularly valuable because Spinchitch was an exemplary priest and respectful politician, who over sixty year actively participated in the public life of Istria and Croatia as one of its most prominent public figures. His statement dealt a severe blow on the Episcopate and the enemies of Yugoslavia, who were particularly shocked when they realized who was ready to unmask the Episcopate, so hypocritically concerned for God and faith in connection with the ideology of Tyrsh along the Italian border!

Now Dr Starchevitch (Starčević) Bishop of Senj, in whose diocese Vjekoslav Spinchitch lived, got the task to use the same method in his case Bonefachitch, Srebrnitch and Yeglitch applied in the case of Bishop Uccellini and Reverend Ivanishevitch. Namely, on the 3-rd of March Bishop Starchevitch delegated two priests to contact Spinchitch and deliver him personally a written order of the Ordinarium of Senj to officially answer their questions, namely: is his statement published in POLITIKA trustworthy and what are the names of other newspapers that have reprinted it; whether he was ready to refute his statement regardless of its trustworthiness; to explain the reasons behind his attack on the Holy See and the Catholic Episcopate and whether he accepts, or not, that by making that statement he has violated the principle of subordination. Spinchitch answered all these questions frankly and directly. He acknowledged authorship of his statement published in POLITIKA emphasizing that it only reflects his views on the Sokols and claimed that he did not attack the Holy See and the Episcopate. He only thought that the Pope and the bishops in Italy should be equally just towards all peoples, which is not the case now. By saying that he actually wanted

kao i to da li smatra da je spomenutom izjavom povrijedio princip subordinacije. Na sva ta pitanja Spinčić je dao jasne i precizne odgovore. On je izjavio da je uistinu autor izjave u „Politici“, da je izjavom iznio šta zna i misli o sokolstvu i da nije izvršio nikakav napad na Svetu Stolicu ni na katolički episkopat, ali da smatra da pretpostavljeni, tj. papa i biskupi u Italiji, moraju biti jednako pravedni, jer se podjednako ne postupa prema svim narodima. Time je htio još jednom da podvuče postupak prema goričkom nadbiskupu Sedeju i prema nacionalnom jugoslavenskom svećenstvu u Istri, Gorici i Trstu o čemu je Spinčić opširno govorio u svojoj izjavi.⁷² Poslije toga proširila se vijest da se Spinčiću prijeti sa suspenzijom „a divinis“. Te vijesti izazvale su nova i uzbudljiva negodovanja. Ovu „Politikinu“ vijest registrirala je i komentirala čitavim člancima dnevna štampa.

„Kad se iznova čita ta izjava u povodu namjere, da se Spinčić suspendira „a divinis“, dobiva se sasvim jasan dojam da se s profesorom Spinčićem, s izvjesnom malom razlikom, događa u slobodnoj Jugoslaviji ono, što se dogodilo pod Italijom goričkom nadbiskupu blagopokojnom Sedeju. I Spinčić postaje žrtva svog nacionalnog uvjerenja. Sedej je bio žrtvovan zato, jer se borio za afirmaciju naših nacionalnih prava u crkvi i protiv uzurpacije fašizma u fašističkoj Italiji. Spinčić je međutim ustao u obranu nacionalnih interesa i tuđim duhom prožete uzurpacije u slobodnoj Jugoslaviji. A ako bude žrtvovan, biti će žrtvovan onom istom Rimu kojemu je žrtvovan i Sedej. Zar je moguće da se uplivna zona ujedinjenog Rima u tako kratko vrijeme mogla proširiti od Gorice do Zagreba i Senja.“⁷³

Inkvizitori iz Senja i iz Zagreba nisu stigli da do kraja izvedu postupak prema starome borcu. Bolesni starac koji se liječio na Sušaku nije dočekao konačnu odluku. Smrt je prekinula ovu diskusiju između njega i njegovog ordinarijata. Jer 27. V. 1933. izdahnuo je veliki narodni borac i 30. maja sahranjen je sa počastima kakove se ukazuju samo najvećima u narodu. Spinčićev dugogodišnji suradnik, književnik Viktor Car Emin u nekrologu se zaustavio na posljednjem testamentarnom gestu velikog pokojnika. Posjetivši ga bolesnog o Uskrsu, Spinčić mu je veoma uzbudljivo, ali odlučnim i teškim glasom, pročitao akt senjskog biskupa od 3. III 1933. kao odgovor koji se u potpunosti podudara sa viješću „Politike“ o akciji biskupa protiv Spinčića. Viktor Car Emin dodirujući pitanje Spinčića prema poslanici istaknuo je da

⁷² Vjekoslav Spinčić i biskupski ordinarijat u Senju. „Politika“ 19. III. 1933.

⁷³ Što to znači? „Novosti“ 17. III. 1933.

to once again raise the case of Archbishop of Gorizia, Sedey, which he described in details in his statement.⁷² After that a news spread that Spinchitch was threatened with suspension „a divinis“, which gave rise to new protests. This piece of news was also announced in POLITIKA and printed and abundantly commented in all dailies.

„On second reading and in view of suspension „a divinis“ for Spinchitch there is a small difference between the case of the late Archbishop Sedey in Italy and the case of professor Spinchitch in Yugoslavia as a free country. Spinchitch was a victim of his national beliefs and Sedey was sacrificed as a fighter for our national and religious rights in fascist Italy. Spinchitch raised his voice in defense of our national rights and against those who, under foreign influence, were trying to usurp them in free Yugoslavia. If he is to be sacrificed he will be sacrificed to the same Rome to which Sedey was sacrificed. Is it possible that the zone of influence of the united Rome could in such a short time spread from Gorizia to Zagreb and Senj?“⁷³

The Inquisition in Senj and Zagreb did not have time to complete the procedure because the old man died in the meantime. Thus, death interrupted his argument with the Ordinarius. Professor Spinchitch died on the 27-th of May, 1933. His funeral was up to the respect he commanded. Viktor Tzar Emin (Viktor Car Emin) an outstanding writer and his collaborator in his necrology for Spinchitch mentioned their encounter on Easter when he visited the ill professor. On that occasion Spinchitch showed him the document the Bishop of Senj wrote on the 3-rd of March, 1933 which fully endorsed the views published in POLITIKA about the action of the Bishops against Spinchitch. At the end Viktor Tzar Emin emphasized that his attitude to the Epistle and his statement in POLITIKA stem from his steadfast principles and his awareness of the tragic history of Istria.

„Adherence to the principles was the most outstanding feature of his strong personality. As an independent mind he was an open enemy of the Vatican policy which has always been hostile to our people. Spinchitch was a good Christian, like all of us who worked with him. But, he never missed the opportunity to reveal the machinations of Italian clerics of all grades and on all levels, who have always worked and are still working against the vital interests of our people. In Istria Spinchitch was openly against the ill-famed Bishop

je Spinčić bio samo dosljedan svome životnome djelu i teškim političkim iskustvima iz mučeničke prošlosti Istre, kad je reagirao u „Politici“.

„Dosljednost je bila jedna od najmarkantnijih odlika njegove snažne ličnosti. Otkad je stao svojom glavom da misli, Spinčić je bio otvoren protivnik vatikanske politike, koja je našem narodu bila oduvijek dušmanska. Spinčić je bio dobar kršćanin, kao što smo i svi mi, koji smo s njime radili, ali on nije nikada propuštao zgodu, da ne pokaže prstom na makinacije talijanskih mantijaša, onih malih i onih najvećih, koji su našem narodu radili o glavi, kao što to rade i sada. U Istri nije Spinčić otvoreno ustajao samo protiv zloglasnog biskupa Furlana Flappa, već je često i našim narodnim biskupima prigovarao, kad bi ma koliko propustili nasilnim latinizatorima.“⁷⁴

Sva ova negodovanja protiv episkopatske antisokolske poslanice nisu bila ublažena ni polemičkim člancima klerikalnih listova, ni onih dijecezan-skih, pa ni „Katoličkog lista“, u kojemu je dr. K. B. – Kosta Bohačevski – ili dr. Janko Šimrak, napisao nekoliko članaka polemizirajući, naročito sa don Franom Ivaniševićem. Nije ublažila stav episkopata ni izjava nadbiskupa zagrebačkog dr. Ante Bauera koju je objavila sva štampa 27. I 1933. Jer upravo poslije izjave nadbiskupa Bauera došle su izjave don Frane Ivaniševića, Uccellinija i Spinčića. Nadbiskupu je bilo do toga da skine svu odgovornost inicijative sa Rimske Kurije, da je preuzme na se i da je prebaci na čitav episkopat. Uzbuna, koja je nastala poslije objave ove poslanice za nadbiskupa je samo „beskrajna hajka“ protiv episkopata i katoličke crkve. Zato je nadbiskup Bauer „na sve ne kvalificirane napadaje, uvrede, klevete i grožnje imao da kaže samo ovo: „Oče oprostite im jer ne znaju šta čine!“ Dakako ni Uccellini, ni Ivanišević a još manje njegov nekad intimni prijatelj Spinčić, ušli su tako u sklop „beskrajne hajke protiv episkopata i katoličke crkve“, tj. sami protiv sebe. Nadbiskup Bauer ponajprije odbija da poslanica nema nikakve veze sa punktacijama, a onda se zadržava na uporno održavanim vijestima, da su toj poslanici kumovali ili da su je čak i sastavili jezuiti, uslijed čega su se pojavile vijesti da treba jezuiti protjerati iz Jugoslavije. ^.^

„Ovo tvrđenje protivnika zlobna je kleveta iznesena samo zato da se može protiv Isusovaca podići hajka i bura i da se tako nađe bar neki izgovor za njihov izgon iz Jugoslavije. Ja naprotiv znam, i ovdje na javnost iznosim da su se već odavno u Beogradu javili prohtjevi da se Isusovci protjeraju iz Jugoslavije: o tome se već pisalo u javnim glasilima.“ Jednako je nadbiskup Bauer ogorčen kad brani Svetu Stolicu

⁷² „VJEKOSLAV SPINCHITCH AND THE BISHOP ORDINARIUM IN SENJ (Vjekoslav Spinčić i biskupski Ordinarijat u Senju)“, „NOVOSTI“, May 29, 1933

⁷³ „WHAT DOES IT MEAN?“, „NOVOSTI“ (News), March 17, 1933.

⁷⁴ Viktor Car Emin, Vjekoslav Spinčić. „Novosti“ 29. V. 1933.

Furlan Flapp, but he also openly reprimanded our bishops whenever they did not strongly oppose the imposed Latinization.⁷⁴

The reaction to the anti-Sokol Epistle was further flared up by the polemical articles in clerical newspapers and the journals of the dioceses, and in KATOLIČKI LIST (Catholic Journal) in particular, in which Dr. K.V. (Kosta Bohačevski or Dr. Janko Šimrak) published several polemical articles mostly arguing with don Frano Ivanishevitch. The Episcopate did not change its attitude in the least, in spite of the statement made by Archbishop of Zagreb Dr. Ante Bauer, published on the 27-th of January, 1933. Don Frane Ivanishevitch, Bishop Uccellini and professor Spinchitch in fact reacted to Bishop Bauer's statement. The Archbishop was using his very best efforts to clear the Roman Curia of the responsibility for the Epistle. According to the Archbishop the vehement reaction to the Epistle is only part of „a continuous campaign against the Episcopate and the Catholic Church.“ To all „incompetent attacks, insults, slanders and disgust“ the Archbishop reacted by saying: „Forgive them, O God...!“ Thus, Uccellini, Ivanishevitch and Spinchitch „became part of a continuous campaign against the Episcopate and the Catholic Church“ In other words they participated in a campaign against themselves. Archbishop Bauer also denies any connection between the Epistle and Punctuations and insists on the conclusion that the Jesuits have not only conceived but also drafted the Epistle. The public opinion reacted by requesting the expulsion of Jesuits from Yugoslavia.

„This is a mean slander conceived to launch hue and cry against the Jesuits and thus find a pretext for their expulsion from Yugoslavia. I know that Belgrade has been fostering this idea for a long time, which was also published in the media.“ Archbishop Bauer is also vehement in defending the Holy See and denying any connection between the Epistle, on the one hand and the Holy See and Mussolini's aspirations, on the other. „Only infernal hatred against the Catholic Church (is it possible that professor Spinchitch and Bishop Uccellini infernally hated their Church ???) could concoct such a lie and use it to antagonize the uninformed against the Catholic Church... We, the Catholic Bishops in Yugoslavia are the only responsible ones for the Epistle. We have announced it for purely religious reasons, deeply convinced that it will be beneficial for the Catholic Church and the Christian religion in general, and also beneficial for the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Its success lies in the fact that so far „many thoughts se-

i odbija vezu između te poslanice, Svete Stolice i Mussolinijevih želja. „Samo paklenska mržnja na katoličku crkvu (zar i Vjekoslava Spinčića i biskupa Uccellinija) mogla je ovo izmisliti i upotrijebiti da neupućene razdraži protiv crkve katoličke... Sva odgovornost za ovu poslanicu pada samo na nas, katoličke biskupe Jugoslavije, a mi smo je izdali iz čisto vjerskih razloga sa punim uvjerenjem da će to biti samo na dobro crkve katoličke i kršćanske vjere uopće, a ujedno i na istinsku korist kraljevine Jugoslavije. Dosadašnji njen uspjeh, – i to ne malen – je taj, da su se „otkrile misli mnogih srdaca“ (Sv. Luka 2–35), te je čitavom narodu otkriveno koliko i kakvih neprijatelja ima katolička crkva u Jugoslaviji.⁷⁵

Kad se uporede izjave Uccellinija, Ivaniševića i Spinčića s ovom nadbiskupa Bauera, onda se vidi, ne samo antipodnost shvaćanja jednog pitanja nego i gruba različnost tona i načina diskutiranja. Dok je biskup Uccellini-Tice bio i poslije poslanice odlučan da i dalje blagoslivlje Sokol za njegov rodoljubivi rad, dok su Ivanišević i Spinčić bili uvjereni da nemaju razloga da se žale na Sokol radi nekih bezvjerskih načela i bezbožničkih postupaka, ali su vidjeli prisnost podudarnosti klerofašističke štampe u Italiji sa episkopatskom poslanicom i njihovu radost koju je ona kod njih izazvala, dotle nadbiskup Bauer i dalje vidi „paklensku mržnju na katoličku crkvu“ i otkrivanje „koliko i kakvih neprijatelja ima katolička crkva u Jugoslaviji“. Dakako, kad nadbiskup Bauer, biskupi Jeglič, Bonefačić, Srebrnić i Starčević nisu mogli razuvjeriti ova tri uzorna katolička svećenika, odana vjeri i crkvi, to njima kao ni klerikalnim polemičarima nije uspjelo da ma i u čemu izmijene shvaćanja o toj poslanici. Štoviše, nadbiskupu Baueru nikako nije pošlo za rukom da obrani zagrebačke jezuite (kao i onda, kad se u hrvatskom saboru 1891. za njih zalagao da ih dovede u Hrvatsku), za koje je bilo još i od ranije u širokim intelektualnim redovima uvjerenje da su oni začetnici i instruktori kod svih važnijih postupaka hrvatskog i slovenskog episkopata.

Povodom nadbiskupove izjave je još jednom zauzeo načelan stav u iscrpnom izlaganju i analizi svih dijelova poslanice službeni „Sokolski glasnik“ u kojoj je mogao da ukaže i na frankovačku primjesu duha koji je ovladao glavnim sastavljačem poslanice. Osim toga, ovdje se sugestivno pokazuje koliko je malo vjerska, a koliko mnogo je ova poslanica politička.

„Svakako je, politički najznačajnija pogrda jugoslavenskog sokola kad mu se predbacuje da negira pošteno slovensko i hrvatsko ime. Zar to nije politika, i to politika uperena protiv same državne ideje

⁷⁴ Viktor Car Emin: „VJEKOSLAV SPINČIĆ“, „NOVOSTI“, May 29, 1933.

⁷⁵ Izjava nadbiskupa gospodina dr. Bauera o poslanici protiv Sokola. „Politika“ 27. I. 1933.

cretly fostered in the heart have been revealed" (St. Luke. 2-35) and now everybody knows how numerous the enemies of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia are.⁷⁵

This statement is in striking contrast with those given by Uccellini, Ivanishevitch and Spinchitch in the approach to the same issue and in the tone and spirit of the discussion. Bishop Uccellini was ready to bless the Sokol flags even after the Epistle and continued to respect the Sokols for their patriotic efforts, don Ivanishevitch and professor Spinchitch did not consider them atheists and impious and all three of them recognized the link between the Epistle and the clero-fascist press and its enthusiastic reaction to it. On the other hand, Archbishop Bauer sees nothing but „the infernal hatred for the Catholic Church“ and „identifies numerous enemies of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia“. Archbishop Bauer and Bishops Yeglitch, Bonefachitch, Srebrnitch and Starchevitch did not manage to persuade the three exemplary Catholic priest to change their mind with regard to the Epistle, nor did they manage to change its general effect. Archbishop Bauer did not manage to exculpate the Zagreb Jesuits either (He failed like in 1891 when he tried to convince the Croatian Parliament (Hrvatski sabor) to let them come to Croatia). Actually, long before that the opinion prevailed among the intellectuals that the Jesuits stand behind all important moves and actions undertaken by the Croatian and Slovenian Episcopate.

After the Archbishop's statement SOKOLSKI GLASNIK (the Sokol Herald) once more reacted to the Epistle placing emphasis on its spirit in line with the political views of the FRANKOVCI and revealing its political, rather than religious aims.

„The dirtiest accusation against the Yugoslav Sokols is the slander that they reject the honest Slavic and Croatian name. What else can it be than politics, politics against our State based on the idea of national unity and the Yugoslav name! No wonder that the Epistle was announced first abroad, in Italian press, and then in Yugoslavia. Like in 1931, during the vehement conflict between the CATHOLIC ACTION and fascism in Italy, when the Monsignories smuggled across the border the Encyclical of Pius XI and announced it abroad, and only later in Italy... The purpose of the Epistle and the aim of its authors are something quite different. Actually, High Catholic Clergy was trying to use the Epistle as a tool for its rather aggressive interference in daily politics. Their „struggle for religious and cul-

utemeljene na narodnom jedinstvu i jugoslavenskom imenu! *I zato nije ni čudo što se za poslanicu saznalo ranije u inostranstvu nego kod nas, i što je ona objavljena prvo baš u talijanskoj fašističkoj štampi.* Baš kao što je 1931. godine za vrijeme ogorčene borbe između K. A. i fašizma u Italiji Enciklika Pia XI, koju su monsinjori avionom prenijeli preko granice, inostranstvo upoznalo prije same Italije... Pravi cilj poslanice ima se tražiti na drugoj strani, prave težnje njezinih tvoraca uperene su u drugom pravcu. Tom poslanicom visoki katolički kler na prilično brutalan način zahvata u dnevnu politiku sa očiglednom namjerom da stvaranjem novih teškoća i zastrašivanjem sa vjerskom i „kulturnom borbom“ utiče na politički razvoj događaja i da tako olakša i omogućiti ostvarenje svojih osnovnih težnja: osvajanje isključivog prava odgoja omladine ne samo u vjerskom nego i u etičkom i duhovnom pogledu. U tome nas potkrepljuje i činjenica da se od sedam točaka u rezoluciji sa biskupske konferencije od 17. XI prošle godine, četiri bave isključivo pitanjem odgoja omladine u školi i van nje. Na taj način biskupskom poslanicom načet je osnovni problem odnosa Crkve i Države i borba oko pitanja: tko između njih ima prvenstveno pravo na duhovno i etičko odgajanje i podizanje omladine i time na kulturno formiranje cjelokupnog našeg društvenog i nacionalnog života uopće. U tome je težište poslanice i njezin eminentno politički karakter.“⁷⁶

Dok je u Jugoslaviji papina Enciklika o odgoju omladine imala ovakvu političku primjenu, u Italiji upravo u ljeto 1931. po tom su pitanju izbile borbe između K. A. i fašizma. Tada je Vatikan morao čuti i priznati Mussolinijevu opomenu, zacijelo stoga što je bio obilježen od njega, kao lice Providnosti. Tada je Mussolini rekao da „svećenici ne treba da se bave politikom i da odgoj omladine pripada državi: ona je naša dužnost i naša briga“. Poznato je da je Mussolini pomoću policije raspustio K. A. a pri ponovnom sporazumu, pri kome je žrtvovan gorički nadbiskup Sedej, svedena je K. A. na čistu duhovnu osnovu. Otada između Mussolinija i Vatikana sve do sloma fašizma vlada najskladnija harmonija.

Međutim, ovaj odnos i podudarnost pojave antisokolske poslanice sa antisokolskom fašističkom propagandom, a i vatikanskom pozadinom, vidjeli su i u katoličkom inostranstvu. Tako je jedan francuski poslanik istaknuo u „La vie catholique“ da mu „izgleda, prema izvjesnim informacijama, da je Vatikan u službi fašističke vlade i da radi protiv jugoslavenskog jedinstva.

⁷⁵ STATEMENT OF ARCHBISHOP Dr. BAUER ON THE ANTI-SOKOL EPISTLE, „POLITIKA“, January 27, 1933.

⁷⁶ Politička strana biskupske poslanice. „Sokolski glasnik“ 3. II. 1933.

tural rights“ was nothing but a maneuver in the effort to secure for the Catholic Church the exclusive right to overall education for the young, and not only in the religious, spiritual and ethical fields. The proof can be found in the Resolution of the Conference of Bishops, held on the 17-th of November last year. In its Conclusions out of seven items four exclusively deal with education of the young, at school and outside school. Actually, by raising the issue of education the Epistle has raised the fundamental problem underlying the Church-State relations concerning the priority in organizing not only the spiritual and ethical education of the young but also priority in shaping our overall social and national life. This is the point of the Epistle and this is what gives it a primarily political character.“⁷⁶

While in Yugoslavia the Encyclical on education of youth had the above described political aim in Italy, in the Summer of 1931 the same issue triggered a conflict between CATHOLIC ACTION and fascism. The Vatican was forced to comply with Mussolini's warning, probably because it was the Vatican that proclaimed him „leader sent by providence.“ Mussolini said that „the priests should stay out of politics and that the state is the only responsible for education of the young.“ It is a notorious fact that Mussolini has used police force to dissolve the CATHOLIC ACTION. Later on, on the ground of an Agreement according to which Archbishop of Gorizia, Sesey, was sacrificed, the activities of CATHOLIC ACTION were restricted to the social sphere only. After that, till the fall of fascism relations between Mussolini and the Vatican remained harmonious.

The Catholics abroad also noticed the link between the anti-Sokol Epistle and the anti-Sokol fascist propaganda with the Vatican in the background. LA VIE CATHOLIQUE (Catholic life) published a statement of a Member of French Parliament, who said: „According to some information the Vatican could be in the service of the Italian government in their joint effort against Yugoslav unity. In more explicit terms, Mussolini is using Pius XI to deepen the internal crisis in Yugoslavia. The French liberal Herriot expressed a similar opinion.“⁷⁷

It should be noted that in the Catholic regions 345 priests refused to read the Epistle, and some only read it in excerpts.⁷⁸

It was not only the Sokols, a few priests, scholars, public personalities and some national institutions that protested. In many cities and towns

Jednom riječi Mussolini se služi Piom XI da pogorša jugoslavensku unutrašnju krizu“. Ali nije bio osamljen ovaj francuski katolički glas. Slične misli je iznio i francuski liberalac Herriot.⁷⁷

Treba reći da u katoličkim krajevima nije 345 župnika uopće htjelo da čita poslanicu, a mnogi su je čitali samo u izvodu.⁷⁸

Međutim nije se ostalo samo na protestima sokola, pojedinaca svećenika, javnih radnika i pojedinih nacionalnih ustanova. U mnogim su gradovima održavane velike skupštine na kojima su se također čule teške riječi prijekora protiv episkopatske poslanice. Na skupštinama banskih vijeća pale su također teške riječi osuda. Tako na zasjedanju banskog vijeća u Zagrebu 27. I 1933., progovorio je i župnik dr. Mato Novosel koji je rekao da su biskupi trebali rađe da napišu jednu okružnicu kao što ju je izdao jednom biskup Strossmayer u kojoj bi ponovili njegove misli:

„Narode, znaj, tebi će dolaziti kojekakvi savjetnici, pa će ti htjeti kazati čuvaj hrvatstvo od Srba, drugi će govoriti čuvaj katoličku vjeru od pravoslavne, ali ti narode među njima ne nasjedaj, jer tim savjetnicima nije stalo do hrvatstva, ni do katoličanstva, nego je njima samo stalo do razdora, da među jednokrvnu braću bace smutnju i razdor. Samo onaj, bio on Srbin ili Hrvat, koji sije ljubav i bratstvo među jednokrvnom braćom, taj je pravi prijatelj naroda, a onaj koji sije razdor i svađu, bio Srbin ili Hrvat, taj je hudoba paklena.“⁷⁹

Jednovremeno je biskupska poslanica našla odjeka i u Narodnoj skupštini. Dr. Milan Metikoš uputio je 16. I 1933. na predsjednika vlade interpelaciju u kojoj je zatražio objašnjenja povodom toga biskupskog napadaja. I on dovodi poslanicu u vezu sa fašističkom akcijom u Italiji i političkim pobudama katoličkog episkopata tvrdeći da je poslanica izrađena u jezuitskom manastiru.⁸⁰

7. februara 1933. podnio je Narodnoj skupštini dr. Nikola Kešeljević prijedlog Zakona o razdvajanju crkve od države. Po tom Zakonu sve škole u Jugoslaviji bile bi potpuno laičke; sva crkvena imanja prelaze kao narodno dobro u državnu svojinu i imaju se kroz godinu dana podijeliti pripadnicima one crkve, čija je to imovina bila, samo je građanski brak, obavezan i priznat; matice rođenih, vjenčanih i umrlih vodit će općina; svećenici svih rangova, svih vjera obična su lica te imaju obaveze i dužnosti kao i svi ostali građani.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Govoriti otvoreno i iskreno. „Novosti“ 12. III. 1933.

⁷⁸ Preuzvišeni gospodin dr. Ante Bauer. „Novosti“ 29. I. 1933.

⁷⁹ Zasjedanje Banskog vijeća. „Novosti“ 28. I. 1933.

⁸⁰ Interpelacija dr. M. Metikoša. „Politika“ 21. I. 1933.

⁸¹ Zakonski prijedlog za rastavu crkve i države u Jugoslaviji. „Starokatolik“ 1933., br. 2, 6.

⁷⁶ THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE EPISTLE, „SOKOLSKI GLASNIK“, February 3, 1933.

⁷⁷ „LET US BE OPEN AND SINCERE.“ „NOVOSTI“, March 12, 1933.

⁷⁸ THE MOST REVEREND Dr. ANTE BAUER, „NOVOSTI“, January 29, 1933.

gatherings (called Assemblies) were organized and from their rostrums the Epistle was severely criticized. At its meeting of the 27-th of January, 1933 the Boards of the Croatian Banovina vehemently criticized the Epistle. In his statement Reverend Dr. Mato Novosel said that the bishops should reprint the text by Bishop Strossmayer in which he says:

„Many will be coming to you, trying to persuade you to stay away from Serbs, others will keep repeating that you should protect the Catholic religion from the Orthodox, but BEWARE, because all these advisers could not care less for Croatism and Catholicism, they only want to stir up discord and disseminates hatred between the brother of the same blood. A true friend of our people, be he a Serb or a Croat, is the one who disseminates love between brothers of the same blood. On the other hand, the one who stirs up discord and disseminates hatred, be he a Serb, or a Croat, is an infernal monster.“⁷⁹

The National Assembly also had the topic of the Epistle on its Agenda. On the 16-th of January 1933 Dr. Milan Metikosh (Metikoš) in his interpellation to the Prime Minister asked him to explain this attack coming from the bishops. In his opinion the Epistle reflects the political ambitions of the Catholic Episcopate which claims that the Epistle was written in a Jesuit monastery and reveals its connection with the anti-Yugoslav activities of Italian fascists.⁸⁰

On the 7-th of February, 1933 Dr. Nikola Kesheljevitch (Kešljević) submitted to the National Assembly a draft law on separation of the Church and State. According to that law all schools in Yugoslavia are secular; church property as a national good becomes state property and the following year it is to be distributed to the members of the church, former owner of that property; civil marriage is the only legally contracted marriage; the municipal administration is in charge of the registers of the born, married and deceased; the priests of all ranks and all confessions are before law citizens with the same duties and responsibilities like all others.⁸¹ On the 17-th of February Ante Kovach (Kovač) on behalf of a group of MPs in their interpellation to the Minister for Physical Education asked his explanation for the anti-Sokol Epistle.⁸²

⁷⁹ „THE SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE BANOVINIA“ (Zasijedanje Banskog vijeća), „NOVOSTI“, January 28, 1933.

⁸⁰ „INTERPELATION OF Dr. METIKOSH (Interpelacija Dr. Metikosa), „POLITIKA“, January 21, 1933.

⁸¹ „DRAFT LAW ON THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE“, „STAROKATOLIK“, 1933., no.2, 6.

⁸² „ATTACK ON THE SOKOLS IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY“, „NOVOSTI“, February 19, 1933.

17. februara podnio je poslanik Ante Kovač sa drugovima interpelaciju na ministra za fizički odgoj naroda u vezi sa antisokolskom poslanicom.⁸²

U općem vrijenju protiv nasilnog klerikalizma sazrijevala je misao da treba ukloniti glavnog uzročnika svih klerikalnih akcija, svih ekskluzivističkih stremljenja i militantnih nastojanja hrvatskih klerikalaca, jezuita u Zagrebu, Sarajevu, Splitu, Ljubljani i svuda gdje ih ima. Ovu slobodoumnu akciju poveo je dr. Oton Gavrančić, narodni poslanik i stari sokolski radnik.

Jezuitski red u Hrvatskoj pored svojih literarnih branilaca, koji su ukazivali na izvjesne njihove zasluge u historiji hrvatskog školstva, zaboravljajući istodobno na njegove nedostatke i mane u pogledu nacionalnog odgoja omladine u XVII i XVIII stoljeću, (o čemu su toliko uvjerljivo sudili u svojim raspravama Pavao Stoos, ilirski pjesnik i svećenik, naučnik Ante Mažuranić, historičar i svećenik Ivša Tkalčić a kasnije Strossmayer i Rački), ostavio je traga, kojim će se kretati samo tamne stranice narodne historije. Svi hrvatski velikani, uma i pera ukazivali su svakom prilikom na jezuitizam i jezuitski duh kojim je opterećen i vođen hrvatski klerikalizam. Najveći hrvatski pjesnik Petar Preradović svu je svoju liberalnu dušu i antijezuitski revolt izlio u rodoljubivu pjesmu „Dubrovniku“ 1849., koja se nalazi među pjesmama „rodoljupkama“ u izdanju „Pjesnička djela Petra Preradovića“ (1873.), priređenom od književnog odbora, na čijem čelu je bio tadanji predsjednik Jugoslavenske akademije, kanonik Franjo Rački. Opisavši Preradović slavu Dubrovnika, a onda njegovu nesreću koja ga je zadesila za velikog zemljotresa (1667.), ukazuje da ga je ovom nesrećom snašla još veća, dolaskom jezuita u Dubrovnik.

*„A za ovim gorje nego ovo
Zlo te snade po zlokobnom času;
Stoput gorje, jer bijaše novo,
A ko dobro najveće na glasu:
Ono crno sjeme Lojolovo,
I po tvojoj zemljici se rasu,
I rodi ti jadom i čemerom
Stoput većom nego potres mjerom.*

*Jaoh raku sam iskopa sebi,
Kad no primi tu nebesku pčelu;
Koja medom laskajuć se tebi,*

⁸² Napadaj na Sokol pred Narodnom skupštinom. „Novosti“ 19. II. 1933.

In the general agitation against aggressive clericalism the idea was gaining increasing support that the main source of the problem should be eliminated, namely that the Jesuits should be prohibited to continue their activities in Zagreb, Sarajevo, Ljubljana and elsewhere. The promoter of the action that followed was Dr Oton Gavrančitch (Gavrančić), Member of Parliament and a Sokol of long standing.

In spite of some merits for the development of education in Croatia in the XVII-th and XVIII-th century (described with due respect by Pavao Stooš, poet and priest, by Ante Mazuranitch (Mažuranić) an outstanding scholar, by the historian and priest Ivša Tkalchitch (Ivša Tkalčić) and later by Strossmayer and Rachky) the Jesuits have left dark traces in the national history of Croatia. All outstanding Croatian intellectuals used every opportunity to emphasize the negative influence of the Jesuits and their spirit on Croatian clericalism. Petar Preradovitch (Preradović), an outstanding Croatian poet, expressed his ant-Jesuit revolt in his patriotic poem DUBROVNIK, written in 1849, later included in his Collection of Patriotic Poetry called RODOLJUPKE, published in 1873, by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (Franjo Rachky was chairman of the Board of Editors). In this poem Preradovitch sings about the glory of Dubrovnik, deploras its great tragedy caused by the severe earthquake that struck it in 1667, and speaks about the Jesuits in Dubrovnik as the greatest calamity of all:

*„At the tragic moment even a greater calamity struck,
Worse than the former one.
Hundreds and hundreds times worse,
Because it was new and unknown,*

*And announced as a great blessing.
The black seed of Loyola
Was spilled all over the country,
Your country as well, and bore fruit,
Fruit of pain and sorrow.
Hundreds and hundreds times worse
than the strike of the quake.*

*When I welcomed that celestial bee
I did not know I was digging my own grave;
While flattering you with the mouth full of honey,
The celestial bee was secretly buzzing*

*A zujeći na potajnom djelu,
Tvoje djece mozak upotrijebi,
Da ti bude otrov zdravu tijelu.
Od djece si po njoj izrod steko,
A rinuo sreću na daleko.“⁸³*

U samom početku osnivanja hrvatske klerikalne stranke, historičar Natko Nodilo, profesor Sveučilišta u Zagrebu i veliki prijatelj Strossmayera, inače istinski religiozan, ali nekompromisno antiklerikalan, 1903. rekao je ovo:

„Da je jezuitski duh opasan, osobito po našu slabo prosvjećenu Dalmaciju, to stoji. Jezuiti mrze na sve tekovine francuske revolucije i ludo hoće u pogledu političkom i društvenom čovječanstvo potjerati natrag u mračni i grozni srednji vijek, uz staleže nejednake, sa prevlasti crkvene hijerarhije i u samim svjetovnim poslovima. A i u crkvi površna je pobožnost njihova.“⁸⁴

Kao Nodilo, sva je napredna omladina tog prvog decenija XX. stoljeća koja se tada formirala, bila prožeta ovim antijezuitskim duhom, videći u njemu najmoćniju prepreku narodnom jedinstvu. A ti su jezuite uveliko koristili zaštitu crno-žute bečke kamarile, na čijim je osnovama carski kamarilski sistem gradio svoju antislavensku politiku. Čitava bi se analogija dala ispisati o antijezuitskim raspoloženjima naprednih Hrvata i Slovenaca. A tih je bilo i u vrijeme biskupske antisokolske poslanice. Zato je odluka koju je donio dr. Oto Gavrančić, kad je sa svojim drugovima podnio 17. II 1933. u Narodnoj skupštini prijedlog Zakona o zabrani Isusovačkog reda u kraljevini Jugoslaviji, bila jednodušno pozdravljena. Tada je izabran jedan odbor koji je imao da prouči ovaj problem. Zakonskom prijedlogu, koji sadrži sedam točaka, dodato je jedno iscrpno obrazloženje. U njemu se kroz historijski presjek djelovanja jezuita u jugoslavenskim zemljama pokazuje sva štetnost, koja je od toga snalazila jugoslavenske zemlje. Ovaj zakonski prijedlog potpisalo je preko 50 narodnih poslanika, većinom rimokatolika.

Donosimo ga u cijelosti.

⁸³ Kad sam sa starim biskupom Uccelliniem 1935. i 1936. duže razgovarao o njegovoj mladosti, sa gorčinom je ispričao kako su mu jezuite u Dubrovačkoj gimnaziji nasilno promijenili njegovo ime Tice, čiji predci potiču iz Hercegovine, u Uccellini i tako mu kroz sva dokumenta pronijeli ovo nametnuto ime. Zato se kasnije Uccellini potpisivao: Uccellini-Tice.

⁸⁴ Viktor Novak, Natko Nodilo. Novi Sad 1935., 155.

*And brainwashing your children,
Turning them into poison in your own body.
Now your children are your bitter enemies,
And your happiness is given a fatal blow.*⁸³

In 1903, immediately upon foundation of the Croatian Clerical Party, a great friend of Strossmayer, historian Dr Natko Nodilo, a devoted Catholic but vehemently anti-clerical, said:

„I agree that the spirit of Jesuitism is dangerous, particularly for the modestly educated people in Dalmatia. The Jesuits hate all achievements of the French Revolution. They want to push back into the darkness of the abominable Middle Ages the political and social life of the whole society, restore class inequalities and impose the leading role of the church hierarchy in all secular matters. On the other hand, their religious devotion is very superficial.“⁸⁴

Like Nodilo the whole progressive youth of the first half of the XX-th century was anti-Jesuit, because for them Jesuitism represented the main obstacle to national unity. The Jesuits enjoyed protection of the black-yellow Court camarilla in Vienna which was the main promoter to the anti-Yugoslav policy of the Habsburg Monarchy. Books could be written on anti-Jesuit views of the progressive Croats and Slovenes. Some of them did raise their voice at the time of the anti-Sokol Epistle. This explains the warm support to the proposal to prohibit the activities of the Society of Jesus in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Dr. Oto Gavrančič submitted to the National Assembly on the 17-th of February, 1933. A Committee was set up to study the problem. The Draft Law consisted of seven articles and a detailed Justification. It gives the history of the activities of the Jesuits in the Yugoslav countries and reveals their detrimental effect on these countries. This Draft Law was endorsed with the signatures by over 50 members of the parliament, most of them Roman Catholics.

The text of the Draft Law states:

„1. It is prohibited to the members of the Society of Jesus (SOCIETAS JEZU) to settle, stay or be active on the whole territory of Yugoslavia.

⁸³ During 1935 and 1936 I had long talks with the old bishop Uccellini about his youth. He told me with bitterness that in High school which he attended in Dubrovnik, the Jesuits forced him to change his family name Tice (Titze) originating from Herzegovina, into Uccellini. Actually the Jesuits changed his family name in all his documents. Later he decided to use both names: Uccellini-Tice.

⁸⁴ Viktor Novak: „NATKO NODILO“, Novi Sad, 1935, 155.

„§ 1. Redu družbe Isusovaca (societas jezu) zabranjuje se nastanba, zadržavanje i djelovanje na cijelom području kraljevine Jugoslavije.

Ni red kao pravno lice, ni pojedini njegovi članovi nemaju prava od dana stupanja na snagu ovoga zakona, da se zadržavaju ma u kojem mjestu kraljevine.

§ 2. Onim članovima reda, koji su jugoslavenski državljani opredjeljuje se kao mjesto stanovanja Otok Vis, ako ne žele iseliti se.

Ono lice, jugoslavenski državljani, a pripadnik reda Družbe Isusovaca, koje se na temelju ovoga zakona iseli, neće imati više prava da se povrati u zemlju, kao da je inostrani državljani.

§ 3. Članovima zabranjene Družbe Isusovaca jugoslavenskim državljanima ne dozvoljava se zajedničko stanovanje na otoku Visu, već imadu svaki za sebe da žive baveći se bilo kojim poslom. Oni ne mogu da steknu nikakvim pravnim poslovima ni među živim, a niti za slučaj smrti nepokretnu imovinu.

Zateče li se 48 sati poslije stupanja na snagu ovog zakona ma koji član reda spomenutog u § 1. unutar granica države, odnosno jugoslavenski državljani, a član reda, izvan granica otoka Visa, bit će kažnjen radi policijskih prestupaka do 30 dana zatvora, a poslije održane kazne stražarno proveden preko granice, odnosno na otok Vis.

§ 4. Zateku li se na području Kraljevine, odnosno izvan otoka Visa, poslije vremena naznačenog u § 3. ovog Zakona, bilo koji od članova reda Družbe Isusovaca, da izvršuju bilo kakvo crkveno ili građansko djelovanje, bit će krivi prestupka i kažnjeni do 5 godina zatvora, a poslije održanja kazne stražarno provedeni preko granice, odnosno na otok Vis.

§ 5. Teritorijalno nadležne prvostepene upravne vlasti popisat će čim ovaj Zakon stupi na snagu cijelu imovinu nepokretnine i pokretnine reda Družbe Isusovaca.

Ovu će imovinu unovčiti na javnim licitacijama, a utržak uložiti će se koristonosno kod Državne hipotekarne banke. Od toga novca osnovat će se zaklada za uzgoj rimokatoličkih svećenika u jugoslavenskom nacionalnom duhu i za potporu siromašnih rimokatoličkih župa. Bliže odredbe donesti će ministar pravde i ministar prosvjete zakladnicom, kojoj se priznaje zakonska snaga.

§ 6. Ovaj se zakon proteže i na Lazariste, na Družbu svetog srca Isusovog kao i na svaki drugi red muški ili ženski, za koji se utvrdi da stoji u neposrednoj vezi sa redom Družbe Isusovaca.

As of the day of entering of this Law into effect the members of the Society of Jesus have no right to find themselves in any place on the territory of Yugoslavia.

2. Those members of the Society of Jesus who are Yugoslav citizens and do not want to emigrate are entitled to settle and live on the island of Krk.

The Yugoslav citizens - members of the Society of Jesus who on the ground of the provisions of this Law decide to emigrate lose their Yugoslav citizenship and if they decide to come back to Yugoslavia have the status of foreigners.

3. Members of the Society of Jesus-Yugoslav citizens are not allowed to live in groups on the island of Krk. They have to live separately and work for their living. They are not allowed to own property, either purchased, or inherited.

If one of them finds himself on the territory of Yugoslavia 48 hours upon entering into effect of this Law, or outside the island of Krk if he is a Yugoslav citizen, he will be arrested by police and sentenced to 30 days of prison. Upon having served his term he will be deported across the boarder, or to the island of Krk if he is a Yugoslav citizen.

4. If after the time determined by this Law a member of the Society of Jesus is discovered involved in any church, or secular activity, he will be prosecuted by the Criminal Court and sentenced to 5 years of prison. After having served the term he will be deported across the border, or to the island of Krk if he is a Yugoslav citizens.

5. Immediately upon entering into effect of this Law the relevant authorities on each territory will make an inventory of the movable and immovable property of the Society of Jesus.

This property will be sold at public auctions and the money profitably invested with the State Mortgage Bank (Državna hipotekarna banka). This money will partly go the Fund for education of Catholic priests in the Yugoslav national spirit and partly used for financial support to the poor Roman Catholic dioceses. The Minister of Justice and the Minister of education will issue special Decrees to regulate that matter in more details. The Decrees will have legal force.

6. This Law also applies to the Lazarists, to the Order of the Sacred Heart and all other orders of monks and nuns directly linked to the Society of Jesus.

7. This Law goes into effect after having been signed by the King and officially promulgated."

§ 7. Ovaj Zakon stupa na snagu kad ga kralj potpiše i kad bude zakonito proglašen."

Obrazloženje

„Red Družbe Isusovaca osnovan po Ignaciju Loyoli ima svrhu da se bori za papinsku vlast. Ovu svoju zadaću red provodi konsekventno od svog postanka do danas u svim zemljama u kojima djeluje. Sjedište reda je u Rimu, gdje stoluje general, takozvani crni papa. Red se dijeli na provincije. Na čelu im je provincijal (ovakova je t. zv. hrvatska, a ne jugoslavenska provincija u Zagrebu). Rade u samostanima takozvanim kolegijima. Red se dijeli na četiri klase (grada). Najniži su novaci. Novicijat traje dvije godine. Kroz to se vrijeme vježbaju u posebnim zavodima u poslušnosti i samoodricanju. Poslije dvije godine novicijata polažu tri poznata redovnička zavjeta, te prelaze u klasu (grad) skolastika. Ova klasa traje 8 do 15 godina. To je vrijeme naukovanja. Treća klasa (grad) su koadjutori. Dije se u svjetovne (temporales) koji se skrbe za zemaljska dobra i u duhovne (spirituales) koji vrše dužnosti kao učitelji omladine, kao propovjednici i ispovjednici. Najviša, četvrta klasa (grad) jesu profesori koji treba da su svršili teologiju i koji polažu posebni četvrti zavjet bezuslovne poslušnosti Svetom Ocu Papi. Odatle i ime: professi (quatuor votorum). Između profesa bira se general reda, njegov asistent, provincijal i uopće svi časnici reda.

Po svom kućnom redu Isusovci su obvezani, da zatome svaki individualitet, radilo se o kakvom bilo prohtjevu ili kakvoj bilo sposobnosti pojedinca. Jednako su obvezani na bezuslovno slijepu pokornost svojim starješinama, na takozvanu pokornost lješina. Treba imati na umu da je organizacija uređena sasvim po vojnički. Sve njihove provincije stoje u stalnom posluhu prema generalu i svaki član ima slijepo da sluša svaki nalog svoga starijeg, koji su u praksi mahom professi, a koji su opet obvezani na slijepu pokornost prema generalu i svetom ocu papi.

Kad promotrimo ovu organizaciju sa spomenutom dužnom okolnošću sa gledišta naše države i našega raznovjerskoga naroda, dolazimo do ovih konstatacija:

1. Jezuiti ne mogu da budu nacionalisti. I tom ih priječi slijepa pokornost prema starješinama, a u zadnjoj liniji prema njihovom generalu, a taj nema nikakvog nacionalnog osjećaja ni razumijevanja. On je internacionalan. U tom im priječi njihovo samoodricanje i ugušivanje svake individualne volje. Po tome postaju prosta maši-

JUSTIFICATION

„Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius Loyola with the task to fight for the recognition of Pope as supreme authority. Since its foundation to date the Jesuits have been using their best efforts to realize that aim in all countries in which they are active. Their See is in Rome, headed by their General called the Black Pope. The Society is divided into provinces. The head of the province is called Provintziyal (Provincijal). The See of the Croatian, not Yugoslav, province is in Zagreb. The centers of their activities are the monasteries which they call collegiums. The Society has four grades (levels). The lowest grade are the novices and they spend two years in that status. During that time they live in special institutions and practice obedience and self-sacrifice. After two years the novices take three vows of monkhood. The next is the grade of scholar, which take 8-15 years. This is actually the period of learning. The third is the grade of coadjutor and the students are divided into two groups: the secular (temporales) trained to deal with the matters connected with secular live, and spiritual (spirituales) trained for teachers of the young, preachers or confessors. The fourth is the grade of professors, usually with a university degree in Theology. They take a special vow of unconditional obedience to the Holy Father. The title professor actually comes from quator votorum. The General, his Assistant, the heads of provinces (Provincijals) and all high ranking officials of the Society of Jesus are elected from among the professors.

The Jesuits have to totally obliterate their individuality, every personal desire or propensity. They have to blindly obey their superiors „as if they were cadavers“. The Society is organized according to the military pattern. All their provinces are subordinated to the General and every member has to blindly carry out the orders of his superiors, mostly professors, who, on their part, are blindly subservient to their General and the Holy Father.

The analysis of this organization from the point of view of our state interests and the interests of our multi-confessional population leads to the following conclusion: Jesuits cannot be patriots because of their commitment to blind obedience to their superiors and their General. All of them are practically depleted of national feelings and without any possible understanding for national matters. They are internationalists due to up rooted individualism. Thus they all turn into machines, each of them is reduced to one part of the machine operated by the Grand General in Rome. In their practical activities

nerija, a svaki pojedinac dio mašine, koju pokreće veliki general iz Rima. U svoje praktično djelovanje ne mogu da unesu ništa svoga pa ni nacionalnoga, kad bi se i našlo to u njima poslije toliko godina vježbanja, koje treba da svrše u zadnjoj i predzadnjoj klasi (novicijati i skolastika).

2. Sa zavjetom bezuslovne pokornosti svetom ocu Papi, koju oni polažu u četvrtom gradu uvažujući, da je Sveti Otac Papa suveren u svojoj vlastitoj državi, dolaze ili bar mogu doći u protivljenje sa dužnostima prema zemlji, u kojoj žive, Nema sumnje, prema povijesti toga reda, da će u takvom slučaju dati professi prednost svojoj prisezi (zavjetu) stranom suverenu Svetom Ocu Papi, a niži imaju da slijepo i bezuslovno slušaju naređenje svojih starješina professa, provincijala i drugih.

Kod poznavanja sposobnosti i utjecaja, koji taj red izvršuje na svjetovno svećenstvo, pa i ono najviše u svim katoličkim narodima, očito u ovoj njihovoj prisezi i mogućnosti, koju gore opisasmo, leži pogibelj za mir i red u našoj zemlji.

Po svom naopakom generalnom načelu („Svrha posvećuje sredstvo“, „si finis est licitus, etiam media sunt licita“), po svojoj vjerskoj snošljivosti poznati su jezuiti širom svijeta. Štetnost Družbe Isusovaca po državu i naš narod najbolje će iskočiti, ako citiramo neumrlog vladiku Strossmayera. U jednom pismu svom prijatelju Račkom on kaže: „Moram napomenuti, da bi za naš narod od velike štete bilo, da se u teološki fakultet uvriježi jezuitizam. Nevjerstvo i jezuitizam ravno su našem narodu opasni. Gledajte, molim vas, da prepriječite a tout prix naimenovanje jezuita. Ti ljudi, (jezuiti) fanatizmom pokrivaju svoje nevaljalštine. (22. II 1874.).

Dalje je Strossmayer u pismu od 6. I 1875. drugom prilikom pisao Račkom: „Na zadaću našega bana (Mažuranića) i naše vlade spada prepriječiti da se u nas jezuitizam u buduće ne širi. Malo tko u nas misli kolika pogibelj u jezuitizmu za nas leži. Naši ljudi, koji žele mudrim se nazvati, ne vide čestoput dalje od nosa.“

Narodni vladika i visoki dostojanstvenik rimokatoličke crkve, zacijelo je dobro poznao i ispravno ocijenio red Družbe jezuita, kako ih on naziva. I mi ne možemo da za obrazloženje svoje osnove dademo bolje razloge, od ocjene oca jugoslavenstva vladike Strossmayera.

Moglo bi se prigovoriti da su razlozi Strossmayera zastarjeli i da možda današnji Isusovci po svom radu nisu jednaki onima, koje je imao prilike ocijeniti vladika Strossmayer. Ovaj prigovor mora da se

there is no individualism, there is no room for any national feeling, after so many years of intensive training during the first and second stage (novice and scholar).

At the end of the fourth grade they take a Vow of Obedience to the Holy Father, thus recognizing him as a supreme sovereign, which is not in line with the concept of authority in individual countries and personal responsibilities in this regard. Judging by the examples from the history of Jesuits there is no doubt that the professors will always give priority to their Vow of obedience to the Holy Father (a foreign sovereign) and the lower level will always give priority to their seniors: professors, provincials and others, whom they have to obey blindly.

In view of their knowledge, abilities and influence on secular priests, even the highest ranking ones, in all Catholic countries and owing to their vow, their role may be fatal for peace and order in our country.

Their leading principle is that the end justifies the means („si finis est licitus, etiam media sunt licita“). All over the world they are famous for their religious intolerance. Bishop Strossmayer best described their detrimental effect on our state and people. In a letter to his friend Rachky the Bishop says: „If Jesuitism take root at our Faculty of Theology it will be very detrimental to our people. Atheism and Jesuitism are equally dangerous for our people. Please use your best efforts to prevent a tout prix the appointment of Jesuits. Their fanaticism is just an excuse for their misdeeds.“ (February 22, 1874.)

In his letter of the 6-th of January, 1875 Strossmyer writes to Rachky: „It is the duty of our Ban (Mazuranitch) and our government to prevent the spreading of Jesuitism. Very few are aware of how fatal for all of us they are. Many of those who pretend to be clever and smart are in fact intellectually nearsighted.“

Evidently, the Bishop as a high ranking official of the Catholic Church, was familiar with Jesuitism and fully aware of the implications of their activities. We do not have a better justification for our approach to Jesuitism than the views expressed by Bishop Strossmayer, father of the idea of Yugoslavism.

Some may find the Bishop's arguments obsolete believing that nowadays the Jesuits are different from the ones Bishop Strossmayer had in view. This comment is out of place. The work of the Jesuits today is absolutely the same as at the time of Bishop Strossmayer

zabaci. Rad u djelovanju jezuita danas je jednak, a njihova nacionalnost, da, protunacionalnost ista. Ništa se u organizaciji Isusovačkog reda nije promijenilo. Promijenilo se samo državno stanje u kojem živi naš hrvatski svijet za vrijeme Strossmayera i danas. Tada smo živjeli u katoličkoj Austriji, a danas živimo u Jugoslaviji, u kojoj je katolička vjera izjednačena sa svima drugim priznatim i vjerama i crkvama.

Ako je u katoličkoj Austriji nalazio Strossmayer toliku opasnost u jezuitskom redu, da je tražio da se ne dozvoli njihovo djelovanje i širenje, koliko je više njegovo mišljenje opravdano danas, kada katolicizam kao što je onda bio, nije više tako rekuć državna vjera, danas, kad je kao i prije rad i nastojanje jezuita diktirano iz Rima, grada izvan jugoslavenske zemlje, koji Jugoslaviji nije nikad prijateljski sklon. Tu ne razlikujemo Vatikan od Kvirinala, jer im je politika bila i prije, a od Lateranskog ugovora naročito jednaka, t. j. talijanska. Mi jezuite osjećamo na djelu. Podzemna rabota i rovarenje njihovo postalo je nepodnosivo. Njihov legitimistički rad uperen je protiv interesa našega naroda i države. Država imade pravo da ovakav rad onemogući i da u tom cilju upotrijebi sredstva, koja joj stoje na raspolaganju. Sredstvo koje ovim zakonom preporučamo na prihvatanje nije novo. Red Družbe Isusovaca, prognan je bio iz katoličkih zemalja i to: iz Francuske 1594. do 1603., te 1864. i 1880. Iz Portugala 1752. i 1834. Iz Španije 1877., 1835., 1868. i nedavno, a iz mješovitih po vjeri država: iz Rusije 1820., iz Švicarske 1847. i iz Njemačke 1872. i t. d.

Iz naše je zemlje po Hrvatskom saboru prije 60 godina izagnan. Naša država koja treba vjerski mir, koja želi snošljivost između svojih građana koji pripadaju raznim konfesijama, koja želi da se u njoj poštuje naša narodna mudrost: „brat je mio ma koje vjere bio“ ne može dozvoliti djelovanje reda Isusovaca, koji propovijeda protivno načelo vjerske snošljivosti. Redu kojem je naš Isus Krist došao na zemlju ne da donese ljubav među ljude bez obzira na konfesiju, nego razdor, tome redu nema mjesta u našoj zemlji.

Nastaje pitanje, možemo li mi izagnati jugoslavenske državljane jezuite iz svoje zemlje. Građani koji su najsvetijom prisegom obvezani na slijepu pokornost tuđem suverenu, ma to bio i Sveti Otac papa, ne mogu biti dobri građani ove zemlje. Ne mogu se ni smatrati državljanima jugoslavanskim, ma to formalno i bili, već državljanima onog suverena, kojemu po danoj prisezi imadu da služe. Ipak treba poštovati i formu. No treba radi reda i sigurnosti svoje zemlje

and their feelings equally a-national as ever. The organizational pattern of the Society of Jesus has remained unchanged. Only the state in which the Croats lived at the time of Bishop Strossmayer and the state in which they are living now, is different. Then we lived in Catholic Austria and today we are living in Yugoslavia which recognizes all churches and confessions.

If in Catholic Austria Strossmayer felt the danger of Jesuitism and requested prohibition of their activities, his view is even more valid today when Catholicism is no longer the state religion as in his time. But like in his time Jesuits still get instructions from Rome which is not in Yugoslavia and which has never been its friend. There is no difference between the Vatican and the Quirinal because their policy has always been identical, particularly since the Lateran Treaties: pro-Italian. In our country we feel the effects of their work. Their subversive work cannot be tolerated. Their allegedly legitimate work is aimed against our national and state interests. The state is entitled to use all available means to prevent these activities. The legal means we recommend are not new. The Society of Jesus was expelled from the Catholic countries: France from 1594 to 1603 and again in 1864 and 1880; from Portugal in 1752 and 1834; from Spain in 1835, 1868 and 1877 and from multi-confessional countries: Russia in 1820, Switzerland 1847, Germany 1872, etc.

The Jesuits were expelled from Croatia sixty years ago, by decision of Hrvatski Sabor (the Croatian Assembly).

We need peace in the country, we want to foster religious tolerance in our multi-confessional state, we want to live by the principle according to which „a brother is dear regardless of his religion.“ The Jesuits who disseminate religious intolerance cannot be tolerated in our country. The Society of the name of Jesus who disseminated love among people cannot be allowed to spread discord. In our country there is no place for them.

What about Jesuits, our citizens? Do we have the right to expel them too? The citizens committed by vow to obedience to an alien sovereign, be him the Holy Father, cannot be good citizens of this country. They cannot be considered as Yugoslav citizens, although from the formal point of view they are. They are the citizens of the sovereign to whom they pledged their obedience. However, the formal aspect should be respected. On the other hand, our citizens should be prevented from undermining our state. Therefore, all Jesuits, Yugoslav citizens, should be allowed to stay at one place,

onemogućiti svojim državljanima da potkopavaju temelje na kojima je ona sazidana. Radi toga predviđa zakon za one Isusovce, koji su jugoslavenski državljani, dozvolu boravka na jednom samom mjestu, na otoku Visu. Nego ni tu se ne smiju da bave crkvenim stvarima i ne smiju da žive zajedno, već svaki posebno. Time se želi spriječiti njihovo razorno djelovanje. Jugoslavenski državljani, koji jednom ostave naše granice ne mogu se više da povrate. Uzima se da su se odrekli našega državljanstva čim su ostavili našu zemlju. Našoj zemlji potrebno je danas spokojstvo i vjerski mir.⁸⁵

Ovime je ponovljen prijedlog Narodnog Vijeća iz 1918. Ovime je ukazano da je i 1933. bilo potomaka starih Iliraca koji su 1849. upozoravali Hrvate: „Si cum Jesu itis, nolite ire cum jesuitis“ („Ako idete s Isusom, nemojte ići s Isusovcima“).

Sva je klerikalna štampa ustala u obranu jezuita. Sav klerikalni aparat dao se jednodušno na posao da spase svoje vođe. Sva sredstva mobilizirana su da se spriječi ozakonjenje ovog prijedloga dra Gavrančića i drugova. Jurišalo se na sve strane. Molilo i bogoradilo, ali i prijetilo sa svom svojom zaograničnom moći i zaštitom koju je katolicizam imao u Rimu i u svemu ostalom svijetu. Nadbiskup Bauer pošao je u Canossu, u Beograd i kao nosilac Karađorđevićeve zvijezde I stepena pojavio se i kod kralja Aleksandra i zatražio zaštitu, obećavši svu lojalnost i vjernost prema „kraljevskom domu i državi“. Koja je obećanja dao nadbiskup Bauer kralju nije poznato. Ali iz upućenih krugova saznalo se da će se stvar dra Gavrančića zakočiti dok se ne vidi ima li nade da se episkopat u svom stavu prema državi preorijentira. Dok je ovako službeni predstavnik katoličke crkve intervenirao u Beogradu, u Zagrebu se reagiralo čak i sa demonstrativnim litijama Majci Božjoj Remetskoj, koju su klerikalci organizirali, „Veliki procesionalni pohod Zagrebčana u svetište Majke Božje Remetske“ – kako „Katolički list“ označava ovu demonstraciju „od desetka tisuća katoličkih građana“, koju je vodio kanonik i duhovni vođa zagrebačkih „Križara“ Msgr Beluhan.

„Povod tom pohodu dadoše nedavni pokušaji neprijatelja katoličke crkve kod nas, da duboko u srce rane vjerske osjećaje zagrebačkih katolika i hrvatskog naroda uopće, a napose prigodom nedavno objelodanjenog prijedloga protucrkvénog zakona za izgon reda Isusovaca iz naše države.“ Msgr. Beluhan je u svojoj propovijedi, koju je održao pred crkvom u Remetama, istaknuo „kako su se Hrvati Zagrepčani u svakoj svojoj nevolji utjecali u pomoć svojoj

⁸⁵ Prijedlog ... dra Gavrančića o raspustu i izgonu Isusovaca. „Katolički list“ 1933., br. 8, 81–82.

the island of Vis. Even there they should not be allowed to engage in church activities and should live individually, not in groups, in the aim of preventing their destructive activities. Once they leave the country Jesuits-Yugoslav citizens, lose their Yugoslav citizenship. Their leaving the country is understood as their giving up Yugoslav citizenship. Today, our country needs peace and religious tolerance.⁸⁵

The same proposal was submitted to the NARODNO VIJEĆE (National Council) in 1918, which means that in 1933 the Illyrian idea from 1849 still had its supporters and that their warning was still present in the memory of their descendants: „Si cum Jesu it is, nolite ire cum jesuitis“ („If you follow Jesus do not follow the Jesuits“).

The whole clerical press jumped on its feet to defend the Jesuits and the whole clerical mechanism was set in motion to save its leaders and prevent the passing of that law. There was no door at which they did not knock, imploring, even threatening under the pretext of protection of Catholicism from abroad, including Rome. Within these efforts Archbishop Bauer decided to go to Canossa, namely to pay a visit to Belgrade as owner of KARADJORDJEVA ZVEZDA (the Medal of the highest order-Star of Karadjordje of the First Degree). He asked audience with King Aleksandar and asked his protection, promising „full loyalty to the Royal Family and the State.“ We do not know anything about what else Dr. Bauer promised to the King, but from a well informed circle the information leaked that the Draft Law proposed by Dr. Gavrančitch will not be discussed until the Episcopate possibly changes its attitude towards the state. Contrary to what the official representative of the Catholic Church promised in Belgrade, Zagreb reacted differently, where the clericals protested by marching in procession to pay tribute to the Holy Mother of Remete. According to KATOLIČKI LIST (Catholic Journal)“ about ten thousands Zagrebians marched in the procession lead by Msgr. Beluhan, Canonian and spiritual leader of the Zagreb KRIŽARI (Crusadeers).

„This was our answer to the recent attempt of the enemies of the Catholic Church and the whole Croatian people, and particularly to the draft law against the church, on the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Yugoslavia.“ In the sermon he read in front of the church in Remete Msgr. Beluhan emphasized that „whenever they were in trouble the Croats from Zagreb addressed to their Celestial Queen for help. This time too when the enemies of the Catholic Church

⁸⁵ „DRAFT LAW SUBMITTED BY Dr. GAVRANCHITCH ON THE EXPULSION OF JESUITS“, „KATOLIČKI LIST“, 1933., no. 8, pp.81-82.

nebeskoj Kraljici. Tako se i ovaj put Hrvati katolici Zagrepčani utječu u pomoć nebeskoj Kraljici u teškim vremenima, kad su neprijatelji katoličke Crkve kod nas duboko povrijedili naše vjerske osjećaje i javno napali na naše katoličke svetinje. Naročito je nepravedan izazov, koji je nedavno učinjen u beogradskom parlamentu, kad je iznesen od nekih poslanika zakon o izgonu Isusovačkog reda preko granica naše države...“ Msgr. Beluhan se naročito zaustavio na Gavrančičevoj motivaciji o bezuslovnoj poslušnosti prema sv. Ocu Papi, dakle o onome „što upravo mora da bude na najveću čast i pohvalu ovim redovnicima, jer se iz toga vidi da u njima živi pravi duh Crkve.“ Ocrtavši zasluge jezuita za hrvatsku kulturu, zadržao se i na njihovom suvremenom radu kao voditelja 17 raznih Marijinih kongregacija u Zagrebu, raznih listova i drugih publikacija, veoma raširenog pastoralnog rada. Štoviše, Msgr. je rekao i priznao da se „kod njih tako reći usredotočuje sav organizatorni rad Katoličke Akcije.“⁸⁶

Načelnu politiku u „Katoličkom listu“ povelili su profesor univerziteta dr. Stjepan Bakšić i fra Petar Grabić, analizirajući Gavrančičev prijedlog i pobijajući sa klerikalnog gledišta svaki pojedini član kao i čitavo obrazloženje.⁸⁷

Vladi i kralju su stizale rezolucije sa organiziranih zborova svećenika i protesti protiv prijedloga dra Gavrančića iz raznih dijeceza Jugoslavije. U jednom protestu se kaže da je ovaj prijedlog u „teškoj opreci sa osnovnim načelima građanskih sloboda, koje su zajamčene ustavom, i da se time pogadja red, prezastužan za vjerski i čudoredni odgoj hrvatskog naroda, kao i za uzgoj njegovih najstarijih literarnih velikana“. U drugome se traži od vlade i Narodne skupštine da se „u interesu pravde, međusobne ljubavi i vjerskog mira u državi odbije prijedlog o izgonu Isusovaca, kao što je odmah iza prikaza bio odbijen prijedlog zakona o rastavi Crkve i Države“.⁸⁸

Dakako, i na suprotnoj strani se nije mirovalo. U neklerikalnoj štampi se kroz nekoliko sedmica o jezuitima više pisalo i polemiziralo nego ranije decenijama. Oživjela se uspomena na boravak Isusovaca u hrvatskim stranama i o aferama u vezi s njihovim odgojem u Požegi, Dubrovniku, Kraljevici i o njihovom sramotnom bijegu. Iscrpno se objašnjavala moralka Alfonza Liguorija kao i sav historijski splet zakulisnog djelovanja jezuita u Evropi u prošlim stoljećima. Za neobaviještene bila su sasvim neobična saznanja da

⁸⁶ Zavjetna procesija Zagrepčana u Remete. „Katolički list“ 1933., br. 8, 83.

⁸⁷ Stjepan Bakšić, Zašto Isusovce tjeraju u progonstvo? „Katolički list“ 1933., br. 8, Petar Grabić, Humanitarna i pravna podloga zakon. prijedloga dr. Gavrančića i drugova o izgonu Isusovaca. „Katolički list“ 1933., br. 8, 79-80.

⁸⁸ Izjave svećenstva... „Katolički list“ 1933., br. II, 121-122.

have deeply hurt our religious feelings and publicly attacked everything that is sacred to us. The draft law on the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Yugoslavia is the latest, most hostile challenge of the Parliament in Belgrade against us. Msgr. particularly insisted on unconditional obedience to the Holy Father, which was the main motivation of Dr. Gavrančitch to submit that draft law. For the Monsignor unconditional obedience to the Holy Father is the greatest honor for the members of that order and a proof that a true spirit of the Church is living in them.“ Msgr. Beluhan continued his sermon by recalling the merits of the Jesuits for Croatian culture and praising their present work as leaders of 17 different Congregations of the Holy Mary in Zagreb, as editors of journals and other publications and as very active in the pastoral field. Actually, the Monsignor admitted that: „the Jesuits are at the heart of all organized work of the CATHOLIC ACTION.“⁸⁶

Dr. Stjepan Bakshitch (Bakšić) university professor and Fra Petar Grabitch (Grabić) published in KATOLIČKI LIST the draft law and from the clerical point of view refuted each of its articles and the Justification.⁸⁷

The Government and the King were overwhelmed with protests against the draft law, coming from numerous Catholic dioceses in Yugoslavia. In one protest the draft law is qualified as „a gross violation of the fundamental freedoms of the citizens, guaranteed by the Constitution and an attack against a Society which has great merits for the religious and secular education of all Croats, including their outstanding writers of the older generation. The other protest requests the Government and the National Assembly to reject the draft law on behalf of justice, mutual love and religious peace in the country, as was the case with the draft law on the separation of church and state.“⁸⁸

The other side did not sit with its arms crossed either, but reacted in its way. A few weeks later the non-clerical press devoted to the Jesuits more attention and polemical articles than decades ago. The topics were the revived memories of their scandals in Poszega (Požega), Dubrovnik, Kraljevitza (Kraljevica), and their shameful escape. The Moral Principles of Alfonzo Liguoria and all underground machinations of the Jesuits in Europe during

su se protiv jezuita izjašnjavali ne samo napredniji mislioci, nego se među njihovim protivnicima našlo i papa, kardinala, nadbiskupa, biskupa, kano-nika, katolički univerziteti, profesori bogoslovije i crkvene historije, brojni svećenici, katolički vladari, državnici i političari.

Da bi bila posve jasna ova teza dosta je bilo upozoriti na obrazloženje pape Klementa XIV., kad je 21. VII 1773. ukinuo jezuitski red sa znamenitim breveom „Dominus ac redemptor noster“. Papa Klement XIV. je priznao da su se uzalud trudili njegovi prethodnici da uklone tolike optužbe protiv toga reda. I njegovom prethodniku Klementu XIII podnijet je, kao i njemu prijedlog, da Kršćanskom svijetu neće biti vraćen mir, dok se ne ukine jezuitski red. Kad je to njemu učinjeno, a tom su se prijedlogu „pridružili mnogi biskupi i drugi po položaju i učenosti i pobožnosti odlični muževi“, to se on poslije zrelog razmišljanja želeći crkvi da povрати pravi i trajni mir, „diže i ukida rečenu družbu, sve njihove urede i službe, njihove domove i škole, kolegija“.⁸⁹ Ovaj Klementov breve potvrdio je i njegov nasljednik Pio VI, sa tri kasnija brevea 1783, jer „nikada nije na to pomislio i neće nikada na to misliti, da učini ma i najmanji prigovor tom dekretu“.⁹⁰

Poslije sloma francuske revolucije i pada Napoleona, a iza povratka reakcije, Pije VII 1814. vraća sa bulom „Sollicitudo omnium“ red Družbe Isusove a s time i nove stalne borbe u i izvan krila katoličke crkve. I doista, još od vremena osnivača reda Ignacija Loyole, kad se 1554. izjasnila protiv reda pariska Sorbona, „koji je postao opasan za vjeru i sposoban da ugrozi mir crkve... sposoban više za razaranje nego za podizanje“, a tom se mišljenju pridružio pariski nadbiskup i više francuskih biskupa.⁹¹ Nije čudo da se od 1814. dižu sve novi i novi prigovori djelovanju jezuita u Evropi. Nije nikakvo iznenađenje da su i najveći umovi Hrvatske – Preradović, Strossmayer, Rački, Nodilo, Radić i toliki drugi – zazirali od njih i u mnogo ih slučajeva pobijali.

Jezuitizam i hrvatski klerikalizam u stvari su i prije, a naročito poslije 1900., sinonimni pojmovi. Hrvatski jezuitizam bio je osnovni nosilac hrvatskog klerikalizma i poticatelj svih antijugoslavenskih i antiliberalnih akcija hrvatskih klerikalaca. Jer, hrvatski klerikalizam prekaljen jezuitskim duhom bio je uvjerenja da je ispravno naučanje jezuite Ota Zimmermanna koji je formulirao tezu, da je „bezvjerstvo uvijek u tomu ako se narodnost ne podlo-

⁸⁶ „THE PROCESSION FROM ZAGREB TO REMETE, „KATOLIČKI LIST“, 1033, no.8, p.83.

⁸⁷ Stjepan Bakshitch: WHY EXPEL THE JESUITS? (Stjepan Bakšić: Žasto Isusovce tjeraju u progonstvo?“ „KATOLIČKI LIST“, 1933, no. 8, Petar Grabitch: „THE HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL BASIS OF THE DRAFT LAW ON EXPULSION OF JESUITS“ (Petar Grabić: „Humanitarna i pravna podloga zakon. prijedloga Dr. Gavrančića i drugova o izgonu Isusovaca), „KATOLIČKI LIST“, 1933, n.8, pp.79-80.

⁸⁸ „THE PRIEST SAY...“ „KATOLIČKI LIST“, 1933, no. II., pp.121-122.

⁸⁹ August Theiner, Geschichte des Pontifikats Klements XIV. Paris–Leipzig, II, 356–376.

⁹⁰ August Theiner, Geschichte des Pontifikats Klements XIV. Paris–Leipzig, II, 506.

⁹¹ Stjepan Zagorac, O jezuitima. „Starokatolik“ 1933., br. 3, 3–4.

the past centuries were analyzed and explained in detail. The average readers were appalled to learn that in the past not only progressive intellectuals, but also one Pope, several Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, Canons and the Catholic University, professors of theology and Church history, numerous priests, Sovereign of Catholic religion, statesmen and politicians were against the Jesuits.

It is noteworthy to recall the explanation of Pope Clemens XIV for abolishing the Society of Jesus (on the 17-th of July, 1773) by his famous Brevet „Dominus ac redemptor noster“. Clemens XIV admitted that his predecessors in vain tried hard to keep the accusations against the Jesuits under cover. His predecessor, Clemens XIII was also asked to abolish the Society of Jesus for the sake of peace in the Christian world. When he received the same request supported by „many Bishops and other respectful personalities known as outstanding scholars and devoted Catholics „after having thoroughly considered the matter“, he decided to abolish the Society of Jesus and all its services, centers, schools and collegiums for the sake of a permanent and true piece in the Church.“⁸⁹ This Brevet was later approved by his successor, Pius VI and reinforced by three more Brevets he issued in 1783 „to prove that he had no objection whatsoever to the Brevet issued by Clemens XIII.“⁹⁰

After the French Revolution, the fall of Napoleon and restoration of reactionary forces Pius VII in 1814 with his Bulla on „Sollicitudo omnium“ restored the Society of Jesus and thus revived permanent conflicts inside and outside the Catholic Church. It is interesting to note that at the time when Loyolla founded the Society of Jesus the Paris Sorbonne was against it „as dangerous for the religion and a threat to peace in the Church, more capable to destroy than build.“

The Bishop of Paris and several French Bishops gave support to that view.⁹¹ As of 1814 the number of protests against the Jesuits has been constantly increasing. It is not surprising that the most outstanding Croats-Preradovitch, Strossmayer, Rachky, Nodilo, Raditch and many others did not trust them and in many cases were even against them.

Jesuitism and Croatian clericalism before, and particularly after 1900 are one and the same. Actually, Croatian Jesuitism was the main promoter of Croatian clericalism and the master brain of all anti-Yugoslav and anti-liberal activities of Croatian Clericals. Imbued with the spirit of Jesuitism.

⁸⁹ August Theiner: GESCHICHTE DES PONTIFIKATS KLEMENS XIV, Paris-Leipzig, II, pp. 356-376.

⁹⁰ August Theiner: GESCHICHTE DES PONTIFIKATS KLEMENS XIV, Paris-Leipzig, II, p 506.

⁹¹ Stjepan Zagorac: „ABOUT JESUITS“, „STAROKATOLIK“, 1933, no. 3, pp.3-4.

ži vjeri... Ako dođe do opreke između prave vjere i narodnosti mora vazda da ustukne narodnost...⁹²

Unatoč odlučnom stavu napredne jugoslavenske javnosti klerikalci su uspjeli kao i 1918. Samo je tada 1918. izašlo u susret nadbiskupu Baueru Narodno vijeće u Zagrebu, a sada 1933. kralj Aleksandar, koji nije imao odvažnosti da izvede ovakav odlučan potez. Jer pod njegovim sugestijama Gavrančičev predlog nikad nije stavljen na dnevni red u Narodnoj skupštini. Za ovaj njegov postupak odužio mu se naročito blagodarnošću nekadašnji jezuitski pitomac travničke gimnazije Ante Pavelić, kao organizator marseljskog atentata. Sam pak dr. Oton Gavrančić, za svoj pothvat bio je nagrađen kada je u NDH oživotvorena jezuitska „Civitas Dei“ konfiniranim prostorom u jasenovačkom logoru u strahovitoj „žici“ u kojoj je podnio smrt na način kakvu nisu mogle izmisliti ni najbudnije fantazije Velikog Inkvizitora.⁹³

U Narodnoj skupštini još se u nekoliko prilika raspravljalo o antisokolskoj poslanici prilikom budžetske debate u vezi sa predlogom ministra za fizički odgoj naroda. Još je jednom niz poslanika uzeo u obranu sokolstvo, njegovu akciju kao i svu nepatriotsku pozadinu koja je stajala iza episkopatske akcije.

U toku diskusije uzeo je o toj stvari riječ i predsjednik vlade dr. Milan Srškić 16. III 1933. i obilježio stav vlade u pitanju pravnih i političkih odnosa države prema katoličkoj crkvi. Dr. Srškić je odbio mišljenja episkopata da je katolička crkva gonjena u Jugoslaviji ukazujući da je upravo radi katoličke crkve mijenjano školsko zakonodavstvo, da su zadržane sve konfesionalne škole i da se u pitanju rješavanja dalmatinskog agrara crkva oslobodila plaćanja prinosa u kolonizacioni fond, čime se obezbjedila na 20% veća odšteta za crkvena imanja. Što se tiče fizičkog odgoja omladine ona ju je neutralizirala ali ne može dopustiti da nosi vjersku oznaku. Jednako je uzeo riječ i dr. Lavoslav Hanžek, ministar za fizički odgoj koji je još jednom polemizirao sa episkopatom, i branio Tyrša i njegovu ideologiju koja se prema mišljenju izvjesnih čeških svećenika ne protivi vjerskim načelima. Dr. Hanžek je u cjelosti analizirao poslanicu i u svim njenim detaljima označio je kao promašenu, zadržavši se naročito na stavu biskupa Srebrnića. Dr. Hanžek je pri kraju podvukao činjenicu da je za SKJ od velike važnosti kao i najbolja moralna pomoć i satisfakcija što su povodom episkopatske poslanice izjavili svoju solidarnost sa SKJ češki i poljski sokolski savezi. A poljski sokolski savez jednom

⁹² Stjepan Zagorac, O jezuitima, 4.

⁹³ Vidi posljednje poglavlje: „Krvava žetva.“

Croatian clericals fully subscribed to the view of Jesuit Otto Zimmerman who said: „Faithless are those who are not subservient to their faith..... In case of conflict between the national and religious interests it is the religious that always prevails over the national...”⁹²

In spite of a resolute support to the draft law by the progressive Yugoslav public opinion like in 1918 the clericals won the day. Only in 1918 it was the NARODNO VJEĆE (the National Council) in Zagreb that yielded to the pressure of Archbishop Bauer, and now, in 1933 King Aleksandar was too permissive. Actually, at the suggestion of the King the proposal of the draft law submitted by Dr Gavrančitch was not put on the Agenda of the National Assembly. Ante Pavelitch (Pavelić) organizer of the assassination of the King in Marseilles, a former pupil of the high school in Travnik, sponsored by Jesuits, paid him due tribute for drafting that law. When the fascist NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA was founded and the Jesuit „Civitas Dei“ re-established Dr. Oton Gavrančitch was taken to the extermination camp of JASENOVAC (Yasenovatz) and died a horrendous death beyond imagination of the most pathological mind of the Inquisition.⁹³

The National Assembly had the anti-Sokol Epistle several more times on its Agenda, and particularly in connection with the budget for physical education. A significant number of the Members of Parliament stood up in defense of the Sokols and its activities and condemned the anti-patriotic background of the Epistle.

In his address to the Assembly on the 16-th of March, 1933, Prime Minister Dr. Milan Srshkitch (Srškić) defined the views of the Government on the legal and political relations between the State and Church. The Prime Minister rejected the accusation of the Catholic church that it is persecuted in Yugoslavia emphasizing that even the Law on Education was changed for the sake of the Catholic church, that all confessional schools are in place, that regarding the problem of church land property in Dalmatia the church no longer has to pay the contribution to the colonist fund (kolonizacioni fond), which has increased the compensation for church land by 20%. Regarding the physical education of youth the Prime Minister emphasized that according to the law it is to be neutral and without any religious symbols.

In his statement Dr. Lavoslav Hanzsek (Hanžek) argued with the Episcopate and defended Tyrsh and his ideology which, according to some Czech priests is not contrary to the religious principles. Dr. Hanzsek made a

je blagoslovio i sam Sveti Otac papa smatrajući ga kao besprikorno katoličko društvo!⁹⁴ Izgledalo, da je za obranu SKJ potrebna i ovakva argumentacija!

Ovim je sa službene strane bio obilježen stav vlade prema episkopatskoj poslanici, popustljiv u školskim stvarima, a odmjerjen i odlučan u pitanju fizičkog odgoja naroda. Poslije toga, još se javljaju samo posljednji refleksi ove borbe koji su ukazali da se i agresivni i militantni klerikalizam začas stao povlačiti iz prvih linija. Vidjelo se to naročito u vezi sa suđenjem koje je izazvala tužba SKJ pred Sreskim sudom I u Zagrebu. Zastupnik tužitelja bio je dr. Oto Gavrančić i on je optužio episkopat zbog kleveta u samoj poslanici. Kako episkopat nije mogao da nastupi dokaz istine, zaklonio se za propise 120. kanona crkvenog zakonika da tužitelji ne mogu uopće podizati nika-kve tužbe protiv episkopata bez prethodnog dopuštenja Svete Stolice, niti u krivičnoj a niti u civilnoj stvari. 15. maja 1933. raspravljao je Sreski sud I u Zagrebu o prigovoru episkopatskog zastupnika o nenadležnosti toga suda i našao je da taj kanon Crkvenog zakonika nije u skladu niti sa glavom XXVIII krivičnog zakona, a niti sa krivičnim postupnikom, koji nemaju takve ustanove. Štoviše, oni je isključuju. Okrivljeni su se biskupi pozvali i na takozvani privilegium fori starog austrijsko-vatikanskog konkordata, po kojem se krivične stvari protiv biskupa izuzimaju iz nadležnosti građanskih sudova, a biskupima sudi Sveta Stolica u zajednici sa vladarom. Time su se biskupi pozvali na kompetenciju crkvenog suda i u krivičnim stvarima. Međutim sud je našao da je taj privilegij pripadao po tom konkordatu Svetoj Stolic i tadanjem austrijskom caru i kralju ugarskom, ali taj privilegij nije nikakvim državnim zakonom niti međunarodnim ugovorom između Svete Stolice i kraljevine Jugoslavije priznat kralju Jugoslavije, pošto između njih ne postoji nikakav konkordat. A što se tiče samog austrijskog konkordata, isti je ukinut još 1870., kad ga je austrougarska monarhija otkazala. Osim toga, taj konkordat u ovim ustanovama dokinut je i ustanovom § 3., odj. I Kriv. zakona koji kaže: „Na svakoga ko učini u kraljevini Jugoslaviji krivično djelo primjenit će se ovakav zakon“ t. j. krivični zakon, razumljivo je da okrivljeni nemaju eksteritorijalni položaj, već ga imaju samo ona lica, koja taj zakon naročito spominju. Specijalno je pak taj konkordat dokinut u onim ustanovama na koje se okrivljeni pozivaju u svom prigovoru nenadležnosti sa ustanovama glave XVIII Kriv. zakona koje govore o krivičnim djelima državnih službenika i vjerskih predstavnika.

Već ovim faktom da su se biskupi zaklonili za taj nekadašnji austrijski privilegij, strahujući da izađu pred sud na kome su morali položiti dokaze za

⁹² Idem, 4.

⁹³ See the last chapter of THE BLOODY HARVEST.

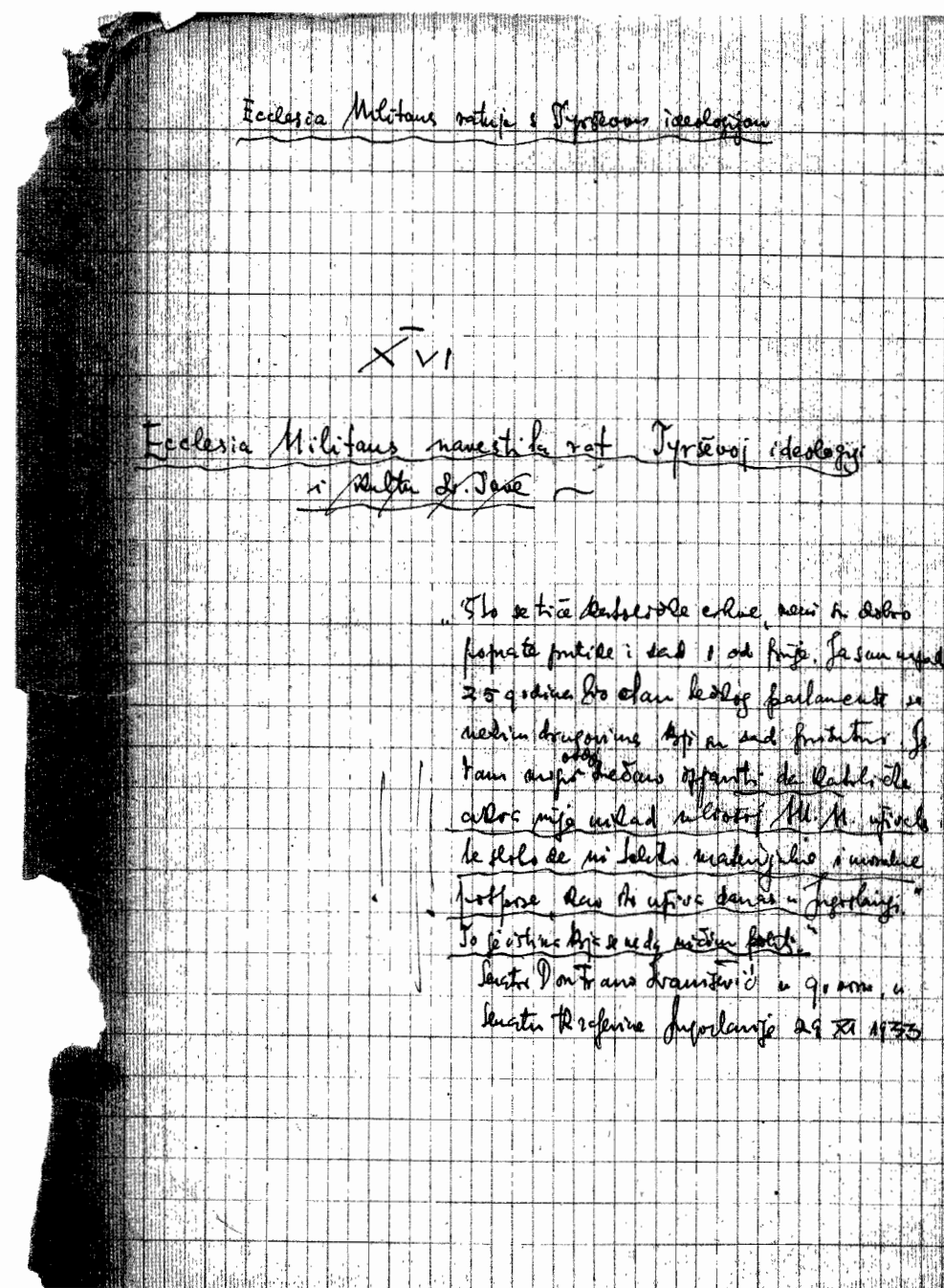
⁹⁴ Sokolstvo u budžetskoj debati Narodne skupštine kraljevine Jugoslavije. Ljubljana 1933., 7–31.

detailed analysis of the Epistle, particularly the views of Bishop Srebrnitch, and concluded that the Epistle was a failure. At the end Dr. Hanszek emphasized the importance of the Sokols of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and expressed his thanks to the Polish Sokols for their solidarity with the Yugoslav Sokols against the Epistle. The Minister recalled that once the Holy Father himself blessed the Polish Sokols regarding them as a Catholic sports society without reproach!⁹⁴ In defense of the Sokols, evidently it was necessary to recall all these details!

This was the official attitude towards the Epistle. Some concessions have been made in allowing confessional schools to continue their work, but there was no concession with regard to physical education on the national level. The last echoes of this conflict indicated that even the most aggressive, militant clericalism was on the defensive. It became particularly evident with regard to the charge the Sokols brought against the Episcopate filed with the First District Court in Zagreb. Dr. Gavranichitch, the attorney for the Sokols accused the Episcopate for insult in the Epistle. Since the Episcopate had no proofs for its statement in the Epistle it referred itself to the Church Canon no. 120 according to which it is not possible to file a charge, civil or criminal, against the Episcopate without previous approval of the Holy See. The court hearing took place on the 15-th of May, 1933 before the First District Court in Zagreb. The objection of the defense attorney was rejected and the Court established that Canon no.120 was not in line with Chapter XXVIII of the Yugoslav Criminal Law and it (the Court) has to comply only with its own Rules of Procedure. The bishops then referred themselves to PRIVILEGIUM FORI provided for by the old Concordat between Austria and the Vatican, according to which the Bishops can be only charged before the Holy See and the Monarch, and not before regular civil courts. But this was not an international agreement, nor an agreement with the Kingdom Of Yugoslavia. Moreover it was abrogated in 1870 by the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy. This outdated Concordat is not in line with paragraph 3. I of the Criminal Law which says that „this Law applies to all who commit a criminal violation in Yugoslavia“, which means that the indicted do not enjoy the ex-territorial status. The ex-territorial status enjoy only those expresis verbis mentioned in the Law. Chapter XVIII of the Criminal Law applies to all state employees and representatives of the church.

Afraid to appear before court, due to lack of evidence, the bishops decided to take advantage of the previous Austrian privilege, which left a bad

⁹⁴ „THE SOKOLS AND THE DEBATE ON THE BUDGET IN THE ASSEMBLY OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA“ (Sokolstvo u budžetskoj debati Narodne skupštine Kraljevine Jugoslavije), Ljubljana, 1933., pp. 7-31.



Originalni rukopis izostavljenog poglavlja V. Novaka
V. Novak's original manuscript of the omitted chapter

impression on the Yugoslav public opinion. It was also a hard blow on the Yugoslav Episcopate. Again, under the pressure of the King to withdraw the charge for gross insult the Sokol decided to comply. On the 15-th of May Dr Goranchitch on behalf of the Sokol declared that the incriminated did not withdraw their insults, nor offered any satisfaction customary in similar situations:

„We note that they have not even tried to produce evidence before this Court for their insults in the Epistle, which proves that the insults are groundless. For us it means moral satisfaction because the indicted would have been condemned. But owing to their high position in church hierarchy and society and in view of the above conclusion we withdraw our charge.“⁹⁵

The Sokols negatively reacted to both interventions of the King in favor of the Episcopate and were unhappy about the course of action in this regard. In their view the Episcopate did not deserve such permissiveness.

At the moment when the conflict seemed to be over a new sting came from abroad and unmasked the true enemy of the Sokols and who was behind the Croatian and Slovenian Episcopate in Yugoslavia. Namely, at the meeting of the League of Nations the Italian delegates raised the issue of the Sokol Alliance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and in the discussion vehemently accused only Yugoslavia of being a hotbed of imperialism and as such a threat to its neighbors. Fearing the strength of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia the Italian delegates requested the Sokols to be considered as part of active army. Thus, the official Italian delegates revealed that their views on the Sokols are identical with those presented in their press, the press which was the first to publish the anti-Sokol Epistle and on that ground accuse the Sokol Alliance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia of being a threat to peace of Yugoslav neighbors, Italy in particular. PICCOLO DELLA SERA, (Trieste) raised the same issue discussing the confessional and ethnical circumstances in Yugoslavia in the spirit and tone of the Yugoslav clerical enemies of the Sokols. These articles actually preceded the discussion in Geneva. Obviously, a continuous anti-Sokol campaign of the enemies of the Sokol ideology in Yugoslavia was closely connected with the campaign against the state of Yugoslavia. This attack was particularly vehement because it came from the official state representatives from the rostrum of the League of Nations, an international institution of the highest level.

⁹⁵ „NOVOSTI“, May 16, 1933.

svaku inkriminiranu tvrdnju, oslabio je njihov moralni stav pred svom jugoslavenskom javnošću. To je bio veoma težak udar za jugoslavenski episkopat. I opet pod uticajem krune, SKJ odlučio se da povuče tužbu i da ne insistira na izvođenje pred sud okrivljenih biskupa zbog teške optužbe: klevete. 15. maja izjavio je pred sudom zastupnik tužitelja dr. Gavrančić, da optuženi nisu opozvali svoje klevete, niti su dali onu zadovoljštinu koja se obično smije očekivati i koja se daje u takvim slučajevima.

„Konstatiramo da nisu ni pokušali dokazati svoje objede, koje su iznijeli u biskupskoj poslanici proti nama, čime je pred ovim sudom utvrđeno da njihove objede objektivno nisu istinite. Na osnovu ovih konstatacija smatramo da smo dobili moralnu nezadovoljštinu, jer bi tuženi morali biti osuđeni. No s obzirom na visoki položaj optuženih u crkvi i društvu i s obzirom na njihovu gornju izjavu ne tražimo da oni budu kažnjeni i povlačimo svoju tužbu.“⁹⁵

Oba ova postupka kralja Aleksandra, kad je intervenirao u korist episkopata u Skupštini i pred sudom, bila su u sokolskim redovima primljena negodovanjem i žaljenjem, u uvjerenju da episkopat nije zaslužio ovoliku obazrivost poslije svih svojih postupaka.

U trenutku, kad je izgledalo da će se čitava stvar stišati, još je jednom ona buknila kad je dato toj borbi protiv jugoslavenskog sokola osvetljenje koje je došlo izvana i koje je pokazalo ko je pravi neprijatelj sokolske ideje, na protivnika, s kojim se i ispred koga se našao hrvatsko-slovenski episkopat. Naime o SKJ povelj su riječ na sjednici Društva naroda talijanski delegati na konferenciji za razoružanje. Oni su povelj jednu veoma oštru i unaprijed sračunatu kampanju protiv SKJ, obilježavajući time samu Jugoslaviju kao žarište imperijalističkih težnji, opasnost za mir sa susjedima. Talijanski delegati u strahu od jugoslavenske vojske zahtijevali su da se SKJ uračuna u opće efektive vojske. Tako su talijanski službeni faktori pokazali da imaju o SKJ jednako neprijateljsko mišljenje kao i njihova štampa. Ona ista koja je *prva* objavila postojanja antisokolske poslanice i iskoristila ju je prikazujući SKJ kao ustanovu opasnu za mir jugoslavenskih susjeda, naročito Italije. Isti je problem ponovo potegnuo u diskusiju tršćanski „Piccolo della Sera“, govoreći o konfesionalnim i etničkim prilikama u Jugoslaviji, u duhu i tonu jugoslavenskih klerikalnih protivnika SKJ. A upravo ovo pisanje predhodi- lo je ataku u Ženevi. Dakle, stalno jedna smišljena i upadljiva povezanost i podudarnost akcija neprijateljskih jugoslavenskoj ideologiji sokola, u stvari neprijateljski samoj Jugoslaviji. Ovaj napad bio je izuzetno težak. Jer on je

⁹⁵ „Novosti“ 16. V. 1933.

„From a lofty rostrum the official representatives of one country were impudent enough to present before an outstanding international forum a totally biased and groundless view. But, in spite of being groundless, in view of the place from which the attack on the Yugoslav Sokols was launched and the style of its wording this accusation produces an even more serious effect.“ These are the words of Dr. Milan Dragitch who further on spoke about the seven decades long history of the Sokols in Slavic countries and emphasized that the basic features of their ideology and the main ideals of their founder-Tyrsh are humanism and democracy. Nationalism of the Sokols is not based on hatred. It is based on love and has nothing to do with chauvinism. And above all, the attack on this organization came from the delegates of fascist Italy whose Duce sent the following message to Italian youth:

„Love your guns, adore machine guns and always have in mind the dagger... Learn to hate!“ Carlo Sforza, leader of Italian fascist youth, has the following advise: „It is mean not to hate the enemy. Fascism must vehemently hate its enemies and openly express this hatred. Hatred for the enemies of fascism is the noblest form of its defense. Fascism is a purely religious idea. Fascism wants to draw its inspiration from those moments in history when both the cross and dagger, poison and torture were used and burning at the stake and expulsion practiced. Fascism should adhere to this school of thought-the school of overwhelming hatred. It is primarily the young generation that should be raised in that spirit if the young are to become an army- the fascist army.“ In his message to the girls Turatti said: „You will be good mothers only if aware that your children are primarily born to serve the country and fight its wars. The loftiest ideal of fascism is to see girls competing in target shooting.“ The insurmountable gap between the ideology of the Sokols and the ideology of fascism was further increased by Mussolini's following message: „War implies a paramount effort of overall human energy and ennobles the people brave enough to engage in it.“⁹⁶

Italy was, actually on the verge of war against Abyssinia (Ethiopia) with the support of the Catholic church in Italy. This was the reason for attacking the neighbor who did not approve imperialism and was ready to militarily oppose it. The Catholic church did not pronounce an anathema on this new fascist religion based on hatred, threatening with burning at the stake, expulsion, torture, poison and the holy dagger as it did in case of the Sokols.

⁹⁶ Milorad Dragitch: „ITALIAN DELEGATES IN GENEVA AND THE YUGOSLAV SOKOLS (Milorad Dragić, Talijanski delegati u Ženevi i jugoslavensko sokolstvo).

dolazio od službenih predstavnika jedne države, a učinjen je pred forumom najviše međunarodne institucije Društva naroda. „Pred delikatnim forumom na nedelikatni način službeni predstavnici jedne zemlje iznijeli su jednu tezu, lišenu svake objektivnosti i realnosti. Zbog mjesta i načina, na koji je izvršen, ovaj napad na sokolstvo izuzetno je težak, pored svega toga što ga prosti argumenti istine lišavaju svake vrijednosti“. Dr. Milan Dragić, čije su ovo misli, ukazao je na sedam punih decenija rada slovenskog sokolstva sa njegovim humanističkim idealizmom i demokratizmom, vođenog stalno duhom osnivača Tyrša. Sokolski nacionalizam nije baziran na mržnji, nego na ljubavi i nema ničeg šovinističkog. I ovakvu su ustanovu napali delegati fašističke Italije, čiji je šef, uputio omladini ovakav savjet:

„Ljubite pušku, obožavajte mitraljeze, a ne zaboravite ni sveti ubod... Naučite mrziti!“ Carlo Sforza, vođa fašističke omladine govoreći omladini i poučavajući je rekao je i ovo: „Podlost je ne mrziti svoje protivnike. Fašizam mora bijesno da mrzi svoga protivnika, tu svoju mržnju mora vidljivo pokazati. Mržnja prema protivnicima fašizma to je najplemenitiji oblik obrane fašističke ideje, koja je čisto religiozna ideja. Fašizam hoće da se ugleda na onaj momenat historije, kada se prihvatio mača i krsta, kada se služio lomačom i progonstvom, mučenjem i otrovom. Fašizam treba da se ugleda na ovu školu nesnošljivosti i mržnje. U prvom redu tim duhom treba da se inspirira mlada generacija, ako želi da postane vojska – fašizma.“ Turatti je pak poručio mladim djevojkama: „Vi ćete biti dobre majke, koje će znati da se djeca rađaju u prvome redu za domovinu i za rat. Takmičenje djevojaka u pucanju, to je najbolji simbol onog cilja za kojim teži fašizam.“ Ovu fašističku ideologiju, toliko suprotnu sokolskoj dopunja i Mussolini kad kaže: „Rat dovodi do najvećeg naponu svih ljudskih energija i daje pečat plemenitosti onim narodima koji imaju hrabrosti da zagaze u rat.“⁹⁶

Jer se Italija spremala za rat sa Abesinijom, za koji i u kome joj je pomogla u Italiji katolička crkva, trebalo je napadati sve one ustanove koje takvom imperijalizmu na granicama stoje u borbenom stavu. Ta nova fašistička religija koja se oduševljava mržnjom, lomačom, progonstvom, mučenjem, otrovom i svetim ubodom, nije bila anatemirana od talijanskog episkopata kao što je to bilo jugoslavensko sokolstvo. U istom koru nalaze se Mussolini, Sforza, Turatti, „Corriere della Sera“, „Piccolo della Sera“, „La Vedetta d'Italia“, „Lavoro Fascista“ sa ostalim fašističkim listovima, talijanski delegati u

⁹⁶ Milorad Dragić, Talijanski delegati u Ženevi i jugoslavensko sokolstvo.

Mussolini, Sforza, Turatti, CORRIERE DELA SERA, PICCOLO DELA SERA, LA VEDETA D'ITALIA, LAVORO FASCISTA, and all other fascist newspapers, the Italian delegates in Geneva, the Encyclical, Pius XI, the Catholic Episcopate in Yugoslavia, its Epistle, the whole clerical mechanism and the militant soldiers of the Ecclesia Militantis in Croatia and Slovenia, they were all singing the same song. This noisy maneuver in 1933 was a successful introduction to the later developments as of 1935 and in the period 1941-1945. During one decade only, as off 1933, „fascism as a new religion“ after an inconceivable impetus and ascent, collapsed into the deepest chasm of shame ending up in Dante's „INFERNO.“

In 1933 the National Assembly and the Senate once again discussed the Sokol issue. On the 22-nd of November the Senate discussed the draft law on compulsory physical education, in view of improving the overall health status of the population. Don Frano Ivanishevitch was one of the proponents of that draft law. His speech was imbued with the same spirit in which together with Bishop Uccellini he defended the Sokols in February of the same year. He also mentioned the anti-Sokol Epistle, the negative effects of which were prevented thanks to the awakened awareness and vigilance of Yugoslav citizens. It is interesting to note that in his speech don Ivanishevitch accused Bishop Srebrnitch of being the main author of the Epistle and also explained the anti-Sokol views of Archbishop Sharitch.

„The Austrian rule in Bosnia was based on the religious factor... The first and foremost aim of Austrian policy in Bosnia was to instigate the conflict among the 400.000 Catholics, 600.000 Muslims and 800.000 Orthodox Serbs. It was the policy based on the „divide et impera“ principle! People that have lived all their lives under such circumstances are biased, which is understandable.... I am against the methods which the defunct a-national and to us hostile Austria-Hungarian Monarchy used to implement... Therefore, I think that the understanding of the notion of church and state and the notion of religion and fatherland should be brought into harmony..

As far as the Catholic Church is concerned I am very well acquainted with its past and present situation. Together with some of my colleagues present here 25 years ago I was Member of the Parliament in Vienna. Therefore, on the ground of my personal knowledge and experience I can solemnly declare here and now that in the former Austria-Hungarian Monarchy the Catholic Church did not enjoy nearly as much freedom and moral and material support as now in

Ženevi, Enciklika Pie XI, jugoslavenski episkopat sa svojom poslanicom i sa čitavom klerikalnom armaturom i bojnim redovima hrvatske i slovenske Ecclesiae Militantis. Bio je to vanredno uspao bučni manevar 1933. kao priprema za događaje od 1935. i u Jugoslaviji od 1941. do 1945. Tako se u jednom decenijskom rasponu od 1933. pa dalje „nova religija – fašizam“ razmahala u svoj najsilovitiji uspon ali i najsramotniju kataklizmu, povukavši za sobom u provalije Danteovog „Inferna“ i – „novu religiju – fašizam“.

Iste 1933. još se jednom raspravljalo u Narodnoj skupštini kao i u Senatu po ovom pitanju i problemima vezanima sa sokolskom ustanovom. 22. novembra raspravljalo se u Senatu o zakonskom predlogu o obaveznom tjelesnom odgoju, koji bi imao za cilj da putem fizičkog odgoja poradi na poboljšanju općeg narodnog zdravlja. Među predlagateljima toga zakonskog predloga bio je i senator don Frano Ivanišević. Prvi govor kojim se je Ivanišević u Senatu istakao dodirnuo je ovo pitanje u istom onom duhu kakvim je prožeo svoje misli kad je mjeseca februara zajedno sa biskupom Uccellinijem branio Sokol. Dakako on se dodirnuo i antisokolske poslanice čije je zle tendencije odbila i ugušila probuđena svijest Jugoslavena. Zanimljivo je da je u svom velikom govoru Ivanišević označio krčkog biskupa Srebrnića kao prvog inicijatora, kao što je objasnio i neprijateljski stav nadbiskupa Šarića.

„Austrijska vladavina u Bosni bazirala je na skroz konfesionalnom temelju... Sva politika austrijska u Bosni sastojala se u tome kako će podupirati borbu između 400.000 katolika, 600.000 muslimana i 800.000 pravoslavnih Srba. To je ona poznata politika: „divide et impera“! Razumljivo je da ljudi koji su proveli vijek u takvim prilikama gledaju na stvari jednostrano... Nikako ne odobravam da se metode koje su se primjenjivale u bivšoj anacionalnoj i nama neprijateljskoj Austro-ugarskoj monarhiji... Stoga je bilo potrebno da se stavi u harmoniju i pojam crkve i države, i pojam vjere i domovine... Što se tiče katoličke crkve, meni su dobro poznate prilike i sad i od prije. Ja sam nazad 25 godina bio član bečkog parlamenta sa nekim mojim drugovima koji su ovdje prisutni. Ja vam mogu ovdje svečano izjaviti da katolička crkva nije nikad u bivšoj Austrougarskoj monarhiji uživala te slobode ni toliko materijalne i moralne potpore kao što danas uživa u Jugoslaviji. (Aplauz i živo odobravanje). To je istina koja se ne da ničim pobiti.“⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Stenografske bilješke Senata kraljevine Jugoslavije. 1933., I, V, 9–12.

Yugoslavia, (A round of applause and approval). There is no argument that could refute that truth."⁹⁷

In his speech don Frano Ivanishevitch was very open and resolute, in spite of the sentence „inflicted“ on him by Bishop Dr. Bonefachitch, which he had to serve in February.

The conflict did not wither away in 1933 but, spilled over to 1934. On behalf of the Episcopate Archbishop Sharitch and Bishop Srebrnitch continued their attacks against the Sokols, to the delight of the fascist press. Since his former attacks on the Sokols were not successful Archbishop Sharitch produced a new accusation „horribile dictu“, according to which the Sokols are not only faithless and impious but also republicans. The whole press reacted accordingly. At the same time Bishop Srebrnitch attacked the Sokols in his Easter Epistle (1934). Thanks to preventive censorship in force the censor deleted many of these attacks. Only the Bishop and the Curia knew about the censorship, but nevertheless very soon LA VEDETTA D'ITALIA, a fascist paper in Rijeka published the news under the sensational title: LA PASQUA CATTOLICA PROIBITA DA BELGRADO! L'APPELLO DEI VESCOVO DI VEGLIA AI FEDELI IMPEDITO DELLA CENSURA JUGOSLAVA – LIBERTA DEMOCRATICHE! (Catholic Easter prohibited by Belgrade! Appeal of the Bishop of Krk to his believers prohibited by the Yugoslav censorship. Democratic freedom!). The source of the news was more than evident and thanks to whom it was announced in the fascist newspaper, including the passages deleted by censorship, known only to the Bishop himself.⁹⁸

Commenting on the attacks of Sharitch, Srebrnitch and the fascist newspaper from Rijeka SOKOLSKI GLASNIK emphasizes the coincidence in time and a common ideological approach of these jointly orchestrated attacks.

„Had we altered the school curriculum in the way the fascist Duce did in Italy before he bought from the Vatican for one billion liras the Lateran Treaties, of crucial importance for his policy, the Italian press would for sure have announced that the Catholic church in Yugoslavia was counting its last days and that in the religious sense we were worse than the Bolsheviks. In our country all are free to celebrate their Easter in the way they choose, whereas in fascist Italy they are allowed to celebrate it only under the insignia of their lictors...“⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Shorthand notes of the Senate of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1933., I, V, 9-12.

⁹⁸ S.Ch.: „THE HARANGUE CONTINUES“ „NOVOSTI“, May 13, 1934.

⁹⁹ Idem.

Don Frano Ivanišević govorio je tako slobodno i odlučno, ma da je mjeseca februara imao da izdrži kaznu kojom ga je nagradio za njegov stav njegov biskup dr. Bonefačić.

Refleksi ovih borbi nisu okončani 1933. Oni se produžavaju i 1934. Od strane episkopata nadbiskup Šarić i biskup Srebrnić dalje su produžili da napadaju Sokol na radost fašističke štampe. Nadbiskup Šarić, videći da ne uspijeva naročito protiv Sokola poslužio se novim sredstvom optuživši sokolstvo da nije samo bezvjersko nego i, horribile dictu, i – republikansko. Ova Šarićeva izjava izazvala je svakovrsne komentare u cjelokupnoj štampi. U isto vrijeme biskup Srebrnić je svoju uskršnju poslanicu (1934.) posvetio opet napadajima na sokolstvo. Kako je postojala preventivna cenzura, to je cenzor znatan dio tih napadaja izbacio. Ma da je ovaj posao cenzuriranja bio poznat samo biskupu i ljudima iz Kurije, o njemu je vrlo brzo progovorila riječka fašistička „La Vedetta d' Italia“ pod alarmantnim naslovom „La Pasqua Cattolica proibita da Belgrado!“ – „L' appello del Vescovo di Veglia ai fedeli impedito dalla censura Jugoslava“ – „Libertà democratiche“. („Katolički uskrs zabranjuje Beograd! – Apel krčkog biskupa vjernicima zabranjen od jugoslavenske cenzure. – Demokratske slobode“.). Naravno, bilo je sasvim jasno odakle je ta vijest potekla i ko ju je dostavio fašističkom listu. Štoviše, fašistički list donio je cenzurirane stavove koje je imao samo biskup.⁹⁸

„Sokolski glasnik“ komentirajući Šarićeve i Srebrnićeve napadaje, kao i riječkog fašističkog lista, ukazuje na podudarnosti, vremensku i idejnu, ovih zajedničkih napadaja.

„Da smo mi ono izbacivali propela iz školskih programa, kako je to učinio vođa fašizma, dok nije kupio od Vatikana milijardama lira potrebni mu Lateranski sporazum, sigurno bi talijanska štampa o tome pisala, kako je u Jugoslaviji katolička crkva u izdisaju, i kako smo u religioznom pogledu gori od boljševika. U našoj zemlji slobodno svetkuje svatko svoj Uskrs kako hoće, a u fašističkoj Italiji samo u znaku liktorskih znakova...“⁹⁹

Sa oba napadaja, nadbiskupa Šarića i biskupa Srebrnića zabavio se SKJ na svojoj godišnjoj skupštini krajem aprila 1934. Zamjenik starješine Gangl veoma je odlučno i oštro odgovorio Šariću kao i Srebrniću.

„Sarajevski vladika ponovno proglašava naše bezvjerstvo kod kuće, a poslanica vladike na Krku otrpnula je preko naše granice i kao crna ptica grabljivica ugnijezdila se u talijanskom novinstvu da

⁹⁸ S. Č., Haranga ne prestaje. „Novosti“ 13. IV. 1934.

⁹⁹ S. Č., Haranga ne prestaje. „Novosti“ 13. IV. 1934.

At the Annual Assembly of the Sokols of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, held in April 1934, Gangl, Deputy leader (zamenik starešine) sharply and openly answered to Sharitch and Srebrnitch:

„The Bishop of Sarajevo accuses us here in Yugoslavia of being faithless and impious and the Epistle of the Bishop of Krk, like a black bird of prey, has flown across the border to build its nest in Italian press and thus, from a safe and comfortable surrounding, conduct its shameful campaign against the Sokols and everything that is Yugoslav! The master brain of this scenario, whoever he might be, has committed a despicable act which we condemn and reject with disgust. The idea of republicanism which Bishop Sharitch is trying to artificially transplant from Tyrsh to the Yugoslav Sokol is utter arrogance which we also condemn and reject with disgust! The Right Reverend does not even try to provide proofs for his statement addressing it to the top level, which makes the deceit even more mean, because there is no proof that the Sokols are impious, from the top to the grass root level. This is the moral of the Jesuits who behave according to the principle that the end justifies the means.“¹⁰⁰

While Sharitch and Srebrnitch continued to unscrupulously attack the Sokols one of the signatories of the Epistle apparently turned away from his colleges. It happened at the Sokol Rally in Petrovaradin, on September 9, 1934. Bishop Akshamovitch did not have a firm stand with regard to the Sokols. Sometimes it was positive and sometimes negative, depending on circumstances. But, on this occasion he was to speak before the King and the Ministers, which means that his words were conceived so as to produce an appropriate effect. However, on this occasion the Janus-faced bishop- chameleon did not behave as a convert who decided to repent for having signed the anti-Sokol Epistle. His speech proves it.

After having paid tribute to „our dear heir to the throne and Leader of the Sokols, Crown Prince Peter“ the Bishop emphasized that it is heroism, a God-given, inborn quality of our people, that inspires the young to join the Sokol movement, which makes the SOKOLS OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA a strong organization... Dear Sokols, boys and girls! Today solemnly entering this home, which, unfortunately is not yet completed, your sacred pledge for life should be to protect, foster and to highest level of

¹⁰⁰ „THE SOKOLS REACT TO ATTACKS“ (Sokolstvo odgovara napadačima), „NOVOSTI“, May 1, 1934.

bi joj lakše i uspješnije bila omogućena sramotna rabota protiv nas sokola, i protiv svega što je naše! Tko je to učinio, izvršio je dvostruko podlo djelo, koje osuđujemo i odbijamo svom odlučnošću i koje možemo da kvitiramo samo najdubljim prezirom. Podmetanje republikanstva, koje biskup dr. Šarić o Tyrševoj sokolskoj ideji prenosi na nas jugoslavenske sokole, drskost je prvoga reda, koju – kako je prije rečeno – odbijamo i osuđujemo svom odlučnošću! To podvaljivanje je utoliko drskije i zlobnije, jer ga taj crkveni dostojanstvenik i ne pokušava da dokaže, i jer ga namjerice i hotimice upravlja gore, kao što je prebačeno ali ne i dokazano, – jer se dokazati ne može sokolsko bezvjerstvo bilo upravljeno dolje, na najšire slojeve, jer bi nas taj crkveni dostojanstvenik htio da onemogući na sve strane i sa svim silama, kojima se služi jezuitski moral, ravčajući se prema načelu, da cilj opravdava sredstvo.“¹⁰⁰

Međutim dok su Šarić i Srebrnić i dalje bezobzirno ustrajali u svom nepomirljivom i neprijateljskom stavu dotle se jedan od potpisnika poslanice okrenuo od svojih drugova. Bilo je to o sokolskim svečanostima u Petrovaradinu održanim 9. septembra 1934. Tada se na njima pojavio đakovački biskup dr. Akšamović, koji je dosad pokazao da ima oprečna gledišta o sokolima i sokolstvu. I povoljno i nepovoljno. Već prema tome kakva je situacija. Sada kada su bili u pitanju izvjesni sekvestri stav će biti zapažen i od kralja kao i resornih ministara. Međutim ovaj kameleonski i janusovski lik biskupa Akšamovića nije ovim govorom pokazao da je biskup konvertita i da se pokajao što je prošle godine potpisao antisokolsku poslanicu.

Veličajući kralja kao i vrhovnoga starješinu SKJ „našeg prijestolonasljednika dragog kraljevića Petra“ i „viteški duh koji je našem narodu urođeni dar od Boga privlači našu mladost u sokolske redove, te Soko kraljevine Jugoslavije stoji danas kao jaka organizacija... Sokoli i sokolice! Kad danas svečano ulazite u svoj dom, koji, istina, nije još potpuno završen, neka vam bude zavjet, svet i trajan: čuvati, njegovati i do heroizma usavršavati duh državnog i narodnog jedinstva pod visokom egidom Nj. V. kralja Aleksandra, a pod vodstvom Nj. Kr. Vis. prijestolonasljednika Petra... Genij roda našeg nije promjenljiv, on ne posrće, ne ide stranputicom, on je od providnosti božje, vodi sigurnim putem. U presudnom dobu svjetskog rata bratska ljubav je povezala, a svršetkom rata ujedinila, Srbe, Hrvate i Slovence u jednu državu svima nama dragu Jugoslaviju...

¹⁰⁰ Sokolstvo odgovara napadačima. „Novosti“ 1. V. 1934.

heroic valor promote the spirit of national and state unity with his Royal Highness at its head... Our national genius is steady and unswerving and with God's blessing always following its straight path. At the crucial moment in history, the First World War, brotherly love brought together all Serbs and the end of that war brought together the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes united in one state-our dear Yugoslavia... In front of all of them I see today the celestial picture of the great hero and Liberator, King Peter I together with the Bishop of Djakovo Strossmayer the great promoter of the idea of Yugoslavism... We should learn from them. Their energy should be the source of our strength and human qualities... etc The rest of the speech was devoted to glorifying the King of Yugoslavia and the Sokols of the Kingdom.¹⁰¹

In the afternoon the ceremony of blessing of the flags took place, after which the Bishop made a short speech.

„Let our King, as a precious gift to all of us, be a lofty inspiration for further development of our Sokols of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Dear Sokols, boys and girls, you will be worthy of the importance vested in you only if you honor and promote the ideas of the Sokol Movement, faithfully and to the point of self-sacrifice. God bless our King and the Royal Family, God bless the Leader of the Sokols of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia Crown Prince Peter and God bless our beautiful and united Kingdom of Yugoslavia“¹⁰²

The speech of Bishop Akshamovitch was a great surprise. He was praised by all and from all sides with great enthusiasm. For most who heard the speech it meant victory. Only a small number of the well informed did not trust the Bishop's words, who ten years later will glorify with the same enthusiasm Dr. Ante Pavelitch, leader of the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War and after the fall of fascism address similar words of praise to Tito, Marshal of Yugoslavia. This meant keeping pace with time out of personal interest and in the interest of the Catholic Church!¹⁰³

His superior, Archbishop Dr Bauer, did not share his view. At the time of the Sokol event in Petrovaradin the Sokols of Karlovatz (Karlovac) invited their priest to bless their Center (Home) in July 1934. The Bishop decided to

¹⁰¹ „THE SPEECH OF BISHOP AKSHAMOVITCH“ (Govor Biskupa Akšamovića), „POLITIKA“, September 10, 1934.

¹⁰² „DEDICATION OF THE SOKOL CENTER AND BLESSING OF THE FLAG IN PETROVARADIN“ (Posvećenje Sokolskog doma i zastave u Petrovaradinu), „POLITIKA“, September 10, 1934.

¹⁰³ See the last chapter of the book BLOODY HARVEST.

Ispred svih mi se danas kao neko posebno nebesko viđenje javlja duh velikog oslobodioca kralja Petra i heroja, u pratnji velikog ideologa jugoslavenske misli biskupa đakovačkog Strossmayera... Njihov rad neka bude naša škola. Njihova energija neka bude naša snaga i naša vrlina... Itd., itd. u veličanju kralja Jugoslavije i Sokola kraljevine Jugoslavije.¹⁰¹

Poslije podne istoga dana bilo je na sletištu osvećenje zastave. Poslije blagoslova održao je biskup jedan kraći govor.

„Ovaj dragocjeni dar, rekao je biskup Nj. V. Kralja, neka bude svijetlo znamenje za razvoj jugoslavenskog sokola. Sokoli i sokolice, zahvalite se dostojno pažnji koja vam je ukazana a to ćete učiniti samo na taj način, ako budete sokolsku ideju čuvali vjerno i požrtvovano. Neka Svevišnji Gospod blagoslovi i poživi našeg kralja, naš kraljevski dom i starješinu Sokola kraljevine Jugoslavije Prijestolonasljednika Petra, našu divnu i nedjeljivu kraljevinu Jugoslaviju!¹⁰²

Svijet je bio iznenađen nad ovim „obraćanjem“ biskupa Akšamovića. Sa svih strana osule su se na ovog đakovačkog biskupa pohvale, priznanja, veličanja i kliktaji pobjede. Samo mali broj upućenih nije povjerovao riječima ovog čovjeka, koji će poslije deset godina jednakom emfazom glorificirati dr. Antu Pavelića, a poslije njegova sloma i maršala Jugoslavije Tita! Dakako, sve to radi ličnih i klerikalnih interesa.¹⁰³

Međutim ovako nije sudio njegov šef na biskupskim konferencijama nadbiskupa dr. Bauera. Upravo tih dana kad su se spremale svečanosti u Petrovaradinu, karlovački sokoli obratili su se svome župniku za dozvolu da im posveti njihov dom mjeseca jula 1934. Župnik se obratio na nadbiskupa, a ovaj je postavio dva uslova koja je trebalo usvojiti pa da izda dozvolu za posvetu. Nadbiskup je zatražio da sokolsko društvo u Karlovcu izda pismenu izjavu da stoji na kršćanskom uzgojnom stanovištu i da iza katoličkog dušobrižnika a ni prije njega niko drugi ne obavlja blagoslov.¹⁰⁴

Ovim svojim stavom nadbiskup je otkrio jednu vrlo važnu pozadinu cjelokupnoga pitanja. Rim nije mogao dopustiti da se pored katoličkog svećenika na istoj svečanosti i pri istom crkvenom činu pojavi koji drugi predstavnik druge vjeroispovijesti. Sokoli su bili spremni da povoljno odgovore na prvi uslov, ali na drugi nisu mogli pristati jer je u društvu bilo članova nekatolika

¹⁰¹ Govor biskupa Akšamovića. „Politika“ 10. IX. 1934.

¹⁰² Posvećenje Sokolskog doma i zastave u Petrovaradinu. „Politika“ 10. IX. 1934.

¹⁰³ Vidi posljednje poglavlje: Krvava žetva.

¹⁰⁴ Interesantna prepiska između Sokola, župnika i nadbiskupa. „Politika“ 1. IX. 1934.

grant the permission under two conditions: that the Sokols submit a written statement of commitment to the principles of Christian education and that before the catholic priest no one celebrated a mass of blessing.¹⁰⁴

The Bishop's attitude actually revealed a very important background of the whole issue. Rome could not accept the presence of a priest of different religion together with the catholic priest on such occasions. The Sokols were ready to give a positive answer to the first question, but not to the second one because all their members were not Catholics, which required the presence of a priest of another religion as well. This is what the Sokols said in their answer to the Bishop:

„It is evident that you did not want to meet our kind request because the conditions you set to the Sokols are unacceptable. An attitude that does not deserve a comment. The believers only wanted the blessing of the Almighty for their work. That was all. And they were refused.

The conditions you set are very difficult and we could not take the responsibility for justified revolt of all our members against us if we accepted to meet them. The conditions you set directly hurt our human and national feelings and our feelings as Sokols.

We expected your first condition and even before this request were ready to comply with it. In our letter we emphasize that we have never been against any religion, or church, nor have we ever prevented any of our members from fulfilling regular Christian duties. Our answer is, therefore, clear.

On the other hand, your second condition is a great surprise and disappointment to us. You allow the blessing of a Catholic priest only, and no one else, before or after him.

Owing to the fact that a rather large percentage of our members are Orthodox their wish to get the blessing of their priest too is quite understandable. This is also the wish of all our members because we are equal brothers–Sokols, regardless of our ethnic origin, or religion. Complying with your second condition would mean dissemination of religious intolerance. The Sokols will never accept that. We do not want discrimination among the brothers on the confessional basis, nor shall we allow any one to hurt their religious feelings and beliefs... We shall open our Sokol center without a blessing and it

pa se prema običajima u takvim slučajevima zatražio i svećenik one vjeroispovijesti kojoj su pripadali članovi pored svećenika većine članova društva. Sokoli su vrlo odlučno odgovorili svome nadbiskupu.

„Svakome je jasno, čim pročita taj Vaš dopis, da Vam nije bilo stalo do toga, da nam izađete u susret osim pod uvjetima, koji su za Sokolstvo neprihvatljivi. Neobična pojava, kojoj ne treba komentara. Ljudi, vjernici, traže blagoslov božji nad svojim djelom, koji im se uskraćuje.

Uvjeti koje nam postavljate tako su teški, da apsolutno ne bi mogli preuzeti na sebe odgovornost i shvatljivi odium cjelokupnog našeg članstva, kad bi na njih pristali. Oni su takve naravi, da se mi osjećamo direktno povrijeđeni u našim čovječjim, nacionalnim i sokolskim osjećajima.

Što se tiče zahtjeva tač. 1. mi smo ga očekivali i na njega smo već od prije bili pripralni, pa ga usvajamo. Pošto smo u svome dopisu naglasili da nismo nikada istupili protiv vjere i protiv crkve, a još manje smo spriječavali naše članstvo u izvršivanju svojih redovnih kršćanskih dužnosti, odgovor se sam po sebi nadaje.

Ali smo nemilo bili iznenađeni i razočarani točkom 2., u kojoj izričito kažete, da iza katoličkog dušobrižnika a ni prije njega nitko drugi ne obavlja blagoslova našega doma.

Pošto imade u našem društvu i nekatolika, a osobito znatan procenat pripadnika istočno-pravoslavne vjere, jasno je, da oni žele i traže da se baš zajednički dom posveti i od svećenika njihovog obreda što je uostalom i opća želja cjelokupnog našeg članstva, jer smo svi bez razlike na pleme i vjeru ravnopravna sokolska braća. Kad bi mi izvršili taj zahtjev značilo bi to da smo pošli putem vjerske nesnošljivosti. Nikada sokolstvo neće pristati na to, da se odijeli brat od brata i da se vrijeđa njegovo vjersko osjećanje i uvjerenje... Mi ćemo vašom krivnjom sami svečano otvoriti naš dom – nećemo ga posvetiti. Mislimo da će i bez posvete od svećenika bditi nad nama i našim djelom providnost božja, i Bog će biti s nama i u nama utoliko više, ukoliko ga više budemo nosili i osjećali u svojoj duši i srcu. Zdravo!“¹⁰⁵

Istina je nadbiskup Bauer nije rekao zašto i otkada potiče ova zabrana blagosiljanja katoličkim svećenicima izvjesnih objekata, ako ih blagosiljaju i svećenici druge vjeroispovijesti. Međutim pronašli smo da ta zabrana potiče

¹⁰⁴ „INTERESTING LETTERS THE SOKOLS EVJANGED WITH A PRIEST AND AN ARCHBISHOP“ (Interesantna prepiska između Sokola, župnika i nadbiskupa), „POLITIKA“, September 1, 1934.

¹⁰⁵ Idem.

will be your guilt. We believe that in spite of that God and his mercy will be with us if we cherish Him in our hearts. Zdravo! (the Sokols' salute meaning Good health).¹⁰⁵

Archbishop Bauer never explained the reasons behind the prohibition to Catholic priests to celebrate a mass of blessing together with a priest of a different confession, before or after him. Actually, this decision was taken by the Supreme Congregation of the Saint Officio in Rome, on December 14, 1932, exactly at the time of the anti- Epistle. It was the answer to the question of the Episcopate as to how the Catholic priests should behave in such cases. Actually, KATOLIČKI LIST published these question, but in Latin and not in Croatian language so as to attract less attention.

The questions of the Bishops in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia are the following:

„1. Is a Catholic priest allowed to celebrate a mass of blessing together with a non Catholic priest?

2. Is a Catholic priest allowed to celebrate a mass of blessing after the object has been previously blessed by a non-Catholic priest?“

Decretum S.R. Congregationis S. Officii ad dubia proposita ab Episcopis regni Jugoslaviae de communicatione in sacris¹⁰⁶ is a short but a very valuable document because it refutes the anti-Sokol Epistle more convincingly than any other critical analysis or comment and reveals that the anti-Sokol Epistle was conceived by the Vatican and fully supported by the Italian fascist press.

Later developments connected with Croatian and Slovenian clericalism till the fall of Yugoslavia will provide a new body of evidence on the hostile policy of the clericals, most of the members of the Episcopate and a considerable number of Catholic priest against Yugoslavia.

pravo iz Vrhovne Kongregacije Svetoga Oficija u Rimu, koju je donio 14. XII 1932., dakle taman poslije spremljene episkopatske antisokolske poslanice. Možemo mirno reći da upravo u ovome grmu zec leži i da ova zabrana, koja je zapravo imala najviše da pogodi sokole, došla je u vezi sa pitanjem jugoslavenskog episkopata kako da u takvim slučajevima katoličko svećenstvo postupa. Ova su pitanja bila slijedeća, kako ih „Katolički list“ objavljuje, ne na hrvatskom, nego u originalu na latinskom jeziku, da ne bi dnevnoj štampi zapelo za oko. Ta pitanja biskupa kraljevine Jugoslavije glase:

„1. Smije li katolički svećenik podijeliti crkveni blagoslov jednoj te istoj stvari zajedno sa nekatoličkim svećenikom? 2. Smije li katolički svećenik crkveni blagoslov podijeliti predmetu koji je već blagoslovljen od nekatoličkog svećenika, ako katolički svećenik taj blagoslov ne obavlja istim činom i zajedno sa nekatoličkim svećenikom?“

Dakako, Vrhovna Kongregacija Svetog Oficija u Rimu odgovorila je na oba pitanja negativno.

Više nego ma koja izjava koja je kritički analizirala i pobijala antisokolsku poslanicu i više nego ma koja postavljena hipoteza o podudarnostima vatikansko-episkopatske antisokolske akcije, iza koje je bila puna i radosna suglasnost fašističke štampe, govori uvjerljivo kratki ali neobično sadržajni: Decretum S. R. Congregationis S. Officii ad dubia proposita ab Episcopis regni Jugoslaviae de communicatione in sacris!¹⁰⁶

Daljne pojave u razvoju hrvatskog i slovenskog klerikalizma do sloma Jugoslavije dati će nove dokumentacije o neprijateljskom odnosu klerikalizma i najvećeg dijela episkopata i znatnog dijela svećenstva prema Jugoslaviji.

¹⁰⁵ Idem.

¹⁰⁶ „KATOLIČKI LIST“, 1933, no. 7, p.69.

¹⁰⁶ „Katolički list“ 1933., br. 7, 69.

XV.
LIBELLUS ACCUSATIONIS
(Promemorija don Frano Ivaniševića o stavu Jugoslavenskog Episkopata prema državi, predana nadbiskupu Stepincu oktobra 1934., a 1. novembra 1934. svim biskupima u Jugoslaviji).

Split, 19. XI. 1934.

»Gospodin dr. Viktor Novak, sveučilišni profesor Beograd.
Dizate sam da Vi sakupljate gradivo iz kojega ćete u svoje vrijeme napisati historiju o razvitku naše mlade države Jugoslavije. Poznavajući Vas kao savjesna spitelja i čestita rođjuba hoću da Vam povjerim jednu moju »Spomenicu« koju sam nedavno upravo mladom nadbiskupu Koadjutoru dr. Stepincu u Zagrebu, a koju sam u prepisu dostavio svim katoličkim biskupima u Jugoslaviji kao što i papskom nunciju u Beogradu. I to je ona za sada privatne konfidencialne naravi molim Vas, da bez moje izričite dozvole ne biste o njoj u javnosti ništa pisali niti u društvu govorili. A tek iza moje smrti, biste li Vam porebala, ovim Vas ovlašćujem da se sledećne poslećte kada budete pisali o ulozi katoličke crkve u razvitku kraljevine Jugoslavije, te napomenite da je iz krugova rođeljubnih svećenika Hrvata bio upozorica episkopat na sporazumni rad sa interesima države.

Spomenica je napisana 1. oktobra ove godine. Po naputku biskupa Uccellina, koji je potpuno odobrio sadržaj i cilj ove spomenice, potpisani na 1. novembra ove godine poslao u prepisu svim biskupima uz popratni list koji Vam pilažem, dakako samo za privatnu porabu.

Sa dubokim števanjem i prijateljskim usjećajem bilježi se odani

Frano Ivanišević, senator»¹

¹ Na kraju u ovim rečenica još je don Frano Ivanišević živ. Već 1937. on mi je dopustio da se koristim ovom njegovom promemorijom. Ja to činim s izrazima najveće zahvalnosti, u interesu pune naučne istine.

Don Frano Ivanišević, stari nacionalni borac i glagoljaš, kao predstavnik još žive stare generacije Surovičevih pristalica i njegovih ideala, u Jugoslaviji je u čelnom nizu svetli postupaka pokazao kakve narodni svećenik treba da služi interesima države, a da se ne ograniči o one svoje crkve i vjere. Za ta i takva uvjerenja na je bio sorenna da strada i da doživi neprijatnosti i ozle od svojih viših rkvanih poglavara. Unatož tome njega nije smetalo da pišući i da radi dalje u istom smjeru kao što je on to pokazao već god. 1919. i 1920. kad je kao inicijator splitskog sastanka svećentstva bio predlagao spomenite već znamenite rezolucije upućene tadašnjem nunciju u Beogradu. Da Frano Ivanišević viliio je i osjećao jednaka kao i narodni borac Vjekoslav Spinić, ili stari biskup u Kotoru, Frano Uccellini-Tice, da je katolički episkopat sasvim pogriješno shvatio svoju ulogu u državi i da sa svojim savom koristi njenim političkima. Sa don Franom Ivaniševićem još ćemo se sresti tekem narednih poglavlja. Ovdje donosimo u cijelosti njegovu promemoriju o katoličkoj crkvi u Jugoslaviji, koju je uputio mladom nadbiskupu Koadjutoru dr. Alojziju Stepincu 1. oktobra 1934., a 1. novembra iste godine pojedinačno svim biskupima Jugoslavije. Spomenica koju pilaže iz duše i pameti uzernog rođeljuba i svećenika od velike je važnosti i za vrijeme u koje je nastala, za lica kojima je upućena kao i za svu pozadinu stava jugoslavenskog episkopata prema državi. Stoga je donosimo u cjelini.²

² Izostavljeni su samo nevažni dijelovi koji su od ranije već dobro poznati iz stava don Ivaniševića.

»Preuzvišenom gospodinu dr. Alojziju Stepincu, Nadbiskupu Koadjutoru — Zagreb.

Preuzvišeni! Sa velikim zadovoljstvom i najljepšom nadom pozdravio je pokorno potpisani Vaše imenovanje za koadjutora vrlo zaslužnom duhovnom pastiru zagrebačke nadbiskupije dr. Anti Baucru, čijeg vrline uma i srca kroz dužu periodu od 40 godina pobliže poznaje i duboko poštuje, pak je potpuno uvjeren, da ćete i Vi kao njegov odabranik na toj stolici slijediti njegove stope na čast i uhar crkve i domovine.

Potpisani, koji Vam ove retke upravlja, još svećenik starije dobe. Roden je 1863., reden za svećenika 1886., obavio je razne službe u splitskom sjemeništu kao prefekt, duhovnik i ekonom; bio je na gimnaziji i realci u Splitu kao privremeni profesor, a u Vranjicu — Stolnu, pa u Jesenicama, raznim mjestima kao profesor i duhovnik. Poslije toga bio je u Beogradu, a zatim u Zagrebu.

Izostavljeno poglavlje s korekturama V. Novaka
V. Novak's omitted chapter with corrections

Gospodinu
Don Viktoru Novaku posvetom
Don Frano Ivanišević



DON FRANO IVANIŠEVIĆ

Na uspomenu proslave 70 godišnjice

(1863 — 1933)

U Splitu, 1 Januara 1933

Fot. Borović

Don Frano Ivanišević sa posvetom prof. Viktoru Novaku
Don Frano Ivaniševitch with his dedication to Prof. Viktor Novak

XV LIBELLUS ACCUSATIONS

(Promemoria on the attitude of the Yugoslav Catholic Episcopate don Frano Ivanishevitch submitted to Archbishop Stepinec in October 1934, and on November 1, 1934 to all Catholic Bishops in Yugoslavia).

Split, November 19, 1934.

Dr. VIKTOR NOVAK, university professor, Belgrade

I have been informed that you collect documents for your future book on the history of the development of our young state. Knowing you as a responsible writer and sincere patriot I would like to entrust you with a PROMEMORIA I have recently presented to the young Archbishop Coadjutor, Dr. Stepinec, in Zagreb, and its copy to all Catholic Bishops in Yugoslavia and the Nuncio in Belgrade. Since, for the time being, it is a private and confidential document I kindly ask you not write or speak about it in public without my previous approval. Only after my death I authorize you to freely use this document if you find it useful for writing about the role of the Catholic Church in the development of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Also, in your book please emphasize that the patriotic Catholic priests-Croats advised the Episcopate to reach an agreement with the state and work jointly in its interest.

The promemoria was written in October of this year. At the suggestion of Bishop Uccellini, who had approved its content, this promemoria was signed on the 1-st of November of this year and a copy sent out to all bishops, together with a letter, a copy of which I also enclose to you, for your private needs only.

With deep respect and friendly feelings, I remain
Sincerely yours,

*Frano Ivanishevitch, Senator*¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Dr. Frano Ivanishevitch is no longer among the living. But, in 1937 he gave the permission to use his Promemoria during the conflict over the Concordat. I am very grateful to him and I am using this document for the sake of truth, the whole truth and nothing but truth, particularly in the light

XV LIBELLUS ACCUSATIONS

(Promemoriya don Frana Ivaniševića o stavu jugoslavenskog Episkopata prema državi, predana nadbiskupu Stepincu oktobra 1934., a 1. novembra 1934. svim biskupima u Jugoslaviji).

Split, 19. XI 1934.

Gospodin dr. Viktor Novak, sveučilišni profesor, Beograd

Doznao sam da Vi sakupljate gradivo iz kojega ćete u svoje vrijeme napisati historiju o razvitku naše mlade države Jugoslavije. Poznavajući Vas kao savjesna spisatelja i čestita rodoljuba hoću da Vam povjerim jednu moju „Spomenicu“ koju sam nedavno upravo mladom nadbiskupu Koadjutoru dr. Stepincu u Zagrebu, a koju sam u prepisu dostavio svim katoličkim biskupima u Jugoslaviji kao što i papskom nunciju u Beogradu. Pošto je ona za sada privatne konfidencialne naravi molim Vas, da bez moje izričite dozvole ne biste o njoj u javnosti ništa pisali niti u društvu govorili, a tek iza moje smrti, bude li Vam potreba, ovim Vas ovlašćujem da se slobodno poslužite kada budete pisali o ulozi katoličke crkve u razvitku kraljevine Jugoslavije, te napomenite da je iz krugova rodoljubnih svećenika Hrvata bio upozoren episkopat na sporazumni rad sa interesima države.

Spomenica je napisana 1. oktobra ove godine. Po napatku biskupa Uccellinija, koji je potpuno odobrio sadržaj i cilj ove spomenice, potpisana je 1. novembra ove godine poslao u prepisu svim biskupima uz propratni list koji Vam prilažem, dakako samo za privatnu porabu.

Sa dubokim štovanjem i prijateljskim osjećajem bilježi se odani

*Frano Ivanišević, senator*¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Don Frano Ivanišević, danas već nije među živima. Ali 1937. on mi je dopustio da se koristim ovom njegovom promemorijom u vrijeme konkordatske borbe. Ja to činim s izrazima najveće zahvalnosti, u interesu pune naučne istine pogotovo jer u njoj nema ničega novog što on već ranije nije i javno iznosio i zastupao.

Don Frano Ivanishevitch was an old fighter for the national cause and Glagolitic missal, one of the last from the generation of supporters of Strossmayer and his ideals. In Yugoslavia, being a national priest devoted to its people, his whole behavior was an example of how a priest should serve the interests of the state, without violating a single principle of his church, or faith. Defending this stand he was ready to cope with great difficulties and suffer injustice and condemnation of the high clergy. Nevertheless, he continued his work in the same way he decided to follow already in 1919 and 1920, when he took initiative to organize a Meeting of the clergy of Split and was the proponent of the now famous Resolution presented to the then Nuncio in Belgrade. Don Frano Ivanishevitch, Vjekoslav Spinchtch and the old Bishop of Kotor Frano Uccellini-Titze were all three of the opinion that the Catholic Episcopate in Yugoslavia in fact misunderstood its role with regard to the state by assuming the attitude which only serves the interests of the enemies of Yugoslavia. We shall deal with don Frano Ivanishevitch in the following chapters too. Here we only want to present in extenso his Promemoria on the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia he presented to the young Archbishop Coadjutor on October 1, 1934 and November 1 of the same year a copy of the Promemoria to each Catholic Bishop in Yugoslavia, personally. The Promemoria stems from the heart and mind of an exemplary patriot and is very important with regard to the time when it was written, the individuals to whom the Promemoria was addressed and the background which explains the attitude of the Yugoslav Episcopate towards the state. The following text is a complete and unabridged original version.¹⁰⁸

TO THE MOST REVEREND DR. ALOJZ STEPINEC,
ARCHBISHOP-COADIUTOR of ZAGREB

The Most Reverend! The undersigned with great pleasure, the best hopes and due submissiveness congratulates you on your appointment as Coadjutor to the very meritorious spiritual shepherd of the Archbishopric of Zagreb, Dr. Bauer whose virtues of the mind and heart the undersigned has been witnessing and deeply respecting for more than 40 years. The undersigned is, therefore, fully convinced that you, as his choice, will follow in his wake to the pride and benefit of the Catholic Church and the Fatherland.

of the fact that the document does not reveal anything new in the views of Dr. Ivanishevitch with regard to his previous attitude on this issue.

¹⁰⁸ Only the parts of the text reflecting the previous well known views of Dr. Ivanishevitch have been omitted.

FRANO IVANIŠEVIĆ
SENATOR

~~Received~~ Split, 19 / 21 1934

Gospodin

Dr. Viktor N o v a k
sveučilišni profesor,

Beograd

Doznao sam da Vi saklupljate gradivo iz kojega ćete u svoje vrijeme napisati historiju o razvitku naše mlade države Jugoslavije. Poznajući Vas kao savjestna spisatelja i čestita rodoljuba hoću da Vam povjerim jednu moju "spomenicu" koju sam nedavno upravio mladom nadbiskupu koadjutoru Dr. Stepincu u Zagrebu, a koju sam u prepisu dostavio svim katoličkim biskupima u Jugoslaviji kao što i papinskom Nunciju u Beogradu. Pošto je ona za sada privatne konfidencijalne naravi, molim Vam, da bez moje izričite dozvole, ne biste o njoj u javnosti ništa pisali niti u društvu govorili, a tek iza moje smrti, bude li Vam potreba, ovim Vas uoblašćujem da se slobodno poslužite kada budete pisali o ulozi katoličke crkve u razvitku kraljevine Jugoslavije te napomenite da je iz krugova rodoljubnih svećenika Hrvata bio upozoren episkopat na sporazumni rad sa interesima države.

Spomenica je napisana na 1 oktobra o.g., dakle prije tragične smrti Kralja Aleksandra u Marseillu 9 okt.o.g. Po nalogu biskupa Uccellinija, koji je potpuno odobrio sadržaj i cilj ove spomenice, potpisani je na 1 novembra o.g. poslao u prepisu svim biskupima uz popratni list koji Vam prilažem, dakako samo za privatnu porabu.

Sa dubokim štovanjem i prijateljskim osjećajem bilježi se odani

Frano Ivanišević
senator

Propratno pismo don F. Ivaniševića kojim je svoju promemoriju dostavio

V. Novaku

Don Ivanishevitch' letter to V. Novak attached to his Promemoria

The undersigned addressing you these lines is a priest in advanced age. He was born in 1863, ordained priest in 1886, in the Sjemeniste (Theological school) of Split, then he served as prefect and priest, was for a short time a high school teacher in High school in Split and for many years served as priest in Vranjice-Solun and Jasenice, his birth place. He was also a journalist and editor of several weekly and monthly magazines devoted to national education. The undersigned was also interested in national economy, particularly in cooperatives, and was member of their boards and also member of the Supervisory Board of the Agrarian Bank in Belgrade. At the request of his congregation the undersigned entered the field of politics and in the 1907-1911 period was the representative of the Sinj-Vrlika district at the Imperial Council in Vienna. Last year, 1933, the undersigned was appointed Member of the Senate of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia by Degree of His Majesty King Aleksandar and has the honor of still performing that duty.

The undersigned deemed it necessary to bring all these data to the attention of the Most Reverend to persuade Him that during his 71 year long life and 48 years of service the undersigned had ample opportunities to get acquainted with all aspects of our national life and on that ground express his modest opinion on the circumstances prevailing to day in our native country Yugoslavia. Therefore, he begs you, the Most Reverend, to accept his modest views of an old and experienced priest, presented in this confidential letter in the interest of the Catholic Church and Yugoslavia.

In every new state established after a war there are problems which cannot be avoided due to the development of some new elements, at first not sufficiently harmonized and which need time to consolidate. The historical decision... one name for the State, the flag and the question of unity of our State has been finally taken and its effects are taking root in the soul of our people. All patriots are duty bound to support the process of merging three tribal elements into one and speed it up in all spheres of our public and private life in view of developing a firm concept of one and united Yugoslavia, as conceived by our outstanding and famous the Most Reverend Bishop Strossmayer, Canon Rachky and others. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia is undergoing a period of consolidation. All secular and religious factors on the level of the State are called upon to support the consolidation efforts of the State in all their activities and institu-

bito gospodarskim zadrugama, gdje je obnašao razne časti u upravi zadružnih saveza i nadzornom odboru Agrarne banke u Beogradu. Prema želji pučanstva bio je pozvan da se bavi i politikom, te je godine 1907-1911. obnašao čast narodnog zastupnika u Carevinskom Vijeću u Beču za kotar Sinj-Vrlika, a lanjske godine 1933. ukazom Njegovog Veličanstva Kralja Aleksandra bio je imenovan članom Senata Kraljevine Jugoslavije, koju čast i danas obnaša.

Sve je ovo potpisani smatrao shodnim da dade na znanje Vašoj Preuzvišenosti, a da Vam bude moguće lakše uvjeriti se kako je u svojem životu od 71 godine i svećeništva 48 godina, imao dosta prigode da upozna život našega naroda u svim njegovim pojavama, te da izreče svoje skromno uvjerenje o današnjim prilikama u našoj domovini Jugoslaviji. Najlepše Vas stoga molim, Preuzvišeni Gospodine, da meni kao starom iskusnom svećeniku dozvolite, a da Vam ovim skroz privatnim i povjerljivim listom podastrem nekoje moje opaske i poglede u interesu katoličke crkve u Jugoslaviji.

Usvakoj novoj poslijeratnoj državi opažaju se neke trzavice, koje su neizbježive uslijed formacije novih elemenata, koji nisu sasvim homogeni a koje treba prepustiti procesu vremena da ih izgradi. Sa historičkim odlukama... o jednom imenu (države) i zastavi, pitanje jedinstvenosti naše države konačno je je riješeno i počelo je hvatati čvrsta korijena u duši naroda. Rodoljubna dužnost nameće se svima da taj proces stapanja triju plemenskih elemenata pospješimo i u svim fazama našeg privatnog i javnog života izgradimo jednu sveopću i nepokolebivu koncepciju jedinstvene države Jugoslavije, kakovu su je zamišljali uzvišeni i slavni dostojanstvenici biskup Strossmayer, kanonik Rački i drugi. Kraljevina Jugoslavija nalazi se danas upravo u tom periodu unutarnje konsolidacije. Svi državni, građanski i crkveni činbenici pozvani su da sudjeluju po svojim akcijama u svojim nadležnostima u ovom izgrađivanju državne cjeline ili barem da ne stavljaju bilo kojih poteškoća svijesno ili nesvijesno redovitom procesu toga izgrađivanja.

Potpisani je katolički svećenik. Kao takav djeluje u crkvi i narodu 48 godina. U crkvi katoličkoj rođen, odgojen, u njoj želi uz božju milost zaklopiti svoje oči. U svim njegovim poslovima bilo privatnog, službenog ili javnog rada, bilo perom ili besjedom, uvijek mu je bio na srcu ugled svoje crkve. Kad se je godine 1918. naš narod oslobodio tuđinskog jarma i stupio u državnu zajednicu sa svojom krvnom braćom Srbima i Slovencima, potpisani je nastojao da naša crkva sačuva svoj ugled i razvije svoju djelatnost. U novoj državnoj zaje-

tions, or at least not to, consciously or unconsciously, impede that unification process.

The undersigned is a Catholic priest and has been serving his church and his people for 48 years. He was born as Catholic, educated in Catholic religion and with God's blessing expects to close his eyes as a Catholic. Performing his activities, private, official or public, writing or preaching, the undersigned had always in mind and at heart primarily the interests and reputation of his Church. When in 1918 our people was liberated from foreign yoke and created a common state with his brothers, Serbs and Slovenians, the undersigned was using his best efforts to secure for the Catholic Church the respect it should command and help it develop its activities. In the new State the Catholic Church had the opportunity to establish closer contacts with the Orthodox Church. In this regard it is the duty of each Catholic priest to disseminate tolerance and foster good relations with others, in line with the paramount interests of the State. The population of Yugoslavia amounts to approximately 14 million; According to the latest population census there are 5.373.456 Catholics and 6.375.524 Orthodox, not counting the confessions with a small congregation. In spite of Orthodox majority in the State there are no signs of supremacy of one church over the other ...

The Constitution guarantees freedom to all religions. This is not a dead letter on paper. It is implemented in practice. The case in point is the live and a great progress of the Catholic Church in the Capital city-Belgrade, where the population is 90% Orthodox and the Catholics, in spite of that overwhelming majority, enjoy full religious freedom. The undersigned knows Belgrade very well, where he used to stay so many times. Catholic processions on religious holidays, like the First Communion, solemnly take place in the streets of Belgrade, in the presence of the representatives of state institutions and the Royal Court and are fully respected by the Orthodox population. A few figures illustrate the above statement.

Till the end of 1924 there were only five Catholic priests on the territory of the Belgrade Archbishopric, and today there are fifteen. There were three priests in Belgrade, one in Nish (Niš) one in Kragujevatz (Kragujevac) for these three dioceses. There were also 12 nuns-nurses in Belgrade. Today there are 5 diocese in Belgrade and in addition to the already existing ones in Nish and Kragujevatz, the new ones were set up in: Smederevo, Shabatz (Šabac) and Bor

dnici crkva je katolička došla u bližu vezu sa crkvom istočnoga obreda i pravoslavne vjere, te se je namećala dužnost svakom svećeniku Hrvatu da uznastoji podržati toleranciju i dobre odnose u skladu sa vrhovnim interesima države. Od ukupnog pučanstva, 14 miliona otprilike žiteljstva u Jugoslaviji, crkva katolička broji, po zadnjem popisu, 5.373.456 svojih pripadnika, dočim istočna pravoslavna crkva broji 6.375.524 vjernika, a da se ne uzmu u obzir druge manje vjeroispovesti. Iako je istočna pravoslavna crkva u većem broju napram katoličkoj, ipak se ne opaža nikakva prevlast jedne crkve nad drugom... jer je Ustavom zajamčena u Jugoslaviji potpuna sloboda svakoj vjeroispovesti. To nije samo pisano na papiru, nego se to i u djelu provđa. Dosta je pogledati na život i veliki razvitak katoličke crkve u samoj prijestonici naše države Beogradu, gdje 90% žitelja pripada pravoslavnoj crkvi, a gdje pripadnici katoličke crkve uživaju potpuno slobodu kao ni u jednom drugom mjestu. Potpisanom je dobro poznat Beograd u koji već toliko godina zalazi i dugo boravi. Katoličke funkcije obavljaju se po beogradskim ulicama (kao na primjer Tijelovo), najsvećanijim načinom uz prisustvovanje predstavnika državnih nadležnosti i kraljeva dvora te sa velikim poštovanjem i obzirom sa strane pravoslavnoga građanstva. Tomu na dokaz neka služe i ove brojke.

Do konca godine 1924. bilo je na teritoriji beogradske nadbiskupije samo 5 svećenika, dočim ih danas ima 15. U Beogradu bila su 3 svećenika, u Nišu 1, u Kragujevcu 1, kao potrebiti za te tri župe. Osim toga bilo je u Beogradu 12 milosrdnih sestara bolničarki. Danas ima u Beogradu 5 župa, a osim Niša i Kragujevca, osnovane su još župe u Smederevu, Šapcu i Boru i dvije kuracije u Valjevu i Zaječaru, svega župa i kuracija 10. Danas ima u Beogradu 170 sestara, od kojih su 104 milosrdne sestre iz Ljubljane kao bolničarke u bolnici i sanatorijumu Vračar, 48 su milosrdne sestre iz Zagreba, koje su dijelom bolničarke, a neke vode internat zavoda svetog Vinka i jedno zabavište, dočim je 18 sestara iz Francuske (Asumpcionistkinje), koje vode veliki internat „Zavoda svetog Josipa“ i francusku žensku školu uz četiri razreda francuske gimnazije. U crkvama katoličkim potpisani su vidio vlastitim očima preko svećanih misa uglednih građana pravoslavne vjere, koji dolaze u naše crkve da čuju pjevanje, poučne propovjedi od naših svećenika, koji su mnogo poštovani radi svoje učenosti. Kada se obavljaju pobožnosti (kao na primjer u crkvi svetog Ante), crkva je dupkom puna, a preko 50% prisutnih jesu pripadnici pravoslavne crkve. Koliko je grad Beograd susretljiv prema

and two curatiae in Valjevo and Zaječar (Zaječar), which makes a total of ten Catholic institutions. Today there are 170 nuns-nurses in Belgrade, 104 of them are from Ljubljana and they work in the hospital and the sanatorium „Vračar“ (Vračar), 48 nuns are in Zagreb, some of whom work as nurses, some are in charge of the „St. Vincent“ boarding school for pupils and a kindergarten and 18 are from France, in charge of the French secondary school for boys and girls „Saint Joseph“. The undersigned has personally noticed the presence of outstanding personalities of Orthodox religion attending our churches to listen to the music and hear the instructive sermons of our priests, held in high respect as scholars. On holidays (e.g. in St. Anthony church) Catholic churches are full to capacity and over 50% of the present are Orthodox people. The best proof of kindness towards the Catholic Church is a five million dinar worth plot the Municipality of Belgrade has donated for the construction of the new Catholic cathedral.¹⁰⁹

The Most Reverend, I mention this as a proof that our Catholic Church, thanks to its cultural strength, its vivid and scholarly catechization, vivid sermonizing and charitable work is getting increasingly attractive to all strata of our people. Several Eucharistic Congresses that have been organized in our country, with massive participation of the citizens, are the best proof of the freedom the Catholic Church enjoys in Yugoslavia and the respect it commands. Each Eucharistic Congress enjoyed full support of the government in securing various facilities, considering them as events which strengthen public moral and order and was solemnly marked as an important public event. This is the so called „penetration pacifique“ (peaceful penetration) which gives the Church great moral strength, helps its continuous development and consolidates its place in the public life of the country. This means that the Catholic side has no ground to take a hostile position towards the other Church which, in spite of its more numerous congregation, does not in the least impede the development of the other church with a smaller congregation. The strength of each cultural institution lies in its strength, not in numbers.

Now, the Most Reverend, the undersigned would like to bring to Your attention a crucial phenomenon at the root of various kinds of misunderstanding, namely our policy of tribal (ethnic) ap-

crkvi katoličkoj, najbolji je dokaz u tomu, što je gradska općina darovala za novu katedralu fond zemljišta u vrijednosti od 5,000.000.- dinara.¹⁰⁹

Ovo sam naveo, Preuzvišeni, kao jasan dokaz da naša crkva katolička otvara sebi put u svim slojevima našega naroda, a to zahvaljujući svojoj kulturnoj snazi žive akcije katekiziranja, propovijedanja i pastirskog dušobrižništva. Koliko je crkva katolička slobodna i poštovana u Jugoslaviji, najbolje dokazuju godišnji Euharistički kongresi, koji su se ovih zadnjih godina održali na više mjesta naj-svečanijim načinom uz veliko učešće naroda, a uz sve moguće pogodnosti i susretljivosti sa strane državne vlasti, koja u tim vjerskim manifestacijama gleda jačanje javnoga morala i poretka. To je ona „pénétration pacifique“, koja daje veliku moć crkvi da se konstantno razvija i učvrsti svoj položaj u javnom životu. S tog pogleda nema dakle nikakvog razloga da se s naše katoličke strane zauzima kakav neprijateljski stav protiv druge crkve, koja, iako brojno u većini, nimalo ne smeta razvitak druge crkve koja je u manjini. Aktivnost a ne brojnost daju snagu svakoj kulturnoj ustanovi.

Sada dolazi jedna druga neugodna pojava, na koju potpisani hoće posebno da upozori Vašu Preuzvišenost. To je politika ili bolje rečeno plemensko naziranje, koje izazivlje nesuglasice sa stožernom idejom državne cjeline u Jugoslaviji.

Nama je svima dobro poznat pojam i značaj katoličke crkve: univerzalnost. Ona nije označena kao istočna crkva, sa pojmom i granicama države: ruska, bugarska, pravoslavna, srpska, grčka. U tomu je velika neograničena jakost katoličke crkve, jer iz toga pojma općenitosti ona kao iz neiscrpljiva izvora prima svoju stvaralačku moć. Time ona može da traži razvitka i u predjelima koji nisu katolički, ali samo uz uvjet da svoju akciju razvije u potpunoj harmoniji s akcijom i interesima države prema onom geslu slavnoga biskupa Strossmayera: „Sve za vjeru i domovinu“. U našoj narodnoj državi pojam države i domovine jest identičan.

Pošto su crkva i država upućene jedna na drugu, dvije ruke u jednom tijelu, po mojem skromnom uvjerenju u tomu se sastoji upravo najveća mudrost crkvene vlasti, da izbjegava po mogućnosti sve sukobe sa državnom vlasti, nego čuvajući svedjer svoju samostalnost, da traži načina kako će staviti u sklad i ravnotežu interese crkve s interesima države. Kako je gore izloženo, danas je najveći interes

¹⁰⁹ This was written in 1934. Data from 1937 are even more favorable.

¹⁰⁹ Don Frano Ivanišević piše god. 1934. Podaci iz 1937. još su povoljniji.

proach which is in contrast with the fundamental idea of the state of Yugoslavia as one entity.

We are all aware of the importance of the Catholic Church and its fundamental principle of universality. Unlike the Eastern Orthodox Church it is not confined within state boundaries: Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian Orthodox, Greek. The enormous strength of the Catholic Church in fact stems from its universality which is actually the source of its creative power. This is the ground for its presence even in the fields which are not Catholic, but only if they are in line with the state interests. Let us recall the words of the Most Reverend Bishop Strossmayer who said: „Everything for the Faith and Fatherland!“

Since the Church and the State have to go hand in hand, being two hands of the same body, in my modest belief it is up to the wisdom of the Church and its high clergy to avoid possible conflicts with State institutions and, by safeguarding its independence, establish the right balance between the interests of the Church and the interests of the State. As emphasized above, today the consolidation of all its parts is the paramount interest of Yugoslavia. Destructive trends and the negative attitude toward Yugoslavia particularly characteristic of us-Croats and some Slovenians, for ethnic reasons, should be eliminated from the state organism and the spiritual unity in the State achieved as soon as possible. This is in the best interest of our State, as our King in his Proclamation of the 6-th of January, 1929, said: „The unity of our people and our State is the loftiest objective of my rule and the supreme law for me and for all of us.“

The undersigned follows with utmost attention all developments and phenomena in the public life of our Fatherland and notes with great regret that our Catholic Church does not take seriously that duty. On the contrary, under the guise of religion, intentionally or unintentionally, some from our Catholic Church undermine the efforts towards the merger of the three tribes into one political and state entity

Under the courageous leadership of our King today our international position is rather strong, mostly thank to the fact that our internal political frictions have been overcome, in other words thanks to our internal stability. Every political or religious friction, internal or external, weakens our international position, thus making our country vulnerable to aggressive appetites of our hostile neighbor.

The undersigned is a Croat by nationality and speaks his mother tongue with pride. A Croat in his genes and a Yugoslav by political

države Jugoslavije, da se njezini unutarnji dijelovi što više učvrste, a destruktivni pojmovi, koji su prošlih godina izbijali osobito kod nas Hrvata, a djelomično i kod Slovenaca, a kojima se potiču plemenske razmirice, da se sasvim odstrane iz državnog organizma, pak da se time čim prije provede duhovno jedinstvo u čitavoj našoj državi. Tu nam dužnost kategorički diktiraju najveći interesi naše države, dužnost jasno izražena u historičkom manifestu našega vladara 6. januara 1929. ovim značajnim riječima: „Čuvati jedinstvo narodno i celinu državnu, to je najviši cilj moje vladavine, a to mora biti i najveći zakon za mene i za svakoga.“

Potpisani prati pozornost, sve događaje i pojave u javnom životu naše domovine, te na svoju veliku žalost opaža da u našoj katoličkoj crkvi ova se dužnost potpuno ne shvaća, nego dapače pod plaštem vjere, svijesno ili nesvijesno, izbijaju neke pojave iz kojih se dade slutiti da iz redova katoličke crkve prodiere tendencija, koja hoće da oslabi proces stapanja triju plemena u jednu političku državnu cjelinu na štetu konsolidacije državnog jedinstva. Uz hrabro vodstvo našega vladara naša je politika danas u vanjskom svijetu dosta jaka, a to je od toga što su prestale unutarnje političke trzavice, naime što smo unutra jaki. Svako izazivlje unutarnje borbe bilo vjerske ili političke naravi, slabi naš vanjski položaj i tim izlažemo našu zemlju osvajačkim aspiracijama naših neprijatelja u susjedstvu.

Potpisani je rodом Hrvat. Tim jezikom govori i ponosi se. Genetički Hrvat, a politički Jugoslaven, i kao takav odani privrženik jugoslavenskog državnog i narodnog jedinstva, smatra svetom dužnošću da ne ističe svoje cjeline, jer se drži one mudre latinske izreke „pars debet sacrificari pro toto“. Nije tako kod onih koji nisu prožeti čuvstvom jedinstvenosti Jugoslavije, a koji kao svećenici katolici hoće da povežu u jedan pojam „katolištvo i hrvatstvo“, što mnogo nanaša štete ugledu crkve a izazivlje sukobe s onima koji se bore za cjelinu države.

Dozvolite mi, Preuzvišeni, da navedem nekoliko dokaza. Često se u crkvenim proglasima uvijek ističe Hrvati katolici! A znademo da ima katolika koji se ne zovu Hrvati. Kada je nazad tri godine bio u Sarajevu Euharistički kongres, u proglasu je bio naslov: „Katolici – Hrvati“ našto su se Slovenci, kojih ima u Bosni više od jedne tisuće čutili uvrijeđeni i isključeni. Kod više propovjedi u crkvi od naših svećenika čuje se alarm za borbu i obranu tobože „hrvatstva“ i „katolištva“, što ne odgovara istini. Tim se stvara zla krv proti drugoj strani, i sasvim je naravna posljedica da državna vlast poradi javnog

option and as such devoted supporter of the Yugoslav national and state unity. The undersigned deems it his sacred duty not to insist on separate parts, which should not have prevalence over the whole, believing in the wisdom of the old Latin saying that: „pars debet sacrificari pro toto.“ This is, however, not the view of those who do not support the unity of Yugoslavia, particularly the Catholic priests who identify Croatism with Catholicism, which is detrimental for the reputation of the Catholic Church and a source of conflict with those who strongly support the unity of the State.

Allow me, the Most Reverend, to submit to Your attention a few proofs which illustrate my point. In its Proclamation the Church always place emphasis on Croats-Catholics! We very well know that in our country there are Catholics who are not Croat. When three years ago the Eucharistic Congress held in Sarajevo addressed its Proclamation to Catholic Croats over one thousand Slovenians living in Bosnia were deeply offended for being ignored. In their sermons our Catholic priests often call for defense of the allegedly jeopardized „Croatism“ and „Catholicism“. This is not true. Croatism and Catholicism are not jeopardized in Yugoslavia! This gives rise to bad feelings towards the other side and naturally the State reacts to that on behalf of public order. In several case school authorities had to prohibit access to school to some religious teachers who in their teaching religion or religious subjects openly supported separatism to the detriment of state unity. U have recently received the Proclamation of the St. Jerome Society marking THE DAY OF ENLIGHTMENT. I used to be its member for 45 years and its representative for 30 years. The Most Reverend, from the enclosed copy of the Proclamation on only one page You will find 15 times mentioned: „Croatian education“, „Croatian people“, „Croatian village“, etc which sounds hostile to the people of a different name. At the end of that same page You will also find the following statement: „When the St. Jerome Society was founded in 1868 Bishop Strossmayer was among the first to welcome it. His words written then are still valid today, even more valid then at that time when He said: „Help our people by putting in their hands the right books to read, the books which will contribute to their material and social benefit, particularly now when some are trying to disseminate foreign books very often full of venom and hostility against our national being.“ Bishop Strossmayer was a Croat, the greater benefactor of Croatian people, this is a generally adopted view on Him, but at that time he did not speak about

poretka treba da istupi. Više se slučajeva zbilo da su školske vlasti bile prisiljene odalečiti iz škole nekoje vjeroučitelje radi takova upadnog isticanja separatističkih izraza na štetu državne cjeline. ↵

Ovih dana primio sam od Društva svetog Jeronima proglas za proslavu „Dana prosvjete“ i širenje izdanja toga velezaslužnog Društva, kojemu sam bio povjerenik 30, a član 45 godina. Kako vidite, Preuzvišeni, iz priloga, koji Vam dostavljam, na jednoj stranici toga proglasa ističe se na 15 mjesta „hrvatska prosvjeta“, „hrvatski narod“, „hrvatsko selo“ itd. tako upadno kao da je upereno protiv drugoga dijela naroda, koji se tim imenom ne zove. Na istoj stranici pri dnu čita se ovo: „Kad je godine 1868. osnovano Društvo svetog Jeronima, među prvim pozdravima stiglo je pismo velikoga vladike Strossmayera. I njegove riječi napisane onda važe do danas, čak su one danas i aktuelnije kad kažu: „Pomozite narodu da mu u ruke pružite knjige valjane, knjige za njegovu kako materijalnu tako i duševnu korist, osobito u ovo vrijeme, kad mnogi o tom rade, da se našem narodu šire knjige tuđinske, često puta otrovne i njegovom biću neprijateljske.“ Biskup Strossmayer bio je Hrvat, dapače najveći dobrotvor hrvatskog naroda, što mu svak priznaje, ali u tim retcima ne ističe „hrvatski“ nego „naš narod“, jer je mislio i na drugi dio naroda, koji se zove srpskim imenom. I to je pisao godine 1868., dakle natrag 66 godina, kada je naš narod bio razdvojen. A kako bi pisao danas biskup Strossmayer, da je doživio ujedinjenje svoga naroda, to Vi možete pojmiti, Preuzvišeni Gospodine, koji poznate njegove jugoslavenske ideale. Hoću još nešto da napomenem. Između izdanja Društva svetog Jeronima za iduću godinu ima i knjiga „Hrvatski preporod u Dalmaciji“ što potpuno odgovara historičkom činu i značaju toga pokreta. Naslov „Hrvatski preporod“ nije ispravan, jer u ovom pokretu, osobito u prvom početku (1868-1870) snažno su učestvovali koliko Srbi toliko Hrvati, zato se ovim naslovom nanaša naša nepravica kad se isključuju Srbi koji su imali iste zasluge kao njihova braća Hrvati sve dok nije nažalost godine 1880. došlo do razdora. Ali jasna je tendencija u svim izdanjima toga Društva, da se posvuda ističe hrvatstvo kao neki antipod jugoslavenstva.

Bog očuvao da bi kogod iz ovih redaka imao zaključiti kao da mi hoćemo zatajiti svoje ime, koje smo majčinim mlijekom usisali, ali nas „theologia moralis“ uči da i najsvetije djelo, kao što je na primjer molitva, kada bi imala izazvati zlovolju u javnosti na drugoj strani, mora se oprezno i skromno obaviti bez javnog isticaja, samo da se izbjegne lošim posljedicama. To nalaže prudentia koja je u javnom

Croatian people, he said „our people“, having in mind also the part of our people called Serbs. This is what he wrote in 1868, which means 66 years ago, when our people was separated. What would Bishop Strossmayer say now had he lived to see his people united you can imagine, the Most Reverend, because you are familiar with his Yugoslav ideals. One more thing. Next year the St. Jerome Society will Publish a book CROATIAN RENAISSANCE IN DALMATIA, which is fully in line with its historical role and importance of the whole movement. But the title CROATIAN RENAISSANCE is not correct because, particularly at the beginning (1868-1870), the Serbs and the Croats participated in an almost equal number. Therefore I think that by excluding their name from the title the Society does injustice to the Serbs whose merits are as great as the merits of their Croatian brothers, till the discord in 1880. But the trend of the Society is clear: to always places emphasis on Croatism as opposed to Yugoslavism.

For God's sake, no one reading these lines should conclude that we want to forget, or keep secret, our true name which we received from our mothers when they were breast feeding us, but our „theologia moralis“ teaches us that even in the loftiest act, which is prayer, we should be very careful not to utter something that would hurt the other side or antagonize it. In public life we should be prudent because PRUDENCE is MAXIMA VIRTUS of public life. At the funeral of our outstanding personality Frano Bulitch (Bulić) in Split in several obituary addresses and articles Yugoslavia was not mentioned at all, only „Croatian people“ and the fatherland. And for Yugoslavia the late Frano Bulitch fought and pledged his reputation at the Peace Conference in Paris, in 1919. Moreover, no one mentioned our King who decorated the late Frano Bulitch with a Medal of the highest order. The participants noticed that some wanted to abuse the reputation of the outstanding scholar and exemplary priest to the detriment of Yugoslavia.¹¹⁰ I have also read in the papers about the initiative of a Boards of Priests to build a church dedicated to King Zvonimir and establish a Bishopric in Knin. The Proclamation says: „In this Jubilee year of redemption it would be right to revive the place of remote memories. If we cannot build a sumptuous Cathedral, we at least can build a modest church on the place where the CROATIAN

životu maxima virtus. Pri nedavnoj smrti i pogrebu našeg slavnog Frana Bulića u Splitu i Solinu čulo se više govora, čitalo se više članaka, i na više mjesta spomenuto je „hrvatski narod“ i „domovina“, a nigdje ime Jugoslavije, za koju je pokojnik išao godine 1919. na mirovne pregovore u Pariz i svojim ugledom mnogo doprineo, kao što ovom prigodom nije spomenuto ime našeg vladara, koji je vrlog pokojnika odlikovao najvišim ordenom. To je upalo u oko promatraocima učesnicima, koji su opazili, da su nekoji htjeli zlorabiti ugled odličnog učenjaka i svećenika na štetu jugoslavenske misli u Jugoslaviji.¹¹⁰ Čitao sam u novinama da se osnovao neki odbor između svećenika za podignuće crkve kralju Zvonimiru u Biskupiji kod Knina. U proglasu se veli: „U ovoj jubilarnoj godini ljudskog otkupljenja pravo je da oživimo sveto mjesto davnih uspomena. Ako ne možemo sjajnu katedralu, a to moramo barem skromnu crkvicu da podignemo na mjestu, gdje je „hrvatski“ biskup pjevao Bogu hvala, gdje su „hrvatski“ kraljevi sudili narodu pravicu...“ Tendencija je ovih riječi jasna.

Kakav duh provejava u nekim redovima katoličke crkve najbolje se opazilo prije godine 1930., kada se uvela jedinstvena jugoslavenska zastava. Prije toga vijale su se na javnim tornjevima dvije zastave, jedna plemenska (hrvatska) druga državna (jugoslavenska). U nekim crkvama opazilo se da je plemenska bila duga 3-4 metra, dočim ona državna dostizala je do 2 metra. To je očito dokaz demonstracije proti državnoj zastavi, tako da je morala više puta istupiti policija. Dozvolite mi još da navedem. Poznat mi je slučaj, kada su dva franjevca iz Dalmacije bila zamoljena od kraljevskog poslanika u Belgiji (Bruxelles) da blagoslovi jugoslavensku zastavu u nekoj prigodi kod radničkih kolonija u toj zemlji, nisu htjeli, a da se tim solidariziraju sa onim radnicima koji su neprijatelji jedinstva Jugoslavije.¹¹¹ O tom nekorektnom ponašanju ja sam obznanio M. P. Provincijala franjevaca u Splitu.

I u javnoj katoličkoj štampi opaža se isti postupak. Ako li je dnevniku „Hrvatska straža“ glavni zadatak da brani katolička načela u našoj domovini, onda neka promijeni naslov u „Katolička straža“, kao što je u svoje vrijeme bila u Dalmaciji „Katolička Dalmacija“ pod uredništvom don Ivana Prodana u Zadru. Iz tog se lista jasno vidi da se pod plaštom vjere (katolištva) hoće da ističe politika (hrvatstvo),

¹¹⁰ It should be emphasized that Archbishop Stepinac also made a speech at that funeral.

¹¹⁰ Treba napomenuti da je na toj sahrani govorio i nadbiskup Stepinac.

¹¹¹ Ovdje don Frano Ivanišević misli na ustaše koji su se nalazili u Belgiji.

Bishop celebrated God and where CROATIAN kings were imparting justice...“ The point of these words is clear.

The spirit prevailing in the Catholic Church was particularly obvious before 1930., when the Yugoslav flag was proclaimed the only flag in official public use. Before that two flags were in official public use: one tribal (Croatian) and the other state (Yugoslav). In some churches the Croatian flag was 3-4 meters long and the Yugoslav was hardly 2 meters long. This is an obvious demonstration against the state flag, so that police had to intervene several times. Another example. When the Charge d' Affairs of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to Belgium (Brussels) asked two Franciscans from Dalmatia to bless the Yugoslav flag at an event in the workers' settlement they refused and sided with those workers of Yugoslav origin who were against the unity of Yugoslavia.¹¹¹ The Franciscan Provincial in Split personally revealed that incorrect act on the part of the two Franciscans.

The Catholic press is following in the same wake. If the main task of the Catholic daily HRVATSKA STRAŽA (Croatian guard) is to defend the principle of Catholicism in Yugoslavia it should change its title to KATOLIČKA STRAŽA (Catholic guard) like we had once KATOLIČKA DALMACIJA (Catholic Dalmatia), published in Zadar with Ivan Prodan as editor-in-chief. This journal clearly shows the intention to under the guise of religion (Catholicism) introduce politics (Croatism) in support of elements hostile to the unity of Yugoslavia, because without a united Yugoslavia there is no life either for the Serbs, Croats or Slovenes. The idea of the united Yugoslav state is successfully coping with all these open or secret problems and boldly marching towards that goal. I deeply believe that nothing will happen to compromise that goal, but as a Catholic priest I fear negative effects on our Church if it continues to insist on the tribal (ethnic) to the detriment of state unity. Allow me, the Most Reverend, to bring to Your attention a few more details which illustrate the spirit prevailing in some Catholic circle. Reverend –Dean Julius Nemetz (Julije Nemec) has recently celebrated the Jubilee of the Gold Mess in Karlovatz (Kamensko). In Zagreb papers (OBZOR, NOVOSTI, JUTARNJI LIST) the Jubilee was mentioned, but in HRVATSKA STRAŽA there is not a single word about the event, I have the impression, because Reverend Nemetz is and enthusiastic supporter of the idea of Yugoslavism. On the other hand, this jour-

naime da se podupiru elementi koji su protivni jedinstvu Jugoslavije nema spasa ni Srbima, ni Hrvatima ni Slovencima. Državna jugoslavenska misao prelazi preko svih tih javnih ili potajnih prepona i orijaški korača prema svome cilju, te sam potpuno uvjeren da ju na tom putu neće ništa zaustaviti: ali se kao katolički svećenik bojim da crkva katolička ide u susret neugodnim posljedicama budući se držala ovog plemenskog naziranja na štetu državne cjeline. Neka mi bude dozvoljeno, Preuzvišeni, navesti još nekoliko sitnica, iz kojih se vidi kakav duh provejava u nekim katoličkim krugovima. Ovih je dana svetkovao jubilej zlatne mise u Karlovcu (Kamensko) vrijedni i zaslužni župnik-dekan gospodin Julije Nemec. U zagrebačkim novinama („Obzor“, „Novosti“, „Jutarnji list“) bio je jubilej spomenut, dočim u katoličkoj novini „Hrvatska straža“, čini mi se da nije ni slovo pisano, a to stoga što je gospodin Nemec oduševljeni privrženik jugoslavenske ideologije. Naprotiv, u tom listu pišu se članci i tiskaju slike, u ovim prigodama, o svećenicima koji su privrženici hrvatske ideologije. To nije kršćanska i svećenička ljubav. Tolerancija, koju je slavni biskup Strossmayer uvijek preporučao u općenju sa braćom pravoslavne crkve, a koju nam i naša katolička moralka preporuča u općenju bilo sa kojim drugoga mišljenja, nimalo se ne poštuje.

Kad je lanjske godine Patrijarh Varnava prošao kroz Bosnu, Hercegovinu do Dalmacije, da obavi svoj pastirski pohod, nitko u Sarajevu od kaptola nije iskazao bilo koji čin učtivosti, osim provincijala franjevac, koji ga je pohodio. Tako isto i u Dubrovniku nitko od Kurije ni kaptola nije iskazao Patrijarhu kakvu počast, dočim je Patrijarh bio velikodušan prema gradu i svećenstvu gdje je ogromna većina katolika, te je u svome govoru na banketu u hotel Imperijalu dne 25. septembra 1933. rekao ove riječi: „A uz to upravimo naše molitve zaštitniku ovoga grada svetome Vlahu, koji je za tisuću godina branio ovaj grad, neka ga i nadalje štiti u svakoj sreći i božjem blagoslovu.“ Poznato je da svetog Vlaha štuje samo katolička crkva.

Navesti ću i nekoje ugodne pojave. Prošloga augusta mjeseca obavio je svoju kanonsku vizitaciju gornjo-karlovački episkop dr. Maksimilijan. U Kostajnici bio je svečano dočekan od pučanstva pravoslavne i katoličke crkve. Između katolika građana bili su prisutni katolički župnici gg. Slavko Venko i Ivica Kulir. Oni su prisustvovali na banketu pri kojemu je vladika u nazdravici pozvao svećenstvo na širenje ljubavi bratske među Hrvatima i Srbima, a u znak ljubavi zagrljio je prisutne katoličke župnike i od srca se s njima izljubio. Ovaj čin silno je oduševio prisutne da se je vidjelo i suza od ganuća. Pri

¹¹¹ Here don Frano Ivanishevitch means the Ustashi at that time in Belgium.

nal takes advantage of each opportunity to publish articles on and pictures of the priests—supporters of the idea of Croatism. This is not Christian and pastoral love. Our Most Reverend Bishop Strossmayer recommends tolerance in communication with our brothers Serbs, which our Catholic moral teaching also recommends in communication with anyone of different opinion but this recommendation is not honored.

Last year when the Orthodox Patriarch, His Holiness Varnava, travelled through Bosnia and Herzegovina on his pastoral way to Dalmatia there was no one in Sarajevo to pay Him respect on behalf of the Captol, except for the Franciscan Provincijal who paid Him a visit. It was the same in Dubrovnik where there was no one either to pay Him respect on behalf of the Captol or the Catholic Curia. On the other hand, the Orthodox Patriarch was very generous towards the city with the overwhelming majority of Catholics and its clergy. At the banquet in the IMPERIAL hotel, on September 25, 1933 He said: „Let us address our prayers to the Patron of this town, St Blaise (Sv. Vlaho), who had defended this town a thousand years, in the hope that he will continue to protect it in happiness and with God's blessing.“ St Blaise is a Catholic Saint and everybody knows it.

I would also like to bring to your attention some positive trends. Last month Dr. Maximilian, Orthodox Bishop (Vladika) of Gornji Karlovci (Karlovci) visited Kostajnitza (Kostajnica) where both the Orthodox and Catholic population extended Him a most cordial welcome. Revered Catholic priests Slavko Venko and Ivitza Kulir were among the Catholics welcoming the Orthodox Bishop. They were also invited to the banquet. On that occasion in His welcome address the Orthodox Bishop called on the priests of both confessions to disseminate brotherly love between the Croats and Serbs and embraced the present Catholic priests. Everybody got very excited and many were on the verge of tears. Also, Archbishop Roditch (Rodić) has recently visited Bečkerek (Bečkerek) to attend the Catholic Congress organized in that town. The population of both confession extended Him a very cordial welcome. At the railway station the old Orthodox Archpriest (Arhiepiskop) was there to welcome the Archbishop. Such cordiality is in the spirit of the teaching of our Lord and does not, in the least, jeopardize its dignity. On the contrary. It opens up a wider field for the expansion of the Catholic Church and through cooperation with the other church its active participation in moral education of our people, which is in our common interest and in the interest of

nedavnom dolasku nadbiskupa Rodića u Veliki Bečkerek, kada se priređivala velika svečanost za katolički kongres u tom mjestu, čitavo je građanstvo jedne i druge crkve iskazalo počast katoličkom nadbiskupu. Pri dočeku na kolodvoru bio je prisutan zamjenik arhijereja stari prota Stakić sa svojim svećenstvom. Ovakova susretljivost jest u duhu Kristove nauke. Ona nimalo ne umanjuje dostojanstvo katoličke crkve, dapače otvara šire polje njezinoj ekspanzivnosti, jer ne isključuje suradnju s drugom crkvom u onomu što nam je zajedničko dobro pri odgoju naroda u moralnom i materijalnom pogledu.

Vašoj Preuzvišenosti dobro je poznato i pitanje Sokola. U ovim retcima imate pred sobom svećenika, koji je mnogo toga u životu prokušao i zapamtio, pa mu dozvolite da iskaže kako misli i osjeća. Istup proti Sokolu kraljevine Jugoslavije sa strane jugoslavenskog episkopata, po mojem dubokom uvjerenju bio je netaktičan korak, koji nije ništa koristio, nego dapače naškodio ugledu katoličke crkve. Uz biskupa Uccellinija, narodnog poslanika gospodina Vjekoslava Spinčića, Msgra Kotniga, dr. Račkoga i nekih drugih svećenika i potpisani se osjećao ponukovan, da javno osudi taj korak. To je on učinio u beogradskom listu „Politika“ od 3. februara 1933. i u Senatu 29. novembra iste godine. Motivi koji su ga na to potakli jesu u prvom redu religiozne naravi. Iza pročitane biskupske poslanice bilo je nastalo u zapadnom dijelu našega naroda takovo silno uzbuđenje i ogorčenje proti katoličkoj crkvi, da je prijetila ozbiljna pogibelj od širokih masa prelaza u drugu crkvu u slučaju kada bi se svi predstavnici katoličke crkve iskazali solidarni sa biskupskom poslanicom. Obzirom na to da preko 50% svećenstva, osobito na primorju, nije pročitalo onu poslanicu u crkvi, jer ju je smatralo skroz neumjesnom a i pogubnom, oni koji su malo dublje povirili u cilj poslanice, shvatili su na prvi mah da se i tu krije politička natruha pod plaštom vjere. Bio je i sasvim nezgodan čas, u ono doba kada se je u Zagrebu i Ljubljani govorilo o nekim „rezolucijama“ i „punktacijama“, prema kojima bi se imala naša kraljevina preustrojiti u posebna administrativna tijela, nezavisna od centralne uprave u Beogradu, na način da bi i katolička crkva stekla svoju samostalnu upravu u Zagrebu. Takovo zamišljeno preustrojstvo bilo bi na štetu državnog i narodnog jedinstva.

Proti biskupskoj poslanici digli su se sveopći protesti u narodu, a osobito iz redova Sokola, te danas poslije jedne godine dana, kada bi imali zaključiti bilans konačnog računa poslanice, moramo nažalost konstatirati pasiv uz ova dva loša rezultata: 1) Crkva se je

the material wellbeing of the whole population. The Most Reverend, I assume that you are well informed about the Sokols. The lines before you are written by a priest who has worked hard all his life and who has a long memory. I am deeply convinced that it was not rational of the Catholic Episcopate in Yugoslavia to adopt a negative attitude against the Sokols of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia because this decision had a negative effect, detrimental to the Catholic Church. The undersigned, together with Bishop Uccellini, Dr. Spinchitch, Member of Parliament, Msgr. Kotnig, Dr. Rachky and some other priests felt that he had to publicly condemn that attitude. The undersigned did it by making a statement for POLITIKA of the 3-rd of February, 1933 and in the Senate on the 29-th of November of the same year, primarily for religious reasons. After the reading of the Epistle people in the Western part of our country got so agitated and embittered against the Catholic Church that they were ready to give up the Catholic and adopt the Orthodox religion in case all Catholic priest support the Epistle. It did not happen thanks to the fact that over 50 % of Catholic priests, particularly those from the coastal area, did not read the Epistle, considering it out of place and fatal because they understood the implications. They were aware of its political aims and religion was only a screen. Also, the Epistle was announced at the most inappropriate moment when from Zagreb and Ljubljana some RESOLUTIONS and PUNCTUATIONS were launched calling for the administrative division of Yugoslavia into units independent of the central administration in Belgrade. According to that concept Zagreb is to become the See of the Catholic Church in the country. Such redistribution and division would be detrimental to the state and national unity.

People all over Yugoslavia protested against the Epistle, the Sokols in particular. After one year the effect of the Epistle is the following: 1) From the point of view of the State the Catholic Church is an unreliable factor destroying everything the state is trying to build, including the Sokols, the organization fighting for the unity of Yugoslavia, whose Leader is the Heir to the Throne Petar II, himself; 2) By refusing to bless the Sokol flags the Catholic Church alienates a great number of young people, members of the Sokols, spiritually devoted to their Church. This means that the overall political and religious effect of the Epistle was only detrimental to the Catholic Church. Later on the Episcopate realized that fact and now it allows the blessing of the Sokols provided they make a short public

katolička izložila pred državom kao nepouzdana činbenik, koji hoće da ruši ono što država diže, naime organizaciju Sokola kao ustanovu koja se bori za jedinstvo države pod vrhovnim starješinom u osobi prijestolonasljednika Petra: 2) Uskraćuje blagoslov zastave Sokola, odalečuje se od crkve naša omladina koja se okuplja u sokolskim četama, a koja je u svojoj duši prožeta iskrenim vjerskim čuvstvom. Dakle ni u vjerskom ni u političkom pogledu katolički episkopat nije ništa postigao sa onom poslanicom, nego je dapače tim neopreznim korakom nehotice nanio štete crkvi. O tome se je, mislim, episkopat kasnije potpuno uvjerio i odustao od svoje prve odluke i zabrane te danas dopušta da se obavi blagoslov sokolskih četa uz nekoje formalne izjave sa strane Sokola. To je vrlo dobro učinio episkopat, jer je naša glavna pastirska svrha da mladost dovadamo u crkvu, a ne da je od nje odbijamo. Zdrav razum ipak prevladuje. Nedavni govor preuzvišenog đakovačkog biskupa dr. Antuna Akšamovića, prigodom posvete Sokolskog doma u Petrovaradinu, pridigao je moral u narodu i uvjerenje da crkva katolička nije neprijateljica narodnih ustanova, kojima je cilj da rade za jedinstvo i konsolidaciju kraljevine Jugoslavije.

Prije završetka ovoga pisma dozvolite mi, Preuzvišeni, da se obazrem na nekoje historičke događaje iz nedavne prošlosti, koji mogu služiti zgodnom uputom za promatranje naših današnjih političkih prilika u Jugoslaviji. Historija je velika učiteljica života. Ono što se dogodilo pri koncu toga vijeka a završilo pred samih pet godina u Italiji, može i nama katolicima u Jugoslaviji veoma dobro poukom služiti, kako ćemo udesiti položaj i odnošaj crkve napram razviku države. Iza velikog prevrata u Francuskoj, za nekoliko decenija slijedila je ogorčena borba glede oblika državne vladavine između monarhista i republikanaca. Crkva katolička, po svojoj naravi konzervativna, pristajala je uz stari režim (rojalista) i zalagala se za monarhiju, dočim se ogromna većina naroda izjavila za republikanski sistem. Iako je Francuska sva katolička, ipak je narod išao na drugu stranu, od čega je nastao sukob i prijetila je pogibelj razdora među katolicima, kada je stupio na stolicu Svetog Petra mudri poglavar crkve Leon XIII, koji je definitivno riješio ovo pitanje i naredio francuskim biskupima da priznaju republikanski sistem vlade, ali da nastoje na izborima da uđu u nju ljudi, koji neće biti neprijatelji vjere i crkve. Tim se uspostavila ravnoteža između crkve i države.

Za doba preporoda u Italiji također se vodila žestoka borba između crkve i države iza kako se je godine 1870. ujedinila Italija, a

statement. This is not a good decision of the Episcopate because our main pastoral duty is to attract young people under the wing of our Church, and not to alienate them. Common sense has prevailed. The recent address of the Right Reverend Dr. Antun Akshamovitch (Akšamović), Bishop of Djakovo, at the consecration of the Sokol Center in Pertovaradin produced a positive effect on the population as a proof that the Catholic Church is not a hostile institution and that its aim is to work in favor of the unity and consolidation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Before concluding this letter allow me, the Most Reverend to mention a few historical events from our recent past, which may be important for the evaluation of the political situation in Yugoslavia today. History is a great teacher. What happened at the end of the previous century and culminated in Italy only five years ago may be a good lesson to us, Catholics living in Yugoslavia and help us adopt the appropriate attitude towards the development of the State. Several decades after the historical change in France a very embittered fight over the form of state government was waged between the Monarchists and Republicans. Essentially conservative the Catholic Church supported the old Royal regime and called for the restoration of Monarchy, whereas the overwhelming majority of population gave its support to the republicans. In spite of being Catholics the French decided to support the opposite side which gave rise to a conflict threatening to develop into a great chasm between the Catholics. When the wise Leo XIII was elected Pope he solved the problem by ordering the French Bishops to recognize the republican system and then use their very best efforts to prevent the election of people hostile to the Catholic church and religion. In this way the balance was established between the Church and the State.

The Renaissance in Italy is also marked by vehement conflicts between the Church and the State. After the unification of Italy in 1870 when the secular state of the Pope was abolished until 1929, which means full 60 years in Catholic Italy the struggle was also waged for the restoration of the secular state of the Pope, against the unity of Italy. The public knows what NON EXPEDIT MEANS PROHIBITS the Catholics to participate in the political life of Italy and the elections called for the Italian government which the Vatican did not recognize. In Catholic papers such as: UNITA CATOLICA in Torino, CIVITA CATOLICA, in Rome and others openly discussed this issue, particularly in case of a war in Europe involving Catholic

papinska svjetovna država ukinuta. Od te dobe pa do 1929. godine, dakle punih 60 godina u katoličkoj Italiji vodila se borba za uspostavu papinske svjetovne države a protiv jedinstva Italije. Poznat je javnosti „Non expedit“ kojim se zabranjivalo katolicima da ne sudjeluju ni u političkim ni u administrativnim izborima italijanske vlade, koju Vatikan nije htio priznati. U katoličkim novinama „Unità Catolica“ u Torinu, „Cività Catolica“ u Rimu i druge otvoreno su raspravljale to pitanje u slučaju kakove ratne konflagracije u Evropi, računalo se na vojnu intervenciju katoličke Španjolske, Francuske i Austrije, da oružanom silom izvojske papinsku državu. Potpisani je bio u Italiji godine 1888. i deset godina kasnije 1898. imao je prigode da govori s uglednim crkvenim licima i doznava za njihove političke nazore, koji su se sastojali u ovome: provesti konfederaciju bivših talijanskih pokrajina Pijemonta, Venecije, Romanje, Napulja itd. Sa vrhovnim poglavicom rimskim papom, a proti jedinstvenoj Italiji pod dinastijom Savoja. Nešto slično kao što hoće, tobože, i naši federalisti, koji traže samostalnu Hrvatsku, Sloveniju, Srbiju, Bosnu itd. a ne jedinstvenu Jugoslaviju.

Kao u Francuskoj tako i u Italiji borba je dala sasvim negativan rezultat za katoličku crkvu. Od pape Pija X koji je ukinuo „Non expedit“, uvjerila se Sveta Stolica, da je ta borba uzaludna i neuspješna, dapače štetna za crkvu te je u februaru 1929. godine papa Pio XI sklopio u Rimu Lateranski ugovor sa današnjom italijanskom vladom Mussolinija, odrekao se prijašnjih zahtjeva u pogledu papinske države, priznao jedinstvo kraljevine Italije, ograničio se na „grad Vatikan (Città di Vaticano)“, koji uživa potpunu teritorijalnu samostalnost. Tom prigodom papa je odlikovao najvećim ordenom predsjednika vlade Mussolinija i nazvao ga je „providencijalnim čovjekom“, što je znao riješiti ovo pitanje koje je zadavalo teških briga i sukoba Svetoj Stolicu. Treba zabilježiti da su Francuska i Italija eminentno katoličke države, što nije slučaj kod nas u Jugoslaviji.

Na pogled ovih eklatantnih primjera iz nedavne historije, zašto, Preuzvišeni, da mi Hrvati katolici bez ikakva razloga izazivamo borbu u jednoj državi, gdje nam je potpuno zajamčena sloboda vjeroispovesti.* Ima li ikakva razloga da podržavamo neku duševnu

* U verziji ovoga teksta, koji je prošao drugu korekturu, ova rečenica je, posle reči vjeroispovijesti, prekinuta. Tu je stavljena tačka. Međutim, u tekstu pripremljenom za prvu korekturu, posle reči vjeroispovijesti stoji zapeta, pa se ta rečenica nastavlja sledećim rečima: „gdje imamo uzoritog vladara iz narodne dinastije, koja iako nije pripadnik katoličke crkve, ipak kao sin ove zemlje jednako plemenitim srcem osjeća za vjernike jedne i druge crkve, što on svaki dan dokazuje ne samo riječima

Spain, France and Austria, in view of establishing the secular state of the Pope by military force. In that regard an Agreement was signed in 1888 and in 1898 by outstanding representatives of High Clergy who shared the same political attitude. Their intention was to establish a confederation of the former Italian regions: Piemonte, Venezia, Romagna, Napoli, etc. The Pope would be at the head of this confederation, which was against the united Italy under the Crown of the Savoy Dynasty. Our federalists wish something similar. They call for an independent Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia, etc. and are against the united Yugoslavia.

Both in France and Italy the results of the conflict were negative for the Catholic Church. Pius X abolished the NON EXPEDIT. The Holy See realized the futility of such conflicts as detrimental to the church. In February 1929 Pius XI signed in Rome the LATERAN TREATIES with Mussolini, relinquishing all previous requests with regard to the establishment of the Papal state, recognized the unity of the Italian Kingdom and limited his territory to the CITY OF THE VATICAN (Citta di Vaticano) with ex-territorial status. On that occasion the Pope decorated the Prime Minister Mussolini with a medal of the highest order and called Mussolini „a Man of Providence“, who knew how to solve this difficult issue and a source of conflict within the Holy See as well. It should be recalled that France and Italy are predominantly Catholic states, which is not the case in Yugoslavia.

The Most Reverend, why we, Croats-Catholics, do not follow these historical examples and stop making problems to the country which fully guarantees or religious freedom.* Is there a valid reason for our support to the spiritual split to the detriment of consolidation of our state and thus play in the hands of our hostile neighbors? Is there any justification for the Catholic Church to make imprudent statements which bring about frictions and conflicts, instead of disseminating the teaching of the Holy Bible and promoting peace, brotherly love and culture, which is its sacred duty?

* In the second edited version this sentence is cut after the word RELIGION. In the first version after RELIGION the text goes on... „we have an exemplary Ruler from a national Dynasty, who is not a Catholic, but as a son of this country in his generous heart he does not make any difference between the two religions, which he proves not only by his words, but also by his charitable deeds by abundantly subsidizing the Catholic Church and Catholic institutions.“ This favorable view about King Aleksandar was expressed only eight days before his assassination in Marseilles to someone who obviously did not like it and was in a position to eliminate it from the final version of MAGNUM CRIMEN.

podvojenost na štetu državne konsolidacije a na zadovoljstvo naših neprijatelja u susjedstvu? Ima li smisla da se neopreznim izjavama daje povoda trvenjima i sukobima sa strane katoličke crkve, koja je kao božanska ustanova vijesnica evanđelja, Kristove nauke mira, bratske ljubavi i sveopće civilizacije u narodu, kakovu ona širi po čitavom krugu zemaljskome?

Mi se ne smijemo odreći naših tradicija i prošlosti. Naše je katoličko svećenstvo od vjkada, od prvog Ilirskog pokreta godine 1835. do danas, dakle kroz čitavo jedno stoljeće, od biskupa đakovačkog Jurja Strossmayera, prvog zasnovatelja jugoslavenske državne misli do zagrebačkog nadbiskupa dr. Ante Bauera, odvažnog branitelja te misli, dok je kao član srpsko-hrvatske koalicije bio u delegacijama u Pešti i saboru u Zagrebu, stajalo je uvijek naše rodoljubno i požrtvovno svećenstvo na braniku narodne slobode, dok smo robovali pod tuđim jarmom, pa tu plemenitu tradiciju domovinske ljubavi treba da sačuvamo, njegujemo i učvrstimo u današnjoj našoj državi Jugoslaviji kada smo se tog jarma, Bogu hvala, za uvijek oslobodili. Neka dakle naša Katolička Akcija bude upućena u duhu našeg slavnog đakovačkog biskupa: „Sve za vjeru i domovinu!“

Neću više da duljim i Vama oduzimljem dragocjeno vrijeme. U najboljoj namjeri da nikome ne nanese uvredu, pa bilo i najmanje a samo crkvi i otadžbini da iskažem svoju odanost, napisao sam ove retke, koje blagoizvolite, Preuzvišeni, pročitati kad nađete shodna vremena, te ukoliko bude vrijedilo, uzeti na znanje i uvaženje.

Sa osjećajem najdubljeg poštovanja bilježi se odani

Split, 1. oktobra 1934.

*Župnik u miru, senator kraljevine Jugoslavije
Frano Ivanišević*

Don Frano Ivanišević, koji je čitava života bio takoreći na mrtvoj straži i svojim rodoljubivim shvaćanjem svećeničkih dužnosti nastojao da pomogne narodu, razjedinjenom vjerama, i da kroz svoj svećenički poziv djeluje na široke neprosvjecene mase u duhu Strossmayera, nije ni ovaj put imao sreće da ga mladi nadbiskup-koadjutor, o kome će biti više govora u daljnjim poglavljima shvati i da mu odgovori po želji i njegovu srcu. Nadbiskup Stepinac,

nego dobrotvornim djelima pružajući iz svoje darežljive ruke obilne novčane potpore katoličkim crkvama i ustanovama?“ Ovako povoljna ocena o kralju Aleksandru Karađorđeviću, izrečena samo osam dana pre atentata u Marselju, nekom, ko je svemoćno uticao na konačnu verziju Magnum crimen-a, zasmetala je, pa je ona, bez naznake izostavljena.

We must not reject our tradition and our past. Since the first days of the Illyrian Movement in 1835 our Catholic priest to date have always defended our national freedom while we were under foreign yoke, which means during a period of a whole century, from Strossmayer, the Bishop of Djakovo, the master brain of the idea of Yugoslavism up to Dr. Ante Bauer, Archbishop of Zagreb, a brave supporter of that idea, and as member of the of the Serbo-Croatian coalition was also member of the delegations to Budapest and the Parliament in Zagreb. We should continue to foster that noble tradition of love for the fatherland and consolidate it today when we are living in our own country and thanks God no longer under the foreign yoke. Our CATHOLIC ACTION should continue its activities according to the slogan launched by Bishop Strossmayer: „Everything for the Faith and Fatherland!“

I do not want to abuse any more on Your precious time. My intention was most honorable. I did not want to offend anyone, the least my Church and my country. By writing these lines I only wanted to prove my devotion. The Most Reverend, if you have time to read these lines and deem them useful I beg you to take them into consideration.

With deepest respect,

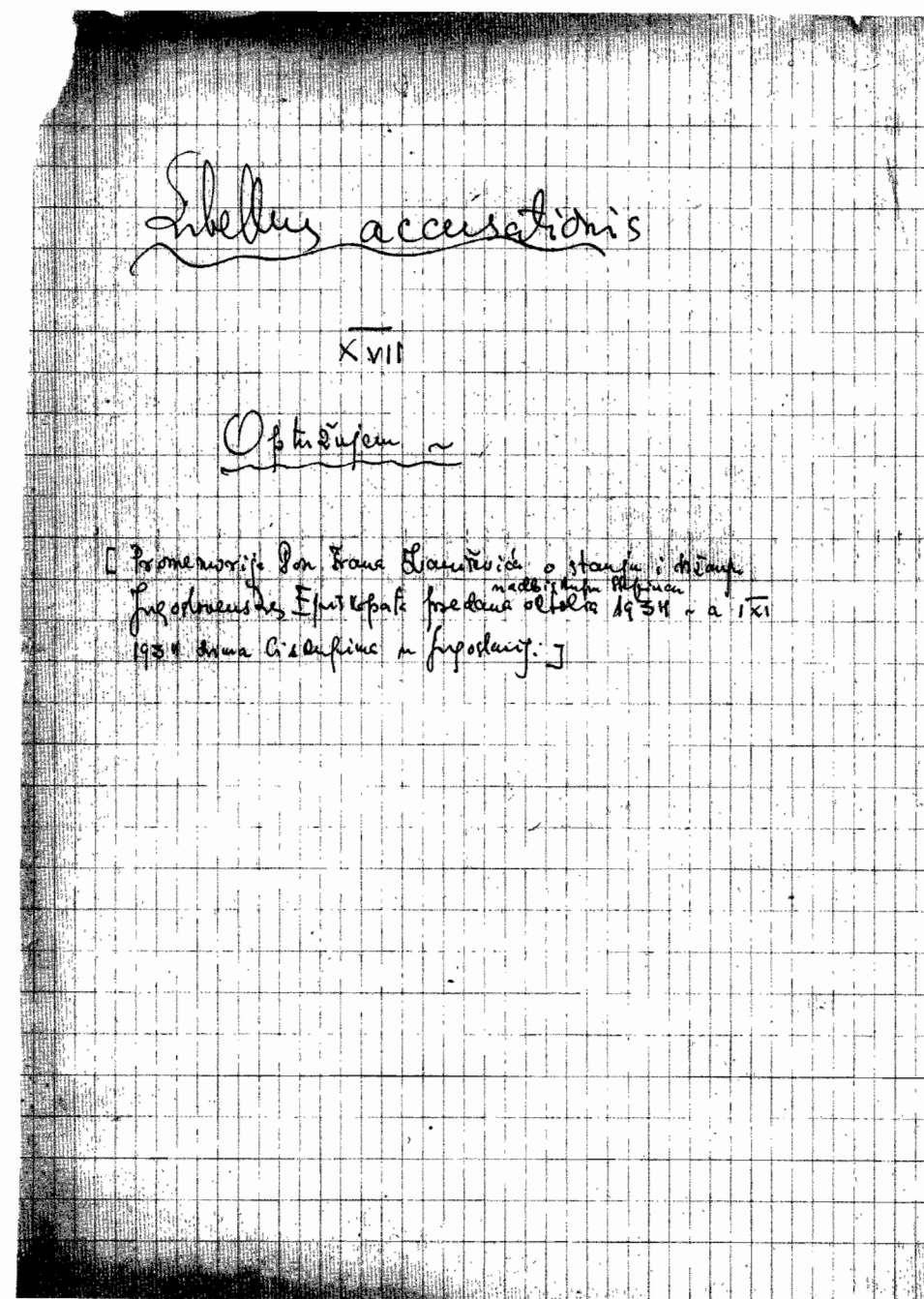
Devoted yours

Retired priest and Senator of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Frano Ivanishevitch

Split, October 1, 1934.

Don Frano Ivanishevitch (Ivanišević) as a priest and patriot, was using his very best efforts to help the people divided by religions and through his pastoral work enlighten them in the spirit of Strossmayer. Unfortunately, the young Archbishop-Coadjutor did not understand him and did not give him the answer that would satisfy his heart. Archbishop-Coadjutor Stepinac, performing that duty for only several months was still unknown to the relevant circles. He was not involved in any official activity. However, Archbishop-Coadjutor did not deem it his duty to answer this letter, like all other bishops. This was the destiny of this promemoria, which like all others, and on many other issues the priests-patriots have submitted to the attention of the Vatican, simply because they were not in line with the policy of the Roman Curia and the Captol, the See of the Archbishop of Zagreb. They had their far reaching aims-to establish a state in which the Catholic Church would be the only church and a supreme political factor. For them the end justified



Naslov izostavljenog poglavlja
The title page of the omitted chapter

the means and therefore they accepted support from all those who could help them in these efforts regardless of who they were. Less than seven years later the developments will show how deep was the blunder of don Frano Ivanishevitch, fostering the Utopian idea of Yugoslavism strongly supported by the King and the sincerity of alleged Yugoslavism of Dr. Bauer which, also at the time of Serbo-Croatian coalition was only a means for getting the approval for his high position. When at the time of that coalition he did not succeed to get the high nomination he tried to achieve it thanks to Ban Tomashitch (Tomašić), supported by Budapest and Vienna. On the other hand, Dr. Bauer had support of the Jesuits because he strongly supported their return before the Croatian Parliament (Hrvatski sabor) in 1899. Their support implied support of the Roman Curia, particularly at the time of Pius X and his Secretary Cardinal Mery del Val.

It was just another in a series of his disappointments. This is a tragedy of a great idealism destroyed by upstarts who were not up to his knee. The assassination of the King in Marseilles has postponed the answer ad infinitum. After that tragic event the situation completely changed and clericalism gained new impetus.

¹¹² See the next chapter

koadjutor tek nekoliko mjeseci bio je još svim krugovima velika nepoznanica. Još se nikako nije pokazao na djelu. Međutim, nadbiskup-koadjutor nije smatrao svojom dužnošću da na ovo pismo odgovori, kao što to nisu učinili ni drugi biskupi. Dakle, i ova je Spomenica prošla, kao i sve ostale koje su se od rodoljubivog svećenstva po raznim pitanjima upućivale u Vatikan. Naprosto stoga, jer se takvi savjeti, ni takve molbe nisu ni očekivali jer nisu bili u skladu s principima crkvene politike koja je bila i ostala ista u Rimskoj Kuriji kao i na zagrebačkom Kaptolu, u zagrebačkom nadbiskupskom dvoru. Tu su imali čula samo za jedan dalekosežni cilj jedne države, u kojoj će katolička crkva biti jedini i svemoćni činilac. Odatle nastojanja, pa i pomoću krajnjih sredstava, da se takav cilj pomogne, pa od koga dolazio, pa ma tko ga izveo. Neće proći ni sedam godina, i oživotvorenje njegovo će pokazati koliko je don Frano Ivanišević bio u zabludama, i onda, kad se utopistički uzdao u jugoslavensku misao koju je dinastija propagirala, kao i u jugoslavenstvo dra Ante Bauera, koje je i u vrijeme hrvatsko-srpske koalicije bila prosto konjunktura kojom se dolazi do mitre. Kad to nije išlo pomoću koalicije, uspjelo je pomoću mađarona bana Tomašića, na čijoj se listi kandidirao, i svečano propao, prije nego što je stekao povjerenje i Pešte i Beča. Povjerenje jezuita već je davno imao, braneći njihov povratak u Hrvatsku, u hrvatskom saboru 1899. A imati njihovo povjerenje, značilo je imati i povjerenje Rimske Kurije, pogotovo u vrijeme Pija X. i njegova kardinala-sekretara Mery del Vala.

Samo Don Frano Ivanišević imao je da svojim ranijim razočarenjima doda još jedno novo. U tome je i tragika jednog velikog idealizma, zgaženog i pozlijedenog od skorojevića koji nisu bili dostojni ni da remena odriješe s njegovih sandala. Atentat u Marseillesu odložio je za uvijek odgovor – jer sad se situacija sasvim iz osnova izmjenila – i klerikalcima su još i više porasla krila.¹¹²

¹¹² Vidi u slijedećem poglavlju.

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