

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

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THE YOUNG CATHOLIC MOVEMENT GENESIS, IDEOLOGICAL
PRINCIPLES AND PUTTING THEM INTO PRACTICE (1919 – 1940)

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JAUNŪJŲ KATALIKŲ SAJŪDŽIO GENEZĖ, IDEOLOGINIAI PRINCIPAI
IR JŲ REALIZAVIMO PRAKTIKA (1919 – 1940)

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THE YOUNG CATHOLIC MOVEMENT GENESIS, IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES AND PUTTING THEM INTO PRACTICE (1919 – 1940)

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation

Relevance of the Study

In the 4th decade a number of talented young Catholic intellectuals especially manifested in various cultural spheres of life such as philosophy, pedagogy, sociology, literature, art and others entered the Lithuanian public life. A declaration named „Towards the creation of an organic state” published in „Naujoji Romuva” (NR) on 23 February, 1936 expressed all their aspirations and ideological principals. On the basis of the declaration, the Catholic movement known as the Young Catholic Movement (YCM) in historiography was formed. Its genesis was mostly influenced by Stasys Šalkauskis, Kazys Pakštas and Juozas Eretas (Ehret), united in Romuva Society. While working they are called Romuva adherents and are considered to be as a separate Catholic world-view group.

A research of YCM genesis, its nature and operation raises a number of problems. For example, a problem of YCM political orientation. In historiography YCM is usually assigned to the right wing movements, however, YCM cooperation with the Communists would cast doubt on that assessment. Such cooperation cannot be explained by a usual left - right scheme applied to political researches. The setting of YCM nature is complicated by stereotypical breakdown of any derivative actions into areas of political, social and cultural life seeing their native segregative. Meanwhile, analysis of YCM performance reveals just the importance of drastic world-determination tying all of these activities.

Exclusive focus on public activities and their documentation devalue the non-public ones. This hinders the understanding that the cultural and non-public (inspirational) means can also be used deliberately to affect the human consciousness changing the direction of society development that public management is possible via the symbols in literature and art created by cultural workers. In historiography ideological significance of symbols, images, ideas, and values is not properly assessed. Therefore, a new methodological approach to

ontological, religious, social life concept is required for the determination of the nature of the YCM and solution of historiography paradoxes.

One of the reasons impeding recognition and understanding of YCM collaboration with ideological groups hostile to Catholicism is the restriction of expression in traditional Catholicism with its characteristic exclusiveness, essentially rejecting any cooperation with non-Catholics. This creates a number of historical paradoxes. For example, assuming that the interwar Lithuania was overwhelmed by a strong Catholic world-view, ideological and political confrontation with communism, in regard to it the question arises how it can be reconciled with the Catholic passivity during the USSR ultimatum, the Soviet occupation and the regime until 1940 autumn. Looking for a solution of this historiography paradox leads to re-evaluation of the theological foundations of Catholicism.

YCM Catholic engagement, intellectual superiority of its participants in a Catholic country as the interwar Lithuania was, makes it one of the central world-view movements giving the researchers an exceptionally convenient position of monitoring and reporting Lithuania's political, cultural, social processes. YCM being partially inspired by ideas up taken from West becomes an excellent example of a successful reception of foreign ideas to current Lithuania rapidly integrating into global structures trying to use the common European values in the interests of the Lithuanian nation. Efforts of YCM to find harmony of Catholic, national and European versatility remain relevant.

The subject matter and chronological framework

The object of the research is YCM acted in 1936 - 1940, as well as the genesis of this movement, coinciding chronologically with the functioning of a Romuva adherent world-view group in 1919 - 1936. The chronological framework of the paper is described by both external and internal (Romuva adherent world-view groups and YCM) criteria: the initial paper framework is marked by the formation of secret society Romuva on 2 February, 1919 in Friburg, and the final in 1940 when the YCM nature changed dramatically due to the Soviet occupation. There are other important dates which were used as chronological framework: 1926 indicates significant changes in the political life of Lithuania and the church, namely the rivals of Catholic culture workers – the Christian Democrats – ejection

from the government and the strengthening of the Church hierarchy which allowed it to take over leadership of the Church, and 1933 characterizes the end of the Church and the authoritarian regime open conflict due to an increasing involvement of young Catholics in public life.

The Goal of the study

The aim is to reveal the factors and circumstances having influenced the formation of YCM, its role in Catholic society and relationship to other ideological groups, with an emphasis on church-related YCM ideology and operational aspects.

The Tasks of the study

1) to determine ideological and organizational characteristics of world-view trends and factors of expression in the development of the Lithuanian Catholic society of twentieth century first half; 2) to reveal social - cultural and political aspects of the role of Romuva adherents in YCM genesis; 3) to cover the process of YCM position in Catholic and nationwide organizations; 4) to determine the relation of NR cultural movement with YCM; 5) to disclose the circumstances of the declaration preparation in 1936 and release of „XX amžiaus”; 6) to establish the key characteristics of self-awareness, self-identification and ideology of YCM; 7) to describe the concept of YCM Catholicism, religiousness and the religion programme and the efforts to realize it; 8) to characterize the concept of YMC national identity in relation to Catholicism, a national programme, and efforts to realize it; 9) to identify the nature of YCM effort to seek after the solidarity of nation; 10) to reveal YCM relationship with the ideological groups hostile to Catholic Action (CA); 11) to describe the management structure, the shift, the influence in the Catholic society of YCM.

Research methods

In this study the attitude prevails to look at policy, culture, economy as a united area where the groups cherishing a variety of purposes interact. Therefore, a fundamental

principle of the study is determination of basic world-view decision circumstances, nature, and timing of those members of the group. In practice, this methodological access means efforts to find the determination and perform the investigation separately from it. Such a world-view determination may remain implicit, demonstrated only indirectly from the group's relations with other groups. Objective of this study would be disclosure of the performance of one of those world-groups – YCM – and its relationship with other world-view and non-worldview groups.

Analytical, comparative and synthetic methods are applied in the paper. Analytical method is used for perception of YCM and related groups, leading people's world-view and practical performance in different spheres (structural and functional aspect), as well as detailed YCM-resolution characterization in the different time periods (chronological aspect). Comparative method is applied for comparing YCM with other radical European folk and social Catholics movements with the view to determinate analogies between possible world-view and the practical operation. The synthetic approach is inevitable when goals have been set to reveal the full YCM expression in political, cultural and societal spheres.

Historiography

There is a lot of historical data, assigned for young Catholics and Romuva adherents closely associated with them or, having broader point of view, for the Catholics culture-workers (Katalikai kultūrininkai) but their creative heritage is analysed in it wider. There are not a lot of works discussing YCM as a complex phenomenon (in particular, their genesis). The first attempts to assess the performance of young Catholics during the interwar period were presented by the same young Catholics – members of Lithuanian Front (LF) or later, Lithuanian Front Fellows (LFF) organizations and their supporters in exile. Those movement features and historical elements that together accounted for most young Catholic patron YCM historical frame of the scheme – the canon are highlighted in their letters, diaries, memoirs, articles, occasional speeches. The beginning is considered to be J. Ambrazevičius' speech that was given him in honour of P. Dielininkaitis in 1942. In it Ambrazevičius highlighted those features of YCM that were concealed both before and after the war, and

later, after it, namely, the political nature of YCM and nationalism as the key for young Catholics cherished values. Consolidation of the nation at non-world-view base in Ambrazevičius speech was presented as the most important goal for young Catholics.

After the war, historical canon of YCM has been formed in the correspondence between LF heads, studies and articles under the conditions of sharp disputes with the Christian Democrats. It was finally legalized in the most important paper of LF fellows – the declaration „Towards Complete democracy. Reflections on the state grounds” (published in „Į Laisvę” in 1954 - 1955). This YCM history scheme was formed by the LF command, supplemented by memories of the same young Catholics, or Catholic culture worker, it was published for society. No coincidence that the researches in exile (J. Eretas, J. Girnius, S. Yla, J. Brazaitis, A. Maceina) are mainly biographical. YCM leaders or Catholic culture worker become the research object themselves. Much attention is paid to the coverage of YCM formation and operation context, the role of Catholic culture workers in YCM genesis is defined, significance of studies in the West for YCM historical development is emphasized. YCM is presented as the intellectual vanguard, based on Šalkauskis personality. Entire view of interwar Lithuanian Catholic public intellectual formation and dissemination is presented (J. Girnius). Three generation scheme attempting to explain the evolution of the Catholic society world-view from national revival is formulated (J. Eretas). Kuraitis and Dovydaitis (J. Girnius), as well as Fr. S. Yla role in the formation of the young generation of priests is highlighted (P. Gaida - Gaidamavičius). Nevertheless, the closeness of the authors of many works to the described object prevented from emerging of the distance necessary for sufficiently objective scientific study. Their work is often difficult to distinguish between memories. They are apologetic enough, dependent on historical canon formed by the same Catholic culture worker and young Catholics, and often their own and the role of their educated generation during the interwar period is often overestimated in them.

By more critical look into the genesis of YMC, postulates of a well-established ideological and historical evolution began occurring in the ninth decade. S. Girnius and A. Mažiulis did start for analyses of YCM political operation until 1940. Mažiulis' article highlights the efforts of young Catholics to form their own shift. S. Girnius being one of the first attempted to analyze YCM as a single historical phenomenon in the interwar period.

V. Vaitiekūnas concluded that the role of Catholic culture workers (especially Šalkauskis) in the YCM genesis is overrated.

In Soviet Lithuania, in spite of ideological control and atheistic indoctrination, it has been done a lot for the analysis of philosophical heritage of Catholic culture workers: their relationship to philosophical currents found, their ideological interaction, the form and extent of impact to the younger generation of philosophers defined (I. Kostkevičiūtė, B. Kuzmickas, A. Sverdiolas). However, the overall picture of YCM remained schematic. It was almost exclusively relied on publicly announced works of young Catholics. Often F. Kemėšis and P. Jakas (V. Pruskus) were attributed to the young Catholics infidelity. It was concluded that the Catholic culture workers were neo-Thomists, but their neo-Thomism due to V. Solovyev influence was non-orthodox, especially Eretas', uniquely attributable to Augustinism camp. S. Šalkauskis and P. Kuraitis (although representing the orthodox neo-Thomism) were regarded as Catholic modern representatives (B. Deksnys), as well as the deliberate Maceina due to identifying oneself with Augustinism. It was found that despite the YC world-view dependence on Šalkauskis, there remoteness from Šalkauskis was noticed (A. Sverdiolas).

Consistent (but not separate, albeit a very prominent personalities of this movement, their ideas and action) research of YCM were started only after the restoration of independence. YCM is continued to be treated as a movement of intellectuals, but a deliberate effort to implement their ideas acting between students, workers is observed (A. Svarauskas), their political aspirations and concrete political activity are seen (A. Svarauskas, G. Rudis, P. V. Pšibilskis). Relations of YCM ideology with the teaching of the Church, communism and totalitarian nationalistic ideologies are analyzed not only in the ideological, but political context of Lithuania and Europe. Social views of young Catholics are considered to be as a consistent expansion of the church social doctrine, a considerable significance of corporatism in YCM ideological genesis. (A. Jankauskas, V. Pruskus). YCM is presented as a liberal movement that reduced its catholicity to minimum, essentially adhering to democratic ideals, but also rendering them by the idea form characteristic to the social and national radicalism to the first half of the twentieth century (K. Skrupskelis). Young Catholic world-view tolerance, national solidarity and the active pursuit of social activities are emphasized (V. Pruskus). Much attention is paid to the relationship of YCM with Naujoji Romuva and its cultural movement (D. Mačiulis, A. Streikus). However, young

Catholics continued to be considered the right-hand, without trying to look critically at the political science left - right scheme. And approach to YCM as the younger generation, naturally having changed the old Catholic activists, is not questioned (A. Svarauskas). Relationship of YCM with the Soviet regime and the analysis of the role of anti-soviet resistance allowed to see surviving (and thus, the most important) elements of their ideology, features of social and political action tactics, to determine their impact on the society of that time (J. Brazaitis, A. Mažiulis, M. Bloznelis, V. Kazilionytė).

Contribution of literature scholars (D. Jakaitė, G. Viliūnas, S. Laurenčikaitė V. Balsevičiūtė) to the YCM research is significant. Their work focuses on literary community's relationship with Catholicism. Perhaps the literature scholars were the first to begin to question the nature of Christianity of traditional Lithuanian religiosity (D. Čiočytė). Origins, structure, ideology, traditions of „Šatrija” that educated many young Catholics are covered in details. Jakaitė's observed devotion to „Šatrija” allows to present arguments to treat YCM as a community with own traditions, values and distinctive identity. However, it should be noted that dimension (modernity) important to the functioning of the Catholicism was understood narrower by the literature scholars than theologians: theological modernism is a broader phenomenon than literary modernism.

Works of art critics (S. Smilingytė – Žeimienė's, G. Jankevičiūtė's, J. Mulevičiūtė's), especially S. Smilingytė – Žeimienė are important for YCM research. They reflect variety of Catholic concept disclosed through example of ecclesiastical art in different layers of society at different periods of Catholic traditionalism and modernity, Catholicism and nationality interaction in the society of the first half of the twentieth century.

Research of heritage of Young Catholic culture workers and the Catholic philosophers was continued as it was before with a focus on Šalkauskis and Maceina (A. Jokubaitis, B. Ivanovas, V. Lukoševičius). Irrationality of A. Maceina's philosophy, tendency to nationalism, nearly a social radicalism and extremist political utopianism were observed (P. Butkus, L. Donskis, A. Sverdiolas). A. Jokūbaitis looking at A. Maceina's philosophical heritage through political and cultural antinomy lens also comes to the conclusion that A. Maceina was too focused on culture (nationalism).

Some more works (by L. Truska, R. Trimakas, R. Laukaitytė) of general nature are significant too as they helped to establish the limits of expression of Catholicism in the

society of that time in relation to ethnicity and social engagement. For wider historical context presentation, the works, intended for the period until the restoration of the state (by V. Žaltauskaitė, N. Putinaitė, P. Subačius), governing period of the Christian Democrats (by D. Bučelis ir A. Grigaravičius), the relationship between what the CA and national Catholic Society (by A. Kasparavičius, A. Merkelis), a state of nation and society in critical years 1938 – 1940 (by G. Vaskela) are invoked. A. Grigaravičius' and B. Ivanovas' works are very important for the current nationalist ideology (Tautininkai ideology) and political expression. Especially, current tendency to give prominence to differences of Catholic and nationalist societies, engagement for nationalism assigning only the nationalists (Tautininkai) (A. Bumblauskas, G. Viliūnas) and revising historic significance of national identity model formed as an outcome of the national revival at the end of the nineteenth century (N. Putinaitė, P. Subačius).

In order to determine the YCM social engagement boundaries of social, cultural and political expression, Soviet historiography (S. Atamukas, V. Marcelis, T. Sebeženkovaitė, I. Lempertas, Č. Bauža, V. Kancevičius works) was reviewed. It was constructed on the scheme of ideological incompatibility of Catholicism and Communism, treating Catholicism as the ideological basis of exploitative classes. Interaction between Catholicism and Communism was perceived by Soviet historians and philosophers as decreasing of theological imagery meaning conditioned by the revolutionary movement of the working people led by Communist Party and the communist ideology, growing popularity of Marxist ideas, overtaking of the methods of the revolutionary struggle for their rights, the USSR popularity growth process.

Catholics relations with the Communists often are characterized as antagonistic in non-Soviet literature as well. This is especially true in A. Streikus who researched in detail the Church relations with the Soviet regime (i.e. aspect of the official, institutional, Catholic society relations with regime) works. He revealed the confrontational side of their relationship. In general there are works (by V. Vardys, R. Laukaitytė, K. Skrupskelis, J. Jakštas) with more emphasis on cooperation between Catholics and Communists and the Soviet regime – the search for „a peaceful coexistence“. Works of N. Maslauskienė, M. Tamošaitis, J. Deksnys are important for determination of communist influence. L. Truska analysed a posture of society and authorities in 1940 in detail. However, it is hardly justified

his efforts to consider relations of society with the Soviet occupation as manifestation of „political and moral crisis“, pointing out that almost all Lithuanian society collaborated with the Soviet regime, then the blame for the consequences of Soviet regime to the Lithuanian nation was shifted to the Jewish people. The validity of this concept is questionable. All the more that L. Truska and other historians (K. K. Girnius, A. Kasparavičius, V. Sirutavičius, V. Vareikis) recognize that anti-Semitism in the interwar years was large-scale phenomenon.

Works of theological and philosophical nature has been used to discuss the phenomenon of Catholicism (T. M. Loome, B. Kuzmickas, H. Vorgrimler, H. Küng, A. Paškus, K. Trimakas and others). The book of T. Loome should be mentioned individually as it is devoted for Catholic modernism, given the arguments in justification of the conceptual open-Catholicism. To highlight the level of esoteric functioning works of historians of religion (G. Beresnevičius, M. Eliade) were used. Literature (works by J. Schmidlin, S. Matakaitė, Fr. Horner, N. Berdiajev, F. Losev and others) intended for the changes in Catholicism in the first half of the twentieth century was important. Works analyzing the origin of Marxism and interaction of Catholicism and communism doctrine were used (W. Daim, G. Mitrulevičius, V. Lendjelas, J. Mautner, R. Morse, L. Velikovič, R. Raškova, K. Širinia). Works of anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists (G. Mažeikis, J. Novagrockienė, N. Statkus, O. Popova) have helped to reveal the mechanism of interaction of the idea - the person - the group.

Sources

Sources fall into the primary and secondary according to the specifics of paper. The following primary sources groups are distinguished: 1) documents of state institutions; 2) references reflecting the approach of the world-view - ideological opponents; 3) sources reflecting attitudes of opponents of YCM in Catholic society; 4) documents reflecting the activities of the church hierarchy; 5) documents of Catholic Action Centre (CAC) and public Catholic organizations; 6) documents of Ateitininkai Federation (AF) and its subsidiaries; 7) documents of Catholic educational institutions; 8) periodicals; 9) studies of Catholic culture workers and the YC, books, articles, creative projects, commemorative speeches; 10) personal documents of Catholic culture workers and YC (memoirs, diaries, letters).

Secondary references fall into following groups: 1) documents of Soviet security structures; 2) written legacy of Young Catholics after 1940: mutual correspondence, memoirs, programmes and activity documents of LF and LFF, texts reflecting polemic with the Christian Democrats.

The most useful were the documents from the following state authorities funds: the State Security Department (SSD) (Lithuanian Central State Archive (LCSA), f. 378), the State Security Police (SSP) Kaunas County (LCSA, f. 438), Kaunas city and the county governor (LCSA, f. 402) funds. SSD documents helped to shed light on many aspects of the YCM activities: student mood swinging during the YCM genesis, relationships with ideological opponents, the young Catholic attitude to the Soviet regime, etc. tracking files of P. Dielininkaitis and other Catholic activists (LCSA, f.438), together with the SSD daily bulletins from 1936 helped to restore the formation of YCM course in 1935 – 1936. Charter of catholic organisations, documents reflecting the composition of boards (LCSA, f. 402) provide material to describe the organization's role in society.

Documents reflecting views of ideological opponents were found in the various funds. Articles in the press reflect ideological terms and the performance of nationalists and ethnic Catholics close to them („Lietuvos aidas”, „Vairas” and others), interviews (with prelate A. Dambrauskas – Jakštas, B. Čėsnyš), memories, etc. (for example, D. Cesevičius' answers to the questions of Soviet security). Correspondence of Populists (Liaudininkai) with the Christian Democrats and their memories provide information about Populists' approach to catholic functioning in the time of Soviet governing (the Manuscripts Division of Lithuanian Institute of History (MD LIH), f. 54 – 26; M. Mackevičius memoirs). Correspondence between the leaders of Lithuanian Communist Party (LCP), reports of Central Committees (CC) and the area committees, proclamations, underground newspapers, memoirs (Lithuanian Special Archives (LSA), f. 77, 3743, 3377) provide much information on endeavour of LCP to include Catholics in cooperation with the Communists (in this point memories of J. Vaišnoras are very important). Extracts from proceeding protocols of the Lithuanian leaders, officials, Catholic society figures helped to reveal the geopolitical factors in Lithuanian political and public life (LSA, f. 3377). A number of LCP and Communist Youth League papers are published (*Lietuvos komunistų partijos atsišaukimai*, vol. 4: 1935 –

1940, Vilnius, 1963; *Lietuvos komjaunimo dokumentai: 1919 – 1940 m. September, Vilnius, 1989*).

In order to understand activities of Young Catholics in a broader context the papers of world-view nature of Catholic ideological groups can help significantly (M. Krupavičius, J. Liasauskis and others). The fund of prelate M. Krupavičius serves for that especially (MD LIH, f. 54). Material stored in it suggests that LCDP was involved in the preparation of a coup in 1926, and Krupavičius collaborating with the Soviet regime. There are a lot of materials to highlight the relationship of Christian Democrats with Nationalists (LCSA, f. 438; Lithuanian State Historical Archives (LSHA), f. 1671).

For the determination of the church hierarchy's role in the development of YCM there are materials in many funds (Kaunas Archdiocese Archives (KAA); funds with documents of the Archdiocese of Kaunas, diocesan curia of Panevėžys and Telšiai (LSHA, f. 1671, 1650, 669)). They provide the data to disclose the extent of the impact of the younger generation of clergy to the Catholic society. Influence of Archbishop of Kaunas to formation of curricula in Faculty of Theology and Philosophy (FTP) and a list of teachers are revealed by Vytautas Magnus University (VMU) Fund (LCSA, f. 631). Some of the important documents on social and political action of hierarchy are published (*Streikus A. (sud.). Lietuva ir Šventasis Sostas (1922 – 1938): Slaptojo Vatikano archyvo dokumentai. Vilnius: LKMA, 2010*).

Based on material of CAC (LCSA, f. 566, LSHA, f. 1671, 1650, 669) the changes in boards of CAC and its regional offices can be reconstructed. It is an indispensable source for restoration of YCM functioning as well. CAC board reports on the performed activities, plans, memoranda characterize targets of young Catholic in Catholic society well and the course of the realization. Analysis of CAC performance allows determining what the ratio was of conservatism and progressiveness in their rhetoric and activities. The material of the most abundant Catholic organizations – „Pavasaris“ union (federation) unifying believing rural youth helps to restore YCM provisions and operation (LCSA, f. 566, 572). Its activities were closely related with activities of the Union of Lithuanian Christian Workers (ULCW) (LCSA, f. 1404; the Manuscript Division of Academy of Sciences Library (MD ASL), f. 280) and the Union of Lithuanian Catholic men (LSHA, f. 1671) whose studies are an important complement to the image of relations between objectives and results of Young Catholics performance within the framework of CA. Some of the documents reflect the

Lithuanian Labour Youth Union's (LLYU) relations with the Students' Union Ateitininkai (SUA) (MD ASL, f. 12).

A large foundation of AF is indispensable for restoration of students' Ateitininkai attitudes and actions (LCSA, f. 564). It offers enough material to restore SUA, corporations, clubs and activities of other structural units of students Ateitininkai, board lists of member, ideologies, organizational activities of Sendraugiai (Old friends) union, the role in Catholic organizations, relations with non-Catholic organizations. Schoolchildren Ateitininkai Union (and MD VUL, f. 267) allows the characterization of schoolchildren Ateitininkai activities.

Catholic educational institutions such as high schools, gymnasiums, progymnasiums, seminaries of teachers and priests were important for young Catholic performance. VMU fund provides materials for characterization of VMU work (LCSA, f. 631). Additional materials on activities of young Catholics and their teachers Catholics culture workers in the university are provided by the publications describing their work (Lietuvos Universitetas. 1922.II. 16 – 1927.II. 16. Pirmųjų penkerių veikimo metų apyskaita. – Kaunas, 1927). YCM influence on gymnasiums, progymnasiums, primary schools is revealed by the Fund of Ministry of Education (LCSA, f. 391).

Periodicals are an important source to understand the ideology and functioning of young Catholics. The most significant are the publications published or influenced a lot by young Catholics and Catholic culture workers („Ateitis” (1919 – 1940), „Naujoji romuva” (1931 – 1940), „Naujoji vaidilutė” (1936 – 1940), „Romuva” (1921 – 1922), „Studentų dienos” (1937 – 1940), „XX amžius” (1936 – 1940)), „Židinys” (1925 – 1940)). Publications of other CAC organizations helped to reveal functioning of young Catholics („Jaunimo vadas” (1936 – 1940), „Mūsų laikraštis” (1936 – 1940), „Pavasaris” (1936 – 1938, 1940)). Periodical press of dioceses, congregations and priests was useful for research of in Catholic consciousness („Lurdas” (1936 – 1940), „Panevėžio garsas” (1935 – 1940), „Sursum corda” (1936), „Šaltinis” (1938 – 1940), „Šv. Pranciškaus varpelis” (1923 - 1935), „Tiesos kelias” (1933 – 1940), „Žvaigždė” (1936 – 1940), „Žemaičių prietelius” (1936 – 1940)), periodicals of other Catholic community – political („Darbininkas” (1922 – 1940), „Darbo jaunimas” (1934 – 1936), „Draugija” (1937 – 1940), „Krikščionis demokratas” (1927 – 1929), „Laisvė” (1920 - 1923), „Rytas” (1930 – 1936), „Ūkininkas“ (1939), „Tėvynės sargas” (1920 - 1926), „Vienybė” (1929 – 1933)) and non-catholic organizations.

The indispensable sources to reveal ideologies of young Catholics and their teachers-Romuva adherents and other catholic culture workers are books, articles, creative projects, speeches. Prelate A. Dambrauskas – Jakštas work had a significant impact on the genesis of Catholic culture workers. More important ones are published in A. Jakštas' writings. These are complemented by M. Vaitkus, S. Šalkauskis, J. Keliuotis' memories, A. Sabaliauskas' diary. Writings, articles, studies, occasional speeches, published in his writings, interviews in periodicals of Šalkauskis (as well as his fellows — Pakštas, Eretas, Kuraitis, Dovydaitis) were profusely used. They helped to reveal philosophical, political, social and aesthetic views of Romuva adherents and political aspirations of all the group of the Catholic culture workers. In his books bishop Paltarokas discussed a wide range of problems faced by Catholics in relation to modern society. His memories help to know social processes of the 4th decade („Gyvenimo bruožai”, 2005). Naturally, the young Catholics books and articles in periodicals were very important sources. Maceina's letters were used widely. Books and articles of priest Povilas Jakas were relatively important in their engagement close to young Catholics but being in conflict with the church leaders, and often transcended the limits of radicalism acceptable for the Catholic society of that time.

Personal documents especially correspondence between young Catholics and their families and Catholics intellectuals has a great informational value (S. Nėris archive (Manuscript Division of National Library (MD NL), f. 4); Z. Ivinskis archive (MD NL, f. 29), J. Keliuotis archive (MD NL), f. 31); J. Grinius archive (MD NL, f. 58), correspondence of Paltarokas, Eretas, Kuraitis with bishop Būčys (LCSA, f. 1674), Pranas Mantvydas correspondence (Literature and the Arts Archive (LAA), f. 510)). It allowed to state that their relations were very close. Diaries (by Ivinskis, Sabaliauskas, and Dogelis) helped to understand the reasons of various Catholic groups' activities. They are supplemented by official data on young Catholic culture workers and young Catholics work in VMU (LCSA, f. 631).

As for the secondary sources, NKVD intelligence and criminal files that helped to characterize young Catholics relations with the LCDP after YCM emergence and with the Soviet regime were useful for this work (LSA, f. K-1). In order to reveal geopolitical assumptions of potential cooperation of young Catholics with the Communists interrogation copies of the minutes of Lithuanian state leaders, officials, military officers, eminent public

figures are irreplaceable (LSA, f. 3377). K. Ambrozaitis' independent statements are important for highlighting relations of Catholics with the Communists and for understanding of radicalism process of catholic society (LSA, f. K-1, ap. 58, b. Nr. a P – 126911). There is no doubt that Lithuanian SSR NKVD Minister A. Guzevičius took as a base his information for his lectures at High USSR NKVD School for characterizing the interwar Catholic Society. Security documents helped to understand J. Keliuotis' activity motives before the war (LSA, f. K-1, ap. 45, b. 372), allowed to see the continuity of Ateitininkai ideological principles in anti-soviet resistance (LSA, f. K-1, ap. 8, b. 18).

A lot of information about the YCM is offered by young Catholics memories or memories about them and about Catholic culture workers. Three types can be distinguished: those who emigrated to West (S. Barzdukas, K. Bradūnas, P. Gaida, J. Grinius, Z. Ivinskis), those who stayed in Lithuania (V. Alekna, K. Bulika, A. Dambrauskas, J. Keliuotis, A. Strabulis, J. Šalkauskienė) and those less related with YCM (G. Binkis, V. Brizgis, D. Jasaitis, M. Krupavičius, S. Raštikis, A. Sabaliauskas). Keliuotis memories are exceptional (Keliuotis J. Mano autobiografija: atsiminimai. Vilnius, 2003). Even though they are much more subjective, in chronological approach not very reliable but still they are an important source of YCM genesis and understanding of the relationship with NR movement. The young Catholic post-war correspondence helps to reveal YCM key elements of self-consciousness and self-identification (J. Grinius, J. Lingys (MD VUL, f. 247); published in books: Valiušaitis V. (sud.). Ugninis stulpas: 25 metai be Juozo Brazaičio: laiškai, dokumentai, liudijimai. Kaunas: „Į Laisvę“ fondo Lietuvos fil., 2000; Kazilionytė V. (red.). Sakalai parskrido: Julijonas Būtėnas atminties liudijimuose. Kaunas: Į Laisvę fondas, 2008, and others.

The principles revealing LF and LFF self-image and ideology and action plans were published in periodicals, as well as formed in the correspondence between them. There are texts assigned for LF („Kas yra Lietuvių frontas?“ (MD VUL, f. 198); “Kas yra frontininkai“ (MD LIH, F. f. 54 – 33)). LF operation in Lithuania after 1944 is reflected in the memoirs, in criminal cases of the Soviet repressive structures. Some of these sources are published (“Ugninis stulpas”; *Bloznelis M.* (sud.). Adelė Diršytė: gyvenimas ir darbai. Vilnius: Katalikų akademija, 2003 and others).

The debates of Christian Democrats with young Catholics after the Second World War are a very important source of the recent identification criteria. It is reflected in the huge amount of correspondence of young Catholics, Christian Democrats and between themselves, memoranda, informational messages stored in Z. Ivinskis (MD VUL, f. 198) and M. Krupavičius (MD LIH, f. 54) funds. The debates of Christian Democrats with young Catholics are reflected in press of that time.

The novelty of the study

In interwar Lithuania, where the Catholic world-view was dominant, researches of Catholic society ideological views and their expression mean surveys of entire society. Especially in the case of YCM aspired to the hegemony of the Catholic society that proposed new relationship between Catholicism and national identity and the position in the political constellations. The attitude is followed to look at interwar political and social processes through the prism of world-view, the history of ideas, thinking about values, ideas as determining history factor. Information (spiritual) expression of being is considered to be the main i.e. the main (essential) self-determination of idea and a person of their group to realize those ideas. Such a choice for information (spiritual) reality is a new methodological concept of access. It implies a particular approach to social processes, psychological factors – patterns of human nature based on physiological reactions – keeping them as determining life of a human and society. It is, therefore, not limited to only publicly declared statements of young Catholics, however, there is a search for psychological motivation arising from human nature patterns. On this base, on the first half of twentieth century Lithuanian Catholic emotional reactions are reduced towards a few social trends and factors, namely Catholicism, engagement in nationalism, social, cultural and civilization development in achieving, as well as a factor of membership in a group.

Another innovative aspect of the work is the conjugation of political, social, cultural and religious spheres in pre-war Lithuania, considering them as an integral whole. That is what makes the specific nature of the YCM: JKS worked in all these spheres. Externally expressed as the cultural movement of intellectuals, it had clear political objectives sought to be implemented. Therefore, YCM research would provide incentives for comprehensive

expression analysis of other world-view (political, cultural, social) groups, would let to see the links, which otherwise, in keeping with the usual political, cultural and social operation exclusion would not show up. In addition, it would allow a better understanding of characteristics of the cultural and non-public performance. There is much attention paid to separate from the ideological, declarative statements, as non-defining total operating depth of motivation. For almost all real, concrete, in-doctrine work goes on in private, group environment. Such work is secret regarding publicly recognized goals of the group if it is stated or implied (or acting in the public as it is understood or showed as if understanding) that the entire operation of the group is motivated by goals listed its official program and doctrine. In this way, almost every operation should be declared as non-public, secret, because it is impossible to take over the group's ideology and goals completely.

During interwar years Catholicism or in a narrow meaning the relationship with the Church was a major classification criterion of political formations. Analysis of ideological framework of political or other world-view groups and their practical functioning in aspect of the Catholic doctrine allows questioning of stable estimates. It suggests that their relationship with the Church was not static, it changed and by no means was positive or negative unambiguously: there were no ideological current which would be fully taken over the Church's doctrine. Furthermore, Catholicism itself could have a wide range of expression which changed more than once over time, and having caused a wide range of behaviour of its forces. Much attention in the study is paid exactly a relation of Lithuanian political social forces with Catholicism, what the interwar period for historiography lacked so far.

Main statements of the study

1) during the first half of twentieth century Lithuanian Catholic society was mostly effected by factor of Catholicism (the transcendent orientation, but also fidelity to traditional church doctrine and hierarchy), engagement in nationalism, aiming for social and cultural - civilizational development (openness for science, modernity, European model) trends, as well as membership of a group factor.

2) Romuva adherents' efforts to prepare own successors, which could represent and continue their world-view attitudes, was one of the most important factors of YCM genesis and ideology formation.

3) Young Catholic world-view was based on idealism opposed to materialism and Catholicism so called open (general) Catholicism as a model of religions and ideologies synthesis getting rid of Catholicism as opposed model (exclusiveness of the traditional Catholicism).

4) YCM functioning in the religious sphere was determined by in-doctrine nature of CA, for introduction of religion using both the new, based on CA doctrine and traditional religiosity.

5) Modernization program of country's economy and society relation aiming to install values of a massive culture and civilization, was considered to be one of the most important steps for development of the nation solidarity.

6) NR cultural movement was regarded as expression way of young Catholics' deep world-view attitudes, as role of NR leadership staying in the opposition (alternative centre) to official YCM leadership, represented mostly by „XX amžius”.

7) National engagement as one of the most important features of YCM ideology and the concept of Catholicism as a religious and ideological synthesis in interest of the nation allowed to maintain relations with the various ideological groups (the Nationalists (Tautininkai), Voldemaras adherents (Voldemarininkai), Populists (Liaudininkai), the Social Democrats, Communists), using a few tactics at once – public and several secret tactics.

8) Young Catholic relations with the Communists were controversial: on the one hand, it was sharply confronted with culture-Bolshevizm, as potentially leading to a culture Sovietisation and Russification and connection of Lithuanian nation to an alien cultural structure, advocated by the Communist followers, on the other hand, the similarity of JK and the communist social ideal, as well as the geopolitical situation of Lithuania, having caused and pro-Soviet orientation, co-operation with the Communists.

9) YCM functioning during threat to the independence period in 1938 – 1940 was determined by efforts to develop the Lithuanian national and social solidarity, in the preparation of Catholics and structures for resistance against threatening occupation of common-national organizations influenced by them.

Structure and Results of the Thesis

The dissertation consists of the introduction, six chapters, conclusion, a list of sources and literature.

1. Lithuanian Catholic society in the first half of twentieth century: interaction of ideological factors and tendencies

The interaction of factors and tendencies of formation and evolution of Lithuanian Catholic society in the first half of twentieth century are analysed in the light of open Catholicism in the first chapter. The following stages in the development of the Catholic society with the prevailing trends in them can be observed: rivalry of Christian Democracy and the ethnic Catholicism (1905 – 1918), dominance of modified Catholic exclusives (1918 – 1926), sharp confrontation between CA and ethnic Catholicism (1927 – 1932) and dominance of modified factor of nationality (1933 – 1940). The essential features of presupposed tendencies were highlighted during the Lithuanian national movement times (1883 – 1905). People's faith is considered as underlying for the concept of Catholicism formulated by the intellectuals. Traditional forms of religiosity, witnessing Catholicism based medieval world-view vitality between folk, dominated. However, such world-view underlying transcendence in the functioning of new factors stimulating secularity during the interwar years – a wide network of schools, the mass popular media, state administration, the army, the radio – declined between the people as well. In Lithuanian society a new world-view consensus based on Catholicism was being formed: the unbelievers for a variety of reasons were performing religious rituals and believers' faith in Church as the only salvation-giving body was slowly dying. The authoritarian regime supporting the minimum belief had an important role here.

These tendencies leading to decline of the traditional Catholic faith existed since the end of nineteenth century when with appearance of „Aušra” (1883) the Lithuanian national movement gained easily detected anti-Catholic nature. Since 1905, with emergence of possibility to express opinion in public Lithuanian Catholic world-view differences became even more pronounced. In addition to the important nationality factors affecting the

development of the Catholic society were Christian Democracy, neo-Thomism, traditional Catholicism. There were operating non-orthodox Christian doctrine – new religious consciousness in Russia (it was brought to Lithuanian Catholic Society by priest A. Dambrauskas-Jakštas), the revival of Catholicism („Renouveau Catholique”) movement in France, etc. world-view branches of Christian Democrats, Catholic culture workers and ethnic Catholic were developed in regard to them.

Reception of Christian Democracy in Lithuania was difficult. It was identified with Christian Democracy for different reasons: desire to resist socialists or to defend the traditional concept of Church, national ambitions, and the practical operation for the best of people. In this respect, three phases (and / or forms of expression) of reception (development) of Christian Democracy can be distinguished: the early one – more theoretical spread of the Christian democracy (the promotion in the press, the teaching of the social doctrine), the practical (creation of social societies) and the third one associated with Krupavičius name. There was an attempt to set the party from its followers it in 1905 – 1907 and during the First World War in Russia and Lithuania. Christian Democrats played a key role in the political life of independent Lithuania by 1926, acting as a unit of three political – social – economic organizations (Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party (LCDP), the Lithuanian Labour Federation (LLF) and the Lithuanian Farmers’ Union (LFU). This unit was guided by LCDP by Christian Democrat leaders considered to be as supranational shaping the ideology of the whole nation. The status of unit in regard to non-Christian political groups were determined by a unique understanding of the Catholic exclusiveness, characterized by a reduction of transcendent orientation to a minimum, seeking for unconditional submission of the society to national and social values exercising model which was promoted by them.

Unlike the Christian Democrats, as the representatives of the doctrines formed with consent of the Church, the Catholic culture workers although clearly determined to belong to Catholicism, were being formed influenced not so much by the decisions of official Church but by of national revival, idea of nationhood and various non-orthodox religion concepts. But they clearly engaged in the Church, demonstrated respect for the hierarchy.

The issue of ethnic Catholicism in 1919 - 1926 was strongly associated with the activities of National Progressive Party (NPP) (from 1924 - Lithuanian Nationalist Union

(LNU)), although it was not determined exclusively by it. There were also a number of Catholic clergy who considered nationality as a factor justifying their public status. Some of them, especially being in important positions in the Church hierarchy, were of conservative views (prelates J. Mačiulis - Maironis, P. Januševičius, et al.), and others set on reformism (F. Kemėšis), advocated a radical reform of social relations. Catholic intellectuals were not willing to become a part of national catholic camp and they inevitably they were drifting towards LCDP care and the official ideology of the Church – neo-Thomism and Christian Democracy (for example, priests J. Lindė - Dobilas, M. Vaitkus et. al.). And a few supporters of integralism (traditionalism) in Catholic elite can be attributed to ethnic Catholic camp partially. They were linked with the ethnic Catholics by hostility to communists and the Christian Democrats having monopolized Catholicism.

In 1926 - 1927 as a result of political peripeteia Christian Democrats lost their power. Changes occurring in life of the Church also contributed to the decline in influence of Christian Democrats. An announcement of an independent ecclesiastical province, the formation of a new episcopate and signing of the concordat with the Holy See created an entirely new situation in which decision-making initiative was shifted to Episcopal hands executing CA doctrine. The centre of Catholic public life was shifted to in 1926 transformed CAC – central office of Catholic organizations establishing CA tactics.

A sudden domination of nationalists – not numerous political group in many areas of catholic public life after the coup shows that their coming to power was not accidental, but embodied the tendencies that were expressed in various forms in an uncontrolled part of Catholic society. After the coup, the Nationalists attempted to create a mass base of their movement: office staff flocked to the LNU, teachers were united in Lithuanian teachers Nationalist Dr. J. Basanavičiaus union, rural youth in “Jaunoji Lietuva” that turned into a mass, able to compete with “Pavasaris” movement, farmers in Ūkininkų vienybė (Farmers’ Unity), and their children in Jaunieji ūkininkai (Young Farmers) circles. Scouts were patronized.

When a coalition of Nationalists and Christian Democrats came apart, confrontation of these two political forces and Catholic and Nationalist societies grew steadily until 1930 - 1932 when it ended as an open conflict. As a result leadership in LCDP fell into moderates seeking for modus vivendi with the Nationalists and radicals advocating the continuation of

the conflict escalating. Radicals focused their activities on the underground Catholic Action Committee. Catholic culture workers who although sometimes attended resistance against National governments mainly organized by Christian democrats were moderate, however, had their own goals and generally were not inclined to support radical anti-nationalist regime fights recklessly. Some of them were becoming more radical in order to protect the institutions relevant for the in-doctrine purposes.

Catholic Nationalists in respect of the society acted not only as a bad cop but performed a role of a good cop, i.e. implemented the tame policy for Catholics. There was a reason for that as part of the clergy did not see any need to deal with a regime that recognized the Church in its mission to teach the faith and morals. The operation of the clergy supporting them in various ways, was encouraged, e.g. activities of Tumas ir Kemėšis were subsidized from the budget. Conservative nationalist Catholics concerned by the preservation of traditional values were gathered in 1929 by founded in Lithuanian Catholic Union. The key efforts of moderate CA characters, and ethnic Catholics and nationalist government were to change the opinion of Catholic society with a favourable direction as a result was the NR union and its fellows.

The defeat of Christian Democrats (they failed to destabilize the regime and on the ground or even return to power) resulted in a very unfavourable political climate of liberal democracy in Europe in the 4th decade. Social and ethnic radicalism was intensifying. There was a searched for the third way between liberalism and communism or National Socialism. It was promoted by the change in social teaching of Church: Pius XI encyclicals “Quadragesimo anno” which called to the corporate order of society, and according to Catholics was the third way. In such a background very favourable conditions arose for formation of a new Catholic world-view political programme to develop and promote. Therefore, young Catholics who had chosen corporatism as their main “flag” began to gain increasing influence. But earlier than they the new radical ethnic and social ideas were proclaimed by Lithuanian Labour Youth Union’s (LLYU), founded in 1932 to fight communism, however, being probably the most infiltrated by Komsomol and Communists Catholic organization. An unsuccessful attempt of Christian Democrats to return to power through Suvalkija farmers’ strike because of their dissatisfaction in their economic situation (1935 - 1936) created the conditions for young Catholics to act independently. There was a

significant change in national Catholic camp. A process of national Catholic rapprochement with the radical nationalism to promote younger power increased. NR edited by Keliuotis became a mouthpiece for all of them. Communist attention to Catholic society was growing. It was due to the new the People's Front tactics.

1938 - 1940 period is characterized by an increase in Lithuanian geopolitical insecurity, threats to independence, but on the other side by intensified efforts to accelerate the Lithuanian cultural and civilization progress, to strengthen the national solidarity. Non-nationalist Catholicism's role grew during the indicated period. Nationalists in relation to Catholicism was showing two lines: the first one a relatively moderate rejecting CA claims to leadership in the Catholic society in all areas, but declaring the necessary Christian nature for nation and state and the other one being radical considering Christianity as not necessary for the national ideology. The latter was represented by Young Nationalists (Jaunieji tautininkai).

2. YCM genesis: the ideological and political assumptions, factors and circumstances of the formation

The role of Romuva adherents' world-view group in YCM genesis is analysed in this chapter as well as the youngest Catholic efforts to establish themselves in Catholics social life. Catholic culture workers had the greatest impact on young Catholics genesis, and especially Šalkauskis, Pakštas and Eretas who acting within Romuva Society since 1919. In Lithuania Romuva adherents chose the tactics to act through more influential Ateitininkai movement. Their social activities were important when realizing the ideal of Christian humanism. Romuva adherents tried to implement own attitudes of their world-view and participate in political life. Kaunas University Faculty of Theology and Philosophy (FTP), Philosophy Department became an important channel of dissemination of their ideas.

In 1926 - 1927 as a result of Lithuanian political and religious life changes the number of Catholic culture workers increased considerably. It worked as a strictly institutionalized in a defined number of people (15 members) consisting of (co-opted members) of the Catholic elite group organising regular meetings at prelate P. Kuraitis. It was composed of the highest hierarchy (bishops K. Paltarokas and M. Reinys), the most prominent Catholic scholars and

Catholic youth elite. For spread of intelligent, tolerant ideas of Catholicism „Židinys” was established in 1924. Much attention was devoted to the preparing of their successors (the Catholic elite). In practice, the elite training plans were realized primarily through the AF. For this purpose, by Kuraitis efforts Šalkauskis developed a new principles of Ateitininkai ideology and framework, and in 1927 he was elected as a commander of the AF. High position within the AF leadership facilitated the selection of suitable candidates for their plans. „Šatrija” corporation played an important role as well.

Relative Nationalist victory in the fight against radical CA current (Christian Democrats), led to the emergence of new social forces speaking out against Catholic exclusiveness and for national solidarity. These attitudes were expressed by emerging current of young Catholics. Studies of their main players in the West during Great economic crisis meant a lot as it let to review with the Catholic reaction to it. Furthermore, the increased activeness of the national Catholics created the place for expression of moderate ideas in regard to the doctrine of the Church express ideas – NR. The most active players in CA became future signers of the Declaration and the „XX amžius” team core members, most gifted students of Šalkauskis, who also had to free themselves from the Catholic exclusiveness: their process of becoming more consciousness was going on, being under control, encouraged by Catholic culture workers, in this way putting more advanced people to responsible positions in AF of CA. The situation between students began to change substantially only at the end of 1933 when Dielininkaitis was elected as a President of SUA Executive Board. He also successfully implemented the task of LDF transformation into the Christian Workers’ Union (LCWU). LCWU became a new crystallization centre of YCM and provided the possibility to exploit these ideas, which until now were successfully used by their competitors – Working party. Young Catholics anchoring in Catholic education and higher education institutions was significant. Efforts were made to form the desired clergy cast. For this purpose, an intensive, well-coordinated activity of culture workers, young priests and seminarians was carried out in Kaunas Theological Seminary.

Gradually they became involved in the activities of co-national organizations. Catholic liberalization process was accelerated and got a strong impetus to the formation of YCM by radical ideas with clear his claims to act in the Catholic society and on behalf of the Catholic declared by Keliuotis. Young Catholics were involved in the NR cultural movement

to the extent that in the sources of that time they were often called movement of New Romuva. This symbiosis NR (the unofficial Catholicism) cultural movement created by young Catholics (the official doctrine of CA) and Keliuotis was characterized by highlighting of the achievements of the culture - civilization dynamism and openness to Western civilization, seeking for Lithuanian cultural independence, the promotion of ethnic solidarity.

The effort of Christian Democrats to use the Suvalkija farmers' dissatisfaction that grew into a strike (1935 – 1936) to destabilize authoritarian regime and on that ground even return to power, was a good opportunity for the YC to bring their claims to leadership for Catholics. The situation arisen as a result of Suvalkija farmers' strike was beneficial for young Catholics. The strike (the young Catholic leaders P. Dielininkaitis and I. Skrupskelis contributed to the organization of it) did not let the Christian Democrats to approach to power only, but even more restricted their operational capabilities. Under these circumstances, young Catholics at last resolved to act independently. A claim for that was a declaration „Towards the creation of an organic state” Publishing of „XX amžius” meant gaining the final form for YCM. However, not independent operation was chosen but a coalition (block) and with the Christian Democrats was created.

In YCM characteristics presented by young Catholics a few ideological focuses can be identified, most important of which, according to young Catholics, presenting the essence of YCM were Šalkauskis person and his teaching as an ideological basis for YCM, the young generation theory which was used to explain disagreements between Young Catholics and the Christian Democrats as an objective generation conflict and identification with wide Catholicism seen as universal, inclusive synthesis of the truths combined from all religions and doctrines. Such a conception of Catholicism clearly confronted with a unique set against the rest of the world the concept of Catholicism, namely a traditional Catholicism. Young Catholic world-view is characterized also by opposition to the materialist world-view, engagement in idealism, spiritual factor.

3. Religious programme of YCM and efforts to implement it

YCM religious programme and its implementation practices are analyzed in this chapter. It is stated that young Catholics followed the doctrine of the CA. It is concluded that the Holy See gave priority to the religiosity interpreted in the light of CA instead of the traditional religiosity represented by the old religious organizations. So CA is considered to be a new Holy See ideology based on a different conception of Catholicism. A stress in it was transferred to the social and cultural dynamism that constituted less engagement in maintenance of Catholic confessional traits, because the coexistence with followers of other ideologies is necessary in such activity.

Young Catholics had to implement their own ideas between the people, whose religious faith was based on the old world-view and respect for the clergy. Confidence in the clergy assured the authority and obedience, which had disciplinary, financial and intellectual aspects. Clergy influenced the composition of CA organization leadership, put pressure on editorial boards, and sometimes prohibited reading of advanced press. Therefore, the approach of the clergy inevitably had to be accepted, on the other hand, to seek to develop the approach. Fear to fall into disgrace with the priesthood embarrassing influenced assessments, affected the political tactics of YCM.

Monasteries played an important role in the interwar Lithuania. Some of them were more receptive to contemporary requirements, while others remained conservative (Cappuccinos, Franciscans, many women monasteries) following the besieged fortress model. Traditionalistic religious fraternities cantered around them as they allowed the press, initiated traditionalist art. „Lurdas” and „Sursum corda” represented their views in that period the most authentically. Co-working organizations of their publications became the backbone of the traditionalists. But Marian, Jesuit and Salesian monkshoods advocate CA, although outwardly maintained a conservative religion.

YCM had to fight seriously for the influence with the conservative Catholic social forces, as well as with the Christian Democrats, whom with the relations were very conflict prone till beginning of 1938. Sequence of events showed that young Catholic victory in 1936 CAC Conference was a fake: as a result of sharp reaction of the clergy they were forced to leave the CAC. With the intensified government pressure on TFP philosophy department, YCM, catholic culture workers and innovative bishops took over oppositional mood of

Christian Democrats, but having progressive targets. In 1938 Catholic camp moved sufficiently consolidated and so it remained until 1940.

Elitist stance allowed for young Catholics to use the most efficient methods of operation with no shadow of doubt, among them non-public, and inspirational, i.e. the operation outside the frames of the official, recognized authorities, forms of communication. All YCM decisions were taken by narrow circle of persons belonging to the editorial board of „XX amžius” particularly. Its meetings were a top of YCM in-doctrine authority. An important tool for the implementation of YCM attitudes was AF. Students played a significant role in the Catholic Society: basically they performed work of a practical guidance of CA organization. „Pavasaris” Federation, Lithuanian catholic men, LCWU organizations formed the nucleus of KVC. Women were represented in CAC Lithuanian Catholic Women Society. Women after their studies in TFP and living with catholic ideas gathered in „Naujoji vaidilutė” fellow clubs. The cultural and educational organizations were an important tool for young Catholics to pursue their goals, particularly the Lithuanian Catholic teachers union, as well as schools. Young Catholics ideas were spread by Catholic University (CU) association – Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Science (LCAS). „Pro Deo” coordinated anti-communist activities.

There is no doubt that the processes which took place in a Catholic society during the discussed period were largely initiated by progressive-minded young priests; the most important role was played by priest Yla. These priests were changing the spiritual climate of the country, the values represented by them gradually prevailed. Priesthood rebirth and renewal (1937), change of conservative management of Kaunas Seminary (1937) and Movement of Live Spirit (1938) initiatives arose from them or from the culture workers supporting them.

From autumn of 1939 Catholic society effort to counter communist propaganda was intensified. The ideal of national solidarity was opposed to communist ideals by supporting it with far-reaching social reforms respectively. CAC plans showed a growing desire to strengthen, coordinate, and unify the ideological training. The highest hopes were related with to the application of fighter system: fighters – leaders coming from the folk – had to change to the students and priests who previously led the organizations.

CA is characterized by social and economic dimension which was inseparable from the religious one. A. Maceina followed the CA doctrine. He in his lecture in 1936 in annual conference of CAC for the first time publicly and radically presented programme of young Catholic religious and social life. In the field of reformation on social relations it was aimed to move the centre of gravity of the Catholic life to the parishes, their committees by transferring a material provision of the clergy to them. It is clear that in order to enable these changes it was necessary to change the religious consciousness. Young Catholics placed great emphasis on the formation of it. The aim was to increase the role of the laity CA, nurtured religious forms propagated by the liturgical movement, such as interactive (recitative) St. Mass and private retreats, found a particular resonance among students and intellectuals. An important role in the renewal of the religious practices of Ateitininkai students was plaid by Ateitininkai religious friendship. Nevertheless, for the less educated members of CA organizations the old (traditional) forms of religiosity were recommended. Union of Prayer Apostolate (UPA) with its two branches – Men's apostolate (MA) and the Eucharist warriors met the needs of those Catholics who were attached to traditional forms of piety, but wanted to combine them with a new world-view and an active social functioning. Use of leisure such as sightseeing, sports, music, and care in theatrical culture provided great opportunities to spread ideas of Catholicism. One of the forms of CA activities was the periodical press, distribution of cheap books, care was taken on Catholic propaganda film, regularly religious education carried out in the form of classes.

4. National programme of YCM and efforts to implement it

National Programme of YCM and ways of its implementation are analysed in this chapter. National programme of Young Catholics is considered to be an expression of interaction of tendencies such as engagement in nationalism and seek for cultural and social modernization. It can be divided into two parts: modernization of the country (civilizing – enculturation, harmonization of social relations and development of certain qualities of society) and strengthening of nationality (the solidarity of nation) i.e. development of independent culture, settlement of Lithuanians in cities, expanding use of the Lithuanian language, and training of respect for the military force. Solidarity of the nation, fostering of

patriotism, strengthening of national self-consciousness were explicitly considered the most important purpose, and the modernization of country – a measure for its implementation. Such strong engagement in nation was determined by refusal of the traditional Catholic exclusiveness based on the external signs of faith as they enabled the young Catholics positive attitude to cooperation with non-Catholics, or, from a broader point of view, the recognition of freedom of conscience. Theological basis for it was the separation of neutral organizations from hostile ones. Co-operation with the neutral ones was justified. As number of organizations effected by national solidarity was growing, more and more organizations were identified as being neutral. Namely young Catholics contributed to this tendency, because they were convenient to expand their basis of activities.

Nationwide organizations became crystallization centres of the national ideology. The most important of them was NR movement which formulated a ratio of national identity and Catholicism that met the need of the bigger part of the organization members or through co-workers of NR they were directed to adopt its ideology (and thus YCM). Young Catholics, as the most radical figures of CA, had a conception of Catholicism which essentially had little differences from J. Keliuotis' conception, but used the phraseology enabling them to operate within CA society. It is on NR pages that YCM national programme was being formulated in discussions. YCM within NR went into close contact with the Union of Vilnius Liberation, Society to support Lithuanians abroad, Western Lithuanian Union, of Riflemen's Union and other nationwide organizations. Catholic camp (and thus YCM) assessed the extent of their impact on the military rather optimistic. YC participation in nationwide cultural and educational organizations and institutions was significant. YCM ideological principles enabled its members to work in Nationalist government apparatus.

Participation in nationwide organizations and the Nationalist government apparatus gave the opportunity to realize the modernization programme of the country, including economic, social and ethnic aspects of the programme i.e. harmonization, rationalization of the relationship between the individual society groups: a goal of young Catholics was the removal of all possible opposites in the Lithuanian nation and spreading of the civilization values between as much higher number of people as possible. This was caused by concerns about the independence and the efforts to resist communism. Attention was directed to the village, its civilizing and enculturation, increasing the quality of life, so there were calls for a

development of massive brick building in the village, expansion of education, wide network of health care institutions, even distribution of cultural centres throughout the country, i.e. there was sought for a „cultural expansion“ to the village.

Massive dissemination of culture demanded for the appropriate material base, so that the other part of the young Catholics civilizing – enculturation and modernisation programme was industrialization, an integral part of the electrification. No coincidence that one of the first of „XX amžius“ campaign launched by the team was designed for the electricity supply, and more specifically – the construction of large hydroelectric power stations. Urbanization was seen as the ultimate aim for a new type of organization of the Lithuanian nation assuming a different way of life and character of the nation. It was expected that the civilizing of the country would raise the overall level of a nation's health. Sport was considered as a suitable tool for the Lithuanian nation to activate. Only morally strong people could immolate themselves for the good of a nation so great attention was paid to the strengthening of morality. The goal was to state administrative apparatus, streamlining the organization of work.

Necessity of national identity strengthening (solidarity of the nation) was started to promote especially widely in 1938. Analysis of the press of that time suggests that despite the adoption of Polish ultimatum and transfer of the Klaipėda region to Germany without opposition, the people were in patriotic mood, their willingness to take fate into their own hands was demonstrated; the ability to consolidate was gratified. Optimism occurred as a request of reforms: land, capital, taxes. It was required to expropriate industrialists' capitals, major land plots in cities, to continue land reform by the final liquidation of the Polish estates. In particular, introduction of Soviet army posts in Lithuania in 1939 autumn and possibility of implementation of the Soviet system related with that strengthen the social reformism. Especially in the environment for young Catholics it was strongly stacked toward limitation of use of private property; even nationalize the means of production and introduce of planned economy. It was spoken for labour regulation at national level; the creation of the labour camps was approved. Entrepreneurs' efforts to Lithuanize industry, trade, crafts were maintained unconditionally. The battle for the Lithuanians settling in the economy, the efforts to create an independent Lithuanian culture, develop Lithuanian discipline, determination to fight for their goals by military means too were seen as an integral part of

tools for achieving the same goal – the Lithuanian nation prosperity . Obviously, that support of Lithuanian businessmen efforts to take root in industry, commerce, crafts, was of anti-Semitic nature.

5. YCM relationship with ideological groups hostile to the Catholic Action

The fifth chapter gives an overview of assumptions and circumstances of YCM relationship with ideological groups hostile to CA (Nationalists, Voldemaras adherents, Populists, the Social Democrats, and Communists). He was due to the ideological framework of young Catholics, already exposed in the declaration „ Towards the creation of an organic state“: Catholicism respecting freedom of conscience and the national and social engagement especially given YCM very radical features.

Similar to YCM with its radicalism there were a lot of the Catholic movement in Europe. Their rise was due to differentiation of the current European world-view occurring in the formation and strengthening of two ideological - political blocs – the communist and fascist. Under their influence radical Catholic and non-Catholic movements were created (among them there was no sharp caesura) following the third way ideology that had to overcome limitations of capitalism and socialism, communism, fascism. One of the most influential movements was Personalism in France and had many followers in other countries. From the need of a social, responsive to his people Catholicism acceptance of anti-communist movement of resists appeared. Together YCM devoted enough attention to relations with the Communists foreseeing that in the coming decades the political forces following communist ideology will play a very important role. Furthermore, it was sought to revive sense of national identity in the Lithuanian Communists, and by means of rhetoric friendly to communism as a social order tried to strengthen the social responsibility in the society. Catholic social activity in 1939 - 1940 in a considerable part was triggered by the Soviet approaching. Thus, there was no confrontation with communism as a social doctrine, but as the culture form alien for Lithuanian nation in order to protect an easily effectible part of Lithuanian population from the communist propaganda. Not coincidentally, in 1939 - 1940 pro-Soviet orientation was considered to be the best way in geopolitical terms, but culture-Bolshevism was flatly rejected.

However, performance of YCM in the political – social area in the second half of 4th decade was determined not by a relationship with the Communists, but the Nationalists because of their ideological affinity. Both of them sought to monopolize the expression of national identity space, claimed the centrality, synthesis, management of all society. National Catholic nationalism linked them with young Catholics. Thus, being more liberal in their world-view than the most liberal CA activists, but considering themselves as Catholics, Nationalists were serious rivals to young Catholics who, in turn, due to the ideological affinity between them caused by their competitive relationship between them followed the tactics to neutralize LNU not allowing it to monopolize the national identity tendencies together without locking it, not to compromise, but giving it a different character which could be represented by young Catholics.

Populist liberalism combined with a moderate nationalism and world-view freedom was popular within the intelligentsia, and between the people – their pragmatism in the economy. Nationalists and the majority of Social Democrats were of free-thinkers. Nevertheless, many of them displayed a tolerance towards Catholics, even tended to consider themselves as. However, there were also Catholics sharply confronting nationalists (free-thinkers) who felt that they are performing their mission i.e. “freeing” Lithuanian people from superstition. Young Catholics, feeling like having similar characteristics, sought to prevent nationalists from taking over consciousness of a secular but nationalist inclined intellectuals and the people.

Relations with the Nationalists in 1936 - 1938 were influenced by a conflict with the Christian Democrats, when young Catholics sought to establish themselves in Catholic society and naturally looked for support in authorities. That is their operation of public pro-nationalist position in public activities in 1935 – 37. However, there was a secret opposition activity, too. Thus, the performance of young Catholics in general during the discussed period was of multidimensional character as several tactics at once were used: public and several secret tactics. It was characterized by the effort to stay balanced supporting group while in public showing amiability to nationalists. In the name of the people interests, Young Catholics could support both the Nationalists and the Christian Democrats.

In the middle of the 4th decade, the assumptions emerged which enabled the cooperation of Communists and young Catholics. On the young Catholic side, it was their

social and national engagement, and from the Communist – tactics of People’s Front (LF) enabling consolidation with the “bourgeois” forces. There is a reason to believe that young Catholics supported cooperation of the Christian Democrats with the Communists during Suvalkija farmers’ strike. Catholic players (also involved in the cultural movement of NR) actively participated in the Lithuanian Red Aid campaign organized to collect signatures for the law on amnesty for political prisoners. In October 1935 during the strike organized by Vytautas Magnus University students to protect the autonomy of university Ateitininkai influenced by young Catholics participated as well as the Communists (Communist Youth League), consultations took place on Ateitininkai participation in a common front initiated by the Communists.

With the adoption of the Polish ultimatum (21 March, 1938), Lithuania entered into the most dramatic period of its history. Young Catholics hastened to take advantage of the regime weakening conditioned by the adoption of the Polish ultimatum. When coming to power good faith for the Nationalists was demonstrated and putting them under the pressure using own influence in the army, and establishing relations with groups such as the Populists, and Voldemaras adherents, considered to be Lithuanian or “non-Lithuanian” – such as the Communists. Meetings of Christian Democrats with the nationalists (Pakštas, Skrupskelis, Dielininkaitis attended) only in November, 1938, when it became clear that the Nationalists were not going to share power, ended by the formation of coalition (“Ašis”) which led to an oppositional movement in winter of 1938 - 1939.

Klaipėda release to Germany was even greater blow to the regime. Smetona was forced to create a coalitional “united labour” government. Catholics came to it solely for the purpose of nationalist regime liquidation, treating the government as a transitional step to full government takeover from the Nationalists. Senior Catholic action committee in Kaunas and committees all around Lithuania had to serve this purpose. Meetings of government members with the society, public lectures had the goal to discredit nationalist regime. There was a campaign developed for the consolidation in the press. In response to Nationalists’ efforts to recover the positions National Tracing Centre was created.

The war changed the situation substantially. The introduction of RA units and the passivity of the British and French in war increased the number of orientation towards the Soviet Union and Germany supporters. Sympathy for the Soviet Union increased in folk’s

masses. Meanwhile, A. Smetona's orientation changed from a pro-union to a pro-German, trying to avoid Soviet occupation by means of the German protectorate and military aid, focusing on the German - SSRS war. Young Catholics long before the beginning of the war were sure that Lithuania would not avoid the war and occupation, and even planned organization of a resistance to possible occupation (Soviet considered to be the most credible).

In the time of A. Merkys government negotiations with the Nationalists and Voldemaras adherents took place in parallel as the coalition with the Nationalists was not satisfying (they were offered a cooperation on "Bendras žygis" basis). In spring of 1940, an agreement with Voldemaras adherents was drawn up to organize a joint takeover. Significant weakening of authoritarian regime in addition to Klaipėda loss created favourable conditions for further strengthening of cooperation with the radicalized leftist forces i.e. the Social Democrats and Communists who acquired considerable influence and were able to establish itself in Patriotic Front. Pro-Soviet sentiment was strongly felt in Homeland Union partially representing Patriotic Front. Participation in activities of organizations protecting prisoners provided possibilities for that too. However, any kind of public communication was impossible as the same LCP representatives following the tactics aimed „directly to the direct preparation of the socialist revolution“ as LF encouraged to create only from the „bottom“. It is true that in 1939 - 1940 Young Catholic propaganda was marked by strong social reformist radicalism, but it was directed against the communists exactly.

Soviet occupation changed the relationship with the Communists. Young Catholics, with the whole Catholic elite supported acceptance of the Soviet ultimatum on 14 June, and recognized the People's Government. It was advocated for world-view „disarmament“, People's Government course to radical reforms and a change to „to broad masses, to the people, to the nation“ were welcomed. In this way, actually the previous programme for young Catholics was observed: aim for the country's modernization. Young Catholics tried to make contact with the new government, through contact with members of the People's Government, and urged Catholics to take part in elections to the People's parliament. Such at least partial acceptance of social restructuring by the new government, as well as ambition to hide anti-Soviet attitude and the expected war between German and Soviet Union caused by external adjustment to the Soviet regime tactics was followed by a number of other Catholic

elite representatives. However, the external adjustment of the regime is only one part of YCM relationship with it. The other part was organization of resistance to it. Resistance was expressed by anti-Soviet activities of young Catholic leaders I. Skrupskelis and P. Dielininkaitis, „XX amžius” structures, as well as organizations that were led by young Catholics or had an effect on (in particular, „Pavasaris” Federation and LCWU).

6. YCM role in Catholic Society

Šalkauskis’ students i.e. those who fully recognized his authority, gave him proper respect, formed the core of YCM leadership. They were young Catholics in the narrow sense. More distant members were taking over only a portion of his ideas, or did not accept Šalkauskis’ ideological leader status. YCM was centred on information dissemination tool – periodicals „XX amžius”, „Židinys”, „Naujoji Romuva”, etc. „XX amžius” represented YCM view in the most authentic way which in particular was visible YCM leadership. It is heterogeneous: exceptional core of leadership and less important members. Persons not eligible for the highest level of management, following ideology of YCM intellectual core, carrying out its order were attributed to the second group of YCM figures. This is particularly the „XX amžius” editors, correspondents, as well as technical and administrative staff of this and other periodicals.

„XX amžius” not only united YCM and symbolized it, but NR Fellow Union did it as well. On the other hand, the conflict with NR is evident. However, assessing the relationship with NR from the perspective, the young Catholic certainly appropriated it. Some of the figures involved in the activity of NR movement became very close to young Catholics, for example S. Kolupaila. They could be missing recognition of signs illustrating the basic group identity, identifying oneself with Catholicism to a sufficient degree, co-operation in the past, proper respect for the authority of elders that in all respects to be recognized as their own. However, given the fact that the YCM ideology rejected the Catholic exclusiveness and nationalism as a key principle of its operation and solidarity of nation – the aim, it can be assumed that the actual and non-Catholics were considered to be an integral part of the YCM in a broad sense, while distancing itself from them was only a tactical nature. Thus, NR cultural movement has to be treated as an internal opposition to YCM (Maceina could have

been a member of it) as a movement more radical world-view terms and showing dissatisfaction in close YCM ties with the Church hierarchy, and also claiming to leadership in YCM. In this case Keliuotis was considered in the broad YCM sense as an opposition leader.

JKS structure and its management could have been affected by named Catholic Committees with the High catholic Committee forefront created after J. Černius government creation unifying the Christian Democrats, and young Catholics. J. Štaupas who was a head of YCM team activities at the same time; he was a Head Chief of Catholic Affairs Committee. This indicates that YCM in 1939 - 1940 was in formation process as some clearer, more visible, especially for young Catholics structures appeared. This common structure for young Catholics and Christian Democrats – the Catholic Committees – suggests that their overall performance was well-balanced, while maintaining the individual teams and rivalisation between them. The position of Young Catholics in the committees would let to state that they had a greater impact than the “elder” ones, but knowing that in 1940 on the eve of the occupation LCDP had a party structure, but addressing the issues of relations with the Soviet Union “elder” Catholic figures played a greater role, but rather to talk about the balance of influences of young Catholics and Christian Democrats, but not of the one dominant group.

Relations with the Catholic culture workers and progressive part of hierarchy influenced the structure and nature of the YCM. „XX amžius” was published in close contact with Romuva adherents – Šalkauskis, Pakštas, Eretas, as well as prelate Kuraitis, who guided „XX amžius” indirectly, which means the entire functioning of JKS. Progressive bishops had interests in YCM.

Young Catholics formed the elite of their own, which would implement their vision of the Lithuanian nation. The generation prepared by them was assigned for leadership positions in AF. High schools were the main channel of its formation. Ambrazevičius, Dielininkaitis, Skrupskelis played a great role. Dielininkaitis did a great job involving Ateitininkai students to work in the social field. An important channel for educating of young generation was „Šatrija” union. Its activation since 1937 was related with generation of writers and poets who entered VDU in 1937 – 1939 (K. Bradūnas, V. Mačernis, B. Krivickas and others). Search for Catholicism and paganism harmony

dominated in this generation of „Šatrija” world-view, formatting future world-view of the nation. Youths prepared by Young Catholics firstly gathered in Catholic periodical editorials, administrations, publishing houses, where they worked as editors, reporters, correspondents, administrative staff, and technical staff. Julijonas Būtėnas, Jonas Virbickas, Antanas Strabulis, Pranas Gailiūnas, Antanas Mažiulis played a crucial role. These young people in 1939 - 1940 were clearly aware that the independence of Lithuania was at high risk. No coincidence that they were taught the art of war for the future occupation, medical students compiled supplies of medical instruments and pharmaceutical, schoolchildren were urged to prepare for defence of independence with weapon. The generation educated by Young Catholics played a significant role in re-established administration in 1941 June rebellion were included in the executive structures of the LF, the LF leaders participated in meetings. However, they followed the principle to fight with a more powerful enemy openly, not avoid the mask, and secretly develop a framework for resistance used under optimum conditions.

The refusal of Catholic exclusiveness opened the door for YCM to a various layers of Lithuanian society: YCM extended far beyond the CA camp. Huge impact of Young Catholics on society was based on the fact that the Lithuanian nation in toto human society believing in God, but in a different meanings. Diversity of Catholicism concept complicates setting of YCM limits, size and impact as those who recognized the need for national solidarity and importance of catholic heritage became part of YCM.

CA place and role in society could be described by the number of most important organizations belonging to CAC. It was not high. The same people often attended several organizations. Moreover, those who belonged to, or those who participated in religious practices often did not pay much attention that the organizers wanted to give for them. Most of CA organization members were an inert mass, which was led by a scarce number of activists. According to NKVD data Catholic organization consisted of about 160 000 people. According to CAC management data from 6 to 10% of the Lithuanian Catholic were belonging to CA organizations. Thus, from 128 to 212 thousand. It is therefore possible to observe the number of the NKVD as the most reliable. However, depending on degree of participation and quality in CA organizations, it can be said that Catholicism desired by young Catholics was followed and took it to their way of life about 100,000 Lithuanian Catholics. The number of practicing traditional Catholicism (participating in activities of

religious fraternities) was significantly above a number of CA organization members and was dominated by elderly people, children and women.

Nationwide organizations which were attended by young Catholics witness YCM influence. Certainly the NR cultural movement structures, such as the Lithuanian language teachers union and so on, had a significant impact on the intellectuals. The process of location of Young Catholics position in interwar Lithuania Catholic society is eased very much by post-war data on their operation conditions of emigration. The generation formed by young Catholics from 7th decade became LFF leaders who were congruent with young Catholic ideological principles. It was continued to be sought for political hegemony, implementation of LFF ideologies (e.g. „non-world-view Policy“) in the society, young Catholic tactics was followed in its relations with the Communists (or the Soviet regime) – „co-operation in the name of the people“. Course of the LFF and LCDS conflict provides data on determination of YCM nature and influence of the Catholic society during the interwar period.

Conclusions

Lithuanian Catholic social - political life in the first half of the twentieth-century was determined by Catholicism, engagement in nationalism, tendencies of social, and cultural and civilization progression, as well as a factor of membership in a group. In addition to the nationalism tendency the most prominent manifestation of the Lithuanian national movement was the conventional or modified but with the Church magisterial support, interaction of the Christian Democracy, and Catholic Action (CA), and neo-Thomism and non-traditional doctrines. These doctrines formed the basis for world-ethnic camp of Christian Democrats, Catholic culture workers and National Catholic.

By 1926, the major role was played by the Christian Democratic camp, which operated as three political - social - economic organizations (the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party (LCDP), the Lithuanian Labour Federation (LLF) and the Lithuanian Farmers' Union (LFU)) block in relations with non-Christian groups following modified Catholic doctrine of exclusiveness. National Catholicism in 1918 - 1926 was represented by

National Progressive Party (Lithuanian Nationalist Union (LNU)), as well as conservative and radical ethnic Catholics.

Christian Democrats block defeat in elections to parliament in 1926, the block defragmentation; LCDP exclusion from power in 1927 permanently eliminated the Christian democracy as an important factor in Lithuanian Catholic society and led to the rise of Catholic culture workers and nationalist Catholics represented by LNU. When the Christian Democrats choose CA structures as a means to power, CA radical wing was being formed (in relation to National regime), and culture workers, in turn, formed a moderate wing.

Activity of culture workers in their ideological goals to reach had a new nature of the Catholic elite training. Elite was developed – that is formed by YCM by the choice of culture workers in the development, targeting pro-active, intelligent, susceptible to indoctrination young people to the relevant CA and especially AF structures. At this point Romuva adherents Šalkauskis, Pakštas, Eretas paid a significant role here. An important factor in the genesis of YCM was the cultural movement formed on the basis of NR.

Situation of the Catholic Society in 1927 - 1932 is determined by confrontation of authoritarian regime and the radical part of CA with its climax in 1930 - 1932, the Nationalists virtually trying to eliminate CA type on Catholicism, with the connection of catholicity with nationally understood nationality. Catholics culture workers contributed to the fight of radical wing of the Catholic society against nationalist regime in order to defend their ideological goals necessary for structures.

The formation of world-view – political atmosphere adverse to liberal democracy across Europe in the first half of the 4th decade effected Lithuanian catholic society in conservative direction and forced to seek a consensus with the regime, stimulated emergence of powers stressing common national interests (Lithuanian Labour Youth Union and the NR Fellow Union). This has led to strengthening of young Catholics in Catholic social and cultural life, and in 1936, using the Christian Democrats' failed attempt to destabilize the regime through the farmers' strike in Suvalkija, to take independent activity by publishing the declaration. Having in mind their influence in society option of union with Christian Democrats was chosen. However, the sharp conflict with the Christian Democrats and the traditional Catholic in 1936 - 1937 was not avoided.

Key accents of YCM self-identification and ideology are considered to be: Šalkauskis' teaching as YCM ideological bases, the younger generation theory that was used to explain the differences between young Catholics and Christian Democrats as an objective conflict between generations and identification with the open (wide) Catholicism perceived as synthesis of global, encompassing truths of all religions and doctrines. Such a conception of Catholicism clearly confronted with a unique, set against the rest of the world concept of Catholicism, i.e. traditional Catholicism.

Young Catholics established themselves in Catholic society in terms of sharp conflict with the Christian Democrats and the traditional Catholic in 1936 – 1937. Catholic society was already consolidated when entered 1938 year and especially a new state of society after the adoption of the Polish ultimatum.

In the society Young Catholics tried to introduce the own concept of Catholicism, correlating with CA doctrine using their indoctrination system, which consisted of AF, CAC, Catholic organization entering it with the top of indoctrination apparatus – „XX amžius” Editorial Board meetings. Being an integral part of YCM the young priests whose work became an entire movement were saturated by their ideas. Young priests changed the world-view attitude of the clergy effectively by reducing impact of the Catholic exclusiveness and thus contributing to the realization of young Catholics' religious programme implementation. CA specific measures (corresponding to the new religiosity), and religious means (corresponding to traditional religiosity) were used for that.

Young Catholic nation programme included efforts to modernize the country (civilizing – enculturation, harmonization of social relations and training of necessary society character traits), and strengthening of national identity, i.e. independent, original, creation of competing culture, settlement of Lithuanians in the cities. Refusal of Catholic exclusiveness, enabling the engagement in the nation, encouraged a positive attitude to cooperation with non-Catholics. Distinguishing of neutral organizations became the theological disciplinary basis for that.

Like bigger part of the society young Catholics considered national identity based on the Lithuanian language as a value to be protected under any circumstances. Facing the threats to independence in 1938 - 1940 Young Catholics devoted particular attention to strengthening of the Lithuanian national consciousness, social solidarity and political

consolidation, in such a way and preparing the people for the potential loss of independence and the struggle for its restoration. YCM indoctrination measures contributed to the optimistic attitude of the Lithuanian nation.

The relations with ideological groups (Nationalists, Voldemaras adherents, Populists, the Social Democrats, and Communists) hostile to CA were determined by the belief that these ideologies of groups were deviations from ideology disposed by young Catholics rather than its substantive rebuttals. Nationalists were considered to be the closest to young Catholics in profound sense.

YCM like all Catholic social-political elites in corpore, expecting for the quick German - Soviet Union war and due to social bias of own ideology and social-economic life modernization seek based on a positive attitude to the reforms performed by Soviet regime, chose a form of outwardly loyal co-operation with the Soviet regime, secretly forming the carcass of the anti-soviet resistance within the catholic structures.

In YCM leadership the core and less important members mostly represented by „XX amžius” can be distinguished. Ideological traits formed by YCM leadership are more or less deeply adapted in periphery. NR cultural movement was an integral part of YCM in a broad sense. Leadership of NR Fellow Union was regarded as the opposition to official YCM leadership, focusing on the „XX amžius”.

The generation prepared by young Catholics was involved in the work in the Catholic press and public and cultural organizations, shaped the new Lithuanian cultural expression forms well-established in exile after the war, became the nucleus of anti-Soviet resistance. The role of young Catholics in Catholic society can be inferred from influence of CA organizations in Catholic society. It was not great – 6 to 10% percent of Catholics were united in the CA organizations, but many of them were passive. However, young Catholics had a significant impact on nationwide organizations.

Jaunųjų katalikų sąjūdžio genezė, ideologiniai principai ir jų realizavimo
praktika (1919 – 1940)

Disertacijos reziumė

Tyrimo aktualumas, objektas ir chronologiniai rėmai. 4 - amje dešimtmetyje į Lietuvos visuomeninį ir kultūrinį gyvenimą įsiliejo visa eilė talentingų jaunų katalikų intelektualų. Visų jų ideologinius principus išreiškė 1936 m. vasario 23 d. „Naujojoje Romuvoje“ (NR) paskelbta deklaracija „Į organiškiosios valstybės kūrybą“. Deklaracijos pagrindu susikūrė katalikiškasis sąjūdis, istoriografijoje vadinamas jaunųjų katalikų sąjūdžiu (JKS).

JKS genezės, pobūdžio ir veikimo tyrimai iškelia visą eilę problemų. Pav. JKS politinės orientacijos problema, kurios neįmanoma išspręsti remiantis įprastine politologiniuose tyrimuose taikoma kairės – dešinės schema. JKS pobūdžio nustatymą apsunkina stereotipinis bet kurio darinio veiklos išskaidymas į politinio, visuomeninio ir kultūrinio gyvenimo sritis, įžvelgiant jų prigimtinių atskirumą. Išskirtinis dėmesys viešai veiklai bei jų pagrindimui dokumentais trukdo suvokti, kad kultūrinėmis bei neviešomis (inspiracinėmis) priemonėmis taip pat galima sąmoningai daryti poveikį žmogaus sąmonei, keičiant visuomenės raidos kryptį. Ne vieną istoriografinį paradoksą sukuria katalikybės apribojimas tradicinės katalikybės ekskliuzyvumu, atmetančiu bet kokį bendradarbiavimą su nekatalikais. Šias problemas padėtų išspręsti nauja ontologinė, religinė, visuomeninio gyvenimo sampratos metodologinė prieiga. JKS katalikiškasis angažuotumas katalikiškoje šalyje, kokia buvo tarpukario Lietuva, suteikia jo tyrinėtojams išskirtinai patogią poziciją prieškarinio Lietuvos politiniams, kultūriniais ir socialiniams procesams stebėti bei aprašyti. Lieka aktualios JKS pastangos atrasti tinkamą katalikiškumo, tautiškumo ir europietiškojo universalumo dermę.

Tyrimo objektas – JKS, veikęs 1936 – 1940 m., o taip pat šio sąjūdžio genezė, chronologiškai sutampanti su romuviečių (Stasio Šalkauskio, Kazio Pakšto, Juozo Ereto) pasaulėžiūrinės grupės funkcionavimu 1919 – 1936 m. Darbo chronologines ribas nusako tiek išoriniai, tiek ir vidiniai (romuviečių pasaulėžiūrinės grupės ir JKS) kriterijai: pradinę

darbo ribą žymi slaptos Romuvos draugijos susiformavimas 1919 vasario 2 d., o baigiamą ją – 1940 m. kai dėl sovietų okupacijos JKS pobūdis turėjo kardinaliai pasikeisti.

Tyrimo tikslas, uždaviniai, metodai. Tyrimo tikslas: atskleisti JKS susiformavimą lėmusius veiksnius bei aplinkybes, JKS vaidmenį katalikų visuomenėje ir santykį su kitomis ideologinėmis grupėmis, akcentuojant su Bažnyčia susijusius JKS ideologijos ir veikimo aspektus.

Darbo uždaviniai: 1) nustatyti XX a. pirmos pusės lietuvių katalikų visuomenės raidą sąlygojusių pasaulėžiūrinių tendencijų bei veiksmų raiškos ideologinius ir organizacinius ypatumus; 2) atskleisti romuviečių vaidmens JKS genezėje pasaulėžiūrinius, visuomeninius – kultūrinius ir politinius raiškos aspektus; 3) nušviesti JKS įsitvirtinimo katalikiškose bei bendratautinėse organizacijose procesą; 4) nustatyti NR kultūrinio sąjūdžio santykį su JKS; 5) atskleisti 1936 m. deklaracijos parengimo ir „XX amžiaus“ išleidimo aplinkybes; 6) nustatyti svarbiausius JKS savimonės, saviidentifikacijos ir ideologijos bruožus; 7) apibūdinti JKS katalikybes, religingumo sampratą, religinę programą ir pastangas ją realizuoti; 8) charakterizuoti JKS tautiškumo sampratą santykyje su katalikiškumu, tautinę programą ir pastangas ją realizuoti; 9) nustatyti JKS pastangų siekti tautos solidarumo pobūdį; 10) atskleisti JKS santykį su priešiškomis KA ideologinėmis grupėmis; 11) apibūdinti JKS struktūrą, pamainą, įtaką katalikų visuomenėje.

Esminis tyrimo principas - pamatinio pasaulėžiūrinio apsisprendimo aplinkybių, pobūdžio, laiko nustatymas. Tam taikomi analitinis, komparatyvistinis ir sintetinis metodai.

Istoriografija. Istoriografija, skirta jaunesiems katalikams ir neatsiejamai su jais susijusiems romuviečiams ar, plačiau žiūrint, katalikams kultūrininkams, gausi, tačiau joje daugiau analizuojamas jų kūrybinis paveldas. JKS kaip kompleksiniam reiškiniui aptarti darbų nesama daug. Faktografiniu požiūriu vertingiausi jaunųjų katalikų bei katalikų kultūrininkų darbai apie savo pačių veikimą tarpukaryje. Jų laiškuose, dienoraščiuose, atsiminimuose, straipsniuose, proginėse kalbose išryškunami tie sąjūdžio bruožai ir istorijos elementai, kurių visuma sudarė jaunųjų katalikų proteguotą JKS istorijos schemas karkasą – kanoną. Ši LFB vadovybės deklaracijoje „Į pilnutinę demokratiją“ įteisinta JKS istorijos schema, papildyta pačių jaunųjų katalikų ar katalikų kultūrininkų atsiminimais, buvo gilinama tyrimais (J. Ereto, J. Girniaus, A. Maceinos, S. Ylos, J. Brazaičio ir kitų).

Sovietinėje Lietuvoje, nepaisant ideologinės kontrolės ir ateistinės indoktrinacijos, nuveikta nemažai analizuojant katalikų kultūrininkų filosofinį paveldą: nustatyta jų priklausomybė filosofinėms srovėms, idėjinė jų sąveika, poveikio jaunesniajai filosofų kartai formos ir mastai (B. Kuzmickas, A. Sverdiolas ir kiti). Bendras JKS vaizdas liko schematiškas, perimtas iš pačių jaunųjų katalikų suformuotos istoriosiofinės schemos (kanono).

Nuoseklūs JKS (o ne atskirų, nors ir labai iškilų šio sąjūdžio asmenybių veiklos ir idėjų) tyrimai prasidėjo tik atkūrus nepriklausomybę. JKS ir toliau traktuojamas kaip intelektualų sąjūdis, tačiau jau išvelgiamos sąmoningos pastangos diegti savo idėjas, veikiant studentijoje, darbininkijoje, matomos jų politinės aspiracijos ir konkreti politinė veikla (A. Svarauskas, G. Rudis, P. V. Pšibilskis). Jaunųjų katalikų socialinės pažiūros laikomos Bažnyčios socialinės doktrinos nuosekliu išplėtojimu (V. Pruskus). JKS pristatomas kaip liberalus, iki minimumo savo katalikiškumą redukavęs judėjimas (K. Skrupskelis). Daug dėmesio skiriama JKS santykiui su NR ir jos kultūriniu sąjūdžiu (D. Mačiulis, A. Streikus). Tačiau ir toliau jaunieji katalikai laikomi dešiniaisiais, nemandant kritiškiau pažvelgti į politologinę kairės – dešinės schemą (A. Svarauskas). Analizuotas JKS vaidmuo antisovietiniame pasipriešinime (M. Bloznelis).

Labai reikšmingi literatūrologų ir dailėtyrininkų darbai, ypač D. Jakaitės, išsamiai nušvietusios daugelį jaunųjų katalikų išugdžiusios „Šatrijos“ draugijos ištakas, struktūrą, ideologiją, tradicijas ir S. Smilingytės – Žeimienės, bažnytinės dailės pavyzdžiu atskleidusios katalikiškojo tradicionalizmo ir modernumo, katalikiškumo ir tautiškumo sąveiką XX a. pirmos pusės Lietuvos katalikų visuomenėje. Toliau buvo tęsiami katalikų kultūrininkų ir jaunųjų katalikų filosofinio paveldo tyrimai (A. Jokubaitis, B. Ivanovas, V. Lukoševičius, P. Butkus, L. Donskis, A. Sverdiolas). Reikšmingi darbai, padėję nustatyti katalikiškumo raiškos ribas visuomenėje (L. Truskos, R. Trimako, R. Laukaitytės, V. Žaltauskaitės, N. Putinaitės, A. Kasparavičiaus ir kiti). Tautininkų srovės ideologijai bei politinei raiškai itin svarbūs A. Grigaravičius bei B. Ivanovo darbai.

Siekiant išsiaiškinti JKS socialinio angažuotumo visuomeninės, kultūrinės ir politinės raiškos ribas, susipažinta su sovietine istoriografija (S. Atamuko, V. Marcelio, T. Sebeženkovaitės, Č. Baužos, V. Kancevičiaus ir kitų darbais). Tiek sovietinėje, tiek ir nesovietinėje istoriografijoje jaunųjų katalikų santykiai su komunistais dažniausiai

charakterizuojami tik kaip antagonistiniai. Nekonfrontacinis JKS santykis su komunizmu išvelgiamas darbuose, labiau akcentuojančiuose katalikų „taikaus sugyvenimo“ su sovietų režimu paieškas (V. Vardžio, R. Laukaitytės, K. Skrupskelio). JKS tyrimams svarbi antisemitizmo raiškai Lietuvoje skirta literatūra (L. Truska, K. K. Girnius, A. Kasparavičius, V. Vareikis ir kt.).

Katalikybės fenomenui aptarti buvo naudojamosi teologinio, filosofinio, religijotyrynio pobūdžio literatūra (B. Kuzmicko, T. Loome, H. Vorgrimlerio, K. Trimako, H. Kūngo, M. Eliade, A. Paškaus, G. Beresnevičiaus, G. Mažeikio ir kitų darbais).

Šaltiniai. Naudotasi ir pirminiais, ir antriniais šaltiniais. Iš pirminiams šaltiniams priskiriamų valstybinių institucijų archyvinių dokumentų itin naudingi buvo saugomi Valstybės saugumo departamento (Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (LCVA), f. 378), Valstybės saugumo policijos Kauno apygardos (LCVA, f. 438), Kauno miesto ir apskrities viršininko (LCVA, f. 402), švietimo ministerijos (LCVA, f. 691) fonduose. JKS vietą katalikų visuomenėje atskleidė Bažnyčios institucijų, katalikiškų organizacijų ir asmenų fondai (Ateitininkų federacijos (AF) (LCVA, f. 564); Katalikų veikimo centro (KVC) (LCVA, f. 566); „Pavasario federacijos“ (LCVA, f. 572); Lietuvos Krikščionių darbininkų sąjungos (LCVA, f. 1404); Jungtinis asmenų (LCVA, f. 1674); Telšių vyskupijos kurijos (Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (LVIA), f. 669); Panevėžio arkivyskupijos kurijos (LVIA, f. 1650); Kauno arkivyskupijos kurijos (LVIA, f. 1671); S. Šalkauskio (Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos rankraščių skyrius (VUB RS), f. 140); Z. Ivinskio (VUB RS, f. 198; Nacionalinės Martyno Mažvydo bibliotekos rankraščių skyrius (NB RS), f. 29); prel. Mykolo Krupavičiaus (Lietuvos istorijos instituto rankraščių skyrius (LII RS), f. 54); J. Keliuočio (NB RS, f. 31; Maironio lietuvių literatūros archyvas); A. Dambrausko – Jakšto (Mokslų akademijos bibliotekos rankraščių skyrius (MAB RS), f. 179); kan. F. Kemėšio (MAB RS, f. 280); P. Mantvydo (Lietuvių literatūros ir meno archyvas, f. 510); Prel P. Kuraičio archyvas (Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto (VDU) Katalikų teologijos fakulteto rankraščių skyrius); Kauno arkivyskupijos kurijos archyvas ir kiti). Lietuvos ypatingojo archyvo (LYA) LKP dokumentų skyriuje saugomi dokumentai (fondai Nr. 77, 3743, 3377) teikia daug informacijos apie LKP laikyseną katalikų atžvilgiu. JKS veiklai švietimo srityje nepamainomas buvo VDU fondas (LCVA, f. 631). Plačiai naudotasi jaunųjų katalikų, ateitininkų, krikščionių demokratų, pavasarininkų, Darbo federacijos, kai kurių vienuolių ir

kita periodine spauda. Jaunųjų katalikų ir jų mokytojų romuviečių bei kitų katalikų kultūrininkų ideologinėms nuostatomis atskleisti nepakeičiamas šaltinis yra jų knygos, straipsniai, kūrybiniai projektai, kalbos. Iš asmeninio pobūdžio dokumentų didelę informacinę vertę turi jaunųjų katalikų ir jų artimųjų bei katalikų kultūrininkų tarpusavio korespondencija, dienoraščiai.

Iš antriniams šaltiniams priskiriamų archyvinių dokumentų labai naudingos šiam darbui buvo sovietinio saugumo struktūrų (NKVD) sudarytos operatyvinės ir baudžiamosios bylos (LYA, F.K – 1). Informatyvios vieno iš sovietinių saugumo struktūrų vadovų A. Guzevičiaus paskaitos NKVD darbuotojams apie tarpukario katalikų visuomenę (LYA, f.K-1, ap. 3, b. 150).

Daug informacijos apie JKS suteikia jaunųjų katalikų atsiminimai ar atsiminimai apie juos ir katalikus kultūrininkus. Labai svarbus šaltinis ypač JKS savimonei ir saviidentifikacijos akcentams atskleisti yra jaunųjų katalikų pokarinė korespondencija, LF ideologijai skirti tekstai, krikščionių demokratų polemika su jaunaisiais katalikais po karo (LII RS, f. 54; VUB RS, f. 198).

Tyrimo naujumas. Darbe laikomasi nuostatos į tarpukario politinius ir visuomeninius procesus žvelgti per pasaulėžiūrinę, idėjų istorijos, prizmę, vertybes, idėjas, vaizdinius laikant determinuojančiu istoriją veiksniu, pasireiškiančiu asmenų ar jų grupių pasaulėžiūrinio apsisprendimo gyliu, sąlygotu nematerialaus būties pagrindo pobūdžio. Toks besąlygiškas apsisprendimas už dvasinę (informacinę) realybės sampratą yra nauja metodologinė prieiga. Ji suponuoja atitinkamą požiūrį į visuomeninius procesus, psichologinius veiksnius – žmogiškosios prigimties dėsniumais paremtas psichologines reakcijas - laikant determinuojančiais žmogaus ir visuomenės gyvenimą. Tuo pagrindu XX a. pirmos pusės lietuvių katalikų jausminės reakcijos suredukuojamos į kelias visuomenines tendencijas ar veiksnius, o būtent: katalikiškumo, angažavimosi tautiškumui, socialinės, kultūrinės ir civilizacinės pažangos siekimo, o taip pat priklausomybės grupei veiksnį.

Kitas novatoriškas darbo aspektas - prieškarinio Lietuvos politinio, visuomeninio, kultūrinio ir bažnytinio gyvenimo sferų susiejimas, žvelgimas į jas kaip į integralią visumą. Todėl JKS tyrimai duoda stimulų kitų pasaulėžiūrinių (politinių, kultūrinių, visuomeninių) grupių visapusiškos raiškos tyrimams, leidžia išžvelgti sąsajas, kurios kitokiu būdu, t.y. laikantis įprastinės politinio, kultūrinio ir visuomeninio veikimo atskirties, neišryškėtų. Be

to, tai leidžia geriau suvokti kultūrinio bei neviešojo veikimo ypatybes. Darbe daug dėmesio skirta lietuvių politinių visuomeninių jėgų santykiui su katalikybe, ko iki šiol Lietuvos tarpukariui skirtoje istoriografijoje stigo.

Tyrimo pagrindiniai teiginiai: 1) XX a. pirmos pusės lietuvių katalikų visuomenę labiausiai veikė katalikiškumo (transcendentinės orientacijos, o taip pat ištikimybės tradicinei Bažnyčios doktrinai ir hierarchijai), angažavimosi tautiškumui, socialinės bei kultūrinės - civilizacinės pažangos siekimo (atsivėrimo mokslui, modernybei, europietiškamui) tendencijos, o taip pat priklausomybės grupei veiksnys; 2) Romuviečių pastangos formuoti savąją pamainą, galinčią atstovauti ir tęsti jų pasaulėžiūrinės nuostatos, buvo vienas svarbiausių JKS genezės ir ideologijos formavimosi veiksnių; 3) Jaunųjų katalikų pasaulėžiūros pagrindu buvo materializmui priešpriešinamas idealizmas ir katalikybės kaip religijų ir ideologijų sintezės modelis - atviroji („plačioji“) katalikybė - atsiribojant nuo katalikybės kaip priešpriešos modelio (tradicinės katalikybės eskliuzyvumo); 4) JKS veikimą religinėje sferoje apsprendė KA indoktrinacinis pobūdis, naujojo, KA doktrina besiremiančio, religingumo diegimui panaudojant ir tradicinį religingumą; 5) Šalies ūkio ir visuomenės santykių modernizavimo programa, turint tikslą masiškai ir įdiegti kultūros ir civilizacijos vertybes, laikyta viena svarbiausių priemonių tautos solidarumui ugdyti; 6) NR kultūrinis sąjūdis laikytinas jaunųjų katalikų giluminių pasaulėžiūrinių nuostatų raiškos būdu, NR vadovybei atliekant opozicijos (alternatyvinio centro) oficialiai JKS vadovybei, atstovaujama daugiausia „XX amžiaus“, vaidmenį; 7) Tautinis angažuotumas kaip vienas svarbiausių JKS ideologijos bruožų ir katalikybės kaip religijų ir ideologijų sintezės samprata tautos interesų vardan leido palaikyti santykius su įvairiomis ideologinėmis grupėmis (tautininkais, voldemarininkais, liaudininkais, socialdemokratais, komunistais), naudojant kelias taktikas iš karto – viešą ir ne vieną slaptą; 8) Jaunųjų katalikų santykiai su komunistais buvo prieštaringi: viena vertus, aštriai konfrontuota su komunistų šalininkų propaguotu kultūrbolševizmu, kaip potencialiai vedančiu į kultūros sovietizaciją bei rusifikaciją ir lietuvių tautos pajungimą svetimam kultūriniam organizmui, o kita vertus, dėl JK ir komunistų socialinio idealo panašumo, o taip pat Lietuvos geopolitinės situacijos, sąlygojusios ir prosovietinę orientaciją, su komunistais bendradarbiauta; 9) JKS veikimą grėsmės nepriklausomybei laikotarpiu – 1938 – 1940 m. - sąlygojo pastangos ugdyti lietuvių

tautinį ir socialinį solidarumą, ruošiant katalikų ir jų įtakojamas bendratautinių organizacijų struktūras pasipriešinimui grėsiančiai okupacijai.

Disertacijos struktūra ir rezultatai. Disertaciją sudaro įvadas, šeši skyriai, išvados ir literatūros bei šaltinių sąrašas. Pirmajame skyriuje analizuojama XX a. pirmosios pusės lietuvių katalikų visuomenės formavimosi ir raidos veiksnių ir tendencijų sąveika atvirosios katalikybės šviesoje. Lietuvių katalikų visuomenės raidoje XX a. pirmoje pusėje galima įžvelgti tokius etapus su juose vyraujančiomis tendencijomis: krikščioniškosios demokratijos ir tautinės katalikybės rivalizacijos (1905 – 1918), modifikuoto katalikiškojo ekskliuzyvizmo dominavimo (1918 – 1926), KA ir tautinės katalikybės aštrios konfrontacijos (1927 – 1932) bei modifikuoto tautiškumo veiksnio dominavimo (1933 – 1940). Juos suponuojančių tendencijų esminiai bruožai išryškėjo lietuvių tautinio sąjūdžio laikais (1883 – 1905). Nuo 1905 m. atsiradus viešai nuomonių raiškos galimybei lietuvių katalikų pasaulėžiūriniai skirtumai augo. Svarbiais katalikų visuomenės raidą įtakojusiais veiksniais šalia tautiškumo buvo krikščioniškoji demokratija, neotomizmas, tradicinė katalikybė bei neortodoksaliais krikščioniškosios doktrinos, kurių atžvilgiu klostėsi krikščionių demokratų, katalikų kultūrininkų ir tautinių katalikų pasaulėžiūrinės stovyklos.

Nepriklausomos Lietuvos politiniame gyvenime iki 1926 m. didžiausią vaidmenį vaidino krikščionys demokratai, kurie organizaciniu požiūriu veikė kaip trijų politinių – visuomeninių – ekonominių organizacijų (Lietuvių krikščionių demokratų partija (LKDP), Lietuvos Darbo federacija (LDF) ir Lietuvos ūkininkų sąjunga (LŪS)) blokas. Bloko laikyseną nekrikščioniškų politinių grupių atžvilgiu apsprendė savitas katalikiškojo ekskliuzyvumo supratimas, kurį charakterizuoja transcendentinės orientacijos redukavimas iki minimumo. 1926 - 1927 m. politinių peripetijų išdavoje krikščionys demokratai prarado valdžią, jų įtaka mažėjo. Savarankiškos bažnytinės provincijos paskelbimas, naujo episkopato suformavimas ir konkordato su Šv. Sostu pasirašymas sukūrė naują situaciją, kurioje sprendimų priėmimo iniciatyva perėjo į KA doktrina besivadovaujančių vyskupų rankas, o katalikiškojo visuomeninio gyvenimo centras persikėlė į KVC - katalikiškųjų organizacijų centrinę atstovybę. Daugelyje katalikų visuomenės gyvenimo sričių po perversmo įsivyravo tautininkai.

Tautininkų – krikščionių demokratų koalicijai žlugus, šių dviejų politinių jėgų, o palaiptiesniui ir katalikiškosios bei tautininkiškosios visuomenių konfrontacija nuolat stiprėjo,

kol 1930 – 1932 m. išsiliejo atviru konfliktu. Jo išdavoje KA visuomenėje išskyrė nuosaikieji, ieškojusieji modus vivendi su tautininkais, ir radikalieji, pasisakę už tolesnį konflikto eskalavimą. Radikalieji savo veikimą koncentravo apie pagrindinį Katalikų akcijos komitetą. Nuosaikūs buvo katalikai kultūrininkai, kurie nebuvo linkę beatodairiškai palaikyti kovos su režimu. Svarbiausias nuosaikiųjų KA veikėjų, tautinių katalikų ir tautininkų valdžios pastangų pakeisti katalikų visuomenės opinią sau palankia kryptimi vaisius buvo NR ir jos bičiulių sąjunga.

Visoje Europoje 4 - ame dešimtmetyje susiformavus labai nepalankiam liberaliajai demokratijai politiniam klimatui, o Bažnyčios magisteriumui pasisakius už korporatyvinę santvarką, susidarė labai palankios sąlygos naujai katalikų pasaulėžūrinei programai formuoti ir propaguoti. Todėl vis didesnę įtaką pradėjo įgauti korporatyvizmą savo vėliava pasirinkę jaunieji katalikai. Plėtojosi tautinių katalikų suartėjimo su radikalų tautiškumą propagavusiomis jaunosiomis jėgomis procesas. Pastangos spartinti Lietuvos kultūrinę ir civilizacinę pažangą, stiprinti tautinį solidarumą, suaktyvėjo 1938 – 1940 m.

Antrajame skyriuje analizuojamas romuviečių vaidmuo JKS genezėje, o taip pat pačių jaunųjų katalikų pastangos įsitvirtinti katalikų visuomeniniame gyvenime. Detaliai analizuojamas suaktyvėjęs 1926 – 1927 m. Lietuvos politinio ir bažnytinio gyvenimo pokyčių išdavoje romuviečių veikimas kartu su kitais katalikais kultūrininkais. Katalikų kultūrininkų stovykla matoma kaip griežtai apibrėžtą žmonių ratą (iš aukščiausių hierarchų, žymiausių katalikiškojo mokslo ir jaunimo atstovų) sudaranti katalikų elito grupė, pažangios, modernios, tolerantiškos katalikybės idėjoms realizuoti daugiausia per AF formavusi savo pamainą (katalikiškąjį elitą), t.y. katalikų veikėjus, 4 – ajame dešimtmetyje susitelkusius į JKS. Būsimojo deklaracijos signatarų ir „XX amžiaus“ kolektyvo branduolio nariais tapo aktyviausi KA veikėjai, gabiausi Šalkauskio mokiniai. Jiems taip pat reikėjo vaduotis iš katalikiškojo ekskliuzyvumo; vyko jų sąmonėjimo procesas, kontroliuojamas, paskatinamas, nukreipiamas katalikų kultūrininkų, toliau pažengusių šiuo keliu iškeliant į atsakingas pareigas KA struktūrose, AF. Stiprų postūmį JKS formavimuisi suteikė J. Keliuočio skelbtos radikalios idėjos su jo aiškiomis pretenzijomis veikti katalikų visuomenėje ir kataliko vardu. Jaunieji katalikai didele dalimi veikė NR kultūrinio sąjūdžio rėmuose ir su juo tapatinosi. Savarankiškai veikti jaunieji katalikai pasiryžo krikščionims demokratams nepavykus destabilizuoti režimo ir tuo pagrindu gal net sugrįžti į valdžią

pasinaudojant Suvalkijos ūkininkų streiku (1935 – 1936 m.). Paraiška savarankiškam veikimui - deklaracija „Į organiškiosios valstybės kūrybą“. „XX amžiaus“ pasirodymas reiškė galutinį JKS įsiforminimą. Vis dėlto, buvo pasirinktas ne savarankiškas veikimas, bet koalicija (blokas) su krikščionimis demokratais.

Trečiajame skyriuje analizuojama JKS religinė programa ir pastangos ją realizuoti. Konstatuojama, kad jaunieji katalikai vadovavosi KA doktrina, kuri laikytina nauja Šv. Sosto ideologija, paremta atvirosios katalikybės samprata. Savo idėjas jauniesiems katalikams teko įgyvendinti liaudyje, kurios religingumas rėmėsi senuoju pasaulėvaizdžiu ir pagarba dvasininkijai. Tikėjimas ir pasitikėjimas dvasininkija garantavo autoritetą ir paklusnumą, turėjusius disciplinarinį, finansinį ir intelektualinį aspektus. Todėl neišvengiamai teko akceptuoti dvasininkijos požiūrį, o kita vertus, stengtis tą požiūrį formuoti. Svarbų vaidmenį vaidino vienuolijos. Vienos iš jų labiau atsiliepė į laikmečio reikalavimus (marijonai, jėzuitai, saleziečiai), kitos išliko konservatyvios (kapuciniai, pranciškonai). Su konservatyviosiomis katalikų visuomenės jėgomis bei krikščionimis demokratais JKS dėl įtakos turėjo rimtai pakovoti. Vis dėlto, į 1938 m. katalikų stovykla išengė pakankamai konsoliduota.

Elitinis nusistatymas leido jauniesiems katalikams be skrupulų naudoti efektyviausius veikimo metodus, jų tarpe neviešą, inspiracinį, t.y., veikimą už oficialių, pripažintų institucijų rėmų, bendravimo formų. Visi JKS sprendimai būdavo priimami siaurame rate asmenų, priklausančių visų pirma „XX amžiaus“ redakcinei kolegijai. Jos susirinkimai ir buvo JKS indoktrinacinio aparato viršūnė. Svarbus JKS nuostatų įgyvendinimo įrankis buvo AF. Jų rankose buvo ir KVC bei didelė dalis jam priklausiusių katalikiškų organizacijų. Reikšmingu svertu jauniesiems katalikams siekti savo tikslų buvo katalikų kultūrinės ir švietimo organizacijos. Neabejotina, kad procesai, vykę katalikų visuomenėje aptariamam laikotarpiu žymia dalimi buvo inicijuoti progresyviai nusiteikusių jaunųjų kunigų, iš kurių svarbiausią vaidmenį vaidino kun. Yla. Didelės viltys dėtos į kovūnų sistemos įgyvendinimą. Socialinių santykių reformavimo srityje siekta katalikiškojo gyvenimo svorio centrą perkelti į parapijas, parapijų komitetams perduodant dvasininkų materialinį aprūpinimą, taigi, ir jų asmeninio gyvenimo kontrolę. Tokiems pokyčiams įgalinti, reikėjo keisti religinę sąmonę. Tam skatintos naujaji religingumą atitinkančios pamaldumo praktikos, neatsiejamos nuo

liturginio sąjūdžio, atgarsį radusio pirmiausia inteligentų ir studentų tarpe. Kartu buvo panaudojamos ir senojo (tradicinio) religingumo praktikos.

Ketvirtajame skyriuje analizuojama JKS tautinė programa ir jos realizavimo būdai. Konstatuojama, kad tautos solidarumo, patriotizmo puoselėjimas, tautinės savimonės stiprinimas JKS vienareikšmiškai laikytas svarbiausiu tikslu. Tokį stiprų angažavimąsi tautai sąlygojo katalikiškojo ekskliuzyvizmo atsisakymas, įgalinęs teigiamą požiūrį į bendradarbiavimą su nekatalikais. Teologiniu pagrindu tam tapo neutralių organizacijų atskyrimas nuo priešiškių. Veikiant tautinio solidarumo tendencijai vis daugiau organizacijų buvo įvardijamos neutraliomis. Svarbiausia jų – NR sąjūdis, kurio suformuluotas tautiškumo ir katalikiškumo santykis patenkino didžiosios dalies šių organizacijų narių poreikius arba per NR bendradarbius šie buvo kreipiami priimti jos (taigi ir JKS) ideologiją, nes daugeliui šių organizacijų narių katalikybė nebuvo svetima. Jaunieji katalikai, kaip radikaliausi KA veikėjai, turėjo katalikybės sampratą iš esmės mažai tesiskiriančią nuo Keliuočio. Būtent NR puslapiuose, diskusijose buvo formuluojama ir JKS tautinė programa, kuri apėmė ir tautinį, ir socialinį aspektą, t.y. santykių tarp atskirų visuomenės grupių harmonizavimą, racionalizavimą: jaunųjų katalikų siekis buvo visų įmanomų priešpriešų lietuvių tautoje pašalinimas bei civilizacijos vertybių paskleidimas galimai didesniai žmonių skaičiui.

Istoriografijoje įsitvirtinęs požiūris, jog Lenkijos ir Vokietijos ultimatumų priėmimas sąlygojo politinę – moralinę tautos krizę, to meto spaudos analizės šviesoje neatrodo pagrįstas. Atvirkščiai, tauta buvo nusiteikusi optimistiškai, patriotiškai, iš esmės pasitikinti savo jėgomis. Optimizmas išsiliejo reformų reikalavimu: žemės, kapitalo, mokesčių. Reikalauta nusavinti pramonininkų kapitalus, stambius sklypus miestuose, tęsti žemės reformą, galutinai likviduojant lenkų dvarus. Potenciali sovietinės sistemos įvedimo galimybė stiprino socialinį reformizmą. Būtent jaunųjų katalikų aplinkoje būta stipraus nusistatymo apriboti naudojimąsi private nuosavybe, net nacionalizuoti gamybos priemones bei įvesti planinę ekonomiką - taigi, nuostatos būdingos komunizmui. Besąlygiškai palaikytos Verslininkų sąjungos pastangos sulietuvinti pramonę, prekybą, amatus. Tai turėjo antisemitinį pobūdį.

Penktajame skyriuje analizuojamas JKS santykis su priešiškomis KA ideologinėmis grupėmis (tautininkais, voldemarininkais, liaudininkais, socialdemokratais, komunistais). Jis buvo sąlygotas jaunųjų katalikų ideologinių nuostatų, išryškėjusių jau deklamacijoje „I

organiškosios valstybės kūrybą“: sąžinės laisvę respektuojančio katalikiškumo ir tautinio bei socialinio angažuotumo, suteikusio JKS labai radikalių bruožų ir suartinusių jį su kitais to meto jaunimo sąjūdžiais Europoje, balansavusiais tarp fašizmo ir komunizmo. JKS santykiams su komunistais taip pat skyrė ne tokią jau menką vietą konkrečioje politinėje veikloje ir retorikoje, nujaučiant, kad per ateinančius dešimtmečius komunizmo ideologija besivadovaujančios politinės jėgos vaidins be galo didelį vaidmenį. Yra pagrindo manyti, kad būta jaunųjų katalikų kontaktų su komunistais. Jais siekta atgaivinti lietuvių komunistų tautiškumo jausmą, o palankia komunizmui kaip socialinei santvarkai, retorika stengtasi sustiprinti socialinę atsakomybę visuomenėje. Taigi, su komunizmu buvo konfrontuojama ne kaip su socialiniu mokymu, bet kaip su svetima lietuvių tautai kultūros forma – kultūrbolševizmu.

Vis dėlto, ne santykiai su komunistais, bet su tautininkais dėl jų idėjinio giminingumo apsprendė JKS veikimą politinėje – visuomeninėje 4 – dešimtmečio antros pusės scenoje. Būdami pasaulėžiūriškai liberalesniais už pačius liberaliausius KA veikėjus, tačiau laikydami save katalikais, tautininkai buvo rimti konkurentai jaunesiems katalikams. Pastarieji dėl šio idėjinio giminingumo sąlygoto jų tarpusavio konkurencinio santykio laikėsi taktikos neutralizuoti Lietuvių tautininkų sąjungą, neleidžiant jai monopolizuoti tautiškumo tendencijos, kartu neužblokuojant jos, nesukompromituojant, o tik suteikiant jau kitokį pobūdį, kurį galėtų atstovauti jaunesni katalikai. Santykius su tautininkais 1936 – 1938 m. įtakojo konfliktas su krikščionimis demokratais, jaunesiems katalikams siekiant įsitvirtinti katalikų visuomenėje ir, natūralu, ieškant atramos valdžioje. Iš čia jų viešojo veikimo protautininkiška laikysena.

Su Lenkijos ultimatumo priėmimu (1938 m. kovo 21 d.) Lietuva įžengė į dramatiškiausią savo istorijos tarpsnį. Jaunieji katalikai skubėjo pasinaudoti Lenkijos ultimatumo priėmimo sąlygotu režimu susilpnėjimu. Į valdžią buvo einama tiek demonstruojant geravališkumą tautininkams, tiek darant jiems spaudimą, be kita ko, užmezgant santykius su lietuviškomis laikomomis grupėmis – liaudininkais, voldemarininkais arba ir „nelietuviškomis“ - komunistais. Koalicijos su liaudininkais („Ašies“) suformavimas išsiliejo opoziciniu sąjūdžiu 1938 – 1939 m. žiemą. Koalicinę „vieningo darbo“ vyriausybę katalikai traktavo kaip pereinamąjį etapą į visišką valdžios perėmimą iš tautininkų. Paraleliai, nesitenkinant koalicija su liaudininkais, 1939 – 1940 m.

vyko derybos su tautininkais ir voldemarininkais, buvo palaikomi kontaktai su prosovietiniais sluoksniais.

Situaciją iš esmės keitė prasidėjęs karas. RA dalinių įvedimas ir Didžiosios Britanijos bei Prancūzijos pasyvumas prasidėjusiame kare didino orientacijos į Sovietų Sąjungą bei Vokietijos šalininkų skaičių. Liaudies masėse labai išaugo simpatijos Sovietų Sąjungai. Tuo tarpu Smetonos orientacija keitėsi nuo prosąjungininkiškos į provokišką, sovietų okupacijos bandant išvengti siekiant Vokietijos protektorato ir jos karinės pagalbos bei orientuojantis į Vokietijos – SSRS karą. Jaunieji katalikai buvo įsitikinę, kad Lietuva neišvengs okupacijos ir netgi planavo pasipriešinimą jam. Jų santykis su sovietų okupacija ir režimu nevienareikšmis: kartu su visu katalikų elitu palaikę birželio 14 d. sovietų ultimatumo priėmimą ir pripažinę Liaudies vyriausybę bei išoriškai prisitaikę prie režimo, jaunieji katalikai ėmėsi pasipriešinimo jam organizavimo.

Šeštajame skyriuje analizuojama JKS struktūra, pamainos formavimas, įtaka visuomenėje. Prieita išvados, kad JKS vadovybės branduolį sudarė Šalkauskio mokiniai, t.y. tie, kurie besąlygiškai pripažino jo autoritetą, teikė jam prideramą pagarbą. JKS telkėsi apie informacijos skleidimo įrankį – periodinius leidinius. Autentiškiausiai JKS požiūrį atstovavo „XX amžius“, kuris visų pirma ir buvo matoma JKS vadovybė. Antrajam JKS veikėjų ešelonui priskirtini asmenys, nepretendavę į aukščiausią vadovybę. JKS vienijo ir simbolizavo ne tik „XX amžius“, bet nė kiek ne mažiau ir NR bičiulių sąjungą. NR kultūrinis sąjūdis traktuotinas kaip vidinė opozicija JKS (jai galėjo priklausyti ir A. Maceina), kaip radikalesnis pasaulėžiūrinis požiūriu judėjimas, demonstravęs nepasitenkinimą JKS artimais ryšiais su Bažnyčios hierarchija ir reiškęs pretenzijas į vadovavimą JKS. J. Keliuotis tokiu atveju laikytinas JKS plačiąja prasme opozicijos lyderiu.

JKS struktūrai ir jo valdymui įtakos galėjo daryti po J. Černiaus vyriausybės sudarymo susikūrę katalikų komitetai su Vyriausioju katalikų komitetu priešakyje, vienijantys ir krikščionis demokratų, ir jaunuosius katalikus. Ši bendra jauniems katalikams ir krikdemams struktūra - katalikų komitetai – leidžia teigti buvus gerai suderintą jų bendrą veikimą, kartu išliekant atskiriems kolektyvams ir rivalizacijai tarp jų.

Jaunieji katalikai formavo savąjį elitą, turėjusį įgyvendinti jų norimą Bažnyčios, katalikų visuomenės, lietuvių tautos viziją. Jaunųjų katalikų parengta karta buvo iškelta į vadovaujančius postus AF, KA, telkėsi katalikų periodinių leidinių redakcijose,

administracijose, leidyklose, kur jie dirbo redaktorais, žurnalistais, korespondentais, administracijos tarnautojais, techniniais darbuotojais. Jaunųjų katalikų parengta karta suvaidino didelį vaidmenį 1941 m. Birželio sukilime, atkurtoje administracijoje, buvo įtraukta į vadovaujančias LF struktūras, dalyvaudavo LF vadovų pasitarimuose.

Katalikiškojo ekskliuzyvumo atsisakymas atvėrė JKS duris į įvairiausias lietuvių visuomenės sluoksnius. Jaunieji katalikai visuomenėje veikė visų pirma per KA struktūras, o taip pat bendratautines organizacijas. KA įtaka katalikų visuomenėje nebuvo labai didelė: KVC vadovų duomenimis į KA priklausančias organizacijas buvo suorganizuota nuo 6% iki 10% visų Lietuvos katalikų. Neabejotinai didelę įtaką inteligentijoje turėjo NR kultūrinio sąjūdžio struktūros, per kurias JKS įtakojo bendratautines organizacijas. Jaunųjų katalikų vietos tarpukario Lietuvos katalikų visuomenėje nustatymą labai palengvina jų veikimo išsivijios sąlygomis po karo duomenys.

Išvados. XX a. pirmos pusės lietuvių katalikų visuomeninį – politinį gyvenimą apsprendė katalikiškumo, angažavimosi tautiškumui, socialinės bei kultūrinės ir civilizacinės pažangos siekimo tendencijos, o taip pat priklausomybės grupei veiksnys. Greta tautiškumo tendencijos ryškiausia apraiška buvusio lietuvių tautinio sąjūdžio labai svarbus faktorius buvo tradicinių ar modifikuotų, tačiau turinčių Bažnyčios magisteriumo palaikymą, tokių kaip krikščioniškoji demokratija, Katalikų akcija (KA), neotomizmas ir netradicinių doktrinų sąveika. Šių doktrinų pagrindu formavosi krikščionių demokratų, katalikų kultūrininkų ir tautinių katalikų pasaulėžiūrinės stovyklos.

Iki 1926 m. didžiausią vaidmenį vaidino krikščionių demokratų stovykla, veikusi kaip trijų politinių – visuomeninių – ekonominių organizacijų (Lietuvių krikščionių demokratų partijos (LKDP), Lietuvos Darbo federacijos (LDF) ir Lietuvos ūkininkų sąjungos (LŪS)) blokas, santykiuose su nekrikščioniškomis grupėmis vadovavęsis modifikuoto katalikiškojo ekskliuzyvizmo doktrina. Tautinę katalikybę 1918 – 1926 m. atstovavo Tautos pažanga (Lietuvių tautininkų sąjunga (LTS)), taip pat konservatyvūs bei radikalūs tautiniai katalikai.

Krikščionių demokratų bloko pralaimėjimas rinkimuose į Seimą 1926 m., bloko defragmentacija, LKDP išstūmimas iš valdžios 1927 m. ilgam eliminavo krikščioniškąją demokratiją kaip svarbų lietuvių katalikų visuomenės veiksnį ir sudarė sąlygas iškilti katalikams kultūrininkams bei LTS atstovaujamiems tautiniams katalikams. Krikščionims demokratams pasirinkus KA struktūras kaip priemonę siekti valdžios, formavosi KA

radikalusis sparnas (santykiyje su tautininkų režimu), o kultūrininkai savo ruožtu sudarė nuosaikų KA sparną.

Kultūrininkų veikla savo ideologiniams tikslams pasiekti turėjo naujo katalikų elito parengimo pobūdį. Elitas buvo rengiamas (t.y. JKS formuojamas), kultūrininkams parenkant, parengiant, nukreipiant iniciatyvius, intelektualius, pasiduodančius jų indoktrinacijai jaunuolius į atitinkamas KA ir ypač Ateitininkų Federacijos (AF) struktūras. Ypač reikšmingą vaidmenį suvaidino šiuo požiūriu romuviečiai S. Šalkauskis, K. Pakštas, J. Eretas. Svarbiu JKS genezės faktoriumi buvo „Naujoji romuva“ (NR) ir jos pagrindu susiformavęs kultūrinis sąjūdis.

Katalikų visuomenės situaciją 1927 – 1932 m. apsprendė tautininkų režimo ir KA radikali dalies konfrontacija, savo apogėjų pasiekusi 1930 – 1932 m., tautininkams faktiškai siekiant likviduoti KA tipo katalikybę, katalikiškumą pajungiant tautininkiškai suvoktam tautiškumui. Katalikai kultūrininkai prisidėdavo prie radikalojo katalikų visuomenės sparno kovos su tautininkų režimu, siekdami apginti jų ideologiniams tikslams pasiekti reikalingas struktūras.

Nepalankaus liberaliajai demokratijai pasaulėžiūrinio – politinio klimato formavimasis visoje Europoje 4 – o dešimtmečio pirmoje pusėje veikė ir lietuvių katalikų visuomenę nuosaikėjimo kryptimi, vertė ieškoti konsensuso su režimu, skatino bendratautinius interesus akcentuojančių jėgų (Lietuvos Darbo jaunimo sąjunga bei NR bičiulių sąjunga) iškilimą. Tai sudarė sąlygas ir jaunųjų katalikų įsitvirtinimui katalikų visuomeniniame ir kultūriniam gyvenime, o 1936 m., pasinaudojant nepavykusiu krikščionių demokratų bandymu destabilizuoti režimą per Suvalkijos ūkininkų streiką, imtis savarankiško veikimo, paskelbiant deklaraciją. Įvertinant turimą įtaką visuomenėje buvo pasirinktas susiblokavimo su krikščionimis demokratais variantas. Vis dėlto nebuvo išvengta aštraus konflikto su jais ir tradiciniais katalikais 1936 – 1937 m.

Svarbiausiais JKS saviidentifikacijos ir ideologiniais akcentais laikytini S. Šalkauskio mokymas kaip JKS ideologinis pagrindas, jaunosios kartos (generacijos) teorija, kuria jaunųjų katalikų ir krikščionių demokratų nesutarimus stengtasi paaiškinti kaip objektyvų kartų konfliktą bei identifikavimasis su atvirąja („plačiąja“) katalikybe, suvokiama kaip visuotinė, apimanti visų religijų ir doktrinų tiesas, sintezė. Tokia katalikybės samprata

ryškiai konfrontavo su unikalios, priešpastatomos likusiam pasauliui katalikybės samprata, t.y. tradicine katalikybe.

Jaunieji katalikai įsitvirtino katalikų visuomenėje aštraus konflikto su krikščionimis demokratais ir tradiciniais katalikais sąlygomis 1936 – 1937 m. Katalikų visuomenė į 1938 m. ir ypač naują visuomenės būvį po Lenkijos ultimatumo priėmimo įžengė jau konsoliduota.

Savo katalikybės sampratą, koreliuojančią su KA doktrina, jaunieji katalikai bandė įdiegti visuomenėje, pasinaudodami savo indoktrinaciniu aparatu, kurį sudarė AF, KVC, į jį įeinančios katalikiškos organizacijos, su indoktrinacinio aparato viršūne - „XX amžiaus“ redakcinės kolegijos susirinkimais. JKS sudėtinė dalis buvo jų idėjomis persiėmę jaunieji kunigai, kurių veikla virto ištisu sąjūdžiu. Jaunieji kunigai veiksmingai keitė dvasininkijos pasaulėžiūrinės nuostatas, mažindami katalikiškojo ekskliuzyvizmo įtaką ir taip prisidėjo prie jaunųjų katalikų religinės programos realizavimo. Tam buvo naudojamos ir KA būdingomis priemonėmis (atitinkančiomis naująjį religingumą) ir religinėmis priemonėmis (atitinkančiomis tradicinį religingumą).

Jaunųjų katalikų tautinė programa apėmė pastangas siekti šalies modernizavimo (civilizavimo – kultūrinimo, socialinių santykių harmonizavimo bei tam būtinų visuomenės būdo savybių ugdymo) ir tautiškumo, t.y., savarankiškos, originalios, konkurentabilios kultūros kūrimo, lietuvių įsitvirtinimo miestuose, stiprinimo. Stiprų angažavimąsi tautai įgalino katalikiškojo ekskliuzyvizmo atsisakymas, įgalinęs teigiamą požiūrį į bendradarbiavimą su nekatalikais. Teologiniu disciplinariniu pagrindu tam tapo neutralių organizacijų išskyrimas.

Jaunieji katalikai kaip ir visuomenės dauguma lietuvių kalba pagrįstą tautiškumą laikė vertybe, saugotina bet kokiomis aplinkybėmis. Grėsmės nepriklausomybei akivaizdoje 1938 – 1940 m. jaunieji katalikai itin didelį dėmesį skyrė lietuvių tautinio sąmoningumo stiprinimui, socialiniam solidarumui ir politinei konsolidacijai, taip tautą rengdami potencialiam nepriklausomybės praradimui ir kovai už jos atstatymą. JKS indoktrinacinės priemonės prisidėjo prie lietuvių tautos optimistinės laikysenos.

Santykį su priešiškomis KA ideologinėmis grupėmis (tautininkais, voldemarininkais, liaudininkais, socialdemokratais, komunistais) apsprendė įsitikinimas šių grupių ideologijas

esant nukrypimu nuo jaunųjų katalikų disponuojamos ideologijos, o ne jos esminiu paneigimu. Gilumine prasme artimiausiais jaunesiems katalikams laikytini tautininkai.

JKS kaip ir visas katalikų visuomeninis – politinis elitas in corpore, tikėdamasis greito Vokietijos – Sovietų Sąjungos karo, o taip pat dėl savo ideologijos socialiniu kryptingumu bei socialinio - ekonominio gyvenimo modernizacijos siekiu grindžiamo pozityvaus požiūrio į sovietų režimo vykdomas reformas pasirinko išoriškai lojalaus bendradarbiavimo su sovietų režimu santykio formą, slapta jų įtakojamų katalikiškų struktūrų viduje formuodamas antisovietinio pasipriešinimo karkasą.

JKS vadovybėje galima išskirti daugiausia „XX amžiaus“ atstovaujama branduolį ir mažiau svarbius jo narius. Vadovybės formuojami JKS ideologiniai bruožai daugiau ar mažiau giliai adaptuojami periferijos. NR kultūrinis sąjūdis buvo integrali JKS plačiąja prasme dalis. NR bičiulių sąjungos vadovybė laikytina opozicija oficialiai JKS vadovybei, susitelkusiai apie „XX amžių“.

Jaunųjų katalikų parengta karta įsitraukė į darbą katalikiškoje spaudoje ir visuomeninėse bei kultūrinėse organizacijose, formavo naujas lietuvių kultūrinės raiškos formas, įsitvirtinusias išėivijoje po karo, tapo antisovietinio pasipriešinimo branduoliu. Apie jaunųjų katalikų vaidmenį katalikų visuomenėje galima spręsti iš KA organizacijų įtakos katalikų visuomenėje. Ji nebuvo didelė – į KA organizacijas buvo suorganizuota nuo 6 iki 10% procentų katalikų, bet ir jų nemaža dalis buvo pasyvūs. Tačiau jaunieji katalikai gana didelę įtaką turėjo bendratautinėse organizacijose.

List of the Scientific Articles on the theme of the dissertation:

Mokslinių straipsnių disertacijos tema sąrašas:

1. Labanauskas R. Jaunųjų katalikų sąjūdžio ištakos bei pobūdis (1919–1940 m.): istoriografijos apžvalga // VU doktorantūros studijos filologijos ir istorijos fakultetuose. Nacionalinio tapatumo išsaugojimas globalizacijos sąlygomis: metodinė studija. Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, 2008, p. 195 – 205.

2. Labanauskas R. Romuviečių pasaulėžiūrinės grupės genezė (1919 – 1923 m.) // Soter. 2009, T. 29, p. 121 – 140.

3. Labanauskas R. Romuviečių vaidmuo jaunųjų katalikų sąjūdžio genezėje (1921–1933 m.) // Soter. 2009, T. 31, p. 169 – 187.

4. Labanauskas R. Jaunųjų katalikų sąjūdžio santykis su komunizmo doktrina ir praktika (1936 – 1940) // Bažnyčios istorijos studijos. 2010, T. 3, p. 173 – 242.

5. Labanauskas R. Jaunųjų katalikų sąjūdžio santykis su sovietų režimu 1940 – 1941 m. // Genocidas ir rezistencija. 2010, Nr. 2, p. 7 – 29.

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Pagrindinė mokslinių tyrimų kryptis – lietuvių katalikų visuomenė XX a. pirmojoje pusėje. Pagrindinės domėjimosi ir tyrimo kryptys: katalikybės ir tautiškumo santykis tarpukaryje, ezoterinė katalikybė, jos raiška Lietuvoje, liaudies pasaulėžiūra XX a. pirmoje pusėje. Dalyvavo projekte „Katalikybė ir visuomenė Lietuvoje XX amžiuje“ (vykdo Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademija). 2008 – 2009 m. pavasario semestre Vilniaus universiteto Istorijos fakultete dėstė paskaitų kursą „Katalikiškos krypties visuomeniniai – politiniai judėjimai Lietuvoje XX a. pirmoje pusėje“.

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