

# Václav Havel's Meanings

## His Key Words and Their Legacy

David S. Danaher  
and Kieran Williams (eds.)

# **Václav Havel's Meanings**

His Key Words and Their Legacy

**Edited by David S. Danaher and Kieran Williams**

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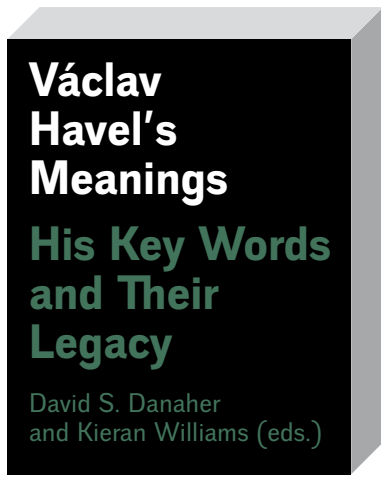
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# EDITORS' PREFACE: A WORD ABOUT HAVEL'S KEY WORDS

David S. Danaher and Kieran Williams

Lying in a prison hospital bed in September 1981, Václav Havel wrote to his wife of his conviction that life has meaning. “We wade in transience, we are sinking in it,” he told her, “And if we do not wish to surrender entirely—that is, to give up on our journey (and thus on ourselves)—we must feel that ‘it is all for something,’ that it has a direction, that it will not all pass away irretrievably, enclosed in its own momentary randomness.” We may never determine exactly what that meaning is, but it would be enough to feel that “our lives are heading somewhere and mean something, are not—from ‘the cosmic point of view,’ so to speak—overlooked or forgotten, they are ‘known about,’ and somewhere are valued and given meaning.”<sup>1</sup>

Since his death 30 years after writing that letter, many efforts have been made to ensure that Havel is not overlooked or forgotten, and that he is “known about.” If anything, his life has taken on an urgent timeliness, owing to developments in his home country and worldwide. He has served posthumously as an ally against a range of perceived maladies, be they messianic populism,<sup>2</sup> Chinese brutality in Hong Kong,<sup>3</sup> or “identity politics.”<sup>4</sup> In addition to commemorative events on the anniversaries of his birth and death, and of the

1 Letter 94, in Václav Havel, *Spisy 5: Dopisy Olze* (Prague: Torst, 1999), 370–71; in English as *Letters to Olga: June 1979 – September 1982*. Trans. Paul Wilson (New York: Henry Holt, 1989), 230.

2 Daniel Brennan “Reading Václav Havel in the Age of Trump,” *Critical Horizons* 20:1 (2019): 54–70. See also Kieran Williams, “Václav Havel’s ‘Leaving’ and the Toxic Aging Narcissist in a Baseball Hat”, *Medium*, December 6, 2017, <https://medium.com/@KDWilliams7/v%C3%A1clav-havels-leaving-and-the-toxic-aging-narcissist-in-a-baseball-hat-f8e006fbb3ee>.

3 Štefan Auer, “Power and Violence, Hope and Despair: Václav Havel’s Political Thought in 1989 and 2019,” November 5, 2019, Lingnan University, Hong Kong.

4 Jeremy Carl, “Douglas Murray Challenges Us to Oppose Identity Politics and ‘Live in Truth’,” *National Review*, October 17, 2019, <https://www.nationalreview.com/2019/10/douglas-murray-challenges-us-to-oppose-identity-politics-and-live-in-truth/>.

1989 revolution with which he is intimately associated, there has been a longstanding public display, “Havel in a Nutshell,” with companion book,<sup>5</sup> and a steady stream of publications from the Václav Havel Library, including reminiscences of Havel by friends, associates, and acquaintances.<sup>6</sup> Most of the contributors to this volume in Karolinum’s Václav Havel Series have written their own monographs about him, and others are available in numerous languages.<sup>7</sup> He has been the subject of numerous documentary films and, in 2020, the dramatized biopic *Havel*. Novel ways are found to reassemble his words to inspire new generations of readers: a collection of 100 quotations has been compiled to preserve and promote Havel in aphoristic form (as was done for an earlier president, Tomáš Masaryk),<sup>8</sup> while interviews he gave between 1964 and 1989 have been reissued under the title *Má to smysl*—“It makes sense,” “It has meaning,” “It has a purpose,” or simply “It matters.”<sup>9</sup>

5 Nina Rutová, *Havel v kostce: 14 lekcí o jedné osobnosti a každé době pro učitele a studenty* (Prague: Knihovna Václava Havla, 2011).

6 Anna Freimanová (ed.), *Příležitostný portrét Václava Havla* (Prague: Knihovna Václava Havla, 2013); Jan Dražan and Jan Pergler, *Náš Václav Havel: 27 rozhovorů o kamarádovi, prezidentovi, disidentovi a šéfovi* (Prague: Zeď, 2016); Rosamund Johnston and Lenka Kabrhelová, *Havel v Americe: rozhovory s americkými intelektuály, politiky a umělci* (Brno: Host, 2019).

7 Martin C. Putna, *Václav Havel. Duchovní portrét v rámu české kultury 20. století* (Prague: Knihovna Václava Havla, 2011); James Pontuso, *Václav Havel: Civic Responsibility in the Postmodern Age* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004); Daniel Brennan, *The Political Thought of Václav Havel: Philosophical Influences and Contemporary Applications* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Dirk Mathias Dalberg, *Der “Versuch, in der Wahrheit zu leben”: Václav Havels Politikbegriff und politische Strategie in den Jahren 1969 bis 1989* (Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2014); Martin Bermeiser, *Václav Havels Reden: Aspekte einer holistischen Rhetorik* (Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2017); Geneviève Even-Granboulan, *Václav Havel, président philosophe* (La Tour-d’Aigues: Éditions de l’Aube, 2003). For biographies, see Carol Rocamora, *Acts of Courage: Václav Havel’s Life in the Theatre* (Hanover, NH: Smith & Kraus Global, 2005) and Michael Žantovský, *Havel: A Life* (New York: Grove Atlantic, 2014). For review essays of biographies of Havel, see Miloš Havelka, “Úspěchy a neúspěchy v nejednoznačných konstelacích. Pět biografí Václava Havla”, *Soudobé dějiny* 22:3–4 (2015), 474–502, and Václav Sixta, “Václav Havel a jeho zápletky”, *Historie – Otázky – Problémy* 8:1 (2016), 159–170.

8 Pavel Kosatík, *100× Václav Havel: Jak rozumět jeho myšlenkám* (Prague: Universum, 2019).

9 Anna Freimanová and Tereza Johanidesová (eds.), *Václav Havel – Má to smysl: Výbor rozhovorů 1964–1989* (Prague: Knihovna Václava Havla, 2019).

Just as he was certain that life had meaning, Havel felt no less certain that he must try to impart the meaning of his own but was doomed to fall short because of the inability of language to capture the mystery of Being.<sup>10</sup> Despite the inevitable frustration, language enchanted Havel and was at the center of all his efforts:

Another thing I should perhaps mention here is an interest in language. I'm interested in its ambivalence, its abuse; I'm interested in language as the architect of life, fates, and worlds; language as the most important skill; language as ritual and incantation; the word as the bearer of dramatic movement, as an identity card, as a way of self-affirmation and self-projection.<sup>11</sup>

With words Havel built a corpus of texts that stand as his legacy, a body so rich that it will probably be the only work of a Soviet-bloc dissident that will still be read long into the future, because its meaning is not confined to the circumstances of its creation. But Havel himself warned in his 1989 essay "A Word about Words" that no word's meaning is limited to its dictionary definition: "Each word contains within in it also the person who pronounces it, the situation in which it is pronounced, and the reason why it is pronounced."<sup>12</sup> That applies to Havel himself, famous for his frequent use of certain words that upon inspection turn out to possess layers of meaning, sometimes idiosyncratic, which offer the keys to understanding why he still matters and still speaks to people in diverse situations as well as to the modern condition in general.

Our volume builds on the approach set out in Danaher, *Reading Václav Havel* (chapter 4) of focusing on key words. A key word is

<sup>10</sup> Václav Havel, *To the Castle and Back*, trans. Paul Wilson (New York: Knopf, 2007), 347.

<sup>11</sup> Václav Havel, *Spisy 4: Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970–1989. Dálkový výslech* (Prague: Torst, 1999), 902; in English as *Disturbing the Peace: A Conversation with Karel Hviždala*, trans. Paul Wilson (New York: Vintage, 1991), 193.

<sup>12</sup> Václav Havel, "Slovo o slovu," in *Spisy 4*, 1135.

one that occupies a central position in a work—or even over the entire oeuvre—of a given thinker because it exhibits special organizational and semantic potential for that work or for that thinker’s whole system. While Raymond Williams and Anna Wierzbicka pioneered the investigation of key words in culture,<sup>13</sup> Mark Edmundson, among others, emphasized their role in philosophical thought: “[I]t is not surprising that to every philosopher of consequence we attach a word list, a central vocabulary. We think of the words and phrases they have invented or those that they have bent themselves over for long periods, minutely shaping and polishing, like expert gem cutters.”<sup>14</sup>

Key words in Havel’s oeuvre are not particularly difficult to identify. They are running motifs in his writing that cut across genres and time periods (his pre- and post-1989 incarnations); as central elements of his core vocabulary, they serve as intellectual touchstones around which many of his larger ideas take shape. The meanings of Havel’s key words may also be found in works where the words themselves are absent—that is, in his plays, where we might speak more productively of Havelian key concepts. We should also note that often these words defy simple translation into English and thus require linguistically sensitive analyses, and some chapters in this volume focus on those aspects of meaning that may be lost in translation.

The contributors to this volume are drawn from a range of academic disciplines and countries, and approach Havel in varying ways. As editors, we have not insisted on a single method for analyzing the key words they have selected. That pluralism is a strength, a reminder of Havel’s own talents in multiple fields—essays, plays, speeches, letters, interviews, poems, diaries—and done in the spirit

**13** Raymond Williams, *Keywords* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); Anna Wierzbicka, *Understanding Cultures through Their Key Words* (London: Oxford University Press, 1997).

**14** Mark Edmundson, *Literature against Philosophy; Plato to Derrida* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 13.

of collage, which he experimented with in his plays (such as *The Increased Difficulty of Concentration*) and memoirs (*To the Castle and Back*). It is our hope that this mixture of methods will open up dimensions of Havel's writing that non-Czech readers might not appreciate from translations, or even that Czech readers may find do not tally with customary, everyday usage. Havel, after all, started out attempting to make it as a poet, and a poet's mission is to disturb settled language and make the familiar strange, which he strove to do even after abandoning poetry in early adulthood.

The first key words we have chosen to present relate to the ideas of the appeal or challenge, as the whole of Havel's work represents an exhortation to everyone—not just to those normally considered powerful—to reflect critically on the state of the world and what we can do to repair it. As he told his country at the beginning of his second year as its president: “A year ago I closed my New Year's address by paraphrasing Comenius's famous sentence, ‘Your government, o people, has returned to you!’. Today I would follow this sentence with: ‘It is up to you, o people, to show that the return of government into your hands made sense [*měl smysl*].’”<sup>15</sup> That words without action are meaningless was the premise of one of his lesser known early plays, the one-act *Butterfly on an Antenna*, about an overly intellectual couple who cannot cope with the pressing task of shutting off a running faucet but fixate instead on its abstract, technical hydraulics and symbolism as a “metaphor of apocalypse.”<sup>16</sup>

The idea of speech as an appeal, in particular an appeal to arrive at one's own truth and act upon it, frames the progression of the chapters, as we move through several chapters relating to place and space (to which Havel, as the son and grandson of builders, was very

<sup>15</sup> Václav Havel, “Novoroční projev,” in Havel, *Spisy 6: Projevy z let 1990–1992. Letní přemítání* (Prague: Torst, 1999), 331.

<sup>16</sup> Václav Havel, “Motýl na anténě,” in Havel, *Spisy 2: Hry* (Prague: Torst, 1999), 231.

sensitive), before arriving at power, responsibility versus indifference, and the collective action of civil society. We have asked Jiří Příbáň, one of the most prominent Czech public intellectuals of the post-1989 era, to introduce these chapters with a foreword, but there is no last word: we hope that this collection will appeal to readers to think with Havel on their own terms and engage with his many key words not covered here, such as *autentičnost* (“authenticity”), *bytí* (“Being”), *dějiny* (“history”), *demokracie* (“democracy”), *Evropa* (“Europe”), *fanatismus* (“fanaticism”), *identita* (“identity”), *intelektuál* (“intellectual”), *katarze* (“catharsis”), *naděje* (“hope”), *samopohyb* (usually translated as “automatism”), and not least the multiple meanings of *smysl* (“meaning, sense, purpose”).

## Notes on the volume’s citation format and translated texts

Citations of Havel’s collected works refer to Václav Havel, *Spisy* (Prague: Torst, 1999); citations will indicate volume and page numbers.

Havel’s prison letters, *Letters to Olga*, will be cited by reference to the letter number. The Czech version of this work is found in Václav Havel, *Spisy* 5 (Prague: Torst, 1999), and the English translation (by Paul Wilson) is Václav Havel, *Letters to Olga* (New York: Henry Holt, 1983).

His essay “The Power of the Powerless” will be cited by reference to chapter number. The Czech version of this work is found in Havel, *Spisy* 4, and the English translation (by Paul Wilson) is in Václav Havel, *Open Letters* (New York: Knopf, 1991). Wilson updated his translation for a special edition of the journal *East European Politics and Societies* (32: 2, May 2018, eds. James Krapfl and Barbara J. Falk) devoted to the essay, and a full text with an introduction by Wilson is available there. Other full-text versions in both languages are also readily available on the web.

Presidential addresses by Havel will be cited by title and year. Texts of these addresses are available on the website of Prague Castle, the seat of the Czech presidency: the Czech versions may be found at <http://old.hrad.cz/president/Havel/speeches/index.html>, and the English versions (of those addresses that have been translated) are at [http://old.hrad.cz/president/Havel/speeches/index\\_uk.html](http://old.hrad.cz/president/Havel/speeches/index_uk.html). Czech versions of the presidential addresses also exist in various volumes of Havel's *Spisy*, and English translations for some of the major addresses from the early-to-mid 1990s are available in Václav Havel, *The Art of the Impossible: Politics as Morality in Practice* (New York: Knopf, 1997).

Havel's plays are cited by name. Czech versions of most of the plays may be found in Havel, *Spisy* 2; for *Leaving*, see Václav Havel, *Spisy* 8: *Projevy a jiné texty 1999–2006. Prosím stručně. Odcházení* (Prague: Torst, 2007). English translations of certain plays may be found in: Václav Havel, *The Garden Party and Other Plays* (New York: Grove Press, 1994); Václav Havel, *Vaněk Plays*, trans. Jan Novák (New York: Theater 61 Press); Václav Havel, *Leaving*, trans. Paul Wilson (New York: Theater 61 Press); Václav Havel, *The Memo*, trans. Paul Wilson (New York: Theater 61 Press); and Václav Havel, *The Beggar's Opera*, trans. Paul Wilson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

The editors of this volume have collaborated with the authors on translating two chapters in this volume (“home, homeland” and “prison”) from Czech into English.

# AT THE GARDEN PARTY OF MOTHS AND BUTTERFLIES: A FOREWORD TO HAVEL'S KEY WORDS AND IMAGINARIES

Jiří Přibáň

One of the most typical hallmarks of political modernity is Thomas Hobbes's view that *auctoritas non veritas facit legem*, usually shortened as the 'might is right' statement invoked by self-declared political realists. Against this view, political idealists argue that *veritas non auctoritas facit legem* and call on the authority of reason to guide our political life by guaranteeing truth in politics. For them, the political sovereign's might depends on the mightier rule constituted by the sovereign power of reason.

While the legacy of Hobbes still dominates political and social theories and definitions of politics through the exercise of sovereign commands, the general habit of obedience and the state as the monopoly of power within a given territory, the tradition of identifying legitimate politics with truth is much older and its modern imaginary is typically associated with the Kantian view of public opinion governed by reason. The persuasive force of reason manifests itself in the public sphere of civil society, which is expected to facilitate free discussion transforming diverse opinions into rational judgments and political consensus. Public participation and rational engagement are then expected to constitute specific control of political authority, in which the sovereign reason rules the state and its legal constitution.

These conceptual and ideological distinctions between political realism and idealism, or power and truth, are usually mastered by political, legal, and social scientists in early stages of academic development despite their gross simplifications of political and legal reality as well as a failure to describe the complexity of modern



society. It is therefore very important for academics, as much as citizens, to encounter and explore political and legal constellations in which the keywords of *auctoritas*, *veritas*, and *lex* cannot be simplified and summarized in typical formulas, conceptual distinctions and intellectual clichés.

## Realism of idealistic visions

For me, this moment came when I was invited to a private meeting of constitutional law experts with President Václav Havel in the Lány castle residence in 2000. It was the time of the most serious constitutional crisis since the split of Czechoslovakia, one that threatened the whole system of separation of powers. The crisis was triggered by the 1998 parliamentary election leading to the political pact, the so-called “opposition treaty,” between two major parties, ODS (the right-wing Civic Democratic Party) and ČSSD (the left-wing Czech Social Democratic Party) and their leaders Václav Klaus and Miloš Zeman. The treaty included proposals of constitutional changes that would shift power to the executive branch of Government and, even more importantly, eliminate smaller political parties from Parliament.

Havel opposed this move to concentrate parliamentary and executive powers in the hands of two major political players. When general goals of the opposition treaty materialized in the form of a new electoral system proposal that meant to transform the existing proportional system into a *de facto* majoritarian one, he, therefore, wanted to discuss his options with some senior judges and constitutional law experts. When he entered the room and pulled out his worn copy of the Czech Constitution from his blazer pocket to point to a particular section, it, nevertheless, was clear that he already had a strong view and critical assessment of the whole situation.

Havel’s knowledge of the Constitution’s letter was impressive and his commitment to the spirit of constitutionalism dominated

the discussion of specific rules and techniques on that evening. The election reform proposal was enacted by Parliament later that year in June 2000.<sup>1</sup> Havel's early assessment of the proposed changes and his determination to refer them to the Constitutional Court were overwhelmingly supported by constitutional experts. His arguments that the new electoral law was a legal technique of effectively introducing a majoritarian system of voting and would violate the constitutional rule that the lower chamber of Parliament be elected by proportional representation, were ultimately accepted by the Court, which declared the electoral law unconstitutional in January 2001 and thus fundamentally strengthened the new Constitution's fragile and evolving fabric.<sup>2</sup>

This first working encounter with Václav Havel, however, also had a strong symbolic and intellectual meaning for me because it illustrated that the relationship between *auctoritas*, *veritas*, and *lex* was a lot more complicated than the two formulas defining the distinction between political realism and idealism.

Havel was sometimes labelled an idealist, yet he realistically judged his political moves and made powerful strategic decisions that successfully weakened his adversaries and fundamentally strengthened the emerging system of democratic constitutionalism and firmly placed the Czech Republic in European and transatlantic structures despite the notorious Czech Euroscepticism and anti-NATO sentiments. After all, it is hard to imagine anyone but a pragmatic and realist politician leading the country for over thirteen years marked by the most profound political, economic, and social transformation.

<sup>1</sup> Act No. 204/2000 of the Collection of the Laws of the Czech Republic.

<sup>2</sup> Judgement of the Constitutional Court of the Czech Republic No. 64/2001. In his speech before the Court, Havel summarized: "I am a big supporter of the majoritarian system myself. This is why I welcomed its implementation for the Senate elections. Nevertheless, this incorporation of majoritarian elements to the proportionate representation system not only attacks foundations of this proportionality, but also brings no advantages of the majoritarian system. Should majoritarian elements prevail, the very existence of bicameralism could be questioned ...". For the Czech transcript, see <https://archive.vaclavhavel-library.org/File/Show/158529>.

Havel's politics used ideals as tools of achieving realistic goals. Even his most famous quote "Truth and love must prevail over lies and hate" is a blend of idealism and realism because truth and love are taken as carriers of specific policies and modes of political judgement. However, this realistic use of truth's power was always framed by Havel's idealistic vision of politics as a meaningful human effort and not just a professional vocation.

### ***Theatrum politicum* v. noble lies**

The idea of collecting essays on Václav Havel's keywords, therefore, is a praiseworthy and original contribution to the growing body of literature on this person's life, work, ideas, and politics. Havel's notions of truth, power, civil society, and responsibility are inseparable from his understanding of theater and prison or indifference and appeal. His thinking is impossible to categorize and organize as a lexicon, and this collection of essays successfully argues against any such attempts. It actually invites its reader into the most complex, even contradictory thoughts and intellectual and artistic reflections in Havel's works.

It should not be surprising that the centrality of Havel's arguments from the perspective of human authenticity and living in truth goes hand in hand with constant use of the theatrical aspects of politics in both his dissident and presidential actions. For Havel, politics was always dramatic, but this *theatrum politicum* does not mean that, as Plato argued, it would be just the world of mimetic acts, illusions, and appearances obstructing our access to the truth. Havel's notion of living in truth integrated drama as an intrinsic part of authentic human creativity. However, Havel was always critical of the political idea of legitimation by a "noble lie" originally formulated by Plato and subsequently adopted by ideologues of all kinds from conservative traditionalists to revolutionary Marxists.

In his *Republic*, Plato imagines the ideal polity founded on “one single, grand lie which will be believed by everybody including the rulers.”<sup>3</sup> The lie was to function as a fiction of the common descent of the city’s population from the earth that, nevertheless, is accompanied by a fiction that the citizens’ souls contain different metals and their bearers therefore belong to different social classes.

Plato’s assessment of the ideal city as a polity to be ideologically integrated by a lie was replicated by many different theories and philosophies of politics. According to this view, the need to balance concurrent expectations of commutative and distributive justice is impossible to satisfy by real political acts and therefore must be answered by idealizing metaphors, fictions, and symbols. These symbols of power must guarantee acceptance, unity, and general consensus, and their main function is to eliminate internal conflicts, contradictions, and dissent potentially emerging in society.

Karl Mannheim described this function of ideology as stabilization of a political order by blurring the pluralistic and conflictual reality of society. In “The Power of the Powerless,” Havel described the legality of the communist regime as a façade functioning exactly like this ideological machine, using abstract and empty notions of the legal system to cover the regime’s real repressive character. He did not just criticize the regime’s official lies and the role of legality in masking its brute power.<sup>4</sup> He also highlighted its legitimizing function of presenting the total and only representation of society while suppressing societal pluralism and the structural conflicts between those who rule and those ruled by them.

Havel’s dissident call for living in truth thus should be interpreted as a delegitimation strategy unmasking all ideological lies, noble or

<sup>3</sup> Plato, *The Republic*, Book III, 414b–c (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 108–10.

<sup>4</sup> Václav Havel, “The Power of the Powerless” in Václav Havel et al., *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens Against the State in Central Eastern Europe*, ed. John Keane (London: Hutchinson, 1985), 74–75.

poor, and their total images of society. Its social function is to reveal specific gaps in ideological claims of total legitimacy.<sup>5</sup>

## Legality and legitimacy

As regards the *lex* of the communist regime, political dissent exposed its ideological function of concealing the *veritas* of the state of politics and thus operating as a tool of filling the legitimization gaps in the regime's *auctoritas*. Rather than the simplistic distinction between truth and lies in politics, the dissident strategy thus reveals the basic problem of modernity in which the original question of legitimacy *by* legality was gradually transformed into the question of legitimacy *of* legality itself. The relationship between power, truth, and laws thus has to be reconceptualized because modern history offers many examples of the worst atrocities and crimes against humanity committed by legislated laws and court judgements.

Every power calls for legitimization. In modern democratic statehood, this legitimization, however, is extended from the power-holders to the whole polity described as the constituent power of the sovereign people. Nevertheless, this concept of popular sovereignty as self-rule must be strictly limited to the system of politics. In this sense, the totalitarian state failed because it was constituted by the ambition to govern the totality of society beyond politics. Totalitarianism is thus best described as the political goal of creating a state with one official ideological opinion on everything—something contradicting the very nature of modernity differentiating between politics and society and generating its legitimacy from the distinction between the public and private spheres of social life.

The modern democratic state governed by the laws, the democratic *Rechtsstaat*, operates on simultaneous limitation and expansion

5 Jiří Příbáň, *Dissidents of Law: On the 1989 Velvet Revolutions, Legitimizations, Fictions of Legality and Contemporary Version of the Social Contract* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 145–51.

of the state power by legality. Power is legitimized by legality as its limitation but the same legality expands it. The problem of legitimation is thus extended from the political system now legitimized by legality to the legal system and its internal constitution.

Despite all references to living in truth, political dissent and its critique of communist ideology paradoxically proved that modern *lex* cannot be subjected to the higher-legitimacy test of ultimate *veritas*. The *auctoritas* of law is neither in its higher truth as claimed by idealist philosophers, nor in its efficiency as argued by realist political scientists and sociologists. Legality in the democratic state is actually legitimized by its internal capacity to minimize potential risks of injustices produced by the system of positive law.

Apart from controlling political power by its constitutional limitation, the rule of law legitimizes it by intrinsic legal values such as clarity, consistency, and coherence of rules, judgements, and decision-making. These values of legality have profound external effects, and their general societal validity recursively turns positive law into commonly accepted practices and the ultimate authority of legitimate politics. Neither the sovereign power, nor reason make laws. It is the law's internal morality that self-constitutes its authority and functionality beyond the ideological façade of repressive consent. And dissidents showed that the absence and systemic breaches of this internal morality delegitimizes both law and power.

In this respect, it is interesting how this internal morality of law was present in Havel's thinking in his dissident as much as president years. When he reflected on post-1989 constitution-making, he remarked that:

Lawyers have their own vocabulary, and I think I understand most of what is said or written on these matters, but it's not just about me. The language of the constitution should be as clear as spring water, and it should be immediately and fully understandable to every student. It

should, in short, be the real property of the people, as it is in the United States.<sup>6</sup>

It is also noteworthy that this remark on the clarity of law is closely connected to Havel's lifelong critique of legal formalism and positivism. In the following sentence, he states: "I am no friend of an overly formal, positivistic notion of the law, because I know how much injustice can flow from a mindless and literal cleaving to the letter of the law."<sup>7</sup>

The struggle of a political dissident meets the ethic of a democratic president in these words.

## Values and the meaning of politics

The legacy of political dissent primarily consists of negative warnings and comes close to Blaise Pascal's view that political reality is constituted by earthly power conflicts and struggles, not divine entitlements.<sup>8</sup> According to Pascal, it is human fear and fragility that constitute a political order and the sovereign ruler, therefore, should fear power of the ruled people. Similarly, any dissent reveals a paradoxical truth about the totalitarian state—it is based on fear and noble lies, yet its rulers constantly fear the ruled in their poverty and powerlessness.

These lessons from dissident politics show the impossibility of eliminating the language of values from either the system of positive law or politics. The ultimate point of the legitimation of power is neither its efficiency, nor its principled limitation. It is the very meaning of politics as a valuable human enterprise.

However, modern history shows that human values are formulated as transcendental foundations of our society by both professional

6 Václav Havel, *To the Castle and Back* (London: Portobello Books, 2007), 191.

7 Havel, *To the Castle and Back*, 191.

8 Blaise Pascal, *Pensées* (New York: Dutton, 1958), 85.

politicians and their dissenting critics, yet they operate as just momentary outcomes of different legitimation strategies and operations. Values are expected to be universal, objective, and socially stable, yet they suffer from profound instability, subjectivity, and particular conflicts.

The problem of values in modern politics and society is that there is no chance that they could be generally shared and accepted as universally valid. Modern society is by definition morally pluralistic, and different people share different and conflicting values. All categorical and absolute value imperatives are challenged by the plurality of existing values.

Reflecting on this immanence and plurality of legitimizing values, Max Weber stated that the most important aspect of authority is that the ruled believe that they “had made the content of the command the maxim of their conduct for its very own sake.”<sup>9</sup> It means that they believe in objective validity of values behind the subjective will and power to which they are subjected.

Weber concluded that this paradox of subjective beliefs in objective validity does not have a definitive solution because politics, like the economy or science, cannot be founded by a system of universal values expressing the true human existence and responding to the most essential question of the meaning of life. According to him, the only existential meaning of politics is its recognition that neither politics, nor science or philosophy, can open access to universally valid principles and values of humanity. In short, Weber believed that the vocation of politics, law, science, or any other intellectual discipline or social activity, consists of the recognition that objective legitimacy by values is paradoxically both necessary and impossible.

<sup>9</sup> Max Weber, *Economy and Society 2* (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1978), 946.



## Dissident *potentia* of delegitimation

The paradox of values as necessary yet impossible sources of legitimation of politics and law is well illuminated by dissident struggles to both unmask the true mechanisms of communist power and formulate valuable alternatives to the existing rule. In this context, Havel's conceptualization of the power of the powerless needs to be revisited and reformulated in light of Spinoza's distinction between societal force—*potentia*, and institutionalized political power—*potestas*.<sup>10</sup>

The distinction between societal force and political power has been popular among critical theorists and philosophers contrasting repressive power of the political system to the repressed multitudes striving for self-determination. However, the strategy of dissent hardly can be reduced to these simple dichotomies and alternatives between state repression and societal liberation. It escapes apocalyptic imaginaries of political sovereigns controlling the bare lives of their populations.<sup>11</sup> Despite Havel's distinction between the intentions of life and the intentions of the system and its similarity to critical philosophers such as Jürgen Habermas's criticizing the alienating and automatic working of the system of politics and society without any meaningful purpose,<sup>12</sup> these thoughts call for a more radical rethinking of Havel's concept of power and its dichotomies.

Havel's dialectics of power and powerlessness can be reformulated as a problem of the difference between the productive societal *potentia* and the reproductive political *potestas*. Havel is more fascinated by the problem of power as a constellation and effect of

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, Etienne Balibar, *Spinoza and Politics* (London: Verso, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 44.

<sup>12</sup> For this comparison and further analysis, see Jiří Přebáň, "Resisting fear: on dissent and the solidarity of the shaken in contemporary European and global society," in Francesco Tava and Darian Meacham (eds.), *Thinking After Europe: Jan Patočka and Politics* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), 39–56.

societal forces and less concerned with more conventional analyses of institutions of power and their repressive strategies and apparatus. He notices the actual decline of ideological explanations of “metaphysical power” and focuses on surveillance techniques and societal discipline of the automatic “physical power” of the system.<sup>13</sup>

Havel was interested in the power of social discipline and subjugation, and he formulated his living in truth as a microphysics of the power of the powerless that can disrupt the physics and metaphysics of state power. He was less interested in localization of power and identifying those responsible for its use and more focused on its functions and circulation in social systems and networks. Havel thus looked beyond the concepts of repression and alienation or consensus and participation and, similarly to Michel Foucault,<sup>14</sup> explored how power, rather than being applied to individuals, effectively passes through them.<sup>15</sup>

In this respect, the power of the powerless consists of the *potentia* of societal delegitimation of the political system that officially ruled by the code of law and factually governed by the discipline of social normalization. It is a counter-productive force to the official language of productivity and efficiency of the communist system of power. This force operates as a dense system of societal formations and multiple relations that, despite some shared keywords and concepts, cannot be reduced to the philosophy of existentialism with its calls for authenticity as a true alternative to the corrupted system built on lies. This power of the powerless remains unfounded by some ultimate values as sovereign sources of a meaningful life itself.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See note 4 above.

<sup>14</sup> Pribáň, *Dissidents of Law: On the 1989 Velvet Revolutions, Legitimations, Fictions of Legality and Contemporary Version of the Social Contract*, 53–56.

<sup>15</sup> Michel Foucault, “*Society Must Be Defended*”: *Lectures at the College de France, 1975–76* (London: Penguin, 2003), 29.

<sup>16</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1972), 76.

## Poietic politics in autopoietic society

This assessment of political dissent, its societal force, and value may seem minimalist. To this question, one, however, can respond by recalling that the delegitimizing strategy of dissent turned out to be indispensable in bringing down the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989.

Contrary to Weber's value scepticism, freedom and democracy certainly can be optimistically seen as transcendently valid and giving the fundamental meaning to human existence. Nevertheless, the paradox of the community of values claiming transcendental validity but depending on their immanent enforcement and legitimation manifests itself even in Havel's keywords of transcendental truth and love which, if not realistically enforced through specific and immanent policies, would remain just empty moral promises on our political waiting lists.

If there is a moral lesson from Václav Havel's political life as both dissident and president, it is exactly this knowledge that, in politics, we are always dealing with waiting lists of values and the most valuable is the very act of waiting. Optimists are convinced that their values will materialize one day. Pessimists do not believe it. And sceptics act as if these values are coming despite circumstances and experiences indicating that it may not be possible.

Havel was a hopeful sceptic who, despite circumstances and experiences, always acted as if these values were coming and depended on our will. I realized this during our conversations with Zygmunt Bauman when he was awarded the Vize 97 Prize by the Dagmar and Václav Havel Foundation in 2006. After a roundtable discussion with Czech and Slovak sociologists, Havel came to informally greet Bauman, and we ended up talking about social sciences, politics, art, and language in general. While discussing a number of different topics, it was clear that society was imagined by Havel as primarily a community of values.

Modern society is described by social theorists as functionally differentiated into so-called autopoietic systems that are normatively closed, self-constituted and operate by self-references and without interference by external values and judgements. Unlike this theoretical image, Havel's work and life remind us that the same autopoietically organized society also keeps its poietic character in the sense that it is always open to different interpretations and retains the possibility of living a meaningful and valuable life.

The last time I met Havel in person was at a public discussion commemorating the Velvet Revolution in London in November 2009. To my provocative question about his biggest political nightmare twenty years after the revolution, he responded by playing with *noční můra* ("nightmare"), which is a homonym for "moth" in Czech, and saying that he believed moths were the same species as butterflies and should be treated in the same way.

I am sitting and observing all sorts of moths in the night garden in the summer of 2020 while looking forward to the morning with its butterflies. I am thinking of Havel's *Garden Party* and the Čapek brothers' play *Pictures from the Insects' Life* while imagining society as a garden party of moths and butterflies and, apart from Havel's keywords, immersing myself in the poietic world of his artistic and political metaphors.

# APPEAL: APEL, VÝZVA

David S. Danaher

For me, the notion of some complete and finite knowledge that explains everything and raises no further questions is clearly related to the notion of an end to the spirit, to life, to time and to Being. Anything meaningful that has ever been said in this matter (including every religious gospel) is on the contrary remarkable for its dramatic openness, its incompleteness. It is not a confirmation so much as a challenge [výzva] or an appeal [apel] [...]

— Václav Havel, *Letters to Olga*<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

That Václav Havel was an appeal-oriented writer and thinker ought not to be controversial. By the late 1960s, he had established an international reputation as the author of absurdist plays written in the style of “theater of the appeal” (*divadlo apelu*), which is a kind of theater that aims, in the words of Ivan Vyskočil, “to engage the intellect and the imagination of the spectator in order to force him to agree, disagree, compare, and view a subject matter from various angles.”<sup>2</sup> Jan Grossman adds that this is absurdist theater of a special kind “in which the techniques associated with absurdism are deployed to provoke—and thereby ‘activate’—the audience by creating within the play an empty space for audience self-reflection.”<sup>3</sup> In my 2015 book *Reading Václav Havel* (Toronto: University of Toronto

<sup>1</sup> Václav Havel, *Letters to Olga*, trans. Paul Wilson (New York: Henry Holt, 1983), letter 92.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Paul Trensky, *Czech Drama Since World War II* (New York: Columbia Slavic Studies, 1978), 105. For more on “theater” as a key word, see Barbara Day’s chapter in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> Jan Grossman, *Texty o divadle I* (Prague: Pražská scéna, 1999), 71.

Press),<sup>4</sup> I argue that the appeal component of Havel's thought should not be seen as limited to its dramatic incarnation. The concept of the appeal instead permeates his oeuvre as a whole: the meaningfulness of Havel's literary and political engagement arises precisely from its anchoring in the appeal form.

In the conclusion to that book, I make a preliminary attempt to analyze the words Havel uses to reference the notion of the appeal, chiefly *apel* and *výzva*, and I note that while the second of these words might be considered a key word in Havel's thinking, it presents challenges to the reader of Havel in English given the multiple pathways that exist for its translation. One Czech-English dictionary, for example, gives five possible translations for *výzva*: "call" (e.g., to begin boarding a plane), "appeal" or "plea," "summons" (in the bureaucratic sense), "prompt" (on a computer screen), and "challenge" (e.g., to a duel).<sup>5</sup> Given, then, the contextual difficulties involved in translating *výzva*, it represents a key-word motif in Havel's thought that is partially obscured in English (and no doubt other languages).

Here I will endeavor to flesh out that preliminary analysis in considerably more detail. I will first demonstrate more systematically the key-word status of words related to the notion of the appeal in Havel's writings with a primary focus on *výzva* (along with the related verbs *vyzývat/vyzvat*) and a secondary focus on *apel* (and the related verb *apelovat*), and I will then use the Czech National Corpus (CNC)<sup>6</sup> to develop a semantic-discourse portrait of these words and compare this portrait to Havel's own usage. The latter work entails both determining translation equivalents for these words in the CNC as well as in works by Havel (that is, in those that have been professionally translated into English) and also examining collocations

<sup>4</sup> Also published in Czech translation as *Číst Václava Havla*, trans. Stefan Segi (Prague: Argo, 2016).

<sup>5</sup> Josef Fronek, *Velký česko-anglický slovník* (Prague: LEDA, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> See <https://korpus.cz>.

associated with these words in both the CNC and Havel's oeuvre. Taken as a whole, this detailed analysis will allow us to see more clearly the import of Havel's understanding of the "appeal" and to point to those ways that Havel embellishes or extends the basic sense of this concept (at least as this sense is reflected in the CNC). It will, as a result, enable us to recover the significance of the key-word motif turning on the notion of the "appeal" that is necessarily obscured in English translation.

## The appeal motif in Havel's thought

Extrapolating the idea of the dramatic appeal to Havel's other genres,<sup>7</sup> we might note his tendency in many of the genres he engaged in to explicitly "activate" the reader's consciousness in completing the message of the work (the visual poetry of the anticodes and the collage-like framing of his political memoir *To the Castle and Back* are prime examples of this, but it runs arguably through all of his genres), his propensity to write political-philosophical essays in the form of open letters (sometimes called *apelativní dopisy* in Czech), and his prolific engagement, both prior to 1989 as a dissident and especially after 1989 as president, in the writing of various kinds of formal addresses (conference presentations, exhortations to protesters, political speeches), which could be taken as open letters that are spoken. On both macro- and micro-levels, Havel is a decidedly appeal-oriented thinker and writer, and I have already explored aspects of his literary and political engagement from this perspective in my book.

It should not, then, come as a surprise that words related to the appeal frequently occur in Havel's writing, and this cuts across both genres and time periods. For the purposes of this study, I analyzed

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of Havel's genres and the necessity of a mosaic-like approach to reading him, see Danaheer, *Reading Václav Havel*, chapter 1.

a sampling of 60 Havel texts selected from a variety of genres from 1965 to 2006 for occurrences of appeal-oriented vocabulary.<sup>8</sup> Across all texts, I found a total of 181 instances of appeal-oriented vocabulary. Nine texts from the 1960s yield 25 instances; six texts from the 1970s yield 15; six more texts from the 1980s add 51 more (with 27 of those in the *Letters to Olga* alone); 33 speeches as president from the 1990s yield 66 examples; and one text from the 2000s (his presidential memoir) adds 24 instances to the total. The distribution of appeal-oriented words across these texts is the following:

Word	Instances	Total frequency
<i>výzva</i> (noun)	88	48.6%
<i>vyzývat/vyzvat</i> (verb)	50	27.6%
<i>apel</i> (noun)	28	15.5%
<i>apelovat</i> (verb)	11	6.1%
<i>apelativní</i> (adjective)	4	2.2%

As we can readily see from the chart, *výzva*-oriented words predominate (76.2% of the total) over *apel*-oriented ones (23.8%) and nouns (with 64.1% of the total) take precedence over other parts of speech.

While these numbers are not overwhelmingly significant against the background of the total number of words represented by these texts, the steady recurrence of appeal-oriented vocabulary is remarkable. Moreover, not all texts in my sample contain an appeal-oriented word (e.g., the 1985 essay “Thriller”), but a case could be made that even these (handful of) texts exemplify the appeal-orientation of Havel’s thought, each in its own way—much like the plays themselves, which also do not contain explicit appeal vocabulary.

<sup>8</sup> For a list of texts in my sample, see the appendix to this chapter. Most of these texts are available in their original Czech in Havel’s collected works (*Spisy*, Prague: Torst, 1999) with speeches available online. I have cited Czech titles where English translations are not, to my knowledge, extant.



In sum, then, there is enough evidence to suggest even at the level of word usage that the concept of the “appeal” is a strong motif in Havel’s thought, and that this motif is lexically instantiated in particular through *výzva* and related terms. What, however, do these words mean in Czech? Do they translate easily and consistently into English? If not, what might be obscured in the process of translation?

## Translation equivalents for appeal-oriented words in both the CNC and Havel’s writings

To seek answers to these questions, I first searched for translation equivalents for the nouns *apel* and *výzva* using the Treq tool in the CNC,<sup>9</sup> and the results provide both an initial impression of the semantic-discourse portrait for the Czech terms as well as a baseline summary of translation pathways.

Treq results for *apel* yield 88 results with approximately 77% of those rendered into English as, not surprisingly, “appeal.” Approximately 7% of these instances have “call for” or “roll call” as translations, and indeed a military-style roll call is a secondary meaning for *apel* as listed in Czech dictionaries<sup>10</sup> with Fronek’s Czech-English dictionary (cited above) listing this meaning as primary; we can also surmise that the “roll-call” meaning was uncomfortably familiar to Havel given the time he spent in prison (see Suk, this volume). More interestingly, a number of one-off translations via “challenge,” “urge,” “message,” or “claim” also occur, and I list the first three of

9 Treq makes use of the InterCorp corpus, a parallel corpus containing over thirty languages and almost 1.5 billion words, to provide a database of translation equivalents. For more on Treq, see M. Vavřín and A. Rosen, *Treq* (Prague: FF UK, 2015) at <http://treq.korpus.cz> as well as M. Škrabal and M. Vavřín, “Databáze překladových ekvivalentů Treq”, *Časopis pro moderní filologii* 99:2 (2017), 245–260; for InterCorp, see <https://intercorp.korpus.cz>. Note that all searches in this study are based on lemmas, an approach which generates all possible grammatical forms of the given word.

10 See, for example, the 1966 edition of *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*.

these contexts here to give a sense of the range of possible translation pathways:

(1) *Zkusme ji proto pochopit jako lekci či školu, jako zkoušku, jako apel, který možná přišel v pravou chvíli.* "Let us, therefore, understand it as a lesson, a test, a challenge that may have come just in time."

(2) *Odstavec 149 zprávy pana Catanii o situaci v oblasti lidských práv v Evropské unii chápu jako apel na členské státy, aby zajistily rovné zacházení s pacienty v systému zdravotní péče také ve vztahu k drogově závislým.* "I interpret paragraph 149 of Mr. Catania's report on the situation of fundamental rights in the European Union as urging Member States to ensure that the equal treatment of patients within the health-care system also includes addicts."

(3) *Je mnohem důležitější tuto službu co nejdříve zřídit a vidět určité hmatatelné výsledky její činnosti, protože jedním z důležitých apelů Lisabonské smlouvy je požadavek, abychom Evropskou unii ve světě více zviditelnili.* "It is much more important to have this service set up as soon as possible and see some progress with it, because one of the most important messages of the Treaty of Lisbon is that we should be visible in the world."

The related verb *apelovat* occurs more frequently in Treq (515 contexts) with the following distribution of translations: "appeal" (58.1%), "call" (27%), "ask" (1.2%), "challenge" (.6%), "highlight" (.4%), "encourage" (.4%). In other words, while "appeal" may be the path-of-least-resistance and therefore predominant translation pathway for Czech *apel(ovat)*, the Czech term has a range of meaning that sometimes requires contextual specification via other English words, and this serves as valuable insight into Havel's conceptual starting point.

There are 8,789 instances of *výzva* as lemma in Treq, and translation equivalents prove both different and more varied:

Translation	Raw frequency	Proportional frequency
"challenge"	5764	65.6%
"call"	1676	19.1%
"invitation"	509	5.8%
"appeal"	348	4%
"notice"	108	1.2%
"request"	53	.6%
"dare"	41	.5%
"summons"	21	.2%
"plea"	19	.2%
"message"	14	.2%
"encouragement"	14	.2%
"signal" (among animals)	13	.1%
"urge"	10	.1%
"demand"	7	.1%

Other less well-represented translations are: "ask," "reminder," "warning," "exhortation," "provocation," "advice," and "command." Specific contexts for some of the less well-represented translation pathways, which give us a better picture of the potential meaning of the Czech term, are the following:

(4) *Poslední výzva na nástup do autobusu I-95 směrem na jih.* "Last warning for bus I-95 towards the south."<sup>11</sup>

(5) *Výzvy se opakovaly, stejně jako jejich podkreslení.* "The same exhortations were repeated, like punctuation also."

(6) *Začala se skrytými výzvami.* "She started with veiled provocations."

(7) *Uposlechl vlastní výzvy, my rovněž.* "He responded to his own commands, and we followed suit."

<sup>11</sup> Needless to say, some translations here are disputable: the last "call for boarding" would be better English than "warning."

(8) *To je nehorázná a pro Českou republiku i nesplnitelná výzva.* "This is an outrageous demand and one that cannot be fulfilled by the Czech Republic."

(9) *A na výzvu Velké Ley mnozí naši studenti vstali od svých počítačů, her a blogů.* "At Lea's urging, and under her supervision, many of our students left their computer games and blogs."

(10) *Grit, energický advokát najatý Mary Ross Phelanovou Jackmanovou, povstal a pronesl válečnou výzvu.* "Grit, the feisty litigator hired by Mary Ross Phelan Jackman and her husband, stood and made a plea for war."

(11) *Myslíš, že odpovědí na výzvu?* "Will they answer the summons, think you?"

(12) *Hlas z megafonu výzvu opakuje.* "The voice from the megaphone repeats its request."

Data for the related verbal forms *vyzývat* (4,298 instances in Treg) and *vyzvat* (8,012 instances) provide an even more varied list of possible translation pathways. For the former, we observe "call" (43.6%), "invite" (19.7%), "ask" (7.7%), "urge" (5.2%), "say" (5%), "challenge" (4%), "encourage" (3.4%), "appeal" (2.7%), "request" (1.7%), "require" (1.3%), and "tell" (.9%) as well as one-off translations via "direct," "demand," "summon," "order," "dare," "suggest," "instruct," "exhort," "beckon," and "enjoin." For the latter, we have most of the above plus "recommend," "implore," "incite," "warn," "insist," and "charge."

If we summarize this data to begin to sketch out a semantic-discourse portrait of the concept of the appeal in Czech, we should first note that *výzva*-words are much more prominent than *apel*-words, and this fact helps to focus our analysis. We may also note that *výzva* and its related verbs are used in a wide range of domains from the personal (an "exhortation" or "plea") to the official (a "summons" or formal "notice"), and as a result our contextualized translations into English run the gamut. This makes good sense when we consider that a "challenge," the main translation for the noun

*výzva*, is something that may also “ask,” “invite,” “encourage,” or even “dare” us to confront it. More strongly, perhaps, a particularly imperative challenge may “implore,” “enjoin,” “require,” or even “order” us to take it up: it may “call out” to us to take a stance, if not also to take action. Here, then, we should also note the close relationship in Czech between the noun *výzva* and the verbs *vyzývat*/*vyzvat*: a *výzva* is implicitly understood as a context-specific verbalized “call” (like English “challenge” in “I challenge you to a duel”), and this call may be personalized in various ways or depersonalized in the sense that it is institutionally generated. English lacks a similar noun/verb pair that is both high-frequency in common usage and also freely crosses domains of human experience, which is another way of understanding why we have multiple pathways for translation of *výzva*-words.

Given this general background provided by data from the CNC, we are in a good position to examine translation equivalents for appeal-oriented vocabulary in texts by Havel that are included in my sample, and I limit myself here to those texts that have been professionally translated, which yields a total of 141 contexts. In these texts, we note 74 instances of the noun *výzva* with 28 uses of *vyzývat* or *vyzvat*, which is about 72% of the total of appeal-oriented vocabulary; there are 26 uses of *apel*, nine of the verb *apelovat*, and also four uses of the adjective *apelativní*,<sup>12</sup> which represents about 28% of the total vocabulary. In terms of distribution of vocabulary, then, Havel is more or less in conformity with general usage as represented in the CNC with the increased prominence of *výzva* words.

Indeed, translation pathways in Havel’s writings also largely agree with the data in the CNC—with some significant differences to be discussed below. The main pathway for translating *apel* and *apelovat* is via “appeal” (about 67%) while the main pathway for translating

<sup>12</sup> Note that *apelativní* is not represented in the CNC’s InterCorp, which means that we do not have a baseline reading from Treq for translation equivalents.

the noun *výzva* is via “challenge” (about 60%). Examples of these primary translation pathways, which are from a range of decades and give us an initial sense of Havel’s understanding of the terms, are the following:

(13) *A přesto jsem nakonec znovu kandidoval! Jako v minulých případech a jako ještě v jednom, který měl následovat, zvítězil i tentokrát apel na mou odpovědnost nad mými osobními zájmy.* “And yet I ran for president again. As in the previous election, and as it would also be in the one to follow, the appeal to my sense of responsibility won out over the pull of my private interests.”<sup>13</sup>

(14) *Argumentaci Vašich odpůrců si dovedu živě představit: především asi zneužívají Vaší komunistické víry—zdůrazňují zájem strany, zájem hnutí, zájem socialismu; apeluji na Vaši stranickou disciplínu; a to, co od Vás žádají, žádají jako službu věci, která Vám je nejdražší a které jste zasvětil svůj život.* “I can readily imagine how your opponents will argue. First and foremost, they will probably exploit your communist faith, stressing the interest of the party, of the movement, and of socialism. They will appeal to party discipline. And they will demand all this from you in the name of a cause that is dearest to you and to which you have devoted your life.”<sup>14</sup>

(15) *Ježíšovu zvěst přijímám jako výzvu k vlastní cestě.* “I accept the Gospel of Jesus as a challenge to go my own way.”<sup>15</sup>

(16) *Když před deseti lety začala vážně prskat ve švech a posléze se hroutit železná opona a když se pak spolu s ní začal propadat do historické minulosti i sám komunismus, málokdo z nás asi tušil, jak velké otázky se tím před lidstvem otevírají a jak velké výzvy tyto děje přinesou.* “Ten years ago, when the Iron Curtain began to crack and

<sup>13</sup> Václav Havel, *Prosím stručně* (Prague: Gallery, 2006), 87 and Václav Havel, *To the Castle and Back*, trans. Paul Wilson (New York: Knopf, 2007), 170.

<sup>14</sup> Václav Havel, “Dopis Alexandru Dubčekovi” in *Spisy 3* (Prague: Torst, 1999), 914–915 and Václav Havel, “Letter to Alexander Dubček,” trans. A.G. Brain, in *Open Letters: Selected Writings 1965–1990* (New York: Vintage, 1992), 39.

<sup>15</sup> Havel, *Letters to Olga*, letter 41.

eventually crumbled and took Communism with it in its fall, probably few of us discerned the far-reaching questions that the human race became confronted with, or the great challenges that would be generated by these developments."<sup>16</sup>

(17) *Podle mého přesvědčení tento stav věcí obsahuje naprosto jasnou výzvu nejen euroamerickému světu, ale celé dnešní civilizaci. Výzvu k tomu, aby sebe samu začala vskutku důsledně chápat jako civilizaci multikulturní a multipolární, jejímž smyslem není ničit svébytnost různých kulturních či civilizačních okruhů, ale umožňovat jim naopak, aby byly lépe samy sebou.* "It is my belief that this state of affairs contains a clear challenge not only to the Euro-American world but to our present-day civilization as a whole. It is a challenge to this civilization to start understanding itself as a multicultural and a multipolar civilization, whose meaning lies not in undermining the individuality of different spheres of culture and civilization but in allowing them to be more completely themselves."<sup>17</sup>

Three examples of where the translator has chosen less typical pathways that are also represented in the CNC data—"urge" for *apelovat*, "invite" and "invitation" for *vyzvat* and *výzva*, and "warning" for *výzva*—are the following:

(18) *A tak jsem napsal obsáhlý veřejný dopis dr. Husákovi, v němž jsem se pokusil rozebrat smutnou společenskou situaci v naší zemi, ukázat na hloubku duchovní, morální a sociální krize, která se skrývá za zdánlivě poklidným životem, a v němž jsem na adresáta apeloval, aby si uvědomil míru své odpovědnosti za tu celkovou mizerii.* "So I wrote a long open letter to Husák. In it, I tried to analyze the sad situation in our country; to point to the profound spiritual, moral, and social crisis hidden behind the

<sup>16</sup> Václav Havel, "Address to the French Senate," 1999.

<sup>17</sup> Václav Havel, "Harvard University," 1995.

apparent tranquility of social life. I urged Husák to realize just how much he himself was responsible for this general misery."<sup>18</sup>

(19) *Má tvářistická éra začala, až když mne nová redakční rada (prý na návrh Jana Lopatky) vyzvala, abych se stal jejím členem. Tato výzva nebyla zcela prosta věcného kalkulu.* "My real association with *Tvář* began when the new editorial board, apparently at the suggestion of Jan Lopatka, invited me to join them. This invitation was not entirely free of ulterior motive."<sup>19</sup>

(20) *Bud' strčit hlavu do písku, globálními a dlouhodobými problémy se nijak osobně netrápit v naději, že za našeho života se nás ještě nijak katastrofálně nedotknou, a starat se o tento den či o zítřek, případně—jsme-li politici—o svůj image dnes či zítra v televizi či o své vítězství v nejbližších volbách. A na varovné výzvy či dotazy těch, kteří se tím vším trápí, odpovídat prostě tvrzením, že moderní věda nepochybně přinese další vymoženosti, které tyto problémy vyřeší. Druhou možností je přemýšlet o celé situaci vskutku vážně, byť s vědomím rizika, že se naše přemýšlení či výzvy, které z něho vzejdou, nemusí dočkat žádné odezvy.* "We can take the ostrich-like approach, disregarding the long-term global problems in the hope that they will have no fatal effects within our lifetime and concerning ourselves instead just with today and tomorrow, or—when we happen to be politicians—with our momentary image on television or with our chance of winning the next elections. We can dismiss the warning appeals or questions of those who are worried with a simple answer: that modern science will undoubtedly produce new achievements to solve these problems. The other alternative is to give the situation a truly serious consideration, even risking the outcome that our thoughts or warnings may go unheeded."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Václav Havel, *Dálkový výslech* in *Spisy* 4 (Prague: Torst, 1999), 825 and Václav Havel, *Disturbing the Peace*, trans. Paul Wilson (New York: Vintage, 1991), 122.

<sup>19</sup> Havel, *Dálkový výslech*, 777 and Havel, *Disturbing the Peace*, 76.

<sup>20</sup> Václav Havel, "The Latin American Parliament," 1996.



These examples give us a sense of the variety of contexts in which Havel uses appeal-oriented vocabulary, and we also see the beginnings—in examples (15), (16), (17), and (20)—of an expanded understanding on Havel’s part of the concept, in which we leave the domain of the everyday “appeal” (or “invitation” or “urging”) and are confronted instead with a sense of existential urgency in the given situation. The “appeal” for Havel, in other words, begins to take on philosophical contours.

Perhaps more interestingly, Havel does use appeal-oriented vocabulary in ways that differ from the data in the CNC. I would note, for example, that the sense of *výzva* as an official “summons” or formal “notice” is downplayed in Havel’s usage except for an occasional reference to a public document, like Charter 77, as an “appeal” (*apel*). He also sometimes uses both Czech words, *apel* and *výzva*, side-by-side in the same context for added emphasis, and we see this both in the epigraph to this chapter, which I will return to in due course, and in this example in which Havel is writing about human consciousness of death:

(21) ... je ovšem i zde, na rovině existenciální, smrt v nás přítomna nikoli jako to, s čím je třeba se identifikovat, ale naopak jako to, čemu je třeba čelit, co je třeba nějak překonat, překlenout, popřít. Lze říci, že vědomí smrti je ve struktuře lidské existence něčím jako výzvou, hozenou rukavicí, apelem, provokací, zkrátka něčím mobilizujícím a probouzejícím. “On the existential level, too, death is present in us not as something with which we must identify, but which must be defied, overcome, spanned, denied. We might say that in the structure of human existence, the awareness of death is something like a challenge, a gauntlet flung down, an appeal, a provocation, in short, something that has the power to mobilize and arouse.”<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Havel, *Letters to Olga*, letter 97.

This example, in addition to the context of the epigraph, again pushes the implications of Havel's appeal-orientation into the philosophical domain.

Another difference that becomes clear when professional translations of Havel's texts are examined is the greater frequency of translation (of all words) via English "challenge." For contexts with *apel* in the CNC, "challenge" is the pathway in only one of 88 examples (less than 1% of the total), but in Havel's texts the percentage of the total jumps to 19% (five examples out of 26 in total). The verbs *vyzývat/vyzývat* are rendered as "challenge" in 4% of the contexts in the CNC, but in 25% of the contexts in Havel's texts. Two examples of this tendency are the following:

(22) *Lze říct, že tento absolutní horizont je v nás tedy přítomen nejen jako předpoklad, ale i jako zdroj lidskosti a apel [...]* "It might be said, therefore, that this absolute horizon is present in us not only as an assumption, but also as a source of humanity and as a challenge [...]"<sup>22</sup>

(23) *To všechno je neskonale důležitější, než si asi většina lidí myslí. Klade to totiž zcela zvláštní nároky nejen na stavbu hry, ale vůbec na všechny zákonitosti jejího světa, který musí být na takto daném půdorysu cele rozvinut a kontinuálně pochopitelným způsobem obsažen; který musí být vybudován tak, aby se to dalo vydržet (čili: aby na to vůbec někdo přišel, aby tedy divadlo vůbec mohlo být) a aby o sobě samém něco víceméně zřetelného řekl, aby vůbec něco určitého vyvolal; hra musí být prostě napsána tak, aby tu 'dobrodružnou stezku' vůbec stihla v takto ohraničených podmínkách naznačit a k cestě po ní vyzvat, přičemž publikum musí v takto omezeném čase získat jakous takous představu, proč vůbec mělo vynaložit tu námahu a přijít na start (tj. do divadla).* "All of this is far more important than most people suppose. It makes special demands not only on the structure of a play, but on all the laws of its world, which within the given plan, must be fleshed out in a way that is

<sup>22</sup> Havel, *Letters to Olga*, letter 95.

consistently comprehensible. It must be constructed in a way that can be tolerated, that is, so people will actually come to see it, so the theater, in other words, can exist at all. A play, quite simply, must stake out that 'adventurous trail' and challenge people to go down it, and in the limited time available, the audience must be given an inkling at least of why it should make the effort to show up at the head of the trail (i.e., come to the theater) in the first place."<sup>23</sup>

In (22), Havel is musing philosophically on what human responsibility (understood here as an orientation toward the "absolute horizon") means, and in (23) he is discussing the intellectual and spiritual significance of theater as a genre. In both instances (and in more like these), Havel's English translators have gravitated toward the "challenge" reading, which is undoubtedly prompted by the contexts—philosophical and theoretical—in which Havel uses the words.

Another deviation from the CNC data is the presence of translation choices that do not appear in Treq. I will mention only two words here, that is, "opportunity" for *výzva* and "impel" for *vyzývat*. Examples of these are:

(24) *Čili: nenavštěvovat jen generální štáb, ale pořádat i krátké přepady jednotek. Teď máme jednu rotu kousek od Sarajeva. Není to přímo výzva k tomu, abych ji tam na půl dne navštívil? Dřív než se rozhoupe Zieleniec či Baudys?* "In other words: we shouldn't visit just the general headquarters but arrange brief, unannounced visits to individual units as well. Right now, we have a company based a short distance from Sarajevo. Doesn't that provide an opportunity for me to visit them for a half a day, before Zieleniec or Baudys swing into action?"<sup>24</sup>

(25) *Mám jeden nápad související s povodněmi. Bylo zničeno mnoho ošklivých domů postavených špatně, draze a na nesprávném místě.*

<sup>23</sup> Havel, *Letters to Olga*, letter 114.

<sup>24</sup> Havel, *Prosím stručně*, 14 and Havel, *To the Castle and Back*, 28.

Vážení čtenáři, právě jste dočetli ukázkou z knihy Václav Havel's Meanings.  
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