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CROATIAN AND SLOVAK POLITICAL CATHOLICISM AND CLERICALISM IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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In this article, the presence and influence of clericalism on Croatian and Slovak political Catholicism between the two world wars is examined through a comparative analysis, based on some Croatian interwar Catholic periodicals, recent Croatian and Slovak historiographical studies, as well as studies by some foreign historians. Also, the focus of the research attention was on re-examining the causes of the findings. At the very beginning, the terms clericalism and political Catholicism are defined as key terminological determinants used later in the article. That is followed by a brief review of some peculiarities of the modern Croatian and Slovak nation genesis, as one of the variables that had great influence on the peculiarities of Croatian and Slovak society and political culture as a whole. The central part of the article analyses the development and activities of Croatian and Slovak interwar political Catholicism, primarily through political activities of the Croatian People's Party and the Slovak People's Party/Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. Finally, a comparison of similarities and differences between the Croatian and Slovak political Catholicism follows, with explanations of possible causes for such a situation, and a quantitative analysis of the presence and impact of clericalism on Croatian and Slovak interwar political Catholicism.

Keywords: Catholicism; Clericalism; Croatia; Slovakia; Interwar era

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Introduction

The term clericalism[1] in the Croatian public discourse is often used to describe any presence of Catholic teachings within the framework of political phenomena and processes, that is any direct influence of not only the Catholic clergy, but also the Catholic laymen and lay movements on political occurrences. Nevertheless, in this article the term clericalism will be used in its original meaning, in order to refer to active participation and direct influence of the Catholic clergy on political occurrences.

In the political life of Europe in the first half of the 20th century, the clericalism was mainly present within the political phenomenon, which is referred to as political Catholicism[2] in the political science. This article focuses on the

[1] Clericalism, a political stand or endeavour for a prominent position of clergy and the Catholic Church in public life, culture and politics of a country. The term emerged in the 19th century in formerly Catholic countries (in France in 1863), during the period of the formation and development of the laicised and liberal society, i.e. the time when the system in which the Catholic Church had the leading role, ceased to exist. The problem has deeper historical roots in the relations between the religion and the society, the Catholic Church and the state. The clericalism was especially pronounced in cases when two autonomous spheres intertwine, namely the spiritual and the secular one. From the lay, liberal, and the communist point of view (anti-clericalism), every attempt of the Catholic Church and Catholics to achieve certain place, and freedom of activity in the state and the society was marked as clericalism. At the same time, it served as an excuse for prosecutions and suppression of religion. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, in its attempt to cope with and adapt to the secular society, was often trying to regain its privileged position with the state. The examples of most intense conflicts over clericalism were *Kulturkampf* (1871-80) in Germany, and violent separation of the state and the Church in some countries of the Western Europe (France, Spain, Italy etc.) and the countries of the Latin America in the 19th and 20th century, as well as the first communist states in the Eastern Europe and elsewhere. In Croatian society, the clericalism was especially present in the first half of the 20th century, during the activities of The Croatian Catholic Movement and Catholic Action, which were commonly regarded as clericalist, although we can find certain aspects of clericalism in the political actions of the Croatian Catholic Seniorate, Croatian Academic Society Domagoj and the Croatian People's Party. See: klerikalizam. In *Hrvatska enciklopedija [online]* (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2020), accessed July 13, 2020, http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=31857.

[2] Political Catholicism, a political ideology that promotes the ideas and social teaching of the Catholic Church in public life. As a programme and a movement, it first appeared among Prussian Catholics in the second half of the 19th century, in response to secular tendencies of the state. The main reason was the attempt of the Chancellor Otto von Bismarck to limit the influence of the Catholic Church, and place it under control of the state, at first in Prussia and the in the whole united Germany. The struggle that emerged is known in history by the name *Kulturkampf*. From Germany, this Catholic social movement spread to Austria-Hungary, especially on the territories of the present-day Austria, Ukraine, Slovenia and Croatia, where it was known under the name of Croatian Catholic Movement. At the same time, in Europe we see the expansion of the Catholic Action, the name of a number of organisations and various groups of Catholic laymen trying to influence the society and politics. After the Pope Leo XIII

aforesaid phenomenon, specifically in Croatia and Slovakia. After the Second World War, especially after the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), political Catholicism evolved into the political Christian democratic ideology, partially adapting its form and content to new social and ecclesiastical circumstances.

The term anti-clericalism (counter-clericalism)[3] is often related to clericalism and political Catholicism, and marks the opposition to the two, while the term secularism is somewhat longer in use. It emerged during the Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century, and it often appears in the discussions on the Catholic Church, clericalism and political Catholicism. In this article the term secularism[4] will be used in order to mark any belief, idea and ideology according to which the religion and religious beliefs are to be rejected, ignored, that is, their influence on the social life is to be utterly reduced or completely disabled.

In Croatian society in the period between the two world wars, the political Catholicism appeared and developed within the Croatian Catholic Movement (further in the text: CCM).[5] At the same time, the political Catholicism de-

issued his encyclical titled *Rerum Novarum* (Eng. On New Matters) in 1891, political Catholicism gains strength and vigour, and spread its influence on other social spheres, especially labour. With this encyclical, the Catholic Church showed its interest for social, economic and cultural issues, especially the situation regarding the working class, and appealed for radical transformation of the western industrial society, strongly influenced by capitalism. Catholics, led by clergy, actively engage in social and public life, in order to deal with social problems according to Christian, Catholic principles, thus opposing the secularist approaches. Some of more influential political parties, founded on the principles of political Catholicism are Catholic Party in Belgium, *Zentrum* in Germany, Slovene People's Party, Christian Social Party in Austria (1893), Slovak People's Party, Croatian People's Party, etc.

[3] Anti-clericalism (counter-clericalism), a stand taken by certain political and ideological instances on the position and role of the Catholic Church in the state and society. The opposition to political positions called clericalism, political Catholicism, ultramontanism and confessionalism. The radical anti-clericalism demanded expulsion of the religion from public life and limiting the religious activities of the Catholic Church within the ecclesiastical domain. The moderate anti-clericalism is not anti-ecclesiastical in its nature, but stands against the influence of the clergy in some spheres of the public life or against the means the clergy gained that influence. Anti-clericalism in its various forms represents an official position some liberal states of the Western Europe and Latin America in the second half of the 19h and the first half of the 20th century. At the same time, it was present in Croatian political and public life, as well as literature and publicist writing.

[4] Secularism, a belief, idea that the religion and religious beliefs should be rejected and ignored.

[5] Croatian Catholic Movement (CCM) organised the activities of Catholic laymen societies and initiatives in the first half of the 20th century. Its main goal was spiritual and intellectual education of youth, education of public and struggle for social justice in accordance with Christian values. It was initiated by Anton Mahnič, the Bishop of Krk, and abolished by the communist authorities in 1945.

veloped, or it had been already present, inveterated and influential in political systems of some Western European countries, such as Belgium (*Katholieke Partij*[6] party; Charles de Broqueville), Germany (*Zentrum*[7] party; Joseph Wirth and Heinrich Brüning), Italy (*Partito Popolare Italiano*[8] party; Luigi Sturzo and Alcide de Gasperi), Austria (*Christlichsoziale Partei*[9] and *Vaterländische Front*[10] parties; Ignaz Seipel, Carl Vaugoin and Engelbert Dollfuss), The Netherlands (*Algemeene Bond van Roomsch-Katholieke Kiesverenigingen*[11] and *Roomsch-Katholieke Staatspartij*[12] parties; Charles Ruijs de Beerenbrouck), Portugal (*União Nacional*[13] party; António de Oliveira Salazar) and Ireland (*Fianna Fáil*[14] party; Éamon de Valera). A number of the aforementioned politicians held offices of prime ministers in their mother countries during period between the world wars, which speaks enough of the strength and influence of the political Catholicism in the interwar Europe.

In the Slovak society, the political Catholicism emerged during the Austria-Hungary, but it changed significantly in the interwar period, accepting certain elements that appeared in related manifestations of the European political Catholicism, e. g. martyr mysticism, as noted and emphasized by a Slovak author Anton Hruboň.[15]

According to some estimates, parties whose platforms can be regarded as political Catholicism, had the support of over 4 million voters worldwide, and in 1922 an international league of such parties was established, which was popularly called the White International.[16]

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6 *Katholieke Partij* (Eng. Catholic Party), a political party in Belgium founded in 1869.

7 *Zentrum*, a German political party founded in 1870 by Joseph Görres.

8 *Partito Popolare Italiano* (Eng. Italian People's Party), an Italian political party founded in 1919 by Luigi Sturzo, a Catholic priest from Sicily.

9 *Christlichsoziale Partei* (Eng. Christian Social Party), an Austrian political party founded by Karl Lueger in 1891, active until 1934.

10 *Vaterländische Front* (Eng. Fatherland Front), an Austrian political party active between 1933 and 1938.

11 *Algemeene Bond van Roomsch-Katholieke Kiesverenigingen*, a Duch political party active between 1904 and 1926.

12 *Roomsch-Katholieke Staatspartij*, a Duch political party founded in 1926 in The Hague. It was active until 1945.

13 *União Nacional*, a political party from Portugal founded in 1930. The activities of the party were marked by its leader António de Oliveira Salazar. It was abolished in 1974.

14 *Fianna Fáil*, an Irish political party founded by Éamon de Valera in 1926., and it has remained active until today.

15 Anton Hruboň, "Budovanie kultu Jozefa Tisa," *Kultúrne dejiny* 8, no. 2 (2017): 214-217.

16 Zlatko Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva. Hrvatska pučka stranka u političkom životu Kraljevine SHS 1919. – 1929.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 1998), 92.

The phenomenon of CCM in Croatian historiography was systematically studied by Mario Strecha,[17] Zlatko Matijević,[18] Stipan Trogrlić[19] and Jure Krišto,[20] while a number of authors[21] wrote on specific individual phenomena within the topic. Also, a large conference was held on the topic of the Croatian Catholic Movement, after which the conference proceedings were published.[22] Besides historiographic works, there are some publicist works related to the subject matter, such as the memoirs of Bonifacije Perović.[23]

On Slovak interwar political Catholicism, we find systematic studies in articles and monographs published by Slovak historians Emília Hrabovec,[24] Milan Stanislav Ďurica,[25] Roman Holec,[26] Miloslav Szabó,[27] Anton Hruboň,[28]

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[17] Mario Strecha, *Katoličko hrvatstvo. Počeci političkog katolicizma u banskoj Hrvatskoj (1897. – 1904.)* (Zagreb: Barbat, 1997); Mario Strecha, *"Mi smo Hrvati i katolici...". Prvi hrvatski katolički kongres 1900.* (Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2008); Mario Strecha, *Katoličko pravaštvo. Politički katolicizam u Banskoj Hrvatskoj u predvečerje Prvoga svjetskog rata (1904 – 1910)* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2011)

[18] Zlatko Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva. Hrvatska pučka stranka u političkom životu Kraljevine SHS 1919. – 1929.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 1998); Zlatko Matijević, *U sjeni dvaju orlova. Prilozi crkveno-nacionalnoj povijesti Hrvata u prvim desetljećima 20. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2005); Zlatko Matijević, *Lučonoše ili herostrati? Prilozi poznavanju crkveno-nacionalne povijesti Hrvata početkom XX. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Naklada Erasmus, 2006)

[19] Stipan Trogrlić, *Katolički pokret u Istri 1895. – 1914.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji, 2000)

[20] Jure Krišto, *Hrvatski katolički pokret (1903. – 1945.)* (Zagreb: Glas koncila, 2004)

[21] Npr. Fabijan Veraja, "Hrvatski katolički pokret »potpuno zakazao i neuspio«?", *Crkva u svijetu* 40, no. 3 (2005): 325-354.; Josip Sinjeri, "Biskup Antun Mahnić i Hrvatski katolički pokret," *Riječki teološki časopis* 30, no. 2 (2007): 551-587.; Zdravko Matić, "Razlozi spora u Hrvatskom katoličkom pokretu prema dokumentima iz arhiva bl. Ivana Merza," *Historijski zbornik* 62, no 2 (2009): 465-487.; Wollfy Krašić, "Djelovanje kapucinskog protualkoholnog društva »Sveta vojska«," *Historijski zbornik* 67, no. 1 (2014): 129-149.; Veronika Mila Popić, "»Naše stanovište u politici« – politički program pristaša Hrvatskoga katoličkog pokreta oko *Riječkih novina* (1912. – 1914.)", *Croatica Christiana periodica* 39 (2015), 75: 185-196.; Ivan Zubac, "Hrvatski katolički pokret na početku 20. stoljeća", *Obnovljeni život* 73, no. 3 (2018): 329-342.; Mate Anić, "Ivan Butković (1876. – 1954.)", *Croatica Christiana periodica* 43, (2019), 84: 57-75. etc.

[22] Zlatko Matijević, ed., *Hrvatski katolički pokret. Zbornik radova* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2002).

[23] Bonifacije Perović, *Hrvatski katolički pokret* (Rim: Ziral, 1976).

[24] Emília Hrabovec, *Andrej Hlinka a slovenskí katolíci očami Svätej stolice 1918 – 1927.* (Bratislava: Lúč, 2014).

[25] Milan Stanislav Ďurica, *Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana* (Bratislava: Lúč, 2014).

[26] Roman Holec, *Hlinka – Otec národa?* (Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2019).

[27] Miloslav Szabó. *Klérofašisti. Slovenskí kňazi a pokušenie radikálnej politiky (1935 – 1945)* (Bratislava: Slovart, 2019).

[28] Anton Hruboň, *Alexander Mach. Radikál z povolania* (Bratislava: Premedia, 2018); Anton Hruboň, Ľudácka čítanka. Sila propagandy, propaganda sily (Bratislava: Premedia, 2019).

and others etc, as well as some foreign authors, such as James Ramon Felak,[29] James Mace Ward[30] and Thomas Lorman.[31] Also, Slovak authors Róbert Letz, Peter Mulík and Alena Bartlová together published a study on the most powerful Slovak party, whose programme was based on political Catholicism.[32]

This article will try to establish whether the clericalism was more present and prominent in Slovak or in Croatian interwar political Catholicism. Furthermore, it will try to bring the analysis and clarification of structures that determined the presence of clericalism in both cases, with special attention given to formation of modern Slovak and Croatian nations, the specific circumstances under which these processes occurred, that is, the role of the clergy in these processes. According to the definition of clericalism given at the beginning of the article, its influence on Slovak and Croatian political Catholicism will be determined by using methods of quantitative analysis of the number of clergymen in party structures, while the methods of qualitative analysis could be used only in case of accepting a definition of clericalism as programmatic and ideological position, which is not the case here.

Some Specifics Regarding the Genesis of the Croatian and Slovak Nation

Both Croatian and Slovak cultures are immensely imbued with Catholic tradition. Since Croats[33] and Slovaks[34] were Christianised in the Middle

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[29] James Ramon Felak, *"At the Price of the Republic". Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, 1929–1938*. (Pittsburgh – London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994).

[30] James Mace Ward, *Priest, Politician, Collaborator. Jozef Tiso and the Making of Fascist Slovakia* (New York – London: Cornell University Press, 2013).

[31] Thomas Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party. Religion, Nationalism and the Culture War in Early 20th-Century Europe* (London – New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019).

[32] Róbert Letz, Róbert Mulík, Alena Bartlová, *Slovenská ľudová strana v dejinách 1905 – 1945*. (Martin: Matica slovenská, 2006).

[33] According to the latest population census conducted in Croatia in 2011, the Catholics are the largest religious group (86,28%), whereas the members of all protestant churches make only 0,34% of the population. Ljiljana Ostroški, ed., *Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2011. Stanovništvo prema državljanstvu, narodnosti, vjeri i materinskom jeziku* (Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku Republike Hrvatske, 2013), 17.

[34] According to the latest population census conducted in Slovakia in 2011, the Catholics are the largest religious group (62%). Among the protestant churches, the most numerous are the members of the Lutheran Evangelical Church, (5,9%), while there is a certain number of the members of the Calvinist Reformed Church (1,8%), who are mostly Hungarians, and the members of other protestant denominations (a little above 1%). Ivana Juhaščiková, Mária Katerinková, Eleonóra Krčméryová, Zuzana Podmanická, Pavol Škápik, Zuzana Štukovská,

Ages until today, they have been predominantly Catholic. Still, a certain cultural and civilisational difference between these two nations can be seen in the presence of stable and influential protestant minority among the Slovaks, whereas the number and influence of protestants among the Croats is quite insignificant.

This factor must be taken into consideration in the analysis of the genesis of the Croatian and Slovak nation, because the present-day religious structure has its origins in the Early Modern period, when the protestant movement had much more success among the Slovaks than among the Croats. Therefore, during the time on national emancipation of both nations during the 19th century, this fact resulted in somewhat different characteristics of the Slovak national revival, some of whose prominent leaders were the members of the protestant minority (Ján Kollár, Pavel Jozef Šafárik, L'udovít Štúr, Jozef Miloslav Hurban, Michal Miloslav Hodža), all of which were the advocates of various forms of Slavic mutuality (Pan-Slavism, Austro-Slavism). Also, one has to consider the crucial importance of language as one of the elements in the formation of modern Central European Nations, namely the presence of the vernacular language in the protestant liturgy and culture, in opposition to the Catholic Latin universalism, which played a general role as a generator for European liberal nationalisms in the 19th century.

One should undoubtedly emphasize the role and the contribution of Catholic priests in the ethnogenesis of modern Slovak nation – Anton Bernolak contributed significantly in the field of linguistics in the early days of Slovak national revival while bishop Štefan Moyses as the first president of *Matica slovenska* played an extremely important role in the later stages of Slovak national integration process, formerly having also participated in the Croatian national revival movement.[35]

Slavic linguistical similarities makes the Croats and Slovaks culturally closely related, although the Croatian language belongs to the South Slavic subgroup (a branch of western South Slavic languages),[36] and the Slovak language to the West Slavic subgroup.[37] The difference between the two cases

Ondrej Zahn, *The 2011 Population and Housing Census. Facts about changes in the life of the Slovak population* (Bratislava: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, 2015), 95.

[35] More about the relations between Štefan Moyses and the Croats in: Zrinka Stričević-Kovačević, ed., *Med Hrvati stanak moj! Zbornik radova o Stjepanu Moysesu (1797–1869)* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2020).

[36] Besides Croatian, the languages that belong to the South Slavic group are Bosniak, Montenegrin, Slovene and Serbian (western South Slavic branch) and Bulgarian, Macedonian and Old Church Slavic (eastern South Slavic branch).

[37] Besides Slovak, the languages that belong to the West Slavic group are Czech, Polish and Sorbian.

also lies in the significantly better political position of the Croatian language during the period of national emancipation and linguistical standardisation in the 19th century. Croatian became the official language of the Croatian Parliament[38] in 1847 and had an undisputed position in the education system of Croatia and Slavonia, additionally strengthened when the University of Zagreb was founded in 1874, where Croatian was also the official language. Furthermore, Croatian became the official language of the Dalmatian Parliament in 1883. On the other hand, at the same time in Upper Hungary[39] the Slovak language was entirely subordinated to the Hungarian language, which dominated the public communication, education, judiciary system and political representative bodies whose competences included the whole territory of Hungary.[40] According to general opinion, the peak of hungarisation[41] in Hungary Proper[42] was passing the Education Act in 1907 (Lat. *Lex Apponyi*).[43]

Besides, the Croatian constitutional tradition, rooted in the elements of statehood preserved in the municipal rights (Lat. *iura municipalia*),[44] that is the political autonomy (confirmed by the Croato-Hungarian Compromise of 1868) and its institutions, such as the ban,[45] parliament etc, offered the Croatian national revival better starting positions in comparison to the ones the Slovak national revival had, as they faced more limitations, starting with the lack of any political autonomy within Hungary and lack of domination of

[38] Until 1848, the Croatian Parliament had been an estate-based political institution for Croatia and Slavonia. When the new election act was introduced in 1848, it became an estate and representative body for the same territories. In modern-day Croatia, the Croatian Parliament is a representative legislative body of citizens.

[39] The territory that includes the majority of the modern-day Slovakia was regarded as the Upper Hungary in the 19th century, as a part of Hungary Proper without any political autonomy.

[40] The 1868 Nationality Act, according to which individuals had the right of education and legal proceedings in their mother tongue, was systematically broken. That made the education of broad citizenry among the members the subordinate nations, including Slovaks, very difficult. William Michael Johnston, *Austrijski duh. Intelektualna i društvena povijest 1848-1938.* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus, 1993), 365-366.; Felak, *"At the Price of the Republic"*, 9-10.

[41] Hungarisation, a process of linguistical assimilation induced by political activities and legislation in Hungary Proper during the "long"19th century.

[42] Hungary Proper was the Hungarian part of Austria-Hungary, a dual monarchy that was the result of Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, with exceptions of Croatia and Slavonia, provinces that were autonomous according to the Croato-Hungarian Compromise of 1868.

[43] Albert Apponyi (1846 – 1933), a Hungarian politician, an education minister 1906 – 1910 and 1917 – 1918.

[44] The municipal rights, in Croatian feudal public law, present the entirety of legislation that determined the organisation of the institutions of authority in the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia and its relation with Hungary and the Habsburg lands.

[45] Ban is the viceroy (governor of Croatian lands).

Slovaks in any major urban centre, or even in ethnically homogenous Slovak regions of Upper Hungary. In Bratislava and Košice, as well as in other smaller cities, the dominant position belonged to Hungarian, German and Jewish citizenry.[46] So, in absence of any major urban centre in with predominantly Slovaks population, Martin (Turčiansky Svätý Martin[47]) became a kind of a substitute cultural centre, where the structures included in the Slovak national revival were institutionalised, such as *Matica slovenska* and the Slovak National Museum.

Genesis and Development of the Political Catholicism Among Croats and Slovaks

The political Catholicism emerged as the response to rise of liberalism in the western European society during the second half of the 19th century. The progressivism and scientism, often appeared as the important elements of liberalism, and they were mostly in opposition to Christian teachings. Therefore, The Holy See reacted to new social relations with its first social encyclical, titled *Rerum Novarum*, in 1891, thus giving a thrust to Catholic social activities throughout Europe. Nevertheless, among the majority of Croatian clergy we find certain liberal values (parliamentarism, sovereignty of people, equality before the law, popular vote, freedom of press, abolishment of celibacy, introduction of Slavic liturgy, ecumenism in relation to Eastern Orthodox Slavic peoples, etc.), opposed by the official hierarchy of the Church.[48]

The first foundations for the development of CCM in the Croatian society were laid when the First Croatian Catholic Congress was held in Zagreb in 1900. The crucial role in the establishment of CCM played Anton Mahnič, the bishop of Krk, as its initiator and contributor, and Ivan Butković, as its key promotor in the first stage of the development. On Mahnič's direct instigation, Butković founded among the Croatian students in Vienna the Croatian Catholic Academic Society (further in the text: CCAS) Hrvatska, following the example of the Slovene Catholic Academic Society Danica. Employment of this organisational model showed the connections and influences of the

[46] Arnold Suppan, "Catholic People's Parties in East Central Europe: The Bohemian Lands and Slovakia," in *Political Catholicism in Europe 1918-45.*, ed. Wolfram Kaiser and Helmut Wohnout (London – New York: Routledge, 2005), 185.

[47] Turčiansky Svätý Martin was the original name of the city, officially used until 1950, when it was changed to Martin.

[48] Jure Krišto, *Prešućena povijest. Katolička crkva u hrvatskoj politici 1850. – 1918.* (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994), 79–81.

earlier activities among the Slovenian Catholics, which was aided by Mahnič himself, who was a Slovene, and thus well acquainted with the mentioned activities.[49]

Soon, CCAS Hrvatska started publishing their journal *Luč*,[50] while Mahnič initiated the journal *Hrvatska straža*[51] in Krk. Shortly thereafter, the centre of CCAS activities moved to Zagreb, when CCAS Domagoj was founded, and the organisation spread throughout Croatian ethnic and cultural territory (the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina (further in the text: BH), Istria and the Bačka region).

Along with ramification and spreading of CCM, the need for centralisation of its management was recognised. Therefore, in 1912/1913 the Croatian Catholic Seniorate (further in the text: CCS) was founded, as a supreme body, whose role was to manage CCM and supervise its development. CCS was comprised of seniors of the Catholic academic societies, that is the students of final years of their studies, seniors of the assemblies of spiritual youth, some teachers and prominent public workers who had no formal education.[52]

In the period before the First World War, two political parties emerged (the Croatian Christian-Social Party in Croatia and Croatian Catholic Association in BH), whose activities was based on the platform of political Catholicism, but both parties had limited success, as they did not manage to gain support from the majority of Croats, and after the end of the First World War and breakup of Austria-Hungary, they ceased to exist.[53]

Besides cultural influences from Vienna, influences from Prague also played a significant role among Croatian youth, most importantly the political position of Tomaš Garrigue Masaryk, who was the advocate of the idea of Slavic mutuality, as the way of resistance against Germanic hegemonism, as well as the right of national self-determination, with an emphasis on anti-clericalism and affirmative views regarding the tradition of Czech reformation and the Jan Hus heritage. His ideas were accepted by a Prague student Stjepan

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[49] Krišto, *Prešućena povijest*, 193-204.

[50] *Luč*, a journal published between 1905 and 1942, initially in Vienna, and later in Zagreb. It was published and edited by the members of CCAS Hrvatska (1905 – 1911), later by the members of CCAS Hrvatska, CCAS Domagoj and CCAS Preporod (1911 – 1917), and finally by the members of the Yugoslav Catholic Student's League (1917 – 1942).

[51] *Hrvatska straža*, a monthly journal, published from 1903 to 1918 in Krk, Senj and Rijeka. It was edited by Ante Alfirević and Fran Binički. The articles mainly dealt with issues on theology and the analysis of social phenomena according to Christian teachings. The journal published u number of critical articles against modernists.

[52] Krišto, *Hrvatski katolički pokret*, 81.

[53] Krišto, *Prešućena povijest*, 295-305.

Radić, who became one of the most prominent Croatian political figures after he founded the Croatian Peasant Party in 1904.[54]

In Upper Hungary, the social influence of liberalism became politically more expressed during Sándor Wekerle's[55] government, after the Civil Marriage Act was passed in 1893. According to the act, every marriage had to be officiated by civil authorities, regardless of the fact that that the church marriage was also performed. Furthermore, the registries of births, deaths and marriages were now managed by civil servants, not the clergy. It was a huge problem, especially in Upper Hungary, where the local population spoke the Slovak language, as well as the clergy, while the local officials were predominantly Hungarian, either by birth or by choice. According to some sources, out of 46 449 state officials on the territory of the modern-day Slovakia, there were about 300 ethnic Slovaks, only 132 of which did openly express their national identity. Slovak Catholics and Evangelicals, hence, condemned the new act, which was recognised as the attack on the Catholic faith and Slovak language and culture.[56] Therefore, besides the ideological conflict between the liberal ideas and the Catholic teachings, the acts of Wekerle's government ignited the turmoil between the Hungarian and Slovak nation.

As a reaction to this new legislation, a new political party called the Catholic People's Party (Hun. *Katolikus Néppárt*) emerged, led by prominent laymen of Hungarian aristocracy, supported strongly by the Slovak Catholics. Their program included hard opposition to liberal political decisions, especially the Civil Marriage Act, and the activities of some individuals of the party showed signs of getting closer to accepting the requests for improving the position of the Slovak language.[57] But, after initial success of the party among the Slovaks, soon lack of understanding and rejections of the demands for collective rights of the Slovak people surfaced, as well as demands for land reforms and improvement of worker's rights, which were especially unacceptable for the members of the Hungarian aristocracy.[58]

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54 Ibid., 183-192.

55 Sándor Wekerle (1848 – 1921), a Hungarian politician. After the law school in Budapest, where he earned a doctorate, he worked as a lawyer. He was a member of the Hungarian Parliament (since 1867), the Finance Minister (since 1889), and the Prime Minister (1892–95, 1906–10 and 1917–18).

56 Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 10-11.

57 Ibid., 58-59.

58 Ibid., 104.

The clash between the paradigm of modernism and progressivism on one side and the paradigm of traditionalist neo-scholasticism (neo-Thomism) [59] on the other that broke out among Slovaks in the second half of the 19th century can be seen on the example of the article[60] published century by František Jehlička[61] in Národné noviny[62] in 1903. In the article, Jehlička was the proponent of the essentialist metaphysical thought of the returning to the Thomist heritage, as the model of the perennial philosophy (*philosophia perennis*), advocated by the Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Aeterni Patris*. Along with Andrej Hlinka[63] and Ferdinad Juriga,[64] who were politically active, Jehlička

[59] Neo-scholasticism (neo-Thomism) is a direction in Christian, especially Catholic, philosophy that aims to revive the principles of the medieval scholastic philosophy and theology in a contemporary setting, by accepting the philosophical solutions of Thomas Aquinas. The renewal of the medieval philosophy began in the mid-19th century, especially in Italy and Germany, also in Belgium, France, Spain and to some extend in Anglo-Saxon countries. Neo-scholasticism tries to adjust its theses with the most recent scientific and philosophical achievements and discard outdated terms and theories from scholastic systems. Among the most renowned neo-scholasticists were Karl Rahner, Étienne Gilson and Jacques Maritain. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, we have a substantial impulse to neo-scholasticism in Croatia and BH, namely in the works by Josip Stadler, Stjepan Zimmerman, Vilim Keilbach and others, in which we find direct critical discussions on materialism and modernism.

[60] František Jehlička, "Novoveká filozofia a Slováci," *Národné noviny* 34, (1903): 46-50; in the same year, the article was published as an offprint in Turčiansky Svätý Martin.

[61] František Jehlička (1879 – 1939), a Slovak Catholic priest and politician. He was the first member of the SNP in the Hungarian Parliament, the co-author of the Memorandum of the Slovak People at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Since 1919, he lived in emigration, from where he advocated against the union with the Czechs and returning of Slovakia under the Crown of St. Stephen.

[62] *Národné noviny*, Slovak political daily newspaper published in Martinu 1870 – 1947 and Bratislava, from 1948 until 1920s. It was the unofficial gazette of the SNP.

[63] Andrej Hlinka (1864 – 1938), a Slovak Catholic priest and politician. A parish priest in Ružomberok, during the period of Austria he head the resistance against hungarisation. He founded the Slovak People's Party in 1905, and its refounder in 1918, as well as its president. After the First World War, as the leader of the Slovak opposition, he fought against the Czech centralist policy, which did not keep the promise of Slovak autonomy (the Pittsburgh Convention, 1918). He became closely related to the German and Hungarian opposition, which used his high reputation in the breakup of Czechoslovakia. After the occupation of the Czech part of the country, Hitler gave the "free" Slovakia, completely to the Germans, to his successor Jozef Tiso.

[64] Ferdinand (Ferdiš) Juriga (1874 – 1950), a Slovak Catholic priest, politician, and national revivalist. After he finished his studies in Esztergom, he was ordained a priest in 1898. He earned a doctorate in theology in Vienna. He was a member of the SNP in the Hungarian Parliament until 1918. As the member of the Hungarian Parliament, he opposed to Hungarian tendencies to continue making political decisions for Upper Hungary. He participated in the creation of the Martin Declaration of 1918. After his dispute with Hlinka, Jehlička and Tuka,

belonged to a generation of younger highly educated clergymen, who did not reject the possibility of partial synthesis of the Thomism and modern science. Despite that, he harshly criticised Masaryk's progressivism and his Slovak followers, as he resented their secularism and materialistic scientism.[65]

Prominent Slovak Catholics that gathered around František Skyčák[66] secretly took over a journal of Slovak Catholic clergy, titled *Katolícke noviny*, at the end of 1904. Skyccák recruited Anton Bielek,[67] Juriga and Jehlička to his editorial board, after which he left the Hungarian Catholic People's Party and founded the Slovak People's Party (Slov. *Slovenská ľudová strana*)[68] (further in the text: SPP). In 1906 parliamentary elections, Skyčák, Juriga, Jehlička, Martin Kollár[69] and Pavel Blaho[70] were elected as the members of the SPP, which won a little under 2% of the seats, thus becoming the strongest Slovak party, and the sixth political power in the Hungarian Parliament.[71]

Until the outbreak of the First World War, the SPP had very close relations, cooperation and political alliance with the somehat older Slovak National Party (Slov. *Slovenská národná strana*)[72] (further in the text: SNP), and its elected parliament members, elected in the 1906 elections, became the members of the central board of the SNP. Therefore, some historians regard

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he was expelled from the Slovak People's Party in 1928 and founded Juriga's Slovak People's Party in 1929, but he was defeated at the elections in the same year.

65 Mónika Baár, Maria Falina, Maciej Janowski, Michal Kopeček, Balázs Trencsényi, *A history of modern political thought in East Central Europe. Volume I: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Long Nineteenth Century'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 417.

66 František Skyčák (1870 – 1953), a Slovak politician, businessman and banker. He was a member of the Hungarian Parliament from 1905 to 1914. Besides his political activities, he was engaged in banking and worked in u number of banks and credit unions.

67 Anton Bielek (1857 – 1911), a Slovak writer. He worked as a teacher and journalist. Later he emigrated to the United States of America, but after losing his job, he became depressed and returned to his homeland in 1910.

68 Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 110-119.

69 Martin Kollár (1853 – 1919), a Slovak politician, writer and publicist. He was ordained a priest in 1879. He was a member in the Hungarian Parliament and an advocate of Czechoslovakian mutuality.

70 Pavel Blaho (1867 – 1927), a Slovak physician, politician and publicist. He advocated the idea of agrarianism, and was elected a member of the Hungarian Parliament in the 1906 and 1910 elections. He opposed the Apponyi's Education Act.

71 Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party. Religion*, 120.

72 Slovak National Party (Slov. *Slovenská národná strana*), the oldest Slovak political party, active both in the Kingdom of Hungary and in Czechoslovakia (1871 – 1938). In the 1901 elections, for the first time it won four seats in the Hungarian Parliament, while on the next 1905 elections, only one candidate became a member of the parliament.

the SPP as the Catholic wing of the SNP, with a certain autonomy.[73] At that time, the SPP distanced from the Hungarian Catholic People's Party emerged, which accused them of collaboration with the "Lutheran" SNP and Social Democrats.[74]

In the 1910 elections for the Hungarian Parliament, the SPP was unable to repeat the previous success. Only three candidates (Skyčák, Blaho, Juriga) got re-elected, while two candidates (Jehlička, Kollár) were defeated in their constituencies, which lead to culmination of ideological disputes and eventually breakup between the SPP and the SNP, whose representatives blamed the SPP for the failure of the whole Slovak political elite.[75]

After these events, the new leader of the SPP became Andrej Hlinka, who redefined its status and re-established it as a separate political subject at the end of 1912, that is in 1913, when the first meeting of the party was held.[76]

Political Catholicism Between the Two World Wars Among Croats and Slovaks

At the end of the First World War, Austria-Hungary collapsed. The newly founded State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs soon united with the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (further in the text: Kingdom of SCS) at the end of 1918. Social, political, cultural and economic circumstances, which influenced the further development of the political Catholicism within the CCM, changed significantly.

The CCS had its representatives in the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (further in the text: National Council of SCS), founded in October 1918. Some clergymen who were not the members of the CCS also became the members of the Council od SCS, but the Council was abolished after the establishment of the Kingdom of SCS.[77]

Under the patronage of the CCS, the Croatian People's Party (Cro. *Hrvatska pučka stranka*) was founded (further in the text: CPP) in 1919, as the political form of the CCM. The CCS decided that all the seniors are to be the

[73] Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 126-131.

[74] Ibid., 136-137.

[75] Ibid., 140-141.

[76] Ibid., 141-145.

[77] Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva*, 72-75.

members of the CPP. The Central Board of the CCS comprised of the board's president Velimir Deželić Junior, Stjepan Bakšić, Stjepan Barić, Sofija Dušić, Pavao Jesih and Petar Rogulja. The members of the regional board for Croatia and Slavonia were: Matija Belić, Augustin Juretić, Đuka Kuntarić, Stjepan Markulin and Andrija Živković; for Bosnia and Herzegovina: Friar Dominik Mandić, Josip Perković, Marko Rebac and Zvonimir Šprajcer; for Dalmatia: Ćiril Brajša.[78]

Petar Rogulja,[79] whose political engagement in the initial phase of the CPS was prominent and related to the ideologically similar Slovene People's Party (Slo. *Slovenska ljudska stranka*)[80] and its leader Anton Korošec,[81] became the president of the CPP. However, Rogulja died in 1920, and a new president had to be elected.[82]

By the mid of the year 1920, CPP extended its activities on Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, by appointing regional party leaderships. They formally merged in Zagreb.[83] In the second half of the 1920, CPP extended its

78 Krišto, *Hrvatski katolički pokret*, 126-128.

79 Petar Rogulja (1888 – 1920), a Croatian politician and journalist. In 1912 he graduated from law in Zagreb, where he in 1907 became a member of CCAS Domagoj. He published in the journal *Luč* and was the advocate of ideas of Anton Mahnič and Janez Evangelist Krek about the unification of South Slavic nations within Austria-Hungary. Since 1913 he was a member of CCP. He was the editor of *Riječke novine* (1913 – 1914), *Novine* (1914 – 1916) and *Narodna politika* (1919), where he opted for a Yugoslav orientation of the CCM. He participated in the National Council of CSC, and was one of the founders and the first president of CPP.

80 Slovene People's Party (Slo. *Slovenska ljudska stranka*), a Slovene political party active in the 19th and 20th century in Austria-Hungary, the Kingdom of SCS/the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Between 1907 and 1941 it was the largest and the most influential party among the Slovenes. The Yugoslav communist authorities abolished it in 1945, but it remained active in emigration until1992. The modern-day *Slovenska ljudska stranka*, founded in 1988, was named after it.

81 Anton Korošec (1872 – 1940), a Slovene politician and Catholic priest. He organised the Catholic National Party in Styria. Since 1906, he was a member of the Slovene People's Party in the Imperial Council of Austria-Hungary, where he, as the president of the Yugoslav Club, red the May Declaration on 30 May 1918, demanding the unification of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in Austria-Hungary as an autonomous state entity within the Monarchy. During the breakup of Austria-Hungary, he was the president of the National Council of SCS and as its leader he signed the Geneve Declaration with Nikola Pašić on 9 November 1918, according to which the Serbian government recognised the State of SCS as an equal partner in the unification of Yugoslav nations. He was the deputy prime minister of the first government of the Kingdom of SCS. As the leader of Slovene People's Party, he participated (since 1917) in many governments.

82 Krišto, *Hrvatski katolički pokret*, 129-130.

83 Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva*, 107-117.

activities to Bačka, but they were limited to the area of the city of Subotica.[84] In the same year, the idea of founding one Yugoslav people's party that would represent the platform of political Catholicism on the whole territory of the Kingdom of SCS failed.[85]

The new president of the CPP became Stjepan Barić,[86] whereas Matija Pecoja (peasantry), Matija Belić (citizenry) and Ivan Andrić (workers) were elected vice-presidents. The party's secretary became Josip Andrić.[87] Besides them, the Supreme Council of CPP comprised of the members of the Temporary National Representation of the Kingdom of CSC[88] (Janko Šimrak, Velimir Deželić Junior and Stanko Banić), and the editor-in-chief of *Narodna politika*[89] Marijo Matulić,[90] as well as regional representatives from Croatia (Petar Grgec, Danijel Hitrec), Slavonia (Mato Takšić, Ivan Sočković and Đuro Kuntarić), Dalmatia (Dragutin Bartulica, Ivan Juras, Pero Klaić and Jerko Vodanović) and Bosne (Jozo Trgovčić, Ivo Kontić and Milan Maraković), while the representatives from Herzegovina were to be elected later.[91]

In the 1920 election for the Constituent Assembly, the CPP in pre-electoral coalition with the Bunjevac-Šokac Party (further in the text: BŠP), won nine seats in Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and total of 46,599 votes, namely 11,878 in Croatia and Slavonia, 13,947 in Dalmatia,

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84 Robert Skenderović, "Bunjevačko-šokačka stranka 1920. – 1926.", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 38, no. 3 (2006): 800.

85 Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva*, 106.

86 Stjepan Barić (1889 – 1945), a Croatian politician and publicist. He graduated from theology and canon law in Zagreb and Fribourg, Switzerland. He was one of the founders of CPP, and its president since 1920 until it was abolished in 1928. Since 1918, he edited *Seljačke novine*, in which he, also, published a number of articles. He was a candidate in the 1923 and 1925 elections, where he presented himself as the advocate of the Croathood, Christianity and people's rights, as well as the autonomy of Croatian lands. In 1928, he became a member of Anton Korošec's government as the social policy minister. Among his interests were the cooperatives, and for some time he was the president of the Cooperative Union. After 6 January 1929, he retired from politics and focused on economic issues.

87 Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva*, 106.

88 The Temporary National Representation of the Kingdom of CSC was a temporary legislative body of the Kingdom of CSC, until the election for the Constituent Assembly. In was founded in March 1919, and disbanded in October 1920, by Regent Aleksandar Karađorđević.

89 *Narodna politika*, a newspaper published in Zagreb (1918 – 1929). During that time, it changed the frequency publishing frequency (daily, semi-weekly, weekly), ad nit was the central gazette of the CCS and the CPP.

90 Marijo Matulić (1896 – 1937), a Croatian jurist, journalist and politician. He was a member of the Supreme Council of the CPP and the editor of *Narodna politika*.

91 Anonymous, "Na putu k pobjedi", *Narodna svijest* 2 (1920), 25, 1.

10,734 in Bosnia and 10,040 in Herzegovina.[92] The representatives of the CPP in the Constituent Assembly were Velimir Deželić Junior, Janko Šimrak, Stjepan Barić (Hrvatska and Slavonia); Ante Dulibić, Dominik Mazzi, Mate Milanović-Litre (Dalmatia); Friar Didak Buntić, Marko Rebac and Nikola Mandić (Herzegovina). The partnering BŠP won four seats and formed the Yugoslav Club (further in the text: YC) together with CPP and Slovene People's Party, based on the similarities of their programmes. Korošec became the Club's president, Barić and Mandić vice-presidents, whereas Rebac became one of the secretaries.[93]

CPP wanted to emphasize its class neutrality by organisation of its structures into three branches: for peasantry ("the peasant democracy"); for workers (the Christian-social organisation) and for citizenry ("the citizens club"). It, thus, aimed to evenly distribute the idea of political Catholicism throughout the society, regardless of members' social class.[94]

In the next 1923 elections, the score of the CPP was a complete disappointment, as it received only 18,402 votes, which was insufficient for a seat in the National Assembly of the Kingdom of SCS. Thus, it became an extra-parliamentary party. The greatest support among Croats at that time enjoyed Radić's Croatian Republican Peasant Party,[95] which won 70 seats.[96]

In November 1924, BŠP got divided on ideological basis, and it resulted in formation of the People's Party of Vojvodina[97] (further in the text: PPV), whose leader became Blaško Rajić.[98] The main reason for the breakup was that Rajić wanted to gain support of all the Catholics of Vojvodina, primarily

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92 Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva*, 156.

93 Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva*, 157.

94 Zlatko Matijević, "Hrvatska pučka stranka", *Hrvatska revija [online]* 3(2003), 3, accessed November 21, 2020, https://www.matica.hr/hr/331/hrvatska-pucka-stranka-20925/.

95 The Croatian Peasant Party, founded in 1904 under the name Croatian People's Peasant Party. In 1920 it changed its name to Croatian Republican Peasant Party, and since 1925 its name was Croatian Peasant Party.

96 Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva*, 190.

97 Petar Pekić, *Povijest Hrvata u Vojvodini od najstarijih vremena do 1929. godine* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1930), 253-254.

98 Blaško Rajić (1878 – 1951), a Croatian priest from Bačka, writer and politician, born in Subotica. He was ordained a priest in 1902, and was a parish priest in Subotica. He participated in the Paris Peace Conference after the First World War, where he advocated the idea of Bačka joining the South Slavic state. After the First World War, he was a prominent member of the Bunjevac-Šokac Party, and from 1924 the leader of the PPV.

Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks and Ruthenians, besides, of course, the Bunjevac and Šokac Croats.[99]

In the 1927 elections, CPP regained its parliamentary status by winning one seat in the National Assembly, that belonged to its president Barić, and total of 31,746 votes. This modest success enabled the re-establishment of the YC, as the common platform of the people's parties from Slovenia and Croatia, whose president became Korošec, while Barić and Anton Sušnik became its vice-presidents.[100]

After assassination of Stjepan Radić and representatives of the Croatian Republican Peasant Party in the National Assembly in 1928, abolishment of the parliamentary system as it was and introduction of the dictatorship on 6 January 1929, the leadership of the CPP received a decision from the Zagreb police that their party was disbanded. The party was not re-established once the parliamentary system was reintroduced,[101] as the Croatian Peasant Party under the leadership of Vladko Maček during the 1930s became the principal Croatian party, that is, an all-Croatian political movement, which significantly softened its anti-clerical rhetoric, a characteristic of the period when Radić was the party's president. Other organisations within the CCM continued their activities under new names, such as the Crusader Organisation, which replaced the extinguished Croatian Eagle Union.

During the First World War, the SPP temporarily ceased to exist, while the majority of its leadership, including Hlinka, became politically inactive. Only Juriga continued its political work as the editor in the weekly newspaper *Slovenské ľudové noviny*,[102] which was the gazette of the SPP. Despite the initial caution regarding the cooperation with the Czechs, at the end of the First World War the majority of the prominent members of the SPP opted for the secession from Hungary and joining of the Slovak ethnic region to Czechoslovakia, as the future state of Czechs and Slovaks.[103]

The restoration of the SPP occurred in the December 1918 in Žilina, and the clergy retained its key role in the party, with Hlinka as its president. The new leading party's gazette became a daily newspaper *Slovák*,[104] with a priest

[99] Skenderović, "Bunjevačko-šokačka stranka", 812-813.; Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva*, 201.

[100] Matijević, *Slom politike katoličkog jugoslavenstva*, 226., 268.

[101] Ibid., 285-286.

[102] *Slovenské ľudové noviny*, a weekly newspaper published in Bratislava from 1910 to 1918. In 1912, it became the gazette of the SPP.

[103] Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 149.

[104] *Slovák*, a daily newspaper, published by SPP.

Štefan Mnohel[105] as its editor-in-chief. The party's programme was composed by Jozefa Kačka[106] and Karol Kmetko,[107] also clergymen. According to historiographic analyses, the SPP had several factions in the interwar period, among which the key were the factions of the "moderates", loyal to the new state of Czecholsovakia, the "activists", whose tactics included the cooperation with central authorities, and the "radicals", "separatists" and "magyarones", who did not recognise the legitimacy of the new state.[108]

The political programme of the SPP included the struggle for Slovak autonomy within Czechoslovakia,[109] in accordance with the Pittsburgh Convention,[110] and opposition to Czechoslovakism, as an idea according to which the Slovaks were not regarded as separate nationality from Czechs.

The SPP entered the 1920 parliamentary elections in coalition with the Jan Šrámek's[111] Czechoslovak People's Party (Cze. Československá strana lidová),[112] and won 12 seats.[113] Besides the SPP and the Czechoslovak People's Party, another ideologically similar party was active at the time in Czechoslovakia, namely the Provincial-Christian Socialist Party (Hun. *Országos Keresztényszocialista Párt*),[114] whose members were Hungarian, and in the 1920 elections it won five seats.

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[105] Štefan Mnohel (1876 – 1944), a Slovak Catholic priest, politician, and publicist. He was ordained a priest in 1902. He was one of the individuals who signed the Martin Declaration in 1918. He was the editor-in-chief of *Slovák* since 1918. Together with Andrej Hlinka, he participated in the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Since 1920, he worked as a parish priest in Poprad, where he also, for some time, held the office of mayor.

[106] Jozef Kačka (1865 – 1938), a Slovak Catholic priest, politician and publicist. He was ordained a priest in 1887. He was an active member of the SPP.

[107] Karol Kmetko (1875 – 1948), a bishop of Nitra (1920 – 1948) and titulary archbishop, since 1944. During the Second Word War, he opposed the deportation of Jews from Slovakia.

[108] Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 175-176.

[109] Suppan, "Catholic People's Parties", 188.

[110] The Pittsburgh Convention, an agreement on understanding between the Czech and Slovak emigration in the United States of America, signed in Pittsburgh in 1918. The main author of the agreement was Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, and it assumed Slovak autonomy.

[111] Jan Šrámek (1870 – 1956), a Czech Catholic priest and politician. The president of the Czechoslovak People's Party (1922 – 1938, 1945 – 1948). He was a minister the governments of Czechoslovakia from 1921 to 1938, and the prime minister of the exile government (1940 – 1945).

[112] Czechoslovak People's Party (Cze. Československá strana lidová), a Czechoslovakian political party founded in 1919 in Prague. Its president was Jan Šramek, and in 1921 it was a part of coalition in power. Until the Second World War, it was a member of various ruling coalitions.

[113] Suppan, "Catholic People's Parties", 183.

[114] *Országos Keresztényszocialista Párt*, politička stranka Mađara u međuratnoj Čehoslovačkoj, osnovana u Košicama 1919. Njezin najistaknutiji predstavnik bio je János Esterházy.

The SPP in the newly formed state managed to recruit prominent Slovaks who were the former members of the Hungarian Catholic People's Party, disbanded in 1918. Among them was Josef Tiso, later the president of the SPP. Soon, the party was joined by Vojtech Tuka,[115] earlier accused of being a latent magyarone.[116] Not long after he joined the party, Tuka began his rise through its structures. It started when he was appointed editor-in-chief of *Slovák* in 1921. At the beginning of the 1920s, the Slovak Popular Party managed to recruit almost all of the prominent Catholics, regardless of their pre-war political engagement and ideological profile, thus becoming an all-Slovak political movement. Still, the women had a marginal role when it comes to positions in party leadership, seats in the parliament or editorial boards of party gazettes, and appeared only as members of some local party organisations. Nevertheless, the SPP was openly in favour of women's suffrage and "full equality of women" in its 1920 documents.[117]

Tuka manafed to promote some of the younger members of the SPP, by recruiting them in the *Slovák* editorial, such as Karol Sidor,[118] Alexander Mach[119] and Anton Snaczky, who were the main exponents of fascisation of

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[115] Vojtech (Béla) Tuka (1880 – 1946), a Slovak politician. He was born in a family of Hungarian culture, tradition and identity. After he graduated from law in Budapest, he taught in Hungarian at universities in Pécs and Bratislava. Since 1921, he was the editor of *Slovák*, and in 1923 he established Rodobrana, a military branch of the SPP. He was a member of the Czechoslovak Parliament (1925 – 1929). In 1929 he was convicted of high treason and espionage in favour of Hungary and sentenced to 15 years in prison. After he served 10 years, in 1939, after the Republic of Slovakia was established, he became its prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs until 1944, when he retired from politics due to health issues. He was one of the most responsible individuals in Slovakia for deportation of Jews. He was sentenced to death by hanging in the renewed Czechoslovakia in 1946.

[116] Magyarone, a pejorative word for an advocate of close political ties with Hungary in among Slavic nations. Among Croats, it marks a member of Croatian-Hungarian Party, founded in 1841.

[117] Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 176-178.

[118] Karol Sidor (1901 – 1953), a Slovak journalist and politician. He was an active member of the SPP, tied to the Vojtech Tuka and Ferdinand Ďurčanský wing. He became a parliament member in 1935, and since 1938, he was the first commander of Hlinka's Guard. For some time, he was referred to as a possible Hlinka's successor as the leader of the HSPP, which, in the end, did not happen. He was a minister of Slovak affairs in the Czechoslovak government in 1938, the minister of interior of the Republic of Slovakia, after the declaration of independence in 1939. After the Second World War, he was tried in absence in Czechoslovakia, and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

[119] Alexander (Šaňo) Mach (1902 – 1980), a Slovak journalist and politician. Since 1922, he was one of the officials of the SPP. With Tuka's support, he joined the leadership of Rodobrana. In 1936 he became a member of the leadership of the HSPP. He commanded the Hlinka's Guard from 1939 to 1944. He was the minister of interior (1940 – 1945) and deputy prime

the party during the 1930s, a process that began in 1923, when Tuka founded Rodobrana,[120] as a pro-fascist paramilitary party's unit.[121]

Rodobrana was a highly hierarchical organisation, modelled on the principles of regular army. Its member greeted each ether with a military salute, and the very organisation was divided into companies, with a captain as their leader.[122]

That was the time when the personality cult was at its highest point, which is evident from the fact that the party changed its name to Hlinka's Slovak People's Party in 1925[123] (further in the text: HSPP). After that, the first laymen, namely Tuka and Sidor, were appointed to executive bodies of the party.[124]

As early as 1926, Tuka's Rodobrana formed relations with the Fascist National Union (Cz. *Národní obec fašistická*),[125] a similar Czech movement, under the leadership of Radola Gajda.[126] At its peak, Rodobrana counted between 25,000 and 30,000 members.[127] Tuka's rising influence within the party was not significantly affected even by attempted coup and treason trial, which ended in 1929, and Tuka was sentenced to 15 years in prison.[128]

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minister (1940 – 1944) of the Republic of Slovakia. He was responsible for the prosecution of Jews and antifascists during the Second World War. After the Second World War he fled to Austria, but he was extradited to Czechoslovakia. In 1947, he was sentenced to 30 years in prison and was released in 1968, after serving most of the sentence.

120 Rodobrana, a paramilitary unit of the SPP, founded in 1923, and permanently banned in 1929. It emerged from the Catholic gymnastics organisation Orao, and it is regarded as the predecessor of the Hlinka's Guard, founded in 1938. Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 198-202.

121 Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 192-195.

122 Ibid., 200.

123 Ibid., 180-181.

124 Suppan, "Catholic People's Parties", 187.

125 *Národní obec fašistická*, a Czech political party, active from 1926 to 1938, under the leadership of Radola Gajda. In the 1929 parliamentary elections it won around 1 % of popular vote and three seats, while in the 1935 elections it won around 2% of popular vote and six seats.

126 Radola Gajda (1892 – 1948), a military commander and politician. He was the founder of the Fascist National Union in 1926, modelled after the Italian National Fascist Party of Benito Mussolini. In the 1935 elections he won a seat in the parliament. He opposed to annexation of Sudetenland by Nazi Germany. During the Second World War, he was politically inactive, but secretly helped the Czech resistance. After the Second World War, he was arrested and tortured by the NKVD, and tried in 1947 for spreading the ideas of Fascism and Nazism, and sentenced to two years in prison.

127 Karl J. Cosby, "Leading Figures of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party", *Kosmas* 5(1986), 2: 60-61.

128 Felak, *"At the Price of the Republic"*, 55.

At the same time, the Holy See encouraged union between the SPP and the Czechoslovak People's Party, but Šrámek said that no such union was possible. Hlinka also thought that such alliance would only weaken Slovak political Catholicism, and increase the danger from the Czech "Hussites" and "anti-Rome" initiatives.[129] The later attempts of creating a Catholic political bloc in 1930, also failed, mainly because of disagreements regarding the issue of Slovak autonomy, as Hlinka would not give up the demand for Slovak autonomy,[130] while Šrámek would not accept it as a part of their joint programme.[131]

Along with the aforementioned processes and Tuka's growing influence in the party, in the 1920s came the marginalisation of the former party leaders, such as Skyčák and Juriga, who inclined towards Czechoslovak statehood, and opposed the acceptance of fascist organisation models.[132] At the end of 1929, Juriga founded Juriga's Slovak People's Party, but had no tangible success in the parliamentary elections in the same year.

Besides Sidor, Mach and Snaczky, the circle around the brothers Ján and Ferdinand Ďurčanský,[133] gained strength in the party. They promoted their ideas via the theoretical journal *Nástup*,[134] initiated in 1933, under Tuka's unofficial patronage.[135]

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[129] Hrabovec, *Andrej Hlinka*, 116-117; 120-121.

[130] Some of of the Croatian newspapers operating within the CCM regularly reported on the political situation in Czechoslovakia, with an emphasis on analyzing the position and attitudes of the SPP, in particular the demand for Slovak autonomy. See: "Razne vijesti", *Pučki prijatelj* 27 (1926), 8, 4.; "Politički pregled", *Pučki prijatelj* 27 (1926), 50, 1.; "Politički pregled", *Pučki prijatelj* 28 (1927), 32, 1.; "Autonomija u Čehoslovačkoj", *Pučki prijatelj* 29 (1928), 25, 1.

[131] Felak, *"At the Price of the Republic"*, 72-73.

[132] Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 208-209.

[133] Ferdinand Ďurčanský (1906 – 1974), a Slovak jurist, university professor, politician, and journalist. He was a prominent member of the HSPP, where he was supported by Tuka. He taught at the Law School in Bratislava since 1933. He was the minister of exterior and interior in the government of the Republic of Slovakia from 1939 to 1940. From 1940.to 1945. he was the employee at Slovak University. After the Second World War he first emigrated to Austria, and then to Italy and finally Argentina. He was sentenced to death in absence. In 1952 he moved to Munich, where he was a co-founder of the Slovak Action Committee (Slovak Liberation Committee).

[134] *Nástup*, a semi-monthly journal, published from 1933 to 1945. Around this journal gathered younger members of the HSPP, who promoted the ideas of Slovak autonomy, ethnonationalism and anti-Semitism, a belonged to the „radical" faction of the party. They were referred to as the „nástupists", after the name of the journal, and many of them were also the members of the Rodobrana and Hlinka's Guard. Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 202-206.

[135] Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 196.

In the last interwar parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia, held in 1935, the seats were won by the following party members: Rudolf Čavojský, Štefan Danihel, Karol Dembovský, Jozef Drobný, Pavol Florek, Štefan Haššík, Andrej Hlinka, František Kendra, Martin Longa, Štefan Onderčo, Mikuláš Pružinský, Karol Sidor, Jozef Sivák, Koloman Slušný, Martin Sokol, Štefan Suroviak, Anton Šalát, Jozef Tiso and Teodor Turček, while in the same year the representatives of the party in the Senate became Jozef Buday, Gejza Fritz, Anton Hancko, Ondrej Janček, Karol Krčméry, Ľudovít Labaj, Karol Mederly, Anton Pázmán, Štefan Polyák and Viktor Ravasz.

The establishment of the Hlinka's Guard in 1938, as party's paramilitary unit and the successor of Rodobrana, is thought to be the highest point of the gradual fascisation and militarisation of the HSPP. Along with Sidor, as its commander, Karol Murgaš[136] had a significant influence in the Hlinka's Guard. Although the Hlinka's Guard was formally controlled by the HSPP, in reality, its actions were autonomous, and it accepted the fascist iconography together with Catholic symbols.[137]

Hlinka's death in 1938 opened the question of his successor as the leader of the HSPP. Although Hlinka prepared Sidor, as his favourite candidate, for the role, Tiso used his position of acting president of the party in the transitional period,[138] and managed to establish himself as the central figure of the political Catholicism in the turbulent times that followed, marked by the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia after the Munich Agreement and the First Vienna Award in 1938, and the formation, development and fall of the Republic of Slovakia in the Second World War. According to Milan Stanislav Ďurica, the Nazi Germany was informed almost from the beginning of the turmoil within the party and struggle for power between the potential Hlinka's successors.[139]

If we look at the period between the two world wars, we notice that the support to the SPP continually increased until 1925 (21 % of Slovak votes in the 1920 parliamentary elections and 32 % of votes in the 1925 parliamentary

[136] Karol Murgaš (1899 – 1972), a Slovak journalist, jurist and politician. He was a member of the radical pro-Nazi wing of the HSPP and one of the founders and main organisers of the Hlinka's Guard. He was the director of the Propaganda Office of the Republic of Slovakia from 1940 to 1941. In 1941, he was appointed the Slovak ambassador in Zagreb (Independent State of Croatia). After the Second World War, he emigrated, but he was soon extradited to Czechoslovakia, where he was in 1946 sentenced to 15 years in prison. After his release in 1966, he moved to the United States of America.

[137] Lorman, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*, 207-208.

[138] Ward, *Priest, Politician, Collaborator*, 151-152.

[139] Ďurica, *Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana*, 13.

elections). After it joined the Czechoslovak government in 1927 and the of trial against Tuka in 1929, Hlinka's party lost some of the support and won 28 % of Slovak votes, but won more than 30% of votes in the 1935 elections. According to some sources, HSPP had 36,501 members. In any case, the HSPP became the strongest political party among Slovaks in 1925, and kept its rank until the end of the Second World War.[140]

Similarities and Differences Between the Croatian and Slovak Political Catholicism

As a general characteristic of the development of the Croatian political Catholicism in the period between the two world wars, one can emphasise its political unity within one party, apart from a short period in which two parties existed, CPP and PPV, the latter remaining without any significant influence or success. Regardless of the fact that the proponents of political Catholicism gathered around one party, CCM as a whole had ideologically bi-polar structure. Within that structure, there was the Croatian Eagle Union on one side, and later, as its successor, the Crusader Organisation, which stood on the platform of non-party political Catholicism and Croatian sovereignty. On the other side, there were CCP and CPP, as the political form of the organised political Catholicism and Yugoslav federalism.

The Slovak political Catholicism in the interwar period is also characterised by political unity within one party, with the exception of short time when there were two parties, namely the HSPP and the Juriga's Slovak People's Party, the latter, as in the case of PPV when it comes to Croatian political Catholicism, having no notable influence or success. Ideologically speaking, the Slovak political Catholicism became a part of the programme of Slovak autonomy and ethnonationalism, which during the 1930s evolved into Slovak souverainism and separatism, with increasingly apparent elements of fascisation and organisational militarisation.

The important difference between the Croatian and Slovak political Catholicism organised within political parties in the interwar period, was in their political strength. The CPP was way less popular among Croatian voters than the Croatian Peasant Party and several more parties. It never managed to achieve parliamentary stability or rise of the political influence, let alone

[140] Emília Hrabovec, "Slovensko a Svätá stolica 1918 – 1939 v kontexte medzinárodných vzťahov", in *Slovensko a Svätá stolica*, ed. Marta Dobrotková and Mária Kohútová (Trnava: Slovenský Historický Ústav v Ríme – Trnavská Univerzita v Trnave, 2008), p. 209.; Suppan, "Catholic People's Parties", 188.

to become a political power. The SPP, on the other hand, was, at the same time, continually the most successful Slovak political party, thus becoming the chief proponent of the national ideology and Slovak souverainism.

Furthermore, the CPP was active only during the 1920s, until the Sixth January Dictatorship of the King Alexander Karađorđević in 1929, while the SPP was active in continuity until the outbreak of the Second World War, improving its position.

Prominent Clergymen in Croatian and Slovak Political Catholicism

When we talk about the Croatian political Catholicism in the interwar period, we mainly refer to the CPP, which held a dominant position in that part of the political spectrum. Therefore, the analysis of the clergy will almost entirely be focused on that party. Both presidents of the CPP (Rogulja and Barić) were laymen, but since the party was founded in 1920, it's the members of its central bodies came from the ranks of high and low clergy. For example, the Greek Catholic bishop Janko Šimrak,[141] was one of the founders of the CPP, and for some time held the office of its secretary, as well as the member of the National Assembly of the Kingdom of SCS in Belgrade. A Franciscan from Herzegovina, Friar Didak Buntić,[142] was also one of the prominent members of the clergy in the CPP, and the one of the party members with a seat in the Constituent Assembly of the Kingdom of SCS in 1920.

[141] Janko Šimrak (1883 – 1946), a Croatian Greek Catholic bishop. He obtained a PhD in Innsbruck in 1910. Since 1925, he worked as a full professor of the Eastern theology at the Catholic Faculty of Theology in Zagreb, and in 1942 he was ordained a bishop of Križevci. He was active the scholarly, media, political and ecclesiastical life: as the secretary of the CPP, member of the National Assembly of the Kingdom of SCS (1919 – 1923), the editor of *Novine* and *Narodna politika,* the director of the daily newspaper *Hrvatska straža* (1923 – 1941), a prominent member of the CCM. When the Independent State of Croatia was established, he opposed the racial laws, and later he actively supported the anti-fascist movement. After the Second World War he was tried in 1945, but acquitted due to the lack of evidence.

[142] Friar Didak Buntić (1871 – 1922), a Croatian educational and social worker. He graduated from philosophy and theology in Innsbruck in 1894, when he was ordained a priest. He worked as a Greek and Latin teacher in the Široki Brijeg Gymnasium from 1895 to 1919, and as its headmaster from 1910 to 1919. Between 1911 and 1914, he organised literacy courses in Herzegovina, which enabled some 13,000 to learn how to read and write. During the famine of 1917 in Herzegovina, he organised accommodation for more than 17,000 children in Slavonia, Syrmia and Bačka. In 1919, he founded a boarding school for boys in Zagreb. From 1919 until his death, he was a provincial of the Franciscan Province of Herzegovina. As a politician, he was active as a member of the Central Board of the Croatian National Community in 1906, the National Council in 1918, and the Temporary National Representation of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, as well as the member of the Constituent Assembly and the people's representative.

In the Supreme Council, the main executive body of the of the CPP, there were also two priests, Stanko Banić,[143] the member of the Temporary National Representation of the Kingdom of SCS and Jerko Vodanović,[144] as one of the regional representatives for Dalmatia. Therefore, out of 21 members of the Supreme Council, three (or 14.29 %) of them (namely Šimrak, Banić, Vodanović) were clergymen, whereas out of 9 members of the CPP in the Constituent Assembly, two (or 22.22 %) of them (namely Šimrak and Buntić) were the members of the clergy.

In the 1923 elections, the CPP lost its parliamentary status,[145] but regained it in 1927, when it won one seat, with a layman, President Barić, as its representative in the National Assembly.

According to the data found in *Narodna politika*,[146] out of 178 candidates of the CPP in the 1927 parliamentary elections in 12 constituencies,[147] 27 (or 8.43 %) were clergymen. So, the overall number of clergymen among the candidates was relatively small for a political party often *a priori* regarded as particularly clerical. Furthermore, the clergymen were found on other candidate lists, for example the list of the Croatian Peasant Party.[148]

At the same time, the PPV, had no noticeable success. But it is worth to mention that its leader Blaško Rajić was a priest, unlike the laymen leaders of the CPP.

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[143] Stanko Banić (1886 – 1932), a Croatian Catholic priest and politician. As a representative from Dalmatia, he entered the Temporary National Representation in 1919.

[144] Jerko Vodanović (1885 – 1947), a Croatian Catholic priest and politician.

[145] In the 1925 elections the CPP failed to regain its parliamentary status.

[146] "Kandidatska lista HPS u požeškoj županiji", *Narodna politika* 10(1927), 41, 8.; "Kandidatska lista HPS za županiju varaždinsku," *Narodna politika* 10 (1927), 48, 4.; "Kandidatska lista HPS za okrug mostarski," *Narodna politika* 10(1927), 55, 2.; "Lista HPS za modruško-riječku županiju", *Narodna politika* 10(1927), 55, 8.; "Lista HPS u Južnoj Dalmaciji", *Narodna politika* 10(1927), 57, 4.; "Kandidatska lista HPS za županiju bjelovar-križevačku", *Narodna politika* 10(1927), 57, 6.; "Kandidatska lista HPS za zagrebačku županiju", *Narodna politika* 10(1927), 57, 6.; "Lista HPS za Sjevernu Dalmaciju", *Narodna politika* 10(1927), 58, 6.; "Kandidatska lista HPS za Srijem", *Narodna politika* 10(1927), 58, 6.; "Kandidatska lista HPS za virovitičku županiju", *Narodna politika* 10(1927), 59, 6.; "Kandidatska lista HPS za Banjalučko okružje", *Narodna politika* 10 (1927), 59, 6.; "Kandidatska lista HPS za tuzlansko okružje", *Narodna politika* 10 (1927), 60, 3.

[147] The CPP had candidate lists for two other constituencies (Sarajevo and Travnik), led by Josip Stipančić, but the overall number of candidates and their social profile remains unknown to the author of the article.

[148] Zlatko Matijević, "»Za Hrvatstvo, križ i plug!« – Politička aktivnost Hrvatske pučke stranke od veljačkih do rujanskih parlamentarnih izbora (1925. – 1927. godine)", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 29, no. 2 (1997): 265.

The editors-in-chief of *Narodna Politika*, as the main gazette of the CCS, and thus of the CPP, as well, were laymen. The exception was the period from 1920 to 1925, then the editor-in-chief was Šimrak. *Hrvatska straža*,[149] as the successor of *Narodna politika*, published from 1929 to 1941, was edited exclusively by laymen.

The Slovak political Catholicism in the interwar period was marked by the activities of the SPP/HSPP, whose both presidents (Hlinka and Tiso) were clergymen. The authors of the political programme of the SPP after the First World War (Kačka and Kmetko) were also clergymen, as well as the editor-in-chief of the main party gazette *Slovák* (Mnohel). With Tuka becoming the editor-in-chief of *Slovák* in 1921, there came a turning point, as it was the first time a layman got one of the leading positions in the party infrastructure. When Tuka founded Rodobrana in 1923, an organised penetration of laymen and fascist elements into party structures occurred, which will culminate in the time that follows.

According to available sources, the presence of laymen in executive bodies of the SPP can be followed only from 1925, after the party had changed its name to HSPP, when Tuka and Sidor took hold of high positions in the party. The process of gradual fascisation and laicisation of the party were temporarily halted during the trial against Tuka (1927 – 1929), only to be continued during the 1930s, especially with the rising influence of the circle around the journal *Nástup*, led by Ďurčanský. At the same time, during the turmoil in the party and with Hlinka's support, we have the process of membership rejuvenation.[150] Finally, the Hlinka's Guard, founded in 1938 as the successor of Rodobrana, was the basis for the rising influence of the laymen, namely Sidor, Mach and Murgaš.

Among the parliament members elected in the 1935 elections, we have a noticeable increase of the number and portion of laymen in the ranks of prominent members of the HSPP. The clergymen (Hlinka, Onderčo and Tiso) make 16.67 % of the HSPP members in the Czechoslovak parliament, whereas there was only party member (10 %) in the Senate, who was a priest (Buday).

Similar analysis of the relationship between the presence of clericalism and the fascisation of HSPP in the 1930s is also given by other authors, naming Mach, Ďurčanský and Tuka the main bearers of fascisation of HSPP, whose influence was most manifested after Hlinka's death in 1938.[151]

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[149] *Hrvatska straža*, a Croatian daily newspaper from Zagreb. It was published from 1929 to 1941, edited by Ivo Bogdan, Ivo Lendić, Ivan Degrel and Danijel Uvanović.

[150] Felak, *"At the Price of the Republic"*, 135-138.

[151] Zuzana Polačková, Pieter van Duin, "Portugal, Slovakia, and the political Counter-Reformation of the twentieth century (1910-1939)," *Studia Politica Slovaca* 10, no. 2 (2017): 38-39.

The Juriga's Slovak People's Party is also worth mentioning in this context, founded in 1929, as Juriga himself as the party leaded was a priest. That being said, the party had little political success.

In conclusion, when it comes to number of politically active clergymen and their influence, their role is most certainly more significant in the Slovak political Catholicism. The SPP is in every respect more clericalized than the CPP during 1920s, while during 1930s it is gradually laicised, whereas the CPP ceased to be active during that period.

Conclusion

The CCM, within which the Croatian political Catholicism developed, had an ideologically bipolar structure, with the CCS and the CPP together with related organisations on one side, and the Croatian Eagle Union (later the Crusader Organisation) together with related organisations on the other. The Slovak political Catholicism was, on the other hand, ideologically and culturally much more homogenous.

The influence of clergy on politics of the strongest political party of the Slovak political Catholicism (the SPP/HSPP) in the period between the world wars was more direct and apparent, as both of its presidents (Hlinka and Tiso) were clergymen. Such influence was present in the strongest party of the Croatian political Catholicism (the CPP), but it was less direct, as it was manifested primarily through CCS, as the supreme body that coordinated the activities of all organisations under the CCM umbrella, including CPP. Moreover, besides laymen presidents of the CPP (Rogulja and Barić), among the most influential members of the CCS there was a significant number of laymen. Therefore, CCS was also not entirely dominated by the clergy. In any case, the influence of clericalism in the Croatian political Catholicism was more apparent and pronounced on the perimeter of the Croatian ethnic space, where the conditions for the development of the Croatian civic culture were either immensely limited by the presence of the Ottoman authorities and administration (Bosnia and Herzegovina) or by the process of hungarisation (Bačka).

The greater presence of clericalism in the Slovak political Catholicism during the interwar period has to be explained by examination of earlier processes, namely the combination of circumstances during the development of the Slovak nation during the "long" 19th century, as well as hungarisation on the territory of Hungary Proper. Modern Slovak nation faced greater obstacles during its development than the modern Croatian nation, because the Slovaks had no political autonomy in Hungary Proper (Upper Hungary) and

thus were unable to protect their language institutionally, which enabled a rather successful hungarisation through the education system. In the end, the process resulted in the lack of the developed civic elite as the expected carrier of the national revival in the formative years of the Slovak national movement. Nevertheless, the absence of the influence of the citizenry was substituted by the noticeable activities of the lower Catholic clergy and the prominent intellectuals of the Protestant (Evangelical) minority, who inherited the Protestant inclination towards the use of vernacular languages, in opposition to the Catholic Latin universalism. Furthermore, the Slovak national revival could not count on the higher clergy, who were Hungarian, with the exception of Štefan Moyses, an active participant in the national revival activities.

On the other hand, the development of the Croatian nation was greatly easier, due to the preservation of its centuries-long autonomy and state law tradition, especially the municipal rights (*iura municipalia*), that include local institutions (ban, parliament) and language autonomy. These were the important conditions for strengthening the initial position of the Croatian language, as one of the fundamental elements in the process of the development of the modern nation and the national differentiation in Central Europe, in the case of Slovaks and Croats, in relation to the Hungarian nation that was politically and, potentially, culturally dominant. Thus, in the Croatian case, there was a heterogeny when it comes to the carriers of the national revival, with the citizenry and the lower clergy as prominent groups, but there were also the members of the lower and middle nobility (e.g. the Counts Janko Drašković and Juraj Oršić), or even the members of the high clergy (the Bishops Maksimilijan Vrhovac, Josip Juraj Strossmayer, Juraj Dobrila and Ivan Antunović).

The intensity of clericalism in the Slovak political Catholicism gradually decreased in the period from end of The First World War to the beginning of the Second World War. During the laicisation of the SPP/HSPP, and partly due to that process, anther process was taking place, namely the organisational militarisation and ideological fascisation of the party. It started as early as 1923, when Rodobrana was established, while in the case of the CPP, such occurrences were not present, and no organisation similar to Rodobrana existed. Nevertheless, it is important to say that the CPP was disbanded in 1929, whereas the SPP/HSPP continued its activities until the end of the Second World War.

Also, in the Slovak political Catholicism we have the elements of the personality cult, apparent from the name the SPP had since 1925 (HSPP), while we cannot identify such tendencies in the Croatian political Catholicism. Also, while the policies of the Croatian political Catholicism, and the CPP as its political manifestation, were inclined towards a state model of South Slavic integration, the Slovak political Catholicism was very little in favour of

Czechoslovak state model, in fact, such model was predominantly rejected. Along with other possible factors that could have explain this, one has to bear in mind the political domination of the Serbian monarchist traditionalists in the interwar Yugoslav state and political domination of the Czech progressivist – civic political platform in Czechoslovakia, that is their ideological compatibility with political Catholicism. One common characteristic of the Croatian and Slovak political Catholicism in the interwar period was the endeavour to bring about the concordat between the Holy See and the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, that is between the Holy See and Czechoslovakia.

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