

Territory, Place, and Identity in Slovak Church-state Conflict: 1948-1989

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the development and utilization of a conceptual framework for studying religion from a spatial perspective, drawing on themes and methodologies from human geography. The goal of this research is to help reconnect the geography of religion as a subdiscipline with broader themes in the discipline. Through an examination of Catholicism in Slovakia between 1948 and 1989, it examines how the Church utilized and organized geographic space, how it crafted a Catholic sense of place, and how the Communist government in Slovakia competed with the Church for authority and control within these spatial 'realms.' Examining issues of territoriality, power relations, and identity formation at a number of spatial scales, ranging from the local to the international, the paper attempts to show their interrelation. This project draws on a collection of primary documents obtained from state and ecclesiastic archives in Eastern Slovakia.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The histories of Europe and the Roman Catholic Church have become inextricably intertwined after centuries of involvement in the rise and fall of empires, monarchies, countless wars, and multitudes of vast cultural, religious, and political struggles. The political and geographic structure of the Catholic Church has slowly evolved along with those of the large European empires and ultimately adapted its system of territorial organization in order to reflect the realities of the modern European state after World War I. Gradually, the boundaries of Catholic dioceses in Europe were adjusted by the Vatican in order to coincide roughly with national borders. The diocese became the standardized territorial unit employed by the Church in order to administer to the spiritual and social needs of its followers.

In many ways, a diocese acts and functions as a cohesive political and territorial unit. As the smallest geographic entity within the territorial hierarchy of the Catholic Church, it is where the daily activities of the Church occur. The Bishop is vested with a significant amount of authority regarding the administration of the diocesan territory including locating and specifying the missions of priests and religious members, interpreting and transmitting papal as well as local edicts, and administering church resources in order to ensure that they are effectively employed to provide for the spiritual as well as social needs of the parishioners living in the diocese. It is at the diocesan level that Catholics most readily conceptualize the structure of the Catholic Church (Sack 1986), and it is at the diocesan level that they most often and directly experience their relationship with the Church.

The Communist regime that came to power in Slovakia after the elections of 1948 was hostile toward the Catholic Church—especially toward its powerful territorial structure of

dioceses. The Communists' own territorial structure of regional committees rivaled the diocesan structure of the Church and the Communists wished to use it to control many of the activities that had been the domain of the Catholic Church in Slovak lands for hundreds of years. These two powerful organizations—The Roman Catholic Church in Slovakia and the Slovak Communist Government—came into fierce conflict with one another in the middle of the 1940s. The conflict would last for 41 years. These two organizations competed with one another regarding virtually every aspect of Slovak life, from education to social services and even the types of holidays celebrated by Slovaks. Most importantly however, they competed with one another for the allegiance of Slovak citizens and for the right to determine if the primary Slovak worldview would be a religious or secular one.

This conflict is notable for the geography of religion because it demonstrates a number of ways in which the Catholic Church behaved spatially at a state and diocesan level. This study utilizes several archival data sources—both ecclesiastical and secular—in order to conduct a theoretically informed, systematic study of ways in which the Catholic Church in Slovakia exhibited three common types of spatial behaviors that can be roughly categorized as: the territorial control of space, the utilization of public places, and the creation of national identity through discourse. Specifically, this study emphasizes the inherently spatial character of the diocese and the Catholic Church in general by showing how the activities of the Church function within these three specific spatial 'realms'—space, place, and identity. Finally, this study examines ways in which similar spatial strategies have been used by Communist governments to disrupt these diocesan Church activities—as was the case in many Catholic dioceses behind the Iron Curtain after World War II.

For the purposes of this research, the Catholic Diocese of Košice, Slovakia will be utilized as a case study in order to examine the spatial concepts previously mentioned. The period of study is focused on the years between 1948 and 1989, which correspond roughly to the time during which the Communist party held political power in Czechoslovakia. Košice—the largest city in Eastern Slovakia (and before 1989, in Eastern Czechoslovakia)—is an excellent, although often overlooked, case study for examining the spatial nature of Catholicism during the communism period in Slovakia. For a period of time following World War II, it served as the capital of the reunited Czechoslovakia during the Košice Government Program. However, it has long served as a major political and ecclesiastic center, and during communism it became one of the major geographic centers of political conflict between the Communist government and the Catholic Church. Today, Košice is the location of numerous secular and ecclesiastic archives and libraries which represent largely untapped sources of data. Only recently have many of these archives finished cataloging and making public large volumes of data from the Communist period. In some instances, archives have not yet completed the organization of the materials in their possession.

Geographers of religion like Lily Kong (1990; 2001) have called for research that focuses attention on the “need to explore various dialects, of public and private, politics and poetics, social and spatial” (Kong 2001, 218) with regard to religious topics. In order to understand more fully the interplay between these various dialectics with regard to the organization and practice of religion, it is necessary to seek out new theoretical approaches which can help shed light on these kinds of activities. This study seeks to contribute to the emerging body of literature that is moving the field of religious geography beyond outdated, binary modes of thinking that have traditionally made false distinctions between what is considered officially religious versus what

is thought of as secular or profane. In order to make such a contribution, this study seeks to explore religion and religious behaviors in the context of Slovakia by exploring some broader, emerging understandings from the field of human geography of how groups organize their activities spatially, utilize networks of power to create a dominant sense of place, and attempt to alter national identity through the creation of discourse. It will be argued that such aspects of geographic knowledge are central to understanding the four-decade long conflict between the Catholic Church and the Communist government in Slovakia—specifically regarding the spatial organization of Church and state activities, the representation and use of public space, and the creation of discourse through newspapers and circulars.

In order to address these three areas of inquiry, my research focuses on three key questions which will be addressed in this study:

- 1). How were the Catholic Church and Communist government successful in using methods of territorial control in order to maintain influence over Catholics in the Košice diocese?
- 2). What modalities of power were employed by the Church in order to create and reinforce a sense of place in which Slovak Catholics belonged and how did the government attempt to exclude Catholics from the public sphere?
- 3.) How was discourse used in Catholic publications to communicate with Catholics both regionally and nationally and how was the government involved in the creation of Catholic discourse through these publications?

It is important to note that this study focuses not only on the activities of the Catholic Church in Slovakia, but on its historical encounter with the Communist government that existed between 1948 and 1989. Each area of inquiry examines how both the Church and the state utilized spatial strategies in order to achieve their own objectives. These three areas of inquiry correspond roughly with three spatial “realms” which I will investigate: space, place, and identity.

Space and Territoriality

My first area of inquiry focuses on how and why the Catholic Church in Slovakia and the Slovak government employed spatial systems of organization for their respective activities. Both organizations established and operated within territorial structures that delineated power and categorized activities according to space and territory. My goal is to identify and explain how space and territory factored into the conflict between the Catholic Church and the government by examining ways in which both groups' territorial structures benefited their efforts to gain political and cultural influence over the Slovak population. This part of my analysis is informed by a body of literature related to the territorialization of space.

In his 1986 book, *Human Territoriality: its theory and history*, Robert Sack outlined his theory that humans commonly employ a spatial strategy known as territoriality. Unlike similar concepts used in the field of biology, human territoriality according to Sack is a conscious, chosen social behavior that humans utilize with the goal of gaining control of a physical territory and its population. According to Sack, groups territorialize space in order to delineate power according to area, communicate the group's power over the area, and enable the group to enforce rules and thereby control the area. Sack explains that "territoriality in humans is best understood as a spatial strategy to affect, influence, or control resources and people, by controlling area" (Sack 1986, 1-2).

Sack's theory of human territoriality was developed specifically with the geographic nature of the Catholic Church in mind. According to Sack's (1983) article (a precursor to his 1986 book), the Catholic Church was selected as a "critical context" for his theory because of the intricacies of the Church's bureaucratic organization. He identifies two main categories of territories that exist under Church control and both play a role in helping the Catholic Church

exhibit control over territory. The first category includes the physical property of the Church, meaning churches, chanceries, offices, and monasteries. For various reasons which will be explored later on, these locations are assigned—as Sack noted—varying degrees of sanctity or importance based in large part on their geographic locations (Sack 1986, 93).

Sack's second category of Church territory includes the “nested territorial hierarchies of parishes, dioceses, archdioceses, and, in some areas, metropolitan sees” (Sack 1986, 95). In relation to his theory, Sack stated:

The history of territoriality within the Church is complicated, even when the inquiry is restricted to only two types of territories. But the union of organization theory and territoriality...suggests several general territorial effects that can be anticipated even in such a complex context as Church history. Overall, we can expect the theory to guide our understanding of the Church's use of territory. We can expect that territoriality has gone hand in hand with the development of Church organization and hierarchy (Sack 1986, 98).

My analysis in Chapter 5 regarding space and territoriality will use Sack's theory—as well as others' contributions—in order to understand how territoriality aided the Catholic Church in maintaining its influence in the context of the Catholic Diocese of Košice in post-World War II Slovakia. The first objective of Chapter 5 is to examine ways in which the Catholic Church created a territorial system of dioceses which allowed it to organize its activities and communications spatially to its advantage.

Ruggie (1993) explained that the modern world political system has developed in a way that political rule and sovereignty are inextricably tied to territorially-defined units of governance. Thus, modern political control is established and delineated territorially. Houtum and Naerssen (2001) have noted that the use of territoriality as a spatial strategy is oftentimes a political tool for purification of an undesirable “other.” The creation of manageable territorial

units is often done with the intent of using them as a base from which to target rivals and competitors. In the context of transnational migration that the authors investigate, they show that territories can be used in the “political practices of elimination” of elements of a population not considered to be a part of the national “imagined community” (pg. 126).

Similar to Houtum and Naerssen (2001), in Chapter 5 I will investigate how territoriality can be used as a political strategy for eliminating an undesirable religious organization. I will examine ways in which the Communist government of Slovakia utilized spatial strategies of territoriality to target formerly-Catholic activities and bring them under Communist control through the regional committee system. This investigation focuses on the Communists in Slovakia and how they used their territorial system to eliminate and supplant the Catholic diocesan structure.

Place and Power

John Allen wrote *Lost Geographies of Power* in 2003, in which he outlined his proposal for a revision of ways in which cultural geographers should conceptualize the idea of power. Allen stated that, “we have lost sight of the *particularities* of power, the diverse and specific *modalities* of power that make a difference to how we are put in our place, how we experience power,” and thus, “only by turning over some of our familiar assumptions about geography and power can we glimpse some of the ways in which power puts us in our place. It is in this sense that geography matters to our relationships with those who exercise power...” (Allen 2003, 2). Allen emphasized in his work that there is a natural relationship between geography and power. Central to his premise is the idea that “power is *inherently* spatial and, conversely, spatiality is *imbued* with power” (Allen 2003, 3). Rather than viewing power as a resource which can be

expended by an authority, Allen proposed that in order to properly understand the nature of power, it should instead be considered simply a “relational effect” rather than a property of something or someone. Thus, power should not be viewed as a resource in and of itself, but rather as a possible effect which results from the mobilization of resources by an authority who intends to produce this effect.

Allen asserted that power is “often disguised as resources and in that sense we need to disentangle the two; we need to distinguish clearly between the exercise of power and the resource capabilities mobilized to sustain that exercise” (Allen 2003, 5). One way in which this can be accomplished is by considering Allen’s categories of power. He distinguished between instrumental power—which is defined as power over someone or something—and associational power—which is the type of power that enables someone or something to achieve a common goal (Allen 2003, 5). The resources necessary to achieve these two categories of power are quite different and so Allen’s explanation of power allows us to first identify resources that were available to either the Catholics or Communists and then explain the types of power they were able to generate through their utilization.

Knippenberg (2002) explained that the type of instrumental power exercised by a government commonly takes the form of laws and rules. Often, such laws are intended to marginalize and eliminate undesirable religious groups by suppressing religious behaviors and banning them from the public to the private sphere (pg. 192). Additionally, the suppression of religious groups is often accomplished by government involvement in the state education system (193). Similar to Knippenberg, my first objective in Chapter 6 will be to identify how the Communists in Slovakia were able to use their political authority to pass repressive laws

disrupting Catholics' ability to utilize public space and maintain an educational system that perpetuated Catholic traditions.

Hans Mol (1976) has explained that oppressed religious groups often respond proactively to difficulties and that “the challenge of adversity has often had an invigorating and integrating effect on individuals” (Mol 1977, 81). When deprived access to the political system or official political power, oppressed religious groups often find alternative ways in which to achieve power and gain recognition. Shaul Cohen (2007) examined the phenomenon of Protestant Irish groups exercising associational power through parades and processions in Derry, Northern Ireland. He noted that after Protestants in Derry lost control over “contested space” to Irish Catholics, processions and parades were a resource available to achieve associational power and periodically reassert their claims to a cultural landscape they once dominated. Cohen shows how a Protestant, place-based identity could be reasserted in Derry through these yearly events.

Like Cohen (2007), I will examine how Catholics in the Diocese of Košice were able to achieve similar associational power by utilizing the long-practiced Slovak traditions of religious processions and pilgrimages. These events represented resources available to the Catholic Church in Slovakia to achieve associational power and reify place-based religious meanings in and around the territory of Košice. Catholics in Košice could produce associational power that connected politically-active members of the underground Catholic Church with less-active Catholics in order to reclaim public space and temporarily restore a Catholic sense of place to Košice through processions and pilgrimages. In turn, I will investigate how these events helped build a base of resistance that eventually fed into the larger political protests of the 1980s.

Discourse and Identity

Geographers are now beginning to understand and draw connections between identity and territory. This understanding that national identity is inextricably tied to territory has led David Kaplan (1994) to describe these identities as “spatial identities”—recognizing that while such identities represent sets of common cultural and social beliefs, they take on a spatial component as well. Two Finnish geographers—Ansi Paasi and Jouni Häkli—have worked to determine how national identity becomes tied to territory. Paasi (1997) has suggested that nations seek to institutionalize identity according to territory by attempting to create a master narrative about identity that increases national cohesion and diminishes difference. However, Paasi also noted that this process of identity creation is always contested by different national elements and must be negotiated among them.

Building on Paasi’s understanding of how identity is negotiated according to territory, Häkli (1999) developed the notion of the “discursive landscape” which he claims “reflects the historically and geographically specific social activities and processes of nation building” that come to be interpreted as defining a nation and its landscape (pg. 124). Häkli suggested that changes in a country’s discursive landscape represent changes in “the self-understanding of a people within a particular territory, concrete places, everyday practices, and imagination” (pg. 130).

Central to this concept of the discursive landscape is what is meant by “discourse.” The notion of a discursive landscape implies that such landscapes are formed and altered by the creation of discourses. MacDonnell (1986) suggested that two of the primary sources of identity-shaping discourse are speech and writing. She also suggests that the institutions and authorities responsible for crafting such types of discourse influence both their content and

direction. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) defined a number of “contexts of construction” regarding discourse and the “different discursive environments in which *identity work* is being done” (pg. 5). Primary among these—according to the authors—are institutional settings like newspapers which produce narratives and stories that seek to define the components of a nation’s identity. Thus, the discourses created in newspapers are fruitful sources of information to examine in order to identify ways in which their authors sought to craft a master narrative that defines a country’s spatial identity. Kaplan (1999) noted that in crafting a discourse regarding national identity the state enjoys many advantages including the use of media and propaganda tools like newspapers, which he identifies as components of “infrastructural power” (pg. 33). The reason for using a tool like a newspaper to craft discourse about national identity is that the state needs to seek legitimacy and recognition from the nation and conversely, the nation needs the state in order to achieve its goals (pg. 34).

It was Benedict Anderson’s (1991) seminal work on the concept of imagined national communities that are created through journalism and newspaper content that first explained how such discourses feed into the creation of a spatial identity. Anderson explained that one role of printed media is to foster a sense of shared national consciousness among mass reading publics who would otherwise remain unaware of one another on an individual level (pg. 44). Newspapers and other printed materials help members of a national community develop a sense that they belong to a large, imagined group of people with whom they share a common identity. In the “battle for men’s minds”—as Anderson described it—the Catholic press was heavily dominant in Slovakia prior to 1948. In the spirit of Anderson’s arguments about the relationship between capitalism and the printed word, there existed a large market demand for Catholic print media that was met by innumerable Catholic newspapers and publications—both nationally and

regionally throughout Slovakia. Almost all were printed in Slovak rather than Czech language, and there even existed a number of Catholic publications catering to the large Hungarian readership in Slovakia. In addition to newspapers and periodicals, the preferred method of the Slovak bishops for communicating with parishioners throughout the Catholic dioceses was through what are known as pastoral letters as well as editorials published in newspapers and other ad hoc publications. One publication in particular—the weekly newspaper *Katolícke Noviny*—stands out. The goal of Chapter 7 will be to examine the Slovak Catholic newspaper *Katolícke Noviny* in order to identify discourses crafted by the Slovak Communist government intended to change Catholic perceptions of national identity. Similar to Häkli (1999), I will attempt to define historical “phases” of discourse (pg. 130) as well as what elements of national identity specific to religion were contained in such discourses.

These three areas of inquiry and many of the key concepts developed by Sack, Allen, Anderson, and others are useful to this study and correspond roughly with the three spatial realms—space, identity, and place—in which the Catholic Church and the Czechoslovak Communist government began to compete shortly after World War II. It will be argued in all three cases that the Catholic Church had experienced success in employing strategies of territorial control, power over place, and the creation of identity-forming discourse through print media for some time before the Communist party rose to power in Czechoslovakia in 1948. After 1948, it was the Communist government which needed to attempt to wrest authority from the Slovak Church.

It will be shown that both the Catholic Church and the Communists employed strategies of territoriality in an attempt to exert influence and control over the physical territory or space of the Košice diocese. Both the local Catholic Church officials as well as the regional Communist

officials of the Krajský Národný Výbor (KNV) or Regional National Committee used strategies to control the representation and use of public space, how it was perceived, and how meanings became associated with locations in Košice.

Finally, newspaper discourse and its power to influence Catholic identity was used first by the Catholic Church and later by the Communist regime in an attempt to win the “battle of men’s minds,” and mold the cultural identity of the people of the Košice diocese. Both groups were attempting to dominate the formation of a national identity and define the nature of being a ‘Slovak’ according to either a religious or secular-materialist worldview. Both groups were, in this way, competing for control over the ways in which representations of Slovak identity were conceived and disseminated through printed materials to Slovaks—the majority of which were Catholics—in and around the Košice diocese. The fundamental goal was to change people’s perception of Slovak identity from that of a religiously-centered community to that of a modern, secular, materialist, and ultimately, atheistic one, in line with the Marxist worldview.

Outline of Dissertation

Once again, there are three key questions to be addressed through this study:

- 1). How were the Catholic Church and Communist government successful in using methods of territorial control in order to maintain influence over Catholics in the Košice diocese?
- 2). What modalities of power were employed by the Church in order to create and reinforce a sense of place in which Slovak Catholics belonged and how did the government attempt to exclude Catholics from the public sphere?
- 3.) How was discourse used in Catholic publications to communicate with Catholics both regionally and nationally and how was the government involved in the shaping of Catholic discourse through these publications?

It should be noted that the systematic nature of this study is intended to help explain the historical events with which it deals and to bring about a clearer understanding of the motivations and strategies employed by the principal actors—the Communist government in Slovakia and the Slovak Catholic Church. However, it is not particularly suitable as a predictive model for future Church-state relations. It will be shown in later sections that the experience of the Slovak Catholics after the Communist coup of 1948 shared a great deal of similarity with that of the Russian Orthodox Church after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. William Husband's 2002 book, *Godless Communists: Atheism and Society in Soviet Russia, 1917-1932*, detailed how the Bolshevik government began its assault on the institutions of the Russian Orthodox Church first by seizing church property and later, attempting to create parallel social institutions meant to displace Orthodox traditions and practices, and finally, utilizing the power of print media to combat the religious worldview of most Russians. Husband also demonstrated that despite their anti-religious fervor, the Soviets often exhibited behaviors which reflected their political realism—pushing against religion when they felt it was possible, but usually refraining from taking actions against the Orthodox Church which they felt the population simply would not tolerate.

Husband explored the Russian experience following 1917, but his book falls short as a predictive model for the Slovak experience some thirty years later. The specific historical and social contexts in which the Slovak experience occurred naturally resulted in different outcomes. While in both cases, the Communist governments approached organized religion primarily as a political opponent to be overcome and religiosity among the populations as “nothing more than a misguided worldview to be corrected without great difficulty through education” (Husband 2000,

35), they were often forced to make concessions to the churches in different social circumstances as a result of their limited political capital in this regard. Also, it will be shown that the role of the Vatican and the international political and territorial nature of the Catholic Church (unlike that of the Russian Orthodox Church), played a large role in the successes of the Catholic Church in resisting Communist oppression during more than four decades of Communist political control.

In the following Chapter, I review current bodies of literature regarding the geography of religion, religion and territoriality, religious use of public space, and the role of religious discourse in constructing a national identity. Chapter 3 will focus on the methodologies I utilize to examine each of my research questions. Chapter 4 provides a brief political and social history of the period between 1945 and 1948 in Slovakia, during which the political power of the Catholic Church was greatly diminished and the Communist position was significantly strengthened. This history provides the necessary context for exploring the conflict between the Church and state over the next four decades. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 each address one of the research questions outlined above with regard to conflicts over ‘space’, ‘place’, and ‘identity,’ and will also focus on ways in which the Communist government was able to compete with the Church for political and social control in each of these realms.

Chapter 5 will focus on examining examples of how territoriality was used as a spatial strategy by both the Catholic Church and the Communist government. The chapter begins by examining the diocesan territorial structure of the Catholic Church and the KNV structure of the government. It examines how the Communists were able to diminish the power of the Košice Diocese by confiscating much of its physical property and transferring the authority of Church organizations—especially educational institutions—to the control of the Communist territorial

units. It continues with an examination of how the Communists in Slovakia first attempted to dismantle the Slovak dioceses by removing the Slovak church leadership. It concludes by showing how the Communists ultimately succeeded in establishing control over the territory of Slovakia by infiltrating the dioceses from within their existing leadership structure. Relevant archival documents are organized around several key historical examples and then used to illustrate how territoriality was implemented by both key actors. I categorize these historical examples according to Sack's framework of territorial tendencies and primary combinations (Sack 1986, 35) in order to help examine historical outcomes.

Chapter 6 builds upon Chapter 5 by identifying specific ways in which place factored into the power relations between Church and state in the Košice diocese. This Chapter explains how the diocese originally served both an administrative and identity-framing function. After its authority and operation were attacked by the government, however, its ability to utilize resources and exert power was significantly decreased. Additionally, its ability to create and reify a Catholic sense of place was also decreased. As a result, Slovak Catholics in and around Košice were forced to find new means by which their Catholic faith and identity could be expressed spatially, often by utilizing existing social structures and familiar activities and behaviors.

I examine several important historical incidents of political and social conflict between the Catholic Church and the government with regard to Allen's (2003) theory about the spatial nature of power in order to examine and explain how the mobilization of resources, the roles of proximity and reach, and the use of power networks resulted in either successful or unsuccessful (and sometimes unforeseen or unintentional) historical outcomes based on how they were received and mediated by Slovaks and Slovak Catholics.

Finally, Chapter 7 focuses specifically on the role of identity-changing discourse in Catholic journalism and its impact on the Catholic readership in Slovakia. Using an extensive collection of printed materials obtained from several archives as well as several secondary sources which focus on the role of print media in Slovakia between 1945 and 1989, I analyze the ways in which both the Catholic Church as well as the Communist government used printed materials to support and reinforce their views on political and social issues and how both relied heavily on printed materials in their attempts to dominate the conversation about the nature of being “Slovak,” as well as the nature of Slovak identity.

This research focuses on the historical encounter of the Roman Catholic Church and the Slovak Communist government and the ways in which this encounter played out over 41 years within three important spatial realms, informed by relevant contemporary geographic theory. The goal of this research is to illustrate how geography and spatiality permeated nearly all facets of this confrontation and how geography played a key role in affecting historical events as well as determining historical outcomes which are still affecting modern Slovak society to this day.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Geographers have long recognized that religion is among the most fundamental of cultural components. Geographers of religion investigate how religious systems interact with cultural landscapes, how religious and political systems cooperate or compete, and how religious distributions change over time. Within the field of cultural geography, geographers study religion because of the important ways in which it impacts society (Levine 1986, 431). Geographers of religion recognize that “distributions of religions are not merely isolated empirical facts... At a more meaningful level, they are also manifestations of complex spatial and cultural processes” (Stump 2008, 33). This study focuses on a particular example of such processes at work in a country where a significant Catholic majority was oppressed for more than four decades by a Communist government which intended to put an end to the Catholic religious worldview in favor of a secular, materialist one.

The complexities of these processes are rarely expressed in existing research, which generally focuses on Catholicism as an institution at the state level, or is primarily descriptive and historical in nature. Indeed, much of it was written before the end of the Cold War when materials which might have facilitated more nuanced understandings of religion in Slovakia were unavailable to Western scholars. Archives in Slovakia are now beginning to make large volumes of material related to the Catholic Church under Communism available for the first time. In conjunction with this, the geography of religion as a sub-discipline has become more methodologically and theoretically refined. Recent literature has illustrated myriad ways

religious beliefs influence actions and behaviors across the spectrum of spatial scales and realms of behavior. Also, contemporary religious research trends have broadened the discipline's perspective on where religious beliefs and practices might be identified within society and has allowed us to move away from more narrowly-defined, "binary conceptions" of what is or is not considered official religious behavior (Kong 2001).

At a basic level, my research proceeds from Stump's fundamental argument that to understand the impact of religious behavior in a geographic sense, it is necessary to move beyond simply counting and considering religious distributions and attempt to accomplish the much more challenging task of understanding how complex religious spatial processes work. My research focuses on religious spatial processes in and around a specific Catholic diocese, putting geography at the heart of the analysis and focusing always on the role that geography plays in mediating political, cultural, and social outcomes between the Church and society. In this way, my research contributes to existing knowledge of historical Church-state relations in Slovakia, but more broadly, contributes to the understanding of how religious spatial processes work.

In this Chapter, I review several bodies of recent literature which are related conceptually to my research. I begin by reviewing literature related to the development of the geography of religion as a sub-discipline of cultural geography. I move on to discuss literatures related to my three areas of inquiry—space, place, and identity—that illustrate ways in which research on religious topics is starting to become connected to broader debates both in human geography and more generally, in the social sciences. This research will contribute broadly to existing knowledge of how religions organize their activities spatially, how religious groups utilize and

represent public space, and how historical Church-state relations in Central and Eastern Europe progressed under Communism in Czechoslovakia.

The Geography of Religion

Lily Kong (2001) has noted that in recent years, unnecessarily narrow understandings of what is understood as religious as opposed to secular are being “overturned in favor of a number of more nuanced and complex understandings of how religion may enter into geographical readings of the social world” (Brace et al. 2006). The field of religious geography is comprised of several distinct trends and themes. Gregory Levine identified four major groups of researchers as: those who study the impact of religion on landscapes and regions, those who study religious structures and designs, those who study the distribution of certain religions, and those who attempt to define the scope of the geography of religion (Levine 1986, 430).

The research produced by these groups of scholars is often disparate and much has been written about where the theoretical and methodological foundations of the geography of religion lie. Several approaches have been offered and attempted. Kong (1990) and Cooper (1992) recommended focusing on “the reciprocity of meaning between place, landscape, and religious experience” (Cooper 1992, 123) and placing the individual religious experience at the center of geographic religious research.

James Proctor (2006) noted that, after the American awakening to the realities of political Islam after the terrorist attacks of 2001, some scholars suggested that research on post-colonialism could help us understand what had occurred (pg. 166). Instead, Proctor countered that research on the geography of religion was more directly applicable. According to Proctor, if

religion does matter in the world, then, “any scholarly accounts of the human condition—including those by geographers—would be incomplete if religion were ignored” (pg. 166). He argues that the secularization debate is “at the heart” of research on religion:

Differences over the relevance of secularization theory often boil down to differences over the concept of religion, where those who argue that secularization is a reality in these countries...typically adopt substantive approaches to religion as particular beliefs (e.g., theism) and practices (e.g., attending religious services). On the other hand, those who approach religion from a broader, functional perspective...see new forms of sacred practice and spirituality potentially playing as important and diffuse—though more differentiated—a role in Europe and the United States as institutional religion once did (Proctor 2006, 167).

It is important to briefly discuss scholarship related to secularization. Secularization Theory—a broad field of academic research that examines the process of religious decline and increased secularization in public life—has dominated much of the modern research on religion, particularly in relation to European countries where religious adherence has dropped substantially in many instances. According to this theory, religion has experienced a progressive loss of its public and political significance and has been increasingly relegated to the personal, private realm. “Through the 1970s many social scientists...readily accepted secularization theory, the thesis that processes of modernization would inevitably undermine the influence of religion in society and ultimately lead to its irrelevance in most dimensions of social life” (Stump 2008, 369). Many studies of secularization focused initially on Western European countries where protestant and Catholic traditions experienced steep declines in religious adherence.

Secularization does not necessarily mean the end of religion or lower rates of adherence, but rather an increased separation of church and state realms. Bruce (1992) explained that—in general—scholars (particularly in the field of sociology) have concluded that the “search for a

‘master factor’ cause of secularization is mistaken,” and that historical explanations can often be sought to explain secularization trends (Bruce 1992, 4). Hugh McLeod argued that, “historical factors—events and experiences specific to particular countries, regions, ethnic groups—were of considerable importance, and should not be neglected in the search for more general explanations of secularization” (McLeod 1992, 85). Secularization Theory originally developed out of the need to explain the decreased levels of religious adherence on the European continent and because of the recognition that “the evidence for a decline in the significance of religion in modern European history is overwhelmingly pervasive” (Cox 2003, 206). Scholars have criticized secularization theory as “teleological, Eurocentric, deterministic and deceptively value-laden” (Cox 2003, 206), mainly because it does not consider the possibility of religious revival or divergent regional trends.

In the Slovak case, the historical encounter of the Catholic Church with Communist atheism played the most prominent role in the secularization of the population after World War II, and the fact that some secularization did occur reveals virtually nothing about its nature. In fact, while official statistics may show secular trends, several authors have suggested that the repressive nature of the Communist regime only served to strengthen religiosity among Slovaks (Falk 2003; Doellinger 2007). As Luzny and Navratilova (2001) noted, “according to some authors the development of the position of religion in post-Communist countries cannot be viewed only through the narrow optics of secularization but must always be completed by taking into account its peculiarities” (Luzny and Navratilova 2001, 85-86).

One of Secularization Theory’s major shortcomings is that it does not acknowledge the possibility of any so-called “peculiarities” like sacralization—the phenomenon of religious resurgence or revival. The decrease in religious adherence in Europe is not an irreversible trend

as noted by Tschannen (2009) and there are many examples of research that identify trends that do not follow the secularization narrative (Froese 2004; Gowin 2001; Zdaniewicz 2001). As Lucian Hölscher pointed out:

There is no common trend to be seen. And even in one country the various trends of religious life cannot be bound together to one universal trend or development: we find periods of increasing and decreasing church attendance, of hostility and cooperation between church and civil authorities, of religious inspiration and anti-religious rationality, and sometimes we even find them at the same time in different parts of society. And what is more, we find different criteria of what is religious at different times and places. Therefore, what is a decreasing level of religiosity for some observers may be seen as an increasing level by others (Hölscher 2003, 186).

In accordance with both Proctor and Hölscher, my research approaches religion from a broad, functional perspective which seeks religious expression and behavior beyond the scope of such substantive approaches. Proceeding from a functional perspective, it is necessary to identify both the questions being addressed by religious geographers as well as specific methods by which such research may be pursued.

One of the first and most impactful books on geography and religion was authored by David Sopher (1967). In it, he outlined several of the fundamental questions geographers should seek to address, including the following: 1). What is the significance of a geographical setting to the growth of specific religious traditions? 2). In what ways do religions interact with their geographic environment? 3). In what ways do religions impact cultural environments and how do they organize cultural geographic space? 4). What are the geographical distributions of various religions and in what ways do they spread and interact with one another (Sopher 1967, 2). In most instances, Sopher's third question has gained, in recent years, the most scholarly attention.

Lily Kong (1990; 2001) attempted to refine Sopher's inquiry in order to focus attention on several specific areas of religious geography that should be pursued. She explains that, "At a theoretical level, there is a need to explore various dialects, of public and private, politics and poetics, social and spatial" (Kong 2001, 218). Holloway and Valins (2002) stated that this research must "recognize how the religious and the spiritual were and are central to the *everyday* lives of vast numbers of individuals; and secondly, to appreciate that geographers of religion cannot only usefully incorporate recent *theoretical* developments within (and beyond) the discipline, but also advance and critique such understandings, as processed through the empirical lenses of particular religious case studies and examples" (Holloway and Valins 2002).

Going further, Ivakiv (2006) called for geographers of religion to pursue research that "exacerbates the individualization of religion but also destabilizes the boundary between the sacred and the profane...it is the task of geographers of religion to trace the changing orchestrations of those significances across space and place (Ivakiv 2006, 169). As Ivakhiv asserted:

If geographers are not to take for granted the meanings of these terms, then the phenomena of religion and sacrality ought to be studied (1) as ways of distributing significance across geographic spaces, and (2) as involving the distinction of different *kinds* of significance from among those being distributed" (Ivakiv 2006, 171).

Few geographers, however, are currently conducting research which seeks to connect modern geographic theories with the study of religion in order to uncover some of these processes and bring the topic of religion back into the geographic mainstream. Despite this, several in the field have helped bring new attention to the need for such research to be pursued. As Brace, Bailey, and Harvey pointed out, there is a need for geographers to understand more about the process by

which local religious identities are constructed in specific geographic locations around a sense of shared purpose or a sense of community (Brace et al. 2006).

These authors bring attention to the fact that relatively few contemporary studies of religion utilize historical and archival data sources to explore the spatial dynamics related to religious beliefs and practices. As Brace et al. (2006) noted:

Although some important first steps have been made towards the examination of contemporary geographies of religion, rarely have geographers attempted to uncover a sense of temporal dynamism and depth by drawing on historical sources to enhance their understanding. Overall, 'geographies of religion' are both disparate and diffuse in terms of scope, purpose and direction, leaving geography as a whole in a weak position to engage with connected debates about religion that are current within other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, history and psychology (Brace et al. 2006).

Going even further, the authors add that, “despite Holloway and Valins's (2002) acknowledgement of the importance of a historical dimension to geographies of religion, such a consideration has been almost completely ignored by geographers” (Brace et al. 2006). It is important for religious geographic phenomena to be studied and understood within their own specific historical and geographic contexts, as “all religions construct space and time through their own specific ontological commitments, and so it follows that, in order to understand the nature of religious landscapes, representations and practices, work must be contextualized within a temporal and spatial framework that is cognizant of these commitments” (Brace et al. 2006).

From our understanding of Proctor's functional perspective of religion, such landscapes, representations, and practices are often located outside the scope of what is considered formally religious and in order to understand the “ontological commitments” of Catholic religion in Slovakia after 1945, Catholic landscapes, representations, and practices need to be understood in the context of the Church's historical encounter with Communism. I proceed by examining

recent literature that illustrates ways in which geographers approach religious expression from a functional perspective and focus on religious activities that speak to the three realms of space, place, and identity which form the basis of my own research.

The following three sections focus on literatures related to religious geography that adopt functional perspectives on religion. They illustrate concepts and areas of inquiry that can be pursued with regard to the Catholic Church in Slovakia, to increase specific topical knowledge and utilize methodologies which allow this research to be relevant in broader cultural geography debates. For geography to be reinserted as a topic of research and debate, geographers must reconnect religious research with larger research trends, particularly “conceptual developments that highlight the spatial practices, techniques, and scales through which communities are imagined and constructed” (Brace et al. 2006, 35). I propose three particular areas of inquiry that can help increase existing knowledge about how religion interacts with the cultural landscape, culture, society, and nation in ways which problematize the sacral/profane distinction that once dominated religious geography research.

Religious Activity, Space, and Territory

This section focuses on literature related to territoriality and the spatial organization of political and social activity. My first area of inquiry focuses on how and why organizations like the Catholic Church and the Slovak Communist government chose to organize and delineate their activities according to a system of territorially-defined administrative regions. In particular, this section discusses literature related to territorial relations between Church and state and focuses on research that examines the impact state laws, policies, and actions can potentially

have on the territorial organization of Catholic Church activities. Particular attention is paid to research regarding Church-state relations in Europe which focuses on former communist countries and how these relations changed the spatial organization of Church and state activities.

Church-state relations—which involve social and political negotiations between religious groups and the dominant political power of a state—have a significant impact on the nature of religious activity in a country. This is especially true in situations where a particular religious group maintains significant social and political influence over the population. In Slovakia prior to World War II, the Catholic Church enjoyed such influence and had gained access to the political structure of the country through a Catholic political party which enjoyed an electoral majority. Atheistic political organizations like the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS) also sought to gain political influence in order to pursue a secular path for the highly Catholic Slovak society.

Froese (2005) identified several factors which help to explain the divergent trends in religious adherence between Czechs and Slovaks prior to World War II that led to the prominence of the Catholic Church in Slovakia. His primary focus is on the often contentious relationship between Czech nationalism and Catholicism. He contrasts the Czech situation with that of Slovakia, where the relationship between ethnic identity and Catholicism was often mutually beneficial. Froese (2005) provided several basic historical explanations for why Catholicism assumed different roles within the governance of Czech and Slovak societies. Within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Czechs were under the influence of Austria, while the Slovaks were governed by Hungary. The imposition of religion by both powers was resented by Czechs and Slovaks. However, Austrians imposed Catholicism on Czechs and in Slovakia Hungarians imposed Calvinist and Lutheran religions (Froese 2005, 275).

“Subsequently, anti-Catholic sentiment emerges throughout Czech history while the Slovaks closely link Catholicism with nationalism” (Froese 2005, 275). Consequently, the Catholic Church assumed a wider role in Slovak society after World War I and became heavily involved in political and social affairs—organizing political parties and educational systems. Its territorial structure also gained influence because the Church in Slovakia used the territorial structure of dioceses to organize the administration of these institutions and their activities.

Secular political organizations also seek social and political influence through Church-state relations. Madeley (2003) illustrated that even in states which proclaim “religious neutrality”—as was nominally the case in many communist countries like Slovakia—secular state governments often seek to enact laws or state arrangements which discouraged church activity and integration with the society. These types of state actions are meant to act as mechanisms for discouraging participation in religious life. Kocsis (2006) examined historical Church-state relations in Hungary and explained how the church enjoyed a strong relationship with the government and was encouraged by the state until 1946, when the communists came to power and began an “era of atheist, anticlerical policy...until 1989” (Kocsis 2006, 357). Broun (1988) explained the communist worldview which dictated to a large degree, their temperament when dealing with religion:

This ‘scientific’ attitude regards religion as a distorted reflection of reality that prevents the human race from seeking its true salvation in materialism and the humanistic society. Religion is merely a temporary historical phenomenon, and will wither away, but nevertheless it must be removed from any field that might affect society, such as politics or education. Moreover, the churches, often virtually the only non-state organizations permitted, provide a focus for political dissent. Therefore the governments have set up special bodies whose purpose is keeping religion under control (Broun 1988, 13).

Knippenberg (2006) outlined how changing Church-state relations have had an impact on religious trends throughout Europe for centuries. He shows how certain state actions have functioned as triggers for both secularization as well as “sacralization”—the process of reassigning religious importance to previously secularized aspects of the geographic landscape, whether buildings, locations, regions, or even populations. Relations between political and religious entities are perhaps the most important reciprocal relationships in the study of religion. Religion can greatly impact the opinions, voting patterns, and social views of a given population while political structures can either encourage or greatly discourage religious adherence and church activities. A key concept which Knippenberg argues has historically flavored Church-state relations in Europe is the principle of “*cuius regio, eius religio*,” roughly translating to “whose realm, his religion” (Knippenberg 2006, 253). In other words, it had traditionally been the case that the dominant political power of a region has determined to a high degree the dominant religion to be followed.

The desire for greater social and political power has historically led groups like the Catholic Church and Communist Party of Slovakia to seek out strategies for obtaining greater social and political influence. The territorial organization of space is one such strategy which allows for a group’s activities to be demarcated according to geographic location. Robert Sack (1986) explained that such groups often choose to organize activities territorially because this type of organizational strategy provides a number of concrete benefits. In this way, examining why humans employ territoriality as a spatial strategy for controlling various types of cultural or social activities places territoriality “within the context of human motivations and goals” rather than a biological context (pg. 21). Sack explains that territoriality is implemented through three primary mechanisms: the classification of space which allows an organization to claim control

over territorial units, the creation of sensible boundaries that establish a sense of inclusion or exclusion, and policies for enforcing control over territories.

Sack (1986) identified that territoriality has played an important role in the history of the Catholic Church. He illustrated that historically, the Catholic Church was one of the first large organizations to establish a territorial structure which enabled it to organize a complex and diverse set of activities within a system of regions known as dioceses. Anssi Paasi's (2002) research on the nature of regions outlined an effective method by which we can conceptualize Catholic dioceses as a system of spatial organization. Catholic dioceses can be conceptualized as regions in that, "once created they are also social facts, since they generate—and are generated by—action as long as people believe in them and as long as they have a role in public spaces or in governance (Paasi 2002, 805). Paasi's argument reinforces one of the basic assumptions of this research, which is that the diocese functions as a cohesive political and territorial unit for believers, so long as they continue to recognize and defer to its authority. In addition, Paasi's ideas complement Sack's notion of territoriality by recognizing that regions (in our case, dioceses) exist as a means for asserting political and social control across their territory, and that both their power and legitimacy lie in their ability to do so. If a situation arises in which the diocese is caused to lose authority or legitimacy, then other, more ephemeral geographic spaces may assume this authority or legitimacy and should be explored.

An important concept to be drawn from Paasi (1996) is the way in which regions should be understood. He identifies three major regional conceptions which have at times been popularized in the discipline of geography: pre-scientific, discipline-centered, and critical (Paasi 1996). Useful to this study are his definitions of discipline-centered and critical conceptions of the nature of regions such as dioceses. My first area of inquiry adopts Paasi's discipline-centered

understanding of regions which Paasi says function like “objects” which, once created, “can be powerful in shaping the spatial imagination and spatial action, e.g., in governance” (Paasi 2003, 804).

While the Catholic Church is an early example of an organization utilizing territoriality as a spatial strategy for managing its activities, Sack (1986) explained how territoriality became an instrument for governments in the modern period (pg. 127). Governments’ use of territoriality often resulted in new territorial organizational systems which overlapped and often supplanted older systems of territorial organization such as the diocesan system of the Catholic Church. My examination in Chapter 5 of Church-state relations between the Catholic Church in Slovakia and the Communist government focuses on the conflict that arose between the Church’s use of territoriality and that of the Communist party. It examines how the existing diocesan structure of the Catholic Church was challenged by the Communist territorial system of regional committees and how a great deal of the conflict centered on which territorial system would predominate in Slovak society—the dioceses or the regional committees.

In my examination of territoriality and Church-state relations in Slovakia after 1948, I focus attention on what Knippenberg (2006) referred to as the “Catholic paradigm.” Knippenberg developed a typology which identifies many of the unique features of Catholicism which have historically differentiated it from both Protestantism and Eastern Orthodoxy in its approach to and relations with secular political authority. This “Catholic paradigm” helps explain the unique nature of the Catholic Church regarding its ability to maneuver politically in relations with secular governments. The primacy of the Pope and the role of the Vatican have historically been a major difference in relations between Catholics and secular governments, due in large part to the nature of the relations, as Knippenberg described:

Instead of direct negotiations between the political power and national or local churches, the relationship with the Roman Catholic Church was always triangular due to the intervention of a third partner, namely the Holy See. That did not mean that the Holy See always sided with the local episcopates. The negotiations between the State with the Holy See were of a more diplomatic nature and were aimed at finding amicable solutions which bear all the characteristics of a treaty between one power and the other (Knippenberg 2006, 260).

This particular phenomenon was illustrated clearly by Pedro Ramet (1990) in his analysis of the Polish Cardinal Wyszyński's unilateral negotiations with the Polish communist government. Ramet noted that the Holy See has, at times, been somewhat "obstructive" in local negotiations between local church officials and the state. After Wyszyński directly negotiated provisions for the protection of local church organizations, including one which allowed the Catholic University of Lublin to remain in operation, the Pope made his displeasure clear by treating Wyszyński coldly during his visit to Rome in 1957. Instead of affording him the pomp and circumstance which usually accompanies the creation of a Cardinal, Wyszyński's installation ceremony lasted a mere ten minutes, instead of the usual two days (Ramet 1990, 25).

In addition to the nature of diplomatic negotiations, Knippenberg also noted that there are several other distinguishing characteristics of Catholicism which justify the distinction of a unique "Catholic paradigm." First, the Church creates and maintains its own political structures (including dioceses) which divide and delineate power across the entire globe. A major factor is that the Church considers itself an entirely independent political entity, which he noted, has "at times succeeded in getting almost complete control over secular power" (Knippenberg 2006, 259). Certainly, this was never truer than in Slovakia during World War II, where a Catholic-run political party enjoyed an absolute majority of popular support and the president of the country was also a functioning Catholic priest.

Knippenberg's Catholic paradigm can also explain how resources are used by the Church to exercise influence and power in Church-state relations. For instance, one major source of power in the Catholic Church is its formalized hierarchy, which is "completely focussed (sic) on the Pope in faith, discipline, and organization" (Knippenberg 2006, 259). Thus, all of the Popes since Pius XII were able to use the threat of excommunication authoritatively to discourage participation in communist political organizations as well as open and willing collaboration with communist governments (Dunn 1977, 172-173), and the rest of the ecclesiastic hierarchy, including those bishops and cardinals in communist countries, were obliged to enforce those orders.

Knippenberg's (2006) research illustrated how the spatial organization practices of the Catholic Church—such as the creation of diocesan territories, the creation of a spatial hierarchy and strict lines of communication—have historically benefited the Church and also distinguished it from other religious organizations. However, while the Church has benefited from territoriality, secular states also have many resources which can be used to alter the course of Church-state relations, particularly when the dominant trend in these relations is conflict rather than cooperation. Tobias (1956) showed that Communist governments in Central and Eastern Europe operated in much the same way Knippenberg described the diplomatic operations of the Vatican vis-à-vis local Catholic hierarchy—often mirroring the behaviors of the Catholic Church. He explains that a coordinated effort from the Kremlin led to the establishment of similar religious affairs organizations in the Communist countries of the Soviet bloc and that the policies used to direct Church-state relations at a national scale were coordinated by the Kremlin:

...the Cominform established a department of religious affairs, called the 'Orginform.' Sometime before 1951, the Orginform and the Association of Atheists were reported to have met in Karlsbad, Czechoslovakia, for consultation and instruction...This was probably not an isolated case of joint international action on a religious problem in a national setting (Tobias 1956, 13).

So in the specific context of Church-state relations in the former Communist countries, a "Soviet pattern" of conducting these negotiations emerged (Tobias 1956, 13) which was similar to the Catholic paradigm described by Knippenberg (2006).

This literature confirms that religious and political territories may be examined in relation to the organization of space in order to understand how territoriality helps provide a means of social and political control. The following section examines literature related to how groups attempt to create meanings associated with geographic locations in order to utilize public space for themselves and their members within types of territories.

Religion and Sense of Place

This study's second area of inquiry focuses on how groups attempt to represent and utilize public space in ways which create a dominant sense of place that reflects the beliefs and practices of the group's members. This section focuses on literature related to religious geography that examines the use of public space by religious groups as a strategy for creating or reifying meanings associated with specific places. It illustrates concepts and areas of inquiry that may be pursued with regard to the Catholic Church in Slovakia to increase specific topical knowledge and utilize methodologies which allow this research to be relevant in broader cultural geography debates.

Catherine Brace, Adrian Bailey, and David C. Harvey, through their collaborative efforts on the geography of Methodism in Cornwall, have emerged within the field of religious geography as researchers who are seeking to reconnect religious topics with some of the broader, ongoing debates in the social sciences (Brace et al. 2006). Primarily, they argue that in order for geography as a topic of research to be reinserted as a subject of interest in such debates, geographers must reconnect religious research with larger research trends, particularly “conceptual developments that highlight the spatial practices, techniques, and scales through which communities are imagined and constructed” (Brace et al. 2006, 35). Keeping in mind that a functional perspective on religion considers behaviors beyond what are considered ‘officially’ religious, we may examine a wide range of spatial behaviors with regard to their possible religious significance.

The previous section examined literature regarding how groups use territories to circumscribe ecclesiastic or political power according to Paasi’s (1996) definition of discipline-centered regions. However, taking a strictly discipline-centered view of Catholic dioceses as regions risks missing some of the deeper role they may play in circumscribing formal cultural regions of Catholics. This second body of literature focuses on research that considers regions in the critical sense—which according to Paasi, means that regions can also be understood as “processes that are performed, limited, symbolized and institutionalized through numerous practices and discourses that are not inevitably bound to a specific scale” (Paasi 2003, 805). As Paasi explains:

...‘regions’ are based at times on collective social classifications/identifications, but more often on multiple practices in which the hegemonic narratives of a specific regional entity and identity are produced, become institutionalized and are then reproduced (and challenged) by social actors within a broader spatial division of labour. Regions, their boundaries, symbols and institutions are hence not results of autonomous and evolutionary processes but expressions of a perpetual struggle over the meanings associated with space, representation, democracy and welfare. The institutionalization of regions may take place on all spatial scales, not only between the local level and the state (Paasi, 1991). Actors and organizations involved in the territorialization of space may act both inside and outside regions (Paasi 2003, 805).

This understanding of regions allows us to consider types of behaviors that help institutionalize regions and create a distinct sense of place, as well as how groups utilize power to create place-based meanings. I adopt Paasi’s (2003) definition of “place,” of which he stated

...‘place’ is conceptualized flexibly, ad hoc, without any presuppositions of scale, showing a relativist tendency to leave the general meanings of categories open. Place is thus understood contextually (and at times metaphorically) in relation to ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, body, self, etc., often in such a manner that it becomes one constitutive element in the politics of identity (Paasi 2003, 806).

It must be pointed out that religion is conspicuously absent from Paasi’s list of contexts for understanding place, and this speaks to the current state of religious geography research. Certainly, religion is an important context around which a sense of place may develop. Paasi’s concept of the region as both narrated and contested begs an inquiry as to how this is accomplished. Tuan’s fundamental examination of religion tells us that, if religion is to be simply understood as a faith or ethic which influences our worldview, then according to Tuan, “Buddhism is as much a religion as Christianity, and atheistic Communism is a religion no less than agnostic Confucianism” (Tuan 1976, 271). Using this rudimentary understanding of religion, we can understand the competition for political and social control in Slovakia from a spatial perspective as a competition between Catholics and Communists to establish and/or

contest a local sense of place according to their respective worldviews. The following section examines empirical studies dealing with religion and the negotiation of identity and sense of place. Several geographers have focused on spatial practices which utilize public space to create place-based religious meanings and a religious sense of place.

Harvey et al. (2007) focused on the role that Methodist Sunday schools, tea treats, and parades played in forming a Cornish Methodist regional identity. They examine religious parades in Cornwall around the turn of the 20th century, which were often followed by public social gatherings known as tea treats. The authors argue that these parades and socials served as one of the “key identity-framing vehicles in the construction of religious place-based identities” in Cornwall among Methodists groups (Harvey et al. 2007, 25). The importance of these activities was their public, performative nature, which simultaneously served to build a communal religious identity among the participants, as well as utilize public space in a way which sacralized its meaning. Again, the authors related their research back to Paasi, reminding us that, “place-based identities of region and nation become institutionalized through cultural processes” like the public spectacle of Methodist parades and socials (Harvey et al. 2007, 29).

The impacts such “conspicuous ritual practices” have on both the constituents who take part in them, as well as on the space in which they are held are worth discussing in greater depth. With regard to the participants themselves, such public events allow them to “cohere around shared understandings of language, morality, corporeality, emotions and reason” (Harvey et al. 2007, 29). With regard to the space in which they take place, such parades “made symbolic statements about local social order, offering a model of religious respectability that overlapped with contemporary notions of citizenship and communal belonging” (Harvey et al. 2007, 44).

These three scholars' examination of parades and their spatial nature is extremely useful in relation to Slovakia, in particular because it can aid in understanding the deeper meanings of one of Slovak Catholics' most important traditions—the religious pilgrimage. Works by David Doellinger (2002; 2007) have addressed the role of Slovak pilgrimages in relation to the larger project of rebuilding civil society which occurred in the 1970s and 1980s in Slovakia. Just as Harvey, Brace, and Bailey described the role of Methodist parades, Doellinger noted that “religious pilgrimages in Slovakia provided a firm and pre-existing space within which activists of the secret church could gain a greater foothold in the public sphere...” (Doellinger 2002, 225).

While such pilgrimages had been a Slovak Catholic tradition for decades or even centuries prior, they continued to occur during communism and slowly began to be utilized as alternative religious spaces in which Catholics could celebrate and express their faith, while making public statements about place-based religious meaning and in many instances, political statements regarding the oppression they faced from the government of Slovakia. These pilgrimages “created a space in society where mainstream religious Catholics could meet and develop ties with Catholics who were involved in the secret church. The authorities, faced with such large numbers, were unable to prevent individuals from attending pilgrimages or prevent pilgrimages from becoming arenas for political discussion” (Doellinger 2002, 227).

Doellinger's (2007) analysis of the famous Czechoslovak pilgrimage to Velehrad explains not only how such pilgrimages functioned as identity-framing mechanisms, but also helped reconnect formal and informal Church actors in their attempts to reclaim Catholic space. In addition, Doellinger's research is important in that it is some of the only work to date which

addresses Slovak Catholic issues from a spatial perspective. He cited Turner and Turner (1978), who explained, similarly to Harvey et al. (2007), that

Pilgrimage should be regarded ... as an institution with a history. Each pilgrimage, of any length, is vulnerable to the history of its period and must come to terms with shifts of political geography. Pilgrimage is more responsive to social change and popular moods than liturgical ritual, fixed by rubric (Turner and Turner in Doellinger 2007, 99).

Doellinger provided an excellent explanation of the ways in which Catholic social and political actors from across the spectrum of spatial scales collaborated to imbue the Velehrad and similar pilgrimages with political and social messages which reflected the desire for change as well as the end to anti-religious oppression. He illustrated how, through grassroots efforts, “the nature of the pilgrimage experience was transformed by activities in the secret (underground) Catholic church” (Doellinger 2007, 102), allowing a political message to be both communicated to the communist government and the Catholic pilgrims who might have, up until that point, felt isolated in their beliefs, or disconnected from a likeminded Catholic community. Additionally, Doellinger illustrated the interplay between public spectacle and the community and identity building work of the secret Catholic press. He mentioned that it was the secret church that “used its *samizdat* network to publicize this and later pilgrimages and it published accounts of each year’s pilgrimages” (Doellinger 2007, 102), illustrating the ways in which the imagined communities of Catholics created through the dissemination of Catholic literature could be concretely transformed into actual communities of Slovak Catholics converging to take part in pilgrimages.

Finally, Doellinger illustrated how Slovak pilgrimages were able to transcend spatial scales to unite the Slovak Catholic Church with international diplomatic efforts on the part of the

Vatican to regain political and social authority for the Church. The famous Czech Cardinal Tomášek released a formal, public invitation for Pope John Paul II to attend the Velehrad pilgrimage. Although the Pope was refused permission to visit Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the 1985 pilgrimage, this incident showed the ability of the Czech and Slovak Catholics to pressure the communists at an international level for increased freedom, which also helped gain the attention of international media and human rights groups. To summarize, Doellinger quoted famous Slovak politician and dissident Ján Čarnogurský regarding the spatial role of the Slovak pilgrimage phenomenon:

[While] they last, pilgrimages solve a basic problem of our society - the problem of being outnumbered by the police ... The police are unable even to act against individuals on pilgrimages, because they are protected in the solidarity of numbers ... [This] feeling of safety gives the pilgrims another feeling - that of freedom. On a pilgrimage they can act according to their convictions and openly display their religious faith (Čarnogurský in Doellinger 2007, 112).

At a fundamental level, Doellinger's two studies illustrate how—through public spectacle—Slovak Catholics were able to create uniquely Catholic spaces where political messages could be disseminated, important contacts between activists and the population could be made, where a sense of shared or imagined community could be built, and where actors at all scales—local, national, and international—were able to interact.

In a more general sense, Doellinger is addressing one aspect of how Slovak Catholics attempted to rebuild a civil society—meaning, the “arena of the polity where self-organizing groups, movements, and individuals, relatively autonomous from the state, attempt to articulate values, create associations and solidarities, and advance their interests” (Doellinger 2002, 217). Much of Slovak Catholic civil society in this sense had been lost by the early 1950s and was only later rebuilt on a much smaller and sparser scale. One of the major institutions Slovak Catholics

lost and only later were able to reestablish was its educational system, which helped bridge the gap between Catholic social and religious teachings and daily practices and behaviors.

The importance of education in the formation of religious communities is addressed in relation to Cornwall again by Bailey, Brace, and Harvey. Bailey et al. (2007) focused on the ways in which Methodists in Cornwall sought to inculcate particular religious attitudes among religious youth. Again, these authors point out that such research requires examining behavior beyond official church worship and examining “practices embedded, not only in the formal spaces of worship, but also in the everyday geographies of civic and domestic space” (Bailey et al. 2007, 142).

Their research addresses specific areas in which they note that religious geography research is deficient. First, they point out that little research had addressed the relationship between official church teachings and daily spatial practices among adherents. Second, they argue that “historical geographers have neglected the religious construction of childhood and children’s experiences” (Bailey et al 2007, 142). The authors relate these two topics by examining the role that childhood religious education and Methodist Sunday schools in Cornwall have historically played in teaching Methodist virtues—in particular, either temperance or teetotalism—to children. The importance of this relationship is that, once instilled, behaviors related to the consumption of alcohol became a key bodily practice with a distinct spatial character. In a more general sense, this specific example relating bodily practice and public space is important because it speaks to the spatial nature of Christian religiosity and religious identity:

...people’s subscription to protocols of personal identity which they derive from Christian expectations, or discourses, evident in their own time and place. Protocols are rituals or customs of behaviour, economic activity, dress, speech and so on which are collectively promulgated as necessary for Christian identity.

The protocols are prescribed or implied in discourses on Christian behaviour. The discourses may be official ones from churches or clergy, public ones from the media, “community” ones from within an ethnic group, a street, or a family, or private ones developed by men and women themselves (Brown in Bailey et al. 2007, 144).

This explanation of from where “protocols of personal identity” are derived touches on all three notions of spatial realms developed in the previous chapter. In one sense, this study is an examination of the ways (and spaces) in which such “discourses on Christian behavior” occur, whether in relation to official and unofficial religious activities, spectacle like pilgrimages and protests, journalism and printed media, or even diplomatic relations between church and state. Most often, the underlying goal of such activities, both on the part of church and state, is the ritualization or sacralization of such activities in ways which create dominant narratives about identity, space, and place. Hans Mol (1976) argued that

all religions, including ‘secular’ religions such as Marxism, Maoism, and Nationalism, establish the order of a common viewpoint and a system of meaning. They all attempt to sacralize a specific interpretation of reality, and thereby unify with varying degrees of success the societies in which they find themselves (Mol 1976, 201).

He noted that even secular worldviews like Marxism behave in many respects like a religion and that “observers have found similar sacralizing characteristics in Marxism in general, which has frequently been compared with a religion” (Mol 1979, 195). Certainly, Slovak communists understood the power that cultural rituals and traditions had on creating a distinct sense of place, forming regional and national identities, and exercising social authority. Their attempts to develop competing rituals commemorating birth, marriage, and death—traditionally, the exclusive realm of religion in Slovakia—illustrates that they were aware (or became aware) of the power such rituals played in daily life. Mol explains that the power to sacralize social

activities and ritualize certain behaviors is the power to create dominant regional and national “contexts of narratives of identity” as Paasi called them. Mol explained the nature of this power:

...a strong case could be made out to show that the muting and motivating, the constraining and co-opting, the reforming and reinforcing are necessary for the integration of any society. A relevant religion will reflect, reconcile, and sublimate the strains and stresses of the society in which it is imbedded. A religion that strengthens social solidarity will thereby simultaneously reinforce the frame of reference for the reconciliation of personal and group divergences. It will channel personal motivation and group co-operation into directions advantageous for the larger social whole (Mol 1979, 184).

At the heart of this process is the desire of both the church and the state for power to create “sociocultural boundaries and the cultural distinctions between insiders and outsiders, between the self-image (individual) and the group image (society)” (Brace et al. 2006, 35). Similar to Allen’s (2003) arguments regarding space and power, the ability to determine belonging and who is considered an insider allows the power holder to create a cultural landscape and shape a regional or national identity, either secular or sacral, which reifies and reflects the power of that group within that landscape. Sacralization and the establishment of ritual is a powerful tool in this regard, as Mol reminds us.

Thus far, literature related to the geography of religion, territoriality, and place-based meaning have been examined. The final section examines the use of newspaper discourse to influence public perceptions about the role of religion in national identity.

Religious Discourse and National Identity

The previous chapter provided a brief introduction to the relationship between discourse and national identity. Geographers like Kaplan (1994) and Herb (1999) have drawn connections

between national identity and territory, noting that national identities always take on a spatial characteristic. They are constructed in relation to an understanding of the territory claimed by members of the nation or what Benedict Anderson (1991) referred to as an “imagined community.” Kaplan called national identities that become tied to (and claim ownership of) specific geographic territories “spatial identities.” Paasi (1997) and Häkli (1999) suggested that such spatial identities are not fixed, but represent continually contested processes of identity formation which can and do change over time. In describing this process, Häkli coined the term “discursive landscape”—which describes the cultural landscape of a region or nation that assumes and bounds a spatial identity and is formed by different kinds of discourse (pg. 124). This section examines literature related to how identity is formed by discourse and how types of discourse—especially writing found in newspapers, which Macdonnell (1986) suggested is central to identity-framing discourse—influences identity formation that is tied to a particular cultural landscape.

Bednarek (2006) pointed out that it is virtually impossible for journalists to produce objective writing that does not introduce “value judgments” and the writer’s own opinions into the stories they produce (pg. 5). She stated that often, objectivity is even undesirable as the introduction of subjectivity on the part of the writer helps “express the writer’s opinion...construct relations between the writer and the reader, and...organize the text” (pg. 5). Subjectivity on the part of a journalist produces a discourse which comments on important social issues. Bednarek (2006) pointed out that “our short term evaluations may then turn into long-term values, which are important to our lives as our beliefs” (pg. 4). In other words, newspaper discourse holds the potential to create values and beliefs which become imbedded in a culture and become part of an identity.

Social relations, social identities, and cultural knowledge are all changed through the creation of discourse (Fairclough 1993). Subjectivity in writing is the link between discourse and identity (pg. 122) since it is through subjectivity that a journalist's agenda becomes part of a story which seeks to persuade the readership to adopt a common point of view regarding an aspect of society or culture. Such views can eventually lead to a common cultural perspective which becomes part of the national identity. In particular, political groups are often keenly aware of the power of written discourse and its ability to alter the opinions of readers. Political groups that seek to craft social commentary through newspaper articles are very deliberate about the ways in which they write as well as the language they choose to employ (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999).

Fairclough (2003) suggested that the goal of newspaper discourse is the process of "meaning-making." He identifies three specific elements of this process: "the production of text, the text itself, and the reception of the text" (pg. 10). In order to understand the purpose of a particular discourse, it is necessary to understand these three elements. As Fairclough pointed out,

...it seems clear that meanings are made through the interplay between [the author and reader]: we must take account of the institutional position, interests, values, intentions, desires, etc. of producers; the relations between elements at different levels in texts; and the intuitional positions, knowledge, purposes, values, etc. of the receivers (Fairclough 2003, 11).

The general purpose of analyzing newspaper discourse is to identify the goals and desires of the group producing the discourse and then seek to understand how and why they are motivated to produce identity-framing commentary.

The worldwide Catholic Church has a long publishing tradition which it has traditionally used as an outlet to educate readers about Catholic issues. Overall, the purpose of Catholic

publications has been to comment on the role of Catholicism in society, as well as comment on pertinent social issues. Klejment (2003) showed how the American Catholic publication *Catholic Digest* has traditionally been a vehicle for the Church to promote cultural changes in Catholic culture, such as the adoption of Neo-Scholasticism among Catholics. “Defining and maintaining the boundaries of Catholic culture” (pg. 110) was the overall goal of the discourse created in *Catholic Digest* articles.

During the years of Communism, the free press—including numerous Catholic publications—fell under the control of government censors. Catholic publications that had existed for decades and had built large Catholic readerships suddenly became important propaganda tools for Communist governments which took control of the discourse being created in these publications. Austen (2009) showed how the Czech Catholic newspaper *Katolícke Noviny* (not to be confused with the Slovak newspaper of the same name) became a propaganda tool of the Czech Communist regime, which attempted to use it to craft identity-framing discourse about the role of Catholicism in Czech society as well as to convince Catholics about the friendly orientation of the Communist government toward Catholicism and religion in general.

Austen’s analysis of newspaper discourse in the Czech *Katolícke Noviny* shows how many of the most anti-Catholic actions taken by the Czech Communists went completely unmentioned in the newspaper (Austen 2009, 9). At the same time, *Katolícke Noviny* writers produced a steady stream of articles which attempted to convince Czech Catholics that the aims of the Communist regime’s social justice program were very similar to the type of social justice envisioned by the Church (pg. 10). At the same time, newspaper writers produced numerous articles that promoted Communist political movements like the Czech branches of the “Catholic

Action” movement and later, the Peace Committee of National Catholic Clergy (pg. 11). Austen (2009) concluded that the overall goal of Communist discourse in *Katolícke Noviny* was to “affect the readers’ understandings of the relationship between Church and state, the state’s relationship with the Vatican, and their opinions of the Popes, bishops and so-called national religious organizations” (pg. 109).

Newspaper discourse is identity-framing when it seeks to change elements of national identity through commentary on social and cultural issues. Both political and religious organizations utilize discourse in order to disseminate social and political viewpoints in the hope that they will become dominant. Discourse analysis seeks to identify how discourse is used to either reify or change social and political views within a national identity.

Conclusions

This review of literature illustrates how this study will increase existing knowledge about the geography of religion, how organizations spatially organize their activities, how groups utilize and represent public space to create place-based meanings, and how newspaper discourse can be used to influence national identity. In particular, this study will increase what is known about the cultural and social role of the Catholic Church and Communist government in Slovakia after World War II, especially for Slovaks living in and around the Košice diocese.

Several key ideas derived from this literature should be reiterated for emphasis. First, in order for the religion of geography subdiscipline to once again produce research which is relevant to larger disciplinal discussions, it must adopt and utilize modern methodologies being used by others human geographers. It is imperative for religious geographers to move beyond outmoded, binary classifications of what is and what is not deemed to be official religious

behavior. If religion is to be listed among the important cultural traits recognized to have significant meaning in the lives of people, then religious research must first recognize and attempt to understand how religion is expressed through and integrated into people's daily activities. When religious phenomena are examined in this manner, it becomes clear that religion and religious behaviors are to be found everywhere, and the sacralizing effects of these behaviors illustrate the shortcomings of the secularization thesis.

In order for religious geography research to move forward in such a way, new conceptions of place, space, and identity must be adopted. First, a functional approach to regions must be employed. Regions are useful conceptions for studying religious communities and their identities, but only when such regions are selected for their particular characteristics which demonstrate them to be centers of religious and communal identification. Dioceses can usefully be examined as regions, so long as they can be shown to function as politically and socially cohesive units around which a religious sense of place develops. Also, they cannot be taken for granted or treated as *a priori* constructions, despite the fact that they might also be understood more traditionally as "discipline-centered," according to Paasi's definition.

In this study, my goal is to illustrate how Catholic conceptions of space, place, and identity slowly changed as the Church was forced to adapt to the adversity it faced from the communist government in Slovakia. The traditional geographic structure of the Catholic Church in Slovakia, the way it organized and utilized space, and the way it deployed resources to exercise power and influence were all severely impeded and in most cases, severely restricted by the communist government. In the face of this adversity and competition for the ability to control and dominate space, the church slowly transitioned, more adeptly at some points than at others, to attempt to remain relevant and keep Catholic religion alive in Slovakia. I will attempt

to show how, at a diplomatic level, the Ostpolitik of the Vatican in the early years of Slovak communism employed spatial strategies which reflected a traditional, discipline-centered approach to its own geographic structure, and how the behaviors of the Slovak hierarchy in implementing these policies clearly reflected this discipline-centered view. The significant changes in the Ostpolitik of John Paul II—a Slavic pope who knew communism and the secret Slovak church well—show how the Church’s spatial approaches to diplomacy evolved to reflect a more sophisticated, critical view of space.

My main goal is to show how, at the diocesan level, these changing conceptions of space, place, and identity allowed the Catholic Church to survive in Slovakia. After the failure of the local diocese as a politically and socially cohesive region, and reflecting the evolution in Catholic diplomatic strategy, local Slovak Catholics and their clergy were able to identify new methods for opening up Catholic space, representing Catholic identity, and creating a Catholic sense of place.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this research project is to investigate how the Catholic Church in Slovakia has historically been able to organize and utilize space in such a way to maintain its political and social influence across its dioceses, create and reify a cultural landscape with a distinctly Catholic sense of place, and use dissemination tools like newspapers and printed materials to aid in creating a Catholic perception of community and belonging. In addition, this research examines how—after state relations with the Communist government turned confrontational and overtly hostile—the Church was forced to find new ways in which to assert ecclesiastic authority and identify new, alternative spaces in which Catholic identity and community could be represented, performed, and expressed.

This Chapter explains how this research was conducted, the selection of research sites, and how data sources were identified and then sampled in order to build a body of archival documents which could be utilized by my methodological framework. This framework was introduced in Chapter 1 and is discussed here in more detail. This Chapter discusses some difficulties experienced during the data collection process and how these difficulties were overcome. The historical nature of this project dictates that Slovak-language, archival documents serve as the main source of data for this research.

Data Collection and Project Scope

The original plan for this project had a much larger scope, with the goal of conducting a comparative study that included both Poland and the Czech Republic in addition to Slovakia. The feasibility of such an ambitious project in light of both time and travel constraints made a smaller, more focused project more realistic. For these reasons, it became necessary to identify a specific region of Slovakia that could represent and speak to the larger issues this project attempts to address.

The fieldwork portion of this project was completed with the support of a twelve month Boren Fellowship which allowed me to travel to and live in Slovakia. My goal in selecting a location in Slovakia was to locate myself in close proximity to as many archival sources as possible and to select a site which could be justified in terms of its importance to the issues being researched. In general, my considerations in selecting a site were guided by Knott's criteria of "coherence and conceptual manageability" that were discussed in Chapter 2 (Knott 1998, 283). Knott stresses the selection of a study area which encompasses "the arena in which interactions commonly take place and institutions recognize one another and engage meaningfully" (Knott 1998, 283-284). Taking this into consideration, I decided to live and work in and around Rožňava, Slovakia. The selection of Rožňava as my home represented a compromise between access to resources, proximity to my main research site (the Košice diocese), cost-of-living issues, and limitations in funds. Located in Southeastern Slovakia, Rožňava is the seat of the Rožňava Diocese and also the location of a branch archive of the Slovak Ministry of the Interior. Most importantly, it is located in close proximity to the large, eastern Slovak city of Košice, which was the largest city in eastern Czechoslovakia and is now the second largest city in the

Slovak Republic. The city of Košice and the surrounding Catholic diocese serves as the study area of this project.

I chose the Roman Catholic Diocese of Košice as my study area for a number of reasons. First, the diocese's territory has historically served as a point of confluence between state and ecclesiastic administration, making it ideal for studying Church-state relations. Until the creation of Czechoslovakia, Košice served as the capital city of Upper Hungary within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was also briefly ceded back to Hungary after the First Vienna Award during World War II and then reunited to Slovakia after 1945, when it served as the temporary capital of Czechoslovakia under the Košice Government Program before Prague was liberated and once again reestablished as the capital of the country. Košice served as the seat of the Bishop of the Diocese of Košice, which was first established in 1804 and remained until March of 1995, when it was elevated to the status of an archdiocese, with the nearby dioceses of Rožňava and Spiš as its suffragan dioceses.

The second reason for the selection of Košice was that—while previous regional studies of Church-state relations have focused either on Prague or Bratislava (see Paces 2009; Felak 2009)—very little attention has been paid to the eastern part of Slovakia and Košice despite its historical importance in church and state matters. Many important figures in the Communist government and the Catholic Church were involved in issues which either centered on or involved the Diocese of Košice during the Communist era and these will be examined more closely in subsequent Chapters. The Diocese played a prominent role in the struggles between church and state in Slovakia between 1948 and 1989 and this role needs to be explored in much more depth in order for a more comprehensive understanding of Church-state relations in

Czechoslovakia to be achieved. The following section explains the process of data collection and fieldwork in and around Košice.

Data Collection and Organization

In addition to its status as an insufficiently studied region of Slovakia within the context of research regarding Church-state relations, Košice is also the location of several large archives and libraries which contain the sources of data that were collected for use in this study. My initial fieldwork task was to identify research locations that contained materials which could help address my research questions. I began by first making contact with researchers at Slovak institutions.

As part of the Boren Fellowship agreement, I was required to establish a scholarly affiliation with a Slovak institution during my stay in Slovakia. After some correspondence, I secured an affiliation with Prešovská univerzita (The University of Prešov) through its rector, Dr. René Matlovič. In addition to his job as head of the university, Dr. Matlovič is also a geographer by trade and the president of the Slovak Geographical Society. He made me aware of an international geography conference entitled *Challenges for the Geography of Religion in the 21st Century*, which was taking place at the university in early August as part of the EUGEO 2009 Second International Congress on the Geography of Europe. I was able to attend and present my preliminary research plans and ideas to those scholars in attendance and gain feedback regarding my proposed research. In addition, I was able to make contacts and receive recommendations about possible sources of data and potential fieldwork locations. The following is a brief

description of the research sites which were visited in order to collect primary source materials, as well as a description of the materials collected and the rationale for their collection.

Archives of the Diocese of Lincoln – Lincoln, Nebraska

Prior to leaving for Slovakia, I began my data collection by focusing on a data source located in the archives of the chancery of the Catholic Diocese of Lincoln, NE. My goal was to obtain a quantitative dataset which could act as a baseline for gauging changes in religious behaviors among the Church in Slovakia. The diocese's archives are extensive and contain a nearly complete set of the Vatican statistical yearbook, *Annuario Pontificio*, which records important statistical information each year about every Catholic diocese in the world. This yearbook provides the Vatican's official yearly statistics for the territories and dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church. It records specific ecclesiastic statistics for each calendar year for the Diocese of Košice, including the number of Catholics, the number of clergy (both parish and religious priests), the number individuals in religious orders, the number of charitable organizations including hospitals, and the number of active parishes. These data are reported yearly to the Vatican by individual dioceses and then compiled and published by the Vatican Press.

For the purposes of this study, this dataset serves as a baseline to show quantitative changes in church activities over time and will be used throughout this study as a means of showing how different events impacted the Church. I will use this dataset to look for quantitative changes that correlate with the specific historical events I examine in order to provide additional context as I address the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. These data

is not presented as causal evidence in relation to the issues I examine, and these statistics are not manipulated in a way to try and support or reject any hypotheses.

One reason why this dataset does not play a larger role in this study is that several potential problems exist. First, no comparable datasets exist to serve as a check on this data's reliability. These data was reported to the Vatican by Slovak dioceses about their parishioners and activities and so, in the absence of another dataset, its reliability cannot be assumed. The variable whose validity is the most difficult to assess is the yearly change in the number of each diocese's Catholics. These data are based on the number of registered parishioners in each diocese and, while it could be cross-referenced with local church registers where they are available, it may not reflect changes in the number of truly active parishioners who stopped participating in church life either due to a loss of faith or fear of Communist persecution, yet did not bother to have their names removed from official registers.

This illustrates a classic problem with the use of statistics in social sciences—especially those obtained through archival research. The problem is that often, “there are alternative explanations for the associations between the outcome and the hypothesized cause that we observe” (Axinn and Pearce 2006, 15). Yet, other statistics, such as the number of charities, schools, and religious vocations are more easily verifiable and less susceptible to bias or alternative explanations. Despite the various drawbacks of this data, it still contributes to the overall richness of this project and its use of mixed analytical methods in that it provides a certain degree of methods triangulation. The value of method triangulation, meaning the use of a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to study one problem, is that it “ultimately fortifies and enriches a study's conclusions, making them more acceptable to advocates of both qualitative and quantitative methods” (Nagy and Hesse-Biber 2010, 4-5).

Over the course of two visits to the archive in the summer of 2009, I was able to collect these statistics for each year available in the Košice Diocese from 1945 to 1989.

Košice Branch of the Slovak State Archives – Košice, Slovakia

My second data collection site, and the first one abroad, was the Košice branch of the Slovak State Archives, which until 1989, were known as the Central State Archives. The Košice branch is the largest in Eastern Slovakia and is administered by the Slovak Ministry of the Interior. This archive contains several large collections, many of which are still only partially available because they have not been completely cataloged and organized. In addition to the main Košice branch of the archives, I was also able to work in one of the smaller, regional branches located in Rožňava, Slovakia. The realities of data collection in Slovak archives caused some issues which are discussed in the following section. Also, the sheer volume of available data led to some changes in focus and scope during the data collection process which will also be mentioned.

My attention focused on the collection of documents from the Krajský Národný Výbor (Regional National Committee, KNV), which served as the provincial government in Eastern Slovakia from 1949-1990. This collection contains a great deal of information regarding the government's treatment of the Catholic Church. Of particular interest are documents from the Odbor pre veci Cirkevné (Office of Religious Affairs)—also known as SLOVÚC—which was set up in 1949 to deal with church-related issues on behalf of the state. The first step in my archival collection process was to determine a collection “target” or strategy for gathering documents within this collection. This is essentially a strategy that a researcher must define in order to establish a systematic approach to selecting materials from an archive (Hill 1993, 27).

Using archival data provides many advantages, including the fact that the archival data collection process can remain relatively unstructured (Axinn and Pearce 2006, 9), but it also has some drawbacks which must be creatively overcome with regard to the data organization process. For instance, “when using documents or other secondary sources, the researcher is at the mercy of whoever recorded the information in the first place. The degree of structure involved in obtaining the data is impossible to tell. Certainly, whatever was done is impossible for the researcher to change” (Axinn and Pearce 2006, 9). For this reason, I have organized different datasets in slightly different ways.

At the KNV archive, I collected documents that were produced by offices inside the Kosice Diocese and also collected documents from Prague and Bratislava if their topic dealt specifically with the diocese. Essentially, this archival collection is comprised of three main types of documents: written correspondence between church and state officials, regional and national policy directives from the government regarding its strategy toward dealing with the Church, and classified intelligence documents about Church activities. These three types of documents were intermixed within the structure of the KNV archive, and so as I worked in the archive, I found myself collecting groups of documents which archivists had positioned in proximity to one another because of their perceived interrelatedness (a Communist document about a particular instance followed by Catholic documents about the same instance) or their direct relationship (a letter from a Communist official to the bishop followed by the bishop’s written response).

Certainly, this archival structure played a role in the manner in which my data was both collected and later, organized. For instance, when I began working with the KNV archive, it had already had a categorization strategy imposed upon it by archivists which was a combination of

chronological and topical organizational methods. As with any archive however, this is simply a result of the process of archival sedimentation. As Michael R. Hill explained:

When researchers open a box of archival materials, the particular, concrete set of items in the box is the end product of an involved sedimentation process. The “sediment” in archives results directly from people defining certain materials—and not others—as “worth keeping” in archival situations. Conversely, it is from this accumulated sediment that researchers construct and reinterpret out shared stock of knowledge in sociohistorical terms—and try to convince us that information about particular situations is “worth knowing” (Hill 1993, 9).

According to the archival index materials of the KNV collection, the archive is organized according to several main themes or topics: Church policy and monitoring of religious life, the peace movement of the clergy, internal Church organization, territorial organization of churches, interference with the religious houses and monasteries, and cases of Church and lay individuals. Within each of these categories, a chronological order existed, meaning that I essentially browsed through data within the “church policy and monitoring of religious life” section from the 1940s to the 1980s and then began again in the 1940s once I moved on to look at the “peace movement of the clergy” section. The predominance of chronological organization structures within archives, according to Hill, is generally attributable to the prevalence of their use by historians who benefit from and prefer this type of organization paradigm (Hill 1993, 18). Such organizational systems must not be accepted without scrutiny by the researcher however. As Hill pointed out, “topical rather than temporal organization of materials is often helpful” as it allows a subset of documents pertaining to one issue to be considered as a whole (Hill 1993, 65).

For my KNV dataset, I ultimately selected a holistic or contextual data organization method because it is best suited for the large collection of data I gathered—given the organizational structure of the archive—which is topical and then chronological by topic. I view

the most effective method of dealing with and presenting the data from this collection is to organize it around these several large ‘wholes’ or topics, within which I am able to identify and discuss specific examples related to my analysis in Chapter 5.

Jennifer Mason described this type of data organization as “a practice guided by a search both for the *particular in context* rather than the common or consistent, and the *holistic* rather than the cross-sectional” (Mason 2002, 165). In this way, holistic data organization is suitable for research that seeks to examine the evolution of “social processes, or complex narratives or practices” which are more subtle and lend themselves less to other methods of data organization, such as categorizing or indexing (Mason 2002, 165). Cross-sectional analyses using categories or indices would be quite difficult, given that the types of data I use to examine Catholic and Communist perspectives are quite different from one another in kind. Unlike a set of surveys, from which I could take cross-sectional snapshots of responses to a common set of data and provide an analysis, my archival data sources are rather disparate, making it more effective to organize Catholic and Communist documents holistically around specific topics, and then comparing one to the other based on explanations or outcomes as Mason suggests (Mason 2002, 167). These documents will be used primarily to address the issues examined in Chapters 5 and 6, regarding space and place, respectively.

In Chapter 5, I focus on issues of territorial control in Slovakia. To support this analysis, I collected documents from the KNV archive which I will use to determine the degree to which the process of Church officials attempting to maintain control over the diocesan territorial structure, voicing their objections to intrusions on the diocesan and hierarchal structure of the Church in Slovakia, and cultivating an underground, secret Church that could function as an alternative

spatial network of church activity illustrates that the Church utilized human territoriality as a spatial strategy for political, social, and cultural control.

Second, I collected documents which I will use to illustrate how Communist officials acted to weaken the previously dominant diocesan territorial structure in favor of their own territorial creations and explore whether these documents show that Communists attempted to utilize human territoriality as a spatial strategy. I relate materials from the KNV collection to Sack's theory of human territoriality in order to examine how both groups attempted to maintain control over the Slovak population primarily by maintaining control over these geographic territories (Sack 1986, 5).

In Chapter 6, I focus on the competition between Catholics and Communists to cultivate a distinct sense of place in and around Košice. Prior to the establishment of the Slovak National Council (SNC) in 1945, Košice was a city whose cultural landscape was dominated by the Catholic Church and which exuded a strong Catholic sense of place. As the largest city in eastern Czechoslovakia—located several hundred kilometers east of Bratislava and Prague—Košice represented the most immediate center of both church and state authority to Slovaks in the East. For this reason, the ability of either organization to establish Košice as their own in the eyes of Slovaks was crucial to success in achieving their goals.

Within the KNV archival collection, I collected documents that I could use to suggest that the Catholics and Communists implemented spatial strategies to reinforce the notion of Košice as being a distinctly Catholic or Communist place and that both worked through specific networks of power to achieve this goal. I focused on collecting archive materials which suggest that Church officials objected to the Communist assault on Catholic education and the preservation of religious celebrations in daily life in the diocese. I collected documents which I

could use to illustrate ways in which the Communists attempted to diminish the visibility of the Church and damaged its ability to carry out its mission through actions such as the closure of all of Slovakia's monasteries and convents and arresting or expelling all the members of religious orders—the majority of which were vital to the operation of schools, charities, and hospitals.

I will use these documents to examine how Allen's theory of spatial power relations can explain how people in the Diocese of Kosice were "placed by power" of either Catholic or Communist origin and how both attempted to control the "rhythms and relationships of particular places" in order to inculcate a strong Catholic or Communist sense of place (Allen 2003, 2). I worked in this archive from August until December of 2009.

University of Ružomberok, Faculty of Theology Library – Košice, Slovakia

After completing my work in the Košice State Archive, I began working in my second data collection site—the Archbishop of Košice's library which is administered by the Catholic University of Ružomberok Faculty of Theology established in Košice in 2003. The library contains a large collection of Slovak-language primary and secondary data sources which focus on the history of the Košice diocese and Church-state relations in Eastern Slovakia. One of the most important data sources I located at the Bishop's library was a nearly complete archive of the famous weekly Catholic newspaper *Katolícke Noviny*, which served Catholics in Slovakia for many years before being co-opted by Communist propagandists shortly after their takeover of the government in 1948.

To analyze the newspaper articles I collected, I perform a qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA) of these materials in Chapter 7 in order to examine the way in which particular

discursive processes are used in these articles as a means of exercising power over readers while at the same time concealing these representations of power. The purpose of CDA is to reveal how particular discourses are created to “shape...readers’ knowledge and beliefs” (Richardson 2007, 45). These “discursive practices” represent “the processes that journalists use to construct news texts for an identified (or imagined) target audience” (Richardson 2007, 112). These newspaper articles form the basis for my Chapter 7 analysis of how the Communist government attempted to create discourses in *Katolícke Noviny* to persuade Slovak Catholic readers that the aims of Catholicism and communism were compatible and thus, attempt to gain the support of Slovak Catholics. The CDA methodology is discussed in more detail later in this Chapter.

I must briefly discuss several issues I encountered during the data collection phase involving *Katolícke Noviny*. My initial goal was to browse every issue of the newspaper from 1948 forward. I quickly realized, however, that this plan was not feasible. Depending on the particular year, an issue of the newspaper could be eighteen pages long. Since the paper was published weekly from 1948 to 1989, that amounted to 1,968 separate issues and approximately 35,254 pages of text to read. For this reason, I devised a sampling method which was applied consistently across the data source. I decided to examine the first weekly issue of every month of the paper—meaning that one issue would be read for each month of the year, resulting in a yearly sample of twelve issues, a total sample of 492 issues, and approximately 8,856 pages which needed to be browsed. My next step was to again establish a targeting system for selecting articles to include in my discourse analysis. While *Katolícke Noviny* is a national newspaper, I select particular articles for use in the Critical Discourse Analysis based on their relevance to the Košice Diocese in order to build a dataset which captures the evolution of Communist discourses within the paper in relation to the diocese. Again, unlike the KNV

archive, no organization structure had been placed on the issues of *Katolícke Noviny* which had simply been bound according to the year in which they were published. In addition to carrying out my targeting process to select articles from my sample issues, I also had to organize these data in a way that would allow me to carry out a systematic and purposeful discourse analysis.

After spending some time with *Katolícke Noviny*, I began to identify several recurring themes which seemed to dominate the newspaper's ongoing discourse including the activities of pro-Communist groups like *Catholic Action*, the Organization of Patriotic Clergy, its successor—the *Pacem in Terris* group of Catholic Clergy, and the paper's emphasis on liberal Catholic ideologies like social justice and peace movements which could be presented as ways in which Catholicism was compatible with the aims of communism. I organized my collection of articles topically around these and other specific themes. The data within each topical organization is then ordered chronologically in order to capture the evolution of the discourse being constructed.

Of course, it should be noted that—just as the selection of particular data from within an archive is inevitably guided by biases particular to each researcher—so too is the data organization process influenced by similar biases. As Mason warns, “do not let the use of terms like ‘holistic’ and ‘real-life events’ allow you to forget that every narrative or representation is a version rather than an objective and neutral description” (Mason 2002, 168). My decision to focus on specific topics in the newspaper is just that—a decision. As Margaret Stieg noted:

Good historical research requires a sense of conviction and a point of view. Interpretation and selection go hand in hand; one is the result of the other. The writer must establish a personal relationship with the events being recounted. Where involvement is lacking, the result is not only dull, but it is likely to lack structure, conviction, and proportion; what is important will not be distinguished from what is unimportant (Stieg in Hill 1993, 59).

My selection of specific topics on which to focus was guided by my previous understanding of which historical events covered in *Katolícke Noviny* have been considered significant in past historical works. Of course, the goal of my analysis is not to reconstruct these historical events, but to determine the purpose, target audience, and intended outcome of constructing particular discourses within the newspaper.

After finishing with *Katolícke Noviny*, I collected editions of Catechism books used to teach young Slovaks in Catholic Sunday schools and other education programs for use in my analysis in Chapter 6. I was able to locate an edition of the Catechism to represent every decade in my study with the exception of a 1950s edition. I will use these books in combination with my collection of pastoral letters gathered from the archbishop's office to illustrate how Allen's discussion of networked power can be identified in the ways through which the Church instructed young people about daily church activities, greetings, sacraments, and general church life which was meant to instill a sense of belonging within a Catholic community. These types of learned behaviors—according to Allen—are precisely the types of “coded styles of authority, the gestures and mannerisms” which help to establish dominance of the cultural landscape and “the embodied use of social space which effectively add up to the production of an authoritative space” (Allen 2003, 169).

Finally, I collected a number of secondary sources which cover topics generally related to the relationship between the Church and state in Slovakia during communism. The collection of student theses and dissertations of the previous graduates of the Theological Faculty provide rich sources of secondary data regarding various topics related to my own research. These studies are very similar to those produced by students in American universities in that the students select their own topic, propose research, and defend their studies in front of academic committees.

While these studies were in no way limited to purely religious topics, I selected materials from several contemporary studies that have been written about religious issues in and around the Košice region, as well as those which utilized archival materials located in the city. Many of these provide excellent summaries of several specific events or topics related to this study. After reading them, I was able to gain a better understanding of the types of materials that were available in the city's archives. In addition, I was able to identify specific historical events in the diocese which have garnered past attention from local scholars helping me to target these issues in my own data collection and writing. These sources will be used as supplements to this study throughout Chapters 5, 6, and 7. I began my work at this location in December 2009 and finished in February 2010.

State Scientific Library of Košice – Košice, Slovakia

My third data collection site was the Štátna Vedecká Knižnica v Košiciach (State Scientific Library in Košice). This library also contains a large collection of Slovak-language secondary data sources which focus on the history of the Košice diocese and Church-state relations in Eastern Slovakia, as well as an archive of *Katolícke Noviny*, which I used to supplement the years that were missing from the Ružomberok library collection. After combining these two collections, I was able to access nearly every issue of the newspaper from 1945-1990 in order to complete my dataset for the CDA analysis. I worked at the library from February through March of 2010.

Archives of the Office of the Archbishop of Košice – Košice, Slovakia

My final data collection site was in the archives of the Košice Arcibiskupský Úrad (Archbishop's Office). This archive houses a very large collection of pastoral letters written by Auxiliary Bishop Jozef Čársky and later by the Vicar Capitular (Diocesan Administrator) Štefan Onderko. The bishop of each Catholic diocese frequently wrote pastoral letters and addresses which were printed and distributed to each parish and read either during the homily or at the conclusion of Sunday mass. Pastoral letters that were written jointly between several bishops were often published *in Katolícke Noviny*. In addition, bishops often wrote letters which were distributed to their clergy. Such letters often addressed initiatives to be undertaken at the beginning of liturgical seasons or other various issues concerning the diocese's schools, hospitals, and charities.

Unlike the KNV archival at the Ministry of the Interior, the structure of the Archbishop's archive is much different. The specific dataset in which I was most interested—the collection of pastoral letters and circulars—was organized in individual folders in chronological order according to year. It had no existing topical organization structure imposed on it by the archivists and so more work needed to be done with this data set in order to organize it in a purposeful manner. It is clear however that some sedimentation had occurred within this dataset. While some years' folders contained dozens of letters and circulars, others contained far fewer. It is most likely that the number of letters produced by the bishop and priests did not vary widely from year to year. More likely is the possibility that some letters simply did not survive the archival process or were never saved to be included in the individual years' folders. This is a common problem encountered in archives. As Michael Hill pointed out:

The concreteness of the order imposed by the archivist's labels, chronologies, and file folders is directly experienced when materials are made available to researchers on a box-by-box basis. It is tempting to take this immediate experience and imposed order for granted—because they are something real in themselves—but they may blind us to the...reality we intend to excavate (Hill 1993, 64).

Archival work requires researchers to consider what is missing from archival collections as a result of the sedimentation process. In the case of the collection of pastoral letters, it is possible to make an educated guess as to the types of information missing from certain years based on what types of materials and information are present in others.

I will use this collection of documents primarily to support my analysis in Chapters 6. These pastoral letters provide specific instructions from diocesan authorities to priests and parishioners throughout the Košice diocese regarding religious observances, how rituals were to be carried out, specific instructions and rules to be observed, and also often provided clarification of Catholic faith and Communist legislation—including the compatibility of church and state rules of valid marriages and will be used as examples of Allen's modalities of power in relation to Chapter 6's theme of place. I worked in this archive from March, 2010 until the end of my time abroad in May.

Notes on Fieldwork and Data Collection

The realities of accessing and making sense of Slovak archives were eye-opening to say the least. From the inception of this project, the prospect of relying almost solely on archival materials was both exciting and frightening, since I had little experience with foreign archives or

their operations prior to my year abroad on the Boren Fellowship. The first difficulty I experienced was that in planning a dissertation and writing a proposal, the ideas and topics I wished to research and address were highly contingent on certain archival data being available.

Unlike many other archives, there are virtually no catalogs or indexes available that enable foreign researchers to know what data are available in Slovak archives prior to actually visiting them. Instead, I had to rely on the very few English-language studies I could find related to my topic which utilized Slovak archival documents. From inspecting these studies and noting the types of archival materials that other scholars had used, I was able to make rough guesses about the types of documents or sources that I might find once I arrived in the archives.

For instance, James Felak's (2009) book *After Hitler, Before Stalin* uses several sources of data from the Slovak National Archives in Bratislava to address issues of Church-state relations between 1945 and 1948. Based on the data the author used, I could surmise that I might find similar data in the Košice archives. After contacting the author regarding his experiences in the field however, he informed me that he had not traveled to Košice and had no experience with the archives there, leaving me unsure of exactly what I would be able to access. Also, because Felak is a historian and his book is a political history of Slovakia between 1945 and 1948, it is chronological in organization and does not use archival sources chosen for their suitability in a study of spatial relationships. For this reason, Felak's book provides an excellent example of Slovak archival research, but does not provide useful examples of ways in which archival data might be used to support geographic research.

This uncertainty regarding the availability of data manifested itself most directly in the formulation of my research proposal. Essentially, I had to propose research that relied almost solely on data I could not guarantee to exist. Once in the field, if I were not able to locate such

data sources, my research would be not be feasible or would have to be drastically revised. Of course, this is the nature of archival research. As Kevin Hannam pointed out, archival researchers should “have well-formulated theoretical questions in mind but...allow the material itself to suggest new, alternative lines of inquiry. At very least, researchers must be ready to modify their original questions in light of material (Hannam 2002, 190).

Fortunately, I experienced a great deal of luck once arriving in Slovakia. I began at a basic level by contacting the local parish deacon in Rožňava who secured me invitations to several ecclesiastic archives and provided me with contacts in the Košice diocese. Also, through this channel, I became aware of the holdings of the Ružomberok University Theological Faculty in Košice, and was introduced by the librarian/archivist to their internal, computerized catalog system, which made locating and checking out materials much easier—despite the fact that materials were indexed according to Slovak keywords and that the library used an unfamiliar classification system.

After visiting the local Rožňava branch of the Slovak State Archives, I was able to make contacts in the Košice archive which made locating materials there much easier as well. Also, after a period of time the archivist in Košice was friendly enough to waive the usual limit of five boxes of materials per visit to the archive, allowing me to accomplish more during each trip and cut down the number of required visits dramatically. After a period of around ten months, I had exhausted my research sites and had built a collection of documents which I felt would allow me to address and support the research question presented in my proposal and complete a successful dissertation project.

Using archival materials almost exclusively in my research has also forced me to consider and address the ways in which archives are constructed, organized, and accessed by

researchers. For instance, Kim Steedman reminds us that researchers in archives are always reading documents that are both “unintended” and “purloined” (Steedman 2002, 75). Because these documents were never intended for the purpose of reconstructing or explaining history, they must always be considered in relation to their context, voice, and intended audience. For this reason, it is important to critically examine “the ways in which we construct a historical archive, the form of the sources we interpret and the imaginary and material spaces through which we move” (Bailey et al. 2009, 254).

The selection of certain materials from within these categories instead of others, the decision to focus on specific contexts while leaving out others, and the overall data gathering process in general are unavoidably influenced by what is best described as “prior theo-political convictions” which require an acknowledgement of how such convictions determine, to an extent, the ways in which archival materials are collected, organized, and used (Bailey et al. 2009, 256).

For instance, when examining the personal correspondence of a Catholic bishop for its content, knowing that he was under house arrest at the time a letter was written or that he wrote a particular letter with advance knowledge that it would be both read and censored by an agent of the Office of Religious Affairs are essential pieces of knowledge that can prove crucial in determining how that document is used and what its contents actually mean. Or, while reading declassified reports of the Slovak secret police, knowing for whom the report was written is crucial in interpreting why a particular detail was included while others are conspicuously absent. At the same time—given the particular biases of the researcher—these types of metadata will undoubtedly have an influence on the way these data are used to contribute to a narrative.

Such issues were ever-present in my mind while reading and collecting archival materials, as well as during the organization process.

Also, the larger contexts in which such documents were created have important implications for how they should be considered and presented. The local Communist authorities simply enforced the policies of the larger Czechoslovak Communist authority with its center in Prague, so the various policies and strategies of high-ranking party officials like Gottwald, Husák, or Dubček, make a great deal of difference in examining the subtleties of Church-state relations from the Communist perspective in that they can be interpreted to represent shifts or distinct periods within the overall strategy of the government toward the Church. On an even broader scale, these party functionaries were taking cues largely from the Kremlin, so it is also necessary to take into account changes and trends in Soviet leaders' strategies for dealing with religion is also necessary.

The same is true when dealing with ecclesiastic documents. The actions of local priests often reflected policies set in place by their respective bishops, so it is necessary to consider every archival document with regard to the church leadership of the period, as well as the extent to which that leadership was recognized and trusted by parish priests and parishioners. At a higher level, the actions of Slovak bishops (those few that continued to exist) reflected the actions, strategies, and diplomacy of the Vatican, so it is also vital to consider such archival documents with respect to the goals and attitudes of the Vatican at the time when the document was created. As it will be demonstrated, the strategies for dealing with the Communist governments of Eastern Europe varied widely among Popes and so these changes in strategy can easily be seen in the attitudes of bishops and clergy and traced in archival documents which reflect these changing strategies.

Thus far, I have explained the ways in which archival data for this study was located and gathered, and finally organized. I have also discussed briefly some of the considerations which must be made in assessing the validity and implications of the contents of this archival data. I now move on to discuss the ways in which this data is analyzed and the various methodologies used in these analyses.

Data Analysis and Methodology

This section describes the methodologies used and the theories tested within subsequent Chapters. It also explains the ways in which data are analyzed in reference to the three large spatial realms outlined in the introductory Chapter. The general goal of this research is to examine how the Catholic Church struggled with the Communist state in Slovakia for control of the territorial space, the cultural landscape and sense of place, and the cultural identity of Slovaks from approximately 1948 to 1989. Each of these topics is addressed in its own Chapter.

In Chapter 5, I examine the ways in which the Catholic Church in Slovakia utilized territoriality as a spatial strategy for controlling and exerting influence over the dioceses it established within the Slovak state. In order to do this, I consider Robert Sack's question, "What has made the Church territorial and how has territoriality affected the nature of the Church (Sack 1986, 92)? I investigate Sack's assertion about the complexity and territorial nature of the Catholic Church by applying his theory and its typology regarding the tendencies and resultant effects of territoriality to the Slovak case.

Sack argues that, "the Church is one of the most enduring and best-documented examples of an institution using territoriality as an integral part of its organization. The parish, the diocese,

the archdiocese, and also the architectural partitioning of church buildings, clearly reveal the Church's reliance on territoriality" (Sack 1986, 51). In addition, I attempt to address Sack's assertion that, "as a strategy, territoriality can be turned on and off (Sack 1986, 1), by examining the evolution of the Church's territorial strategy, both at grassroots and diplomatic levels, to see if the church strategy did indeed exhibit such behaviors, either by choice or necessity.

For each topic or theme I established during the process of data organization discussed previously, I identify and apply one or more elements of Sack's typology of territorial *tendencies* and *combinations*, as well as their internal linkages and application to the specific topics or themes. In addition to examining the church according to this typology, I also consider the behaviors and strategies of the Communist party in Slovakia with regard to Sack's typology. I argue and demonstrate in Chapter 5 that the first course of action for the Slovak Communists after 1948 was to attack and destroy the territorial structure of the Catholic Church, thereby diminishing its ability to employ territoriality as a strategy in Slovakia.

Sack noted that, "in some cases, the political, economic, and religious functions of the visible Church and its territories lead to multiple and conflicting sources of control" (Sack 1986, 95). Early Communist strategies intended to foster such conflicts for control by attempting to create a national Slovak Catholic Church through enticing bishops and clergy to reject the power of the Vatican and thus, become the leaders of their own national church. This was to be accomplished by exacerbating communication between the political hierarchy of the Church in order to disrupt the chain of command and weaken it internally, with the intention of also weakening its territorial control. I conduct this analysis with Communist documents detailing the procedures and progress of the Communist-led, so-called "Catholic Action" petition which asked Slovak Catholics and clergy to support a national catholic church, free of the Vatican

hierarchy, as well as letters from Catholic bishops and priests which detail the movement to resist the petition.

In Chapter 6, I move on to examine the ways in which Church-state relations between the Catholics and Communists in Slovakia were generally representative of a host of power relations similar to those described by Allen (2003). I seek to answer the questions How was the Catholic Church in Slovakia able to create and reify a cultural landscape with a distinctly Catholic sense of place? How were the Communists in Slovakia able to challenge this Catholic sense of place and how successful were they at diminishing the prominence of Catholic space in the Košice diocese? I utilize two main concepts from Allen's (2003) book *Lost Geographies of Power* as underlying assumptions about the spatial nature of power. First, I consider Allen's assertion that power should be understood as a relational effect, rather than as a property of someone or something (Allen 2003, 4). In other words, power is an outcome rather than a cause. The second of Allen's concepts which I utilize in Chapter 6 is that, while power may result from the deployment and effective use of resources, it is not a resource in itself. In other words, a large storehouse of resources does not equal a large amount of power, thus, it is more fruitful to examine the type of power being exercised, rather than the means by which resources are mobilized (Allen 2003, 104). For instance, the literature discussed in Chapter 2 shows that the associational power that resulted from religious processions and pilgrimages enabled Slovaks to overcome some of the oppression they regularly suffered through communist laws.

In order to relate Allen's theory of the spatiality of power, I apply his typology of "modalities of power" to the specific Slovak cases or topics that I established in the organization of my collection of pastoral letters as well as the KNV archive. These topics are related to my second realm of spatial activity, that of place. Allen identifies eight distinct modes by which

power is exercised, each with different spatial characteristics involving what he calls “proximity and reach.” Within each specific case or context discussed in Chapter 6, I identify and examine the modalities of power utilized by both the Communist government and the Catholic Church. I use private documents from both organizations which reveal how both organizations exercised power in multiple forms or modalities. For instance, a particular Communist document explains how all attacks on a person’s spirituality should be done in a way which is subtle and does not draw unnecessary attention or distract from larger, long-term goals—illustrating that the Communists considered both the modality of power they used as well as how their actions against the Church would potentially be perceived.

While each modality can indeed result in the exercise of power, this power can be experienced and interpreted in vastly different ways. As Allen argues, “spatiality is constitutive of power relations not only in general, but also in the particular ways in which different modes of power take effect” (Allen 2003, 102). For instance, while coercion may indeed be an effective mode of power, it “requires continuous effort and resources” and also a close spatial presence to enforce such coercive actions. Such attempts to practice coercion lose “effectiveness as a remote ploy” (Allen 2003, 150). As John Agnew reminds us:

...despotic power...has historically come to rely much more on establishing its legitimacy than once was the case. Direct coercion is simply less effective as a mode of rule in modern states. Though it can be used against recalcitrant minorities, large segments of the population must be placated and pleased rather than coerced. Rulers need to establish at least a modicum of popular authority before they can achieve their goal. Coercive power as an element of effective sovereignty, therefore, has limited possibility of long term success unless it can simultaneously enroll and gain the consent of others. It can actually undermine effective sovereignty... (Agnew 2005, 444).

Both Allen and Agnew show that coercion as a modality of power is generally not sustainable in the long term and the extent to which the Communist government relied on this mode of power may have in fact impeded its long term goals in Slovakia. A much more sustainable yet elusive mode of power is that of translation, which Allen describes as “the ability to ‘hook up’ others to the process of circulation, to draw others into the network of meanings in such a way that extends and reproduces itself through time and space” (Allen 2003, 133). Indeed, the ability to “stabilize power relations at a distance rests upon the work of translation, in particular the inscription of a particular way of doing things so that its basic message remains the same regardless of whether those involved are far or near” (Allen 2003 129). I will argue in both the upcoming Chapter as well as in Chapter 6 that the Catholic Church in Slovakia had a great deal of success exercising power through translation, meaning that it had been successful for many years in deploying resources and fostering activities which quite literally translated into social and political power. Nearly all of the hospitals, schools, and charities in Slovakia were operated by the Catholic Church prior to World War II. Pastoral letters from the bishops, for instance, show that the daily, monthly, and yearly routines revolved around the Church calendar and because of the strength of Catholic culture in Slovakia, the cultural landscape grew over time to reflect the strength of Catholicism. Slovak Catholics looked to the guidance provided by the bishop in pastoral letters for clarification about how to celebrate religious observances and which Catholic causes needed community support. Thus, through this “translative” modality of power the Church was able to foster a Catholic sense of place and exercise social and cultural influence in Slovakia.

In a general sense, the conflict between the Catholic Church and the Communist government in Slovakia illustrates the various modes by which Allen’s two basic categories of

power—instrumental and associational power—are exercised. On one hand, instrumental power represents the type of power that is “held over you and used to obtain leverage, while associational power “acts more like a collective medium enabling things to get done or facilitate some common aim” (Allen 2003, 5). For example, I utilize documents from the KNV and *Katolícke Noviny* to show how *Pacem in Terris*—an organization of Communist priests—tried to use associational power while the Communist secret police were simultaneously working through instrumental power and coercion. Both the Church and the Communists—at various times and in various cases—exercised both associational and instrumental power and these cases will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Chapter 7 examines the ways in which journalism and printed materials were used to build a sense of shared or “imagined” community as Benedict Anderson (1991) described. A large number of Catholic weekly and monthly publications existed prior to World War II that served the needs of the Catholic population. Publications like *Katolícke Noviny* circulated widely throughout the country and worked to build a sense of impersonal, imagined community intended to reassure Catholics that they belonged to a large, strong religious community that shared common beliefs and goals.

After the Communist takeover of Slovakia, the vast majority of these publications were shut down. A notable exception was the *Katolícke Noviny*, which Communist officials believed could serve as a powerful propaganda tool for reaching out to Slovak Catholics on their own terms. The *Noviny* staff was infiltrated with Communists and its content was carefully controlled, censored, and crafted to serve their purposes.

In order to utilize my extensive collection of printed materials collected from the Slovak archives, it was necessary to identify a methodology that could provide an analytical approach to

such materials. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an “interpretive, contextual, constructivist” approach to understanding and analyzing newspapers and other printed materials. Critical Discourse Analysis offers

interpretations of all meanings of texts rather than just quantifying textual features and deriving meaning from this; situate *what* is written or said in the *context* in which it occurs, rather than just summarizing patterns or regularities in texts; and argue that textual meaning is *constructed* through an interaction between producer, text and consumer rather than simply being ‘read off’ the page by all readers in exactly the same way (Richardson 2007, 15).

In contrast to other methods of interpreting newspapers and printed materials like Content Analysis—which is quantitatively focused and assumes that the predominance of certain phrases or words indicates increased importance or centrality—CDA focuses on “the relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies, and power-relations” (Titscher et al. in Richardson 2007, 27). Content analysis “assumes that when you and I read the same paper we not only understand it in the same way but also understand it in the way intended by the producer of the text. It is a controversial assumption...” (Richardson 2007, 17).

I decided upon Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodology for analyzing *Katolícke Noviny* because it is more suited to answer my particular research question: How were printed media and publications like *Katolícke Noviny* used to influence the large, imagined communities constructed by them? At its core, CDA is a methodology which helps the researcher examine how discourses that appear in printed materials like newspapers and letters produce or attempt to reproduce power relations (Richardson 2007, 42).

The “critical” aspect of this methodology involves analyzing texts according to their given form, the content of the text, and its intended function in order to subject the discourse contained within to “ethical and political critique,” as well as “challenging the features that

contribute to the perpetuation of structured inequalities” (Richardson 2007, 42). In essence, CDA seeks to examine media discourse in relation to its particular social context and its intentions or intended outcomes in relation to their social implications (Richardson 2007, 43). I examine articles within each of the topics I created during my organizational process, according to Fairclough’s method of CDA (See Richardson 2007, 37), considering the text, context, and consequence of each article by utilizing the tools of linguistic analysis set forth by Richardson (2007). These include lexical analysis—meaning the ways in which words are juxtaposed to infer “value judgments” and sentence construction—meaning the ways in which syntax is used to describe “the relationships between participants and the roles they place in the process of reporting.” These can also include the use of metaphor, metonym, and narrative (Richardson 2007, 54-71). For each topic I examine, I am able to make suggestions about how the authors attempted to use these various aspects of writing to produce an intended result—which is either to maintain a reader’s existing beliefs or transform them (Richardson 2007, 42).

I use the collection of articles from *Katolícke Noviny* to identify how the newspaper was used as a tool for creating discourses intended to convince the Catholic readership that communism and Catholicism shared a number of common goals and illustrated this compatibility. CDA will be employed as a methodology in this study to examine the ways in which printed materials were used to create discourse and influence the opinions and actions of Slovak Catholics both by the Church as well as the Communist government. Critical Discourse Analysis is a useful methodology for examining the role of print media with regard to Benedict Anderson’s work in Chapter 7 because of this study’s focus on the competition between Communist and Catholic ideologies, as well as the power-relations inherent in that conflict.

Conclusion

This study proposes three methodological approaches to address the three major questions outlined in the introductory chapter. First, Sack's (1986) typology will be used to examine both the Church and the state's territorialization of Slovakia and how this territorialization affected Catholic Church activities. Second, Allen's (2003) framework for examining spaces and networks of power will be used to examine how the Catholic Church and Communist government in Slovakia utilized public space and attempted to generate power through the resources they had at their disposal. Finally, a discourse analysis methodology will be used to identify phases of identity-framing discourse in the Slovak newspaper *Katolícke Noviny*.

Although I attempted to plan carefully for my period of fieldwork in Slovakia, I still encountered a number of challenging issues. First was the question of project scope. I was forced to decrease the scope of this project in light of realities I faced regarding time and budget. A research project that proposed to rely solely on archival data led to conceptual and practical difficulties. It was difficult to form a coherent proposal without knowing what data would be available in the field and it was also difficult to identify methodological approaches to utilize such data when it was impossible to know the form, quantity, or quality of data I might be able to gather. While I was quite pleased with the quality and availability of data I ultimately encountered, I struggled to find effective strategies for categorizing and organizing such data for use in my analyses. One of the major conceptual difficulties with using any type of archival data is the reality of archival sedimentation. Sedimentation issues must be acknowledged and addressed when building and analyzing a dataset consisting of archival documents. Finally, I

had to identify a sampling strategy in order to create a manageable dataset of newspaper articles for use in Chapter 7. The majority of these issues arise from the fact that archival data sources are not produced for the research in which they are ultimately utilized. They often do not provide direct answers to the questions be asked be the researcher. The data is unchangeable and cannot be tailored like other types of data like surveys or interviews.

The following Chapter is a brief, historically-focused summary of the events that transpired toward the end of World War II, roughly from 1945 to 1948. During this period of time, the situation of the Catholic Church in Slovakia drastically changed. The Church, as a result of its wartime experience, lost virtually all of its direct political power and, in three short years, experienced a precipitous decline from dominating virtually all aspects of Slovak society to being essentially outlawed from political participation. This history provides a vital context for the remainder of this study as it explains the origins of Church-state antagonisms which began in earnest in 1948 after the Communist rise to political power.

Chapter 4: The Church in Transition: 1945-1948

Introduction

At the end of World War II, Czechoslovakia was reestablished once again out of three disjointed territories—the German Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia that had been seized by Hitler and forfeited by Chamberlin and the West in the Munich Agreement, the wartime Slovak state that was created in the course of Hitler’s seizure of Czech territories, and the southern strip of formerly Slovak territory that had been ceded back to Hungary as a result of the First Vienna Award. These three territories were recombined into the Second Czechoslovak State. Within this third piece of land exists the city of Košice.

Historically, the city has always held a place of prominence—first as the capital of Upper Hungary within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and later as the largest city in Eastern Czechoslovakia. For a brief period of time starting in April 1945, it even served as the capital of Czechoslovakia before the reconstitution of Prague as the center of government. The first Czech president of the postwar Edvard Beneš—who had been instrumental along with Tomáš Masaryk in the creation of the First Czechoslovak State—even lived in Jakab’s Palace in Košice’s Old Town. Only a few blocks away stands Saint Elizabeth’s Cathedral—the Axis Mundi of the city as well as the entire Catholic Diocese of Košice.

Saint Elizabeth’s—which is the easternmost Gothic Cathedral in all of Europe—dominates the cultural landscape of Košice. It is visible from many parts of the city and although its orientation appears somewhat askew in relation to the rest of the city’s layout, a closer examination reveals that the cathedral is situated with respect to the cardinal directions, making

the rest of the city suddenly seem at an angle. It represents in many ways the cultural and political heart of Roman Catholicism in Eastern Slovakia. The cathedral has been the parish of the Bishop of Košice since the diocese was first formed in 1804. Its territory is vast and extends from the southern border of Slovakia with Hungary to the Ukrainian border (until 1989, the U.S.S.R. border) in the East, and north across the Tatra Mountains to the Polish border. In their orientation to the Catholic Church in their daily lives, Slovak Catholics in the East looked toward Košice.

After the end of World War II in 1945, the Slovak National Council (SNC) was established as the governing body of Slovak territories within the postwar Czechoslovak Government. The SNC had originally been formed in 1943 as a cooperative effort between the two principle groups that participated in the Slovak National Uprising, the Slovak Communists, and the Democrats, which were largely comprised of Augsburg Confession Lutherans (Felak 2009, 5). It replaced the wartime government of Monsignor Jozef Tiso—a Catholic priest who had assumed leadership of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party-Party of Slovak National Unity (HSEŠ-SSNJ)

The HSEŠ-SSNJ was an officially-Catholic political party originally formed in 1913 by another famous Slovak Catholic Priest—Monsignor Andrej Hlinka. Hlinka was a prominent Catholic figure and helped represent Slovak interests and demands during the formation of the First Czechoslovak State following World War I. Tiso had taken over leadership of the party following Hlinka in 1938 and very soon after became the priest-President of the first independent Slovakia as a result of Hitler's actions regarding the Czech territories. During this time, Tiso's HSEŠ-SSNJ enjoyed the support of a majority of Slovaks in two parliamentary elections (Felak 2009, 2). However, the party was banned following the establishment of the Košice Government

Program, which recognized the SNC as the sole political authority in Slovakia and as the governing body which held the power to either approve or deny the existence of any and all official political parties following the war (Felak 2009, 2).

The establishment of the SNC in Slovakia doomed the existence of the HSLS-SSNJ, since, as Theodoric Zubek explained:

...a requirement for political activity in the reorganized Czecho-Slovak Republic was anti-state activity under the Slovak Republic or at least participation in the so-called Slovak National Uprising of August, 1944. Since Slovak Catholics, in general, did not possess these prerequisites, they had, at first, in the new Czecho-Slovakia, no political protection; and therefore, could not prevent the anti-Church blunders of the Slovak National Council (Zubek 1956, 32).

Just as Germans in the Czech lands and Hungarians in the Slovak lands were more or less helpless to prevent their post-war ethnic cleansings—cleansing which virtually eliminated 40% of the Czech national population which was ethnically German and reduced by almost half the Hungarian population in Slovak lands—so too were the Slovak Catholics helpless to prevent many of the post-war, anti-Church retributions carried out by the SNC. The Council was dominated by the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS) and the Democratic Party (DS), both of which had reasons for feeling slighted during by the wartime regime and both of which—it can be argued—were eager for a chance at retribution against the Catholic Church.

In essence, the political majority of Slovaks represented by the HSLS-SSNJ was disbanded, and the majority of Slovak Catholics were left without a party to represent their interests. On May 16, 1945, the SNC decreed that all Catholic-run schools in Slovakia (which, at that time, represented more than 85% of all schools in the country) were nationalized according to Resolution #5/1944 of September 6, 1944 and reaffirmed by Resolution #34/1945 (Zubek 1956, 29). The bishops of Slovakia strongly protested this action, claiming that it was both

illegal and violated the Church's mandate to create and maintain parochial schools that fostered religious education. Josef Čarský, the Auxiliary Bishop of Košice, led a petition drive among Slovak Catholics to gather support behind the reinstatement of parochial schools on behalf of the Catholic Education Council in 1945 (Chalupecký 2002, 77), which according to the Communist press, did not experience an "enthusiastic response" (Felak 2009, 142).

According to the Communists, nationalizing the largely Catholic school system was—despite the protestations of Catholics—actually a relief to the Church in that it relieved a large burden on Church resources. The SNC also argued that since the nationalization decrees had also made provisions for the inclusion of religion in the official curriculum, the existence of parochial schools was simply redundant (Felak 2009, 142-143). One of the most widely recognized Catholic figures in all of Czechoslovakia—the future Archbishop of Prague Monsignor Josef Beran—strongly protested the nationalization of Catholic schools in Slovakia (similar school nationalization measures had failed in the less Catholic Czech lands), and called for members of the SNC to confer with the Church before conducting any more education or land reform measures. In addition to the nationalization of elementary and high schools, Slovak religious colleges (excluding seminaries) were also seized by the SNC and nationalized.

Monsignor Beran had gained notoriety in part due to his arrest during World War II after which he was sent to Germany where he spent two years in the Dachau concentration camp. In February 1947, after returning from Rome where he had been consecrated as Archbishop of Prague (and thus, the primate of the Czechoslovak Catholic Church), he was awarded a wartime decoration by the Communist-controlled Ministry of the Interior for the "indomitable faith" he had exhibited as a political prisoner of the Nazi regime (Tobias 1956, 491-492).

Despite the protestations of Beran and the Slovak bishops, the SNC continued to draft and pass resolutions which further damaged the activities of the Church. On July 25, 1945, the SNC passed resolution #80 which seized all dormitories of religious schools and nationalized this section of the Church's private property. Decree #51 of 1945 abolished all social and fraternal societies in Slovakia include the great many which were Catholic. The organizations abolished included Catholic groups with very large memberships, including the Catholic Youth Federation, the Catholic Ladies Union, and the Third Order of Saint Francis, which is an organization of lay people seeking to follow the Rule of Saint Francis while living outside of a Franciscan Monastery (Zubek 1956, 29). Church properties beyond schools were also soon seized and nationalized by the SNC. State Law # 142 nationalized all Church agricultural estates larger than 70 acres. The SNC quickly amended this decree and soon, all estates larger than 35 acres were also seized and nationalized (Zubek 1956, 30).

A major blow to Slovak Catholic cultural life came in 1945 when the SNC banned the entire Catholic press. This restriction was only later revised to allow for limited publishing, but this was highly restricted and subject to censors. The diverse number of Catholic publications had catered to all segments of the Slovak population and many were widely distributed and read. The most popular, *Katolícke Noviny* (*Catholic News*) had a readership prior to 1945 of more than 200,000 (Paučo 1959, 15; Zubek 1956, 30). Other publications included *Slovensky Svet* with a readership of 55,000, *Plamen*, a publication for young people with 35,000, *Posol Bozkeho Srdca Jezisoveho* with 45,000, and *Priatel Dietok*, a children's publication with 25,000 subscribers. Other Catholic publications were more narrowly targeted at the Catholic intellectual community and included titles like *Kulturum*, *Verbum*, and *Smer*. Issues surrounding the Catholic press and its role in Slovak society will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 7.

The actions of the SNC in 1944 and 1945 reflect the difficult situation faced by the Catholic Church in Slovakia following the war. It was relatively easy for both the highly Protestant Democrats and the anti-religious Communists to condemn the Catholic political establishment following World War II after the establishment of the SNC, in which they shared power. Both had been removed from political power during the war by the highly popular Catholic government and both groups felt they had been wronged by the Catholic political structure during wartime. The conditions under which the first free Slovak state was created had been dictated by Hitler to the political hierarchy of Slovakia, which at the time meant the HSLŠ-SSNJ of Tiso and Vojtech Tuka. It should be noted that the HSLŠ-SSNJ experienced popular support during the war and were not considered by Slovaks at the time to be a government that had been imposed on them against their will.

Nevertheless, the Soviets entered Slovakia and connected with both out-of-power political factions (the Democrats and the native Communists) to stage an “uprising” against the Tiso regime which the Soviets identified as an ally of Hitler and the Nazis. The Slovak National Uprising of 1944 resulted in armed conflict between the Slovak partisans comprised of these two groups (including some Catholics) and their Soviet allies against a German force. The result of the conflict included the loss of nearly 70,000 Slovak lives (Paučo 1959, 14). While the uprising was eventually put down, the Soviets ultimately succeeded in pushing the German forces out of Slovakia and across Czech lands until eventually, the Nazis were removed from power and all of former Czechoslovakia was once again liberated.

The situation during reunification presented both the DS and the KSS an opportunity to pass restrictive and damaging laws that were directed toward the Church. In Czech lands—especially Western Bohemia—religious adherence had been on the decline since the turn of the

century among ethnic Czechs, while remaining substantially higher among Sudeten Germans (Chloupek 2010, 31) and this difference manifested itself in Czechoslovakia in the relations between Czechs and Slovaks after World War II. Post World War II reprisals—which were carried out under the guise of clearing reunited Czechoslovakia of pro-Nazi elements like the Sudeten Germans and the Slovak wartime government—had a devastating effect on the country as a whole.

In the Czech lands, the removal of Sudeten Germans included the deportation of millions of Catholics along with a large majority of German-speaking clergy and religious orders. This population was then replaced by largely non-religious peoples from the East, including many Hungarians and Romanians. The Sudetenland as a geographic region was virtually stripped of the strong Catholic religious tradition which had been cultivated there for centuries and the new immigrants who relocated there failed to bring a religious tradition with them. Consequently, the region of Northwest Bohemia is one of the least religious regions both in the Czech Republic and all of Europe today.

The first postwar elections in Slovakia were held in 1946 and were a competition for political control between the two principal participants in the SNC—the Democratic Party (DS) and the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS). Central to the events leading up to the 1946 parliamentary elections was the issue of the imprisoned wartime president Monsignor Jozef Tiso. In 1945, Tiso—sensing his safety was in question—had fled to Austria and later to Germany where he was arrested by the United States Army and placed in a prisoner of war camp before eventually being transferred back to Slovakia and into the custody of the SNC (Felak 2009, 86-87). His fate depended on the decisions of the new Czechoslovak government and thus, the elections of 1946 were of key importance to what would become of him.

After the HSLŠ-SSNJ of Hlinka and Tiso was banned in Slovakia by the SNC, a large percentage of the Slovak population was without a party affiliation and thus Slovak Catholics became a large voting bloc to be courted by both the DS and KSS leading up to the 1946 elections (Felak 2009, 9). It appeared very likely at the time that whichever of the two parties could gain Catholic support would be successful in the elections. For Catholics, this brief window of political opportunity presented a source of leverage to be used as a means for securing some concessions and regaining some freedoms. After a series of negotiations between Catholic leaders and the DS, an agreement was reached in April of 1946 that became known as the April Agreement. From a political perspective, the key parts of this agreement involved the participation of Catholics in both the DS membership as well as its leadership. From a cultural perspective, the April Agreement publicly stated that the official DS position on education would reflect that of the “Christian Churches, above all the Catholic Church” (Felak 2009, 46).

Another key aspect of the April Agreement between the Catholics and the DS regarded the fate of the imprisoned Josef Tiso. For their participation and electoral support for the DS, the Catholics received assurances that Tiso’s life would be spared in any judicial decision (Paučo 1959, 16). Following the April Agreement, it became the goal of the KSS to discredit the agreement as well as the motives of the DS for signing it. A young Gustáv Husák, who had been imprisoned several times during Tiso’s presidency, criticized the agreement as a means by which elements of the old Hlinka and Tiso faction could re-enter into the nation’s politics (Felak 2009, 50).

The KSS employed other tactics in an attempt to minimize the potential for Catholics to vote as a unified bloc in the 1946 elections. One such tactic was the *biele lístky*, (white ballots) that the Communists promoted as a means by which ardent Catholics could publicly demonstrate

their contempt for the new SNC politically regime by simply casting a blank ballot—or one marked with the sign of the cross. After the Provisional National Assembly affirmed that such blank ballots would be counted as legitimate votes, the DS was forced to implore Catholics not to vote in this manner (Felak 2009, 51). It was clear that blank ballots were being secretly promoted by the KSS with the knowledge that they would deprive the DS of Catholic support. The DS warned Catholics against the *biele lístky* with slogans like “White Ballots Turn Red in the Ballot Box,” and Pope Pius XII even made an effort to remind all Catholics of their duty to vote properly (Felak 2009, 52). Ultimately, the Catholics resisted the temptation to submit protest votes in the form of blank ballots and supported the DS in large numbers in May of 1946. The DS received 62% of the vote, which was twice that received by the KSS and the *biele lístky* accounted for only a fraction of a percentage of the total votes cast (Felak 2009, 59).

The Road to Communist Takeover

The years of 1945 and 1946 were very tumultuous for the Diocese of Košice. Along with the cleansing of a large percentage of its ethnic Hungarian population from the recovered southern territory of Slovakia involved in the First Vienna Award, Bishop Stefan Madárasz was also forced to leave the diocese. Madárasz—who retired to the town of Hejce in Hungary—wrote a letter on February 27, 1945 to Josef Čársky, asking him to care for his residence and his personal belongings (Pešek and Barnovský 1999). Čársky was appointed Apostolic Administrator of the Košice Diocese in 1946, but was bestowed the power of a regular residential bishop (Hačar 2002, 144). While initially planning to split his time between the cities of Prešov and Košice, he formally moved his residence to Košice on August 26, 1946, where he

resided in the bishop's palace on the main square—just steps from St. Elizabeth's Cathedral. Despite accepting the new assignment out of a sense of responsibility and respect for Church authority, Čársky was clearly reluctant to do so. He once stated that he would “rather be in the outermost region [of Slovakia] as a village priest, rather than bear the onus regiminis (burden of governance) at that time” (Pešek and Baranovský 1999). Čársky was right to have misgivings about the huge responsibility which lay before him, as almost immediately after his appointment the conflict between the Church and the Communists in governance would escalate.

Already in 1945—before the first postwar elections and before the 1948 Communist coup—Čársky had witnessed some of the first Catholic bishops to suffer oppression and persecution. Both Archbishop Michal Buzalka of Trnava and Bishop Ján Vojtaššák of Spiš had been arrested (Vojtaššák for his participation in the wartime government of Josef Tiso and Buzalka for serving as the Military Vicar of the Slovak military during World War II). They were arrested in May of 1945 and held for several months before finally being released (Ramet 1987, 76). Vojtaššák stated in *Katolícke Noviny* in August of 1946 that he had been held for seven months without any trial or hearing (*Katolícke Noviny*, August 11, 1946). While imprisoned in Bratislava, Bishop Buzalka was forced to sleep on a bare, wire mattress according to some accounts (Paučo 1959, 19).

Perhaps the greatest blow to Slovak Catholics in 1946 was the trial and eventual execution of Monsignor Josef Tiso. Soon after his appointment as Apostolic Administrator of the Košice Diocese, Jozef Čársky joined with the other acting Catholic bishops in Slovakia to petition for clemency for Tiso. While Slovak Catholics had been under the impression that clemency for Tiso had been guaranteed in the April Agreement, the notion of being forced to publicly support a lenient sentence for Tiso was nearly impossible for the DS. The Tiso situation

paid large dividends for the KSS who sought to recoup losses suffered in the 1946 elections and saw an opportunity to use Tiso's trial to their own political advantage.

Essentially, the DS was in an untenable political situation from the moment they made Tiso's fate part of their April Agreement with Catholics. First, although the agreement clearly played a large part in delivering the DS an electoral victory over the KSS in 1946, the Communist party minority had retained leadership of the Ministry of Education and Police (Paučo 1959, 16), meaning that it was going to be extremely difficult—if not impossible—for the DS to deliver on its promises of Catholic influence over the nationalized school system, or to gain a lenient sentence in the case of Tiso.

Second, the KSS could use the real political power it still held in the form of its control over strategic ministry leadership positions to implement a public relations strategy to discredit the motivations of the DS in the eyes of both Catholics and non-Catholics alike. As James Felak explained:

In pursuit of this aim, the Communists tried to keep the DS integrated into broad political efforts to condemn Tiso, frighten it from speaking out on Tiso's behalf, and render fruitless its hopes of defending Tiso from execution. At the same time, they charged the DS with being a haven for Tisoite Populists and tried to pin excesses committed by the Slovak nationalist underground on the Democrats (Felak 2009, 89).

Thus, the Democrats risked losing substantial support either among Catholics or Protestants depending on how they acted with regard to Tiso. If they were perceived by either group as giving Tiso's cause too much support, or conversely, not enough attention, they risked losing part of their constituency.

For their part, Jozef Čársky and the other Slovak bishops in 1946—including Bishops Kmeťko, Skrábik, Jantausch, and Nécsey—joined together to publicly support Tiso and authored

a joint pastoral letter which they sent to the SNC on January 8, 1946. The text of the letter included the following:

Every objective judge must concede the fact that Dr. Joseph Tiso was always a very conscientious priest, a priest of spotless character. In his vast activities he always tried to work for the good of the whole, nor did he gain any personal profit out of any of this work...In judging any activity, particularly any political activity, a person's intentions must also be examined and looked into. The overwhelming majority of the Slovak people are convinced with us that the intentions of Dr. Tiso in his public activities were the best. The entire Slovak public is following the development of events concerning Dr. Tiso and wishes to know why so much has been undertaken to arouse hatred against his person...It would certainly redound to the State's glory and would greatly serve the purposes of peace in the nation, if the case of Dr. Tiso were tried in a respectful manner rather than with ruthlessness (Slovak bishops in Paučo 1959, 17).

Archbishop Karol Kmeťko, who had served as Tiso's spiritual mentor, stated the following in defense of Tiso:

Then, may I say that Slovakia and the Slovaks at the time were 90 percent in agreement, when it was announced that we had an independent State. I believe that very few Slovaks could have been found who would say we do not wish to have an independent State; whether Catholic or Lutheran bishops, we all received his (Tiso's) election to the presidency with joy. The source of our joy was the fact that in the person of Tiso we had a guarantee that he was really a man of character and, as far as the churches were concerned, we did not have to fear any dreadful danger from German Nazism (Kmeťko in Paučo 1959, 16).

Čarsky, Kmeťko, and the other Slovak bishops provided the only strong voices in support of Tiso's cause. Recent examinations of the Vatican's actions regarding Tiso's case show that Pius XII's efforts to save Tiso were markedly mild and should be viewed less as an "official intervention, but rather as an act taken on the basis of Christian love" (Felak 2009, 88). Thus, with little support beyond the local Slovak bishops and many Slovak Catholics, Tiso was tried by the national court and sentenced to death by hanging on April 15, 1947. Tiso was found guilty by the court on 95 of the original 113 counts brought against him. Some of the more serious

charges of which he was convicted included treason, betrayal of the Slovak National Uprising, Nazi collaborationism, and crimes against the Slovak Jewish population (Felak 2009, 110).

Of particular importance to Tiso's modern image in the minds of the Slovak population have always been questions surrounding his knowledge of and possible complicity in the deportation of Slovak Jews to concentration camps in Germany during the war. While other actions of Tiso perhaps impacted his image more at the time of his execution in 1947, today it is his alleged involvement in the events of the Holocaust that color the way he is viewed as a national figure in Slovakia. According to James Felak, it was Tiso's resistance to the Vatican's call for his resignation in light of the deportations by the Nazis which resulted in a muted Vatican response when Tiso was put on trial for this and other indictments (Felak 2009, 111).

It was during the time of Tiso's trial that the security organ of the Slovak police began surveilling and collecting intelligence on Catholics and the clergy under the guise of ensuring orderliness and safety from anti-state activity and illegal pro-Tiso activities during his trial. After Tiso's conviction, the only question which remained was whether or not his death sentence would be commuted to life imprisonment under a clemency agreement or whether it would be carried out as scheduled. Weak and ambivalent support for Tiso's clemency appeal on the part of the DS—which included a series of bewilderingly contradictory actions on the part of DS officials in positions of influence regarding the Tiso trial—resulted in a failed clemency petition and allowed the Tiso execution to proceed as intended (Felak 2009, 23), and Tiso was hanged a mere three days after his conviction in Bratislava on April 18, 1947. Tiso wore his Roman Catholic clerical garments to the gallows.

Tiso's execution resulted in widespread grief among Slovakia's Catholic population. They found unique ways to express their grief in public. Both men and women frequently wore

articles of black clothing, as is typical among mourners in Slovakia. Women wore black handkerchiefs while men wore black armbands over their suit jackets or black ties (Felak 2009, 126). Slovak Catholics also began what was known as the “action of the cross,” whose members could be identified by the small metal crosses they wore on their lapels or shirts as a sign of support for Tiso and the Church. Communist symbols that had been erected around cities were vandalized in protest of Tiso’s execution, and a large amount of anti-Communist material was printed and disseminated by protesters, including small portraits of Tiso which featured him wearing a crown of thorns (Zubek 1956, 40).

In 1947, such actions could still be performed publicly and largely without fear of reprisal by the government since—although Catholics had suffered greatly from a political standpoint—they still enjoyed freedom in their civic involvement and could participate in religious activities without being oppressed. In 1947, a two-party system still operated in Slovakia and although Catholics had been sorely disappointed in the DS’s efforts to fulfill the promises laid out in the April Agreement of 1946, they were still able to practice their religion as usual, which they did in large numbers.

Many of the Slovak periodicals, journals, and newspapers that had been shut down by the SNC at the end of the war were once again allowed to function and the readerships of these publications quickly returned. Also, many of the Catholic social organizations were reformed and allowed to carry out their work. Public religious celebrations expressing Catholic religiosity also returned. According to Theodoric Zubek, in 1947 “retreats, pilgrimages, processions, and all Catholic manifestations were unusually well attended. The men’s pilgrimage to Marianka in 1947 was an important religious event for all of Slovakia. The famous Slovak pilgrimage to the town of Levoča in 1948, with Archbishop Josef Beran, D.D. present, was participated in by over

100,000 people” (Zubek 1956, 38). Thus, we see that in 1947, Catholics were experiencing a brief yet strong revival in social and cultural cohesion brought about in part by their agreement with the DS to keep them in power and the Communists in the minority.

Although the Catholic school system operated by the individual dioceses had suffered as a result of the decrees of the SNC, other cohesive activities like publishing and social organizations were once again part of Slovak social life. Activities of a spatial nature like pilgrimages and processions were again a distinct feature of the cultural landscape in the dioceses. The Levoča pilgrimage is of particular importance because it represents one of the largest annual pilgrimages in all of Eastern Europe. Located in the neighboring Spiš diocese, it represents a major pilgrimage site for Catholics from the large eastern Košice diocese. Its importance during the later years of communism will be examined in much greater detail in Chapter 6.

After their failure in the 1946 elections which was a direct result of Catholics supporting the DS in large numbers against the KSS, the Communists shifted tactics and alleged to have uncovered a conspiracy which centered on the Catholic representation within the Democratic Party. Already by January 1947, members of the Communist-dominated secret police force were actively surveilling religious activities with special interest being paid to priests’ homilies and to religious pilgrimages, processions, and religious gatherings (Zubek 1956, 40). On a variety of charges—which often alleged involvement in wartime Catholic politics—the secret police began to arrest and indict as many as 2,000 Slovak Catholics, including two of the most prominent Catholic secretaries of the DS—Dr. Jan Kempny and Dr. Miloš Bugar (Zubek 1956, 42). The primary thrust of the Communists’ conspiratorial charge was that a secretive, anti-state coalition of Catholic individuals which included Catholic leaders of the DS was actively working to

restore the wartime Catholic regime by “spreading pro-Tiso and anti-republic literature, reorganizing terrorist activity and sabotage, forming armed units, cooperating with the Banderovci [the Ukrainian group led by Stepan Bandera], and preparing assassination attempts against political opponents, including President Beneš” (Felak 2009, 160). Even more damaging to the Catholic wing of the DS was the fact that the conspiracy affair eventually ensnared Jan Ursinsky—an even higher-ranking DS official than either Kempny or Bugar (Felak 2009, 174).

While the Communist accusations of a DS anti-state conspiracy were dubious at best, the DS was weakened by the affair and expended a great deal of effort in order to defend itself. Meanwhile, at the national level, political events were transpiring that would have a profound impact on the DS in Slovakia. After twelve Democratic officials resigned from the national parliament in protest of Communist security force abuses, the Czech Communist Party (KSČ) took advantage of the situation and ensured that the resignations did not have their intended effect of putting a stop to the situation, but instead allowed for a *de facto* Communist government takeover during the resignation crisis (Felak 2009, 193).

Gustáv Husák used the resignation of the DS members in Prague as evidence that they were no longer participating in the national Czechoslovak government and informed the regional Slovak DS commissioners that he considered them to have resigned from their posts by proxy (Felak 2009, 195). It was during this time in early 1947 that the Communists made their move to aggressively seize power in Czechoslovakia.

DS members were subsequently purged from their positions of authority, the DS headquarters in Bratislava were forcibly overtaken and held by Communist-organized, armed militias, the Board of Commissioners and the Slovak National Council were purged of uncooperative DS members and Slovak National Radio was seized by the Communists (Felak

2009, 196). According to James Felak, February 25, 1947 marked the end of the DS as a functioning political party, leaving the KSS as the sole party of power in Slovakia (Felak 2009, 198).

Conclusion

This chapter provides a brief but necessary introduction to the events which will be examined in the following three chapters. Understanding the political battle that occurred between the Democrats and Communists for Catholic allegiance between 1945 and 1948 provides a necessary context for understanding the events which transpired after the Communist takeover of 1948. Although weakened after World War II politically, the Catholics in Slovakia still held political power as a majority to be courted by political parties. The DS had successfully gained Catholic support in 1946 and on that basis won control of Slovakia's postwar government. This support came at a substantial price however, in that the KSS was able to relentlessly pressure the DS and accuse it of collaboration with wartime elements of the HSLS-SSNJ. Also, the KSS was free to reiterate the hypocrisy of the DS in renegeing on promises made in the April Agreement as well as promising support for things like parochial schools, which the DS had participated in destroying as a part of the SNC in 1944 and 1945. The power of the KSS to use this propaganda against the DS lay in its power over the operations of the secret police after the 1946 elections. It was able to use this force to trump up conspiratorial charges against the DS and in the process, to eliminate three highly influential Catholic DS leaders from their posts.

Ultimately, events on the national scale had regional repercussions for the Democrats and Catholics in Slovakia and in the confusion, the Communists were able to seize power and achieve their goal of eliminating the DS as a legitimate political opponent. Once again, Slovak Catholics were without a legitimate outlet for political actions, without a political party to represent their interests, and worst of all, completely vulnerable to Communist reprisals.

This chapter has examined the brief, three-year period following the end of World War II in Slovakia in which the Catholic HSLŠ-SSNJ party of Hlinka and the wartime Tiso regime were removed from power, only to be followed by the Catholic-supported DS in 1947. It demonstrates several key points which are used as underlying assumptions for the analyses contained in subsequent Chapters.

First, the history of 1945-1947 shows that the Catholics of Slovakia were highly politically organized and had operated for many years in a way which blurred any lines between religious and political activities. Certainly, there is no connection between the American concept of Church-state separation and the Slovak situation, either historically or in the present context. Such a mindset can cause difficulties for Americans examining the relationship between the Catholic Church and state politics in Slovakia. Political Catholicism has a long history in Czechoslovakia (particularly in the Slovak lands) that goes back to the very founding of the Country (Trapl 1995), and the existence and actions of the HSLŠ-SSNJ is strong evidence of that fact. It is important to stress that the Catholic Church in Slovakia was just as active as a political entity as it was as a spiritual, cultural, or social one.

Second, because of the political power of the Catholic Church in Slovakia and its participation in regional and national politics, its geographic diocesan structure grew to be very powerful and influential. The Slovak bishops who presided over these dioceses wielded large

amounts of influence both culturally and politically. Their opinions mattered a great deal to Slovak Catholics on all issues, and the bishops were in no way restricted from speaking out on issues of a political nature. The diocese became the focal point of cultural and social life for Slovak Catholics in large part, because it was the diocese and its bishop that coordinated and provided most of the important cultural and social institutions that affected people's daily lives. During the period of time in which the vast majority of schools were parochial ones, the school system was organized at a diocesan level and controlled by the bishop. A large number of the teachers were nuns and priests. Each Catholic diocese also coordinated and operated a host of social services, including the majority of hospitals, orphanages, and charities, further emphasizing the importance and centrality of the diocesan structure in daily life.

Third, the Communist party in Slovakia—free of its DS opposition—came to view the Catholic Church first and foremost as its next and final target of major political opposition. Because of the Church's political nature and long history of political involvement, it is perfectly logical that the Communists would view it primarily as a political entity and target it as such. The history of the Slovak Church between 1945 and 1948 provides several clear examples as to why it became the political target of severe Communist attacks. First, as the regime in power during World War II, the Communists viewed the Slovak Catholics as having been political allies of Hitler and the Nazis, its enemy during the war. They also viewed the Church as perhaps the quintessential representation of the bourgeoisie in Slovakia with its vast landholdings, extensive properties, and lavish churches with their treasures. The KSS also strongly resented the Catholics for their electoral support of the DS in 1946, which had denied the KSS a legitimate path to political power in Slovakia.

Finally, the KSS viewed the Catholic Church in Slovakia in general to be the primary proponent of the type of unscientific, superstitious, and backward worldview that would hinder Communist goals of scientific, materialist progress, which reflects the basic opinion of religion from a Marxist-Leninist point of view. The KSS also feared and resented the large influence of the Vatican over Slovakia's Catholics, which represented the majority of the population. The Communists perceived the Vatican and the Pope as the propagator of the bourgeoisie class worldwide, and wished to end its influence in Slovakia.

As it has been shown, the reasons for the coming Communist attacks on the Catholic Church in Slovakia were manifold. The Church represented both a source of political and ideological opposition which needed to be eliminated by the KSS if Communist progress was to be made in Slovakia. The first order of business after the Communist coup d'état was to solidify power and begin a full-scale assault on the territorial structure of the Church in order to weaken it politically and decimate its power to exert any kind of influence—cultural, social, or otherwise. Chapter 5 examines the process by which the Communists carried out this attack on the physical 'space' of the church and does so by relating Communist actions to spatial concepts of territoriality.

Chapter 5: Human Territoriality: The struggle to control space

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to address the first research question outlined in the introductory chapter. That is, “Was the Catholic Church successful in using methods of territorial control in order to maintain influence over Catholics in the Košice diocese?” On a theoretical level, this question investigates Robert Sack’s (1986) theory of human territoriality, which holds that a group or organization will attempt to maintain influence or control over a population primarily by maintaining control over the physical territory in which they reside. If territoriality was a strategy available to both the Catholic Church in Slovakia as well as the Communist government in 1948, then a fruitful line of inquiry is to examine circumstances in which these organizations utilized aspects of territoriality in order to achieve their goals and attempt to identify the ways in which they benefited from employing territoriality as a strategy.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate historical Church-state relations in Slovakia using Sack’s conceptualization of human territoriality as a tool for understanding and explaining the behavior of both Catholic Church and the Communist government. Specifically, this investigation focuses on the period starting in 1948 as both groups struggled for influence over the Slovak population in and around the Košice region in Eastern Slovakia. Elements of Sack’s theory provide a useful means by which historical, archival materials can be examined and presented in order to help bridge the theoretical and methodological gap that has existed for some time in historical geography and the geography of religion. As discussed in Chapter 1, Sack identifies this as a disjunction between works categorized as being “ideographic historical”

in nature and those considered “nomothetic social.” Striking this kind of balance is difficult however, and when the methodological difficulties and considerations that come from dealing with archival data collection are included, this becomes more difficult still. The aim of this chapter is to produce an analysis of Church-state relations in Slovakia in the historical geography tradition of providing a descriptive narrative of historical events which is informed by elements of contemporary geographical theory—in this case, Sack’s conceptualization of human territoriality.

Sack’s framework outlined a series of ten spatial tendencies and fourteen common combinations of these tendencies which describe the most common “reasons/causes, consequences/effects of territoriality” (Sack 1986, 40). In this Chapter, a subset of these tendencies and combinations will be selected and discussed in relation to several historical events which took place in and around Košice starting in 1948. The analyses of these events are intended to illustrate which of Sack’s spatial tendencies and combinations were used or exhibited as well as why they were helpful to either the Catholic Church or the state in achieving their goals. The following section provides a brief introduction to the elements of Sack’s theory of human territoriality.

Human Territoriality

While the term “territoriality” may conjure up thoughts of the instinctive behavior which biologists describe in some animal species, Sack’s theory of human territoriality is quite different. According to Sack, human territoriality is a purposeful, rational, and above all, spatial behavior exhibited by people or organizations in certain instances (Sack 1986, 21). Specific

aspects of territoriality are purposefully employed by people or organizations as a spatial strategy in situations where their effects can prove beneficial in accomplishing a certain goal. For instance, territoriality can help create manageable geographic units to organize and circumscribe complex sets of relationships between people and resources. Territoriality can also provide an effective means for enforcing control over these relationships. It can help establish impersonal relationships between authorities and the people subjected to that authority, so that political jurisdiction becomes tied to geographic location. Finally, territoriality can help an organization to distribute its process of policy planning and implementation in a way which cuts across spatial scales. In its essence, “territoriality for humans is a powerful geographic strategy to control people and things by controlling area” (Sack 1986, 5).

The foundation of Sack’s framework is built on three spatial tendencies of territoriality that organizations often employ: a form of classification by area (meaning the creation of territories), a form of communication by territorial boundary, and a mechanism by which control over a territory or territories may be enforced. In addition, he defines seven additional tendencies which are often observed in conjunction with these core three tendencies to create a series of fourteen different combinations, each describing a different manifestation of territorial behavior. Most of these tendencies and combinations describe how territoriality may be used to an organization’s advantage, while a few explain complications or unintended outcomes which may result from territorial behavior. Sack likens his tendencies and combinations to an atomic structure, with the three core tendencies of classification, communication, and enforcement serving as the nucleus with the remaining components as the electrons surrounding it (Sack 1986, 29). They combine in different arrangements at different times for different reasons.

Some of the additional seven tendencies are found much less frequently than the core three, as are many of the combinations of these tendencies and some, but not all, will apply when Sack's framework is applied to a case study. While the classification, communication, and enforcement are prerequisites for an organization to function territorially, the other tendencies and combinations are found depending on the specific case study being examined. As Sack explained:

An important characteristic of territorial theory is that it is designed to disclose potential reasons for using territoriality. Which ones are used in fact depend on the actual context. In this respect, the theory is phrased generally or abstractly drawing on social structure, but its specification and exemplification depends on particular historical context or individual agency (Sack 1986, 3).

As one example, while there are three primary tendencies among the ten he describes, those three, along with two others, are all components of the first and arguably most important of Sack's fourteen combinations. Sack calls this combination of tendencies "hierarchy and bureaucracy" because the combination of these five spatial tendencies is necessarily found in hierarchical organizations which function as bureaucracies. As we will see, this is one of the most important combinations with regard to both the Church in Slovakia and the government.

This chapter begins by focusing on Sack's three primary spatial tendencies and examines how and why they were useful to both the Catholic Church and the Communist government in Slovakia. Then, several of Sack's more specific spatial tendencies and combinations will be introduced and discussed in relation to historical events which took place in the Košice diocese after 1948. This is done in order to show how and why aspects of territoriality benefited one or both of these organizations. On a theoretical level, these examples also illustrate how Sack's framework can help inform historical and religious geography research. The following sections

provide brief descriptions of the territorial classifications created by the Catholic Church in Slovakia and the state.

Territorial Structures in Slovakia

The Catholic Church

The history of the Catholic Church worldwide, but especially in Europe, shows why Sack's first three spatial tendencies became useful to the Church and why the Church began to employ them. By the third century A.D., the population of Catholic believers began to grow rapidly, and church leaders began to realize that a classification system of territories was needed to aid in church administration. Accordingly, "the increase of the faithful in small towns and country districts soon made it necessary to determine exactly the limits of the territory of each church. The cities of the [Holy Roman] empire, with their clearly defined suburban districts, offered limits that were easily acceptable. From the fourth century on it was generally admitted that every city ought to have its bishop, and that his territory was bounded by that of the neighbouring city" (Van Hove 1909).

The Vatican established this territorial system of authority in order to place local bishops in charge of most administrative functions, stipulating only that their actions must remain in line with church laws (Van Hove 1909). According to Catholic Church law, bishops of individual dioceses should "enjoy administrative but not theological autonomy and they are responsible for the day-to-day operations in their respective dioceses" (Ramet 1990, 23). This autonomy includes consecrating parish priests, designating them for assignments in villages and cities

across the diocese, and administering all charitable, social, and educational activities within the territory of their diocese.

The reason why territorial classification through the creation of dioceses became useful to the Church was that it enabled it to assert control over all of its interests and activities more easily. As Sack pointed out, “territoriality avoids...the need for enumeration and classification by kind and may be the only means of asserting control if we cannot enumerate all of the significant factors and relationships to which we have access” (Sack 1986, 32). Thus, behaving territorially by creating dioceses benefited the Catholic Church in that there was no need for a more complex system of administration once the Church had established that all church activities within the boundaries of a diocese were under the authority of that diocese’s bishop.

This process of creating diocesan boundaries loosely centered on large cities explains how the original diocesan structure first began to take shape, as well as how the diocesan structure became the worldwide manifestation of the Church’s classification by area. In the modern period however, there have almost always been secular governing bodies with which the Catholic Church has had to negotiate and which have had an impact on how diocesan borders have been created and altered. This was true in the case of the Diocese of Košice in 1804, whose creation was impacted by the structure of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and was altered after the empire’s breakup. In 1616, Archbishop of Esztergom, Peter Pázmány suggested that smaller dioceses within the empire were needed in order to enable better territorial supervision and a more realistic span of control for bishops. At the time, it took Bishop Pázmány approximately three weeks to travel around his diocese and he was required to make this trip frequently (História Košickej Arcidiecézy 2002). This led to the creation of new dioceses, including the Diocese of Košice in 1804.

The diocese underwent numerous changes both prior to and during the two World Wars as a result of changes that occurred in secular political authority. After the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the territory of the diocese was suddenly split between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, with the administration remaining in Hungary. The Papal Bull *Ad Regimini Ecclesiastica*, issued by Pope Pius XI on September 2, 1937, placed the Slovak territory temporarily under direct administration from the Vatican while other arrangements could be made. On July 19, 1939, the Papal Bull *Dioecesium Fine*, issued by Pope Pius XII, established the position of an Apostolic Administrator to be located within the Slovak portion of the Košice Diocese (História Košickej Arcidiecézy 2002). The administrator became Auxiliary Bishop Jozef Čársky, who located himself in Košice, making it the seat of the diocese.

The Catholic Church in Slovakia was forced to accommodate secular political boundaries within the diocesan structure in order to retain the administrative and organizational benefits provided by this aspect of territoriality. The Vatican did not favor allowing a diocese to be bisected by country borders, because it complicated the very purpose of dioceses—to simplify the bishops' task of controlling church activities within their respective territories. According to the Catholic Church's guidelines for creating and modifying diocesan boundaries, "a diocese should not include districts whose inhabitants speak different languages or are subject to distinct civil powers (Van Hove 1909). The Church was willing to change the boundary of the Diocese of Košice after the creation of Slovakia so that it could retain the administrative efficiency it had gained from the kind of territoriality through classification that Sack described.

In the decade following Čársky's appointment, the Church in Slovakia would undergo a series of political difficulties and setbacks under the Slovak National Council (SNC) in the period between 1945 and 1947, as was discussed in Chapter 4. Like the Catholic Church, the

Communist government realized that a strategy of territorial “classification by area” provided an effective and efficient means of organizing its activities, including its anti-church activities. The following section provides a brief description of how the KSS used Sack’s concept of classification to establish its own territorial structure in Slovakia to compete with the Church.

The Communist government of Slovakia

In 1945, a system of national committees (NV) had been established by the SNC to administer the territories of Slovakia. The Czech and Slovak Communist parties under the leadership of newly appointed president Klement Gottwald, took over the government of Czechoslovakia on February 5, 1948 (Paučo 1959, 18), which placed the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS) in control of SNC as well as its system of territories. The Communists retained this system of territorial units and placed local governing bodies called “committees” in charge of administering them.

The central government in Prague vested these territories with regional control over the people and resources within their territory. According to the provision set forth in the 1948 Constitution of Czechoslovakia, Article 10 stated that “The bearer and executor of state power in the municipalities and counties and guardian of rights and freedoms of the people are the national committees” (Constitution of Czechoslovakia 1948). These national committees were organized across a range of spatial scales in order to govern different territorial levels. At the largest spatial scale, villages were governed by the Local National Committees (MNV), larger cities were governed by the City National Committees (MěNV), and these two units reported to the District National Committees (MRD). In many ways, the bureaucratic structure of this

system of national committees and their respective territorial units mirrored that of the Catholic territorial structure in Slovakia. The MNV and MěNV were comparable in size and function to that of Catholic parishes, while the KNV was very similar in size and scope to that of Catholic dioceses.

In 1949, the Regional National Committees (KNV) were established to take the place of the old National Land Committees (JNV) and the KNV became the largest of the NV outside of the central governments in Bratislava and Prague. Six KNVs were established in Slovakia in 1949, which, coincidentally, equaled the number of Catholic dioceses at that time. It is from the archives of the Košice KNV that the materials for this analysis were collected. An aspect of the KNV structure which was particularly damaging to the dioceses was that the KNV borders often bisected multiple diocesan territories. For instance, the territory of the Košice KNV also encompassed some of the eastern part of the Diocese of Spiš. This situation created complications for the bishops, who now had to deal with multiple secular authorities from different regional KNV offices.

A primary reason why the KSS retained this classification system of national committees and territories was that it provided a beneficial administrative structure which helped the state organize its activities. The fledgling Communist government needed to find a way to assert control over all of the activities and people in Slovakia, and territoriality through classification provided a way by which this could be accomplished. The vast amount of property that had been nationalized by the SNC prior to 1948 including the agricultural estates, in addition to the property that would be subsequently nationalized, was placed in the care of the KNV, as well as a large portion of the local economy. Much of the local economy, including the public utilities, transportation, construction, and sanitation were placed under the administrative control of the

KNV, which was to play a role in ensuring that the economy and developmental progress of their region was on par with the rest of the country. The major benefit of the Communist territorial structure was the ability of the hierarchy to decentralize these types of administrative responsibilities while retaining others for higher levels of government.

As we saw in Chapter 4, the elections and fallout of 1948 in Slovakia established the KSS as the only secular authority in the country. The Catholic Church in Slovakia was in an almost impossible political situation after its unsuccessful partnership with the DS had not prevented the Communists from seizing power. The Communists resented the Catholic Church both as a political adversary and as a source of competing ideology. Now, the Communists were free to implement some of the most repressive anti-Catholic measures ever undertaken in modern Europe (Felak 2009, 204).

As we will see, the state utilized aspects of territoriality in many instances in order to accomplish its goal of damaging the Catholic Church in Slovakia and its territorial structure of dioceses. However, the Church also utilized territoriality to resist the state's encroachments. The following sections provide analyses of how more specific facets of Sack's conceptualization of territoriality aided both of these organizations during several historical events. These analyses draw primarily from a collection of archival documents collected at the Slovak State Archives of the Ministry of the Interior. Specifically, they are part of the collection of documents of the regional Slovak Office of Religious Affairs which was attached to the Regional National Committee (KNV) in Košice.

The seizure of diocesan property by the KNV

On April 25, 1948, at a meeting of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a broad, three-part strategy was created to destroy the Catholic Church. First, the strategy outlined how the government would attempt to frame the present church hierarchy as beholden to foreign powers (i.e. the Vatican) and pass laws to ensure control over the Church. Second, it described how it planned to isolate lower clergy from the higher clergy and bishops and then create a new governing body, Catholic Action, to serve as the highest Church authority in Czechoslovakia. Finally, the government would use Catholic Action to declare a secession of the state church from Rome and declare it a national church (Zubko 2004, 27). A classified Communist circular, produced by the Central Action Committee of the National Front, outlined for the first time the details of the Communist government's initial strategy. The document listed seven key goals to be carried out by the newly formed government. They included:

1. To break down confidence in the esteem of the Vatican in every possible manner, especially by attacks in the press, through compromising articles.
2. To shatter the unity of the clergy: a) by separating the higher clergy from the lower and by driving a wedge between bishops and priests, and between priests and the faithful; b) by belaboring the clergy with individual argumentation; this, however was to be done only by persons specially selected for this purpose, people experienced in such matters, in the form of discussions in rectories and similar places.
3. Not to have any contacts with the higher clergy; discussion with them is the exclusive prerogative of the National Front. Discussion by individual action committees, as experience shows, would lead to concessions on the part of the action committees which are not acceptable.
4. The role of the Church commissions in the action committees is not for creating cooperation with the Catholic Church, but rather to gain the power of decision without the Church and against the Church. It is necessary to bear this in mind particularly in the appointing of members to the commissions, should they not be delegated by the bishops.

5. Close cooperation with the Czechoslovak (National) Church. Participation of its bishops in state ceremonies and their reception with great honors.
6. To emphasize the present religious disunity of the people as much as possible and to stress the need for unity. In the first phase the Czechoslovak (National) Church should be used as a unifying base; in later phases, other means would be employed, namely, cooperation with the Orthodox Church.
7. To employ tested and tried weapons in the struggle against the clergy of the Catholic Church: celibacy, economic affairs, the Church and capitalism, and similar points (Zubek 1956, 51-52; Zubko 2004, 36).

Just as with other policies, this strategy was developed at a high level within the government and then communicated to the lower, regional committees for implementation. This would prove to be the first of many such directives which outlined steps to be taken against the Catholic Church.

Territoriality aided the Communists in their first major action against the Church in Slovakia. One of the first steps undertaken by the KNV in Košice against the Diocese of Košice was the confiscation and nationalization of all diocesan properties, meaning both the physical church structures and their movable and immovable contents. This occurred in stages beginning in earnest in March of 1948. A decree by the central government in Bratislava on March 21, 1948 stated that the government would take possession of all Church property. Within the established boundaries of the Košice KNV territory, the committee assumed authority to essentially appropriate any property which it deemed necessary or in the public interest. What is interesting about this transfer of property ownership is that, while it represented a transfer of private property from the Catholic Church in Košice to the KNV, it was carried out on the basis of territory. In other words, the property that had previously been assigned to the diocese on the basis of its territorial location was now being transferred to the territory of the KNV based on its falling within the territorial jurisdiction of the KNV.

The creation of the KNV territorial structure enabled the Communists in Slovakia to utilize a combination of behaviors to aid them in confiscating Catholic property which Sack called the ability to create “conceptually emptiable space” (Sack 1986, 37). As Sack explains, “geographic mobility and territorial power at the political level and emptying, filling, and arranging at the architectural level, loosens the bonds between events and location and presents territory and space as a background for the occurrence of events, a background that can be described abstractly and metrically” (Sack 1986, 38). Through the classification of its own territorial units, the state also established its authority over all of the property within their boundaries, making them able to requisition any of the Catholic Church’s land and resources. If we consider the territory of the Diocese of Košice as a conceptually emptiable space, this point becomes clear. From the perspective of the KNV, the diocese could be made to be conceptually empty if it could be made, in Sack’s words, “devoid of socially or economically valuable artifacts or things that were intended to be controlled” (Sack 1986 33-34). So the act of seizing church property from the diocese was tantamount to making the diocese conceptually empty. It represents in many ways, the first step by Slovak Communist Party to weaken the territorial structure of the Church in favor of its own territorial structure.

The majority of this property seizure occurred between March of 1948 and May of 1950. While a decree regarding the seizure of Church property had been made by the Communists as early as 1947, the first official decree after the Communists took over complete power occurred in March of 1948 (Paučo 1959, 18). Later, in early 1949, two laws would provide more specific instructions about how this seizure was to be carried out. First, Law No. 217 established SLOVÚC, the Slovak Office of Religious Affairs, which had regional branches within each of the KNV. The stated mission of the agency was as follows:

The task of the State Agency for Ecclesiastical Affairs shall be to see that ecclesiastical and religious life shall develop in accord with the constitutions and principles of the people's democratic regime, thus to assure everyone freedom of religion, based on foundations of religious tolerance and the equality of all denominations, as guaranteed by the constitution (Zubek 1956, 100).

Law No. 218, passed on November 1, 1949, then laid out specific duties for these new regional bureaus. Paragraphs 10 and 11 are of particular importance. Paragraph 10 states:

The state supervises the property of the churches and religious organizations. Within three months after the effective date of the law, Churches had to submit an inventory of all moveable and immovable church property. Selling or entailment of all Church property, or that of religious organizations requires previous approval of the state administration (Zubek 1956, 102).

Paragraph 11 went on to specify that, "the state assumes control of all private and public patronage over churches, benefices, and other ecclesiastical institutions" (Zubek 1956, 102). The state's rationalization for the seizure of church property was also outlined in the law:

The state would see to it that, instead of proud palaces for ecclesiastical powers, churches for the people would be repaired and erected, so that the faithful and honorable priests would have all the means necessary to profess their faith properly. It would also be made impossible, once and for all, to misuse the religious feelings of the people for selfish purposes of a few rich exploiters. It is only now that the Catholic Church ceases to be a component of the plundering class, which it had been as the owner of huge estates" (Zubek 1956, 102-103).

In this statement, we see that very early on, the state made a logical connection between the church's territories and its ability to exert influence over the Slovak population. Thus, it proceeded more rapidly to empty the dioceses of their resources.

The state also began the process of seizing small monasteries, particularly in locations where they had a need for office space (Zubek 1956, 190). While this occurred on a limited

scale in late 1949, it was in early 1950 that perhaps the most significant anti-church events of the 41 year period of communism took place. Around midnight on the evening of April 13, 1950, militias, police, and agents of the Slovak secret police (StB), stormed all of Slovakia's monasteries and convents, including all of those located within the Diocese of Košice, arrested the monks, friars, and nuns, and deported them to concentration camps. The plan, which had been developed under the codename "Action K," (K for "kláštor", or monasteries), was carried out all across the Diocese of Košice. The order of Dominican Monks from Košice, for instance, were all arrested and deported to a concentration monastery outside of the diocese in Podolínec near the Polish border and assigned to do hard manual labor (Sabova 1999, 36). Those monasteries which were not raided on the 13th of April were soon raided on the 4th of May in an action codenamed "Action K2" and all convents were raided on August 28th in an action codenamed "Action R" (R for "rehoľnícky" or religious sisters) (Zubko 2000, 30). These events are of particular importance they illustrate several key aspects of Sack's theory. These will be discussed in the following sections.

First and foremost, within the context of territoriality, we can see that this action to dissolve the monasteries and convents as an example of a "place-clearing function" according to Sack's assertion that "territoriality serves as a device to keep space emptiable and fillable" (Sack 1986, 38). While the official explanation for the dissolution of the religious orders was that they had been centers of seditious, anti-state activity, in reality, their closure provided a major benefit to the regime in the form of new real estate—emptiable space which could then be filled. Archival documents show that very soon after the closure of the monasteries and convents in the Diocese of Košice, requests poured in from groups across the Košice KNV asking for monastery and convent properties to be appropriated to them. A wide variety of groups took the

opportunity to request space within the newly vacated monasteries, particularly those which had been located on or near the main square in Košice. These included the Jesuits on Komenský Street, the Dominicans on Mäsiarska (Butcher's) Street, two different Franciscan monasteries, and the Premonstratensian monastery (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 77-79, 81).

On April 21, 1950—a mere seven days after the monasteries had been raided—the Municipal Enterprise of Gardening in Košice submitted a request to the KNV asking that, “after the emptying of some church buildings we turn to you with a request to release some necessary rooms in the Premonstratensian Monastery on Stefanik Street or possibly in the Dominican monastery” (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 77-79, 81). On the 24th of April, the Slovak Pulp and Paper Plant requested that it be appropriated ten rooms within one of the monasteries either on Lenin Street (the main street in town, having been recently renamed in honor of Lenin after the Communist takeover), or in the Dominican monastery nearby on Stefanik Street. The company noted that it would soon be kicked out of its temporary operating facilities in one of the local hotels that had been seized, and since all hotel rooms in Košice were to be emptied and returned to their original purpose, it was in need of a new, more permanent location. The letter closed by stating, “we note further that our Civil Engineering offices are of particular importance and economically indispensable to Eastern Slovakia” (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 77-79, 81).

While it is unclear if such smaller requests were filled by the Košice KNV, much larger and more pressing requests soon followed. The University Committee of the ONV made a request to the KNV on September 20, 1950 asking that a large section of the Dominican monastery be turned into a dormitory for students attending the universities in Košice. This letter shows that after many of the Catholic schools and universities in Košice had been seized by

the Communists, the government had experienced difficulties in administering resources to keep the universities running smoothly. According to the letter:

In Košice in the 1950/1951 school year approximately 1550 students are enrolled, the university will have student dormitories, two of which are temporary, with a total of 412 beds and of which we are already making the best use ...over 600 students are without accommodation, having been rejected for that reason...Allocation of the monastery to the state schools would alleviate the poor situation of university students in Košice. If the Dominican monastery will not be assigned for the accommodation of Košice universities, many college students will be forced to leave their studies. Please therefore, see that our application has been considered and we hope that the College Commissioners will recognize the seriousness of [our need] for the grounds and the building of the Dominican monastery for university accommodation in Košice” (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 77-79, 81)

These requests provide examples of why territoriality proved useful to the Košice KNV in dealing with nationalized Church property. By nationalizing church property and then assigning it to the regional KNV authority, it could be emptied and filled as needed on the basis that it was under the territorial control of the KNV. The amount of available resources became circumscribed and defined by the KNV territory, creating competition. The timeliness and content of these requests seems to suggest that organizations understood that they were competing with one another for a limited number of resources. As Sack explains,

The many controls over things distributed in space (as the interplay between preventing things without the territory having access to things within and vice versa) become condensed to the view that things need space to exist. In fact, they do need space in the sense that they are located and take up area, but the need is territorial only when there are certain kinds of competition for things (in space). It is not competition for space that occurs but rather a competition for things and relationships in space (Sack 1986, 33).

This competition is more apparent in requests submitted to the KNV in Košice asking for properties in which nuns were still living to be allocated to different agencies. On August 30, 1950, the Pedagogical School in Košice submitted a request to SLOVÚC asking that it be given the rest of the property attached to the grounds in which a number of nuns were living at the time. The school asked for the nuns to be evicted in order for the rooms and especially the nuns' garden to be reallocated for school usage:

Until now the garden is used by the nuns and yields in their favor. No pedagogical school will be able to fulfill its mission well until it has a garden for planting vegetables and fruits to provide for its students. The socialization of the village, as highlighted by our dear President Gottwald, emphasizes the primary task of our party, and this transfer [of property] will convince the teachers that you teach in school to be prudent builders of socialism in the countryside that their knowledge will be put into practice in the school. When we develop the best conditions for teaching and training of young teachers...it speeds up socialism in our country (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 77-79, 81).

Another request was submitted to SLOVÚC from the Deanery of the Pedagogical Faculty in Košice on September 26, 1950, asking that nuns be removed from the "Angelinum" building on Komenský Street so that it could be filled with educational offices of the departments of Natural History, Chemistry, Mathematics, Art Education, and Geography (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 77-79, 81).

This competition for nationalized church property continued throughout 1950 and 1951. After most of the church buildings themselves had been allocated, some of the more valuable movable property that had been contained in them was also requested by Communist agencies. The State Museum of Eastern Slovakia in Košice was allowed by the Košice KNV to collect all of the art and religious memorabilia from the territory's monasteries, including the world-famous

Premonstratensian monastery in nearby Jasov (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 77-79, 81), which had existed there continuously since the year 1228.

The Technical Museum of Košice wrote to the KNV on July 6, 1950 requesting that it be given items from the Jasov monastery, including its clock, which the museum claimed “represented a developmental stage in the production of hours,” as well any other “objects of a technical nature” (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 77-79, 81). Finally, the Director of the University Library of the University of Slovakia in Bratislava wrote to the KNV on September 4, 1951, informing the regional KNV that it had been granted the rights by SLOVÚC to remove the contents of the great library at the Jasov monastery on September 17th (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 77-79, 81). After the arrest of the monks and friars in late April of 1950, the monastery at Jasov served as one of the largest concentration camps for the interred until other arrangements could be made. A large barbed-wire fence was constructed around the monastery and one of the most famous Catholic institutions in Slovakia was turned into a prison for monks and friars (Korec 2002, 9).

Throughout the process of property seizure, the Catholic Church was more or less helpless. While the bishops and clergy vigorously protested the violation of property rights on the part of the government, the Church itself remained powerless to resist. The seizure of church property did not mean that all religious buildings in Košice stopped operating and many of the churches themselves remained open. The seizure did mean, however, that the state claimed ownership and authority over all of the property, implying that the buildings remained open at the pleasure of the KNV and SLOVÚC.

With all of its property confiscated, the ability of the Diocese of Košice to operate was severely damaged. What was most severely impacted though was the territorial authority of the

bishop, who no longer had any real physical resources at his disposal. While few examples seem to have been retained in the KNV archives, a letter from Bishop Jozef Čársky dated October 6, 1950 shows the degree to which the local Catholic hierarchy had been degraded. In a letter to the Košice KNV, Čársky is forced to ask permission for an altar which had once served in the chapel of the Košice seminary to be appropriated to the small church in the village of Seňa, nineteen kilometers south of Košice. According to Čársky, the Seňa church was in need of a new altar since the original one had been badly damaged during the war (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 77-79, 81). While only a year earlier, Čársky enjoyed complete authority over his diocese and its property, he was now forced to seek KNV approval for even the smallest of administrative decisions. However, the bishop still retained authority over a key aspect of the diocese, and that was his influence among the population. After the physical property of the diocese, this was the second item targeted by the KNV. However, the territorial nature of the Catholic Church in this respect would prove very difficult for the state to overcome.

“Catholic Action” and the Church hierarchy

Territoriality provided the Catholic Church in Slovakia with a number of very specific organizational benefits. Sack’s framework described these benefits in the first territorial combination his framework outlined. He titled this combination of tendencies “hierarchy and bureaucracy” because he noted that organizations which function as rigid hierarchies often exhibit a specific group of territorial tendencies in concert with one another (Sack 1986, 36). This combination of behaviors “can allow hierarchical circumscription of knowledge and responsibility, impersonal relationships, and strict channels of communication, all of which are

essential components of bureaucracy” (Sack 1986, 36). For centuries, the worldwide Catholic Church worked to establish a strict chain of command which utilized formal lines of communication from the highest leadership down to the lowest member of the clergy. As we saw earlier, this was accomplished by classifying its activities using diocesan territories and then outlining a system of Church law which explicitly defined the duties and responsibilities of the clergy. This system places the Pope as the highest Catholic authority, followed by the archbishops, the bishops, and finally, the lower clergy. Each lower order was to be subservient to the next within a strict chain of command (Van Hove 1909).

State relations between the Catholic Church in Slovakia and the Communists certainly took on an added level of complexity because of the structure of this hierarchy and the role played by the Vatican in effecting negotiations between local Catholic churches and the secular authority. Sack’s framework categorizes this type of territorial influence as the ability of a bureaucracy to territorially define social relationships (Sack 1986, 36). High-ranking officials in the Vatican, including the Pope, used the dioceses to define, mold, and enforce church policies, all of which was accomplished through impersonal relationships. This is perhaps the most unique feature of Catholicism and that which distinguished it from the other major churches in Slovakia in 1948. For instance, in dealing with the Communist government, the Lutheran Church in Slovakia had no transnational church structure which could enter into negotiations on behalf of the local church. With the Catholic Church however, negotiations with the state government were not simply bilateral, but trilateral, involving the secular government, the local church hierarchy, and the Vatican (Ramet 1990, 23).

The first attempt of the Communists in Slovakia to damage the Catholic Church’s hierarchy within Slovakia was to find a way in which it could be undermined the authority of the

Vatican and the bishops and then replace them with a governing body that would be subservient to the state. The Communists in Slovakia had already outlined their desire to create a national church free of the Vatican's influence. In the April 25th document, they had outlined a plan to try and divide the upper and lower clergy and eventually, create a national church similar to what had been achieved by the Soviets with regard to the Russian Orthodox Church (Zubko 2004, 36). This plan was put into action in the summer of 1949 through a movement called "Catholic Action."

On June 10, 1949, the Communist government of Czechoslovakia established a movement known as "Catholic Action" which was initially founded by a meeting of 800 lay Catholics and 70 priests from across Czechoslovakia that had been hand-picked by the regional KNVs, including seven priests and two lay individuals from inside the Košice KNV (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 3,4). While these priests had been given virtually no information regarding the purpose of their attendance at the meeting which was held in Prague, they had secretly been chosen by the KNV on the basis of character profiles created through secret police (ŠtB) surveillance that suggested they might be open to persuasion by the Communist regime (Zubek 1956, 69).

At the meeting, an organization known as Catholic Action was created that was to function as the highest Catholic Church authority in Czechoslovakia. The group produced a manifesto/petition of support that was to be promoted to and signed by Catholics and the lower clergy throughout Czechoslovakia. The goal which lay at the heart of the petition was to gain recognition for Catholic Action as the highest church authority and thereby break down the territorial structure of Catholic hierarchy. This was to be accomplished by first separating the local hierarchy from the influence of the Vatican and then dissolving the authority of the bishops

over the lower clergy and parishioners and installing Catholic Action in their place. The petition, in part, stated:

We have and shall always remain faithful members of the Catholic Church. We recognize the Holy Father [the Pope] as the visible head of the Catholic Church in all matters pertaining to faith and morals and church discipline, and in whatever the eternal salvation of the faithful depends upon. In matters of faith and morals, we recognize the authority of the bishops and other Church superiors...As good citizens of the people's democratic state, we determinedly reject any and all attempts from outside the country which would interfere with the divine rights of our people and state and which would like to sow dissension in our ranks. We cannot accept any orders of a political nature from without the country—in internal affairs, the only valid judge is the Czech and Slovak nation (Katolícke Noviny, June 19, 1949).

Several points from this excerpt must be discussed. First, while the manifesto acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Pope and bishops, it made clear that their authority did not extend to the political realm. Of course, the interpretation of what activities were considered to be classified as “political” or “internal affairs” was left up to the government and the KNVs to define. Certainly, any administrative tasks that had once been under the authority of the bishops to carry out within their own diocesan territories were now to be under the authority of Catholic Action and were to be carried out by committees within the KNV territories.

The territorial structure of the Catholic Church in Slovakia would be greatly weakened if the Catholic Action petition were to be accepted by a majority of Slovak Catholics, making Catholic Action the highest Church authority in the country. The main reason for this is that it would essentially invert the hierarchical structure of the Church, placing the Catholic priests who were among the leadership of Catholic Action in authority over the diocesan bishops, while according to Church law, all priests were to be subservient to their respective bishop. Second,

the acceptance of the Catholic Action petition would mean that the Slovak Catholic Church would no longer subject itself to political and administrative control from the Vatican.

According to Sack's framework, the usurpation of these administrative powers by the state through the Catholic Action petition would eliminate several of the spatial characteristics that had allowed the Church to employ territoriality as a strategy for control. It would eliminate the ability of the Catholic Church in Slovakia to function as a rigid hierarchy by destroying the impersonal territorial relationships between ecclesiastic authorities, in addition to the direct lines of communication between these authorities and between the local Church and the Vatican. Additionally, it would eliminate their ability to communicate and reify diocesan boundaries, and to maintain the hierarchical chain of command which connected the Vatican, the bishops, their dioceses, and finally, the lower clergy and parishioners.

The wording of the Catholic Action petition was purposefully convoluted in order to confuse the Catholics who were asked to sign it. Additionally, it was rewritten in a number of different forms, each more confusing than the next, in order to make it seem more innocuous to potential signers. Some forms of the petition did not even mention the original petition's contents, instead, simply referring to the original manifesto as Catholic Action. A later draft of the petition included the following text:

I am firmly convinced that Catholic Action, at the head of which are distinguished Catholic priests and dignitaries of the Catholic Church and to which hundreds of our Catholic priests and tens of thousands of the Catholic faithful are constantly attaching themselves, will create all the favorable conditions for the harmonious coexistence of the Church with the state, and therefore, I join in this action. At the same time, I turn to our bishops with the respectful request that they heed the voices of the faithful priests, loyal to the state and the government, and that by a change in their rejective attitude towards the people's democratic administration, they create an atmosphere favorable to a treaty between Church and state. I am for the reconciliation of the Church with the state and for obedience to the laws of our people's democracy (Zubek 1956, 73-74).

The regional KNV was responsible for gaining the signatures and support of Catholics within its territory. Some of the KNVs resorted to tactics that were easier than coercing active Catholics to sign the petition. In some cases, KNV officials simply signed the names of clergy for them. In other cases, they signed the name of an entire group of monks or nuns, indicating that all of the order was supposedly in support of the petition. The names of some deceased clergymen as well as many Evangelical Lutherans also appeared on the petition (Zubek 1956, 74-75).

The Czech and Slovak bishops, including Bishop Čársky of Košice recognizing that Catholic Action posed a serious threat to their authority, gathered in a meeting in Olomouc on June 15, 1949 in order to establish a strategy for combating the movement. They authored a joint pastoral letter which was to be read after mass in every church throughout all the dioceses on Sunday, June 19th (Zubek 1956, 76). In this letter, the bishops explained that the goal of the Catholic Action movement and petition was to destroy the administrative authority and territorial relationships between the Vatican, the bishops, and clergy. Archival documents from this period of time show the great impact of this pastoral letter and the flurry of KNV activities which surrounded its reading on June 19th, 1949.

Fourteen Czech and Slovak bishops authored the pastoral letter which was approximately two and half pages in length and outlined eleven key points addressing various topics ranging from church law to the duties and responsibilities of priests. The main purpose of the letter was to remind priests and parishioners about the nature of the Church hierarchy and the reason why it could not be altered in the way that Catholic Action was attempting. They were very careful to connect the idea of the Church hierarchy with that of the early Church, attempting to illustrate the Catholic belief that the hierarchy of the modern Catholic Church was established by God

himself, with the Pope—the descendant of Peter—functioning as Christ’s representative on earth and the bishops fulfilling the role of the disciples. In this way, they emphasized the belief that the Church hierarchy was divinely established and therefore impossible to change. With regard to Catholic Action, the bishops stated in the opening paragraphs of the letter:

It [Catholic Action] is endangering the ecclesiastic organization, its freedom, spiritual power, and the Church built on Peter and the Apostles, which would become a mere religious society, virtually controlled by laity and some weak priests who have already separated themselves from the Church...In order to lead the church, it is required to not only have a consecration but also the vocation. Both of these are given by the bishop. The priest is the bishop’s helper and the priest’s authority comes from his relation with the bishop. Only in connection with the bishop is he connected as a visible representative of the Holy Father. Only according to this relationship is he able to legally lead and freely pursue his pastoral mission. Thus, if this were to be decided by a secular state power –as if the office of the bishop were a lay organization, it would be against the will of god. The laity who would be placed in the most important ecclesiastic positions would not be the most suitable, as required by God’s law and would not be interested in people’s souls and would hurt faith and religious life. If the Church gave up its powers, it would cease to be Church of Christ (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 79-80, 84).

The key points outlined in the letter included:

Point 1: The Church must be able to fulfill its administrative duties without seeking approval from the KNV. That it must seek approval is against the freedom of religion.

Point 2: No individual is able to hold a church position that is not consecrated. Someone not consecrated as a priest cannot perform the mass. This consecration must come from someone who holds that power [only a Catholic bishop].

Point 3: As has always been the case, a priest is not allowed to vacate his assigned position without permission from his diocese’s bishop. It is against Church law for a priest not to obey his bishop’s orders.

Point 4: It requires a bishop’s blessing to perform church functions. If someone tries to go against this, they are going against the will of God. The Church retains sole authority over what can be taught by priests.

Point 6: Priests can promise only what is not against God's law and the law of the Church. If the priest takes an oath to something, they must add, either in writing or by stating aloud, "so long as it is not against the laws of God, the Church, and my own natural rights."

Point 9: Catholic Action is a schismatic movement that has been condemned by the highest Church authority and the court of the entire nation and it should not be supported.

Point 10: Although the new civil marriage law of January 1, 1950 states that all marriages must be civil, it is the duty of priests to educate Catholics that all of the Church laws regarding religious matrimony still apply and must be followed.

Point 11: The priests must prepare themselves for the upcoming year [1950] which includes preparing for the year's religious pilgrimages (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 79-80, 84).

As David Sack noted, the concept outlined by the bishops in Point 3 has long been connected to the territorial definitions of authority within the Catholic Church. He takes as evidence of this the numerous prohibitions against priests leaving their dioceses to escape the authority of their bishop which were outlined by numerous church councils, including "Nicea, A.D. 325, canon fifteen; Arles, A.D. 314, canons two and seventeen; Antioch, A.D. canons thirteen, twenty-one, and thirty-two; and Sardicia, A.D. 347, canon one" (Sack 1986, 111).

Despite the fact that the KNV forbade all priests to read the letter after mass, and the fact that the transportation of the letter itself to the different diocesan offices was also outlawed, documents show that the letter reached many parishioners of the Košice Diocese. The KNV performed surveillance throughout the Košice Diocese on Sunday, June 19th in order to see which priests would read the letter in violation of the prohibition. A long and detailed report was produced by several officers of the Košice KNV in which they detailed the actions of four Košice clergymen: Bishop Jozef Čársky, Fr. Pius Krivý, Fr. Michal Rozum, and Fr. Mikulaš Lexman, who led masses at some of the largest churches in Košice.



Figure 1. St. Elizabeth's Cathedral on the main square of Košice (Personal photograph by the author, June 6, 2008).

According to the report, after the conclusion of mass at St. Elizabeth's Cathedral, Bishop Čársky did not read the contents of the pastoral letter forbidding Catholic Action, but instead stated, "My dear faithful, I had a pastoral letter to read to you, but I cannot do this because it has been seized by the NV. Neither can I mention to you the contents of this letter, because it is forbidden." However, it is clear that Čársky then went on to make a statement about the nature of Catholic Action, stating that it should not be followed because it contradicted the constitution of the Church. Čársky then stated that while he did not necessarily disagree with the socialist goals, its materialist ideology posed a fundamental, ideological conflict with the Church. While the KNV report indicated that no action was taken against Čársky for his disobedience, a

footnote on the report stated that the committee agreed that it would “seek to act upon the bishops as soon as there was an agreement [in the form of Catholic Action] between the church and state” (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 3,4).

A much more striking incident occurred regarding Fr. Krivý. KNV agents, apparently in attendance at the June 19th mass in the Jesuit Church in Košice, heard Fr. Krivý give a detailed summary of the forbidden pastoral letter condemning Catholic Action. Afterward, they confronted him about his statement. He immediately became enraged, and shouted at them:

Are you Catholics? Come so I can show the people what kind of freedom you are giving them. For you, was the election [of 1948] free? For you, are the signatures to Catholic Action free? You should beware. The people have had enough and the time is far off when the free will of people will be roused. Then we priests won't be able to prevent the free will of the people. The pastoral letter can be taken away, but it can still be summarized, and nobody can forbid us (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 3, 4).

While he was talking with the agents, he continuously made gestures to his throat, which the KNV agents interpreted as a clear sign that he was implying they would be hanged, were the people to exercise their free will. The agents stated in the report that Fr. Krivý informed them that, in his conscience, he felt the need to let people know what was written in the pastoral letter because he had given a promise to his bishops and not the state. Then he said that he would never promise an oath to the state unless everyone would do it. Finally he yelled at the agents, “send me to a foreign country, where I will live in peace and silence in a monastery and I will never tell anyone that I am a Slovak!” (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 3,4).

This report is indicative of the type of surveillance and intelligence gathering that occurred throughout the entire diocese as well as throughout the entire country. A directive from the Commissioner of the Interior in Slovakia ordered each KNV to collect and report detailed

information about the reading of the pastoral letter. First it requested the number of priests in each KNV territory who had read the letter after mass but did not provide any commentary or interpretation of its meaning to the congregation, the number of priests who read the letter and then discussed its contents “in an aggressive manner,” and the number of priests who did not read the letter. It also asked for a report on the measures which had been taken against priests who had read the letter (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 3,4). Many priests were levied fines if they were found to have read the letter in violation of the ban.

What is clear is that the state was very concerned that if the pastoral letter was disseminated widely enough, it would bring an end to the Catholic Action petition and thus, their plans for creating an organization which would usurp the power of the Vatican and the bishops. Indeed, the reading of the letter and the resistance to Communist pressure virtually doomed the success of Catholic Action. Almost immediately after the letter was read, voluntary signatures to the petition slowed. It was estimated that almost 60% of priests in Slovakia read the letter in its original form (Zubek 1956, 76) and many more provided a summary of its contents.

The Vatican then dealt the final blow to the Catholic Action petition on June 20, 1949. Only a day after the pastoral letter was read throughout Czechoslovakia, including throughout the large churches in the Diocese of Košice, the Vatican released a decree through the Congregation of the Holy Office in which it condemned Catholic Action in Czechoslovakia as a heretical movement and also condemned the founders and supporters of the petition for using deceitful tactics to gain the signatures of Catholics and even some clergy. The founders and supporters of Catholic Action, as well as any Catholics or clergy who knowingly and willingly remained attached to the organization and petition were excommunicated by the Pope (Zubek

1956, 78). This decree worried state authorities deeply and the KNV were soon asked to provide regional assessments of the impact of the excommunication threat to Catholic Action.

According a report filed by the Košice KNV explaining its progress in promoting Catholic Action in its territory, the petition drive got off to a strong start, but was soon weakened due to the strain of work in the villages during harvest. The author stated that even after the excommunication decree, the KNV able to gain some more signatures, so while the Pope's decree caused some debate, it was a complete fiasco for the Vatican, because some priests were still not convinced that the decree was genuine. However, this would seem to conflict with the figures which are then given in the report regarding the number of signatures which were collected by the Košice KNV.

The total number of signatures reported from the territory amounted to 34,276. It can be estimated from this that approximately 15,212 of these fell within the boundaries of the Diocese of Košice (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 3, 4). According to the statistics reported in the 1949 *Annuario Pontificio*, there were 292,681 Catholics in the Diocese of Košice, meaning that the KNV was successful in gaining the support of only about 5.2% of the diocese's Catholics. The report blames the failure to gain more support on the NV at local levels within territory. According to the author, "the departmental committee of Catholic Action, as well as district committees of Catholic Action, did a very poor job because the committee members were influenced by their wives" (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 3,4).

The events of June 19th and 20th, 1949 illustrate an important fact regarding the state of the Catholic Church in Slovakia and its hierarchy at that time. The Slovak bishops were able to coordinate a strategy for dealing with the Catholic Action petition and the reaction of priests like Fr. Krivý show that the majority of the clergy remained faithful to the authority of the bishops

rather than to the state. The successive responses of the Slovak bishops and the Vatican on June 19th and 20th show that lines of communication remained open between the local hierarchy and the Pope, allowing the two to coordinate a strategy for combatting the Communist intrusion. In other words, these events indicate that the Church was still able to function territorially.

The Infiltration of the Church Hierarchy

After the Czech and Slovak bishops issued their pastoral letter and the Vatican followed it with a threat of excommunication, Catholic Action quickly faded away. The last mention of Catholic Action by the Communists was in 1952, when it was abandoned for good (Zubko 2004, 38), however it had been defunct essentially since the fall of 1949. According to Theodorik Zubek, “the solid hierarchical organization of the Catholic Church foiled all Communist and anti-ecclesiastical onsets. In the autumn of 1949, the Communists of Czecho-Slovakia intensified their attacks against the Church hierarchy. They hoped to bring the Church to terms by destroying its hierarchical organization” (Zubek 1956, 97).

The Communist government realized that its plan to displace the Church hierarchy in Slovakia with the Catholic Action apparatus had failed and that a new approach was required if the territorial structure of the Church was to be destroyed—or at least, brought under control. In order to accomplish this, a second strategy was developed by the state that was similar to that used by the KSS in 1947. The government would allegedly “uncover” a vast conspiracy of resistance and deceit within the hierarchy of its opponent. In 1947, the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS) had allegedly exposed high-ranking Catholic party officials from the Democratic Party (DS), who they claimed were involved in anti-state activities. This time, the Communists

intended to expose the Church hierarchy, especially the bishops and those who worked in the bishops' offices, as the culprits of anti-state activities which had led to the subversion of the Catholic Action movement in Slovakia.

Their strategy was two-pronged. First, the state would pass a series of anti-church laws and then it would infiltrate the bishops' office under the justification that these offices had been the centers of the subversive, anti-state activities. If it could not supplant the church hierarchy with its own organization, it would find a way by which it could seize control and make use of the existing hierarchical structure and its territories—the dioceses— which were already in place.

The first anti-Church law which had a major impact on the dioceses was Law No. 219 of 1949, which specified that priests were now officially state-paid employees, making them also subject to the authority of the regional KNV as opposed to their own bishop. According to Paragraph 17 of the law, “Every appointment of a priest to a post permitted by the state requires previous approval of the state” (Zubek 1956, 105). Paragraph 18 went on to specify:

Appointment of a priest without previous approval of the state results in the priest's being deprived of personal remuneration and the post is considered vacant. If a priest loses his qualification for appointment, the case shall be negotiated by the appropriate state agency with the respective ecclesiastical office; if no settlement is reached within 14 days, the state agency requests the respective ecclesiastical office to remove the priest and shall immediately decide whether or not the priest should be deprived of remuneration. If the ecclesiastical office does not accede to the demand for removal of a priest within 14 days, the post shall be considered vacant. Vacant posts must be filled within 30 days. After the expiration of this period of grace, the state may take the necessary measures to assure the orderly conductance of spiritual ministry, administration, or the training of priests (Zubek 1956, 105).

Paragraph 19 of the law specified that “a prerequisite for the fulfillment of spiritual activities is the oath of loyalty to the Czecho-Slovak Republic” (Zubek 1956, 105). It was specifically for this situation (priests being forced to take the state loyalty oath) that the bishops had included

point 6 in their pastoral letter, stating that a priest may only take an oath to the state—or any other secular organization—when it was not in conflict with church or natural law. In the case where priests were forced by the state to take such an oath of loyalty, they were required by the bishops to specify, either aloud or in writing, “so long as it is not against the laws of God, the Church, and my own natural rights.” Finally, paragraph 30 of Law No. 219 specified that the state had the authority to offer up candidates for any vacant ecclesiastic posts and that, if the church did not respond appropriately to these nominations within 14 days, that the state would simply assume that these posts had been conferred (Zubek 1956, 107).

The Slovak bishops protested all of the new laws which curbed their administrative powers, stating in a letter to the government that, “the freedom of [the Church] is broken, since the state, by making ecclesiastical appointments, assumes the right to interfere in her internal structure and refuses for political reasons the approval of appointments to ecclesiastical offices that the Church makes. These measures are in conflict with the basic law of the Czecho-Slovak Republic on freedom of religion, since freedom of the internal organization of the Church also falls under this heading” (Zubek 1956, 109-110). They added that, “no one may assume spiritual jurisdiction or occupy an ecclesiastical office, even temporarily, without the canonical appointment by the bishop. A true priest may not occupy a spiritual office given him even provisionally by a government official (Can. 2394, 2395). Similarly, a priest may not leave a place regularly assigned to him without the permission of his bishop (Can. 2399)” (Zubek 1956, 111).

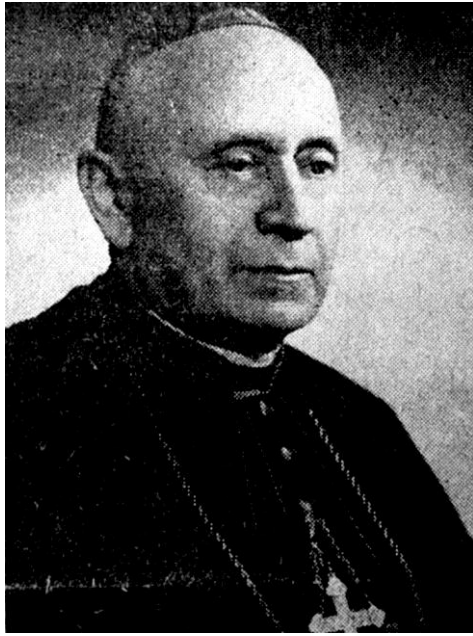


Figure 2. Leaders of the Catholic Diocese of Košice. Bishop Jozef Čársky (left) and Apostolic Administrator Josef Onderko (right). (Katolícke Noviny, May 6, 1956; March 14, 1954).

This final point was yet another reiteration of Point 3 from the bishops' pastoral letter, which reasserted the bishops' authority over priests and their geographic location. The emphasis of this point on the behalf of the bishops illustrates the degree to which they were fearful that priests would begin to cave to state pressure and comply with state orders regarding where they were to be posted, undermining the fundamental territorial authority of the bishops and, according to Sack, the ability to reify hierarchical power and impersonal territorial relationships. These new anti-church laws were only the first step, however, in bringing the existing diocesan structure of the Church under Communist control. The government now attempted to take over the diocesan chanceries and bishops' offices throughout the country in order to control their activities and curb their ability to exert influence over the lower clergy and the population.

The chanceries and bishops' offices became the natural targets for Communist repression in the wake of the Catholic Action affair because it was from these offices that the pastoral

letters and other ecclesiastic decrees had originated. The infiltration of these offices was done by the state in order to stop the spread of these types of documents after their effectiveness had in influencing parishioners had been so readily demonstrated in the Catholic Action situation. As a preliminary step, the KNV established operatives in each bishop's office, which were to stop any and all anti-state activities which were allegedly perpetrated by the chanceries. These KNV agents "took the official mail under their supervision, checked official letters of the chanceries and seized the seal of the bishop's office. Only with their permission could anyone speak to the bishops" (Zubek 1956, 267).

A central figure in this action to infiltrate the chanceries was Fr. Jozef Straka, who was perhaps the most notorious of the "patriotic" priests known for his cooperation with the Communist government:

Born in 1903, Straka was a priest in the Banská Bystrica diocese and an activist in the Slovak Branch of the Czechoslovak People's Party during the interwar period. He clandestinely joined the Communists in 1941 and fought in a Partisan unit during the Slovak National Uprising. After the war, he was active in the SKV [Slavic Catholic Committee], served as the head of the religious affairs department of the Commission of Education, and was the chief commentator on religious affairs in the Communist press (Felak 2009, 25).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Straka played a key role in the establishment of Communist agents in each of the bishops' chanceries. He had been appointed in 1946 to the state office that was in charge of certifying Catholic priests (Felak 2009, 76). A letter from August 9, 1949 written by Straka, shows that he was behind the installation of KNV agents in the bishops' offices in both the Rožňava and Košice dioceses:

The state administration of religion on behalf the Central Action Committee of the Slovak National Front in Bratislava [UAF SNF] will install its designees in each episcopal office. On a common order, from the UAF SNF in Bratislava on August 5, 1949, it was agreed that the agents were to be placed in episcopal offices in Rožňava, in Košice, and Spiš. The existing trustees in the bishops' offices have signed documents to surrender this function and the new trustees will be installed into episcopal office (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 24-26, 18).

With regard to these agents' duties, Straka specified the following:

For each of the proposed agents, please send a profile of their personal characteristics, as regards their political orientation, since these people must be completely reliable, must enjoy the trust of the KSS and the UAV SNF, and must unconditionally understand its administrative agendas, in particular, the Department of Religion... Applicants chosen for the function which this decree establishes must be given basic instructions as to how they should carry out their function as to its extent and nature with regard to the agenda. Please forward nominations to my office as soon as possible, since the matter is very urgent and immediate. Contents of this letter are deemed to be highly confidential (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 24-26, 18).

In the spring of 1950, the KNV arrested all of the directors of the bishops' chanceries, as well as the vast majority of their employees and staff. Those employees and staff who were priests were often sent for a period of time to the concentration monasteries outside of their own diocese (Zubek 1956, 268). SLOVÚC then filled these positions, according to the provisions which they had set out in Law No. 219 of 1949, and soon all of the staff members in the bishops' offices were the so-called "patriotic priests" who remained loyal to the state and who had ignored the papal excommunication decree. In the spirit of the decree, these priests were invalid and separated from the Catholic Church for their continued participation with the state. They were excommunicated under the decree, even if they themselves did not consider it to be the case.

With regard to Sack's theory, this action shows another territorial tendency exhibited by the KSS. As a territorial hierarchy, its actions tended to be implemented at a national level, with

the details and implementation of policy left to the regional levels, the KNV. Sack calls this the obscuration of the geographic impact of an event, meaning that “the initiation of an action (that may be irreversible) is considered in the context of the largest territory and the implementation of the action is left later to the smallest territories (Sack 1986, 39). It is clear from archival documents that the Communist hierarchical structure suffered some of its own difficulties in coordinating between the national and territorial structures when attempting to carry out religious policies. The national office of SLOVÚC sent a letter to the Košice KNV on September 4, 1950 in which it criticized what it called “deficiencies” in the KNV bi-weekly reports. The letter stated:

From the contents of your messages, we cannot judge what is actually done, what you propose to be done, and also what has been arranged...In the future submission of the situation report, pay increased attention to the evaluation of your entire territory, with appropriate messages from the different departments of agents of the local offices... (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 136-270, 4, 6).

After the decision by the KSS and the letter from Fr. Straka, a later document from early 1950 showed how the specific duties of the local KNV were to be carried out. A notorious agent of the KNV in Košice, Jan Kollár, the Affairs Officer of Property Rights and Economic Control, was assigned the task of “removing the spiritual administrators and religious organizations of their performed functions if an objection is raised, and removing them if convicted” (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 24-26, 18).

Most of the bishops were placed under strict house arrest, including Bishop Čársky of Košice. Bishop Čársky was also continuously monitored by the KNV. In Košice, this was the duty of the Religious Information Section, which was headed by another agent, Jozef Matis, who was charged with “monitoring the activities of the supervisory ecclesiastical authorities,

including the vicar [Čársky], the deans, and the senior leadership of the districts” (ŠAVK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 24-26, 18). Documents show that Bishop Čársky was under intense, around-the-clock supervision by KNV agents and this severely curbed his ability to give his opinions on various church matters (Chalupecký 2002, 83; Sedlák 2002, 89).

The most uncooperative and defiant bishops, most notably Bishop Vojtassák of the neighboring Spis Diocese, were imprisoned. In Košice, Bishop Čársky’s Vicar General, John Onderuv, was arrested and imprisoned for his uncooperativeness. A major part of the Communist strategy was to target the position of Vicar General in each diocese, as the Vicar General is the second in command under the bishop and performs the majority of day-to-day administrative duties of the bishop within the diocese. Čársky was then forced by the state on January 18, 1954 to appoint Fr. Štefan Onderko, a famous “patriotic priest” who was loyal to the regime, as Vicar General with another patriotic priest, Fr. Stefan Benko as his alternate Vicar General. The validity of these two appointments is dubious, as evidenced by the data found starting in the 1955 *Annuario Pontificio*, which listed the position of Vicar General of the Diocese of Košice “vacant” rather than noting Onderko or Benko’s appointments. *Annuario Pontificio* never listed either Onderko or Benko’s names in subsequent years. By infiltrating the chancery and bishop’s office using Law No. 219, the KNV were able to install loyal “priests” into the leading ecclesiastic posts and seize control of the diocesan administration in this way.

This was the action which finally succeeded in destroying the territorial administration of the Catholic Church in Slovakia. A great deal of confusion among the lower clergy and parishioners resulted. Priests were often uncertain as to the validity of the orders they received from their dioceses because they were uncertain as to the validity of the people occupying the bishops’ chanceries. The bishops who were under house arrest could only communicate to their

diocese's clergy and faithful through documents which were highly censored by the KNV agents installed in each chancery, and the patriotic priests serving as Vicar Generals began to speak on behalf of the bishops more and more in later years, without their authority.

Communication with the Vatican was virtually cut off, since the valid diocesan officials who maintained the lines of communication with the proper Vatican offices had been arrested and jailed, and then replaced with clergy who were loyal to the state and who did not defer to the Vatican authorities. The Communists also began jamming the radio signal from the Vatican radio station, making it difficult for believers and clergy to get updates from Rome (Zubek 1956, 277).

The hostile takeover of the Church's territorial structure was, in essence, complete by the mid-1950s. After this, the policy of appointing loyal clergy to ever-increasing administrative posts was maintained and whenever a bishop died, as did Jozef Čársky on March 11, 1962, the post was left vacant. There would be no Bishop of Košice from 1962 until 1990. Štefan Onderko was promoted to the position of Apostolic Administrator, the highest position to which the state dared appoint a clergyman without Papal consent, and Onderko remained in that position for many years.

Conclusion

Sack's theory of human territoriality provides a useful source of contemporary geographic theory which helps explain some of the behaviors of both the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Slovakia and the Communist government of Slovakia. The diocesan structure of the Church formed the basis by which it could classify resources and relationships

territorially. The establishment of the bishops, their vicars, and their staffs to administer these territories provided for the circumscription of knowledge and responsibility. These church administrations exercised authority over these territories within the structure of impersonal relationships created as part of the ecclesiastic chain of command. These impersonal relationships formed the basis of Church bureaucracy. Goods and resources under the control of the bishops were categorized according to the diocesan territories and the dioceses were, in turn, formed and occasionally altered in ways meant to allow the bishops and their staffs a realistic span of control and the ability to effectively administer church resources. With regard to the Church in Slovakia, archival documents show that the territorial nature of the Church was what allowed it to resist and ultimately defeat the schismatic Catholic Action movement, despite the fact that it had been deprived of the majority of its resources.

The Communists established a hierarchy of territories at the village, city, regional, and national levels and the size and responsibility of the regional territories, known as the Regional National Committees (KNV), that was very similar to the Catholic dioceses. Like the Church, the Communists' territorial hierarchy functioned according to strict lines of communication and, like the Church, they developed policies at the national level and then dictated the responsibility for carrying out these policies to its regional administration at the KNV level.

After 1948, the KSS sought to weaken the influence of the Catholic Church, which it had identified after the elections of 1946 and 1948 as its primary political opponent and which was examined in Chapter 4. In order to eliminate the Church's influence, the KSS targeted the Church's territorial structure and developed a plan to displace the Church hierarchy with its own administrative body known as Catholic Action. However, because the Church was still able to function territorially according to a number of the principles outlined in Sack's theory, the

Communists' plan to install Catholic Action as the highest ecclesiastic authority in Slovakia failed. The influence of the Catholic bishops, in concert with that of the Vatican, dissuaded the lower clergy and the Catholic faithful from supporting Catholic Action, forcing the Communists to develop a new strategy.

The second, and much more effective strategy for weakening the Church in Slovakia, was to infiltrate the bishops' chanceries themselves, working within the existing territorial structure of the Church. This kept the Catholic administration from being able to function territorially as it had in the past. No longer could the bishops communicate directly with the lower clergy and faithful. No longer could the clergy and faithful be certain that any of the orders they received were from validly consecrated administrators. And perhaps most damaging of all, the bishops' offices were not able to communicate with Vatican offices. Although not even the Communists were bold enough to attempt and install a bishop without the permission of the Vatican, they were successful in installing Vicar Generals, who performed many administrative functions within the diocese, who were loyal to the Communist regime. With all of the bishops in Slovakia either in prison, under house arrest, or under continuous surveillance, the loyal priests serving as Vicars began to speak as the authorities of the Catholic diocese. This strategy was effective in destroying both the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church in Slovakia as well as its ability to utilize territoriality as a strategy for influencing the Catholic population.

Within the examination of historical Church-state relations in Slovakia, Sack's theory proves very useful. It provides a theoretical framework which helps characterize many of the actions of both the church and the state in Slovakia in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The next Chapter will examine power relations between the Church and state in Slovakia after the hierarchy of the Church had been largely dismantled.

Chapter 6: Geographies of Power

Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to address the second research question outlined in the introductory chapter. That is, “What modalities of power were employed by the Church in order to create and reinforce a sense of place in which Slovak Catholics felt they belonged?” The goal of this Chapter is to explore some of the ways in which the Catholic Church in Slovakia attempted to maintain a sense of Catholic place and community within the Diocese of Košice in the years following establishment of the Communist state in 1948. Also, it explores some of the tactics used by the state to try and prevent this aspect of church activity, specifically within the territories of the Košice KNV and the Catholic Diocese of Košice. In general, the goal of this Chapter is to explore the ways through which secular and religious meanings become associated with specific cultural landscapes, as well as how power facilitates the creation of these associated meanings.

The ability of an organization to cultivate a strong sense of place, either in a religious or secular sense, implies that the organization has some kind of power to exert an influence over the population in that place. Key to this Chapter’s examination of place-based power relations in Košice is to clarify what is meant by the term “power.” This Chapter employs John Allen’s (2003) definition of power, which stated that “power...is a relational effect of social interaction.” Allen’s definition is particularly suited to this study for two reasons. First, his definition, as well as his (2003) framework for its investigation, connects the concept of power with spatiality. Allen argues that “power is inherently spatial, and, conversely, spatiality is *imbued* with power”

(pg. 3). Allen explains that the purpose of his framework is to bring attention to the ways in which people's daily lives and the spaces through which they move are controlled by networks of power (pg. 2). My goal is to use Allen's framework as a tool for examining the ways in which both the Catholic Church hierarchy and the Communist officials of the KNV used networks and modalities of power to control the meanings associated with place in Košice.

Allen frames his ideas of power and space in a way that allows us to examine both the types of power being exerted on Slovaks as well as the immediacy of the contact or spatial proximity required in order to exert various types of power. It is possible to use Allen's framework to examine ways in which distance and proximity play a role in the exercise of power as well as the institutionalization of regions and the establishment of authority within them. With regard to Košice, this examination will be accomplished by exploring ways in which the Catholic Church and the state government attempted to control what Allen calls "ritualized ways of doing things" (Allen 2003, 11) or "the practices and the rhythms of different groups" (Allen 2003, 171). These types of behaviors include the observance of religious holidays, religious education, the balance between the work week and the days set aside for religious celebrations, and the observance of religious processions and pilgrimages.

In a broad sense, Allen's idea that space and distance affect the ways in which power is experienced and mediated complements Paasi's (2003) critical approach to the idea of regions. As discussed in Chapter 2, taking a critical view of region—according to Paasi—implies that regions are recognized to be "processes that are performed, limited, symbolized and institutionalized through numerous practices and discourses that are not inevitably bound to a specific scale" (Paasi 2003, 805). For this reason, a critical approach to understanding Catholic dioceses as regions will be adopted.

Paasi reminds us that considering problems or issues regionally is only useful when the region being considered actually reflects the spatial scale at which important cultural or social interactions take place. Indeed, according to Paasi, cultural and social interactions and the struggle by different groups to control or dominate these interactions are what cause certain geographic areas to be conceptualized as regions:

...regions, their boundaries, symbols and institutions are...not results of autonomous and evolutionary processes but expressions of a perpetual struggle over the meanings associated with space, representation, democracy and welfare. The institutionalization of regions may take place on all spatial scales, not only between the local level and the state (Paasi 1991).

Paasi and Allen both recognize that ritualized behaviors are responsible for associating meanings with places also contribute to the larger process of institutionalizing regions in the minds of people. Paasi's definition of regions also leaves room for the possibility of competing regional conceptions at the same scale—such as the Košice KNV region and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Košice.

A second important aspect of Allen's definition of power is his stipulation that power and resources should not be considered as being analogous. In other words, power itself is not a resource which can be built up or saved for later use. Rather, power is an effect which can be produced by the expenditure of a variety of resources available to an organization. Allen calls this idea of "power as capacity" simply a "euphemism for the resources and abilities which may or may not be mobilized to produce an effect" (Allen 2003, 36). This aspect of Allen's definition of power allows us to consider impacts that proximity and modalities of power have on how it is experienced.

Allen's framework for understanding the relationship between space and power outlined two basic types of power and several more specific "modalities" through which an organization can attempt to achieve power over someone or something. Allen outlined two basic types of power as "either *instrumental*, where power is something that is held over you and used to obtain leverage, or *associational*, where power acts more like a collective medium enabling things to get done or facilitate some common aim" (Allen 2003, 5). A number of modalities exist within these two types of power through which resources can be used to achieve power, including authority, domination, coercion, seduction, and manipulation (Allen 2003, 36).

Two aspects of Allen's framework explain how power is achieved and through which mechanisms individuals or organizations obtain privileged positions within a region. First is the notion that each modality (seduction, inducement, coercion, etc.) requires that actions on the part of the organization employing it be carried out at a particular distance or within a certain spatial proximity. These two characteristics cause different modalities to be sensed and mediated differently by a population. Thus, each modality has different advantages and drawbacks in terms of its usefulness with regard to impact, distance, scale, duration, etc. For instance, the use of coercion may have an immediate effect on the population, yet it requires that the organization employing it be in close proximity to the population it intends to coerce. Also, an act of coercion is easily recognizable, and its impact diminishes quickly over time. On the other hand, an act of seduction, which Allen says capitalizes on existing beliefs or attitudes in order to use them as an advantage (Allen 2003, 171), is more a subtle, less immediate, and often, less detectable form of power which can endure for a long period of time and be carried out from a remote distance. An act of seduction presents something as inherently attractive, so while a person remains free to reject it, their existing beliefs and desires entice them to comply.

The second aspect of Allen's framework that is particularly relevant to this study is the idea that resources—rather than power itself—is what flows through spatial networks. Allen argues that power is achieved through continuously and repetitively utilizing such resources at different locations or nodes in order to produce the relational effect people recognize as power (Allen 2003, 112). The flow of information, goods, ideas, and knowledge across an organization or through a network, such as the system of Regional National Committees (KNV) or through the ranks of the Catholic hierarchy in Slovakia, provided both of these organizations with privileged positions of power, as well as the resources needed to produce desired outcomes in the form of either loyalty to the state or adherence to Catholic traditions. In the Communist case, these resources included laws and control over employment, while the Catholic Church relied on its education system, Canon Law, holidays, and yearly traditions. It is the ability of an organization like the Church or the state to “stabilize all kinds of resources on an ongoing basis” (Allen 2003, 113) which allows it to establish dominance over the rhythms of daily activities and claim specific places as their own. The notion that power has spatial characteristics of proximity and reach is thus very useful to a critical examination of how secular and sacral meanings became attached to places in the Košice region.

The objective of establishing power within a region is to establish domination over the meanings associated with places in the region, which Lefebvre (1991) says is accomplished through a system of codes signs, symbols, and spatial practices which claim a place for a certain group. Allen adopts this concept from Lefebvre in his framework, suggesting that this ability to “endow a place with meaning to the coded gestures, styles and mannerisms which prescribe a certain use for it” results in “the closing down of possibilities, the restriction of alternative uses, so that others have little choice but to acknowledge the construction of a singular space” (Allen

2003, 162). In other words, the ability of an organization or group to build a strong sense of place hinges on its ability to claim or dominate that space by the establishment of rituals and behaviors which displace others while claiming the space for its own members. In general, this result was what both the Catholic Church in Slovakia and the Communist government were attempting to accomplish in Košice after 1948.

The following sections draw from two collections of archival documents—one from the archive of the Košice KNV, and the second from the collection of circulars published by the office of the Bishop of Košice. These sections examine several historical events in and around Košice through the lens of Allen's concept of geographies of power, with respect to different power relations between the local Catholic Church and the Communist government. They attempt to identify some of the specific modalities of power Allen described, determine why they were used and ways in which they were either successful or unsuccessful. The following three sections focus on some of the broad areas of cultural conflict between the Catholic Church in Košice and the KNV. The first section examines the struggles between the two organizations regarding religious and secular holidays, the structure of the work week, and the calendar year. The second section discusses the conflict over Catholic religious education in Košice. The final section examines the role of religious processions and pilgrimages in the practice and performance of Catholicism in Košice.

Holidays, the work week, and the calendar

Holidays

One of the first cultural conflicts between the Catholic Church and the state in Slovakia regarded some of the most basic rhythms of daily life—the structures of the work week and the calendar year. By 1947, there were no fewer than twelve religiously significant holidays on the Slovak calendar that were accompanied by time off from work. These were in addition to Sundays, which had traditionally been set aside as a day of rest and of religious observance as well as secular holidays like New Year’s Day, Labor Day, and May Day. The number of religious holidays has historically varied from country to country with many countries (and even regions within countries) celebrating the feast days of Saints or religious figures of local interest which may not have a wider geographic following. However, since the 1880s, the Catholic Church worldwide has maintained approximately ten primary holy days (Holweck 1909), with Catholics in Slovakia observing seven of them.

The Catholic Church has traditionally used forms of inducement and coercion to motivate Catholics to observe the holy days of obligation, in addition to regular Sunday mass. The Church codified into Canon Law the obligation of Catholics to observe these days in canons 1246, 1247, and 2181. Canon 1246 states that “Sunday is the day on which the paschal mystery is celebrated in the light of the apostolic tradition and is to be observed as the foremost holy day of obligation in the universal Church.” Canon 1247 states that “On Sundays and other holy days of obligation, the faithful are bound to participate in Mass.” Finally, canon 2181 states that “Those who deliberately fail in this obligation commit grave sin” (Saunders 2003). While these canons apply to all Catholics worldwide and were established by the Vatican, in Slovakia it has

traditionally been the responsibility of local bishops and clergy to remind parishioners of their responsibilities regarding holy day observances as well as those of local interest.

Allen pointed out that inducement and coercion are closely related modalities of power. Inducement functions in a way in which “people are won over to the advantages of something and bring themselves into line,” whereas coercion functions “as a threat of force or negative sanctions” (Allen 2005, 101). The bishops and clergy, as well as the canons themselves, have historically been responsible for employing these two modalities of power. The local clergy within Slovakia acted in close proximity to the parishioners in order to ensure that these holy day obligations were kept, while the Vatican exerted its influence at a distance through Canon Law. Over time, the clergy in Slovakia built up the observance of holy days and Sunday masses so that by the late 1940s, both were well-attended (Zubek 1956, 159). These observances slowly became part of the weekly and yearly rhythms of daily life among Catholics in Slovakia and especially within the Diocese of Košice. After 1946, these holidays quickly became a target of the Office of Religious Affairs (SLOVÚC).

Immediately after World War II, the SNC and its Communist element showed interest in reconsidering the inclusion of Catholic holy days as days free from work on the yearly calendar. On December 20, 1946, the SNC passed Law No. 248 regarding days free from work which codified almost all of the existing Catholic holy days (including those of obligation) into state law but with an important caveat: The law officially recognized Epiphany (January 6), Good Friday, Easter Monday, the Ascension, Corpus Christi, the feasts of Sts. Peter and Paul (June 29), the Assumption, All Saints Day (November 1), the Immaculate Conception (December 8), Christmas Day, St. Stephen’s Day (December 26), the Feasts of Sts. Cyril and Methodius (July 5), and the Feast of St. Wenceslaus (September 28) (Zubko 2006, 64). However, section three of

the law went on to state that the observance of all of these holy days (with the exception of Christmas, Easter, All Saints, and Cyril and Methodius) could be made invalid “in times when the economic interests of the state demanded it” (Zubek 1956, 157). So, while the 1946 law might have been considered pro-Catholic on its face, this small clause within the third section of the law provided a way by which the Communists could invalidate almost all Catholic holy days under the guise of economic progress. In 1946, the actions of the Communists were still moderated by the powerful Lutheran-controlled Democratic Party (DS) and so the Communists could not yet achieve laws with the kind of pervasive anti-Catholicism they would have liked. Also, the 1920 Czechoslovak Constitution—as well as the 1948 Constitution which succeeded it—guaranteed the freedom of religion, so laws had to be worded in ways that would not appear to blatantly violate this guarantee.

Another stipulation of the law was that several of the holidays which remained permanently on the yearly calendar and were not subject to suspension, including the Feasts of St. Stephen and Sts. Cyril and Methodius, as well as All Saints Day, would not be observed on their actual calendar date. In cases where these days occurred in the middle of a week, the associated time off from work would be moved to correspond with the nearest weekend. In other words, if St. Stephen’s Day was to occur on a Wednesday, Slovaks were required to work as normal on that day and would then receive a day off from work on Saturday of that week. According to the Communists, in addition to economic urgency, this change was so that “lovers of nature and tourists should have more free days together, that they could make longer tours” (Zubek 1956, 159). The Communists provided this as a justification in order to make the law seem like a benefit to Slovaks rather than yet another restriction on their religious behaviors.

The law severely complicated religious observances for Slovaks in the Košice Diocese. In each year after the law was passed, the state would make a decree that explained when days off for religious holidays would occur. This severely disrupted the yearly rhythms which the Church had established. Because of the law, Bishop Čársky and the clergy in diocese had to explain the complicated process of observing holy days to parishioners in Košice each year. For example, in 1951, three Catholic holidays were moved. Bishop Čársky sent a letter to all of the parish offices on October 23rd to explain when time off from work would be given during the upcoming holidays. The priests were to explain these changes to parishioners during mass:

According to the decree of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare on April 16th, no. 213/1951, Article IV, paragraphs A and B: the first day of All Saints Day is moved from November 1st to November 3rd. The Feast of the martyr Saint Stephen is moved from December 26 to December 24. This means that the day off of work for November 1st translates to November 3rd and there is no day off of work on December 26th and that day translates to December 24th (BUvK, ACEDC 1951, 3150).

Despite the Church's compliance with the Law No. 248 regarding when days off of work were assigned in conjunction with holy days, under Canon Law it could not comply with the state regarding when actual mass attendance was required. In other words, Čársky and the other Slovak bishops did not have the authority to tell Slovak Catholics that they could attend mass on the days assigned by the state in order to fulfill their mass obligations. The reason was simple. While some holy days are classified by Canon Law as "movable" feasts which fall on different days of the year such as Easter, other holy days, including All Saints Day (November 1) and the Feast of St. Stephen (December 26), are considered "immovable" holy days which must be observed on the same day each year (Holweck 1909). For instance, Law No. 248 moved the vacation day associated with the Feast of St. Stephen (an immovable feast) from the 26th of

December to the 24th. However, December 24th had already been established as its own immovable feast day—the Feast of the Nativity. Bishop Čársky could not allow both feasts to be celebrated on the 24th, so a different arrangement was needed.

Čársky and the other Slovak bishops developed a system of masses which allowed the Church in Slovakia to comply with Law No. 248 and yet retain the observance of immovable feasts on the days required by Canon Law. Since Catholics in Slovakia could no longer attend morning holy day masses because they were not given the day off from work, the bishops instituted a new tradition of celebrating holy day masses in the evening after the workday was over. In his October 23rd letter, Čársky explained to the clergy how the All Saints Day and Christmas masses were to be arranged:

The Church will hold morning mass during the usual hours on working days. Of course, the liturgical texts of the mass remain the same. The guideline is: the normal readings directory for 1951, but with a “de festo” [festive] interpretation of their oration. Mass in the morning will be at the same time as weekdays, but evening mass after the end of the workday will be celebratory with the usual rites: the Litany of All Saints and prayers for the souls in purgatory. On December 24th and December 26th, a mass “de festo” will be held in the morning which is the same as on weekdays, and after working hours in the evening, a second “festive” holy mass will be held (BUvK, ACEDC 1951, 3150).

This compromise by the Church in Košice moved the obligatory masses from mornings to evenings on All Saints Day, the Feast of St. Stephen, and the Feast of the Nativity so that Catholics could still fulfill their holy day observances on the proper days while not missing work. However, the compromise also marked a substantial change in ways these holidays were celebrated. Instead of families attending masses together during a day off from work, they were now often forced to attend mass at night, which likely decreased both the intensity and time invested in celebrating these holidays. It marked a distinct departure from the traditional yearly

rhythms of the Catholic calendar year and the celebration of holidays in conjunction with vacation days. While Catholics in Košice may have continued to observe and fulfill their mass obligations in a technical sense, many of the minor holiday celebrations (excepting Christmas, All Souls Day, Easter, and Corpus Christi) had largely been removed by the Communists from the dominant rhythms of yearly life in Košice.

Čársky's system remained more or less in place until 1962. However, on March 11, 1962, Bishop Jozef Čársky died, placing his Vicar Capitular Štefan Onderko in charge of the Diocese of Košice. While Čársky had struggled to coexist with the KNV in Košice, Onderko was a Catholic priest loyal to the Slovak Communist Regime. He was a member of the Peace Movement of Catholic Clergy, which was a collaborationist group of Catholic Priests in Czechoslovakia. Onderko's appointment had actually been arranged by the Communists in Košice and he had been appointed on January 18, 1954 in the wake of the arrests of Čársky's previous Vicars by the Communist regime. Onderko's appointment illustrated quite clearly how successful the Communists in Slovakia had been in gaining influence over (and within) the local Catholic Church hierarchy in Košice. It reflected the change in Communist strategy that took place after the failure of Catholic Action to replace the local hierarchy several years earlier. Once Onderko took over full control of the administration of the Košice Diocese in 1962 after Čársky's death, an increase in the influence of Communist restrictions on holy day observances can be observed in archival documents.

In one of Onderko's first circulars to the local parish offices, he outlined the yearly changes in days free from work in relation to the Christmas and New Year's Day season. While Čársky had provided the clergy with detailed descriptions of how and when masses were to be

celebrated—even going so far as to suggest the “festiveness” with which the daily readings should be orated, Onderko provided very little guidance to the clergy in the circular:

The resolution of the government to set the working times in the year 1962: 1. The day off of work on Sunday the 23rd of December is moved to Monday, the 24th of December. 2. The day off of work on Sunday the 30th of December is moved to Monday the 31st of December. Parish offices need to arrange for religious services on those Sundays so that the faithful have an opportunity to attend them (BUvK, ACEDC 1952, 1202).

Such instructions provided very little aid to the local clergy and did not establish any guidelines for when and how masses should be arranged. Instead, arrangements were left up to individual parishes and their priests. Also, Onderko agreed to the government’s request that the day free from work on the 23rd of December be combined with the 24th of December. However, the vacation day associated with St. Stephen’s Day (December 26th) had already been combined with the 24th. This meant that by 1963, the government had succeeded in condensing three vacation days traditionally enjoyed by Slovak Catholics during the Christmas season down into one.

Slowly, government regulations regarding days free from work in connection with Catholic holidays caused them to disappear from the yearly rhythms of Slovak Catholics in Košice. Oppressive laws enacted by the Communist government and enforced by the KNV in Košice made it increasingly difficult for Catholics to participate in the Catholic observances which were their obligation according to local Church officials. The Communist network of authority began to achieve success in weakening the system of Catholic holidays and left the Church hierarchy in Košice struggling to maintain compliance among Catholics.

As Allen reminds us, power does not flow through such networks of authority, but rather, resources and knowledge do (Allen 2003, 188). Networks of power, like the KNV structure in Slovakia, enabled the state to pass and enforce laws restricting Catholic holidays and thereby weaken the previously-dominant Catholic space, once marked by the yearly rhythms and practices established by the Church in Slovakia. Because the KNV had assumed authority over most employment in Košice, the threat of job loss could be used as leverage against Catholics in order to gain compliance. Restrictions on holidays were only the first step taken by the Communists in Slovakia. Soon, they began to interfere with regular Sunday religious observances as well.

Sundays

Starting in 1948, the Communists in Slovakia attempted to establish Sundays as working days. Sunday—which on the Slovak calendar is considered the last day of the week, rather than the first—was traditionally a day free from work and marked by the celebration of Catholic mass. The Catholic tradition of abstaining from work on Sunday (with the exception of agricultural labor) can be traced back to Constantine in the 4th century (Slater 1912). In order to begin their assault on Sunday as a day of rest and religious observance, the Communists utilized the provision from the 1946 law regarding holy days which allowed days of rest to be invalidated during times of economic need, such as during the planting and harvesting seasons.

The KNV in Košice, along with other regional committees, began to organize forced labor brigades which would undertake work on Sunday mornings. These forced “volunteer” brigades were mainly comprised of public employees, students, and factory workers, who were

obligated to obey their employers' demands (Zubek 1956, 159). This act of authority on the part of the KNV made it impossible for the members of these work brigades to fulfill their Sunday mass obligations, in the case that they were Catholics. In addition, the Communists regularly planned secular celebrations and parades which honored the regime on Sunday mornings—often before noon (Zubek 1956, 159). This strategy was used to disrupt the Catholic-dominated weekly and yearly rhythm which revolved around holy day and Sunday observations. Bishop Čársky and other Church officials were forced to accommodate these interferences and develop a plan to deal with them. Čársky began the practice of giving out dispensations which freed Catholics who were forced by KNV to work on Sundays from their morning mass obligations. For example, on July 25, 1957, he wrote:

This year in our regions we had a nice crop in the fields, but the rainy weather lasted for several days, threatening the crop—especially in our south-lying regions. Heavy machinery cannot enter the fields, which would accelerate their harvesting and their preservation. I urge clergy to participate in the rescue action being done in our fields. I encourage believers to help in organizing brigades where possible, yet ask them to remember religious services on Sundays and holidays. As in previous years, there is a valid dispensation from the holidays on Sundays according to Canon 1245, and when [work] requirements interfere with local individuals, we will arrange religious services in the morning and evening...Do everything to save the daily bread! (BUvK, ACEDC 1957, 1975).

Agricultural work being undertaken on Sundays was not uncommon and not technically against Catholic Church teaching. It was a rather innocuous first step by the KNV toward changing the behavior and mentality of Slovaks toward the meanings associated with Sunday.

Štefan Onderko also extended Čársky's dispensations freeing Catholics from the obligation to abstain from work on Sundays when he took over in the spring of 1952. While Čársky had limited this dispensation to agricultural workers who needed to put in extra hours during poor planting and harvesting periods, Onderko now extended these dispensations to

include ancillary workers such as engineers and other laborers (BUvK, ACEDC 1952, Circular II). Thus, work on Sundays became the norm for many Catholics in Košice who might have previously found the idea unthinkable. This shift in the mentality of Slovak Catholics in Košice reflected the deeper changes being caused by the implementation of Communist strategies by the KNV. The anti-religious holiday and Sunday laws of the Communists began to alter the weekly and yearly rhythms of Catholics in Košice.

As Allen suggests, dominant networks of power like the KNV are often able to establish or alter the prevailing rhythms and behaviors of daily life which can make people feel “out of place” in surroundings that once seemed quite familiar (Allen 2003, 12). For Catholics in Košice, religious holidays were now unaccompanied by days off from work making usual family get-togethers and day-long religious celebrations difficult if not impossible to accomplish. The Church and the town square were no longer the focal points of these days, but rather, places which had to be visited in the early morning hours or late at night after a day of work. The observance of these holidays for devout Catholics may have continued despite the restrictions instituted by the KNV, but their celebratory nature was damaged, leaving only a sense of religious obligation based on Church laws.

After targeting religious observances on holidays and Sundays, the Communists in Košice focused their attention on perhaps the most fundamental of Church activities outside of mass—the process of educating young people about Catholic religion. The next section examines the measures taken by the KNV to either co-opt or eliminate Catholic education of young people in Košice.

The Communists and Catholic Education

After the creation of Czechoslovakia following World War I, Catholic education was perhaps the most powerful resource the Catholic Church in Slovakia possessed in support of their goal to cultivate religious belief within the population. Prior to the creation of the Slovak National Council (SNC) during the late part of World War II, literally all of the elementary schools in Slovakia were ecclesiastically run (Zubek 1956, 131) as were a large number of the middle schools and high schools. The majority were operated by the Catholic Church while a smaller number were run by the Lutherans.

As discussed in Chapter 5, a large part of the state's process of property nationalization involved the Catholic education system. All forms of Catholic education—including elementary and high schools, universities, and even theological seminaries—were seized by the Communists in Slovakia. They even went so far as to seize all of the nursery schools run by various orders of Catholic nuns (Zubek 1956, 132). Property seizures included all of the Catholic schools in the Košice as well as the theological seminary which was vacated and then closed. The Communist motivation for the closure of religious schools was made clear by Wenceslaus Kopecky, the Communist Minister of Information:

We must rid ourselves of everything that had remained of the ideological system of the capitalist order...we must create a new world progressive ideology, based on dialectical and historical materialism, on Marxism and Leninism, on the system of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...(Kopecky in Zubek 1956, 133).

For the Communists, the best way to cultivate a new ideology was to begin in the school system with a change in curriculum. The major problem Catholic education posed to the Communists was that it formed the basis for an entire ideological system—a range of beliefs which guided

young Catholics through adulthood, played a large role in their daily behaviors, and influenced their organization and use of space. These existing beliefs held by Catholics afforded the Catholic Church hierarchy in Slovakia a high degree of influence over the Catholic population. They were a resource used by the Church in Slovakia to maintain their influence over the behavior of the population.

Catholic Education and Sense of Place

The importance of religious education in Košice was that it created a foundational set of beliefs within Catholics at an early age. These beliefs influenced the behavior of Catholics throughout the rest of their lives (as long as they remained believers) and helped integrate them into the culture of Catholic religious practice that existed in Košice. Allen—drawing on the work of Bruno Latour—uses the term “translation” to describe this process of building and creating stable power relations in a specific location or region. Allen defines this process as “the inscription of a particular way of doing things so that its basic message remains the same whether those involved are near or far” (Allen 2003, 129). Catholics in Košice gained their sense of belonging within the deeply Catholic cultural landscape of the city and the region through their religious education. It was through religious education that young Catholics were instructed in the particular signs, symbols, and spatial practices both Lefebvre and Allen have identified as helping a specific group claim a particular space as their own. Thus, religious education in Košice was crucial to the perpetuation of its “Catholic” sense of place.

One of the most fundamental religious beliefs instilled in young Catholics in Košice in the 1940s and 1950s was to respect the hierarchy of the Church including priests, bishops, and,

above all, to respect the teachings of the Pope. This belief is evidenced by the introduction to the 1947 edition of the children's catechism book used by Slovak educators in Košice at the time:

The supreme teacher in the Church is the successor of St. Peter the Roman Pontiff, who is the deputy of Jesus on earth. We call him "Holy Father" because he holds this holy office and is the caring father of all Christians. Together with him teaches the Church's bishops, who, in turn, are the successors of the apostles. The Pope and the bishops send to you their helpers in the classroom: the priests and male and female catechists. Jesus said that whoever listens to them, listens to him...so listen to your teachers therefore, when you learn by this book, as you would listen to Jesus (Sv. Vojtech 1947, 3).

These powerful instructions to young children at the beginning of their religious education again outlined the theological connections between the Slovak clergy and bishops and the original apostles of Jesus establishing a natural lineage connecting the authority of founders of the Church to the local Slovak church leadership. The fact that the Church in Slovakia focused so much attention on the inculcation of this particular belief also helps to explain why the Communists' strategy to undermine the hierarchy through the Catholic Action organization was destined to fail.

A number of other important teachings are contained in the 1947 catechism. First, it taught children to think of themselves as part of both a local and an international Church network. The book tells children that, "Jesus founded the Church for all nations. Therefore we are also called the Church of Christ or the Universal Church. The leader and voice of the Catholic Church is the successor of St. Peter, who is called the Pope, the father of all nations" (Sv. Vojtech 1947, 64). Thus, children were taught to respect both the local Church hierarchy in Košice, whose authority they experienced in their daily lives, as well as the Pope and his deputies in Rome, whom they might never directly encounter in their lives—yet who still exercised influence over Slovak Catholics. By teaching Catholics to recognize and respect both

of these sources of authority, Slovak Catholics' lives could be influenced by the network of Catholic authority across a range of spatial proximities and in a number of unique ways.

The catechism gave children a number of tasks and assignments to do which instructed them in the particular geographies of the Catholic hierarchy. On such exercise instructed Catholic children to learn how to sing the Papal Hymn, how to recognize the flag of the Vatican, and asked them to explain why the Pope lives in Rome (Sv. Vojtech 1947, 64-65). A second exercise explained to children that “the Bishops are subordinate to the Pope and assist him in Church leadership and management,” and asked them to “write on pieces of paper the names of all the Slovak Bishops and put under each name the city where the Bishop lives” (Sv. Vojtech 1947, 65). Through these exercises, Catholic children in Košice became accustomed to the idea that both Rome and Košice represented particular locations of Church authority.



Figure 3. A young Slovak being taught how to make the sign of the cross (Katolícke Noviny, September 8, 1968)

A large section of the 1947 catechism instructed children on the particular religious holidays and celebrations that occurred throughout the year. It provided them information about when the different ecclesiastical seasons such as Lent, Advent, Christmas, and Easter occurred during the calendar year, as well as some of the particular practices that accompanied each season. In the section of the catechism concerning All Saints Day, it instructed children that only certain people are afforded a Catholic funeral. It reminded them that those who were invalidly married, those who had committed suicide, and people who had died in a scandalous way were often denied Catholic funerals and burials in the cemetery. As an exercise, children were instructed to “go once to the cemetery and write down the names on the crosses of the people who are sometimes recalled in [their] home” (Sv. Vojtech 1947, 67) so that children could learn more about them and prepare to pray for them during the All Saints Day mass on November 1. These exercises accustomed children to some of the rigors of Catholic discipline and also helped familiarize themselves with the cemetery and its role in the cultural landscape and in Catholic life.

The final section of the catechism provided another of the most foundational beliefs for Catholics—that Church buildings themselves represented particular sources of religious significance. The catechism instructed children that

The most beautiful buildings in the city and the villages are churches. They are decorated with bell towers and inside, the altars, paintings, and statues of saints. On the altar is the tabernacle, where Jesus mysteriously dwells. On the altar will be held according to the commandment of the Lord Jesus, the holy sacrifice of the Mass. The church priest administers the sacrament of penance, the sacrament of baptism, the giving of Holy Communion, and marriage [only in the Church]. The church preaches the teachings of Jesus. The church is the house of God (Sv. Vojtech 1947, 99)

Recalling Sack's theory of human territoriality, parishioners often tend to view Catholic church buildings through what Sack calls a "*magical mystical perspective*" (Sack 1986, 38). That is, parishioners come to view the structure of the Church building itself as a physical manifestation or source of power. As Allen noted, buildings themselves can come to be viewed as symbolic of authority—in that sense, "demanding recognition and respect. Once inside, its walls, the rhythm of activities, the lulls and outbursts, may generate their own coded style of authority" (Allen 2002, 11). According to the teachings from the 1947 catechism this makes sense, considering that Slovak children were taught that the tabernacle—which is the focal point of a Catholic church's architecture—represented an actual, geographic location where Jesus resides in the form of the communion host. Thus, through this teaching, Catholic children in Košice were taught to associate particular geographic locations throughout the cultural landscape of the city as inherently holy or venerable. Through this teaching, the numerous Catholic churches, cathedrals, and basilicas were established as exclusively religious places throughout the Košice in the minds of parishioners.

Communist Attacks on Catholic Education

The Catholic education system in Košice represented a major roadblock for the Communists' plans for instituting a new, secular world-view among the population. Even after the Catholic school system was nationalized, the KNV in Košice continued to implement repressive measures against the teaching of religion in schools, by the clergy members in the church, or even parents in the home. First, the Slovak Office of Religious Affairs (SLOVÚC) established a rigorous course of instruction which was required for any lay teachers who wished

to lead the religious education classes in high schools (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 82-88, 86). This course was developed and supervised by SLOVÚC and designed to ensure that very few qualified teachers were available for the teaching of religion classes. In an attempt to alleviate this shortage, the bishops' chanceries created three-month long classes for religion teachers. These courses, however, also fell under the purview of SLOVÚC and the participation rate was quite low (Zubek 1956, 140).

In many cases, KNV school officials in Košice attempted to establish curriculum conflicts between mandatory courses and the elective religion courses. In the middle school in Košice, for example, religion class was made to conflict with classes in shorthand so as to keep as many children as possible out of the religion course (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 82-88, 86). According to the same 1952 KNV document,

Further educational provisions have been made to deprive teachers who are too religious. All teachers who could not give up their religious preaching have already been discharged. On the other hand, representation of the Church in teaching is still a problem. In the district of Kralove Chlumec [near Košice] almost all teachers were from the Church...It should be noted that both the school agent of the KNV and the MRD must take the issue of religious instruction in schools in the Košice region very seriously and therefore not have any major failures (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 82-88, 86).

The KNV in Košice developed long lists of religious educators who were banned from teaching because of their disposition toward the Communist regime. The reasons given for why teachers were banned were generally the same. A typical example was Štefan Čurila, a Catholic priest from Poľanovec, who was banned "for his reactionary position to the People's Democratic establishment...for being a pupil of [Bishop Ján] Vojtaššák and being mentally abnormal...his appointment is a guarantee that youth would be trained in aspects of the religious spirit against

the People's Democracy" (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 39-41, 25). While the Communists could claim that religious education in Košice continued to be a part of the school curriculum in the early 1950s, teachers were carefully selected for their loyalty to the regime, and those who could not be controlled were blacklisted. In most cases, religious education classes became courses attempting to disprove religious beliefs using dialectical materialism (Zubek 1956, 144).

In the late 1950s, a final strategy was implemented to discourage all religious education in Slovakia. The Italian-language Swiss newspaper *Popolo e Liberta* published an article April 1, 1960 describing the process by which the Communists in Slovakia forced all children wishing to have religious instruction to have a signed letter of consent from their parents. For some time the signature of one parent had sufficed, but now both parents' signatures would be required:

Particular attention should be paid to the most difficult situation Christian parents [in Slovakia] face in terms of teaching religion to their children. One way which was devised to this end, was the requirement of a written request that both the father and mother must sign stating that they wish their children to attend religion classes—the application to be signed in the presence of the teacher. The formality and complexity of this requirement for the parents acts in ways that many children who formerly attended religion courses only because of the mother's wishes, do not continue to go because they are now required to request the signature of the father. The reality is that fathers who are members of the Communist Party will most certainly not provide the necessary consent (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 13-14, 15).

This regulation allowed the local KNV in Košice to coerce parents in two ways. Some parents would not sign the necessary consent forms to allow their children to attend religion classes out of fear for their own jobs, while others refused to sign the consent forms out of fear that it would prevent their children from being selected for better schools and jobs. At the time, both educational placement and employment were decided by the Communist Party in Slovakia

(Zubek 1956, 142), and thus, both could be used as leverage to achieve instrumental power over Slovak Catholics.

A second target of the Communists in Slovakia was the education of new priests. On July 14, 1950, all seminaries throughout Czechoslovakia, including the seminary in Košice, were abolished leaving only the two “Cyrilo-Methodian” theological faculties created by the Communists to train Catholic priests (Zubek 1956, 148). The goal of the Bratislava theological faculty was to train Catholic priests who would be loyal to the Communist Party in Slovakia. Members of the organization of “patriotic” priests served as the faculty which was overseen by SLOVÚC (Zubek 1956, 156). The overall goal of the Communists in controlling the training of priests in Slovakia was to decrease the number of priests available to Slovak Catholics until Catholicism in Slovakia “died a natural death” (Korec 2002, 97) while ensuring that the few that remained were trained by (and loyal to) the Communist Party.

The Catholic Response

To counter this attack on the education of new priests, groups of anti-Communist Catholic priests and seminarians formed what came to be known as the underground Catholic Church in Slovakia—sometimes called the “silenced” Church (Korec 2002, 99), or the “Church of silence in Slovakia” (Zubek 1956). One of the most active individuals in these underground religious activities was the young Jesuit priest Jan Korec. On August 24, 1951, he was made one of a handful of secretly ordained Catholic bishops in Slovakia by another bishop, Pavol Hnilica (Korec 2002, 99). While working in a number of odd jobs and remaining under the radar of the Communist secret police, Korec and other secretly-ordained bishops implemented a strategy of

meeting clandestinely with other young Jesuit seminarians and helping them to conduct self-led theological programs in order to prepare for secret priesthoods away from the Cyrilo-Methodian faculty in Bratislava. These seminarians were sent to Korec by their local Church superiors, and he was able to conduct ordinations of new priests in this manner (Korec 2002, 145). While the lines of communication between what remained of the local Slovak hierarchy and the Vatican had been nearly severed, Korec was able to receive a short message in 1955 from the Vatican stating that the Vatican had become aware of his secret ordination as a bishop in Slovakia, and that it gave its approval (2002, 129). Korec was arrested by the Slovak police for his underground activities on March 11, 1960 and not released until almost eight years later on February 20, 1968 (Korec 2002, 386).

A second strategy for the education of young Slovak Catholics was developed after religious education in schools and by clergy had been essentially removed from the public sphere. Members of the underground Church in Slovakia developed small Catholic education groups of children which met in private homes or trusted locations. Members of the secret Church in Slovakia, including Jan Korec (after his release from imprisonment), helped arrange small religious education communities which taught children the Catholic faith. Bishop Korec and others helped organize hiking trips for groups of Catholic students (Doellinger 2002, 222) where Catholic education could be carried out away from the purview of the Communist authorities. Thus, in small circles, the education of young Catholics continued throughout Slovakia in secret.

Despite the fact that the Catholics in Slovakia developed alternative strategies for educating young people and priests, the fact that they were forced to resort to these strategies reveals the degree to which the Catholic Church's dominance over the cultural landscape of

Košice had been diminished. The Communists in Košice had been able to diminish the role of holidays and Sundays in the weekly and yearly rhythms of Catholics' lives and had largely succeeded in driving Catholic education from the public sphere. It had also set into motion a strategy that slowly drained the Church in Slovakia of its source of priests. The Communists came to dominate formerly-Catholic space in Košice through a process which—as Allen puts it—allowed them to “abstract out” Catholics and their use of space (Allen 2003, 162). Catholics in Košice could no longer practice their religion in public and feel a sense of belonging or entitlement in the cultural landscape through which they moved.

By the mid-1950s, the Catholic Church had lost a great deal of its power to represent the space of the Košice region as one in which Catholics were seen as the dominant group. Košice no longer exuded a “Catholic” sense of place in the way it had once been able to do. Catholics in Košice needed to discover new ways in which they could reclaim the control over the meanings associated with place in Košice. In order to accomplish this task, Catholics adapted some of their proudest and oldest traditions—processions and pilgrimages. The following section examines how Catholics in Košice used small, local religious processions as well as large religious pilgrimages to reclaim—however ephemerally—areas of the Košice region as belonging to Catholics.

The Pilgrimage and the Procession—Reclaiming Catholic Places

By the mid-1950s, the Communists in Košice had succeeded in altering or ending many of the most visible and important Catholic institutions that had helped perpetuate a Catholic sense of place throughout the Košice region—especially within the city itself. Catholic

education was driven from the public sphere and many holidays—as well as Sundays—were no longer days free from work in accordance with Catholic tradition. Catholics in Košice needed to discover ways in which they could continue to emphasize the connection between their religion and the public space that had once been welcoming to Catholics and their usages. In order to accomplish this task of reclaiming public places as their own, they turned to their religious processions and yearly pilgrimages.

The tradition of religious processions and yearly pilgrimages long predates the Communist period in Slovakia and even the creation of the country itself. Processions and pilgrimages in Košice have both played particular roles in the reassertion of Catholic's association with particular places. Both events had unique characteristics and afforded Catholics in Slovakia with different means by which they could demonstrate their claims to certain places. The following section examines religious processions in Košice.

Religious Processions and the Performance of Religion

Religious processions have traditionally served as identity-framing vehicles in religious communities. Harvey, Brace, and Bailey (2007) argue that the ritualistic, performed, and symbolic aspects of processions—along with religious education—form the basis by which regions and their particular identities are institutionalized (Harvey et al. 2007, 27). According to the authors, processions aid religious communities in four distinct ways. First, they are events in which inclusion or exclusion is defined according to group membership. Second, they are ways in which a religious community can reassert claims to “symbolically significant space.” Third, processions represent a show of force, strength, or solidarity among its members. And finally,

processions help “legitimate the leadership position of elites amongst the wider populace” (Harvey et al., 2007, 28). For the Catholics in Košice, religious processions were a valuable resource that helped sustain their religious community in the face of Communist persecution.

Many Catholic holy days—especially Corpus Christi, Easter, and All Saints Day—have traditionally been associated with processions in the Slovak tradition. In 1949, the Communist Government in Slovakia passed laws requiring the Church to seek state permission before holding both processions and pilgrimages. A classified Telex message was sent from the central office of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava on June 23, 1949 instructing all Regional Committees (KV) and the regional Slovak Secret Police (StB) to ban and take steps to prevent all pilgrimages taking place in Slovakia. The Telex message instructed all KV and StB agents that

The Commission of the Interior has thus noted that all parishes and monasteries are to ban pilgrimages, public processions, etc. Starting on Sunday, the 26th of June, no pilgrimages or processions are allowed...In particular, the pilgrimages to Ružomberok and Levoča are not to be allowed. The President of the ONV expressly alerted the particular parishes and monasteries [in Ružomberok and Levoča] that these pilgrimages etc. are banned. Pilgrimages must be reported to the district national committee and Sunday processions must each be reported to the MRD (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 3, 4).

Despite these new instructions, both of these traditions continued (Doellinger 2007, 100). Religious processions for each holiday varied widely in their styles and purposes. After many of the Church’s public activities had been eliminated by the Communist takeover however, religious processions took on additional meanings for the Catholic Church in Košice. They became one of the few means by which Catholics could participate in public displays of religion and briefly reclaim parts of Košice as their own.

Shaul Cohen’s (2007) examination of parades and processions in Derry, Northern Ireland illustrated how parades and processions provide a tool by which dispossessed religious

communities who have “lost control of the contested space” are able to reassert periodically—albeit fleetingly—their connection with specific places within a territory. Cohen argues that parades can help a religious community “adapt to its loss of local hegemony, and provide a way to maintain their place-based identity in the face of tangible dislocation” (pg. 954). So for the Catholics of the Košice Diocese, religious processions represented a way in which they could reassert the “Catholicness” of Košice a few times each year through the performance of religious practices in the public space which had since come to be dominated by the Communists.

The power of Catholic processions in Košice is illustrated by the 1950 Corpus Christi procession near the Cathedral of St. Elizabeth. The feast of Corpus Christi has had a strong following among Catholics worldwide for almost 750 years having been formalized by Pope Urban IV in September of 1264 (Mershman 1908). While Urban’s decree did not specifically mention a procession in conjunction with the celebration of the holy day, documents show that Eucharistic processions had already been performed at Corpus Christi celebrations prior to 1264 (Mershman 1908).

The parish office of St. Elizabeth’s made a request to the local KNV in line with the 1949 law asking permission to hold a Eucharistic procession in conjunction with the yearly Corpus Christi celebration at the cathedral, which they stated would run from 9 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. on the 8th of June, 1950. It was to be held on Thursday the 8th due to the change in dates implemented by the Communist holiday laws. However, the parish office at St. Elizabeth’s then posted a change in date on the doors of the cathedral stating that the procession would be held in conjunction with the Corpus Christi mass on Sunday, the 11th (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 4, 6). The actual procession began at the front of the cathedral and traveled clockwise through the main

square of Košice—visiting four temporarily-constructed altars along the way (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 79-80, 84).

The KNV in Košice was taken somewhat by surprise due to the date change and was very concerned by what transpired, according to archival documents. They prepared a report of the events of the Corpus Christi procession that shows how powerful it was in reclaiming the main square of Košice as a Catholic place:

The parade was mostly comprised of urban population and women were in the majority. Nuns formed a special group. Youth from the “Comenius” church had papal flags and one proper flag was also carried. Papal flags were seen throughout the crowd and they numbered at least fifty. Small children threw flowers by people’s feet. The approximate number of participants was between eight and ten thousand people. Their great abundance gave them pride and confidence. In front of St. Elizabeth’s were lined up a group of university students numbering about 100, the head of which was a priest, Professor Cicholes. They sang religious songs as the procession passed in front of them. There was no public address system. The first homily was in the cathedral, which the bishop gave, and the second one was given by Fr. Zelený by the St. Urban tower. When the bishop and his entourage were leaving the cathedral, his devoted believers knelt before him and took great satisfaction from his blessing...People were disciplined and the parade well organized. We could not record any progressive figures at the entire religious festival. Our assumption is that had the procession been held on the original day, participation in the company of believers would be much smaller. According to the testimonies of several people, they were happy that the Corpus Christi procession was translated from the 8th to the 11th since on Sunday more people could participate than would have been able to if it were held on Thursday (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 4, 6).

Two aspects of the Corpus Christi procession are particularly important. First is the fact that both the Catholic participants and the KNV agents who observed the procession apparently realized that there was a sense of “safety in numbers”—meaning that both realized the procession was a powerful resource of the Catholic Church in Košice to bring together believers and reconnect the Church with the public space of the square.

Second—and as Shaul Cohen pointed out—the procession helped remind people of the historical connections between the Church and the specific places and landmarks by which they processed (Cohen 2007, 960). The map of the procession route (Figure 1) shows that after Bishop Čarský's homily, the procession departed from the main door of the Cathedral and traveled to specific locations of religious importance along the main square. First, the procession came to an altar between the state theatre and the location of the old Ursuline Convent. Next, the procession continued to an altar in front of the Immaculata—an 18th century Baroque Marian column built to commemorate the end of the 1710 plague which features statues of many of the most venerated Hungarian and Slovak saints.

Next, the procession continued on to an altar near the Premonstratensian (Norbertine) Church, which is arguably the most important and venerated location for Catholics in all of Košice. It is a location historically connected with the Three Martyrs of Košice. During an anti-Hapsburg uprising in 1619, Košice was captured by the Hungarian, Calvinist forces of Gabriel Bethlen. Soldiers took three Catholic priests—Stephen Pongrácom, Melichar Grodecki, and Marek Križin—captive and attempted to forcefully convert them to Calvinism. After the priests refused, they were tortured and then killed on the 7th of September, 1619. Their bodies were thrown into the city's waste canal and not retrieved until several months later (BUvK, ACEDC 1969). The Premonstratensian Church was constructed on site where their bodies were found and soon became a venerated site for Catholics in Košice. In addition to its inclusion as part of the Corpus Christi procession, the site was also visited yearly by pilgrims as part of a “city pilgrimage” (BUvK, ACEDC 1969).

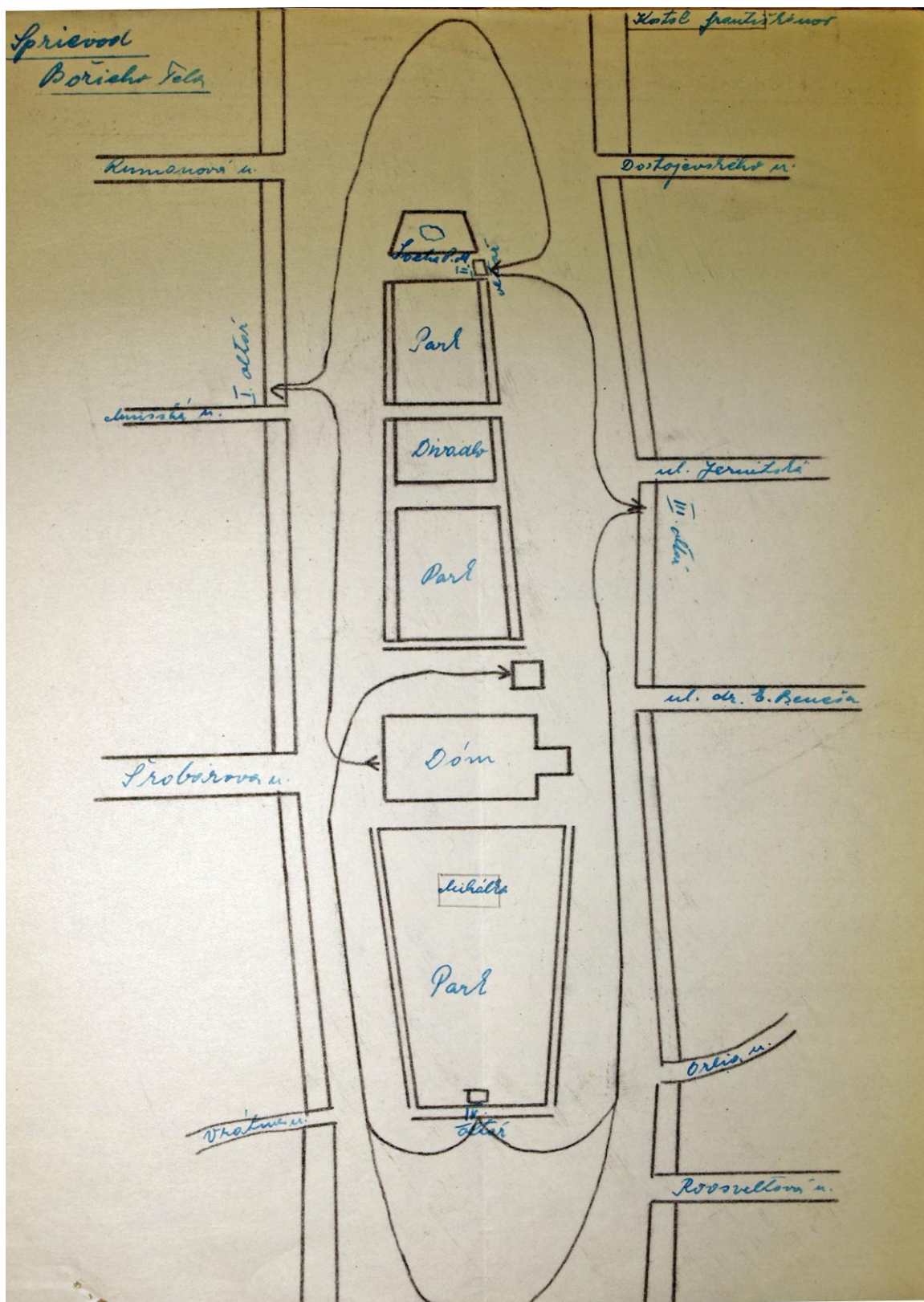


Figure 4. Map of the planned procession route for the June 11, 1950 Corpus Christi procession in the main square of Košice (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 79-80, 84).



Figure 5. St. Michael's Chapel (left) and St. Urban's Tower (right) were both locations on the main square of Košice visited along the route of the 1951 Corpus Christi procession (Personal photographs by the author, June 6, 2008).



Figure 6. The Košice Immaculata which commemorates the end of the 1710 Plague in Eastern Slovakia was the location of one of the 1951 Corpus Christi altars (Personal photograph by the author, June 6, 2008).

The last altar was located at the southernmost point of the main square park, facing both the Chapel of St. Michael as well as St. Elizabeth's Cathedral. Finally, the procession again passed by the cathedral before ending in front of St. Urban tower—a 14th century gothic bell tower dedicated to St. Urban—where a second homily given by Fr. Zelený was heard by the eight to ten thousand people in attendance. The path of the procession as well as the locations of the altars indicate that the procession organizers intended to affirm the connection between these places on the main square in Košice and their religious significance.

In at least eleven smaller villages in the Košice region, similar Corpus Christi processions took place—despite the fact that the KNV had placed strict prohibitions on processions in the villages (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 4, 6). The Košice KNV was particularly concerned about the celebration in the village of Sečovce (35km east of Košice) where the Roman Catholic and Slovak Greek Catholic congregations organized a procession together. According to the KNV report, the Roman and Greek Catholics of the village held a joint Eucharistic procession which involved eight altars and was attended by approximately 1,500 people (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 4, 6).

The Catholics of Košice also held annual pilgrimages to the local Calvary site—an old Jesuit Church surrounded by markers representing the Stations of the Cross. On September 17, 1950, a congregation of 5,000 people, evenly divided between male and female, processed to the church building where they completed the ceremonial procession to the fourteen different station markers around the church and then heard homilies from a number of Catholic priests. The parish office of St. Elizabeth's Cathedral was only given permission by the KNV to hold the procession after it received assurances that the homilies would be “progressive in nature.” However, the KNV agents noted in their report that the priests' homilies only “confirmed them

in their fanatical religious principles” and that despite assurances that all homilies would extol Communist principles, “all the priests who were there were not progressive priests” (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 4, 6).

These processions were a resource to the Church which provided a way by which the Catholics in Košice could produce associational power. At the same time, the large crowd provided individuals with a sense of security and safety. A second, related phenomenon—the pilgrimage—also brought together Slovak Catholics in an associational way to lay claim to specific places within the Košice region. These large-scale gatherings of Slovak Catholics also allowed them to communicate with one another and—in the later years of communism—provided an environment in which Catholics could organize political resistance. The next section examines the pilgrimage phenomenon in Košice and how it allowed Catholics to reassert authority over the cultural landscape of the region.

Pilgrimages and Associational Power

Pilgrimages—like processions—have traditionally served as identity-framing vehicles for religious communities. The pilgrimage tradition in Slovakia dates to the Middle Ages and more than thirty major pilgrimage sites exist throughout Slovakia (Doellinger 2007, 100). Košice and the surrounding region has a number of its own major and minor pilgrimage sites to which Catholics have historically traveled at different times throughout the year. These pilgrimages have served the same four basic functions that Harvey, Brace, and Bailey identified in relation to parades (the reassertion of symbolic space, definition of inclusion and exclusion, showing of force, establishment of leadership). David Doellinger (2002; 2007) argues that in the

later years of Communism, these pilgrimages took on even more complex meanings. This section examines the pilgrimage phenomenon in the Košice Diocese and how it enabled Catholics periodically to reclaim parts of the region for themselves and their Church.

Archival documents reveal that pilgrimages survived the initial push by the KNV in Košice to remove religion from the public sphere. They continued throughout the 1950s and documents show that they maintained a strong following among Catholics. In the small, remote town of Rudník near Moldava nad Bodvou (29km southwest of Košice), for instance, a 1959 pilgrimage drew between three and four thousand people (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 49-50, 30). In their letter to the Košice KNV, the planners stated that they expected pilgrims to begin arriving to the small, remote pilgrimage church along two 3km long stretches of village roads on the 26th of July. Because of the large crowds expected, the planners stated that the sacraments of confession and communion would both be administered outside the church building. Also, litany readings, homilies, and the Stations of the Cross would be conducted around the church building in both Slovak and Hungarian languages. A Eucharistic procession was planned during mass, while another ceremony involving the ringing of the church bells to call pilgrims to the village occurred later (ŠAvK, KNV, SLOVÚC, 49-50, 30).

According to Pešek and Barnovský (1999), Slovak Catholics continued the tradition of organizing pilgrimages throughout the 1960s with efforts to “maintain and even increase the traditional solemn character of religious ceremonies” (pg. 107). By the 1960s, the Communists in Slovakia had relented on their original plan simply to prohibit all pilgrimages but instead attempted to keep them under control and minimize both their numbers and impact. This concession in and of itself was a victory for the Catholic Church in Slovakia and a sign that pilgrimages were indeed a powerful resource in the hands of the Church hierarchy.

State authorities attempted to limit the size of pilgrimages by placing restrictions on the types of vehicles that could be used to transport pilgrims to the pilgrimage sites in order to increase a sense among the pilgrims that they were being watched or their presence recorded. They also banned the use of public address systems at pilgrimages and attempted to send SLOVÚC officials to “participate” in the pilgrimages in order for the government to co-opt some of the activities. State officials watched “begrudgingly” as a large number of young people participated in activities at a 1960 pilgrimage to Banská Bystrica (Pešek and Barnovský 1999, 108).

A final Communist strategy was to limit the locations in which pilgrimages were held. Officials often sent instructions to Church officials stating that pilgrimages could only be held “at the Church and its surroundings” or required that they be “limited to the land of the Church” (Pešek and Barnovský 1999, 109). However, even in this language we see concessions on the part of the Communist regime and recognition that the certain places or land belonged to the Catholic Church—at least in the sense that the meanings associated with them were distinctly religious.

In the 1980s, pilgrimages in Slovakia as well as in the Czech lands became vehicles for political and social resistance to the Communist regime. According to David Doellinger, pilgrimages experienced increasing popularity throughout the 80s and became “one of the most visible markers of a religious revival in Slovakia” (Doellinger 2007, 101). According to samizdat reports, the famous Slovak pilgrimage to Levoča (75km northwest of Košice) was averaging 100,000 attendees by 1984, and it became common to hear pro-Catholic and pro-Vatican chants from the crowds—even while they were being addressed by Communist officials (Doellinger 2007, 103).

As the Communist regime began to weaken in the late 1980s, Catholics also began to participate in large protest gatherings that were breaking out across Czechoslovakia. Catholics (especially members of the underground Catholic Church) were strongly represented at the famous government protest held in Bratislava at Hviezdoslav Square on March 25, 1988 which was attended by more than 2,000 people and became known afterward as the “Good Friday of Bratislava” (Doellinger 2002, 211). This display of solidarity apparently emboldened the priests in the Košice Diocese—sixty-eight of whom wrote a letter to the Slovak Prime Minister Peter Colotka demanding that he

...do everything that must be done to stop us believers feeling that injustice is done against us. Only the awareness of full religious freedom for us believers will make it possible for all believers to take a part in the work for the creation of a real democratic society fully and with greater enthusiasm (Priests in Doellinger 2002, 197).

A similar group of Košice priests had already called on President Gustáv Husák earlier in 1986 to allow Pope John Paul II to appoint a new bishop for the Košice diocese (Doellinger 2002, 190) which had been without a bishop since Jozef Čársky had died in 1962.

According to Doellinger, members of the underground Catholic Church in Slovakia helped organize and promote most of the religious pilgrimages as well as many of the anti-government protests in the late 1980s (Doellinger 2002, 192). These organizational networks provided the means by which knowledge and resources could be spread and disseminated in order to mobilize large groups of people. For instance, underground Church members were able to provide details of the upcoming pilgrimages and protests to *Voice of America* and *Vatican Radio* which then helped spread the word about these events to virtually all of Slovakia (Doellinger 2002, 192). These organizers were so successful that by 1988, the number of

pilgrims at the annual Levoča pilgrimage had swelled to 300,000 (Doellinger 2007, 109). Only one year later, protests in Charles Square in Prague succeeded in finally bringing an end to the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia.

The Slovak tradition of religious processions and pilgrimages proved to be among the Church's most effective tools in resisting Communist religious oppression. In Košice and throughout Slovakia, the wild popularity of processions and pilgrimages prevented the Communist regime from ever finding effective strategies to put an end to them. Processions and pilgrimages were most important in that they helped Catholics in Košice reify religious meaning with the cultural landscape of the city and of the diocese. It brought Catholicism—however briefly—back into the public square at a time in which its presence there was a rare occurrence.

Conclusion

Cardinal Theodore McCarrick once wrote that during Communism, the Catholic Church in Slovakia was divided into three parts. First, there were the “Underground Church” which were those individuals willing to sacrifice their social and political standing in order to pursue their religious faith. Second, there was the “Official Church” which was comprised of clergy and religious willing to collaborate with the Communists. Finally, a majority of Slovak Catholics existed as members of the “In-Between Church.” According to McCarrick:

They did not necessarily collaborate with the government, but at the same time they remained silent and indirectly encouraged apathy in the Church. Their preaching was notorious for avoiding serious problems and complied with political correctness. Often they devoted more time worrying about what would make the Communist officials suspicious than concentrating on making people better believers. Communists were quite content with this group, believing that it was better for people to be silent about their faith than to remain active within it.

Their calculations proved to be wrong. As soon as the system became unstable, this group quickly became supporters of democratic changes and pushed the Communists over the cliff (McCarrick in Korec 2002, xx).

Archival documents show that the “apathy” McCarrick mentioned had been building for many years among Catholics in Košice with regard to certain aspects of Catholic faith that had once been vibrant. First, the Communists had succeeded in fundamentally altering the relationship between the Church, the work week, and the calendar year. The celebrations and vacation days associated with the majority of Catholic holidays were either changed or done away with altogether. Next, more and more Catholics were coerced by the Communists to work on Sundays rather than continued the Catholic tradition of keeping it as a day of rest and religious observance. Catholics were forced to attend holy day and Sunday church services in the early morning or late evening in order to accommodate working hours.

The next target was Catholic education. After parochial schools were ended in Slovakia, religious education came under the purview of the state school system, which slowly restricted religious education until it was virtually impossible to obtain except in secretly-organized groups or in the privacy of the home. Many Catholic children were no longer instructed in the types of knowledge and behaviors meant to help unify them with other Catholics. These types of behaviors are what Allen (2003) argues help to establish domination over space.

The examples of religious holidays and Catholic education show how SLOVÚC and the KNV in Košice were able to diminish the Catholic sense of place in favor of their own rhythms and rituals. Laws and the instrumental leverage created by threats of lost employment and opportunities compelled Slovak Catholics to give up these types of activities. However, religious activities like processions and pilgrimages were too ingrained in the cultural landscape and religious identity of Catholics in Košice to be eliminated. These activities brought

Catholicism back into the public sphere and provided a means by which Catholics in the Košice Diocese could periodically reclaim the public space for themselves as Cohen (2007) explained. The Church used these events to remind Catholics about many of the historical connections between the Church and the cultural landscape of the city. Most importantly, these processions and pilgrimages were the most effective means to mobilize a majority of this “In-Between Church” and involve them in the Catholic resistance to the state.

Over the years, attendance at these events remained very high until they eventually fed into the larger, anti-government protests of the 1980s that Doellinger (2002; 2007) identified as helping hasten the end of the Czechoslovak Communist government. Processions and pilgrimages were responsible for helping maintain a connection between Catholics and a religious sense of place in Košice during the 41 years of Communist control.

Chapter 7: Imagined Catholic Communities: Katolícke Noviny

Introduction

This Chapter examines the final two research questions posed in this study. First, “How did Catholic publications create a large, impersonal, and imagined Catholic community in the Košice diocese?” And second, “With which methods were the Communist regime in Slovakia able to compete with the Catholic Church for political and social control within this spatial realm?” This analysis will contribute to a better understanding of how religious newspapers and publications are used to shape and influence Slovak identity. This Chapter will focus primarily on the most famous Slovak Catholic newspaper, *Katolícke Noviny*, which was published continuously throughout the 41 year period of communism. According to 1948 estimates, the newspaper had a readership of over 200,000 people each week (Paučo 1959, 19) and was the most read Catholic publication in Slovakia.

Prior to the Communist takeover in 1948, *Katolícke Noviny* had been the primary means by which Catholics learned about the Catholic community beyond the borders of their local parish or diocese. Despite Slovakia’s small geographic size, the Catholic community was quite large with 9.5 million Catholics in Czechoslovakia out of a population of roughly 12 million in 1945 (Korec 2002, 51) and almost 300,000 Catholics in the Košice Diocese in 1948 (*Annuario Pontificio*, 1948). Publications like *Katolícke Noviny* were a primary means by which these Catholics were brought together as members of large, imagined religious community.

Benedict Anderson (1991) explained the role of printed media in the rise of mass reading publics (pg. 43) and how printed language helped foster a sense of shared national consciousness

(pg. 44). For Slovak Catholics, newspapers like *Katolícke Noviny* helped them develop awareness of their connectedness to the large community of Slovak-speaking Catholic believers in a way which had not been previously possible—especially before the creation of Czechoslovakia when Hungarian had served as a dominant language in Slovak lands. For readers of *Katolícke Noviny*, their connectedness through the newspaper established a large audience of Catholics that could be exposed to discourses on cultural, political, and social issues. The intent of these discourses was to shape readers’ beliefs.” As we have seen, at its height the Catholic community in Slovakia came to dominate the political and social institutions of the country—its political leadership, schools, charities, etc.—on a scale rarely seen in modern Europe. Catholicism became one of the primary components of Slovak national identity.

Guntram Herb (1999) noted that the creation of national identity is not a linear process but is instead a “contested discourse that needs to be negotiated between different factions within the nation” (pg. 21). David Kaplan (1999) adds that national identity “is not an enduring constant but a set of cultural attributes bundled with articulated political objectives” (pg. 31). In a territory like Slovakia where a strong Catholic religious identity has historically predominated, the Communist government discovered that it needed to develop a strategy which would attract Catholics to its political objectives. The government needed to find a way in which to reconcile Catholic religious beliefs with Communist political objectives. One way in which it attempted to achieve this objective was through the use of a state-controlled Catholic newspaper.

In crafting a discourse regarding national identity the state enjoys many advantages including the use of media and propaganda tools like newspapers, which Kaplan describes as components of “infrastructural power” (pg. 33). The reason for using a tool like a newspaper to craft discourse about national identity is that the state needs to seek legitimacy and recognition

from the nation and conversely, the nation needs the state in order to achieve its goals (pg. 34). According to Kaplan, “the modern state would prefer that primary loyalties be conferred on it, but for this it needs to offer the legitimation of national identity...When the two allegiances conflict, loyalty to nation usually wins out” (pg. 34). Catholicism as a component of national identity in Slovakia could not remain at odds with Communism as a state ideology if the latter was to be successful. In order for the Slovak Communists’ political system to achieve legitimacy it needed to address Catholic concerns and receive Catholic loyalty. *Katolícke Noviny* became the medium through which the Communist government could craft discourses that would legitimize the state identity (Communism) in the eyes of a majority of the population who retained Catholicism as a component of their national identity. The government’s strategy was to portray the socialist system as Catholics’ best hope for achieving their social and religious aspirations.

The 1948 Communist takeover of the Czechoslovak government diminished the influence of the Catholic community in Slovakia profoundly, as we have seen in previous Chapters. The Catholic publishing industry in Slovakia was also diminished and saw virtually all of the Catholic magazines, academic journals, periodicals, and newspapers banned with very few exceptions (Paučo 1959, 15). *Katolícke Noviny* was allowed to continue its operations but was placed under strict control by the Slovak government (Zubek 1956, 48). The Communist Office of Religious Affairs (SLOVÚC) had plans for *Katolícke Noviny*. Officials there viewed it as one of the most effective means by which they could communicate with this large Catholic readership on their own terms and produce articles meant to demonstrate the commonalities shared by Communist and Catholic social teachings. The newspaper provided a way by which

SLOVÚC could attempt to reconcile Communist and Catholic ideologies within Slovak national identity.

To answer my research questions about the role of newspapers and Slovak Catholic identity after 1948 I employed a qualitative discourse analysis methodology. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) enables us to get at the heart of the Communists' intentions for materials printed in *Katolícke Noviny*. It provides a number of ways of examining the purposes and goals of newspaper content by focusing on aspects of text, context, narrative, metaphor, etc. Because discourse analysis encompasses such a vast array of techniques (Richardson 2007, 27), my use of discourse analysis as a methodology focuses on a select number of approaches. In order to examine news articles with the intention of revealing their intended purpose and effect on Slovak Catholics, I focus on several discursive practices. These “discursive practices” are used by journalists to present representations of events and issues in ways meant to persuade their target audience.

According to Richardson, they represent “the processes that journalists use to construct news texts for an identified target audience” (Richardson 2007, 112). Such practices include the use of value statements, representations of ‘otherness,’ and the construction of binaries. I also employ CDA by examining news articles in terms of lexicon and the use of presupposition, which is frequently used by journalists to imply the existence of certain struggles or movements both domestically and throughout the world. Identifying specific structures in writing used to produce an intended result—like the use of value statements or hyperbole—often reveals how newspaper content is used to craft discourse. I borrow John Richardson’s definition of “discourse,” which he says is the use of texts to influence readers either by maintaining their existing beliefs or by transforming them (Richardson 2007, 42). Recalling Allen’s arguments

regarding geographies of power from the previous Chapter, CDA also helps focus on “the relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies, and power-relations” (Titscher et al. in Richardson 2007, 27). In my analysis of *Katolícke Noviny* I seek to identify the ideas and messages the Communist writers of the newspaper were trying to communicate as well as the types of writing structures and strategies they were using to communicate them. I track the major shifts in discourse—meaning the major changes in the messages being communicated. CDA is a methodology which aids this type of analysis because it helps identify and challenge aspects of writing that reify existing power structures and social practices (Richardson 2007, 42).

This Chapter is focused on examining the ways in which SLOVÚC attempted to use *Katolícke Noviny* to influence Slovak Catholics’ beliefs about a number of topics. Of particular interest are the topics and issues which were the main focuses of articles written in *Katolícke Noviny* and the discourses that Communist writers and editors of *Katolícke Noviny* created as a result. This Chapter is structured topically and chronologically. It follows the construction of three distinct dialogues or discourses constructed by the Communist editors and writers of *Katolícke Noviny* between 1948 and 1989. The first section focuses on newspaper discourse in the late 1940s and the 1950s. The writers of *Katolícke Noviny* crafted a discourse which portrayed Slovak Catholics in support of breaking away from the control of the Vatican and their own Bishops who the newspaper claimed were not working in the interests of Slovaks. It portrayed the socialist system as the best environment in which Slovak Catholics could pursue their religious goals. To support these ideas, writers blended religious and materialist arguments and focused on promoting the “Catholic Action” movement, which was made up of pro-Communist Catholic clergy. This discourse attempted to convince Catholics in Košice that their

clergy supported Communist ideals and that other Catholics in Slovakia were already participating in pro-Communist efforts.

The second section examines the promotion of “peace” movements in the Communist world and the portrayal of the United States and the West in *Katolícke Noviny* during the years of Communism. The United States’ involvement in anti-Communist wars and military interventions between 1948 and 1989 garnered a great deal of attention in *Katolícke Noviny*. Organizations like the Peace Movement of Catholic Clergy (MHKD) and Pacem in Terris were used by newspaper writers as examples of the collaborative possibilities of the Catholic Church and the Slovak state. The newspaper consistently championed the participation of Slovak Catholics in anti-war and peace movements and criticized the imperialism and colonialism of the west—particularly the United States and Germany. It also regularly used the teachings of Popes John XXIII and his successor Paul VI to support its positions. This discourse was used to persuade Slovak Catholics that Communist states like Czechoslovakia were on the “right” side of history and that Catholic moral and social ideals were being achieved in socialist states but not in capitalist ones.

The final section focuses on discourse found in *Katolícke Noviny* throughout the 1970s and 1980s regarding human rights, the role of women in Slovak society, and family issues. After the election of Pope John Paul II in October 1978, the newspaper retreated from references to the Pope due to his prominent anti-Communist orientation, and often focused instead on supporting the socialist system by championing its support of social concerns. The editors of the newspaper drew from Communist and Catholic ideologies to portray Communism as being in agreement with Catholic social teachings about women, children, and families. It portrayed the state as the guarantor of such rights. Over the years, articles about the role of women in religious and civic

life were a regular feature of *Katolícke Noviny*. In the early years of communism, the newspaper even featured a regular column entitled “Katolícka Žena” (The Catholic Woman). Articles about children’s issues were also a regular feature and the newspaper often featured columns entitled “Naša Mládež (Our Children). This section will examine how discourses were created around these topics to influence the opinions of Catholic readers.

The following sections examine these topics with the purpose of identifying how the Communist editors and writers of *Katolícke Noviny* attempted to use newspaper content to reach Slovak Catholics in the Košice Diocese in relatable and familiar ways. In each case, the editors and writers focused on topics which Catholicism and Communism could be shown to teach or strive for the same goals and ideals—despite the fact that the justifications for such teachings were usually rooted in very different philosophies and worldviews.

Away From Rome: Discourse in the 1940s and 1950s

In 1948, the widely-read Slovak Catholic newspaper *Katolícke Noviny* was officially taken over by the central committee of the “Catholic Action” movement in Bratislava. The general secretary of Catholic Action—an excommunicated priest named Fr. Ladislav Škoda—took over the role of editor-in-chief and the newspaper became the official organ of the Catholic Action movement (Zubek 1956, 90-91). The newspaper became the tool of what Jan Korec called the “Official Church”—meaning the portion of the Catholic clergy that was willing to cooperate with the Communist government—to spread official state propaganda regarding a range of topics and issues. A primary goal of the Communist government in Slovakia was to use the newspaper to reach Catholics through an established and once-credible Catholic channel of communication and to address points of confluence between Catholic and Communist teachings

in order to foster Catholic cooperation with the state. The staff of *Katolícke Noviny* regularly included articles to discuss the compatibility of Catholicism and Communism.

A string of articles appeared throughout 1949 in the newspaper introducing many of the new initiatives of the Communist government and of the Catholic Action movement. The goal of Catholic Action, as discussed in Chapter 5, was to replace the existing Catholic bishops and canons with a governing body of made up of Catholic clergy loyal to the state. According to an article from July 1, 1949, the state government had showed the Church in Slovakia nothing but “sincerity and good faith,” but the bishops—under the influence of the Vatican—were the ones fighting against a better relationship with the Communists (*Katolícke Noviny*, July 1, 1949). It was Catholic Action—according to a second article from the July 1 issue—that enjoyed the popular support of the Catholic faithful in Slovakia. The article stated that:

Letters, telegrams, and resolutions which express the consent of Roman Catholic believers to the Catholic Action Committee indicate that Catholic Action has taken strong root in their minds. Among the ever-growing body of notes that come to the Action Committee, the government, the office of Catholic Action etc., from associations and individuals, it can be said that Catholic Action has become a mass movement of all members of the Roman Catholic Church, who wish to contribute toward working to build a socially just world (*Katolícke Noviny*, July 1, 1949).

The article went on to include the text of prepared pledges that were being taken by three different groups of Catholics in Slovakia: the Slovak-speaking Catholic priests, the Hungarian-speaking priests, and the faculty of the Slovak University. The pledges, which had been prepared for these three groups by the Catholic Action Committee, were intended to show support for a separation between the Slovak Catholic Church and Rome. All three pledges expressed a desire for the Catholic Church in Slovakia to come to an agreement of cooperation with the state—although the details of what the two parties should have agreed upon were never specified. The

pledge taken by the faculty members of the university was particularly interesting. It is unclear whether or not this pledge was intended for all Slovak university professors or just the professors of the Comenius University in Bratislava, however it outlined several particular grievances that the academic community supposedly had with the previous government and the actions of existing Slovak bishops.

We, the Slovak University, declare that we always remain faithful to the Catholic Church in matters of faith and morals and also recognize the power of bishops and church officials. However, we can no longer idly watch the appointment of bishops and church officials who create disruptions in everyday life. We condemn capitalism. It is wrong as an economic and social system and is completely anti-Christian and sinful. It is against the love and justice of God, who makes everything. Therefore, connecting our voices to those in the peace congress in Paris and Prague, we ask the organization of Slovak Bishops to give its opinion so that it is clear not only to believers but also the priests belonging to our church that the ideas of the church are in agreement with those of the state (Katolícke Noviny, July 1, 1949).

The article went on to discuss how groups of school children in the Banská Bystrica Diocese had already “expressed interest” in forming youth groups in support of the Catholic Action movement—perhaps leading readers in other dioceses to wonder if such activities were being undertaken in their own region. The article concluded by stating that, “if Church officials wanted to find a positive attitude toward today’s establishment, they would find it, because today’s regime is indeed the nearest to human and Christian doctrine, as it prevents the exploitation of men by other men (Katolícke Noviny, July 1, 1949).

In these articles we see the introduction of rather explicit commentary regarding social practices within Slovakia. One of the primary functions of the creation of discourse within a newspaper is the desire to either reify or transform certain social practices (Richardson 2007, 115). Despite the fact that resistance is often the initial reaction of readerships toward discourse

intended to alter existing social practices (capitalism, in this case), the purpose of this discourse is (was?) to begin to build support or momentum toward change (Richardson 2007, 115). The 1949 articles in *Katolícke Noviny* created the impression that people from all walks of life—priests, academics, children, and citizens—were beginning to participate in the Catholic Action movement with the intent of leading the readers to question their own lack of involvement.

Undermining the local Catholic hierarchy in Slovakia was not the only objective of Catholic Action. The second objective was to create an official state church by breaking away from the authority of the Vatican. Later in 1949, this objective was incorporated into the discourse about Church and state compatibility. In an article from July 24, 1949, entitled “We are Coming to an Arrangement between Church and State,” the writers noted that

...all that we have seen since February 17th shows that not even the good will of the government, the good will of the Catholic people, the good will of the nation, and the desire for a peaceful agreement between the Roman Catholic Church and the People’s Democratic State are enough when the high clergy [in Slovakia] demonstrates ill will and unfriendliness according to the dangerous politics of the Vatican. (*Katolícke Noviny*, July 24, 1949).

The article portrayed the Slovak bishops as beholden to foreign interests and working against not only the Slovak government but also against the interests of Slovak Catholics. The article concluded by connecting the Vatican with the newspaper’s discourse on capitalism:

There is only one question that remains unanswered, why Beran, Picha, Vojtaššák, and other bishops undertake this adventure and malignantly destructive activity in their native territories and against their native people. The answer is no less terrible than the question, because in blind obedience to the Vatican and with hatred against everything progressive and fair, they have pursued the policy designated by the Vatican—the Vatican which now forms part of the severely exploitative capitalist order which they are doing everything in their power to rescue. (*Katolícke Noviny*, July 24, 1949).

The writers of *Katolícke Noviny*, as well as the editor, Fr. Škoda (who was at the head of the Catholic Action organization), had begun by 1949 to create a dialog which portrayed Catholic Action in Slovakia as working in the interests of Slovak Catholics and enjoying their support in return. The Slovak bishops, conversely, were working “slavishly” in the service of the Vatican—a foreign power which was part of the capitalist order that *Katolícke Noviny* had identified as “anti-Christian, sinful, and exploitative.”

An article from October of 1951 entitled “The Relationship between Church and State is Getting Better,” attempted to continue the discourse on capitalism and create a connection between the efforts of Slovakia and those of the Soviet Union—giving readers a sense that they were connected with a larger, international movement. According to the article,

The efforts of our enemies to prove that Christianity and socialism are opposed to one another and cannot stand side by side will be in vain. True Christianity and prudent socialism work together for a common, high moral objective, namely to combat the roots of all evil—the fight against capitalism, imperialism, and war. Such is the fact that it is natural that every Catholic wants mankind to live in a stable economy, free from slavery, eternal fear of periodic unemployment, hunger, and the possibility of not being able to provide for their children. It is understood, however, that in our struggle against capitalism and the struggle for world peace, we Slovak Catholics realize that the Slavic world, led by the huge Slavic superpower the Soviet Union, want to ensure world peace and tranquility (Katolícke Noviny, January 7, 1951)

Slovak Catholics were reluctant to accept the idea of separating from the Vatican and, at the same time, drawing closer to the Soviet Union. On June 20th, 1949, the Pope excommunicated the leaders of the Catholic Action movement, as well as all of the priests who willingly participated in the organization’s meetings (Zubek 1956, 78). The newspaper described these excommunications as “purely political” in nature (Katolícke Noviny, July 24, 1949). By that point however, they had a profound effect on the attitudes of Slovaks toward Catholic Action

(Zubek 1956, 92). As we saw in Chapter 5, the excommunications were successful in bringing the Catholic Action movement to an end. The writers of *Katolícke Noviny*, however, continued to build on their discourse of Catholic and Communist cooperation. At the same time, they seemed to realize that a change in the discourse about church and state was needed.

In 1951, a new organization of collaborationist priests known as The Peace Movement of Catholic Clergy (MH KD) became the successor of the Catholic Action movement and soon became the focus of positive attention in *Katolícke Noviny*. On July 1, 1951, an article entitled “All Catholic Priests have Voted for Peace,” described the proceedings of the conference held in Prague during which the organization was formed. The article praised the high rate of participation among Slovak priests and encouraged the quick formation of diocesan level committees to help get local Catholic clergy and parishioners involved in the organization (Katolícke Noviny, July 1, 1951).

The early 1950s seem to mark a shift in the discourse about Catholicism and Communism in Slovakia found in *Katolícke Noviny*. Instead of articles full of vitriol toward Catholic bishops and the Vatican, the newspaper began to feature stories about the positive actions of bishops and clergy who were more cooperative with the state—most notably, Josef Čársky, the Bishop of Košice. In 1955 for instance, an article entitled “Heroes Work among our Priests” detailed a ceremony in which the MH KD gave out special “peace awards” to clergy members who had been particularly active in spreading non-violence through their ministries (Katolícke Noviny, May 15, 1955).

A second article in the May 15th issue featured Bishop Čársky being awarded the “Order of the Republic” by President Gottwald for his part in promoting peace and Church-state cooperation (Katolícke Noviny, May 15, 1955). In reality, he was one of the few bishops left in

Czechoslovakia who had not been imprisoned or sent into exile by 1955 (Paučo 1959, 23) and was under around-the-clock surveillance by the Slovak Secret Police (StB). In order to avoid the fate of many of the other Slovak and Czech bishops, Čársky walked a fine line between performing his duties as bishop and falling into outright collaboration with the KNV. However, his actions were often portrayed in *Katolícke Noviny* as being in support of the state's policies. Throughout the 1950s, the discourse about Church and state compatibility mentioned little about the Vatican—focusing instead on promoting stories about cooperative Slovak priests who supported the Communist government. With Čársky's health failing, one of his canons, Fr. Stefan Onderko, took over much of the operation of the Košice Diocese and also became one of Slovakia's most prominent "patriotic" priests. The advent of the MH KD brought about the creation of a second discourse within *Katolícke Noviny* that would help define its mission of "peace."

Catholic Peace Movements and Anti-war Discourse in the 1960s and 1970s

In the 1960s, *Katolícke Noviny* began to reintroduce commentary about the Vatican and the West into its discourse on Communism and Catholicism in Slovakia. After the failure of Catholic Action and the realization that the Catholic Church in Slovakia would remain connected to the Pope, the newspaper's portrayal of the Vatican was much more friendly. Now, the newspaper focused on pronouncements by the Pope which fit the paper's existing anti-capitalism and pro-peace discourse. Conversely, the newspaper's portrayal of western countries like the United States and West Germany became increasingly belligerent. The editor and writers of *Katolícke Noviny* sought to create a new discourse within the newspaper which would clarify the

goals of the peace movements by providing a source of antagonism to peace efforts, namely, the United States. The writers built this discourse by focusing on the instances of American brinkmanship worldwide in opposition to the spread of socialism and Communism as well as a perceived U.S. antipathy toward Catholic teachings. At the same time, the newspaper focused on some of the popular teachings of the Vatican which focused on the promotion of peace—which *Katolícke Noviny* writers attempted to portray as support for socialism.

The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 provided an opportunity for *Katolícke Noviny* to draw a distinction between the peace efforts of the MH KD and those of the United States. In a statement published in the November 4, 1962 issue of *Katolícke Noviny*, members of the MH KD seized an opportunity to criticize President John F. Kennedy (a Catholic) for his intervention in Cuba:

It is extremely painful to we [Slovak] Catholic Priests that the head of [the United States] who by his actions is threatening world peace, leads a country that is known to represent the practice of Catholicism. Thus, it inevitably raises the question as to whether or not the President of the United States and some of the other so-called Catholic politicians have a different interpretation of the basic principles of Catholic morality, truth, law and justice, than do those peaceful religious people of the Church worldwide. The highest ecclesiastical authority, Pope John XXIII answered this question...by stating that ‘all of participating members of the ecumenical council echo the call for peace.’ Heads of state should listen to this voice and neglect no effort to achieve this objective... (Katolícke Noviny, November 4, 1962).

In creating a binary distinction between being either ‘for’ or ‘against’ peace, *Katolícke Noviny* utilized within their discourse a common technique often found in war propaganda. It should be noted that such propaganda does not necessarily use mistruths so much as facts which are “deployed selectively yet rationally” (Richardson 2007, 181). The goal of utilizing a binary within discourse about competing ideologies is to close down alternate possibilities and shades

of subtlety regarding the morality or correctness of a military conflict. When crafting a discourse about anti-Communist military interventions by the West, the Slovak government wished “to use journalism to promote their version of the war to the world and hence shape the behaviour of the public in their favour” (Richardson 2007, 181). This binary is found consistently throughout the 1960s and 1970s in the newspaper’s discourse on peace movements in the East versus military engagement in the West—portraying the MH KD, Slovak Catholics, and the Pope as being in agreement on issues of peace and disarmament, while portraying the West as being amoral, pro-war, and anti-Catholic. In reality of course, things were much more complicated.

A 1966 article entitled “Stop!” commented on the United States’ entry into the Vietnam War. According to the article,

Protests, demonstrations, and extraordinary diplomatic activities—including the intervention of the Holy See—have been the primary responses to American airstrikes on the Vietnamese Democratic Republic, and the intentions of the United States government and the U.S. President to intensify them...in the press every day we encounter similar message, but need to believe that the healthy forces of humanity will, united by common ideas of peace, become such a major economic power that it will be able to stop the war plan of the militarists (Katolícke Noviny, March 6, 1966).

The article portrayed the United States as being isolated in its desire for war in Vietnam, while calling for the rest of the world—including Slovaks—to form a coalition to oppose the American military efforts. An article published approximately one year later continued this dialogue on the Vietnam War:

The Slovak Organization of Patriotic Priests [MH KD] is the defender of our people and the bearers of sweet thoughts of peace. We are in unity with our faithful believers, representing our clergy and our faithful in their regions. We are aware that humanity is located in the shadow of a great danger which threatens world peace—the unjust and aggressive war in Vietnam, which has been unleashed by the U.S. war forces. We regret that the noble ideas and efforts of

the Holy Father Pope Paul VI...have not been accepted by those who are responsible for this conflict (Katolícke Noviny, February 5, 1967).

In this newly-crafted discourse, the Vatican's statements on disarmament and peace were used to support the MH KD's claims that it was working on behalf of Slovak Catholics and functioning as their legitimate representative in supporting peace internationally. It again invoked the teachings of the Vatican in support of the organization's peace efforts.

The election of Pope John XXIII—who served from 1958 to 1963—brought with it a blurring of the previously hard line drawn by Pius XII, who had described communism as “intrinsicly evil” in his 1937 anti-Communist encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* (Luxmoore and Babiuch 1999, 163). John XXIII was criticized for his weak stance toward the surging Liberation Theology throughout the Third World (Luxmoore and Babiuch 1999, 162) and for his somewhat “casual” stance towards Communism (Smith 2002, 102). However, in his 1961 encyclical *Mater et magistra*, he made indirect references to communism by decrying the “‘bitter persecution’ of Christians and the ‘refined barbarity of their oppressors’” (Luxmoore and Babiuch 1999, 112).

John's most famous encyclical—the 1963 *Pacem in Terris*—focused primarily on the cause of nuclear disarmament worldwide and called for non-violent resolution to world conflicts. It was the content of this encyclical that proved the most useful to the writers of *Katolícke Noviny* and the MH KD in crafting their anti-war and anti-West discourse, even during the reign of John XXIII's successor, Paul VI who served from 1963 until 1978. Paul VI's encyclical *Populorum progression* also commented on themes ranging from worker unionization to just wages. This encyclical provided a number of Papal teachings from which the *Katolícke Noviny* writers could selectively choose while crafting their discourse. At the same time, they chose to

ignore the fact that Paul VI also decried “atheistic communism” as a “foolish and fatal belief.” He stated that “any social system based on the atheist propositions was doomed to destruction” (Luxmoore and Babiuch 1999, 154).

In crafting discourse about the peacefulness of Slovakia’s Communist system in contrast to the barbarism of the United States, *Katolícke Noviny* utilized what Richardson (2007) called the “selective yet rational” deployment of facts contained in Papal Encyclicals to support its arguments. The ultimate goal of this discourse was to legitimize the pro-Communist MH KD in the minds of Catholics by legitimizing its aims according to the teachings of the Vatican. On one hand, *Katolícke Noviny* writers praised both John XXIII and Paul VI for their support of non-violence and socialist aims, yet writers took care never to include their comments on the anti-religious nature of Communism. One such comment came several months after the brief Prague Spring in February of 1969. At a time when it seemed that the reformist government of Alexander Dubček would remain in power in Czechoslovakia, Pope Paul VI publicly told a group of over 1,000 Slovak pilgrims at the Vatican that the Czechoslovak government owed Catholics “good bishops without unseemly restrictions, seminaries, orders, a Catholic press, [and] religious instruction” (Stehle 1981, 335). While in the 1940s and 1950s such an event might have been used to support anti-Vatican discourse in *Katolícke Noviny*, it was never reported. In contrast to the anti-Vatican discourse of the 1940s and 1950s, the discourse created by *Katolícke Noviny* throughout the 1960s and 1970s portrayed the Vatican as agreeing with Communism in order to avoid alienating Slovak Catholic readers with anti-Vatican rhetoric.

Perhaps the best evidence of this shift in discourse came in 1971 during the so-called Normalization in which Czechoslovakia repealed most of the social reforms enacted by the Dubček government. A new organization of pro-government priests named *Pacem in Terris* was

formed to take the place of the defunct MH KD. The organization took its name from the famous encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (Latin for “Peace on Earth”) written by Pope John XXIII in 1963. By adopting this name, the organization hoped to draw further ties between its efforts and those of the Vatican—which Slovak Catholics considered to be valid. In an announcement of the organization’s founding, the organization laid out its mission:

In the spirit of the Second Vatican Council and on the basis of its temporal conclusions, resolutions and decrees, as well as the encyclicals of both the late Pope John XXIII and Paul VI, the love of Christ encourages us to enact their principles of practical theology in the world (Katolícke Noviny, September 5, 1971).

According to this statement, the work of the organization would be simply to heed to the teachings of John XXIII and Paul VI and attempt to put them into action throughout Slovakia. . The organization appointed itself to act as the official representative of the Catholic Church in Slovakia to the state government. The membership of *Pacem in Terris* included high-ranking Slovak clergy like the Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Košice, Fr. Stefan Onderko. In 1971, delegates from *Pacem in Terris*—including Onderko—traveled to Prague in order to receive the approval of President Ludvík Svoboda. A 1971 article noted that

The president praised the positive attitude of the Catholic Clergy, as well as their efforts to further develop the Republic, for their consistent implementation of the National Front, and for the recent successes in our efforts for peace, security, and cooperation with nations throughout the world...He expressed his belief that the work of the association of Catholic Clergy in Czechoslovakia ‘*Pacem in Terris*’ would contribute to carrying out the great task of building our socialist society (Katolícke Noviny, December 5, 1971).

A primary goal of *Katolícke Noviny* in crafting discourse about the *Pacem in Terris* organization was to legitimize it in the eyes of Slovak Catholics so that they would eventually accept the

organization's plans to offer candidates for the numerous empty bishops' seats, at which point the organization would finally achieve the unrealized goal of the Catholic Action committee—to seize power over the official Slovak Catholic Church hierarchy. Their efforts were aided by the fact that Pope Paul VI had officially adopted an Ostpolitik which tempered the Church's criticism of the Pacem in Terris organization (Weigel 1992, 87) and which was described by many not as a *modus vivendi* (way of life) but as a *modus non moriendi* (way not to die) (Weigel 1992, 88). Unfortunately, this weak foreign policy left the representatives of Pacem in Terris free to make virtually any proclamations they wished regarding Socialism and Catholicism in Slovakia. The organization regularly used *Katolícke Noviny* to publish its reports and express its views. A particularly humorous article from the July 7, 1974 issue of *Katolícke Noviny* commented on Western mores, noting that

We know that in the capitalist establishment nationals and exploitative classes, in addition to the people who sell their skills, do exceedingly well, but that most average people are languishing or even starving and dying prematurely. Excessive wealth in bourgeois society survives. Some competent individuals like actress Marilyn Monroe actually had a new a luxury car every day of the week, owned luxurious villas, yachts and even was divorced many times. However, this lifestyle poisoned the life of this able artist in her thirties (*Katolícke Noviny*, July 7, 1974).

Throughout the 1970s the newspaper continued to portray Pacem in Terris—led in Eastern Slovakia by Kosice's Apostolic Administrator Stefan Onderko—as the champion of Slovak Catholics in the struggle for peace against the imperialist powers in the West. *Katolícke Noviny* detailed the organizations activities as it purported to represent the interests of Catholics at domestic as well as international peace conferences. According to a particularly audacious 1974 article the organization reported that

The world wants peace. This call, which was particularly pronounced at the Moscow Peace Conference of world peace-loving forces, supports our efforts and the pursuit of these goals especially as we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising (*Katolícke Noviny*, June 2, 1974).

As discussed in Chapter 4, the Slovak National Uprising of 1944 was a movement led primarily by Slovak Lutherans and Communists against the Catholic government of Monsignor Josef Tiso, so the fact that the largest association of Catholic clergy in Slovakia was celebrating the anniversary of the uprising was certainly strange. This claim would have also seemed rather unnatural to a number of older Catholics who had once been supporters of Tiso's HSLŠ-SSNJ party before it was banned by the Slovak National Council (SNC) following World War II. However, there was no alternative Catholic voice in the press other than the small samizdat (self-published) publications spread by the Catholic underground. Therefore, these types of claims spread by *Katolícke Noviny* generally went unchallenged.

According to George Weigel, *Pacem in Terris* created a kind of "schizophrenia within the clergy" that caused many reluctant clergy members to join the organization under the false notion that it was perhaps the only way for the Church in Slovakia to survive at all (Weigel 1992, 169). The primary means by which this idea was propagated was through such articles in *Katolícke Noviny*. A contributing factor to this problem was that Pope Paul VI's *modus non moriendi* diplomatic strategy did not challenge such collaborationist clergy organizations or their activities, so Slovak priests were never provided with a definitive statement regarding the Vatican's approval or disapproval regarding membership.

On October 16, 1978, the election of Karol Wojtyła as Pope John Paul II drastically changed the approach of the Vatican towards Communism and brought a swift end to both the *Pacem in Terris* organization and the discourse created by *Katolícke Noviny* which sought to

legitimize the organization through the use of Papal teaching. In 1982, John Paul II issued a decree through the Congregation for the Clergy that banned clergy members from belonging to any political organizations under pain of excommunication. This decree was specifically crafted to target *Pacem in Terris* in Slovakia, which subsequently experienced a significant drop in membership (Weigel 1992, 177). For *Katolícke Noviny* writers, this decree meant that they could no longer validate their articles about the organization (or virtually any other topic) using teachings from the new Pope. While the newspaper continued occasionally to cite encyclicals from John XXIII (despite the fact that *Pacem in Terris* by that time was over twenty years old), articles featuring the Vatican decreased markedly. As *Katolícke Noviny* transitioned into the last decade of Communism in Slovakia, its political discourse retreated from mentions of the Pope and became more abstractly ideological in nature. It began to print more articles commenting on domestic and social issues—especially on issues of family life, and women’s and children’s issues.

Discourse on Human Rights, Women, and Family Issues: 1970s and 1980s

After the election of John Paul II in 1978 much of the content in *Katolícke Noviny* shifted away from politics and the Vatican. Only five months after his election to the Papacy, John Paul II authored his first encyclical *Redemptor Hominis* which offered a strong philosophical critique of atheistic Communism. At a time in which John Paul II was providing critiques of Communism and Marxist humanism on the basis that they violated natural or human rights (Weigel 1992, 132), *Katolícke Noviny* writers were attempting to support the socialist system in Slovakia using evidence of the rights guaranteed by the state to families, women, and children.

The newspaper avoided coverage of John Paul II and the contents of *Redemptor Hominis* as much as possible. Instead, *Katolícke Noviny* attempted to build its own discourse which illustrated to Slovak Catholics how improvements in these three areas of life were made possible by the rights provided by the socialist system in Slovakia.

A letter summarizing President Gustav Husak's 1979 New Year's greeting credited the establishment of peace and domestic tranquility on "the heroism of our workers" and stated that it was a recent declaration of Warsaw Pact member countries which "guaranteed Slovaks lasting peace and continued international cooperation" (*Katolícke Noviny*, January 7, 1979). A March 4, 1979 article credited International Women's Day in Slovakia with bringing attention to the positive work of Slovak women and mothers. According to the article

It is on the occasion of International Women's Day that we give respect and bouquets of flowers to our mothers, sisters, and all working women. We highly appreciate their dedicated work not only in the workplace but also in the home. May we remain thankful all year long for this work...(*Katolícke Noviny*, March 4, 1979).

The *Katolícke Noviny* discourse on the value of labor was in contrast to that of the Pope. On June 9 of the same year John Paul II offered a sharp criticism of socialist perspective on labor, during his 1979 tour of Poland. He remarked that "Christ would never agree to man being viewed only as a means of production, or agree to man viewing himself as such. He would not agree that man should be valued, measured, or evaluated only on that basis. Christ will never agree to that" (Weigel 1992, 132).

A second article in *Katolícke Noviny* about International Women's Day explained how the implementation of Socialism had been responsible for the improvement in the status of women:

While for the younger generations it might seem incredible, the older generations remember what the status of women was in our country during the capitalist social order, which proclaimed the equality of women, but did not create the conditions for dignified lives for women. How many mothers had to deal with the premature deaths of their children because there was not enough bread, healthy living, or medical aid? We also know that these went hand in hand with the massive poverty of the previous government. Our socialist legislation shows great understanding and provides major assistance for mothers and children. It not only ensures healthy living, but also all-inclusive healthcare, marriage counseling, counseling for mothers and children, and children's health centers and nursery schools (Katolícke Noviny, March 5, 1978).

Katolícke Noviny credited Czechoslovakia's adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as guaranteeing that children's rights would be protected. According to the article, "This important document was the culmination of the efforts of progressive social forces to provide children around the world with childhood and life in peace without hunger and poverty" (Katolícke Noviny, February 4, 1979).

This portrayal of Czechoslovakia's acceptance of Universal Declaration of Human Rights by *Katolícke Noviny* was an attempt at revisionist history given that the country was one of the eight which abstained from its original signing in 1948. While Czechoslovakia's acceptance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was hailed in 1979 by the newspaper as the "efforts of progressive social forces," the contents of the declaration aided John Paul II in his criticism of the socialist model. In *Redemptor Hominis*, he questioned the commitment of Communist governments such as Czechoslovakia's to the declaration:

While sharing the joy of all people of good will, of all people who truly love justice and peace, at this conquest, the Church, aware that the "letter" on its own can kill, while only "the spirit gives life", must continually ask, together with these people of good will, whether the Declaration of Human Rights and the acceptance of their "letter" mean everywhere also the actualization of their "spirit". Indeed, well founded fears arise that very often we are still far from this actualization and that at times the spirit of social and public life is painfully

opposed to the declared "letter" of human rights. This state of things, which is burdensome for the societies concerned, would place special responsibility towards these societies and the history of man on those contributing to its establishment (John Paul II, *Redemptor Hominis*, 1979).

Katolícke Noviny paid careful attention to avoid covering such statements by the Pope while crafting their discourse about the government's support for the rights of ordinary Slovaks. David Doellinger (2002) provides a prime example of the type of censorship the newspaper performed in order to avoid the dissemination of viewpoints which deviated from its own discourse. Doellinger cites a 1981 letter sent by the famous Czech Cardinal František Tomášek to the editors of *Katolícke Noviny* which was heavily censored before its publication. One of the small, Slovak religious samizdat publications, *Informace o cirkvi*, later published Tomášek's entire letter and underlined the text that had been removed by the editors of *Katolícke Noviny*:

Everywhere you go, preach respect for human dignity and the observance of all basic human rights. It is none other than our present Pope, John Paul II who emphasizes this again and again in all his speeches and on all his journeys. At the same time he also points out that it is above all respect for man's right to freedom of religion which guarantees the observance of human rights in general. Yes, it is just as the slogan on one of the banners carried by young people in a procession in Rome declared: "O CRISTO, O MORTE!" - "Either Christ, or Death!" We may choose either Christ, life and salvation, the preservation of human dignity, marriage, the family, the nation and the entire human race, or corruption and death...Only Christ can say to us: "I have come that men may have life, and may have it in all its fullness." "I am the way; the truth and the life." (Tomášek in Doellinger 2002, 63, emphasis in original).

While the newspaper continued to praise Slovakia's acceptance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it was at the same time censoring John Paul II's call for human rights which included the free practice of religion. In one of its last major commentaries on human rights in Slovakia published in April 1988, the newspaper harkened back to the events of February 1948 and summarized the progress of Church-state relations—having symbolically come full-circle in the progression of its discourse on Catholicism and Communism in Slovakia:

The conversion [to socialism] in February 1948 took place against the backdrop of great social misery of our peoples and the immense suffering of mankind in a time fascist arbitrariness and the devastation of World War II. It grew from a deep knowledge of the internal needs of our social development, building on the struggle for the nation and societal rights of our nation in the past. This transformation started in our people a new way of thinking that led to a gradual development of national and democratic revolution, when instead of egoistic and individualistic efforts, it showed the high value of efforts for collective progress. This allows for unprecedented advances in the freedom of personality and the humanization of human labor and after [the nation's] full recovery, formed new approaches to material and spiritual values (Katolícke Noviny, April 3, 1988).

The content of the letter attempts to add a historical component to its discourse about the types of societal and human rights achieved in Slovakia because Communism. February 1948 is hailed as an historic moment for Slovak rights and no mention is of the controversial and anti-democratic actions taken by the Communists to seize power during the 1948 elections, as was discussed in Chapter 4. The article continues by explaining why socialist progress has been slower than was originally envisioned in 1948:

We recognize the fact that development in our country could be much better if obstacles had not been built which created a misunderstanding or even an open hostility to socialism, often fueled by foreign propaganda. These forces distorted and thwarted our efforts to build a good relationship with the member churches and religious communities by exploiting their ignorance or incredulity and causing them to act in ways which not profit anyone, but instead caused damage. Churches justifiably have their own leaders that speak to believers and for believers. Under socialism, Church leaders have had every chance to freely develop their religious life by condemning all forms of such propaganda and, in turn, recognizing that the events of February 1948 provided the possibility of further progress in which our society could get rid of the deficiencies that prevent the transformation of creative thinking and becoming critically aware that we can remove them so that all aspects of life experience a new, exhilarating boom.

The writer does not identify the obstructive “forces” or the foreign power that was responsible for the “foreign propaganda,” but in the context of the article it would seem that these were

references to the Slovak bishops and to the Vatican in 1948. In contrast, the article mentions that Church leaders—in this context, a reference to peace organizations like the MH KD and Pacem in Terris—have had the freedom to develop religious life for Catholics in accordance with the socialist system. The article concludes by stating the importance of the Communist takeover:

February 1948 has become a part of our historical development and this is rooted in the fact that all of our people have been raised through and according to [socialism's] idea that it is possible to continuously renew and raise society to a higher level. We believe that our attempts to develop socialism have not damaged it in the eyes of those who accept its principles. From the perspective of faith, no system gives a higher value to man and his journey than socialism... This leads us to undertake the work to create the preconditions for forming a socially equitable peace in the lives of all mankind (Katolícke Noviny, April 3, 1988).

Although not specifically stated in the article, the events of March 25, 1988 most certainly had an impact on the article's contents. As mentioned in Chapter 6, a large protest that came to be known as the "Good Friday of Bratislava" saw thousands of religious protesters converge on Hviezdoslav Square only to be violently attacked by Slovak police forces. Although this event was never reported in *Katolícke Noviny*, this April 3rd article seems to have been an attempt by the government to downplay the significance of the events. The events of March 25th have also been cited as one of the main reasons why the Slovak government took a decidedly more passive stance toward one of the largest gatherings of Slovak Catholic pilgrims at Levoča between July 2nd and 3rd, 1988. The 1988 pilgrimage attracted approximately 280,000 pilgrims (FERENCE 1994, 151) and created momentum which carried into 1989 and ultimately led to the end of the Communist regime.

During the last half of 1988 and for all of 1989, *Katolícke Noviny* provided virtually no coverage of the events which would ultimately lead to regime change in Czechoslovakia. It avoided comment on the large Catholic pilgrimages or protests for human rights that were

occurring with increasing frequency throughout the country. The news reported in *Katolícke Noviny* during 1988 and 1989 gave little indication that social and political turmoil was bringing the Communist regime to an end. The newspaper avoided coverage of these issues up until the very end of the regime in November 1989.

Conclusion

Throughout the 41 years of Communist control in Slovakia, the government continually sought ways in which it could gain legitimacy for its socialist system. Perhaps the largest constituency it needed to persuade was the Slovak Catholic population which accounted for a majority of Slovak citizens. One of the most prominent ways in which the government tried to accomplish this task was by taking over the most popular Catholic newspaper of the day, *Katolícke Noviny*. The newspaper's large readership represented a large portion of this target audience of Slovak Catholics. Thus, the Communist government took control of the newspaper during its 1948 coup and assigned an editorial board and office of writers to craft discourses meant to promote a Slovak identity which incorporated both Catholicism and Communism.

An analysis of *Katolícke Noviny* between 1948 and 1989 revealed several distinct eras or periods in which large shifts occurred in the types of discourse found in the newspaper. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the newspaper attempted to portray Catholics in support the Catholic Action movement which sought to break away from the international Catholic Church. Political resistance on the part of the Vatican and the local Slovak bishops motivated the newspaper to focus its discourse on attempting to portray them as "foreign" powers that were not

working in the interest of Slovaks. The discourse of this era also attempted to portray Slovaks from all walks of life and from all regions of the country taking part in the Catholic Action movement in order to make it appear that Catholic Action enjoyed popular support.

The discourse of the newspaper shifted in the 1960s and 1970s during the era of Popes John XXIII and Paul VI. Their relatively non-threatening Ostpolitik posed little threat to the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe and their encyclicals often focused on popular themes like nuclear disarmament, world peace, and war. For this reason they were easily be co-opted by *Katolícke Noviny* in order to support its message to Slovak Catholics regarding socialism and Slovak national identity. The discourse during this period focused on reducing the East-West ideological struggle between Capitalism and Communism into an artificial choice between being either for or against world peace. America's anti-Communist military actions in Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam provided plenty of material for the *Katolícke Noviny* writers to use in crafting this kind of binary discourse. At the same time, Communism was portrayed as being in agreement with the Pope and much of the rest of the world on many social and economic issues and in opposition to the greed of western Capitalism.

The election of Pope John Paul II in the late 1970s once again put Slovak Communists at odds with Vatican. A major reason was John Paul II's outspoken criticism of atheistic Communism and the organization of Communist Catholic clergy, *Pacem in Terris*. However, the newspaper by that time moved its discourse away from criticism of the Pope and could not return to that type of rhetoric for fear of alienating Catholics. Therefore, the newspaper was forced to omit virtually all mention of John Paul II's activities and instead shifted its focus one final time. Throughout the 1980s, *Katolícke Noviny* attempted to craft a discourse which illustrated how the socialist system in Slovakia had come to provide and guarantee a number of important social and

human rights which it alleged had been absent in pre-Communist Slovakia. The socialist system was portrayed as the best possible environment for the Catholic Church to pursue religious freedom, for women to pursue equal treatment and adequate healthcare, and for families to enjoy a safe and peaceful life free from the worries which the newspaper claimed were common in the capitalist world. When Czechoslovakia began to erupt in anti-government protests and popular resistance, the newspaper simply refused to cover the events. By the end of 1989, *Katolícke Noviny* had once again been returned to the control of the Slovak Catholic Church. After 41 years, the newspaper ceased to be a tool of the Communist government to promote pro-socialist discourse to Catholics in Slovakia.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

To conclude, it is necessary to examine this study's findings with regard to the literature introduced in Chapter 2. The fundamental purpose of this study has been to examine the interaction of religion and geography within the historical context of Communist Slovakia between 1948 and 1989. This study has sought to consider the spatial characteristics of the Catholic Church's strategies for maintaining its political, social, and cultural control over the citizenry of Slovakia. In addition, it has examined the many ways in which the Communist government of Slovakia attempted to wrest political, cultural, social—and above all, spatial—control from the Church. More generally, it has sought to answer the question Kong (2001) and Ivakiv (2006) suggest is most in need of being addressed by geographers of religion: “What is the role of religion in the everyday lives of people and within the cultural landscape?”. What underlies this question is a growing belief expressed in the literature that the geography of religion has become disconnected from larger debates in the social sciences due to its preoccupation with secularization theory and the use of an outmoded and binary conception of religion which only considered religion in the context of the “officially” sacred.

This study addressed Kong and Ivakiv's questions by focusing on religion in three specific geographic contexts—space, place, and identity. It has attempted to illustrate that a reciprocal relationship exists between religion and society—that religion shapes society and is, in turn, shaped by society. In addition, it has sought to contribute to a growing body of research which focuses on “the importance of a historical dimension to geographies of religion” which Brace et al. (2006) noted has traditionally been neglected in research. This study has proposed new methodological approaches to the geography of religion by introducing geographic theories

being used more broadly within the field of human geography. Most importantly, this study has contributed to several literatures. First, it has increased existing knowledge about the nature of religious regions by examining the processes by which they are institutionalized. Second, this study has increased existing knowledge of the role of public space in the creation of place-based identities and a religious sense of place. Finally, this study has contributed to research on the nature of Church-state relations during the period of Communism in Europe.

The first question this research sought to address was, How were the Catholic Church and Communist government successful in using methods of territorial control in order to maintain influence over Catholics in the Košice diocese? Underlying this question is literature on territoriality and the spatial organization of group activities. Robert Sack's (1986) theory of human territoriality provides some very rational explanations for why groups organize their activities territorially. Froese (2005) suggested that a positive link between nationalism and religion can lead to a situation in which a favored religious group becomes heavily involved in national affairs. Madeley (2003) showed that secular governments generally seek to diminish the role of religion in national affairs—especially political affairs. The conflict that can arise between religious and political groups like the Catholic Church and Communist government leads such organizations to seek strategies for gaining more influence at the expense of the other.

Sack (1986) showed that spatially organizing group activities into territorial units provides many benefits to an organization. My research has illustrated that both the Catholic Church and the Communist government in Slovakia chose to employ territorial organization strategies in cases where it helped to establish and maintain control over their activities and that their competing territorial conceptions naturally led to conflict. The Church's territorial organization provided a way in which the hierarchy could be neatly organized and allowed for

the establishment of ecclesiastic authority over myriad Church activities and functions simply on the basis of geographic location. Likewise, the Communists organized their activities territorially after 1948 and established a system of regional offices (NVs) which mirrored in many ways the organization of the Catholic Church. The conflict that ensued between the Catholic Church in Košice and the regional national office (KNV) in Košice revolved around conflicts involving the practices and discourses that help institutionalize and symbolize a region according to Paasi's (2003) critical definition of regions.

Chapter 5 explained how the Catholic Church's use of territoriality in Slovakia enabled it to institutionalize individual dioceses through administrative functions like education, charity work, and social services. Thus, in addition to functioning as regions in the institutional or disciplinary sense, they functioned as regions in a critical sense as well. It was through these types of functions and services that Slovak Catholics came to recognize the Diocese of Košice as their primary connection to the larger, worldwide Catholic organization. In addition, Slovak Catholics within the diocese recognized Jozef Čarský, the Bishop of Košice, as the most immediate source of Catholic authority.

The first strategy of the KNV to weaken the diocese as a region was to target the Church institutions that helped the Church in Košice maintain its control over Slovak Catholics. It seized all of the Catholic schools and closed all of the monasteries and convents in the diocese. It also took control over all of the Catholic charities and hospitals that the diocese operated. Finally, it seized all of the Church's agricultural estates. The KNV then appropriated all of this property for its own use. Second, the KNV participated in a government effort to depose the Slovak bishops and break away from the Pope by creating its own Catholic administrative organization, the Catholic Action committee. Its goal was to replace Catholic practices and

discourse with humanist and Marxist ones and slowly build up the KNV as the primary regional construction in Eastern Slovakia.

This study's examination of Church-state relations in Slovakia provides an example of what Knippenberg (2006) called "the Catholic Paradigm"—that is, the uniqueness of the Catholic Church's situation in conducting relations with state governments. One of the primary components of this paradigm is the role played by the Vatican in negotiations. The Catholic Church in Slovakia's experience shows that the state was able, at times, to manipulate relations with the Church through organizations like the Peace Movement of Catholic Clergy (MHKD) and *Pacem in Terris*. In Košice for example, the Communists were able to arrange for Bishop Čarský's Canons to be removed from their posts and replaced by clergy members who were members of these organizations and were loyal to the regime.

At a diplomatic level, the Slovak Communists were able to put pressure on the Vatican to approve these appointments and also lobby for the appointment of bishops from the ranks of the pro-Communist clergy organizations. When the effort to support Catholic Action failed throughout Slovakia, the Communists developed a second strategy, which was to isolate or imprison the bishops and then replace their canons with Catholic clergy who were sympathetic to the government. In Košice, the appointment of Fr. Josef Onderko—a Communist priest who was instrument in many of the pro-Communist clergy organizations—as Vicar General further diminished the independence and autonomy of the Košice Diocese as a region in favor of the KNV. The primacy of the Košice Diocese faded as the KNV system gained power as the primary system of territorial organization. The power of the Catholic Church in Slovakia was diminished while the power of the Communist government was strengthened in the process.

The second question which this study has addressed was, What modalities of power were employed by the Church in order to create and reinforce a sense of place in which Slovak Catholics belonged and how did the government attempt to exclude Catholics from the public sphere? Underlying this question was literature on religion and sense of place. Anssi Paasi's (2003) explanation of regions was used to examine the Catholic Diocese of Košice. According to Paasi, understanding regions in the critical sense implies that they are understood as being "performed, limited, symbolized and institutionalized" through a number of spatial practices. Kim Knott (1998) also stressed that regions should not be taken as *a priori* structures, but should be examined more closely in order to determine if they represent a scale in which "institutions recognize one another and engage meaningfully" (pg. 283-284).

Chapter 6 addressed the literature regarding place-based identities and the processes by which a religious sense of place develops. Paasi (2003) explained that the institutionalization of regions is an evolutionary process which involves "perpetual struggle over the meanings associated with space" (pg. 805). Allen (2003) suggested that this perpetual struggle is concerned with establishing a "ritualized way of doing things" (pg. 11) in order to claim space for a particular organization or group or by controlling "the practices and the rhythms" of a population (pg. 171) so that they can be brought into compliance. Allen's (2003) theory of the geography of power suggests that power modalities have spatial characteristics and that the repetitive deployment of resources through an organizational network using these modalities allows an organization the ability to represent space in a way that closes out alternative uses or meanings associated with competing organizations.

The struggle between the Catholic Church in Košice and the KNV to create either a religious or secular sense of place was primarily a struggle to control the use of signs, symbols,

rituals, and behaviors that lead to the establishment of place-specific meanings. One of the primary ways in which the Catholic Church in Košice perpetuated a Catholic sense of place within the region was by controlling the rhythms of daily life associated with work and mass attendance. Traditionally, the Church controlled the yearly rhythms of the work week and the calendar year through religious holidays and Sunday abstinence from work. Before 1948, dozens of religious holidays were observed in honor of local saints like the Three Martyrs of Košice, and Saints Cyril and Methodius, in addition to the numerous holy days of obligation observed by the worldwide Church. The ability of the Church in Košice to hold parishioners to this kind of spatial discipline, which involved visiting the church building on certain days while avoiding the workplace on others, helped create a social rhythm in which religious practices became tied to geographic locations. The Communists attempted to alter this practice in favor of their own by passing laws which removed religious celebrations from their normal days of observance and placed them at the beginning or end of the week. In addition, they passed laws which mandated work on Sundays thereby forcing Bishop Jozef Čársky to accommodate Catholics by allowing mass attendance in the evenings after work. Holidays and Sundays were largely removed from the daily rhythms of life in Košice as was the Catholic sense of place associated with the church buildings and their surroundings.

This study has also contributed to the literature concerning the role of religious education in constructing cultural or religious meanings associated with specific locations or places. Bailey et al. (2007) and Harvey et al. (2007) have suggested that religious education is one of the primary ways in which believers are instructed in religious and social discipline—including those which are tied to geographic locations. Catholic education was perhaps the primary means by which young Slovak Catholics in Košice became accustomed to the types of spatial religious

behaviors, rituals, and beliefs that enabled them to take part in many of the place-based activities of the Catholic Church. Through Catholic education, children learned to recognize place-specific sources of Catholic authority, including their own bishop in Košice as well as the Pope in the Vatican. Through education, children learned the important role of the cemetery in Catholic life as well as the function and importance of the physical church buildings, which to Catholics represent a real, physical location from which holiness emanates (Sack 1986). The Communist government in Košice and throughout Slovakia enacted evermore repressive restrictions against Catholic education until it was virtually drive from the state-controlled school system and conducted only in secret within households. This act also diminished the ability of the Catholic Church in Košice to perpetuate associations between Catholic beliefs and geographic locations.

The most effective means by which the Catholic Church in Košice was able to perpetuate associations between religious beliefs and geographic locations was through religious processions and yearly pilgrimages. Harvey et al. (2007) have noted that these types of events are among the “key identity-framing vehicles in the construction of religious place-based identities” (pg. 25). Korec (2002) suggested that such events were responsible for involving thousands of previously passive Catholics in Slovakia in organized religious resistance to anti-Catholic government policies and ultimately led to the overthrow of the entire Communist government.

According to Harvey et al. (2007), the reason pilgrimages and processions are effective is that they utilize public space in ways which sacralize its meaning. Pilgrimages and processions “make symbolic statements about local social order” which identify and establish insiders who are initiated to the practices and thus, belong—as opposed to those who do not take part and are

thus established as outsiders. Cohen (2007) pointed out that—even in situations where a previously-dominant group has lost control over a particular cultural landscape—processions provide a way for disenfranchised groups to periodically reassert themselves in the cultural landscape and briefly reclaim public space for themselves. These processions are inextricably tied to specific locations with special meaning to the processing group. In Košice, the success of processions and pilgrimages was the primary way in which the Catholic community reasserted its claims to public space. In the city of Košice, these events usually centered on St. Elizabeth's Cathedral and the surrounding square which holds a number of religious buildings and religiously-significant locations. The success of Corpus Christi processions, most notably the 1951 Corpus Christi celebration in the main square, illustrate how processions were a source of strength for the Catholic community and provided a way to build associational power.

This study has shown that the public use of space associated with Slovak pilgrimages enabled the Church to reassert itself in the cultural landscape. Similar to David Doellinger's (2002) findings, this study has shown how pilgrimages and processions helped enroll less-active Catholics in public demonstrations about religious places. It was through these activities that the secret Church in Slovakia was able to make contact with these groups of Catholics. Archive documents that discuss pilgrimages attended by Catholics from Košice indicate that the large crowds made them feel a sense of security and pride that encouraged further involvement. As Harvey et al. (2007) explained, these types of “conspicuous ritual practices” allowed Slovak Catholics in Košice to “cohere around shared understandings of language, mortality, corporeality, emotions and reason” (pg. 29). Ultimately, the Catholic tradition of processions and pilgrimages fed into the larger protests organized by Slovaks to bring down the Communist government.

The final question this study addressed was, How was discourse used in Catholic publications to communicate with Catholics both regionally and nationally and how was the government involved in the creation of Catholic discourse through these publications? Underlying this question is literature regarding discourse and national identity. This study has contributed to existing knowledge of how newspapers are used to craft discourses about religion as a component of national identity. In particular, this study illustrated the role newspapers may play in the creation and contestation of discourse about religion and governmental legitimacy which Herb (1999) suggested is central to the process of national identity formation.

Like Häkli (1999), I identified historical phases of discourse within *Katolícke Noviny* over a 41 year period. My analysis of the discourse found in the Slovak Catholic newspaper *Katolícke Noviny* between 1948 and 1989 shows that the editors of the newspaper were primarily focused on persuading Catholics about the compatibility of socialist and Catholic ideals in order to legitimize the Communist government in the eyes of Catholics and bring an end to the animosity between the Catholic Church in Slovakia and the government. These discourses took on various configurations and changed several times in order to adjust to changes in public perception, the worldwide geopolitical climate, and the diplomatic policies of the Vatican. The underlying goal of the Communist discourse found in *Katolícke Noviny* was to change what Häkli (1999) referred to as the “discursive landscape” (pg. 124) of Slovakia in ways which would further the government’s social and political goals while minimizing the role of Catholic religion among the Slovak population.

This study shows that Catholicism in Slovakia has historically been embedded within the cultural landscape of the country in countless ways. Location has played a role in the way Slovak Catholics conceived of their connection to the larger Catholic Church in Slovakia as well

as to the universal Church throughout the world. Many of their most primordial connections with religion and ritual were tied inextricably to place. Catholic rituals and rhythms permeated the lives of Slovaks throughout the year. Under an oppressive and hostile political regime, Slovak Catholics found that religious expression which sacralized individual places helped them to assert their religious identity and make public statements about the religious qualities of place and space in and around the Catholic Diocese of Košice. Slovak Catholics in Košice struggled for 41 years to escape the burden of the Communist government until in December of 1989, it finally ended and religious freedom was once again restored. In February 1990, Monsignor Alojz Tkáč was ordained as the first bishop to serve the Diocese of Košice in almost thirty years. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Slovakia was restored and the Church entered into the post-Communist period in Slovakia.

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