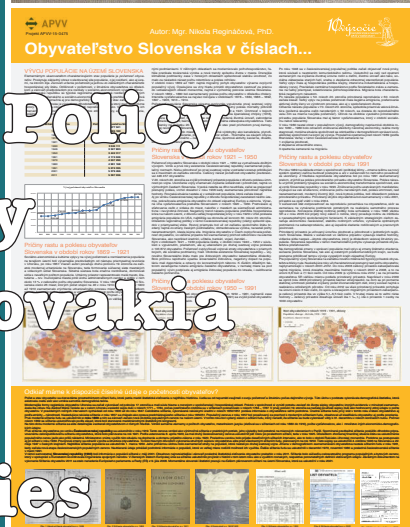


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Nikola Regináčová
(eds.)

Current Issues of Research on Nationality Policy and Nationality Relations in Slovakia in the 20th and the 21st Centuries

UNIVERSUM



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Štefan Šutaj – Lucia Heldáková – Nikola Regináčová (eds.)

The proceedings of the International Scientific Conference
of the scientific project APVV-15-0745
Trends in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia (Comparative Research on
Nationality Issue between 2004 and 2020) - (TESS2)

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1

Tendencies in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia – Nationality policy as a subject of scientific research

Trends in the Research of Nationality Relations and Nationality Policy in Slovakia¹

Štefan Šutaj

Abstract:

Článok prináša pohľad na výskumné aktivity vo vzťahu k národnostnej politike, národnostným vzťahom a etnicite koncom 20. a začiatkom 21. storočia. Zaoberá sa výskumným i aktivitami Spoločenskovedného ústavu SAV v Košiciach a špecifikám jeho výskumu etnicity. Osobitne sa venuje súvislostiam historického výskumu a interdisciplinarity. Konštruuje tézu o spoločenských vedách ako moderných pomocných vedách historických.

Kľúčové slová:

národnostná problematika, národnostné vzťahy, výskum etnicity, historický výskum a etnicita

Nationality issues and nationality relations are the long-term subject of interest of social sciences. The works of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS) and university institutions in Slovakia have played a significant role in their research for a long time. The Institute of Social Sciences has a long-standing tradition in the research of national minorities, nationality relations and nationality policy. In the framework of the project *Trends in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia* (Comparative Research on Nationality Issue between 2004 and 2020) - (TESS2), supported by the Agency for Support of Science and Research, we present the first collective volume of the scientific conference *Current Issues of Research on Nationality Policy and Nationality Relations in the 20th and the 21st Centuries* which took place in Košice between 14th and 15th November 2016. The main project centre is the Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences and its two branches, the Institute of Social Sciences of SAS and the Institute of Forecasting of SAS. The co-organizer of the project is the Philosophical Faculty (PF) of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice (UPJŠ) and its two departments; the Department of History of the Philosophical Faculty, and the Department of Political Science of the Philosophical Faculty, UPJŠ.

The aim of the project *Trends in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia* (Comparative Research on Nationality Issue between 2004 and 2020) is to identify the trends in the development of ethnic relations in Slovakia. The project will focus on three basic objectives:

1 The work was developed as part of the project APVV-15-0475 Tendencies in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia (Comparative Research of National Issues in 2004-2020) - (TESS2).

The first objective of the project will be the analysis of the development of nationality relations in years 2004-2016 which will include: the development of nationality relations, the strategy of nationality policy of the Slovak Republic, objectives and intentions of political parties depending on ethnicity, demographic development of national minorities at the beginning of the 21st century, cooperation of European and Slovak policy in terms of institutions and management of nationality policy, assessment of the activity and policy of individual governments in the period under review, perception of the history of national minorities, exploration of historical memory with a special focus on historical events with ethnic background (including: Slovak-Hungarian relations, Ruthenian-Ukrainian relations, majority and minority relations and Roma issues). In particular, it will monitor relations of minorities living in Slovakia and their mother states.

Applied methods of the research (in particular to historical and political science) will be:

- analysis of documents adopted during that period at the level of the European Union policy and institutions related to the monitoring of European policy in the field of nationality relations (the Council of Europe and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe);
- analysis of documents and monitoring reports within institutions dealing with nationality issues in Slovakia (the Government Council for Human Rights, National Minorities and Gender Equality, the Government of the Slovak Republic, the National Council of the Slovak Republic, the Constitutional Court);
- analysis of legislation in Slovakia;
- analysis and assessment of press monitoring on issues of ethnic development and relations in Slovakia between 2004 and 2018;
- socio-demographic and geographical characteristics of minorities in Slovakia and their potential future development.

The second objective which is of primary importance to the project is to prepare, implement and evaluate interdisciplinary empirical research of theoretical, methodological and practical issues of ethnicity and nationality relations in Slovakia. While my colleagues will deal with the project objectives in more detail and present the content of the project, it is necessary to mention the basic research lines:

- characteristics of a respondent in a social and ethno-cultural context (components of ethnicity – ethnic identity, mother tongue, nationality education, experience and awareness of ethnicity)
- reflection of history and its impact on current inter-ethnic relations (history and present)
- development and position of minority in a legal and philosophical-political context (human rights, minority rights, perspectives of the development of ethnic communities)
- perceiving and assessing current issues of public and political life (also nationality)
- identification characteristics of a person, family and household
- attitudes towards migrants
- perception of security

The underlying idea of the project is a comparison of the collected data with the research results (while adhering to methodological procedures applied in empirical research in 2004), which were collected ten years previously, within a project supported by state research and a development program in the period 2003-2005 entitled "*Nation, nationality and ethnic groups in the process of transformation of Slovak society*".

Data collection was carried out between November 2004 and January 2005 on a sample of 1,280 respondents from 8 groups: Hungarians, Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, Roma, Jews, Czechs and Slovaks from nationally mixed areas. The project "*Nation, nationality and ethnic groups in the process of transformation of Slovak society*" involved eight SAS departments and two universities (three faculties and one scientific institute at a university). The project co-partners included: Institute of History SAS, Institute of Philosophy SAS, Institute of Political Sciences SAS, Institute of State and Law SAS, Institute of Ethnology SAS, Slavist Office SAS, Sociological Institute SAS, Comenius University of Bratislava, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Prešov and Institute of Nationality Studies and Foreign Languages (Institute of Regional and Nationality Studies) of the University of Prešov. The project involved 38 researchers from nine scientific disciplines (history, sociology, psychology, law, ethnology, linguistics, Slavic studies, philosophy and journalism).²

The third objective of the project is to bring the results of the research and findings to the public, university students and public institutions. This will be done by linking the history and political science of PF UPJŠ and involving other collaborating institutions in these activities. In the course of each year of the project, project managers will prepare two workshops with university students in Slovakia on issues of ethnic relations, tolerance and co-operation with ethnic minorities at the PF of UPJŠ or other universities. Project managers will also organise lectures with presentations on the research on ethnic issues and with discussions on the issue of tolerance of other ethnic groups or media policy in relation to minorities.

The third part of the project will include:

- workshops in which the results will be presented in the form of lectures and managed discussions
- the provision of researchers' final reports, publications or analyses of the situation in the research area as needed and agreed with the Office of the President of the Slovak

2 The results were published in two extensive research reports: VÝROST, Jozef – HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária. (eds.). *Národ, národnosti a etnické skupiny v procese transformácie slovenskej spoločnosti*. Košice : Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, CD-ROM, 2005, 136 p. and ŠUTAJ, Štefan – HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária – SÁPOSOVÁ, Zlatica. – ŠUTAJOVÁ, Jana. *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku v procesoch transformácie po roku 1989 (identita a politika)*. Prešov : Universum, 2006, 131 p. Further results and partial analyses were published in ŠUTAJ, Štefan. (ed.). *Národ a národnosti na Slovensku – stav výskumu po roku 1989 a jeho perspektívy*. Prešov : Universum, 2004, 326 p; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. (ed.). *Prezidentské dekréty Edvarda Beneša v povojnovom období*. Prešov : Universum, 2004, 158 p; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. (ed.). *Národ a národnosti na Slovensku v transformujúcej sa spoločnosti – vzťahy a konflikty*. Prešov : Universum, 2005, 306 p; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. (ed.). *Národnostná politika Slovenskej republiky po roku 1989*. Prešov : Universum, 2005, 227 p.

Republic. The results will also be presented to other state institutions; in particular the Government of the Slovak Republic and the National Council of the Slovak Republic, as well as other departments of public administration and self-government.

The presentations prepared for the first workshop are part of this publication and are published in the last section.

The initial aim of the research is to capture historical and ethnocultural processes taking place among members of selected nationalities and ethnic groups living in Slovakia after the transformation of Slovak society between 2004 and 2016.

In the previous decades the Institute of Social Sciences SAS systematically acquired and processed data on ethnic issues. In addition to the aforementioned research which we want to use extensively and, on its basis, compare the shift of society in the light of its development over the last 10 years, there is a direct link to the results of several interesting projects implemented by the Institute. However, I would like to draw particular attention to two major projects involving the Institute of Social Sciences SAS:

- a project between 2006 and 2009, *The Hungarian minority in Slovakia in the process of transformation of society after 1989*, supported by the Agency for the Support of Science and Research (responsible researcher Štefan Šutaj)
- European Social Probe (ESP). 2nd - 6th round in Slovakia, between 2007-2013. This was a project of the 27 states of the European Union. (responsible researcher for Slovakia: Jozef Výrost)

Both projects followed up on scientific activities that have been carried out at the Institute of Social Sciences of the SAS since the 1980s.

In comparison to the period before 1989, we now have the results of specific socio-psychological and sociological research in the field of nationality relations, which deal with the issue of ethnic identity, especially of Slovak Hungarians, Romanians, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, and bring information about the state of their national awareness. Research has been carried out since the late 1980s to the present.³ The respondents usually identified themselves as belonging to a minority by selecting a questionnaire and agreeing to be included in the sample. At the same time, objective indicators of ethnic identity were used; ethnicity of parents, mother tongue, command and

3 Overview of further interdisciplinary research carried out by the Institute of Social Sciences of the SAS:

Skúmanie postavenia a vzťahov národnostných menšín a Slovákov žijúcich v národnostne zmiešaných oblastiach Slovenska (1990); *Minoritné etnické spoločenstvá na Slovensku v procesoch spoločenských zmien* (1992); *Etnická identita a historické zmeny* (1992, 1993); *Identita s veľkými (etnickými) spoločenstvami – vnímanie u súčasníkov, predchodcov a nasledovníkov* (1995 – 1998); *Primordializmus a inštrumentalizmus /situacionizmus v etnických presvedčeniach a etnickej/politickej identite* (1997); *Etnické presvedčenia a etnická/politická identita* (1998); *Primordialistické interpretácie histórie Slovenska, etnicity a identity u príslušníkov/čok mladej, strednej a najstaršej generácie* (1997 – 1998); *Etnická identita rusínsko/ukrajinskej národnostnej menšiny* (2000, 2002); *Medzikultúrne výskumy v oblasti etnicity* (V. Británia, Sev. Írsko, Maďarsko – celkom päť výskumov v priebehu 1995 – 2005); *Etnická rodina Slovákov, Nemcov, Chorvátov a Bulharov žijúcich v Maďarsku v zrkadle sociologického výskumu* (2005).

use of language, ethnic endogamy, ethnicity of children and their language orientation. We consider these objective factors of national identity to be sufficiently stable, and on the basis of our historical empirical research we can claim that they constitute a stable core of the construction of national identity of the inhabitants of Hungarian nationality in Slovakia.

With regard to subjective factors, apart from self-identification (I am Slovak, Hungarian, Roma...), the research also revealed the sense of belonging to a minority, to the native nation, to the state of the original nation, and to the state in which they live. At the beginning of the 1990s, concordance between the officially claimed ethnicity in ID cards and ethnic self-identification was confirmed. The respondents were deeply aware of their nationality and considered it important. They were also strongly identified ethnically at the collective level; they expressed a keen sense of belonging to the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and felt to be members of the Hungarian nation. This characteristic can be considered a stable element of the national identity of Slovak Hungarians.⁴ The data on the national identity of Hungarians in Slovakia was also examined on a sample of intelligentsia.⁵ The research results allowed us to characterize the status of identity of our respondents who reported Hungarian nationality.

When considering ethnic relations in Slovakia, it is also necessary to consider the “historical heritage” that we got in our “idea” equipment. This also affects the fact that the concern about the fate of one’s own ethnicity is dominated in the awareness of ethnicities living in the territory of Slovakia and the threat to another ethnicity is not considered to be as real by the minority. This situation is also characteristic of Slovak-Hungarian relations. The hypersensitivity and suspicion that surrounds it needs to be taken into consideration, and it is something in which Politicians on both sides calculate.

As a result of the “historical heritage” of Slovak-Hungarian relations, an important component of the creation of national identity in this territory is the view of a common history and the perception of injustice and atrocities that the ethnic communities have suffered. People are divided by the way they perceive the past, the way they present it to the next generation, but also by what aim they see ahead of them. History becomes a servant of the present to support ideological, national, state, group, and even individual aims.

A constant problem has been the range of issues related to the measures of the Czechoslovak authorities against the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia which were imple-

4 ZELOVÁ, Alena. Identita príslušníkov etnických menšín z národnostne zmiešaných oblastí Slovenska – sociálno-psychologický prístup. In *Slovenský národopis*, Vol. 39, 1991, p. 132 – 142; BAČOVÁ, Viera – ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Reslovakization: The Changes of Nationality and Ethnic Identity in Historical Development in Slovak-Hungarian Environment. In Devetak, Silvo – Flere, Sergej – Seewann, Gerhard (eds.). *Klaine nationen und etnische minderheiten im umbruch Europas – Small Nations and Ethnic Minorities in an Emerging Europe*. München : Slavica Verlag dr. Anton Kovač, 1993, p. 239 – 243.

5 The main output was ZELOVÁ, Alena – BAČOVÁ, Viera – ŠUTAJ, Štefan – VÝROST, Jozef. *Interpretácia slovensko-maďarských vzťahov v súvislosti s vybranými etnickými a sociálno-psychologickými charakteristikami (výsledky výskumu v súbore učiteľov)*. Košice : Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1992, 135 p.

mented from the Beneš Decrees. The public perceives the Beneš's Decrees as a symbol of measures against Germans and Hungarians, although many of these measures were not in fact implemented by Beneš's Decrees, but by the regulations of the Slovak National Council.⁶ The combination of the methods of a historian and a social psychologist has allowed us to get a deeper understanding of this problem.⁷

We can provide an example of an effective linking of historiography and social psychology in research with the change in ethnic identity through samples of re-Slovakized people and their descendants in villages in the south of Slovakia.⁸ The publication by Viera Bačová⁹ on the formation of ethnic identity is based on selected historical documents from municipalities where re-Slovakization had taken place. On the basis of these historical documents, families, whose members or ancestors underwent a real change of ethnic identity in the Slovak-Hungarian environment in the hectic years of the first half of the 20th century, were selected. The research has shown how a particular historical event - in this case re-Slovakization - affected the ethnic awareness, ethnic attitudes and ethnic identity of contemporaries who were the descendants of re-Slovakization in two municipalities in eastern Slovakia, and how they themselves interpret and evaluate this historical event. Research in the field was preceded by historical research on the issue of re-Slovakization in archives. On the basis of archive documents, a sample of respondents was selected in both municipalities. The questionnaire used included data on the ethnic identity of respondents and language communication usage in the municipality and within the family.

Revealing the deeper layers of ethnic identity was also achieved through Peter Weinreich's *Identity Exploration* (IDEX) research method, which shows hidden conflicts and a crises of ethnic identity of personality.¹⁰ These ethnic experiences can be reasonably assumed to have roots in historical events affecting the ethnicity (i.e. the complex of

6 See ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Maďarská menšina v slovenskej politike. In ŠUTAJ, Štefan (ed.). *Národnostná politika na Slovensku po roku 1989*. Prešov : Universum, 2005, p. 93 – 102.

7 ŠUTAJ, Štefan. History and National Identity. In Swoboda, Hannes – Viersma, Jan Marinus (eds.). *Politics of the Past: The Use and Abuse of History*. Bruxelles : The Socialist Group in the European Parliament, 2009, p. 193 – 204.

8 Its results are published in the works: ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Reslovakizácia. Zmena národnosti časti obyvateľstva Slovenska po II. svetovej vojne*. Košice : Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1991, 67 p.; BAČOVÁ, Viera – ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Reslovakization. The Changes of Nationality and Ethnic Identity in Historical Development in Slovak - Hungarian Environment*; BAČOVÁ, Viera – ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Comparison of Historical and Social - Psychological Research Approaches: The Cooperation Model. In Vajdová, Libuša (ed.). *Les approches et les méthodes interdisciplinaires de recherche en sciences sociales*. Bratislava : Ústav svetovej literatúry SAV, 1994, p. 45 – 51; Partial interpretation of the findings from the historian perspective was also published in the study ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Zmena národnosti v historickom vývoji*. In Plichtová, Jana (ed.). *Minority v politike*. Bratislava : Česko-slovenský výbor Európskej kultúrnej nadácie, 1992, p. 164 – 171.

9 BAČOVÁ, Viera. *Etnická identita a historické zmeny. (Štúdiá obyvateľov vybraných obcí Slovenska)*. Bratislava : Veda, 1996, 198 p.

10 WEINREICH, Peter – BAČOVÁ, Viera – ROUGIER, Nathalie. Basic Primordialism in ethnic and national identity. In Weinreich, Peter – Saunderson, Wendy (eds.). *Analysing Identity. Cross-Cultural, Societal and Clinical Contexts*. London : Routledge / Taylor & Francis / Psychology Press. London and New York, 2003, p. 115 – 169.

ethnic experience) of people living in the past. Transgenerational transmission and socialization ensure the impact of historical events on the personality of a contemporary.

The results of the findings were published in many publications and scientific studies. The selection we present here is rather illustrative. The subject of our analysis in this work is not an interpretation of the results, but rather an attempt to define the specific method used in the individual research projects. In the research of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, we sought to find out the opinions of the respondents from a nationally mixed territory, as well as the current state and perspective of Slovak-Hungarian relations. We try to go beyond the usual quantification of the obtained results and find out what factors are involved. The main method in most of the research implemented by the Institute of Social Sciences is a broadly composed questionnaire.

An interesting way to gain knowledge of history is the reconstruction of memory through contemporaries who interpret historical events as they were perceived by other generations in their families. We paid special attention to the concept of intergenerational memory in our research. There are differences between the historical approach to historical memory and the socio-psychological and sociological approach to intergenerational memory. This is especially due to the manner of research and the possibilities of criticism of source material. Historiography examines the problem on the timeline, and the methods of its research so far do not allow for the examination of the differences between generations living in the same period. Different views on the problem are perceived more on the basis of political affiliation, religion, social or professional affiliation. However, this approach can change if modern socio-psychological and sociological research and opinion polls are utilised as sources for a historian. In the field of intergenerational memory research, social psychology and sociology uses one-timepoint view and looks at the problem as perceived by various generations living in this (their) time. For a historian, attempting to approach such an understanding of the problem, however, means to go to the borders of their own scientific discipline and other social sciences that deal with the present. (psychology, political science, sociology).

Interdisciplinary seminars *Historical Memory and Identity I and II*, held in Zlata Idka in 1995 and 1996, as well as a scientific seminar *Searching for Identity in a Changing Society* held in Košice in 1997 contributed to the creation of interdisciplinary links in intergenerational memory research.¹¹ The aim of the 1995 research was to empirically capture the perception of personal and social identity by members of various generations at the micro, mezo and macro level of an individual's life. The main intention was to incorporate contextual and situational variables into the creation of theories and research plans that involve several levels of behaviour. Intergenerational changes, relationships, and transmission, i.e. transferring and receiving generational experiences, formed the context of individual's personal and social identities. This research, based on questionnaires, provided information on how three generations brought up by different political regimes were influenced by various social and economic influences and perceived their

11 The results were published in collective monographs: Bačová, Viera (ed.). *Historická pamäť a identita*. Košice : Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1996, 264 p; Bačová, Viera – Kusá, Zuzana. (eds.). *Identity v meniacej sa spoločnosti*, Košice : Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1997, 286 p.

ethnicity and other minorities, and how they formulated their relationship to the entities, facts, or life situations. The result was not only capturing intergenerational differences at the time of data collection, but also retrospective. Intergenerational contexts were determined by self-evaluation (of the respondent), evaluation of people 20-30 years older than the respondents and evaluation of people 20 years younger than the respondents. Thus, the ideas of social development trends, on the basis of which people attribute social identity to their predecessors and followers, were indirectly identified.¹² Joint research based on the principle of intergenerational transmission and possible shifts made it possible to use the methods of historiography as well as social psychology.

The interpretation of research results exceeded the normal description or analysis of statistical data and questionnaire findings by interpreting them, for example, on the background of instrumental or primordial approach to ethnicity.¹³ These significantly influenced the trends of Slovak nationality policy and presented a major factor in solving many issues related to the status of nationalities. They influenced not only Slovak, but also the Hungarian environment and were an important ethno-identifying factor influencing the relation of part of population to the current issues in the field of ethnicity.

European and world historiography, following the systematic processing of basic chronology and description of historical events with invention, seeks new themes that deepen the knowledge of history, contemporary civilization and culture. New macro-structural themes that are characteristic of the modern trends of contemporary European historiography are emerging. Such topics include, for example, historical memory, oral history and identity problems, through which the history of the present is interpreted in new dimensions. History, written, experienced and perceived and interpreted, lives a new life in this concept. Historical events have their own history. It manifests itself in a way of interpretation, remembering historical events, different perceptions by different population groups of one state. The same historical event can be differently perceived and interpreted not only in the official historiographies which are taught in schools, but also more widely throughout a population. Historical memory is not only historical awareness, it is mainly the perception of historical events in a multi-layered society, not only on the horizontal line, i.e. in one section of time, according to the reviewed area, but also on the vertical line, i.e. in motion and changes on the timeline.¹⁴

12 The result of this research was the Volume: Bačová, Viera (ed.). *Historická pamäť a identita*; Out of many other findings on this issue, let us mention: BAČOVÁ, Viera. Rozdielne generácie - používanie iných vysvetľovaní? In *Človek a spoločnosť*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1998, p. 64 – 68. Available on the Internet: <http://www.clovekaspolocnost.sk/sk/rocnik-1-rok-1998/4/studie-a-clanky/rozdielne-generacie-pouzivanie-nych-vysvetlovani/>; BAČOVÁ, Viera. Primordialistické konštruovanie národa na Slovensku – medzigeneračné porovnanie. In *Československá psychologie*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 1999, p. 205 – 215; HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária. Intergeneračné zmeny identity etnicky homogénnych a heterogénnych rodín. In *Sociológia* Vol. 34, No. 2, 2002, p. 117 – 130.

13 Bližšie pozri BAČOVÁ, Viera. Primordiálny versus inštrumentálny základ etnickej a národnej identity. In *Československá psychologie*. Vol. 41, No. 4, 1997, p. 303 – 313.

14 On structure of historical study LIPTÁK, Ľubomír. Koncepcia slovenských dejín od 18. storočia. In Fano, Štefan (ed.). *Slovenské dejiny v dejinách Európy*. Bratislava : Academic Electronic Press, 1997, p. 21 – 24.

The common point of scientific research and the main subject of the review was and still is people's interaction in society. There are practically no areas of social psychology and periods in the history after the Second World War that could not be the subject of joint research of the aforementioned two disciplines. The basic concepts of social psychology (knowledge, activity, socialization, attitudes, social identity) are applicable to historical research, while basic categories of historiography (source, review of empirical material, interpretation, historical fact, events) can be assessed in terms of findings of social psychology. All the aforementioned general theoretical and methodological principles are linked in the investigation of information-transfer mechanisms both in time, i.e. from the past to the present, and from a wider community of people to an individual.¹⁵

The methodology of research on nationality relations and minority issues created at the Institute of Social Sciences of the SAS is unique in interlinking research areas; it is not used anywhere else to such an extent. The specificity of the methodology used is that it can (or it tries to), on the basis of a deeper analysis of demographic, geographic, historical, and socio-psychological factors, differentiate respondents' answers. Unlike public opinion surveys, or much of the research that remains on the surface (only observing a phenomenon based on a basic classification), it penetrates deeper into the phenomenon. We could compare the basic (constant) factors (age, gender, residence, ethics) with the other questions (variables) that we chose in the research methodology, for example: the opinions on the future of Slovak-Hungarian relations, attitude towards political parties, the administrative division of the state at present and also in the past, attitudes to various historical issues, the issue of border justice, the relationship with regions, regionalism, the state (Slovak and Hungarian) and the perception of particularity and universality.

In this contribution we will pay special attention to the approach of historical science to research on ethnicity in relation to the past and the present. Educational disciplines approach the subject of their research from various positions, which is also shown by the methods they use and the aims they want to achieve. Nowadays, new research directions, research topics and also new procedures are implemented in science and research. Social sciences and humanities, including historiography are not an exception. The basic interpretative processes of historical research include the analysis of historical phenomena and historical event. Even today, however, in several types of publishing or works, the works on history approach a description of successive events that the author interprets on the basis of the documents available to them. In many cases, there is also a lack of elementary attempts to confront the documents obtained with the knowledge of predecessors or contemporaries, provided in published and available works. Similarly, it is also the researcher's duty to confront and review the source by confronting other sources and reviewing these sources. Thus, the already discovered is being discovered again, and, instead of scientific analysis, products are emerging that return Slovak historiography to the period of chronicles. The essence of historical

15 BAČOVÁ, Viera – ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Comparison of Historical and Social-psychological Research Approaches: The Cooperation Model...

research is also that we strive not only to capture the most accurate picture of a historical event from various sources, but we also try to include it in the context of other historical events and contexts. We find out how the historical event happened, and especially why it happened in this way. What contributed to such development and, possibly, what other options and alternatives were there and why these were not fulfilled.

However, historical events in today's world cannot be seen in isolation. The development of knowledge allows us to confront the findings of historians with the findings of other social sciences and humanities. We can conclude that a comprehensive view of the subject of historical research can no longer be obtained differently than by means of an interdisciplinary approach. The use of results, or even methods of other science disciplines in examination of these historical phenomena (events, developments, or situations) allows for a deeper insight into the essence of the problem.

Modern trends in historical research also reflect areas of research that were only of marginal interest to historiography in the past. Such topics include not only phenomena and events depicting everyday life (the history of everyday life) as a way of life (at the level of groups/classes/social or professional groups, life of elites and ordinary people), myths, eating, celebrations, festivals of various kinds from state-political to private, the exploration of historical stereotypes, not just their creation but also their use, application, or experience. Particular attention is paid to the inner dimensions of human life (elites, personalities, the relationship of the persecuted/victim and the persecutor – victimology, identity).

We can say that these trends have been manifested in various forms since the late 19th century during the heyday of modern social and human sciences; especially sociology and psychology, modern philosophical and artistic movements as well as economic, social and cultural history. Perhaps the best known among these modern methodological directions (and stories) of historical science is the French school of *Annales*, which has significantly influenced the methodology of historical research for generations, whether by its focus on cooperation with economic sciences or more laterly by introducing new research concepts (such as theory of mentality, concepts of history, and memory). Similar trends prevailed in the other national historiographies in the West – predominantly American, British, German historiography – and formed the basis of common European historiography. Only “socialist” historiography, influenced by the Marxist-Leninist methodology partially managed to “defend” itself, as it remained conservative in the captivity of a class approach to history as well as to other social sciences and humanities. However, 1968 created space for European research trends even in Czechoslovakia, which, together with social reality, had to be accepted by the then state power. One of the consequences of the reform movement in the 1960s in the area of research into nationality relations was the opening of research topics on nationality relations and the status of national minorities, national and nationality relations. The normalisation regime saw the creation of specialized centres for research into ethnic issues as a solution to the situation. Whereas in the Czech part of the Republic this was the role of the Silesian Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, in Slovakia, based on the decision of the then State and Communist party authorities, the Institute of Social Sciences of the SAS was set up to focus on the research of nationality issues.

The research focus in this line was modified by the Marxist-Leninist frames of the issue which could not go beyond the framework of the Marxist definition of the nation. Gradually, however, new possibilities for research into ethnicity, ethnic relations, national and ethnic identity, and nationalism were opened. Thus, mainly disciplines such as sociology and, in particular, social psychology created basic concepts for naming the phenomena and events related to the Central European development and mutual ethnic relations in this area, including Slovakia. It was essential that at the end of the 1980s the trends in the research of nationality relations at the Institute of Social Sciences of the SAS were confronted not only with Marxist literature but also with the results of social and human sciences in the world, especially in Western Europe. Contrary to human and social scientists in neighbouring countries (especially in Poland and Hungary), Czech and Slovak researchers were in an unfavourable situation, as political barriers and normalisation breaks made it very difficult to have contact with the Western world. However, mainly through “separations” from European journals, it was possible to get information from the Western world. These and many other lines of social scientific research strongly influenced the focus and lines of social scientific and historical research in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Historical research at that time also leaned towards traditional forms of description of historical events in the development of national minorities and the Slovak and Czech nations; in the area of national relations it was necessary to carry out basic research on the post-war status of minorities in Czechoslovakia, which had strong deficits. On the other hand, opportunities for a different view of ethnic relations were opened through evaluation of the results of research and the terminological apparatus, the definition of the basic concepts of ethnic relations – which were the contributions of social psychology – as well as sociology, cultural anthropology (ethnography) and the newly forming political science. The Institute of Social Sciences responded to the new challenges with new concepts of research, new themes and an innovative approach. This contribution is also an attempt to determine the specifics of the method of cooperation of sociology, social psychology and history in the research of ethnicity, ethnic identity, nationality relations and nationality policy, implemented under the conditions of the Institute of Social Sciences of SAS.¹⁶

16 As the first of the research projects, carried out immediately after the transformation of social changes in Slovakia, there was field of empirical research (*Relations of Slovaks and national minorities in nationally mixed areas of Slovakia*, 1990) focused on identifying opinions on the status of Hungarian and Ukrainian minorities in Slovakia, Slovaks living in the nationally mixed areas of Slovakia, as well as analyzing the mutual relationships of ethnic communities living there. The need for research on this topic (the government of the Slovak Republic became the gestor) was not only due to the current situation after the social transformation of the Czechoslovak society, but also the activation and search for new dimensions of identities of our nations and nationalities, which sometimes took on a confrontational form. For the needs of the Slovak government, a publication was prepared: Paukovič, Vladimír (ed.). *Vzťahy Slovákov a národnostných menšín v národnostne zmiešaných oblastiach Slovenska*. Košice : Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1990. The second project was „*Minority ethnic communities in Slovakia in the processes of social change*” (grant SAS 2/999340/92); The subject of the research was mainly the connection between the perception and evaluation of the Slovak-Hungarian relations (past and present) with some

From the point of view of the process of historical science, for the present and especially for research, in which social-scientific research has already been implemented by means of modern, often mathematical and statistical methods, it is important that these studies can be used by historical science as a source of its knowledge. However, a necessary condition is that they must approach them similarly as other sources of historical knowledge. A historian who wants to work with such source material must know the origin of the source, who created it, what methodology was used and how the originator processed their findings and conclusions. At the same time, they must know the terminology of these disciplines and methodological processes. They must therefore proceed in the same way, as a historian proceeds in confronting and reviewing the source against another historical period. The contribution of the Institute of Social Sciences of the SAS and part of its staff who have long been following this type of research, is that they have been directly involved in the creation and interpretation of these documents which have become sources of historical knowledge.

The basic element of the concept of interdisciplinary cooperation from the point of view of historical science is the fact that social sciences can also be used for the needs of historiography as modern auxiliary historical sciences. In the course of research into the history of national minorities, nationality relations and nationality policy, three basic lines of historical research were profiled in relation to modern auxiliary historical sciences.

- 1 Direct research in cooperation with the representatives of these sciences, combined with methods of historical research, forms the future source of historical research
- 2 Indirect research, including interviews, questionnaires, statistics, interpretative tables, figures and other schemes used
- 3 Border scientific disciplines (historical demography, historical statistics...)

In connection with the use of other scientific disciplines in historian's work, we assume that modern socio-psychological and sociological research and opinion polls will become one of the important sources of research for a historian. For a historian, these sources are gradually becoming empirical material that will be examined and reviewed after some time. As with other historical sources, they must be subject to review using the basic historical method. However, a historian who uses these sources must know not only their results, but they also need to know the way of their implementation, the processing from the project preparation phase through to the preparation of the questionnaire, the way of preparation, the formulation and types of questions, the distribution of the questionnaire, the way of obtaining respondents and the computer processing of the obtained results and their interpretation (tables, conceptual apparatus).

ethnic and socio-psychological characteristics, such as: nationality, ethnic composition of the locality and family environment, social acceptance of other ethnicities, acceptance of Hungarian language in Slovakia, particularism versus universality. The output of this project was the publication: ZELIOVÁ, Alena – BAČOVÁ, Viera – HADUŠOVSKÁ, Slávka – HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária – OLEJNÍK, Milan – PAUKOVIČ, Vladimír – ŠUTAJ, Štefan – VÝROST, Jozef. *Minoritné etnické spoločenstvá na Slovensku v procesoch spoločenských premien*. Bratislava : Veda, 1994, 157 p.

In the same way as a historian of medieval history needs to hold a document in their hands, to examine a seal or a coat of arms, a historian of recent history must, in order to properly evaluate recent historical empirical material, control the mechanism of its preparation and processing in order to use these sources as corresponding validated sources for the formulation of research findings.

For a historian, the effort to get to such an understanding of the problem means to reach the border of their own discipline and other social sciences that are dealing with the present.

The connecting point of co-operation of various social science disciplines is that each of these sciences has its own history and seeks to interpret it; including the activity and position of individual factors. Other sciences including technical and natural are also active in historical periods and the historical environment that affects them directly or indirectly. Such perception also concerns historical science and its other representatives in Slovakia, who are aware of the connection of historical events with the technical, material world and nature, for example the recent works of Roman Holec and Ľudovít Hallon.¹⁷

From the point of view of the future of research into nationality relations and the status of national minorities in Slovakia, it is necessary to say that the classic historical research empirical archive sources on the status of the Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Germans, Roma (also Hungarians to a certain extent) have been partially exhausted. It must be incorporated into the European research area by a new understanding of the research topic. From Slovak perception, it has to take on a European dimension and must be perceived (in spite of the relative isolation and detachment in the time of the Communist regime from other Western Europe) as part of European history and European movements, social, political, cultural. Close connections, not only with sciences that we can perceive as auxiliary historical sciences will allow for a comprehensive processing of contemporary history. The transfer of the knowledge base, mainly in those areas of application of knowledge of social, technical and natural sciences, which are inherent to contemporary human life, is a prerequisite for the assumption of a new dynamics of life by historiography.

However, in our conditions, interdisciplinarity is currently the subject of theoretical considerations. The research of the Institute of Social Sciences of the SAA attempts to ensure that the results of interdisciplinary research not only exist next to each other as a collection of materials, but as a result of a systematically prepared project involving the researchers of several disciplines, including historiography, at all stages of research, processing and interpretation.¹⁸ This is the advantage of a historian who participates

17 HOLEC, Roman. *Človek a príroda v „dlhom“ 19. storočí*. Bratislava : Historický ústav SAV, 2014, 341 p; HALLON, Ľudovít. *Firma Pittel a Brausewetter v dejinách Slovenska. Priekopník betónového staviteľstva z Bratislavy*. Bratislava : Historický ústav SAV, 2014, 229 p.

18 In this way, research was conducted and the results were published in the work: ZEEOVÁ, Alena – BAČOVÁ, Viera – ŠUTAJ, Štefan – VÝROST, Jozef. *Interpretácia slovensko-maďarských vzťahov v súvislosti...* and in particular the aforementioned projects supported by APVV, our current project follows up on.

in all the phases of research implementation; they can directly influence and model how researchers from other disciplines implement their research. So far, however, such attempts have been underestimated and perceived as a diversion rather than common working method of a historian.

It is important to emphasize that there is a difference in the level of knowledge in our attempt to communicate about these topics with the world. Unlike advanced historiographies, our historiography has not yet completed the basic historical research.¹⁹ For that reason, the transition to new topics is complicated.

Slovak historiography does not have enough human resources to occupy the vacant and untouched areas of specialized historical research in the field of social history. Traditional orientation in political and economic history still prevails.

The method of organization and support of Slovak science is an obstacle to the application of modern methods in Slovak historiography. It is, in particular, a rigid and unelaborated manner of allocating grants and funds, which lags behind the possibilities of effective use of existing scientific potential. The organizers of support for Slovak research have not yet appreciated the possibility of a self-governing manner of fund allocation within the Slovak Academy of Sciences and at the most important Slovak universities. At the same time, they do not invest in an effective assessment and evaluation environment. In agencies, projects are assessed without financial evaluation, therefore, instead of quality, projects are evaluated by agreed evaluators who do not reject project applications. As a result, the evaluation system is devalued and only projects rated by a high number of points obtained from the evaluators who received applications for project evaluation have the chance to get funding. In this environment, lobbying, influenced evaluation and clientelism, presented as independent evaluation system, are decisive factors. In agencies such as VEGA and KEGA, this system has already reached the upper limit of bearability and is generally considered to be unobjective in the scientific community.

Following the successful projects of ŠPZV and APVV between 2003-2009, there was a period that was not in favour of larger interdisciplinary projects, both from institutional and organisational point of view, and the situation still lasts to some extent. The most important reasons were:

- a, Determining rules for getting scientific degrees that determined that an assistant professor or a professor must be leaders of a research team. Even holders of such degrees, in order to be at the appropriate salary level, had to prove their leadership of a research team. The requirement is undoubtedly correct because a holder of such degrees should be a leader in their scientific field. On the other hand, these conditions created the conditions for trivialisation of the already small research potential, and the members of previous teams preferred to create their own smaller or small projects at the cost of pooling research capacities into interdisciplinary teams with

¹⁹ HOLEC, Roman. Problémy a úlohy hospodárskych a sociálnych dejín 19. a 20. storočia. In Fano, Štefan (ed.). *Slovenské dejiny v dejinách Európy*. Bratislava : Academic Electronic Press, 1997, 111 p.

representation of several experts in the research area from several SAS departments and universities.

- b, Rules of funding for public universities were set up in such way that universities received a subsidy from the Ministry according to the amount of funding received from projects. It was an advantage for universities to have a leading position in scientific projects, which led to the preference of research teams made up of university authorities. Even after the transfer of the funding mechanism to the level of faculty and department, setting up teams outside individual departments proved to be problematic.
- c, The third problem, which is more difficult to define, was the hostility among competing institutions, incompetence of opponents/assessors in agencies assessing new projects, and the Slovak-friendly way of assessing projects, where projects assessed by friendly assessors with high percentage of points were winning.

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Reflexion on the State and Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia: On the Possibilities of Empirical Research¹

Jozef Výrost – Michal Kentoš

Abstract:

Prezentovaný príspevok sumarizuje možnosti výskumu etnických spoločností v slovenskom aj európskom kontexte. V prvej časti príspevku sa autori zameriavajú na etnickú heterogenitu európskeho kontinentu. Súčasne sú analyzované základné dokumenty zaručujúce postavenie minorít ako aj používanie jazykov menšín vo vzťahu k majoritnému obyvateľstvu. V nadväznosti na uvedené autori prezentujú nástroje prispievajúce k systematickému sústreďovaniu informácií o živote minorít, ktorými sú najmä medzinárodné komparatívne sociálne prieskumy. V druhej časti príspevku prezentujú výsledky viacerých projektov v otázkach práv národnostných menšín ako aj výsledky slovenského výskumu minorít v transformujúcej sa spoločnosti.

Kľúčové slová:

etnické menšiny, menšinové jazyky

The European continent as a whole is ethnically heterogeneous, and at the level of individual European countries, this fact is mostly declared and accepted (some restraint in the general acceptance of this fact can only be recorded in France and Greece). According to the FUEN² (Federal Union of European Nationalities) there are about 400 autochthonous minorities living in Europe, which is more than 100 million inhabitants, i.e. approx. one in seven inhabitants of the continent. The share of minorities in the majority population varies from 54%:46% in Bosnia and Herzegovina to (virtually) 0%:100% for Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta and Portugal. In most European countries, the share of minority citizens is below 20%, only in 11 countries the share is higher (apart from the formerly mentioned Bosnia and Herzegovina is Latvia, Belgium, Serbia, Switzerland, Macedonia, Moldova, Estonia, Spain, Georgia and Ukraine). Slovakia, with a majority of 85.8%, is placed approximately in the middle of the list of countries.

The diversity of opinions on the minority issue is reflected in the designation of minorities (national/ethnic) and their definition. In the European context, the often-used definition is the definition given in the Council of Europe Recommendation (RE) No

1 The work was developed as part of the project APVV-15-0475 Tendencies in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia (Comparative Research of National Issues in 2004-2020) - (TESS2).

2 <https://www.fuen.org/european-minorities/general/>

1201/1993 „*Additional protocol on the rights of minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights*“³ (Recommendation 1201 as a whole in 1996, by decision of the Committee of Ministers of the RE, was not accepted). “*National minority is a group of persons in a state which a) resides in its territory, b) maintains long-term, close and lasting ties with the state, c) has specific ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic characteristics, d) is sufficiently representative, although smaller in numbers than the rest of the population of the state or its region (e) it is motivated by an interest in common preservation of what constitutes its common identity, including its culture, traditions, religion or language.*”

There are significant differences among individual ethnic minorities (including among those living in the same country), therefore there have been attempts to classify them. E.g. S. Wolff (2008), in his report for the European Centre for Minority Issues, according to their origin, distinguishes traditional ethnic minorities (ethnic groups living in the territory of one country, while at the same time they are bound by ethnic relationship with the titular nation of another, often neighbouring, country; for example the Hungarians in Slovakia and Romania), trans-national minorities (ethnic groups whose original homeland exceeds the borders of several countries, but they are not a titular nation in any of them; such as the Basques and the Catalans in France and Spain), indigenous minorities (ethnic groups of original inhabitants on a territory of a state, where they are not a titular nation, e.g. the Cornish and the Welsh in Great Britain, Corsicans and Bretons in France) immigration minorities (immigrant waves to Europe after 1945, persons who have not acquired citizenship in the host country, such as North African residents in France, Turkish Gastarbeiters in Germany, current migrants).

Permanent social, political and scientific interest in the development and status of minorities in European countries is strengthened by the fact that out of the 28 current EU Member States, the majority (23) of them arose from a relatively recently split from the original states, mostly during the 19th and 20th centuries. The remaining 5 (the UK, Spain, France, Denmark and Sweden) have not completely avoided internal tensions, as evidenced by current events in Scotland and Catalonia. The European doctrine, known as the “Europe of the Regions” (e.g. Borrás-Alomar, Christiansen, Rodríguez-Pose, 1994), has not quite intentionally played a part in this; when the side effect of the strategic intention to strengthen competences of the European Commission at the expense of the Member States and their governments was stimulation of “regional” interests at various levels.

The basic tools to ensure the status and needs of national/ethnic minorities in Europe are the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which the Slovak Republic (SR) acceded on September 14, 1995, and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, signed by the SR on February 20th, 2001. The fulfilment of the obligations arising from the aforementioned documents is regularly checked in the signatory countries. Information from the results of the monitoring process has

3 Recommendation 1201(1993). On an additional protocol on the rights of minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights. Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly. <http://assembly.coe.int/main.asp?link=/documents/adoptedtext/ta93/erec1201.htm>

been carried out at specified intervals; in the case of the Framework Convention four times in 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, in the case of the European Charter three times in 2003, 2009, 2012 – these documents are publicly available on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic.⁴

Other tools contributing to the systematic collection of information of the life of minorities are specialized European organizations and agencies engaged in part and/or exclusively in this field (e.g. the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights – FRA,⁵ the European Centre for Minority Issues – ECMI), research centres for minority education, jointly founded by several countries and gradually expanding their reach on the territory of Europe, e.g. the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI),⁶ or initiative volunteer associations, focused on mapping and internet presentation of information on minorities, e.g. Eurominority.eu.⁷

Another dimension for assessing the state of minorities' lives is the data systematically obtained through international comparative social surveys. In 2002/2003, the Eurobarometer⁸ and the newly-emerging European Social Survey – ESS⁹ - focused on the majority attitudes towards minorities and immigrants in European countries, based on the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC). Another example is the already mentioned FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights), which held the first wave (2008) and the second wave (2015) of the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS) in 28 Member States. The data obtained in EU-MIDIS I was published (2009), the data from EU-MIDIS II is not yet available. Relevant information on the subject is also provided by the long-term International Social Survey Program (ISSP). Module "Citizenship II."¹⁰ carried out in 2014, involving 49, 807 respondents in representative samples from 34 countries, included the following questions:

4 https://www.mzv.sk/zahranicna_politika/ludske_prava-narodnostne_mensiny_a_ochrana_mensinovykh_jazykov

5 <http://fra.europa.eu/en/about-fra>

6 <http://www.ecmi.de/about/about-ecmi/>

7 <http://www.eurominority.eu/version/eng/index.asp>

8 http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_168_exec.sum_en.pdf

9 http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/round1/fieldwork/source/ESS1_source_main_questionnaire.pdf

10 <http://zacat.gesis.org/webview/index.jsp?object=http://zacat.gesis.org/obj/fStudy/ZA6670>

Chart 1: ISSP 2014 respondents' response to the question: *“Should people who are against a certain racial or ethnic group be allowed to organise public events?”* (% of answers “definitely yes”)

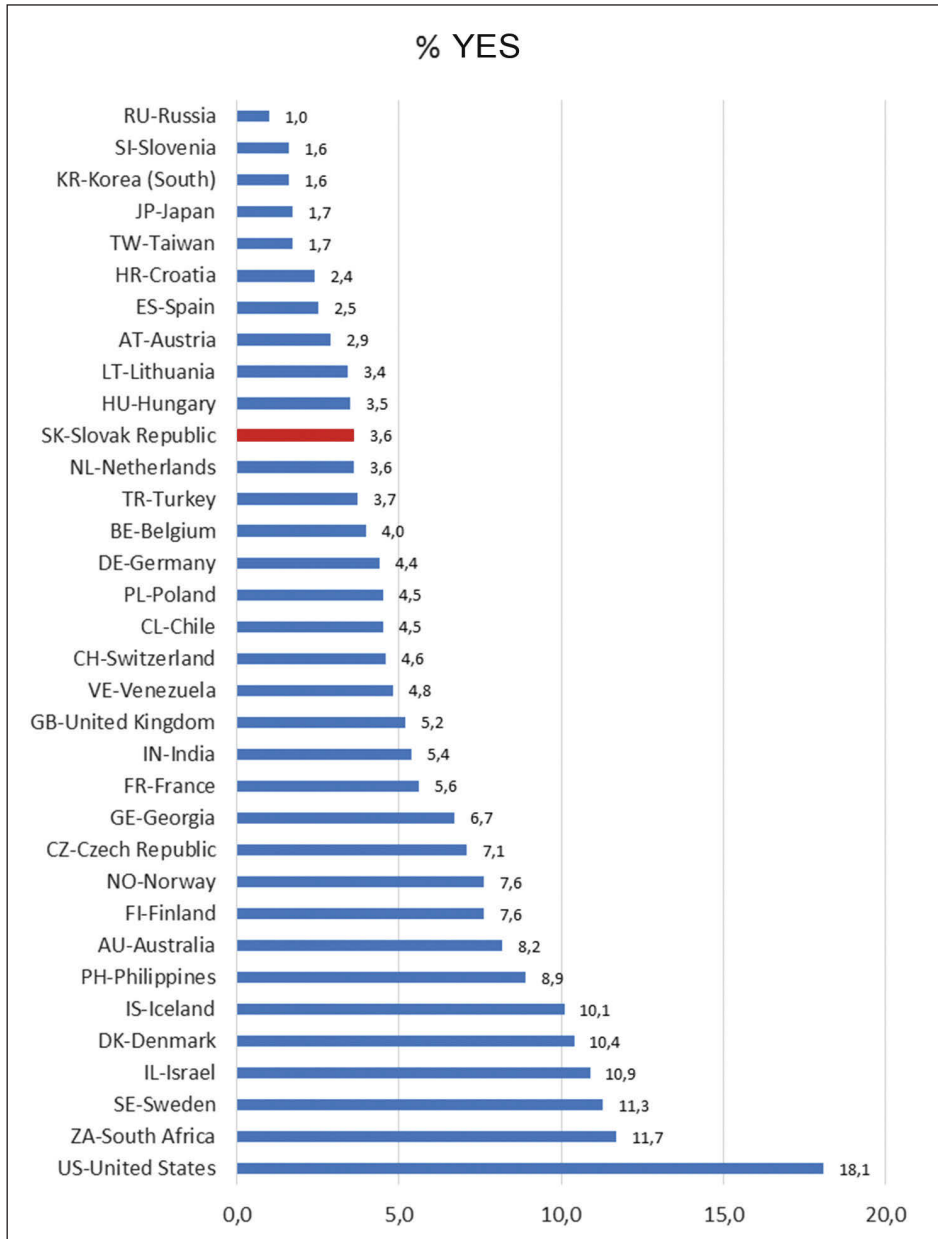
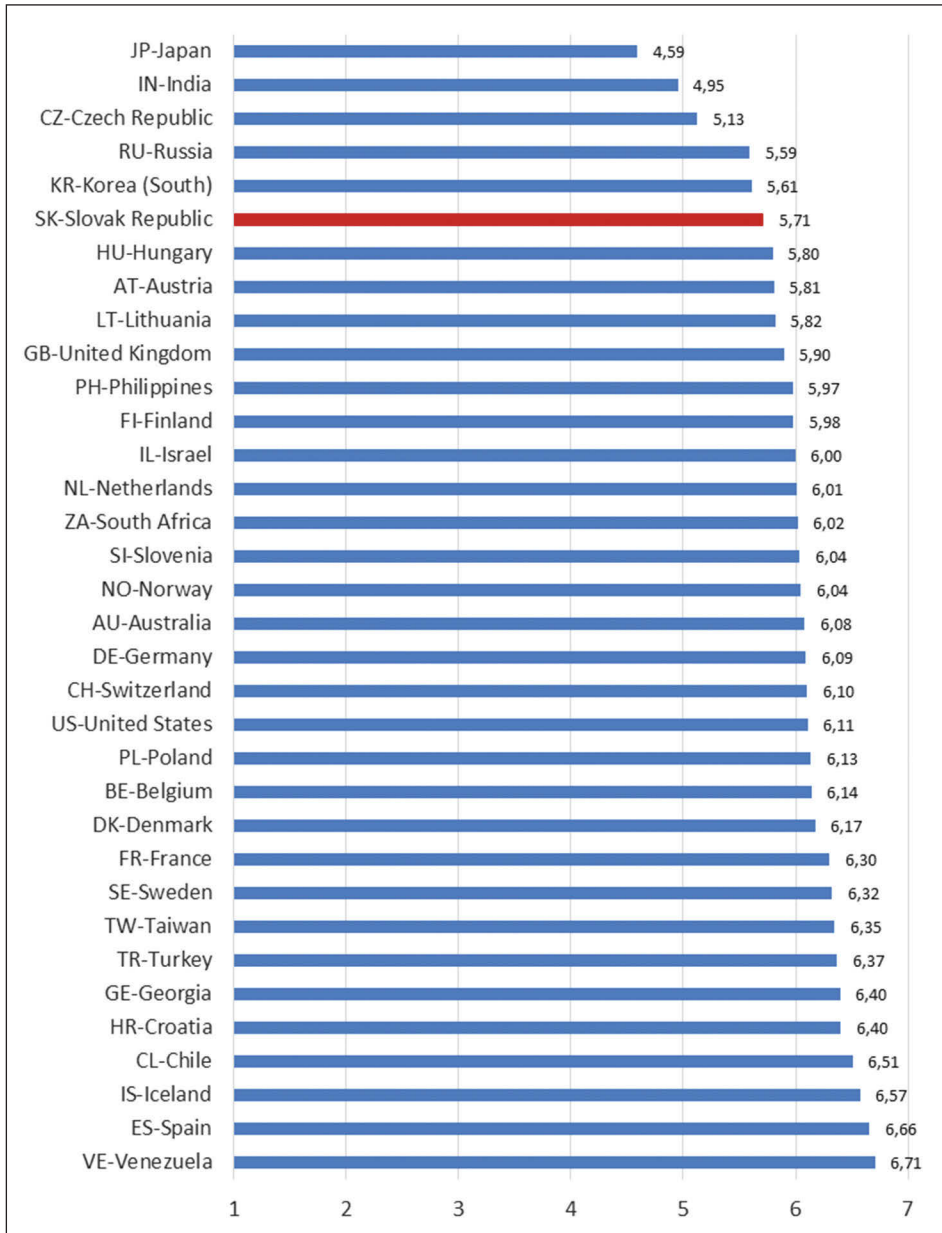
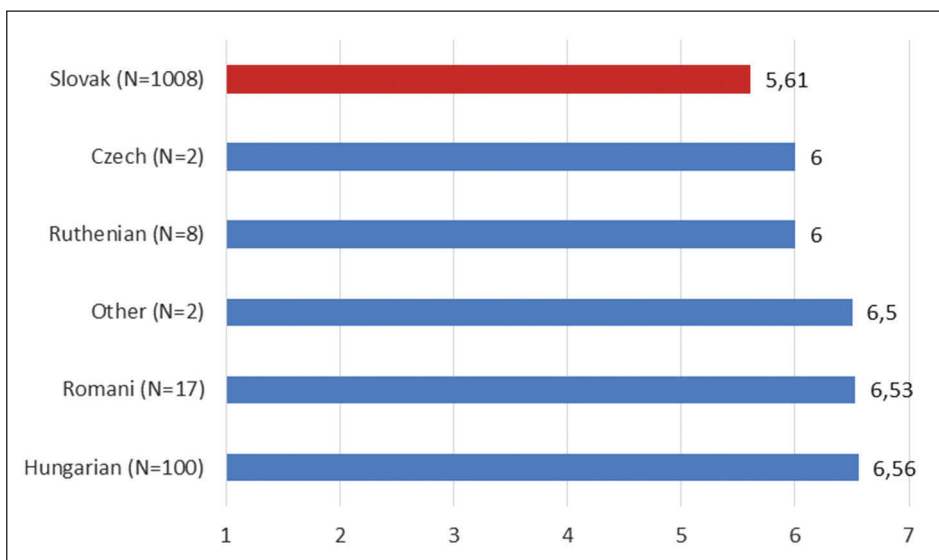


Figure 2: ISSP 2014 respondents' answer to the question "Are there different views on the rights of people in democracy. Indicate on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means not important at all and 7 means very important, how important it is for state authorities to respect and protect the rights of minorities" (we give the average of answers on the 7-point scale).



The problem with representative samples from international comparative surveys, however, is that if we look inside the sample in the given country (in our case the SR), we find that a) the answers of the majority and minority differ, b) their representation in absolute numbers is very low and thus prevents the possibility of generalizing:

Figure 3: Answers of ISSP 2014 respondents from the Slovak Republic according to their ethnicity to the question “*There are different views on the rights of people in democracy. Indicate on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means not important at all and 7 means very important, how important it is for state authorities to respect and protect the rights of minorities*” (we give the average of answers on the 7-point scale).



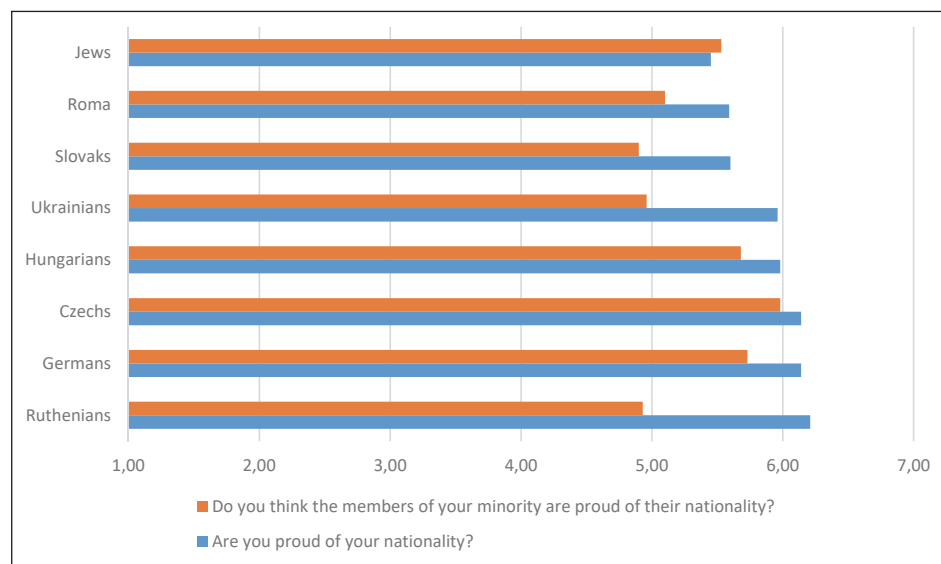
The example illustrates the need (at the national level) for the implementation of empirical research, specializing in the topic of ethnic minorities with an adequate number representing them. With regard to this, in 2004 research was conducted on Slovak conditions that focused on ethnic groups in the transformation process (Homišínová, Výrost, 2005). It was specific through its simultaneous examination of individual ethnic groups as well as their relations with other ethnic groups. The aforementioned research format provided information from inside each ethnic community and at the same time monitored the relations of majority and minorities, or the relations among minorities living on the territory of Slovakia. The research was focused on four thematic areas:

- ethnic identity, awareness of ethnicity, issues of language, education and culture,
- inter-ethnic relations, historically and present,
- human rights, minority rights, perspectives of ethnic community development,
- current issues of public as well as national and political life.

With regard to the focus of research, the participants in the research were selected in order to adequately represent age and gender parameters of all ethnic communities. This resulted in the selection of ethnic groups of equal numbers in respect to gender and age quotas. The group consisted of 1,280 respondents from individual ethnic communities - Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Germans, Roma, Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Jews. Each of these groups consisted of 160 respondents selected by quota selection. New minorities were absent in this research. The research was conducted in the form of a semi-structured interview in respondents' homes by the face to face method. This research design enabled multi-level analysis of the results to be obtained.

In the Ethnicity module attention was paid, among other things, to ethnic identity. Ethnic identity represents the awareness and experience of belonging to an ethnic community in a particular environment as a mutually interconnected system of cultural, racial, linguistic and territorial factors. Moreover, ethnic identity includes shared ideas about its origin and historical events that influenced the ethnic community. Within the framework of ethnic identity, items monitoring pride at an individual level as well as its perceptions for the whole community were used as indicators of identification with ethnic community.

Figure 4: Answers of respondents according to their ethnicity to the questions “Are you proud of your nationality?” a “Do you think the members of your minority are proud of their nationality?” (We provide the average answers on the 7-point scale where 1 means definitely no and 7 means definitely yes).

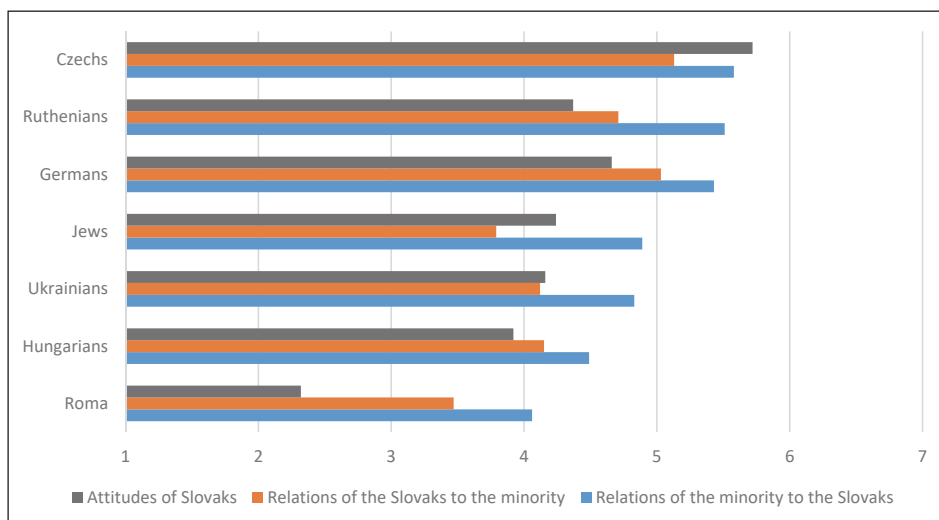


The presented results show a relatively positive assessment of pride in their ethnic community across all groups. In relation to attitudinal tendencies, more positive assessments were identified for a person compared to the entire ethnic group in almost all ethnicities. The largest discrepancies were recorded in groups of Ruthenians and Ukrainians. These findings also induce questions of methodology of ethnic identity research or identity itself. Mostly it is related to the relatively well-known problem of overestimation of opinions related to one's own person compared to the assessments of others; in this case their ethnic community (Kwan et al., 2008). At the same time it raises the question of the reliability of the aforementioned survey as to whether it was implemented using only one method.

A separate area of research was inter-ethnic relations. Within this topic, four thematic areas were discussed; firstly, the opinions of respondents on historical events that negatively influenced the inter-ethnic relations and their identification, then a study of contemporary inter-ethnic relations, namely: minorities, minority versus majority, and vice versa. Then questions were focused on the current issues affecting these relationships and lastly, whether the opinions of the respondents on the perspectives of inter-ethnic relations.

The results of the comparison of the then (2004) relations of ethnic groups living in Slovakia provided information on the assessment of Slovaks' relations with individual minorities. At the same time, they provided data on assessment of relationships from the point of view of minorities, as well as assessment of the majority towards the minority.

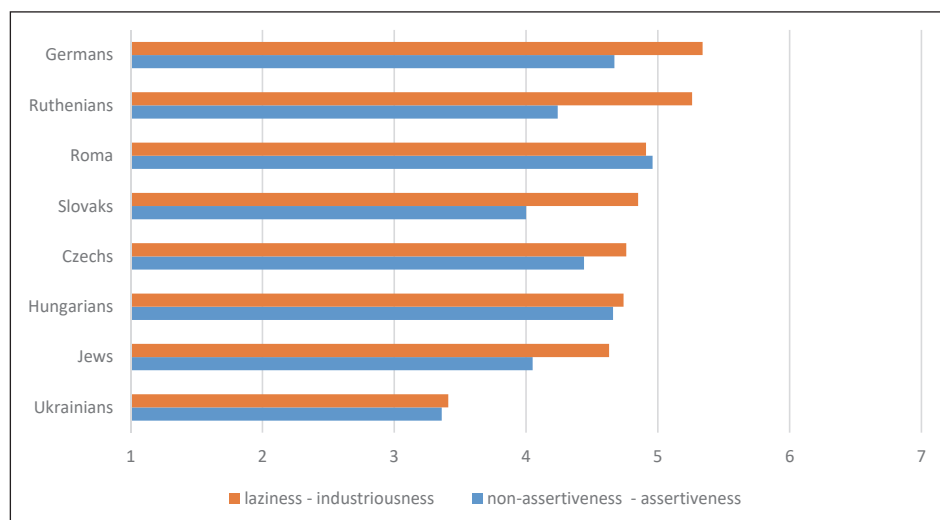
Figure 5: Answers of respondents according to their ethnicity to the questions “*If you were to assess the relations of your minority with the other minorities living in Slovakia at present, would you say that they are...*” (We provide the average answers on the 7-point scale where 1 means very bad and 7 means very good relations).



From the average values of attitudes of Slovaks towards minorities, most relationships were judged as neutral. While more positive ratings were reported by Slovak respondents towards the Czech minority on the other hand negative assessments was attributed to relations with the Roma. In the mutual assessment of relations, a reciprocity of attitudes was expected which was ultimately confirmed. In most mutual relationships (Slovaks' attitudes towards minorities and attitudes of minorities towards Slovaks), we saw comparable assessments. An exception was the relationship and mutual evaluation of the Slovaks and the Roma. From the point of view of methodology, the advantage of this approach is the elimination of the influence of self-protective mechanisms by which individuals usually assess their relationships better to some than to others (blue versus orange lines).

The socio-psychological view on the issue of inter-ethnic relations is documented by the analysis of ethnic stereotypes. Stereotypes as cognitive “shortcuts” facilitate and accelerate individual's orientation in a complex and multifaceted social reality. In essence, they represent the integration of individual and collective experience that interacts with people and phenomena (situations) defined by their belonging to a particular category or ethnicity. Therefore, their study is considered to be a productive way of identifying inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic characteristics. In this sense, auto-stereotypes express the cognitive representation of one's own ethnicity and its members. Hetero-stereotypes, on the contrary, express the cognitive representation of another ethnicity and its members. In this context, auto-stereotypes as well as hetero-stereotypes views towards

Figure 6: Answers of respondents according to their ethnicity to the questions “*If you were to characterize the Slovaks (social group as a whole), what extent of the selected attributes would you assign to them?*” (We provide the average answers on the 7-point scale where 1 means laziness/non-assertiveness and 7 industriousness/assertiveness)



the majority population were examined. The illustrative results are shown in Figure 6. From the point of view of the content, the assessments of all ethnicities, with the exception of the Ukrainians, were slightly more positive in both assessed dimensions.

In an attempt to follow up on the presented research, there was a need to continue and to capture the changes of ethnic communities with an emphasis on new challenges. This was the project *Tendencies in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia* (comparative research of national issue between 2004 and 2020), which, besides the aforementioned topics, is aimed at examining the issue of perception of security and the attitudes towards migrants. As stated by Farrall, Jackson and Gray (2009), the feeling of security is a complex phenomenon that conditions a variety of factors; such as crime rate, personal experience of crime, media coverage (especially with criminal content), trust in the police and courts as well as personality characteristics and environmental variables. In this context, the aforementioned authors identify two types of fear of threat. The first is fear based on experience. It is based on personal experience of threat to health, property or personal integrity and is associated with poverty, risk areas and social disorganization. The second, more widespread type, is expressive fear. It is exhibited by individuals with limited experience of crime as they come from a stable and relatively safe environment. For both groups, however, these threats have significant consequences at the level of attitudes as well as on the daily activities of individuals.

Conceptualisation of fear based on experience is founded on the assumption that the perceived level of security reflects the current security situation. In this context, the feeling of safety is the result of past experience of crime, environmental characteristics, occurrence of crime, vandalism, etc. LaGrange et al. (1992) identified increased concerns among urban populations in areas with more theft, vandalism, alcohol consumption, and graffiti. In addition to personal experience with crime, generated representations may also be a source of concerns. These are concerns produced by the media and individuals about the causes, connections and consequences of personal safety incidents. This group also includes concerns about migrants. The negative perception of migrants may be due to a tendency to associate the members of the groups with specific forms of violent crime, with different cultural background, and also with economic threats such as competition on the labour market, housing market, and a burden on social security systems (Hummelsheim et al. Schluter, Scheepers, 2010, Sniderman, Hagendoorn, 2007).

Conclusion

Based on the presented results, the issue of ethnic minority research presents a permanent challenge for scientists, both in social and economic good times, as well as in times of change and crises. The heterogeneous ethnic composition as well as the historical context in the formation of individual ethnicities in Europe create space for their study, not as static entities, but as dynamically changing communities that often exceed borders of states. From the overview presented it is clear that apart from traditional institutions that collect relevant information on ethnicities, much of the data is collected from large comparative social surveys. Their undeniable advantage is the ac-

quisition of comparable information from a large number of countries, however, at the cost of relatively low representation of minorities in relation to the majority population. In this context, the use of research designs was beneficial, increasing the representation of minority ethnic communities, thus articulating their specificities. The methodological limitation of the presented research design is the composition of a research sample which does not correspond to their representation in the population. For this reason, the results obtained are trends that must be verified.

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Ethnic Relations and their Presentation in Selected Political Journals in Slovakia¹

Jana Šutajová

Abstract:

Etnicita dokáže významným spôsobom vstupovať do riešenia politických, sociálnych a kultúrnych problémov v európskej spoločnosti. Významnú úlohu zohráva etnicita aj v podmienkach Slovenskej republiky. Príspevok mapuje, nakoľko sa témy etnicity, etnických vzťahov, etnického napätia či konfliktov prezentujú vo vybraných politologických časopisoch na Slovensku. Do výberového súboru boli zaradené časopisy, ktoré vychádzajú na Slovensku na politologických pracoviskách Slovenskej akadémie vied a na vybraných politologických pracoviskách na slovenských univerzitách. Príspevok sa zaoberá tými štúdiami, článkami či recenziami, ktoré boli zverejňované vo vybraných časopisoch za posledných 10 rokov.

Kľúčové slová:

etnicita, etnické vzťahy, etnické konflikty, menšiny, Slovensko, politologické časopisy

Ethnicity can significantly influence addressing political, social and cultural problems in European society. Ethnicity also plays an important role in the conditions of the Slovak Republic. Topics relating to ethnicity, ethnic relations, ethnic tensions and conflicts are the subject of research of several disciplines. This phenomenon has been addressed by political scientists, sociologists, ethnologists, historians, psychologists and others. The aim of this contribution is to map how the topics of ethnicity, ethnic relations, ethnic tensions and conflicts are presented in selected political journals in Slovakia.

For the purposes of this contribution, I have included magazines that are published in Slovakia at the political science departments of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS) and selected political science departments at Slovak universities. The selected five magazines are issued at political science departments in Slovakia in printed or electronic form.

The first magazine included in the sample is the *Studia Politica Slovaca* magazine. This magazine is the only one published at the Political Science Department of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. It is published by the Institute of Political Science SAS, which was founded as the only political science department of the Slovak Academy of

1 The work was developed as part of the project APVV-15-0475 Tendencies in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia (Comparative Research of National Issues in 2004-2020) - (TESS2).

Sciences in 2002. *Studia Politica Slovaca* magazine is a review journal focusing on political science, recent political history and international relations. It is published in printed form twice a year. The magazine has been published since 2008 and is indexed in the CEEOL (Central and Eastern European Online Library) databases, ERIH PLUS (European Reference Index for Humanities and Social Sciences) and others.

Other selected journals are published by departments of political science at Slovak universities. Since 1998, the Faculty of Political Science and International Relations of Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica has published the *Political Science* journal. This review journal focuses on topics from political science, international relations, modern history, and security studies. It has been published in printed form four times a year since 1998. The journal is indexed in the IndexCopernicus, EBSCO, CEEOL, Proquest and ERIH PLUS databases.

Slovak Journal of Political Sciences is published by the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Cyril and Method in Trnava. The journal has been published in printed form since 2001. Since 2004, the magazine has been published four times a year. This review journal focuses on topics from political and social science. It is indexed in CEEOL and ERIH PLUS databases and others.

Until 2015, the Department of Political Science at the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik (UPJŠ) published the *Social and Political Analysis* journal in Košice. The journal originally started in 2007 at the Faculty of Public Administration of UPJŠ, but in 2010 it moved to the Faculty of Philosophy at UPJŠ. It was an interactive, scientific review journal for sociological, psychological, political analyses and methodological issues, and it was published electronically twice a year.

The last selected journal is *Annales Scientia Politica*, which is published by the Institute of Political Science of the Philosophical Faculty of Prešov University in Prešov. This review journal is focused on discourse in political science and it has been published twice a year, starting from 2012. The journal is published in electronic form. It is indexed in the ERIH PLUS, CEEOL databases and others.

Journals included in the sample were not established at the same time, therefore, for the purposes of this article, I set a timeframe. I will address the studies, articles or reviews that were published in the selected journals over the past ten years, that is, from 2007 to 2016.

The results published in political science journals devoted to ethnicity can primarily be divided into contributions that deal with historical topics, current topics, and a specific category of reviews. Historical topics include studies or articles dealing with events largely dating back to the 1990s.

Most of the selected magazines have a review section in their structure. However, reviews of books that dealt with ethnicity were published mainly in the *Slovak Political Review* in the period under review. In *Political Science* and *Studia Politica Slovaca*, such reviews appeared in only one case. Almost half of the published reviews concerned Hungarian minority books in Slovakia.² In the case of other reviews, the reviewed

2 MARUŠIAK, Juraj. Šutaj, Štefan (ed.). Maďarská menšina na Slovensku v procesoch transformácie po roku 1989 (Identita a politika). Prešov, Universum 2006. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2008,

books dealt with various issues such as ethnicity and ethnic conflicts,³ immigration and migration,⁴ the issue of political and party participation of Roma⁵ or ethnic processes in minority families in Hungary.⁶ Half of the reviewed books were published in the Czech Republic, one in Hungary, and four reviewed publications were published in Slovakia. *Social and Political Analysis* and *Annales Scientia Policy* did not publish any reviews of books on ethnic relations in the period under review.

In political science journals we quite often encounter studies and articles on ethnic relations from various historical periods because contemporary ethnic relations or ethnic conflicts have their historical roots that can sometimes be difficult to understand without knowledge of the long-term development of the given ethnicity or territory. Selected areas of topics that the contributions discuss include several studies focusing on earlier periods, whether in relation to Slavic ethnicity, language and ethnicity, or by presenting the ethno-emancipatory theory of Stefan Launer, who wanted to contribute and address the ethno-cultural process under way within modernization of the multi-lingual Hungary in the 1940s.⁷ Overall, however, the topics of the 20th century prevail. In addition to several studies devoted to Czech-Slovak relations, these contributions in the journals also addressed mainly the status of minorities in Slovakia or in

Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 159 – 161; VAJDA, Barnabás. Zsuzsanna Lampl. Magyarok és szlovákok (Hungarians and Slovaks) Nostra Tempora 17. Forum Minority Research Institute, Šamorín 2008. In *Slovak Journal of Political Sciences*, 2011, Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 271 – 274; ŠEBÍK, Karol. Macháček, Ladislav. Ako sa máte Maďari na Slovensku? (Are Hungarians getting well in Slovakia?). University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Trnava 2011. In *Slovak Journal of Political Sciences*, 2013, Vol. 13, No. 1, p. 65 – 70; FÁBRI, István. Lampl, Zsuzsanna. Sociology of Hungarians living in Slovakia – Volume no. 1: Hungarian and a citizen of Slovakia. Fórum Minority Research Institute, Šamorín 2013. In *Slovak Journal of Political Sciences*, 2014, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 271 – 273.

- 3 HRUŠOVSKÝ, Marek. Šmíd, Tomáš. Vaďura, Vladimír (eds.). Etnické konflikty v postkomunistickém prostoru. Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, Brno 2007. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2008, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 133 – 137; KRPAĽA, Karol. Eriksen, T. H. Sociální a kulturní antropologie - Příbuzenství, národnostní příslušnost, rituál. Portál, Praha 2008. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2009, Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 209 – 211.
- 4 KLUS, Martin. Problémy migrácie podľa G. Sartoriho. (Giovanni Sartori: *Pluralismus, multikulturalismus a přistěhovalci – Esej o multietnické společnosti*. Dokořán, Praha 2005.). In *Politické vedy*, 2007, Vol.10, No. 1 – 2, p.135 – 139; ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav. Drbohlav, D. (ed.). Nelegální ekonomické aktivity migrantů (Česko v evropském kontextu). Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Praha 2008. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2009, Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 212 – 214.
- 5 LENČ, Jozef. Rómsky sen: možnosti a limity politickej a straneickej participácie Rómov. Pečínka, P. Rómské strany a politici v Evropě. Nakladatelství Doplněk, Brno 2009. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2010, Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 128 – 133.
- 6 MÉSZÁROSOVÁ – LAMPLOVÁ, Zuzana. Mária Homišinová. Identitás, nyelvhasználat, asszimiláció. Etnikai folyamatok a magyarországi kisebbségi családokban. (Identita, používanie jazyka, asimilácia. Etnické procesy v menšinových rodinách v Maďarsku). MTA Kisebbségkutató Intézet, Gondolat Kiadó, Budapest 2008. In *Slovak Journal of Political Sciences*, 2011, Vol.11, No. 4, p. 357 – 360.
- 7 GEREMEŠOVÁ, Gita. Stredná Európa – „Hra“ idey slovanstva s fenoménmi jazyka a etnicity. In *Annales Scientia Politica*, 2012, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 5 – 10; GBÚROVÁ, Marcela. Liberalism According to Štefan Launer or on an Ethno-Emancipation Theory. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2014, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 121 – 148.

Czechoslovakia. Only one contribution deviated from this framework and related to the Montenegrin-Russian relations from 1700 to 2015.⁸

The studies analysing relations between Czechs and Slovaks in political journals mainly dealt with problems in relations between the two nations during the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic, the dissolution of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and its causes and conditions, or Slovakia as a subject of Czech politics in the 20th century.⁹ Much more attention was paid to issues of national minorities in individual political journals. In this case, the issue was largely about Czechoslovak/Slovak conditions. The individual contributions concerned the minority issues from the period before the First World War¹⁰ until the early 1970s, but with a greater emphasis on the first Czechoslovak Republic. Two studies focused on the Hungarian minority at the beginning of the Czechoslovak Republic,¹¹ another on analysis of the concepts of nation, nationality and mother tongue in the census of 1931 and the use of national minorities in Czechoslovakia for the political aims of Germany and Hungary in 1937 on the occasion of the DAI (Deutsches Ausland Institut – German Foreign Institute) celebrations.¹² The predominance of the topics concerning this period was also related to the fact that the national conflicts represented, particularly during the inter-war period, a key element not only of international politics but also of domestic politics. Other studies dealt with issues such as the nationality question in Tešín in the period of Stalinism, the cultural and political situation of the Jews in Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 1960s, or the situation of the Hungarian minority during the Prague Spring and the first years of the normalization period.¹³

- 8 POLÁČKOVÁ, Zuzana. VAN DUIN, Pieter. The dwarf and the giant: Montenegrin-Russian relations and Montenegro's 'cult of Russia', c. 1700 – 2015. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2016, Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 31 – 55.
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- 10 DANIŠ, Vladimír – JEŽÍK, Ján. Political transfers between Great Britain and Austria-Hungary before the First World War and national question – draft. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2014, Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 51 – 61.
- 11 VAN DUIN, Pieter – POLÁČKOVÁ, Zuzana. The bewilderment of a Scottish historian: R.W. Seton-Watson and the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, 1918 – 1923. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2012, Vol. 5, No.1, p. 69 – 80; VAN DUIN, Pieter – POLÁČKOVÁ, Zuzana. Social democracy and the Hungarian minority in Slovakia 1918 – 1921. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2015, Vol. 8, No.1, p. 5 – 15.
- 12 POLÁČKOVÁ, Zuzana. Sčítanie ľudu z roku 1931 v I. ČSR – analýza pojmu národ, národnosť a materinská reč. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2011, Vol. 4, No.1, p. 67 – 93; VRÁBEL, Ferdinand. Oslavy DAI v roku 1937 a snahy o využívanie národnostných menšín v ČSR Nemeckom a Maďarskom na politické ciele. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2011, Vol. 4, No.1, p. 37 – 53.
- 13 GASIOR, Grzegorz. Ciešlarova platforma – národnostná otázka v Tešínsku v období stalinizmu. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2009, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 42 – 57; POPÉLY, Árpád. Maďarská menšina počas pražskej jari a v prvých rokoch normalizácie. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2010, Vol. 3,

The studies on ethnic relations in various historical periods were mainly published in the *Studia Politica Slovaca*, published by the Institute of Political Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, during the period under review. The Slovak Political Revue published three such studies, while only one such study was published in the *Political Science* and *Annales Scientia Politica* journals. The prevalence of historical contributions in the journal *Studia Politica Slovaca* is related to the publication focus of the Institute of Political Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences on the issue of ethnic relations

A much broader set of publication results in political journals were those dealing with ethnicity and related topics at the end of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century. Here too, we can highlight a few of the major themes that the contributions addressed. Besides several articles on national identity or identity and citizenship,¹⁴ political journals included studies on the subject of migration. The most extensive, however, were the contributions on national minorities, whether in various European countries or in Slovakia.

Problems in ethnic relations are often made worse by other factors such as social inequality or poverty. Poor, frequently overpopulated areas outside Europe often with unfavourable natural conditions or in environmentally devastated regions, create favourable conditions for the formation of undemocratic regimes and the proliferation of corruption. In these countries, there is a tendency to solve the problems by war, ethnic conflicts, and so on. The instability in these regions has an impact on the increased rate of migration, which is another widespread issue often analysed in the pages of political journals. Contributions concerning migration can be further differentiated by content. Most of them were devoted to migratory processes, migratory politics or multiculturalism, whether in general or with regard to migration in the European Union.¹⁵ Two of the

No. 2, p. 105 – 116; MALÁ, Simona. Kulturní a politická situace Židů v Československu v druhé polovině 60. let. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2010, Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 119 – 127.

- 14 WAECHTER, Natalia – CHVOROSTOV, Alexander. Moved Peoples and Moved Borders: Research on the interplay of ethnic, national and regional identities in Central and Eastern Europe. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2011, Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 179 – 186; СТЯПКО, Іван: Становлення національної ідентичності населення Закарпаття в кінці XIX. - початку XX. ст. In *Annales Scientia Politica*, 2014, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 12 – 19; WAECHTER, Natalia – SAMOILOVA, Evgenia. European Identity and its Relationship to National and Ethnic Identities among Younger and Older Members of Ethnic Minority Groups. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2014, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 99 – 121.
- 15 KLUS, Martin. Vnútna migračná politika EÚ - tienistá stránka európskej integrácie. In *Politické vedy*, 2008, Vol.11, No. 1 – 2, p. 210 – 213; LIĐÁK, Ján. K niektorým charakteristickým rysom súčasných migračných procesov v Európe. In *Politické vedy*, 2009, Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 120 – 137; ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav. Ekonomické a sociálne príčiny medzinárodnej migrácie v teoretickej reflexii. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2010, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 51 – 72; ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav. Úroveň migračnej politiky. In *Politické vedy*, 2011, Vol.14, No. 3, p. 6 – 34; BOLEČEKOVÁ, Martina. Vplyv imigrácie na zmeny v chápaní identity a v prístupe k občianstvu v členských štátoch Európskej únie. In *Politické vedy*, 2011, Vol.14, No.1, p. 6 – 29; HELLOVÁ, Dana. Multikulturalizmus na pozadí sporu liberalizmu a komunitarizmu. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2010, Vol. 10, No.1, p. 114 – 127.

contributions focused on tolerance and Islam in Europe¹⁶ Other studies were devoted to immigration legislation in the Federal Republic of Germany or the anti-immigration policy of the Swiss People's Party.¹⁷ The last group of contributions focused on migration issues in Slovakia and in the Czech-Slovak area. The studies dealt with the migration policy of the Slovak Republic, the introduction of the topic of migration into electoral programs and the policy of parties in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, or the view of foreigners on the integration process in Slovakia.¹⁸ With regard to the publication of contributions in individual journals, the journals evenly focussed on this issue – with only a few more contributions related to migration published by *Political Science* and the *Slovak Political Review*.

The most extensive theme in political journals consisted of contributions on national minorities, whether in various European countries or in Slovakia. Overall, topics dealing with ethnic minorities in various – especially Central European – countries, prevailed over contributions on minorities in the Slovak Republic. The studies concerned various minorities, but mostly the Slovak minority in Hungary and the Hungarian minority in the countries neighbouring Hungary. Out of the eleven contributions on minorities in various European countries, four contributions addressed the Slovak minority in Hungary,¹⁹ one contribution addressed the Chinese minority in Hungary,²⁰ one dealt with the Hungarian minority in Ukraine²¹ and one with Hungarian minority and

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- 16 GEREMEŠOVÁ, Gita – MELKUSOVÁ, Helena. Moslimská komunita v „zajatí“ multikulturalizmu a politickej korektnosti. In *Annales Scientia Politica*, 2015, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 34 – 42; CHUDÍKOVÁ, Diana. Výzva tolerancie v 21. storočí – islam v Európe. In *Annales Scientia Politica*, 2012, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 36 – 44.
 - 17 ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav. Zákon o prisťahovalectve v legislatívnom procese Spolkovej republiky Nemecko. In *Sociálne a politické analýzy*, 2007, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 46 – 62; ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav. Antiimigračný apel Švajčiarskej ľudovej strany. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2012, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 3 – 43.
 - 18 ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav. Migrácia vo volebných programoch stranických subjektov v Čechách a na Slovensku. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2007, Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 71 – 82; ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav. Prenikanie témy migrácie do politiky stranických subjektov v Českej republike a na Slovensku. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2010, Vol. 3, No.1, p. 3 – 22; BOLEČEKOVÁ, Martina. Migračná politika Slovenskej republiky: desať rokov po vstupe do Európskej únie. In *Politické vedy*, 2014, Vol. 17, No. 3, p. 68 – 90; ŠTEFANČÍK, Radoslav. Integračný proces očami cudzincov. In *Sociálne a politické analýzy*, 2010, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 39 – 66.
 - 19 HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária. Jazykovo - komunikačné správanie pracovníkov slovenských menšinových samospráv v Maďarsku. In *Sociálne a politické analýzy*, 2007, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 102 – 135; RAJŇÁKOVÁ, Katarína. Participácia menšín na územnej samospráve Maďarskej republiky. In *Sociálne a politické analýzy*, 2008, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 16 – 38; SIK, Endre – ÖRKÉNY, Antal. Slovaks in Hungary. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2011, Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 211 – 228; NURSE, Lyudmila. Music in the Identities of Ethnic Slovaks in Hungary. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2011, Vol. 11, No.3, p. 249 – 266.
 - 20 LAVUOVÁ, Denisa. Čínska menšina v Maďarskej republike. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2009, Vol. 9, No.1, p. 101 – 113.
 - 21 KIZILOV, Alexandr I – KIZILOVA, Kseniya. BAKIROV, S. Vil. Hungarians in Contemporary Ukraine: Identities and Representations. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2011, Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 229 – 248.

dual citizenship.²² Another contribution on minorities in various European countries addressed the legal status of minorities in Poland in the context of cultural security.²³

Specific contributions were studies that presented the results of research or surveys addressing minority issues. This included an article informing on the results of research on right-wing extremism and social exclusion of minorities carried out for the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic,²⁴ an article informing on the level of inter-ethnic tolerance of Ukrainians in the Transcarpathian region,²⁵ and an article which was a qualitative comparative study examining factors affecting political representation of ethnic minorities at the local level from a sample of selected locations in the UK, Finland, Romania and Germany.²⁶

The Slovak Political Revue clearly paid the most attention to the issue of minorities in various European countries. It published more than half of eleven contributions related to the issue. Only a slightly smaller group of publication outputs were those that dealt with minority politics in Slovakia,²⁷ or focused on the position of a particular ethnic minority in Slovakia. Despite the fact that several national minorities live in Slovakia, we can conclude that the contributions in selected political journals in the period under review concerned only the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. Nine contributions focused on this issue in the period under review. Attention was paid, for example, to the Hungarian minority in the process of transformation after 1989, the Hungarian political parties in Slovakia and their impact on the reform of public administration, the participation of minorities in local government in Slovakia and Hungary, or the impact of linguistic barriers on the socio-economic inequalities of national minorities.²⁸ Other contributions were focused on Slovak-Hungarian bilateral inter-state relations and the past as a source of

22 KURUCZ, Milan. Dvojité občianstvo v maďarskom politickom diskurze v rokoch 1998 – 2010. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2012, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 76 – 93.

23 WALCZAK, Jaroslaw. Legal Status of National Minorities in the Republic of Poland against the Backdrop of Cultural Security. In *Politické vedy*, 2015, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 178 – 199.

24 BARTOŠ, František. Openness of the Public to Right-Wing Extremism and Social Distance to Minorities. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2012, Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 42 – 70.

25 STRYAPKO, Ivan. The Level of Interethnic Tolerance of the Ukrainians in the Transcarpathian Region. In: *Annales Scientia Politica*, 2016, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 42 – 47.

26 VIMMR, Martin Kryšpín. Political Representation of Ethnic Minorities at Local Level: Factors, Context and Empirical Examples. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2015, Vol. 15, No. 4, p. 352 – 373.

27 STEUER, Max. Satisfying the Majority? Case Studies in Slovak Minority Policy 2006 – 2014. In *Annales Scientia Politica*, 2015, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 42 – 51.

28 POLÁČKOVÁ, Zuzana. Maďarská menšina v procese transformácie po roku 1989: typológia prechodu od partikulárneho k občianskemu. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2015, Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 22 – 40; ŠUTAJOVÁ, Jana. Maďarské politické strany na Slovensku po roku 1989 a ich vplyv na reformu verejnej správy. In *Sociálne a politické analýzy*, 2007, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 24 – 45; RAJŇÁKOVÁ, Katarína. Slovenská a maďarská identita a participácia menšín v územnej samospráve I. In *Sociálne a politické analýzy*, 2012, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 105 – 187; RAJŇÁKOVÁ, Katarína. Slovenská a maďarská identita a participácia menšín v územnej samospráve II. In *Sociálne a politické analýzy*, 2013, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 87 – 222; DENCI, Miroslav. Vybrané aspekty pôsobenia jazykových bariér na sociálno-ekonomické nerovnosti národnostných menšín. In *Sociálne a politické analýzy*, 2013, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 18 – 42.

tension in these relations, as well as the past as a source of tension in Slovak politics and relations between the majority and the Hungarian minority in Slovakia.²⁹ Specific contributions in this group of outputs were the studies that presented the results of research on minority issues. Also in this case, the Hungarian minority in Slovakia was focus of this research. ENRI-East Research: “A Concord of European, National and Regional Identities: Nations between States Towards the New Eastern Borders of the European Union” (International Study on Social and Ethnic Groups Living in the Border Region of Europe) focused on socio-ethnic identities in the countries of Eastern Europe, issues of individual or group self-identification and ethnicity. It was carried out in eight countries of Europe and in Slovakia, on 800 respondents of Hungarian nationality.³⁰

Contributions dealing with minorities in Slovakia appeared most frequently in the *Social and Political Analyses* journal, and only slightly fewer studies on this issue were published on the pages of *Studia Politica Slovaca*. It is interesting that during the period under review, the journal *Political Science* did not address the issue of minorities in Slovakia in not even one contribution.

In conclusion, we can state that the issue of ethnicity and ethnic relations is more or less permanently present on the pages of each of the selected political journals. In the case of reviews of books dealing with ethnicity, eight out of ten reviews appeared in the journal *Slovak Political Revue* and with regard to contributions on ethnic relations in various historical periods, nine out of fourteen contributions appeared in journal *Studia Politica Slovaca*. In the case of various current topics concerning ethnic relations, the differences between journals are also significant. Overall, most contributions devoted to ethnic relations were published in the *Slovak Political Revue* (13) and in the *Social Political Analyses* journal (10). The other reviewed magazines published evenly on the issue, six contributions in *Political Science* journal, five contributions in *Studia Politica Slovaca* and *Annales Scientia Politica*.

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29 MARUŠIAK, Juraj. Slovensko a Maďarsko – spojenectvo s historickou záťažou. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2015, Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 41 – 54; ŠUTAJOVÁ, Jana. Problematika neslovanských menšín v ČSR po druhej svetovej vojne v slovenskej politike po roku 1989. In *Sociálne a politické analýzy* 2012, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 17 – 47.

30 MACHÁČEK, Ladislav. Výsledky z výskumu občanov SR maďarskej národnosti. In *Studia Politica Slovaca*, 2010, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 54 – 79; MACHÁČEK, Ladislav. Slovak republic and its Hungarian Ethnic Minority: Sociological Reflections. In *Slovenská politologická revue*, 2011, Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 187 – 210.

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Demographic Model of Roma Population in Slovakia according to the 2011 Population Census Results¹

Branislav Šprocha

Abstract:

Populácia Rómov na Slovensku si vďaka svojmu inoetnickému pôvodu, špecifickým zvykom a tradíciám v kombinácii s určitým stupňom segregácie zachovala množstvo odlišností. Tie sa premietajú a odzrkadľujú aj vo viacerých populačných štruktúrach, ktoré bývajú obsahovými prvkami sčítaní obyvateľov. Možnosť hlásiť sa k rómskej národnosti od censu 1991 však využíva len určitá časť z celej rómskej populácie. Aj napriek tomu sú tieto informácie veľmi cennými, aby bolo možné ich prehliadať. Navyše v poslednom sčítaní obyvateľov v roku 2011 sa k rómskej národnosti prihlásilo už takmer 106 tisíc osôb, čo predstavuje už pomerne početnú subpopuláciu. Cieľom predloženého príspevku je analýza výsledkov sčítania obyvateľov z roku 2011 týkajúcich sa osôb slobodne deklarujúcich svoju príslušnosť k rómskej národnosti. Pozornosť bola venovaná jednak početnosti a podielu Rómov v okresoch a obciach Slovenska, v mestách a vo vidieckych obciach, ako aj ich zastúpeniu podľa veľkostných skupín obcí. Z demografických štruktúr išlo najmä o vek a pohlavie, rodinný stav, najvyššie dosiahnuté vzdelania a ekonomickú aktivitu.

Kľúčové slová:

Rómovia, Slovensko, sčítanie obyvateľov 2011

Introduction

The ethnic composition of the Slovak population is the result of a long and complex historical development. Individual ethnic groups are still distinct with regard to cultural, demographic, social-economic and historical areas. Perhaps the most significant in this aspect is the Roma population. The Roma population living in Slovakia due to its different ethnic origin, specific customs and traditions combined with a certain degree of isolation from the majority (non-Roma) population, has retained many differences in various areas of social life. Mainly because after 1989 with the legal prohibition

¹ The contribution is a partial output from project APVV 15-0745 Trends in the development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of issues of nationality in 2004-2020) - (TESS2) and VEGA 2/0057/17 Highest achieved education and its impact on transforming family and reproductive behavior of women in Slovakia.

of collecting data on ethnic origin by state institutions, we have only a limited source of information on this ethnic group. Often these are of only a local research character, however, the last two sociographic mappings of the Roma communities from 2003-2004 and 2012-2013, the results of which were published in (Jurásková et al., 2004) and (Mušinka et al., 2014) are an exception. The population census is a significant and in some respects indispensable source of data (especially with regard to population structures, housing, etc.) in Slovakia. Whereas during the 1970 and 1980 censuses, a special comprehensive survey of Roma people (see e.g. Vaňo, Haviarová, 2002) was carried out, since the census of 1991 the acquisition of content elements of a census is based on free declaration of Roma nationality. Consequently, the problem of censuses from 1991 to 2011 is that this option is regularly used only by about a quarter of the total estimated number of Roma people in Slovakia, and probably as a result of the aforementioned this data is used very rarely.

The aim of the presented study is to point out the possibilities of using the last census results of 2011 in order to analyse selected population structures of Roma population in Slovakia. Given the nature of data acquisition, it is clear that it cannot be a representative sample of the entire Roma population, but this approach makes it possible to at least evaluate a certain component, i.e. those who freely declare their belonging to Roma nationality.

Number and spatial distribution

As mentioned in the introduction, the number of persons declaring Roma nationality is far different to the estimated number of persons of Roma ethnicity. However, in the 2011 census a total of 105,738 persons declared Roma nationality; representing about 2% of the entire population of Slovakia. It is already clear from this point of view that it is not an insignificant sample and, in combination with the content elements of the census, its analysis may bring some valid information.

Altogether, half of all Roma in the eight districts of Slovakia were counted. The largest number of people declaring Roma citizenship in 2011 had permanent residence in Kežmarok (8,000), Košice surroundings (7,000), Vranov nad Topľou (7,200), Trebišov (6,600) and Spišská Nová Ves (6,000). In two districts, the proportion of Roma people exceeded 10% (Kežmarok 11.5% and Sabinov 10%). 14 Slovak districts in total were above 5% mostly Eastern Slovakia (see Figure 1) - from a spatial point of view.

Significant inequality in the spatial distribution of Roma in Slovakia in 2011 is also confirmed by data on the proportion of persons of Roma nationality at a general level (Figure 2). In total, no person declared Roma nationality in 1,662 municipalities, i.e. almost 57% of settlements in Slovakia. A maximum of 1% of the local population was made up of Roma in 617 municipalities and their share in the range of 1 to 5% was shown by the census in 373 settlements. According to the results of the 2011 census, 301 municipalities had over 5% of Roma population, out of which in 185 was 10% or more. Within this group, we may mention that people of Roma nationality are already prevalent in 17 municipalities (share 52-83%), and in 19 others their proportion ranged from one third to one half of the local population. Detailed spatial distribution of munic-

ipalities according to the proportion of persons of Roma nationality is presented in Fig. 2. On the basis of census results of 2011, it is obvious that the Roma have the lowest representation in western Slovakia and the north of Slovakia, whereas the highest proportion of Roma was recorded in the districts of the south-eastern part of Central Slovakia (in the districts of Rimavská Sobota, Revúca) and almost the entire territory of Eastern Slovakia, except for the north-eastern Ukrainian-Polish border area.

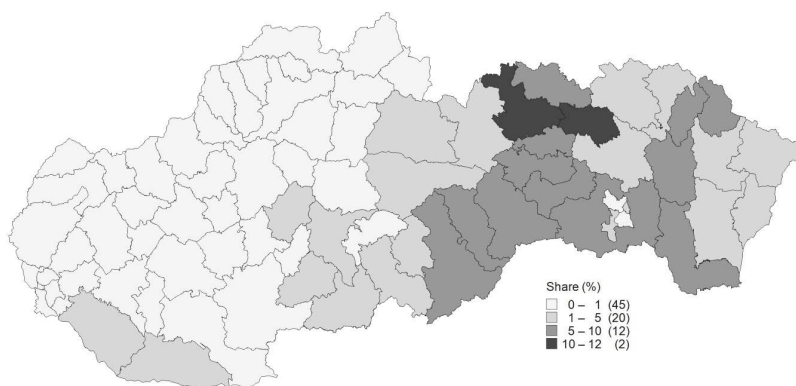


Figure 1

Proportion of persons of Roma nationality in the districts of Slovakia, PHF 2011²

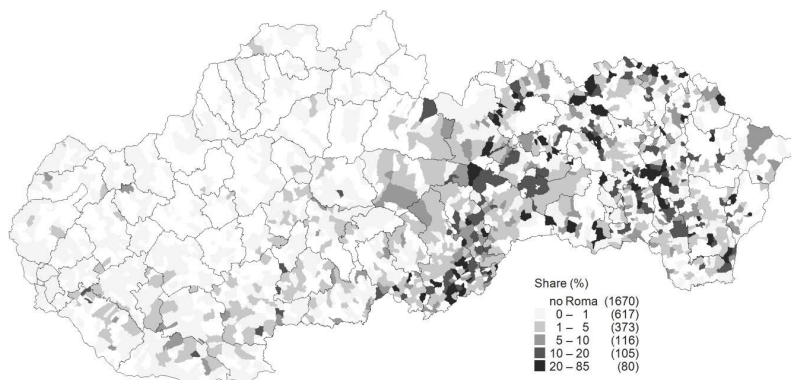


Figure 2

The proportion of persons of Roma nationality in the municipalities of Slovakia, CPHF 2011³

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- 2 Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic - SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.
 - 3 Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic - SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

From the point of view of group size of municipalities, it is obvious that at the time of the 2011 census the Roma more often had permanent residence in municipalities under 5,000 residents, with almost two-thirds of them in these villages. At the same time, however, it should be said that only about 5% of the counted Roma lived in the smallest municipalities of Slovakia. Low representation also occurred in the largest cities (over 50,000 inhabitants). In detail, the structure of persons of Roma nationality according to the size of the municipality compared to the entire population of Slovakia is presented in Table. 1.

Table 1 Size group of municipalities of residence of persons of Roma nationality, CPHF 2011⁴

Size group	Number of Roma	Share of Roma in the group (%)	Persons of Roma nationality (%)	Slovak population (%)
0 – 199	630	1,3	0,6	0,9
200 – 499	4 615	1,8	4,4	4,9
500 – 999	12 879	2,4	12,2	10,1
1000 – 1999	17 041	2,2	16,1	14,6
2000 – 4999	31 517	3,9	29,8	14,9
5000 – 9999	10 750	2,6	10,2	7,6
10000 – 19999	8 731	1,9	8,3	8,7
20000 – 49999	10 895	1,3	10,3	15,8
50000–99999	3 418	0,6	3,2	10,5
100000+	5 262	0,8	5,0	12,1
<i>do 5000</i>	<i>66 682</i>	<i>2,7</i>	<i>63,1</i>	<i>45,4</i>
Slovensko	105 738	2,0	100,0	100,0

Age, sex and marital status

The composition of population in terms of sex and age is one of the most important population structures. The age structure of the Roma is younger than in the case of the whole Slovak population (see Šprocha, Tišliar, 2016). This fact is also confirmed by people declaring Roma nationality (see Vaňo, Haviarová, 2002), which is also shown

4 Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic - SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations. In view of these findings, it is apparent that the population of the people declaring Roma nationality lives predominantly in villages and rural areas. According to the census of 2011, around 35% of Roma lived in cities and nearly two-thirds of them resided in rural settlements. For comparison, the average for the entire population of Slovakia was 45% of people in the countryside and 55% in the towns.

in the results of the 2011 census. While the average age of the whole Slovak population was almost 39 years, in the case of persons of Roma nationality it was just over 24 years. Slovakia did not have such a young population even at the end of the 1860s (1869 census, see Šproch, Tišliar, 2015). The very young population of the Roma is also confirmed by further information. The child component represented slightly more than 39%, whereas in the entire Slovak population it was only about 15%. On the other hand, in the entire population, there was higher representation of persons in productive and post-productive age. For example, almost every third person at the time of the 2011 census in Slovakia was 50 years old and more, whereas for Roma people it was just under 11%. Similarly, there are relatively significant differences in the senior component, as people aged 65+ make up almost 13% of population in Slovakia while in case of the Roma it is only slightly more than 2%.

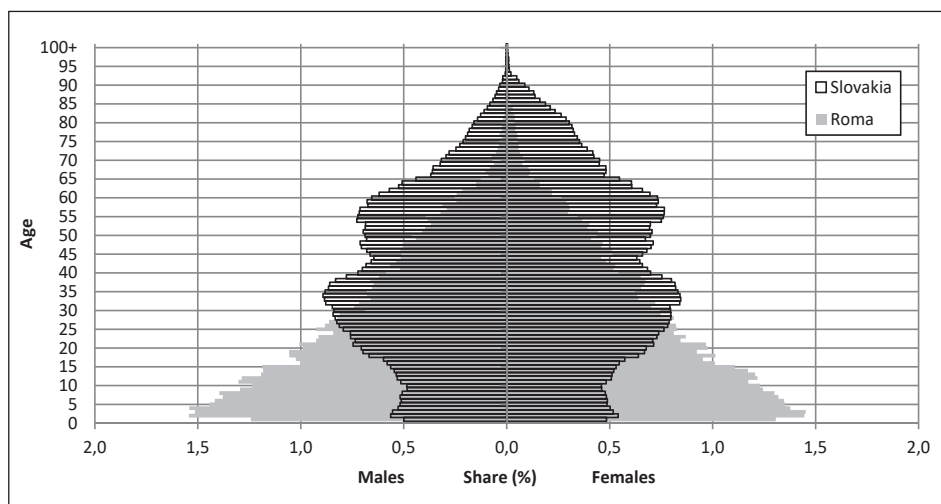


Figure 3

The age pyramid of Slovak population and persons of Roma nationality, CPHF 2011⁵

In connection with the significantly different age structure, it is necessary to analyse the marital status in close connection with the age and sex of the persons. However, since the composition of the population by marital status is closely related not only to age but also to previous population development and the character of individual demographic processes, it is necessary to provide the reader with at least a basic idea of the known differences in family and reproductive behaviour between the Roma population and the population of Slovaks.

Generally speaking, persons of Roma nationality and Roma ethnicity enter marriage (as well as partnerships) earlier, with the risk of divorce being somewhat lower (Šprocha,

⁵ Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic - SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

2014). At the same time, however, they are characterized by a more frequent tendency towards informal cohabitation (see e.g. Mládek, Širočková, 2014). A very important aspect of reproductive behaviour amongst Roma, especially in regard to marital status, is the unfavourable mortality ratios, essentially across the whole age spectrum (Šprocha, 2014). This results in a higher risk of widowhood at a younger age.

Earlier reproduction and marriage in men and women of Roma nationality was also confirmed by the results of 2011 CPHF. While 95% of 20-24-year-olds in Slovakia were still single, it was less than three quarters for the Roma population. Similarly, single males between the ages of 25-29 are still predominant in Slovakia (almost 78%), but they only make up about 54% in the Roma population. We find the same situation in the female part of the population. At the age of 20-24, nine out of ten women in Slovakia were single, and nearly 61% of women aged 25-29. In the case of Roma in the first age range there were only about two-thirds, and less than half of them aged 25-29. The development in the second half of reproductive age and at the end of it, when it appears that Roma men and especially Roma women (Figure 4 and 5) are more likely to remain single, is also noticeable.

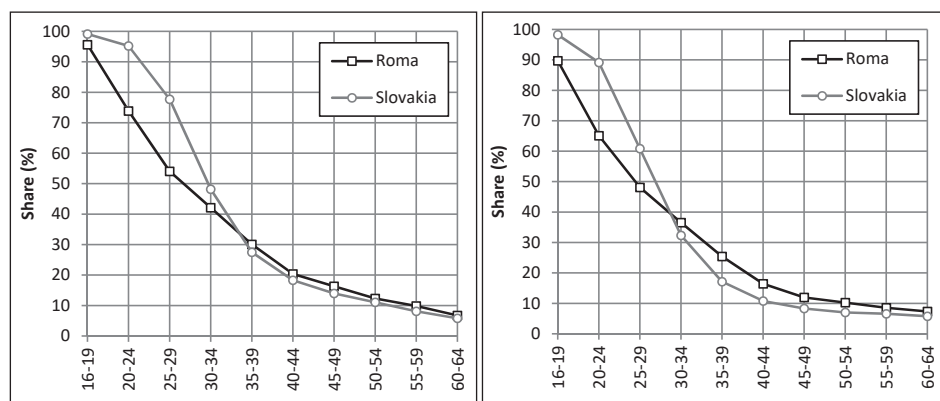
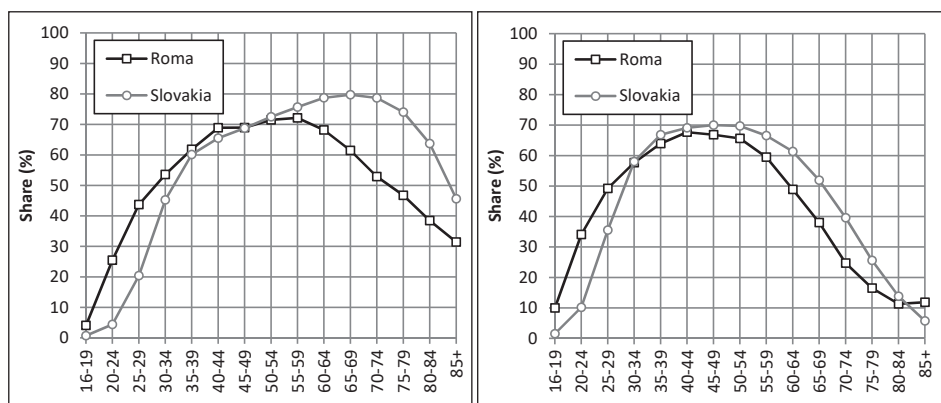


Figure 4 and 5

The share of single men (left) and single women (right) of Roma nationality and in the Slovak population, CPHF 2011⁶

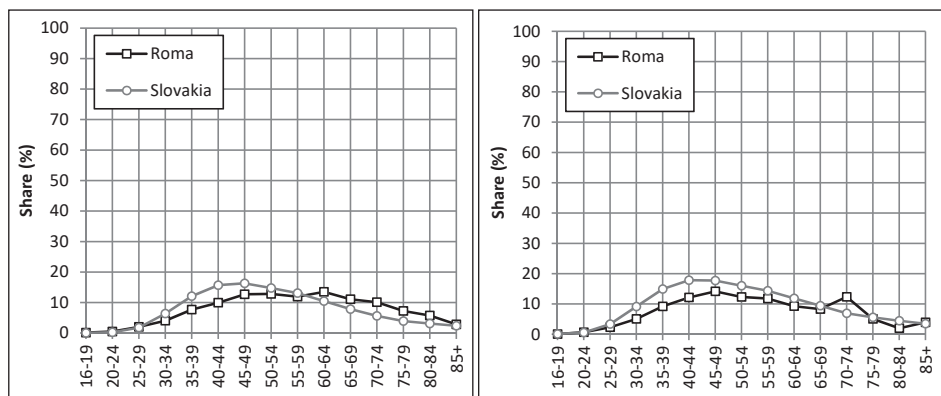
Different timing and intensity of marriages at a younger age also affect the share of married men and women of Roma nationality. In general, according to the results of 2011 census, the number of persons living in marriage at the time of census and reporting to be of Roma nationality was significantly higher than in the whole Slovak population. On the other hand, in the post-productive age significantly higher mortality ratios made the representation of the Roma living in marriage to be significantly lower (Figures 6 and 7).

6 SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

**Figure 6 and 7**

The share of married men (left) and married women (right) of Roma nationality and in the Slovak population, CPHF 2011⁷

The marriages of men and women of Roma nationality are generally subject to a slightly lower risk of divorce, which is also one of the main reasons for somewhat lower representation in the Roma population (Figures 8 and 9). In the post-productive age, the situation changes, especially for men. The cause is difficult to determine, but we assume that a generally small number of people of this age in the Roma population could play a key role.

**Figure 8 and 9**

The share of divorced men (left) and women (right) of Roma nationality and the population of Slovakia, CPHF 2011⁸

7 SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

8 SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

As well as in the entire population of Slovakia, the post-productive age is disproportionately associated with widowed women of Roma nationality. Already between the ages of 65 and 69, their share is almost one-half, and at the age of 55 to 59, approximately every one in five Roma woman is widowed. For men, the differences between the entire population of Slovakia and the Roma are slightly higher than those of women (see Figures 10 and 11). The cause is a lower level of male mortality in the Roma population (Šprocha, 2014). As a result, men of Roma nationality are at a somewhat higher risk of becoming widowed, as is the case with the entire population of Slovakia. However, as we stated, if a man of Roma nationality lives into senior age, according to data from the 2011 census, he has a higher chance of being still married, than a Roma woman, who are predominately widows.

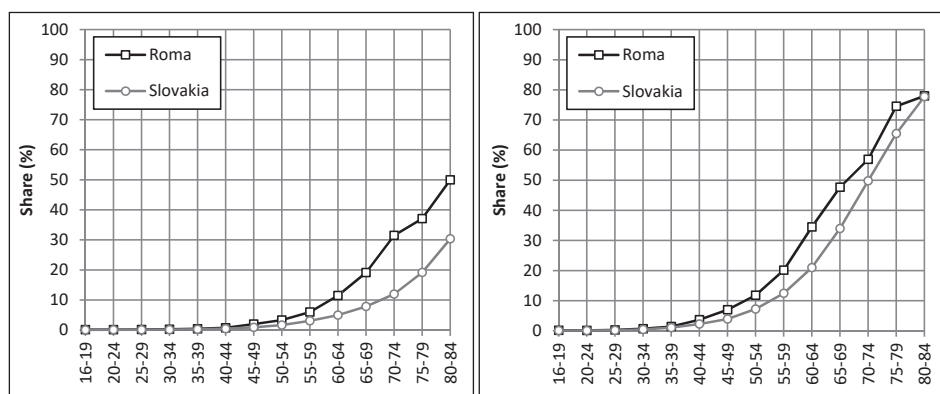


Figure 10 and 11

The share of widowed men (left) and women (right) of Roma nationality and the population of Slovakia, CPHF 2011⁹

Education and economic activity

Education and economic activity are two closely interconnected areas which are perceived as very problematic, especially as far as the Roma population is concerned. Very low education achievement (Kriglerová, 2002) and very low active participation in the official labour market has been pointed out for a long time (see, for example, Loran, 2002). As we have often dealt with partial data, local data, or information obtained from a specific environment of segregated Roma settlements, we believe that the 2011 census for people of Roma nationality will prove to be even more valuable.

Roma education is characterized by largely completing elementary education. In Slovakia in 2011, the overall number and share of non-educated people was already very low, which was also the case with the Roma. While in the age group 20-49 in Slovakia, the share of men and women without completing elementary education did not reach

⁹ SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

even 10%, the number of Roma people was several times higher. For men in this population it was about 67-77% and for women 73-82%. In the post-productive age, their share slightly increased, but not as dynamically as in the entire population of Slovakia (see Figures 12 and 13). The 2011 census results highlight another interesting fact. While at the age of 35-49, the share of the Roma with the lowest level of elementary education was below 70%, at the younger age of 20-34 it was more than three quarters. For women, the situation was similar with no significant differences emerging. It appears that in the older Roma cohorts, who completed their education during the previous political regime and in the first half of the 1990s, the continuation of secondary school education was more frequent. In younger cohorts, however, we see the opposite, therefore these people more often achieved only elementary education.

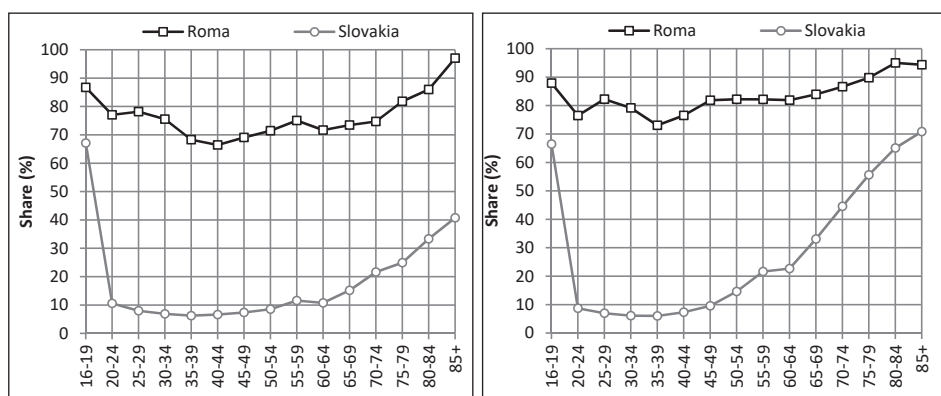


Figure 12 and 13

The share of men (left) and women (right) without education or basic education with Roma nationality and Slovak population, CPHF 2011¹⁰

The intergenerational deterioration of educational structures in regards to younger cohorts of the Roma population is well illustrated by the development of representation of men and women with secondary education without graduation. In general, if a person declaring Roma nationality achieves higher than elementary education, it is mostly with an incomplete secondary education. The highest rate of education was achieved in the age group of 35-54 in 2011, when it was over 20% for men and 30-54 years for women where it was over 10%. In the younger age groups, in which this level of education is generally complete, the representation was significantly lower. It is possible to monitor the representation of persons of Roma nationality with secondary education without graduation according to gender and age in comparison with the entire population of Slovakia in detail in Figures. 14 and 15.

10 SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

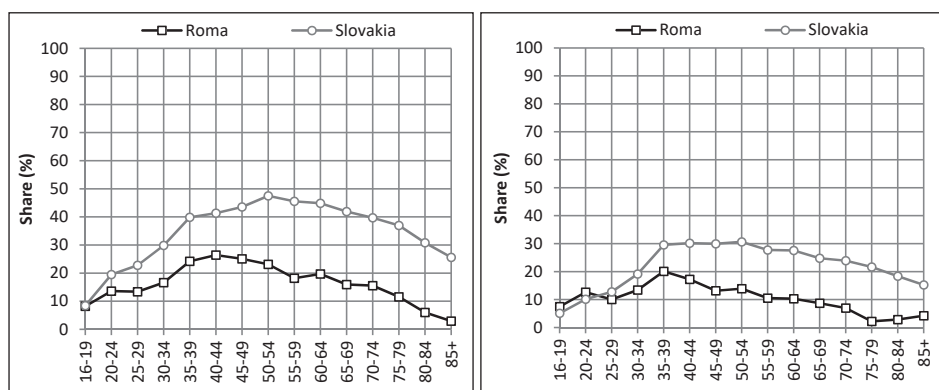


Figure 14 and 15

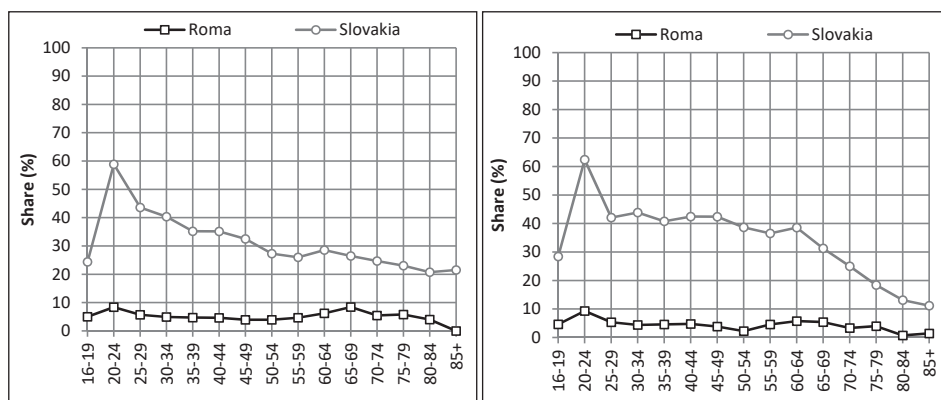
The share of men (left) and women (right) with secondary education without graduation of Roma nationality and the population of Slovakia, CPHF 2011¹¹

Only a very small share of men and women declaring Roma nationality achieve higher education. Representation of persons with full secondary education at the age of 25-64 was at a level of 4-6% in the male component and 2-5% in the female part of the population. For comparison, in the entire population it was 26-44% for men and 36-46% for women. However, one more aspect is instructive, and this is a specific increase in the proportion of Roma with secondary school graduation between the ages of 20-24. In the younger age groups, however, it would appear that some of the intergenerational decline of those with incomplete secondary education could be replaced by a higher level of education (see Fig. 16 and 17).

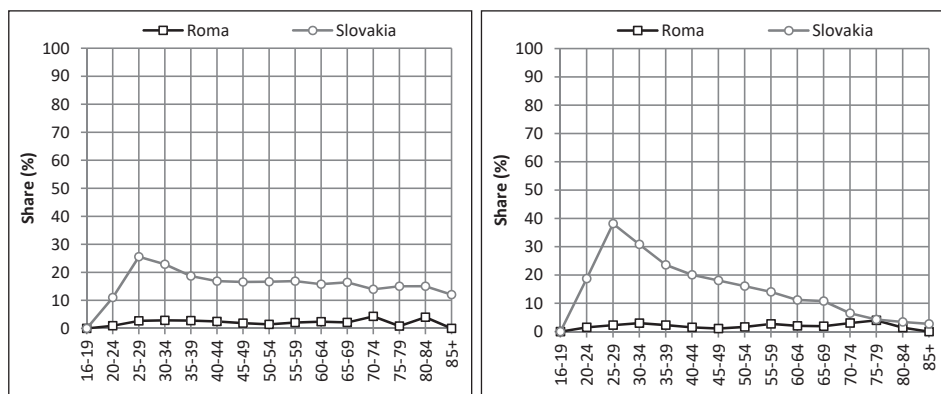
According to the 2011 census, there was only a minority share of persons of Roma nationality with university education. While there is a clear increase in their representation in the whole Slovak population (aged 25-34 over 20% in men and over 30% in women), the Roma do not even exceed 5% in the youngest age groups with completed education (see Fig. 18 and 19).

Based on the information obtained, it seems that in the Roma population we are more likely to witness stagnation and, in the younger age groups, even a certain intergenerational deepening of very low education. Whereas in the whole Slovak population there is a relatively dynamic increase in graduates of full secondary and especially university education. Consequently, the already significant differences in the educational structure between the population of Slovakia and persons of Roma nationality are even more extensive.

11 SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

**Figure 16 and 17**

The share of men (left) and women (right) with secondary school graduation of Roma nationality and the population of Slovakia, CPHF 2011¹²

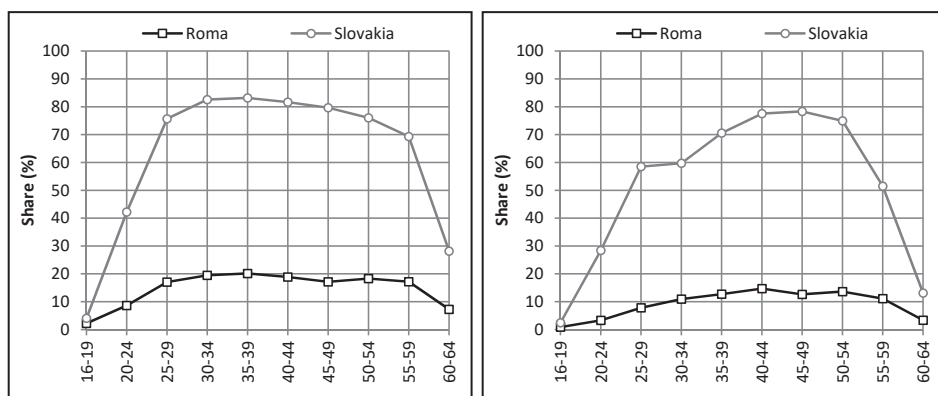
**Figure 18 and 19**

Share of men (left) and women (right) with university education of Roma nationality and Slovak population, CPHF 2011¹³

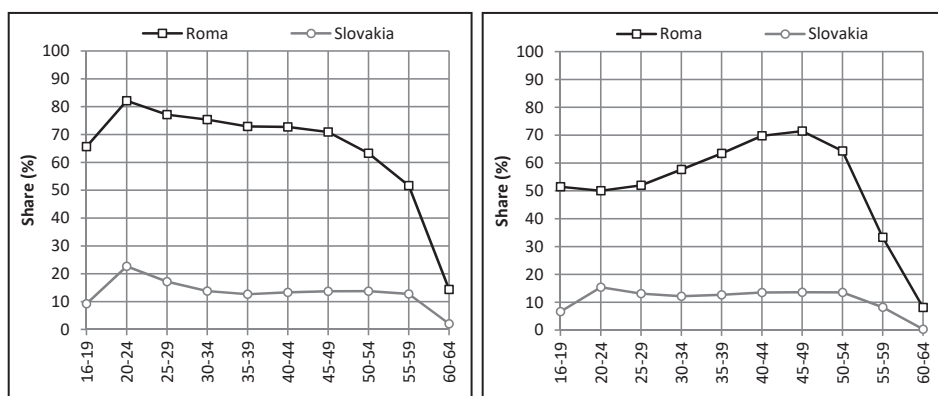
The CPHF 2011 results confirmed the very unfavourable situation of the Roma population in the labour market in Slovakia. As can be seen from the following series of Fig. 20-23, only a small share of men (around 20%) and an even lower share of women (10-15%) of working age declared in the census that they were working. Most of them (men over 70-80%, females 60-80%) were unemployed at the time of the census, which is in sharp contrast to the entire population of Slovakia.

12 SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

13 SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

**Figure 20 and 21**

The share of employed men (left) and women (right) of Roma nationality and the population of Slovakia, CPHF 2011¹⁴

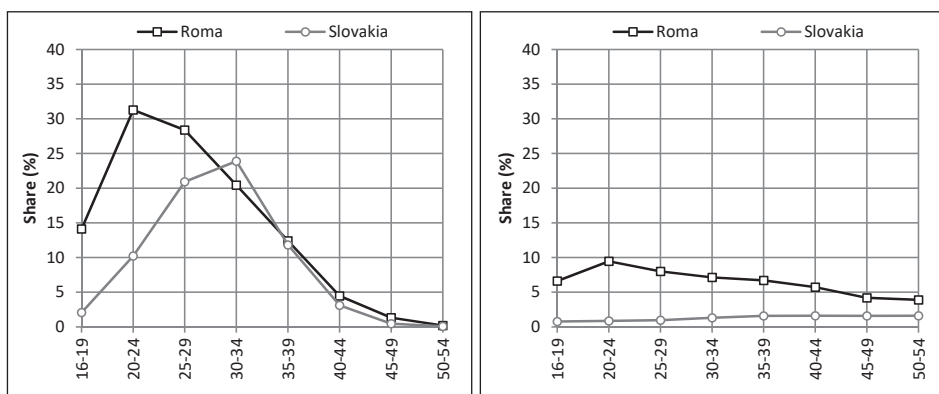
**Figure 22 and 23**

The share of unemployed men (left) and women (right) of Roma nationality and the Slovak population, CPHF 2011¹⁵

The lower share of unemployed women of Roma nationality aged 16-34 (50-60%) is mainly associated with the fact that these women are more likely to be on maternity or parental leave at this age (approximately one quarter to one third aged 20-29, Figure 24) and also, they more often remain housewives (Fig. 25). However, in the post-productive age, the weight of these groups is minimal, and therefore the share of the unemployed reaches 70% (Figure 23).

¹⁴ SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

¹⁵ SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

**Figure 24 and 25**

The share of women on maternity and parental leave (left) and housewives (right) of Roma nationality and the population of Slovakia, CPHF 2011¹⁶

The population census of 2011 also confirmed the very low share of male and female students of Roma nationality aged over 20. For example, at the age of 16-19, it was only about 22% of men and less than 20% of women, while in the entire population of Slovakia the share of students of both sexes in this age significantly exceeded the 80% threshold. At the age of 20-24 years, the situation is even more marked. Only 2% of Roma men and 1.5% of Roma women reported that they were studying, which is incomparably less compared to about one-third of the male population and 43% of the female population of Slovakia. It means that even in the youngest generations of the Roma, one can see a very unfavourable educational structure, which will also reflect their low chances of actively participating in the official labour market. The higher frequency of declared retirement among Roma, even at a younger age, is also interesting. We can assume that the cause is the unfavourable epidemiological situation and worse health status of the Roma, which is highlighted by several studies (see, for example, Šaško 2002)

Conclusion

The Census in 2011 contained about 106,000 people who voluntarily declared themselves to be of Roma nationality. Despite the fact that the results certainly do not reflect the character of the entire Roma population in Slovakia, due to its number this file represents one of the most important and most extensive data sources on part of the ethnic Roma group. Therefore, it is a shame that no bigger attention has been paid to the results of the last census so far. Our primary analysis aimed to present, in particular, some spatial aspects of the distribution of persons of Roma nationality under CPHF 2011 and to evaluate selected population structures. The last census has shown that people of Roma nationality are concentrated mainly in the regions of Eastern Slovakia. In two

¹⁶ SO SR, primary data CPHF 2011, author's classification and calculations.

districts (Kežmarok and Sabinov), their share exceeded the 10% mark and in the next 12 it reached above 5%. At the national level, about 2% of people with permanent residency in Slovakia declared Roma nationality. The results obtained also confirmed the more frequent residence of the monitored population in rural villages and villages up to 5,000 inhabitants; with the exception of the smallest settlements.

People of Roma nationality represent the youngest population in Slovakia. High fertility combined with unfavourable mortality rates creates an age pyramid with a significantly extended base. The share of the children's component is higher than Slovakia reached at the end of the 19th century. On the other hand, the representation of seniors among persons of Roma nationality was significantly below average in the 2011 census.

The structure according to marital status is closely linked to an earlier start in marital life, and therefore, at a younger age, the proportion of single men and women of Roma nationality is lower than in the entire Slovak population. However, at the end of reproductive age, men, and in particular women of Roma nationality were still more likely to remain single. In older age, higher mortality rates are the reason for the fact that the percentage of widows in the Roma population was higher, even from the end of reproductive age. Higher stability of marital unions, however, contributes to a lower share of divorced persons.

The census of 2011 revealed extremely an unfavourable situation with regard to the educational structure and economic activity for persons of Roma nationality. In addition to confirming the intergenerational preservation of low to very low education, the census results even indicate its deterioration in the youngest cohorts. The result is a drop in the share of people with incomplete secondary education and, on the other hand, the growth of young Roma who have achieved basic education. People with complete secondary education, and in particular university education, are very rare in the group of men and especially women declaring Roma nationality. In the younger age groups, we see a slight increase, although the overall effect rather draws attention to stagnation and deterioration of the education situation.

A low level of education is closely related to the very unfavourable situation of persons of Roma nationality in the labour market. The unemployed predominantly prevail in the working -age group. People on maternity and parental leave are also an important sub-group within the group of women in the first half of reproductive age. The poor health status of the Roma may be a cause of the more frequent cases of disability retirement at working age.

The results of the 2011 census are consistent with several partial findings which are often carried out locally. In contrast, however, they provide data on an incomparably larger sample of the Roma population, and within the entire Slovak population. That is why we believe that they should not be overlooked, and that scientific circles should pay more attention to them as their information value has definitely not been exhausted by this paper.

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**Slovaks
and Hungarians
abroad**

Sociolinguistic Aspects of the Study of Slovak Minority Abroad (Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Romania)¹

Mária Homišinová

Abstract:

Článok prináša komplexný pohľad na dva kontinuálne, interdisciplinárne orientované vedeckovýskumné projekty VEGA SAV, riešené v priebehu rokov 2009 – 2016. Boli zamerané na problematiku sociolingvistickej situácie a jazykového správania mladej slovenskej generácie (15 – 25 rokov) žijúcej v zahraničí v minoritnom postavení v Chorvátsku, Srbsku, Rumunsku a Maďarsku. Účastníkmi projektu, ako kontrolná skupina, bola aj slovenská mládež z národnostne zmiešaných oblastí južného Slovenska, ktorí majú bilingválnu (slovensko/maďarskú) jazykovú skúsenosť. Celkovo na výskume participovalo 477 mladých ľudí slovenského pôvodu. Hlavným cieľom je poukázať na „styčné body“ obidvoch projektov z hľadiska konceptuálneho a metodologického rámca riešenia projektov.

Kľúčové slová:

sociolingvistický výskum, slovenská minorita

Introduction

The article gives a comprehensive view of the thematic and methodological framework of two interdisciplinary scientific research projects VEGA SAS, running between 2009-2016, which focused on the issue of the sociolinguistic situation of Slovaks living abroad but partly also in Slovakia.

Both of these internationally-oriented projects, although with a slight time delay, were directly linked from a thematic and methodological point of view (they maintained an identical conceptual framework and methodology), and specifically focused on the language-communication behaviour of Slovak youths in the context of an intra-ethnic use of spoken Slovak in Hungary, Croatia, Serbia and Romania.²

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- 1 The work was developed as part of the project APVV-15-0475 Tendencies in the Development of Ethnic Relations in Slovakia (Comparative Research of National Issues in 2004-2020) - (TESS2).
 - 2 The first was the VEGA SAS 2/0093/09 project running between 2009-2011 entitled: "The language-communication behaviour of Slovak youth in Hungary and Slovakia in the context of intra-ethnic use of spoken Slovak." Slovak youth in Slovakia was the so-called control sample and it concerned the young generation of Slovaks living in the nationally mixed areas of southern Slovakia.

Although the primary intention was to examine the sociolinguistic aspects of the language behaviour of selected language groups, linguistic (only in the first research), socio-psychological, sociological and ethnological methods of examining the subject matter were applied in the concept of both research projects. During the projects (2009-2016), the researchers³ focused on both theoretical analyses of the language situation of monitored minorities (status, conditions, requirements, school network...) and practical issues (testimonies of the actors of the research) through empirical research carried out directly on the minorities living in the territory, at secondary schools and universities with Slovak language in the given country.⁴

Both projects gave rise to a series of publication outputs elaborated on at a theoretical level (concretized into eco-linguistic and linguistic-political, social-ethnical, ethnocultural and linguistic contexts of the issue) as well as at a practical level; apart from the presentation of marginal results of the individual researchers,⁵ two publications bringing the most important empirical results were elaborated on.⁶ However, until now, in regard to the solving of individual projects the findings have been presented individually.⁷

The second one was the VEGA SAS 2/0035/14 project running between 2014-2016, entitled "The language-communication behaviour of Slovak youth in Croatia and Serbia in the context of the intra-ethnic use of spoken Slovak."

- 3 It was significant for both research projects that they addressed identical issues and used the same methodology to examine the context of the use of Slovak language. With the objective to maintain the same approach to the interpretation of and response to the results, identical project coordinators were predominantly present in both projects in addition to specialists focusing on a particular ethnic group.

The Project Coordinators consisted of a team of workers from the field of science (Institute of Social Sciences SAS Kosice, Linguistic Science Institute if L.Stur in Bratislava) and education (Department of Slavic Philology of the Philosophical Faculty at the Comenius University in Bratislava, Department of Ethnology and Non-European Studies, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Cyril and Method in Trnava, Department of the Slovak Language of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Prešov University in Prešov).

- 4 In the territory of Hungary and Slovakia, field research was carried out in 2010, and in the territory of Croatia and Serbia between 2014/15. Given the interest of the Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs in Romania for the extension of this type of research among Slovaks living in Romania, identical research was also carried out at minority schools in Romania in 2015.
- 5 Available on the Internet: <<http://www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2011/3/>> , <http://www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2012/1/5967>> , <<http://www.saske.sk/clovekaspolocnost/2015/2/>> a <<http://www.saske.sk/clovekaspolocnost/2016/4/>>.
- 6 HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária – SLANČOVÁ, Daniela – VÝROST, Jozef – ONDREJOVIČ, Slavomír. *Výskum hovorenej slovenčiny slovenskej mládeže v Maďarsku a na Slovensku* [online]. Košice : SvU SAV Košice, 2011, p. 116. [cit. 2.3.2017]. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.svusav.sk/data/uploads/publikacie/pubvega09-11.pdf>>; HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária (eds). *Výskum hovorenej slovenčiny slovenskej mládeže v Chorvátsku a v Srbsku*. Košice : SvU CSPV SAV Košice, 2016, p. 100. (Both publications were published by the Institute of Social Sciences of CSPV SAS Košice in electronic form (CD ROM), available on the Institute's website www.svusav.sk, Institute's publications.)
- 7 Currently, we are focusing on the preparation of comprehensive material to compare important research findings of all four language groups of the monitored minorities and one language group from Slovakia from a nationally mixed area with the application of bilingual communication.

This material attempts to point to the “contact points” of both projects in thematic and methodological terms.

1. Conceptual framework of research projects

Both aforementioned projects had the same aim: to create a real picture of spoken Slovak language in situational and contextual dependence, characteristic of intra-ethnic communication in four (or five) language groups of Slovak youth amongst those living in Slovakia, Hungary, Serbia, Croatia or Romania.

The main aim was to study the spoken form of Slovak in an environment in which Slovak youth use Slovak as a normal form of social interaction – in particular in schools (with Slovak language teaching or teaching of Slovak as a voluntary language), with friends, relatives and family. Thus, the research was focused on the contemporary form of the “living language” of the young Slovak generation.

In addition to the theoretical analysis of language-communication behaviour of selected language communities, which focused on specification of the process of linguistic socialization in the non-native environment, it also involved the implementation of empirical research (applying a qualitative and quantitative approach to research) applying in particular the means of sociolinguistic analysis. In order to achieve complementarity of the results, the sociological, socio-psychological and ethnological aspects of language behaviour were applied in the methodology, and thus the research became interdisciplinary. The result was intended to be the real picture of the spoken form of Slovak language depending on situation and context, characteristic of intra-ethnic communication in all monitored language groups of Slovak youth. At the same time, we understood this as a way of implementation of linguistic expression projecting all existing forms (varieties) of the native language. (Horecký, 1979 and Ondrejovič, 1995, 2008). The subject of our interest was therefore an analytical view of spoken Slovak language. We focused on thematic areas (research circles) that we approached from various interdisciplinary aspects of research.

We considered the following key areas:

- Language-communication behaviour – language knowledge and intergenerational language communication (identification of speech variation, contextual connection in formal and informal environment) – sociolinguistic aspect
- Ethnocultural development as a factor of language behaviour (development of national culture, mother tongue and national education) – ethnological aspect
- Attitudes towards functions of Slovak language⁸ - socio-psychological aspect

⁸ With regard to research objectives, we defined two *primary functions* of language:

- communication
- cognitive (psychological-cognitive) and three *secondary functions* of language:
- naming (expressive)
- cultural (aesthetic) function
- value (representative) function

- Mother tongue in the hierarchy of values ⁹ – socio-psychological aspect
- Communication acts in language-communicative behaviour (examining verbal behaviour in family and school environment, verbalisation of the degree of social distance in given communication areas) – linguistic aspect
- Language contacts (transition from language to language, the so-called code switching) – sociolinguistic aspect
- Impact of social-demographic indicators and ethnic characteristics on the monitored indicators of language-communication behaviour – sociological aspect

Our aim was to create a real picture of the language-communication behaviour of the monitored language groups of Slovak youth, i.e. the creation of a certain language model that corresponds to certain contextual and situational characteristics typical of the given language group.

The overall aim was to provide a transparent picture of sociolinguistic competence of the younger generation of the Slovak minority living abroad.

2. Methodological framework of research projects

All monitored language groups, Slovak youths living in Hungary, Croatia in Serbia in Romania and Slovakia – in nationally-mixed areas, due to their coexistence in the non-native environment, have undergone different linguistic socialization. It has undoubtedly greatly influenced their current language-communication behaviour in which we tried to analyse at both a theoretical and empirical level.

In addition to the definition and characteristics of the word terminology, the theoretical analyses of the issue also focused on the specification of the process of linguistic socialization in a non-national environment from the point of view of various disciplines (taking advantage of the interdisciplinary composition of the research team).

The empirical analyses were based on the data obtained from empirical research, especially with the use of quantitative research tools.¹⁰

⁹ A list of ten values (from three relevant areas: personal, ethnic, social values), one of which was the mother tongue, was offered to assess the mother tongue status in the personal hierarchy of value of respondents.

¹⁰ In the second project, we abandoned the original intention to apply qualitative research tools too, due to the lack of the project coordinator from the field of linguistics who had addressed this issue in the previous project (Hungary, Slovakia). The qualitative part of the research, the linguistic and communicative behaviour of the participants in Hungary and Slovakia (similarly to the quantitative part) was monitored in specific language situations (both formal and non-formal) by the method of episodic interview. It was a modification of a narrative interview, which besides free narrative includes asking specific questions concentrating on semantic parts of knowledge. Collected data (audio recording) was subjected to both conversions and computerized processing of the spoken language. Corpus linguistics was used – more detailed information available on the Internet: <<http://korpus.juls.savba.sk>>; For findings see: HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária – SLANČOVÁ, Daniela – VÝROST, Jozef – ONDREJOVIČ, Slavomír. *Výskum hovorenej slovenčiny slovenskej mládeže v Maďarsku a na Slovensku* [online]. Košice : SvU SAV Košice, 2011, p. 116. [cit. 2.3.2017]. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.svusav.sk/data/uploads/publikacie/pubvega09-11.pdf>>.

By means of the research findings, we wanted to identify the so-called speech variations typical of the given situations in the studied language communities, specify the differences between them and indicate the tendencies of their language-communication behaviour.

The main research method was the use of a semi-structured questionnaire,¹¹ which in addition to the sociolinguistic indicators reflected the sociological, socio-psychological and ethnological (in terms of thematic concept) indicators.

In the context of the six key thematic areas,¹² their transformation into the form of individual empirical indicators was carried out. Specifically, the questionnaire contained six identifications and 15 structured questions (predominantly of the scale type), which were projected into 73 characteristics/items, including identifiers. These concerned language-communication behaviour in both formal and non-formal contexts, as the common spoken language is maximally variable, depending on the communication situation, all the means of expression of the native language are used in it.

The conditions of the selection of research sample (for each language group) were:

- they were Slovak in origin in terms of nationality or mother tongue of parents,
- they had a command of spoken Slovak at the level of everyday communication and situations
- they were selected on a quota related to gender, age and education.

From the point of view of age and education, we distinguished two groups of respondents:

- a younger group (15-19-year-olds, mostly secondary school students),
- an older group (20-25-year-olds, predominantly university students).

The size of the research sample was set at a minimum of 100 respondents in each language group from each country.¹³

The places of selection were secondary schools and universities with Slovak language teaching or organizations, associations, cultural facilities, clubs where the youth are associated and have a certain linguistic-communicative ability of Slovak.

Specifically, the research was carried out:

- in Hungary at secondary schools in Budapest and Békešska Čaba; ELTE University in Budapest, Samuel Tešedík College in Sarvaš, Education College of Ján Vitéz in Ostergom, Gyula Juhász College in Szeged,
- in Slovakia, in the locations with the largest representation of other language ethnicity (members of Hungarian nationality) at secondary schools in Dunajská Streda, Štúrovo, Komárno, Šamorín, Nitra, Rožňava and Košice,

11 The order, content, and scales of questions were retained for all language groups, of course, with changed addressing of the research participants.

12 For these reasons, we do not take into account the thematic area of communicative acts in language-communication behaviour, the analysis of which was not carried out in the second project.

13 However, we realized the restrictions from the point of view of the number of Slovak representation (including the existence of schools with Slovak teaching), especially in Croatia.

- in Croatia, where young people were from rural parts of Slavonia, students from the University of Zagreb,
- in Serbia, where young people were from Vojvodina and from Pivnice and Vojlovica, from secondary schools (secondary schools and secondary vocational schools) in Báčsky Petrov, Kovacica, Stara Pazova, Bačska Palanka and the University of Belgrade and in Novy Sad,
- in Romania, the Slovak youth from two areas participated in the research: from the Bihor region: the students of the Theoretical Lyceum of Ján Kozáček in Bodonos and also from the Arad-Banat region – town of Nadlak, students of Theoretical Lyceum of JG Tajovský and members of FS Sálašan.

It is necessary to point out that empirical research in individual countries has been carried out with significant help from partner organizations and institutions: in Hungary, with the help of the Research Institute of Slovaks in Hungary and the Slovak State Administration in Budapest, in Croatia, with the help of the Union of Slovaks in Croatia and Slovak Societies, Slovak Cultural Centre Našice, in Serbia, with the help of the Institute of Culture of the Vojvodina Slovaks and in Romania with the help of the Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs in Romania.

The collected data was processed by means of statistical program SPSS 21 and STATISTIKA'99 (version 6.5). Descriptive statistics (data summation, presentation and description), analytical/inductive statistics (expressing conclusions, assessing forecasts by examining the significance of differences, contexts, relationships and dependence between variables) were used in the analyses. The results were tested according to valid test criteria. The composition of the total sample is presented in Tab. No. 1 Table 1

Table 1 Composition of the total sample set

Language groups from each country of origin	N – number of respondents	% representation
Croatia	49	10,3
Serbia	121	25,4
Romania	107	22,4
Hungary	100	21,0
Slovakia	100	21,0
TOTAL	477	100,0

As is clear from the table, in the case of four languages groups, the selection of the research sample was maintained in terms of the number of respondents. A smaller representation of respondents from Croatia was understandable due to the low representation of Slovaks compared to other countries and the poorly developed school network for national minorities.

Conclusion

The conclusions of the research clearly indicated not only the meaningfulness of the methodology used but also the need for a more global perspective on the issue, given the specificity of the environment in which Slovak ethnic groups live, determinants of the state of ethnicity, and, undoubtedly, also the developmental trends and perspectives of preserving Slovak language. The possibility of comparing language expressions of everyday life of youth in a European context should also not be neglected.

By clarifying the socio-ethnic and linguistic situation of other Slovak communities or their younger generation, we can move the acquired knowledge further towards a more objective assessment of everyday reality.

On the whole, we can specify the benefits of the presented research projects in several aspects:

- the inclusion of Slovak youth living in a non-native environment as a subject of socio-linguistically oriented research
- the focus on language as a socio-communicative system applied in a real situation
- the interdisciplinary character of the project
- the comprehensive approach to the study of the language/speech of Slovak youth in a non-native environment
- the comparative character of the project
- the contribution to the development of sociolinguistics in Slovakia.

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Representations of National Identity of Slovak Minority in Hungary in the Second Half of the 20th Century

Soňa Polóniová

Abstract:

Štúdia sa zameriava na prejavy národnostnej identity Slovákov v Maďarsku v rokoch 1945 – 1990. Približuje predovšetkým kultúrny život slovenskej menšiny v danom období, taktiež charakterizuje a vysvetľuje etno-kultúrne premeny ich identity. Ďalej porovnáva zvláštnosti, špecifiká a zmeny týkajúce sa skúmanej problematiky, ktoré nastali v jednotlivých sledovaných obdobiach – výmena obyvateľstva medzi Československom a Maďarskom, obdobie tzv. reálneho socializmu v Maďarskej ľudovej republike – vláda M. Rákosiho, revolúcia v r. 1956 a Kádárov režim a demokratizácie politického režimu v období tesne po roku 1989. Pri výskume boli využité metódy historickej vedy, ale aj interdisciplinárne pojmy – identita, pamäť (kolektívna, historická atď.), symboly, stereotypy a pod. Príspevok sčasti uvádza aj doterajšie spracovanie uvedenej témy a taktiež načrtáva ďalšie možnosti výskumu týkajúceho sa kultúrnych dejín a národnostnej identity.

Kľúčové slová:

Slováci v Maďarsku, slovenská menšina, identita, pamäť, kultúrne dejiny, výmena obyvateľstva

In Hungary Slovak descendants of former immigrants from the territory of present-day Slovakia have retained certain characteristics of Slovak ethnic/national identity despite 200 years of their separation from the motherland of their ancestors. Even though “[...] the ethnic-national community is very complex; most often, in a very contradictory way, it can preserve or “lose” its culture and language.”¹ The following contribution focuses on the manifestations of national identity of the Slovak minority in Hungary, especially in their cultural life supported by official national organizations. Emphasis is placed on the years 1945-1990 which brought about several social, political, economic and cultural changes, in the population exchange between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, in the so-called period of real socialism in the Hungarian People's Republic (the govern-

1 DIVIČANOVÁ, Anna. *Jazyk, kultúra, spoločenstvo. Etnokultúrne zmeny na slovenských jazykových ostrovoch v Maďarsku*. Békešská Čaba – Budapešť : VÚSM, 1999, p. 64.

ment of Matyas Rákosi, revolution in 1956 and the Kádár regime) and the democratization of the political regime in the period after 1989.²

Current state of the topic

The topic has been dealt with only partially; mainly by ethnologists, culturologists, sociologists and linguists. In regards to historians, mainly the older history of the Slovaks in Hungary and Lower Land until 1945 has been documented, which have been published in several studies and articles. However, they are synthetically elaborated in a collective monograph *Slovaks in the World*³ compiled by Jan Sirácky et al. and in the monograph *Short History of Lower Land Slovaks I*⁴, who comprehensively compiled the historiography of Lower Land Slovaks until the second half of the 20th century as well.⁵

From the history of the Slovak minority in Hungary since 1945 until now, the greatest focus of historians was mainly on the exchange of population between Czechoslovakia and Hungary. It is elaborated, for example, in a study published in the yearbook *Slovaks Abroad* with the subtitle *Mother's calling*,⁶ monographs of Slovak historian Ján Bobák, as well as his detailed overview of the register of Slovaks in Hungary in 1946,⁷ and , fur-

2 I deal more closely with the topic in the dissertation thesis defended in 2016 at KHI FF UMB in Banská Bystrica - *Kultúrne dejiny slovenských komunit v Maďarsku (1945 – 1990) v kontexte identity*, which will be published in an edited version in the upcoming monograph *Z kultúrnych dejín Slovákov v Maďarsku (1945 – 1990)*.

The research used, besides professional literature, especially various periodicals obtained in the archives of: Matica slovenska - deposit of the Compatriots' Museum and the Literary Museum of the Slovak National Library in Martin; The Documentation Center of the National Government of the Slovaks in Hungary in Budapest; The Slovak Institute of Research in Hungary, the Museum of M. Munkácsy, the Békéscsaba Evangélikus Gyülekezeti Levéltár in Békesh Čabe; the Slovak National Archives in Bratislava; the National Archives in Prague and the Békés Megyei Levéltár in Gyula. Periodical press was also used – especially: *Sloboda* (1945 – 1948); *Naša Sloboda* (1949 – 1956); *Ludové noviny* (1957 – 1990); calendars: *Čabiansky kalendár* (1946, 1948); *Náš kalendár* (1951 – 1990). Sometimes almanac *ZROD* (1981 – 1990) and *SME*, a cultural-social-literary magazine (1988 – 1990). Some literary works of Slovak writers in Hungary, from the period under review, were also beneficial. Research findings obtained through periodicals, literature, etc. are also presented in the study.

3 SIRÁCKY, Ján (ed.). *Slováci vo svete I*. Martin : MS, 1980, 302 p. This work is currently archaic in many findings, or it is revised in partial studies of several researchers.

4 KMEŤ, Miroslav. *Krátke dejiny dolnozemsých Slovákov I*. Nadlak : Vydavateľstvo Ivan Krasko, 2012, 383 p.

5 KMEŤ, Miroslav. *Historiografia dolnozemsých Slovákov v 19. storočí*. Békešská Čaba : VÚSM, 2010, 305 p.; KMEŤ, Miroslav. *Historiografia dolnozemsých Slovákov v prvej polovici 20. storočia*. Kraków : Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2013, 248 p.

6 Bajaník, Stanislav – Dend'urová-Tapalagová, Viera (ed.). *Slováci v zahraničí 24. Mat' volá II*. Martin : MS, 2008, 350 p.

7 BOBÁK, Ján. *Maďarská otázka v Československu 1944 – 1948*. Martin : MS, 1996, 199 p.; BOBÁK, Ján. *Výmena obyvateľstva medzi Česko-slovenskom a Maďarskom (1947 – 1948)*. Bratislava : Kubko Goral, 1994, 51 p.; BOBÁK, Ján. *Zápas Slovákov v Maďarsku za národnostné práva (1945 – 1948)*. Bratislava : Kubko Goral, 1997, 55 p.; BOBÁK, Ján. *Poznámky k demografii Slovákov v Maďarsku*. In *Historický zborník*. Vol. 11, No. 2, 2001, Martin : MS, p. 69 – 117.

thermore, the work of ethnologists Magdaléna Paríková,⁸ Štefan Šutaj,⁹ and the collective publication compiled by Š. Šutaj and Zlatica Sápsová,¹⁰ etc.¹¹ In case of Hungarian historians, the issue was examined by: Margit Földesi, József Kugler, László Szarka and the Slovak historian of Hungarian nationality Katalin Vadkerty¹² and others. The work of the national social organization – the Anti-Fascist Front of the Slavs in Hungary (Antifašistický front Slovanov, AFS), which was active during the exchange of population, is also mentioned in some of these works, however, only Miloš Momko¹³ and J. Bobák,¹⁴ dedicated a separate study to it. J. Bobák partially elaborated on its activity after its renaming to the Union of Slavs in Hungary (Zväz Slovanov v Maďarsku, ZSM) and the establishment of the Democratic Union of Slovaks in Hungary (Demokratický zväz Slovákov v Maďarsku, DZSM).¹⁵

Anna Divičanová pointed to the overall social and partly political processes in a brief monograph on the history and folk culture of the Slovaks in Hungary, in the part: *Society and Culture after 1945*.¹⁶ She also published the findings on the 20th century and DZSM in other shorter articles.¹⁷ The issue was also outlined by J. Kugler and János Gomboš in the contribution: *Passages from 300 year history of the Slovaks in Hungary*

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- 8 PARÍKOVÁ, Magdaléna. *Reemigrácia Slovákov z Maďarska v rokoch 1946-48. Etnokultúrne a sociálne procesy*. Bratislava : Stimul, 1999, 278 p.
 - 9 ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku v 20. storočí*. Bratislava : Kalligram, 2012, 398 p.; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Parížska konferencia 1946 a mierová zmluva s Maďarskom*. Prešov : Universum, 2014, 402 p.
 - 10 SÁPISOVÁ, Zlatica – Šutaj, Štefan (eds.). *Povoynové migrácie a výmena obyvateľstva medzi Československom a Maďarskom*. Prešov, 2010, 221 p.; ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1948*. Bratislava : Universum, 1993, 196 p.
 - 11 Since detailed bibliography of the topic is not the objective of the present study, we only mention a few of the many papers, studies and articles.
 - 12 FÖLDESI, Margit. *Szövetséges Ellenőrző Bizottságok Magyarországon. Visszaemlékezések, diplomáciai jelentések tükrében 1945 – 1947*. Budapest : IKVA, 1995, 203 p.; KUGLER, József. *Lakosságcsere a délkelet-alföldön 1944 – 1948*. Budapest : Osiris, 2000, 260 p.; KUGLER, József. *Berényiek voltak, berényiek lettek. A második világháború utáni migrációs változások (németek kitelepítése, magyar-csehszlovák lakosságcsere) emlékezete*. Mezőberény, 2015.; SZARKA, László. *Jogfosztó jogszabályok Csehszlovákiában 1944 – 1949*. Komárom : MTA Etnikai-nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet–Kecskés László Társaság, 2005, 187 p.; VADKERTY, Katalin. *Maďarská otázka v Československu 1945 – 1948*. Bratislava : Kalligram, 2002, 863 p.
 - 13 MOMKO, Miloš. Antifašistický front Slovanov. In *FÓRUM spoločenskovedná revue*, 2009, p. 79 – 94.
 - 14 BOBÁK, Ján. Antifašistický front Slovanov v Maďarsku (1945 – 1947). In *Slováci v zahraničí 10*. 1984, p. 5 – 27.
 - 15 BOBÁK, Ján. Zväz Slovanov v Maďarsku (1947 – 1948) a vznik Demokratického zväzu Slovákov. In *Slováci v zahraničí 12*. 1987, p. 30 – 52.
 - 16 DIVIČANOVÁ, Anna. Spoločnosť a kultúra po roku 1945. In DIVIČANOVÁ, Anna – KRUPA, Ondrej. *Slováci v Maďarsku*. Budapešť : Press Publica, 1999, p. 101 – 122.
 - 17 DIVIČANOVÁ, Anna. Situácia Slovákov v 20. storočí a dnes. In Petőcz, Kálmán (ed.). *Slováci v Maďarsku* : zborník z medzinárodnej konferencie. Šamorín : Fórum inštitút pre výskum menšín, 2007, p. 46 – 51.; DIVIČANOVÁ, Anna. Slováci v Maďarsku v stredoeurópskom kontexte. In Gajdoš, Marián – Konečný, Stanislav (eds.). *Etnické minority na Slovensku, história, súčasnosť súvislosti*. Košice : Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1997, p. 189 – 206.

– with particular reference to the 20th century.¹⁸ The political history of the Slovaks in Hungary was partly elaborated on mainly by J. Bobák¹⁹ and František Bartošek in their studies.²⁰ Additionally, a number of short, but significant contributions on education, literature and the press after 1945 were published in compilations of Slovaks in Hungary.²¹

However, when researching the topic it is possible to look for inspiration, analogy, theoretical and methodical starting points in the broader spectrum of domestic and foreign literature. Although it is mostly general or focuses mainly on the traditional folk culture of Lower Land Slovaks or older historical periods, it provides a valuable source of information.²² As the researched issue exceeds the borders of historical science, current interdisciplinary methodological basis and anthropological approaches and concepts have been used in its framework (collective, ethnic, national and local), memory (collective, historical, cultural and communicative), symbols, stereotypes and myths.

Collective identity exists more like an image and does not have a form of objectively observable characteristics of all group members²³ – e.g. ethnic and national minority. For a given group, the ‘minority status’, ethnic, national identity represents a dynamic aspect, therefore it is not an objective and an unchangeable element of social communication. It can be considered the result of subjective processes of self-identification and identification of others. It also represents the perception of similarities and differences between one’s own group and another group – the sharing of the feeling of “us”, which separates us from the “others”.

*Ethnic identity*²⁴ (awareness) may be considered instinctive – natural, while national identity, as A. Divičanová adds, is an artificial concept: “[...] *embedded in the heads*

18 KUGLER, József – GOMBOS, János. State z tristoročnej histórie Slovákov v Maďarsku – so zvláštnym zreteľom na 20. storočie. In Uhrinová, Alžbeta – Žiláková, Mária (eds.). *Slovenský jazyk v Maďarsku, Bibliografia a štúdie – II. Békešská Čaba* : VÚSM, 2008, p. 315 – 334.

19 BOBÁK, Ján. K politickým dejinám Slovákov v Maďarsku (1918 – 1988). In Bielik, František – Baláž, Claude (eds.). *Zahraniční Slováci a materinský jazyk*. Martin : MS, 1990, p. 202 – 210.; BOBÁK, Ján. Slováci v Maďarsku po roku 1945. In Balážová, Eva – Grácová, Genovéva (eds.). *Slováci v Maďarsku*. Martin : MS, 1994, p. 286 – 294.

20 BARTOŠEK, František. Slováci v Maďarsku v rokoch 1944 – 1949. In Balážová, Eva – Grácová, Genovéva (eds.). *Slováci v Maďarsku...*, p. 254 – 263.

21 CHLEBNICKÝ, Ján. Slovenské školstvo v Békešskej oblasti po roku 1945. In Balážová, Eva – Grácová, Genovéva (eds.). *Slováci v Maďarsku...*, p. 298 – 303.; PAPUČEK, Gregor. Slovenská literatúra v Maďarsku po roku 1945. In Balážová, Eva – Grácová, Genovéva (eds.). *Slováci v Maďarsku...*, p. 335 – 342.; HRIVNÁK, Michal. Slovenská národnostná a väčšinová tlač v Maďarsku. In Balážová, Eva – Grácová, Genovéva (eds.). *Slováci v Maďarsku...*, p. 356 – 361.

22 Among those who focused on the topic are: Anna Divičanová, Alžbeta Uhrinová-Hornoková, Anna Kováčová, Mária Homišinová, Ján Botík, Mária Botíková, Jaroslav Čukan, Ladislav Lenovský, Boris Michalik and many others.

23 More on the topic e.g.: Kiliánová, Gabriela – Kowalská, Eva – Krekovičová, Eva (eds.). *My a tí druhí v modernej spoločnosti. Konštrukcie a transformácie kolektívnych identít*. Bratislava : Veda, 2009, 722 p.

24 Ethnic identity combines the so-called objective components of ethnicity – command and use of language, ethnical origin, territory, ethnonym, ethnic endogamy, preservation of cultural traditions, common history, way of life, religion, etc., as well as subjective ethnic self-identification.

and in the behaviour of a group, directed “from above””.²⁵ The concepts of *národná* (national) or *národnostná* (national) identity may be considered synonyms. “Nationality” means belonging to a nation, but its second meaning may also be a minority nation or part of a nation living outside its home country. In this contribution, we want to distinguish the identity of the Slovak minority in Hungary from the national identity of Slovaks living in the Slovak Republic, as it is of course different and has many specifics. Based on this, we use the concept of national identity in the study, which in itself, unlike the ethnic one, also contains a certain political (or legal) aspect in terms of belonging to a national minority in a particular state. It is a sort of “minority” identity, which in itself, as mentioned above, involves further peculiarities and specifics.

For the Slovak minority in Hungary, *double ethnic identity* – the so-called *bi-ethnicity* – is typical and most widespread, it can be observed especially in the environment of ethnically mixed families. Its construction is understood as overlapping components of the two identities, while in terms of preference or the balance of individual components of ethnicity, we talk about a balanced or unbalanced type.²⁶ If there is a preference for some elements of ethnicity, predominantly preference for one of the languages but also for cultural stereotypes, it is considered an unbalanced type, which is also characteristic of Slovaks living in Hungary.²⁷ For example, ethnologist Ondrej Krupa stated: “*My cultures are dual, both Slovak and Hungarian, both folk and productive. Slovak folk culture and truth and Hungarian folk culture met in me.*”²⁸

In the case of Slovak, language islands in a Hungarian ethnic environment, more significant local ties were preserved in Pilišans, Čabäns, Sarvašans through *local and regional identity*. Here, local identification replaces cultural identification more and more. The way of life of Slovaks in Békešská Čaba,²⁹ Sarvaš or another town or village is mostly not presented (nor understood) as Slovak (Slovak culture) or evangelical, but

ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Problémy etnickej identity : lokálna, regionálna a národná identita. In Kováčová, Anna (ed.). *Identita, história a kultúra. Dejiny Slovákov na Dolnej zemi*. Budapešť – Békešská Čaba : VÚSM, 2011, p. 35.

25 DIVIČANOVÁ Anna. „Békešskí Slované“, Pilišania, Tirpáci. Varianty regionálnej a etnickej identity. In Šutaj, Štefan – Szarka, László (eds.). *Regionálna a národná identita v maďarskej a slovenskej histórii 18. – 20. storočia*. Prešov : Universum, 2007, p. 105.

26 ONDREJOVIČ Slavomír – KRUPA Viktor. Identita a jazyk. In Kiliánová, Gabriela – Kowalská, Eva – Krekovičová, Eva (eds.). *My a tí druhí v modernej spoločnosti : konštrukcie a transformácie kolektívnych identít*. Bratislava : Veda, 2009, p. 123.

27 HOMIŠINOVÁ, Mária. *Etnická rodina Slovákov, Chorvátov a Bulharov žijúcich v Maďarsku : Teoretická a empirická komparatívna analýza skúmania etnických procesov slovanských minorít*. Békešská Čaba : VÚSM, 2006, p. 43.

28 UHRINOVÁ, Alžbeta. K jazykovým autobiografiám jubilanta a Veňarčanov. In Kováčová, Anna – Uhrinová, Alžbeta. *Duchovná a sociálna kultúra menšín v majoritnom prostredí*. Békešská Čaba : Výskumný ústav CSSM, 2015, p. 252.

29 Bližšie: LENOVSÝ, Ladislav. K niektorým kontextom identity Slovákov v Békešskej Čabe. In Krekovičová, Eva – Uhrinová, Alžbeta – Žiláková, Mária (eds.). *Kontexty identity, Jubilejný zborník na počesť Anny Divičanovej*. Békešská Čaba : Celoštátna slovenská samospráva, Katedra slovenskej filológie, Ústav etnológie SAV, VÚSM, 2010, p. 347 – 354.

localizes itself; e.g. in Čaban or Sarvašan culture.³⁰ For example, in Békešská Čaba, if you ask a Čaban of Slovak origin with Hungarian spiritual, cultural and blood ties: “*What are you? Hungarian or Slovak?*” he replies: “I am Čaban “*I am Čabän, I am Čaban.*”³¹

A quote from the work of P. Zavada can be considered very accurate with regards to the issues and ambiguity of the concepts of local, ethnic and national identity: “*Us Hungarians, us Lower Landers, us inhabitants of the Carpathian basin, us inhabitants of Hungary (but from which period?), us from the Upper lands (but Hungarians or Toth?), or us, from the Lower Lands, us, the Lower Land Slovaks and the Hungarians and others, us Toth speaking Hungarians or Hungarian speaking Toths, more precisely those of Slovak origin, but mostly speaking only Hungarian or who are we?*”³²

The study also uses another major interdisciplinary concept, collective memory, that also covers the concepts of the *cultural memory* (funded memory); a space that delivers the meaning of things, conduct and communication, and also includes processes such as creation of tradition, reference to the past, etc. It focuses on the origin of the group and its fixed points in the past; focusing on symbolic representations of the past, on paintings, myths and symbols.³³ In opposition to it is the *communicative memory* (biographical memory) contains memories of the recent past, and it usually includes memories of three to four generations going back about eighty years. Then there is the *historical memory*; a set of information about the collective history of a group (collective)³⁴ and its basic function is to explain, understand, justify or criticise the present state of affairs (personal and social).³⁵

To a considerable extent, collective memory and the perception of one's identity is affected by symbols and their interpretation, stereotypes, myths, and so on. These have their own social justification and functions, which we can include, among other things, forms of remembering the past or forms of collective thinking kept in collective memory. One of their features is that they have the ability to withstand constant

30 LENOVSKEÝ, Ladislav. Kolektívna pamäť a lokálna identita dolnozemskej komunity. In Ambruš, Ivan Miroslav – Hlášnik, Pavel – Pascu, Bianca (eds.). *Svedectvá slovenského dolnozemskej bytia, aspekty zo slovenskej dolnozemskej kultúrnej histórie a kultúrnej antropológie*. Nadlak : Vydavateľstvo Ivan Krasko, 2012, p. 178.

31 UHRINOVÁ, Alžbeta. Používanie materinského jazyka v kruhu slovenskej inteligencie v Békešskej Čabe. Békešská Čaba : VÚSM, 2004, p. 112. More information in: DIVIČANOVÁ Anna. „Békešskí Slované“, *Pilišania, Tirpáci...* p. 104 – 110.

32 Quotation of P. Zavada from novel *Milota* (2002, s. 79) in the study of K. Maruzsová-Šebová. MARUZSOVÁ-ŠBOVÁ, Katarína. Formy vyjadrenia etnickej identity v slovenskej dolnozemskej literatúre v Maďarsku. In Kováčová, Anna (ed.). *Identita, história a kultúra*. Budapešť – Békešská Čaba, 2011, p. 170.

33 KILIÁNOVÁ, Gabriela. Kolektívna pamäť, historická pamäť a identita. In: Kováčová, Anna (ed.). *Identita, história a kultúra. Dejiny Slovákov na Dolnej zemi*. Budapešť – Békešská Čaba : VÚSM, 2011, p. 17.

34 ŠKVARNA, Dušan. *Začiatky moderných slovenských symbolov. K vytváraniu národnej identity od konca 18. do polovice 20. storočia*. Banská Bystrica : FHV UMB, 2004, p. 7.

35 BAČOVÁ, Viera. Historická pamäť ako zdroj konštruovania identity. In Bačová, Viera (ed.). *Historická pamäť a identita*. Košice : Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1996, p. 19.

changes in the contents of consciousness and to encourage the dimension of stability. *"As a result, they add element of stability in life of society and an individual, ensuring its continuity, and thus its identity."*³⁶

With regard to the examined period, older generations who experienced the given past period are important collectors of memory. On this basis it is possible to use the memories of contemporaries,³⁷ to capture these memories, as presenting past and remembering confirms the identity of a group (e.g. minority).

In the period between the 17th and 18th century, many social and economic processes caused many people to leave their homes, and due to their desire for a better life move to the *Lower Land*.³⁸ These are the descendants of the generations who after dissolution of Austrian-Hungarian Empire in 1918 became citizens of its successor states, today's Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Croatia and Bulgaria.

New citizens "brought" their own culture which they preserved, however, it was also greatly influenced by the culture of the surrounding population of the other ethnicity, thus creating their "own" culture.³⁹ Their way of living in relatively closed Slovak communities and shepherds' huts had its impact on preserving "Slovakness" among the inhabitants separated from their homeland, their descendants and other generations, helped to preserve their folk customs and traditional culture. Folk culture - folklore⁴⁰ and symbols of folk origin were an important phenomenon that helped preserve and shape their collective memory. Another crucial factor that played a significant role in its preservation was the Evangelical Church and its small part of educated Slovaks – priests, teachers etc. Most of the inhabitants of the territory of Hungary with Slovak origin did not have the opportunity to acquire Slovak literacy, thus preserving it only at the level of "their own" dialect.

36 ŠKVARNA, Dušan. *Začiatky moderných slovenských symbolov...*, p. 7.

37 Confrontation of memories with archival sources can be beneficial, filling in the gaps in periodicals (after critical consideration and verification), the atmosphere of the period under review can thus be illustrated. However, the use of memories of direct contemporaries also has its own pitfalls, with regard to credibility of the source, the distorted information, and the memory that "changes" in years (whether deliberately or not, given the current regime, the situation or just natural forgetfulness, subjective experience and perception of events) For example, many memories of resettlement can be found in the work: PARÍKOVÁ, Magdaléna. *Reemigrácia Slovákov z Maďarska v rokoch 1946 – 48...* etc. Also, the documentary film of Vladislava Plančíkova *Felvidék – Horná zem*, Slovensko, 2014, 75 min., is also interesting with regard to this issue.

38 The Lower Land is "[...] in the wider sense of the word the large territory of the Hungarian counties (districts after 1848) south of the border of today's Slovak state and, in the narrow sense, the territory to the south of the famous Budapest-Miškovec-Nové Mesto pod Siatrom imaginary line" KMEŤ, Miroslav. *Krátko dejiny dolnozemsých Slovákov...*, p. 9.

39 The text uses the term "own", or "own culture", as in many period papers and periodicals it was referred to as the culture of the Slovak minority in Hungary which had its specificities compared to the Slovak culture in the territory of present-day Slovakia.

40 Historical research into stereotypes helps to dynamise, for example, images contained in folklore that show a relatively static character. KREKOVÍČOVÁ, Eva. *Mentálne obrazy, stereotypy a mýty vo folklóre a v politike*. Bratislava : ETERNA Press, 2005, p. 16.

Slovak immigrants were connected by a common collective memory and ethnic identity, which changed and shaped over time. In relation to the majority, the so-called “minority” or “majority” perspective of seeing “our own” and “the others”, played a significant role, since: *“Long-term minority perception of “their own” can act as a powerful integrating stimulus and autoimposition factor, especially in case of ethnic/national minority.”*⁴¹

The processes of acculturation, adaptation and gradual (although it is a question to what extent) natural assimilation are a natural part of the life of minorities surrounded by majority population of another ethnicity. On the other hand, Slovaks in Hungary also encountered the negative phenomenon of violent assimilation of minorities – Hungarianisation (especially during the inter-war period) implemented by various prohibitions, regulations restricting the persuance and development of their specific culture and their ethnic/national identity.

The exchange of population between Czechoslovakia and Hungary 1946-1948

Slovak communities in Hungary were greatly influenced by migration processes that took place after World War II in almost the whole of Europe; namely the exchange of population between Czechoslovakia (CSR) and Hungary that took place between 1946 and 1948. The basic principle of the Treaty signed on February 27, 1946 (Article V.), was that the number of inhabitants of Hungarian nationality that was to be moved from the territory of Czechoslovakia to Hungary, should equal the number of inhabitants of Slovak and Czech nationality registered for moving to Czechoslovakia. Slovaks from Hungary could sign up for the exchange voluntarily, however, the Hungarians from the territory of Slovakia were designated by the Czechoslovak state authorities. Due to this fact, even today, the event, which was reflected in the lives of many inhabitants of Slovak and Hungarian nationality, is a sensitive topic discussed among the historians but also the public. One of the starting points of the research was that the population exchange had a prominent place in the collective memory of the relocated; especially in the case of Hungarian Slovaks remaining in Hungary. It has also been marked by much stereotyping and it is a milestone in the history of Slovak communities in Hungary. The Czechoslovak Government carried out propaganda before and during the exchange⁴² which was implemented mainly through the Czechoslovak Relocating Committee (CSRC), and was also assisted by the newly-formed national organization – the Anti-Fascist Front of the Slavs in Hungary (AFS). By means of agitation, they affected national identity in Slovak communities, reinforced their collective memory

41 KREKOVIČOVÁ, Eva. *Mentálne obrazy, stereotypy a mýty...*, p. 15.

42 Propaganda is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of human society and „[...] a deliberate attempt to manipulate attitudes, opinions or actions of people. Regardless of the times of implementation or intensity of use, it has the same function – it spreads positive or negative ideas, arguments or rumours in order to shift public opinion, support it, and ultimately secure or maintain power.“ Bystrický, Valerián – Roguľová, Jaroslava (eds). *Storočie propagandy. Slovensko v osídľach ideológií*. Bratislava : AEPress, 2005, p. 5.

and formed its component – historical memory. They wanted to point out the famous history of Slovaks, to affect their emotions and to awaken their pride and fellowship with their “homeland”.

Research has shown that symbols of Slovak national history were used to reinforce Slovak identity, such as: Cyril and Metod, Jánošík, Ľudovít Štúr, Milan Rastislav Štefánik, Tomáš Garique Masaryk and others as well as historical facts – the existence of Great Moravia, the first Czechoslovak Republic, the importance of Slovak mining towns and the territory of today’s Slovakia within the Kingdom of Hungary, the contribution of Slovak nationalists to the revolution in 1848 and their struggle for Slovak national rights, etc. They drew attention to the injustice that occurred during the “thousand-year oppression” of the Slovaks in Hungary, they pointed to violent Hungarianisation and remembered, for example, Trianon – the symbol of the dissolution of “Great Hungary”, which has remained anchored in Hungarian society to the present, and also divided the Slovaks into those who lived in the home country and abroad – in Hungary.

On the other hand, they also helped to maintain and promote traditions through organization of various cultural events, which in most cases were accompanied by public gatherings. They organized folklore and theatrical performances, language courses of Slovak language, ethnographic festivals and exhibitions, collected material and spiritual manifestations of Slovak culture (folk songs, fairy-tales, folk costumes, etc.), screened Slovak films, published and distributed the Slovak press and more. The revival of Slovak culture, folk traditions, the famous and tragic past was carried out through the aforementioned events as media channels that represented, on the one hand, a form of entertainment attracting viewers and on the other hand had another, already mentioned significance; the reinforcement of Slovak identity and the collective memory of the inhabitants of Hungary who had Slovak roots, but many of whom already had low Slovak ethnic/national consciousness/identity.⁴³

Through the development of cultural life during the propaganda of exchange of the population, the Slovaks who did not relocate from Hungary got in touch with their compatriots and learned more about the homeland of their ancestors, Slovak history, culture and country, but also the state of Czechoslovakia, albeit greatly overstated. Agitators used the aforementioned elements of Slovak national symbolism in their activities, which were to help to bring “own” (Slovak) and “foreign” (Hungarian) ideas, values and images into memory. Phrases and symbols were constantly repeated at public assemblies; the Czechoslovak flag, national songs, e.g. *Kto za pravdu horí (Who is burning for truth)*, various slogans such as *Mat’ volá (Mother is calling)*⁴⁴ etc., to create a sense of pride, patriotism, but also a sense of difference and alienation among the Hungarian population.

43 They did not speak proper Slovak, they did not know Slovak history, and so on, however, they retained their „own“ culture, which contained many elements of Slovak culture, but had been modified by new elements in „foreign“ environment.

44 For example: *Mat’ volá, Mat’ rodná, zem slovenská vás volá! Vráťte sa domov, pridete k svojim! Slováci, Slovenky, oslobodená slovenská zem Vás volá! (Mother is calling, Native Slovak homeland is calling you! Return home, come to your people! Slovaks, the libertated Slovak country is calling you!) etc.*

The “relocation campaign” – the so-called *Mother is calling*, however, did not have the same response as the Czechoslovak government expected; the concept of homeland did not have any significance for most of the population of Slovak origin as their homeland was Hungary. Further, as resulted from the research, most inhabitants of Hungary with Slovak roots were more influenced by persuasion pointing to the prosperity in Czechoslovakia and attracted them to the possibility of gaining land, employment and other social and economic advantages.

The exchange of population left a “trace” on the non-relocated Slovaks as well, which manifested itself not only in the form of a large decline in the Slovak population in Hungary but also caused trauma; the division of families, the anti-propaganda against the exchange of population from the Hungarian side, sometimes the “excessive” persuasion to relocate from the side of CSRC and the change of environment in which they lived – the arrival of Hungarians from Czechoslovakia, etc.

Period of the so-called real socialism (1948-1989)

At the end of 1948, the Union of Slavs in Hungary (former AFS)⁴⁵ was replaced by the Democratic Union of Slovaks in Hungary (DZSM), whose primary objective from the onset was to “build socialism”, since it was directly subordinated to the Hungarian Communist Party. At that time, cultural groups were established in almost every village to expand socialist culture in their mother tongue. They also established community houses, organized cultural competitions, organized cultural tours and festivals through which Slovaks in Hungary could present their culture to the wider populations of Hungary, thus supporting Slovak national identity. Cultural life was thus carried out mainly in the form of various folk events, supported by the state, because they did not represent a “threat”. People had “cultural outing” and the nationalities got to present their “own” culture; which is why they were also referred to as the “dancing nationalities”.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, the DZSM did not claim their own national content but carried out more work in the spirit of the Communist Party. A. Divičanová stated: “*The sixties mean a period of exhaustion and indifference of national politics.*”⁴⁶ Only at the end of the 1960s the activities of DZSM were more diverse and varied. In 1969, a National Committee was elected at the Congress and committees for three basic areas of Slovak national life were established: school, culture and the press. In addition to these committees, new sections – ethnographic and literary – were established in the early 1970s. Only after the adoption of laws that positively influenced the lives of nationalities in 1972 and 1976, the activity of DZSM was extended. Especially in the 1970s and 1980s, its activities were most intense with regard to preservation and development of Slovak and “own” culture.

45 In October 1947, the Slovak section of AFS became independent and renamed itself the Union of Slavs in Hungary (ZSM), which followed up on AFS program objectives and its organizational structure.

46 DIVIČANOVÁ, Anna – KRUPA, Ondrej. *Slováci v Maďarsku...*, p. 107 – 108.

On the basis of a review of the period, the development of the ethnographic movement may be considered a significant phenomenon – the establishment of ethnographic collections, houses, the organization of ethnographic conferences, various ethnological research and the publication of their results in periodicals, annuals and expert literature. Thanks to this activity, the cooperation of scientists from the Slovak minority with Hungarian and Czechoslovak experts deepened. Another phenomenon of this period was qualitative but also quantitative increase of Slovak literature in Hungary. A number of literary works and almanacs were written and published, which was also caused by the aforementioned more favourable environment in Hungarian society which enabled a greater development of minorities, education of their own specialists – at Slovak schools in Hungary, but also those who completed their studies in Czechoslovakia. National life in the period after 1948 was also positively influenced by emergence of a Slovak national education system which, however, underwent a “reform” in 1961 when Slovak schools’ language was changed to bilingual. This fact is still perceived as injustice by many representatives of the Slovak minority in Hungary as it greatly accelerated their assimilation.

Period of revolution and changes (1989-1990)

In the period after 1989 radical changes took place in the national life of the Slovak minority. DZSM was reorganized and renamed the Union of Slovaks in Hungary, but there was also a huge growth in the establishment of new national Slovak organizations: the Slovak Youth Organization in Hungary, the Csaba Organization of Slovaks, the Slovak Research Institute, the Slovak Free Organization of Slovaks, the Association of Slovak Writers and Artists in Hungary. Although the period was characterised by the spirit of new possibilities and freedoms, it was also manifest with inconsistencies and contradictions between the representatives of the individual organizations.

The Slovak minority in Hungary underwent several ethno-cultural changes of identity in that period. On the one hand caused by its natural characteristics and on the other hand by “hidden” assimilation on the part of the Hungarian state, which to a certain extent promoted their “own” culture, especially folklore, but ultimately did not allow their overall national development that would be necessary for greater preservation of Slovak national identity. In conclusion, it is possible to partially agree partly with A. Divičanová’s statement: *“Protected and cultivated customs are, in addition to language, the last instinctive but emotionally strong manifestations of ethnic being and, at the same time, the symbols of ethnic (as well as national – note S.P.) identity.”*⁴⁷

Other research possibilities

The researched period in the history of our compatriots in Hungary had many specifics, inconsistencies and a number of facts have remained unanswered. Also, the issue of

47 DIVIČANOVÁ, Anna. *Jazyk, kultúra, spoločenstvo...*, p. 129.

cultural history, manifestations and changes of identity offer many other possibilities of elaboration and research which we will outline, at least partially.

We could benefit from a closer look at the influence of the Hungarian population relocated from Czechoslovakia on the culture of Slovak minority in Hungary, the perception of Slovak nationality by the majority Hungarian population, a closer examination of individual components of their “own” culture, activities of AFS and DZSM, and a reference to their non-unity, which also influenced their existence and the activities they devoted to as a national organization. It would also be interesting to focus on the work of their individual members, some of whom also held various positions in the state administration, the Hungarian government or the parliament (e.g. J. Boldoczki, Mária Jakabová-Šingeľová) and to find out whether this also affected the state of national life.

The research was also restricted due to the missing (lost) archived DZSM documents, covering the period since its establishment until the 1970s, and so the examination of that period provides additional opportunities for extending the knowledge of its activities. It is also important to focus more closely on the individual regions and municipalities where the Slovaks lived, and to compare their possibilities of development and the state of their cultural life before 1990, and also to pay more attention to their local, regional identity, which is for many much more important than the national one. We can also see the possibility of extended research of the topic using the methods of oral history, as this period allows it. The comprehensive elaboration of cultural life and identity of the inhabitants of Hungary, whose ancestors came from the territory of today's Slovakia, would also be beneficial. As mentioned above, double ethnic identity prevails in this area, so the focus could be on the other, Hungarian part, because the representatives of Slovak national minority – members of the aforementioned unions, ethnographers, writers, teachers, etc., also took part in Hungarian social life. Interestingly, psychological motivational activators of Slovaks in Hungary played a significant role in preserving and retaining Slovak national identity, as many of DZSM representatives or Slovak teachers did not teach their children their mother tongue, put them in Hungarian schools, etc. However, this topic is difficult to examine and it is a task for other disciplines than history. An important incentive for further research is the fact that: “[...] *Slovak national minority living in the territory of the Republic of Hungary is the fastest disappearing minority in the entire Carpathian basin.*”⁴⁸

It has not yet been possible to implement these research opportunities due to the limited possibilities – time, scope of study⁴⁹ and lack of materials in some investigated areas, etc. Therefore, they provide an opportunity of examination, analysis, and subsequent processing for other scientists, not only historians.

48 The number of Hungarian citizens with native Slovak language declined by half in twenty years (1960 – 1980). In Hungary, a strong assimilation trend was recorded, but not as much as in the case of Slovaks – Romanians by 35.8%, Germans by 38.5%, Serbs by 25.2%, Croats and Slovenians by 28%. ŠPICKÝ, Matej. Slováci – Čabania – Maďari. In *Čabiansky kalendár na rok 1991*, p. 88.

49 Also, at the beginning (see footnote 2) of the dissertation and the prepared monograph.

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National Policy of Hungarian Governments (based on selected aspects)

Zlatica Sáposová

Abstract:

Mierové zmluvy 20. storočia týkajúce sa Maďarska ako aj iné historické udalosti rozdelili Maďarov najprv do piatich neskôr do ôsmich krajín.¹ Identitu spolupatričnosti (medzi Maďarmi žijúcimi na území dnešného Maďarska a maďarskou národnosťou v okolitých štátoch ako aj Maďarmi žijúcimi mimo Karpatскеj kotliny) maďarské politické elity „pestujú“ dodnes.

Politika „maďarstva“ (*magyarságpolitika*) či národná politika (*nemzetpolitika*) je politika maďarských vlád súvisiaca s maďarskou národnosťou žijúcou za hranicami materinského štátu od roku 1918. Problematika zahraničných Maďarov patrí medzi najdôležitejšie otázky maďarského vnútropolitického života. Stala sa samostatnou profesionálnou politikou, ktorú vytvára budapeštianske politické vedenie a maďarské zahraničné politické elity. Predkladaná štúdia sa venuje jednotlivým charakteristickým znakom národnej politiky maďarských vlád od roku 1989 do súčasnosti. Štúdia sa dotýka aj problematiky revizionistických predstáv maďarskej politickej elity v medzivojnovom období.

Národná politika, menšinová politika, problematika zahraničných Maďarov tvorí témy mnohých vedeckých prác. Výskumom daných otázok v Maďarsku sa zaoberajú viaceré inštitúcie podporované štátom,² politickými stranami³ aj nezávislé inštitúcie⁴ a výskumné ústavy.⁵ Žiaľ, publikácie (štúdie, monografie, príspěvky) k danej problematike sú často ovplyvnené ideovým prúdom (ľavicový, pravicový), s ktorým autor sympatizuje.⁶

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- 1 Hungarian historiography and professionals uses the following terms: „*anyaországai magyarok*“ („Hungarians living in mother state“) – include members of the Hungarian nation who lived in „Trianon“ Hungary; „*határontúli magyarok*“ (foreign Hungarians) – Hungarians, living outside of Hungary, in neighboring countries, on the previous territories of the monarchy. In the Carpathian Basin in 2010, about 2 300 000 Hungarians. The Hungarians lived abroad in a large number of countries outside the European continent and the Hungarian literature described them as „*külhoni magyarok*“ – Hungarians who willingly they left Hungary and the Carpathian basin (because of better life). This group includes emigrants, who due to political opinion, religion, nationality, or participation in a national liberation struggle have been expelled of their homeland and settled abroad, or left to save their own lives as well as the lives of family members.
 - 2 Nemzetpolitikai Kutatóintézet (National Political research Institute).
 - 3 Teleki László Alapítvány; Balassi Intézet Márton Áron Szakkolégium.
 - 4 Civitas Europica Centralis, Budapešť.
 - 5 MTA Kisebbségkutató Intézet (MAV Research Institute of Minorities); „Boom“ Research group Trianon 100;
 - 6 Exceptions include the works of the historian of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Nándor Bárdi, which analyzes the national policies of individual Hungarian governments and political

Kľúčové slová:

národná politika, zahraniční Maďari, podporné programy, zodpovednosť, medzinárodné zmluvy

... food for thought ...

"Historical Hungary has a unique natural and geographical unity in Europe. No borders can be drawn on its territory, and no single part can be torn away so that the other would not worry about it. This is why history has preserved unity throughout ten centuries. You can reject the words of history as an idea when building a legal structure, but the testimony of history that has emphasized it for a thousand years must be taken into account ... It is not by chance that the words of nature speak here. Hungary has all the preconditions for organic unity except one; racial unity. But the states that under the peace treaty build on the ruins of Hungary also do not have racial unity. Hungary lacked only one of the conditions of unity; the unity of mother tongue, and to this I add that the newly created states will own not one of the basic principles of unity. Newly-created states will cross the natural geographical borders and prevent effective internal migration which leads the worker to the most favourable job opportunity. They would break the continuity of traditions that in the course of centuries united the co-habitation into a common mentality that survived the same events, glory, development and suffering."

The common history of the Hungarian and Slovak nations concluded after the end of the First World War with the signing of the Trianon Peace Treaty. Slovak people departed from the monarchy, and their future independence was joined in the common state with the Czech nation in the Czechoslovak Republic.

As a result of the Trianon Peace Treaty, the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom (excluding Croatia)⁸ shrunk from 282 870 km² to 92 963 km², thus losing more than half of its population. There were only 7,615,117 people left in Trianon Hungary, and the fate of 3,400,000 citizens of Hungarian nationality⁹ depended on the "goodwill" of the successor states' governments.

parties. His most important works is: BÁRDI, Nándor. *Tény és való. A budapesti kormányzatok és a határon túli magyarság kapcsolattörténete. Problémakatalógus*. Pozsony : Kalligram, Könykiadó, 2004, 271 p.; BÁRDI, Nándor – FEDINEC, Csilla – SZARKA, László (eds). *Kisebbségi magyar közösségek a 20. században*. Budapest : Gondolat Kiadó – MTA Kisebbségkutató Intézet, 2008, 377 p.; BÁRDI, Nándor – SIMON, Attila (eds). *Integrációs stratégiák a magyar kisebbségek történetében*. Somorja : Fórum Kisebbségkutató Intézet, 2006, 440 p.

7 The speech of Count Albert Apponyi on January 16, 1920, before the Peace Council's Supreme Council. In. *A magyar béketárgyalások*. Budapest, 1920, 543 p.

8 The total area of the Hungarian Kingdom was 325 411 km².

9 Hungarian nationality in the successor states stood before a great dilemma – it was under great pressure: to renounce national Hungarian identity, to assimilate or to fight for national rights, to create own institutional system.

In Hungary, Trianon symbolized (and in some circles still symbolizes) the act of injustice towards the Hungarians, as well as their humiliation.¹⁰ In the historical memory of much of Hungary (until today), Trianon is a tragic act, a tragedy of the Hungarian nation, committed mainly by anti-Hungarian politicians of France, Great Britain and politicians with Czech and Slovak nationality. While Trianon brought positive changes for the nations of the neighbouring states through own realization, the contradictory perception led to tension between the nations living in the Carpathian basin.

The results of the János Kodolányi College (Kodolányi János Főiskola) research confirmed¹¹ that the perception of historical trauma is affected by political and ideological affiliation. E.g.: left or liberally-oriented respondents said the consequences of the Trianon Treaty are less serious and not so important. However, even these respondents considered that the perception of historical trauma was of great importance for the entire Hungarian society.¹²

The events of Trianon are still of interest to society with each generation of historians trying to re-evaluate and re-interpret Trianon.¹³

According to the historian Attila Simon, the Hungarians in Slovakia, “*learned to live with it. Nowadays, there are generations who were born to this situation, learned to live as a minority, it is natural for them.*”¹⁴

The aspirations of individual nations to create “national” states were, besides the interests of power, the most important factors in the post-war development. Treaties initiated by the victorious powers to protect the rights of national minorities were signed by the successor states, but their implementation was often deliberately sabotaged.¹⁵

10 In recent years, the use of “Trianon” emblems and symbols of Hungary “have become street folklore” in Hungary, they are presented on banners, car stickers, T-shirts, etc. The use of these symbols rarely represents a mature “revisionist idea.” *They represent certain feelings, a feeling of unfair faith as an important element of Hungarian self-reflection. A lot more people feel like this, not only those who express it with stickers or pictures on t-shirts, cars, etc.* (ABLONCZY, Balázs) Quoted from Kollai István. BIBÓ, István. Spravodlivé hranice. <<http://madari.sk/publikacie/revizia-revizie-2-cast>>.

11 Several institutions cooperated on the research under the leadership of János Kodolányi (Budapest): Széchenyi István Egyetem (István Széchenyi University, MAV Economic and Regional Research Center, Institute for Regional Research, Regionális Kutatások Intézete) The main research objectives of the project were: social conflicts and social well-being, or clarifying the security context.

12 UJMA PRZEMYSLAW, Péter. Történelmi traumák és politikai attitűdök magyar véleményformálók felvett strukturált interjúk alapján. In Bordás Sándor – Glavanovics Andrea. (eds.). *Történelmi traumáink kezelési lehetőségei lélektani megközelítésben*. Székesfehérvár : Kodolányi János Főiskola, 2015, p. 257 – 284.

13 ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Parížska konferencia 1946 a mierová zmluva s Maďarskom*. Prešov : Universum, 2015, 402 p.; ROMSICS, Ignác. *A trianoni békeszerződés*. Budapest : Osiris Kiadó Kft., 2007, 208 p.

14 Simon Attila a trianoni kérdés szlovák és magyar megközelítéséről. [online].: <<http://parameter.sk/rovat/kulfold/2008/06/04/simon-attila-trianoni-kerdes-szlovak-es-magyar-megkozelitesrol>>.

15 The peace treaty concluded between the Allies and Czechoslovakia on September 10, 1919 in Saint Germain-en-Laye contains Article 2 (Catch I) which obliges Czechoslovakia to “...provide full and unconditional protection of lives and freedom to all its citizens, regardless of their origin, nationality, language, race or religion.” Sbírka zákonu a nařízení státu československého (Collection of Laws and Regulations of the Czechoslovak State) No. 501/1921.

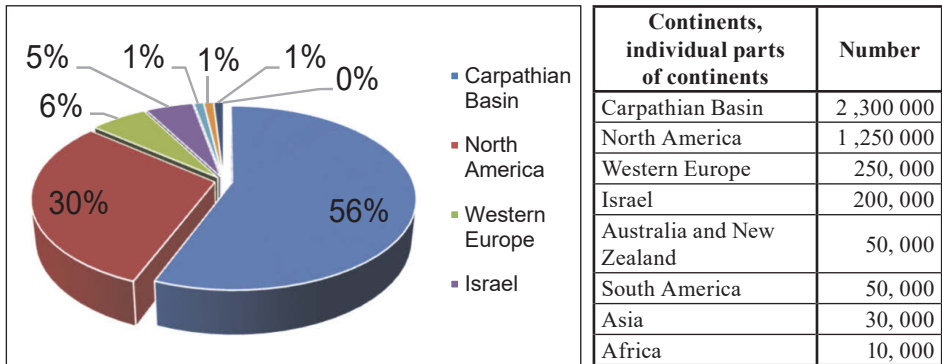
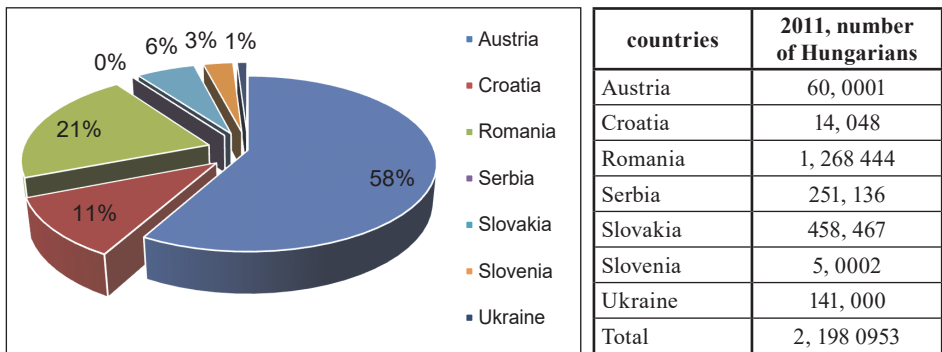


Figure 1
Number of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin (except Hungary)
and in individual parts of the continents



1 - estimate; 2 - census with register 2011, ethnicity not monitored during the survey; 3 - estimate

Figure 2
Number of Hungarians in the countries neighbouring Hungary

Source: Magyar nemzetpolitika. A nemzetpolitikai stratégia kerete. Budapest : Magyar Közlöny Lap- és Könyvkiadó Kft., 2013, p. 24.

The commitments of the Saint Germain Treaty, although with minor deviations, were incorporated into the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic, but their implementation was reflected to a lesser extent in implementing regulations and everyday practice.

The basic laws providing for the status of minorities pursuant to the Saint Germain Treaty were the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Principles of Language Law adopted on February 29, 1920. The Constitution provided for the

This should also apply to the nationals of former Hungary living in the territory of the new Czechoslovak State, who, under later statutory regulations, were deprived of Czechoslovak nationality or they did not get it at all.

“protection of national, religious and racial minorities”, with the exception of some addendums and amendments that became a target of attacks and criticisms of German and Hungarian minority politicians in Czechoslovakia. Criticism was also present at international forums.

However, the first paragraph of the 8th Article of the Saint Germain Treaty, which stipulated that minority nationals would be treated “...as other Czechoslovak nationals,” was not adopted in the Constitution.

It should be pointed out that as minorities did not recognize their rights, the public authorities often exercised the will of the state and local authorities.

1919-1938

The political parties of inter-war Hungary had Trianon’s review among the main points of their program, and there was no political party that would not address this issue. The review propaganda a daily issue calling on historical, cultural, economic, ethnic and geographical arguments.

The Hungarian revisionist propaganda demanded back all the “lost” territories and demanded even those where the Hungarians had not lived. The struggle for the revision of the borders and the restoration of the borders of historical Hungary was accompanied by loud nationalist and chauvinist propaganda. One of the fundamental slogans of this propaganda was “*Fragmented Hungary is not a country, Great Hungary is heaven.*”¹⁶ Revisionist and irredentist propaganda exported its visions abroad. Anachronistic economic, cultural and historical reasons highlighted by tireless irredentist groups and organizations aimed to restore the historical “Great” Hungary. In France, the UK, Germany and Italy, they mostly did not understand the Hungarian justifications of the claims and considered them inappropriate.

The Hungarian public rejected the Trianon Peace Treaty; they considered it unfair, and supported a complete territorial revision during the inter-war period. In order to meet their goals, they would not even reject military intervention. Horthy’s period of “humiliated” national awareness was supposed to compensate for “Saint Stefan’s state ideology” and “cultural superiority.” The whole period was characterized by hatred towards liberalism and leftism, political anti-Semitism, the so-called Christian-national ideology (often chauvinistic and irredentist) and authoritarianism.

Historians of this period elaborated the theory of the primacy of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, claiming that foreigners did not actually live in the basin during the occupation of the homeland, and, if so, only in a negligible number.¹⁷

16 BÍRÓ-BALOGH, Tamás. Egyszerű, rövid, populáris „Csonka Magyarország nem ország”: a revíziós propagandagépezet működése. [online]. <<http://www.forrasfolyoirat.hu/0707/hiro.pdf>>; PALLÓS, Lajos. Nem! Nem! Soha! Területvédő propaganda az első világháború után. [online]. <http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/nem_nem_soha_teruletvedo_propaganda_az_első_vilaghaboru_utan/>.

17 ROMSICS, Ignác. Trianon 90: a máig élő trauma. [online].: <http://mult-kor.hu/20100603_trianon_90_a_maig_elo_trauma>.

Hungarian official policy, due to the real political situation in the 1920s and 1930s, supported a revision conducted on the basis of ethnic borders. Hungary's revisionist efforts intensified especially after the trip of Hungary's Prime Minister István Bethlen to Italy in April 1927 and after Lord Rothermer's campaign to revise the borders of Czechoslovakia and Hungary. A year later, Bethlen's government openly declared the need for a "peaceful revision" and it became the official Hungarian policy. There were also those with other ideas of revision among Hungarian politicians. Hungarian politics made a serious mistake – they did not warn the public that the slogan "*everything back*" had little chance succeeding.¹⁸

In the 1930s, when the country's orientation towards Germany was strengthened, the idea of a violent revision was at the forefront. Hungarian political elites did not only think about revision on the "ethnic borders" principle, but also sought to regain all the "lost" territories, not just those where the Hungarians were the majority. They knew very well that the price that Hungary would have to pay would bind them to Germany and its politics.

The policy of Hungarianship (*magyarságpolitika*), or the national politics¹⁹ did not exist as a separate concept in the Horthy period. The "care" of foreign Hungarians and the Revision of the Treaty of Trianon were linked. The revision was the focus of foreign policy as well as the means of legitimizing the Horthy regime.

After the Second World War, especially during the communist regime, the question of the Hungarian minority living abroad, but in particular the border issue, was a hushed topic in Hungary. Hungarian political elite and public opinion did not deal with, for example, the idea of modifying the borders. *From the beginning, there was a sort of asymmetric internationality among the Marxists of the Carpathian basin, according to which nationalism and national impatience became "a Hungarian privilege." Until then, even the most extreme hatred of their neighbours towards the Hungarians was only a form of healthy "socialist patriotism."*²⁰

The forty-year-old deliberate silence of the Communist leadership with regard to Trianon and the foreign Hungarians turned public attention away from the revisionist idea, but also from the interest in information about Hungarians living in neighbouring countries.²¹ Hungarians had only a little knowledge about foreign Hungarians, even through mass culture and education; textbooks did not deal with them, magazines

18 Hungary openly submitted a revision program in 1937 when it signed the Italian-Hungarian Friendship Agreement and Mussolini began to advocate ideas of revision.

19 Policy of "Hungarianship" (*magyarságpolitika*) – national policy (*nemzetpolitika*). Hungarian government policy related to Hungarian national minority living beyond the borders of the successor states after the First World War; Minority policy (*kisebbségpolitika*). Political activity of Hungarian political elites in Central Europe; National (ethnic, minority) policy (*nemzetiségpolitika*). Government policy of governments towards their own national and ethnic minorities.

20 BALOGH, Gábor. Kádár és Trianon. Nagy Magyarország, No.1, 2009. augusztus 4. [online].: <<http://tortenelemportal.hu/2009/08/kadar-es-trianon/>> to je ten istý zdroj? >.

21 BALOGH, Gábor. Kádár és Trianon. Nagy Magyarország, No. 1, 2009. augusztus 4. [online].: <<http://tortenelemportal.hu/2009/08/kadar-es-trianon/>>.

only wrote about them superficially or falsely in the spirit of socialist internationalism.²² This policy led to the fact that ordinary citizens of Hungary often misunderstood the Hungarian minority they met in tourist destinations. They called them „českók, čechek“ and quite often they asked them “Where did you learn Hungarian? and How are you Hungarian, if you live in another country?”

Hungarian historiography has so far not paid sufficient attention to the issue of minority Hungarians living beyond the borders between 1948-1989. Moreover, there are beliefs that socialist Hungary did not deal with foreign Hungarians, or that Hungary, because of the expectation of the “Great Soviets” built fraternal relations with the surrounding states, and used “small gates” to improve the position of foreign Hungarians. However, the facts cast doubts on both assumptions.²³

1990-2010

Between 1990 and 1991, Hungary had already entered the path to European integration and the question of foreign Hungarians came into new framework: the permeability of borders, and the strengthening of cross-border cultural and economic relations. Gradually, an independent professional policy was formed, which was created firstly by the Budapest political leadership and secondary by Hungarian political elites.

After 1989, a new era in national politics began. Its dynamics changed. National politics became an important point of foreign policy and an important element of internal political struggle.

For every Hungarian Government, it became a national interest, a moral task and a constitutional responsibility to support foreign Hungarians' communities, to improve their status and their situation so that they would not abandon their homeland. The Hungarian Government's responsibility was rooted in the Constitution of the Republic of Hungary (Catch I, paragraph 6, point 3) “...the Republic of Hungary feels responsible for the fate of Hungarians living abroad and supports their cooperation with Hungary.”²⁴ The Constitution promoted the support of the Hungarian minority living abroad to the highest legal regulation,²⁵ but did not specify the forms and the means of its application. It also did not specify how the national policy is to be incorporated into the foreign policy of the state and how it should become a central part of it.

22 KOLLAI, István. *Rozštiepená minulosť. Kapitoly z histórie Slovákov a Maďarov*. Budapest : Terra Recognita, 2008, 255 p.

23 DÉVÉNYI, Árpád. *Nemzetpolitikai kérdések Magyarországon 1948 – 1989*. [online]. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.prominoritate.hu/folyoiratok/2006/ProMino06-1-11-Devenyi.pdf>>.

24 Available on the Internet: <<http://www.jogiforum.hu/törvénytár/105/Alkotmány/1949.-évi-XX.-törvény-a-Magyar-Köztársaság-Alkotmánya>>.

25 The care for compatriots living abroad is included in the highest legislative standards not only in Hungary. The Constitution of the Slovak Republic in the first chapter in Article 7a also declares: “The Slovak Republic supports the national awareness and cultural identity of Slovaks living abroad, supports their institutions established to achieve this purpose and relations with the motherland”. (or the Constitution of Romania. I. Title: General Principles Section 7 – Foreign Romanians).

Since 2011, the basic law of Hungary (Article D) prescribes the responsibilities and role of governments, *"Taking into consideration the fellowship of the united Hungarian nation, Hungary assumes the responsibility for the fate of Hungarians living beyond its borders, helps to preserve and develop their communities, supports their efforts to preserve their Hungarian identity, the implementation of their individual and collective rights, the creation of their communal authorities, their success in their homeland, and their mutual cooperation as well as cooperation with Hungary."*²⁶

The roots of the Hungarian governments' responsibility for the fate of Hungarians living abroad are a result of a number of personal (subjective) and institutional facts which can be divided into three large groups. The first group includes historical considerations based on the difference of the borders of the Hungarian state and the Hungarian nation. The existence of the Hungarians beyond the borders is reminiscent of the historical Hungary and the cultural heritage of the border Hungarians is a remnant of the historical Hungary. The second group are the pragmatic reasons, based on the fact that more than one thousand families in Hungary have family relations with Hungarians beyond the borders. This is the reason for society to pay attention to Hungarians living abroad. The moral arguments of the third group are based on the historical responsibility of the Hungarian state. Hungary as a state was defeated twice, and thanks to this, Hungarian minority communities emerged. The Hungarian state therefore bears responsibility for those who were, along with their country of residence, torn from Hungary due to erroneous political decisions.

After the first free elections (1990), the government of József Antall tried to build an institutional framework of national politics and followed up on the activities of the Board and the Secretariat for Nationality and Ethnic Minorities of the previous Németh government (1988-1990).²⁷ The Government of J. Antall²⁸ set itself as its historical role and duty to support foreign Hungarians.²⁹

At the third Hungarian Democratic Forum Regional Assembly (Magyar Demokrata Forum, hereinafter referred to as MDF), on 2 June 1990, József Antall made a public

26 Magyarország Alaptörvénye (2011. április 25.). Primary law of Hungary (25. aprila 2011). Available on the Internet: <http://nemzetikonyvtar.kormany.hu/download/0/10/50000/szlov%C3%A1k-magyar_nyomdai.pdf>.

27 Secretariat for Foreign Hungarians at the Office of the Prime Minister; Office for Foreign Hungarians; the Illyes Foundation; a separate department at the Ministry of Education; TV channel Duna TV.

28 According to Miklós Duray *"we can thank the government of József Antal for the change of regime's, this government began to act as the Hungarian government. Like after Trianon, responsibility for national politics became government policy"* DURAY, Miklós. Nemzetpolitika, országpolitika, kormánypolitika. www.duray.sk

29 Nándor Bárdi, summarised the characteristic features of Antall's national policy in three points: *"1. the government assumed responsibility for the diplomatic protection of Hungarian minorities on the basis of international legal standards of human and minority rights; 2. on the basis of models from Western Europe, they wanted to create a model for solving the national issue for Central Europe; 3. without hearing the views of foreign Hungarians, it is not possible to decide on national policy issues."* BÁRDI, Nándor. *Tény és való. A budapest kormányzati és határon túli magyarság kapcsolattörténete*. Pozsony : Kalligram Könyvkiadó, 2004, 140 p.

speech in the interest of foreign Hungarians and outlined his vision of the direction of national politics. He expected to secure the rights of foreign Hungarians, and he emphasized that the nationalities living in Hungary will receive all the rights that belong to them. He wanted to deal with the question of foreign Hungarians on the basis of good neighbourly relations and sent an explicit message abroad that they were not coming up with revisionist claims.³⁰

He created an “extra-governmental” foreign policy strategy based on three priorities: integration, good neighbourhood and the protection of minorities. By extending the rights of the Hungarian minority (and the associated institutional system), the government wanted to support the integration efforts of the neighbouring states and to implement the provision of human rights stemming from European integration.

The central role of foreign policy became the protection of the Hungarian national minority in international forums based on the legal norms of national minorities. In order to secure collective rights, the attempt to involve foreign Hungarians’ organisations as a third party in dialogues with neighbouring states would practically provide them with the possibility to directly intervene in foreign-political and intra-political events. A policy of so-called “Antall’s Doctrine” was created, i. e. “*without hearing the opinion of foreign Hungarians, we cannot decide on them within national policy issues*”.

A serious intra-political conflict was prompted by the conclusion of the Hungarian-Ukrainian basic agreement³¹ The basic agreement prompted strong reactions and discussions even outside the Parliament. The opposition criticized Antall for withdrawing from the country’s specific claims in the agreement. The agreement contained an unusual clause on the confirmation of the Trianon borders by the Paris Peace Treaty and the Helsinki Final Act of 1975.

The focus of Gyula Horn’s National Policy was to ensure that the actions concerning foreign Hungarians in no way disturbed the good neighbourly relations with the surrounding states.³² Hungary signed basic inter-state agreements with neighbouring countries (with Ukraine, Croatia and Slovenia) including minority rights guarantees.³³

At the time of Horn’s government, inter-state agreements with Romania and Slovakia were also signed. After the signing of these agreements, Hungarian foreign policy removed the attribute of the “*destabilizer of the region*”.

This government extended its support policy towards foreign Hungarians. It addressed a wider range of foreign elites and involved them in the work in management boards and foundations supporting minority Hungarians. This support was most often used by the

30 NYÁRI, Gábor – RAPALI, Vivien. Antall József külpolitikájának főbb irányvonalai III. – a határon túli magyarok helyzete. [online]. Available on the Internet: <http://napitortenelmiforras.blog.hu/2016/10/18/antall_jozsef_kulpolitikajanak_fobb_iranyvonalai_iii_a_hataron_tuli_magyarok_helyzete>.

31 Szerződés a jószomszédság és az együttműködés alapjairól a Magyar Köztársaság és Ukrajna között. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.regione.taa.it/biblioteca/normativa/bilaterali/Ungheria%20Ucraina2.pdf>>.

32 The concept is respected in particular by the left-wing.

33 These newly-emerged states sought international recognition of their sovereignty and therefore had to declare European standards of human and minority rights.

elite of the Hungarian minority. However, the supportive policy of Horn's government was not characterized by effective visions that would help to secure economic background of areas inhabited by Hungarians or development of border contacts (this shortcoming was also characteristic for Antall's government). Recognizing the grave economic significance of such support, Csaba Tabajdi, László, Lábódy and Erika Törzsök developed the principles of the new procedure, which was contradictory to the prevailing support policy. In order to develop the economic background of areas inhabited by Hungarians, they launched a new support program. Through a foundation called Új Kézfogás, border co-operation started in the area of economic growth and capital investment. Such cooperation was supposed to help the regions to cope economically with other parts of the country and stop or at least reduce the negative emigration rate of Hungarian population from these areas. Unfortunately, this new approach was misunderstood in the ranks of the minority Hungarian political elite that was accustomed to a support policy based on personal contacts since the time of Antall's government, and thought these programs undermined them and deprived them of their "specific" rights. This was supported by the fact that a corresponding network of institutions, resources, and relationships to help bring such program to life was not established.

At the beginning of government of Viktor Orbán, Hungary was one of the most reliable, most stable, economically-balanced and prosperous states in their geographic area. The ruling coalition FIDESZ – MDF – FKgP³⁴ took over the country under more favourable conditions than its predecessors and made good use of this in its minority policy as part of program funding.³⁵

They set up a program to create a strong nation state and "re-unify" all Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin. The concept of a united nation was formed – Zsolt Németh became its most influential representative. It was not only a cultural and political strategy, but a concept of a unified nation, which, according to this concept, is above them. Existing institutions got to the centre and through the centre they exercised their interests. The foreign political elite was taken as part of national politics.

The emotional rhetoric of national politics of Fidesz had a powerful influence on the mass public, since the program concerned the future of foreign Hungarians.³⁶ The Act on Foreign Hungarians (2001. évi LXII. törvény a szomszédos államokban élő magyarokról),³⁷ which modified the institutional, legal and political relationship of persons belonging to the Hungarian national minority and the Hungarian State, became a means

34 FIDESZ – Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége; MDF – Magyar Demokrata Fórum, FKgP – Független Kisgazda-, Földmunkás- és Polgári Párt (known as Független Kisgazdapárt).

35 In December 1998 they established the Apáczai Foundation to support education and training of foreign Hungarians; separate Hungarian universities were established (Hungarian University in Romania /Kluž, Târgu Mureş, Miercurea-Ciuc/ 2001; University of J. Selye in Komarno, 2001), the existing universities were provided regular support from the Hungarian state budget (Beregov Paedagogical University, Partium University of Varadana); the Illyes Foundation's budget for the development of Hungarian foreign media was increased (news, Duna TV).

36 TÖRZSÖK, Erika. Látványpolitika. Available on the Internet: <http://www.kbdesign.sk/cia/projects/comparative_statuslaw/related/torzsoek_erika.htm>.

37 In Slovakia, this law is known as the Hungarian Compatriot Act or the Act on Foreign Hungarians.

of re-unification of Hungarians without changing the borders. In addition to cultural benefits, this Act provided social and economic benefits. Several European institutions and politicians expressed a negative opinion on the Act.³⁸ The Act on Foreign Hungarians, which came into force on January 1 2002, also caused stormy reactions in Slovakia. *“The parts of the Act on Hungarians living in neighbouring countries that violate the sovereignty of the Slovak legal order are not applied in Slovakia”*³⁹

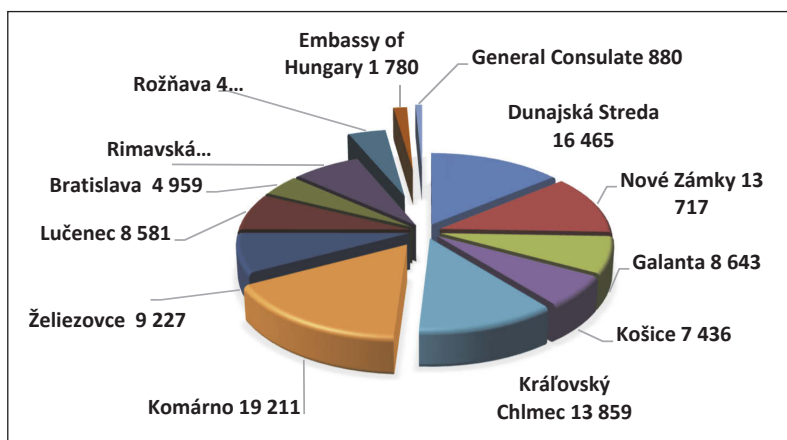


Figure 3

List of applications for Hungarian ID card and the ID card of a relative (applications submitted from 1 January 2002 to 31 July 2008 to the Office of the *Union for Common Objectives* „Szövetség a közös célokért-iroda“).

FIDESZ used the economic and political possibilities and sought visible results (program funding – establishment of institutions). In addition, it implanted the policy of “Hungarianship”, officially as a field of expertise, in the Hungarian administration.⁴⁰

38 The Act on the Status of Hungarians Living in Neighboring Countries, adopted by the Hungarian Parliament, prompted a sharp political response from Slovakia. More arguments were heard about the discriminatory nature of the Act, its contradiction with international law. *“The biggest problem might be Hungarian intention to pay support to the pupils who study in Hungarian on the territory of other countries. According to the Slovak side, it is in breach of the sovereignty of Slovakia, as foreign law, in this case Hungarian, would be applied on its territory. Romania finally found a compromise with Hungary when it agreed to apply the law at the cost of concession to Budapest that the right to work in Hungary without permission would not only apply to Romanian Hungarian, but to all Romanians.”* The disputable Act on Foreign Hungarians Available on the Internet: <http://www.czsk.net/svet/clanky/sr/zahr_madari.html>.

39 Stated by Prime Minister Mikuláš Dzurinda announced in Radio Twist talk show “Duel or Dialogue”, January 19. He expressed his conviction that the Slovak Republic is in line with international law and *“the Republic of Hungary has problems”*.

40 BÁRDI, Nándor. *Tény és való ...*, p. 146.

Orban's government pursued national interest in its minority policy, breaking from traditional Hungarian foreign policy.

Péter Medgyesi's government inherited the consequences of the Foreign Hungarians Act from Orban's government. Revising the Act took two years, and only then it was accepted by Romania and Slovakia. In the process of revision, the emphasis was also on removing both concrete and general deficiencies which were criticized by the Venice Committee.⁴¹

Medgyesi continued the national policy of the Horn government, however, due to constant attacks, this political direction was soon exhausted and did not bring new impetus for this policy.

In 2004 there was a milestone in national politics and the differences between the right and the left deepened further (as well as the conflicts), due to the idea of help and support of foreign Hungarians. On December 5 2004, a referendum with two questions took place in Hungary. The first question was whether hospitals should remain in the hands of the state, the second was the possibility of obtaining Hungarian nationality for foreign Hungarians. It was expected that the question of the referendum on foreign Hungarians would provoke intensive debates not only in Hungarian society but also among Hungarians living abroad. Right-wing parties, in particular Fidesz, supported the question of granting Hungarian nationality from the beginning, partly because of the possibility of securing future electoral base. The largest left-wing party MSZP approached this issue neutrally in the beginning but later their attitude was negative, arguing that dual citizenship could cause migration from the home country. Ferenc Gyurcsány, in his speech in the Parliament, called on his supporters to vote for rejection in the referendum. His arguments shocked foreign Hungarians. According to Prime Minister Gyurcsány, potential citizenship for foreign Hungarians would destroy the social security system, the pension system and the healthcare of the country, and would burden the institutions concerned to the sum of 100 billion forints.⁴²

The ruling parties built their campaign on his statements and attitudes.

The results of the referendum were explained differently by the political parties, according to their own interests. Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány declared the referendum invalid, and the initiators of it suffered a fiasco.⁴³ Ferenc Gyurcsány wanted to prove

41 KÉRY NAGY, Zsolt. *A magyar nemzetpolitika szerepe a térség stabilitása tükrében*. In *Kapu*. Vol. XIX., p. 28.

42 In 2001, the MSZP party frightened the inhabitants of Hungary with predicted economic difficulties – “for example, the 23 million workforce from Romania” – which would be invoked by foreign Hungarians.

43 According to Miklós Patrubby, the Chairman of the Magyarok Világszövetsége, participation of almost 40% in the referendum was a huge success, as the ruling party recommended not to vote or vote against. Zoltán Pokorni (FIDESZ) also evaluated the referendum as successful, as despite the government's campaign, the vote was positive (supporting the allocation of citizenship) because 3% more citizens voted for than against. Ibolya Dávid (MDF chairman) focused on those who did not participate in the referendum, they did not want to be part of the political game. Gun Kuncze (SZDSZ) stressed that the problems of foreign Hungarians need to be addressed by measures that help create better conditions in their home country, cross-border economic cooperation should be promoted, a long-term solution will be citizenship of the European Union.

that Viktor Orbán could be defeated, whereas V. Orbán wanted to show that he was the true representative of the nation. The referendum on December 5 2004 with its campaign on dual nationality was in fact an internal political struggle between political parties.⁴⁴

The foreign press also assessed the results of the referendum as a defeat of the right wing. The low participation and indifference to the topic by the population entitled to vote were evaluated as a rejection of national ideology. The Slovak press analysed the results of the referendum similarly. The most important press authorities emphasized that Viktor Orbán defeated Ferenc Gyurcsány and thus won the first bigger battle.

The referendum⁴⁵ on Hungarian citizenship showed that the Hungarian voter assesses the situation of foreign Hungarians especially in terms of emotion and economy. As a result of the referendum, the ruling MSZP-SZDSZ coalition, headed by Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány, on 6 January 2005, published a new national strategy plan entitled “5 points of national responsibility.”

According to Prime Minister Gyurcsány, “Hungarian minority living beyond the borders of the Hungarian state has the right to use its language, develop and protect its culture, and has the right to be considered part of Hungarian historical tradition. This requires proper legislative conditions and institutional and financial possibilities. It is the responsibility of the Hungarian State to support the Hungarian communities in acquiring these rights as well as in their practical application, protection and also establishing and operating these associated institutions.”⁴⁶

The coalition decided that the issues of economic development must also be part of the national strategy. Gyurcsány’s government wanted to pursue a national policy that was based on a system of normative supportive policy aimed at preserving national identity and strategies for developing competitiveness and economic and social progress. The two pillars of this new concept were support policy and development policy.⁴⁷

In order to meet the target, the ununified support system was reformed and significant changes were made to the system of state administration.

- Szülőföld Alap⁴⁸ Institution covered all the institutions that had launched projects, which meant the end of activities of Apáczai Alapítvány, Illyés Alapítvány and Új Kézfogás Alapítvány. The Act on Szülőföld Alap was also amended, the Council was cancelled and its function was taken over by the Forum of Regional Settlement led by the Prime Minister, who discussed the ideas of current development in the given regions with the elite of Hungarian national minorities. An important component of the new system was the “Cooperation in the European Area” program.

44 A diskurzus nem a külhoniakról szól – interjú Bárdi Nándor történésszel. [online].: <<http://vs.hu/kozelet/osszes/a-diskurzus-nem-a-kulhoniakrol-szol-interju-bardi-nandor-tortenesszel-1205#!s0>>.

45 Inicialval ho Miklós Patrubby predseba MVSz, bez predošlej odbornej prípravy.

46 GYURCSÁNY, Ferenc. *Útközben*. Budapest : Návillag Kiadó. 2005, p. 116.

47 Törzsök Erika considers it important that this concept has recently been taken over by the Chairwoman of the Parliament, Katalin a Szili, and President László Sólyom. *Stratégia váltás és intézményi reform a magyar nemzetpolitikában*. Erdélyi Riport, 3.5.2007.

48 Szülőföld Alap ensured the operation of institutions that were unable to work without support.

- The Office for Foreign Hungarians (HTMH) was integrated in the Office of the Prime Minister. Its legal successor became Head of the National Policy Department on January 1, 2007, working within the State Secretariat for Foreign Relations and National Policy.⁴⁹
- The basis of the system of cooperation forums and Hungarian-Hungarian dialogue was built on efficiency, variability and differentiation. Issues of fundamental importance were addressed at the level of Hungarian community's partnership and the Prime Minister with the participation of members of the government and referred to as Hungarian-Hungarian government consultations.⁵⁰

In 2004, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia became part of the European Union and in 2007 Romania became a member state.⁵¹

European and Atlantic integration process in the area of minority rights did not fully meet the expectations of Hungarians in the field of self-determination.

The Slovak, Romanian and Ukrainian legal systems continued to be based on the constitutionality of the national state. Following integration into the European Union, the political elites of these states as well the majorities continued to hold anti-minority attitudes.

At the same time in the 1990s, the minority Hungarian political parties became in many cases members of government coalitions, which was a political message for both Europe and the states concerned. Hungarian minority organizations actively contributed to the accession and integration process in the respective countries. At the same time, political representatives of the Hungarian minority were often accused of representing Hungary's interests as they tried to promote the interests of the minority. The political atmosphere and conflicts unambiguously demonstrated the shortcomings of understanding democracy in the respective states. These confrontations were also marked by Hungarian-Hungarian relations. Hungary's national policy still faced the dilemma (as well as the fundamental question of confrontation between social parties) how to respond to anti-minority attitudes.

The second government of Viktor Orbán after their accession in 2010 promised a new era in national politics (*nemzetpolitika*), in a policy abroad (*határhúli politika*), and in Hungarianship policy (*magyarságpolitika*).⁵²

49 The system of organizations dealing with foreign Hungarians. The office carried out its activities at the level of the Government, Parliament and the President of the Republic.

50 Dimensions for maintaining relations: presidential, parliamentary, governmental and self-governing/regional.

Tájékoztató a Kormány külhoni magyarsággal kapcsolatos politikájáról 2006. június – 2007. január. www.nemzetpolitika.gov.hu.

51 According to Ferenc Gémesi: "This brought national policy into a new dimension". Megújult a nemzetpolitika. www.nemzetpolitika.gov.hu.

52 In Hungarian political life, the use of individual terms to designate Hungarian communities living beyond the borders of Hungary as "disconnected territories" (telcsatolt területeken) or "home" (külhonban) was of a political nature. These names assume various (legal, political, symbolic) contexts (relations), but relate to one thing: the unification of the nation across the borders.

The Hungarian government determined the present and the past of minority communities in a much more radical way than previous governments. Measures of “Epoch changes” opened up a general reorganization of support policy (*támogatási politika*). The Szülőföld Alap support program ceased to exist and the Bethlen Gábor Alap (BGA) program was created.⁵³

Fidesz’s fundamentalist attitude was that Hungarians living abroad are an integral part of the Hungarians. A common history, culture and language were, according to them, a sufficient fundamental and ethical reason for the Budapest government to take care of Hungarians living abroad, and, if necessary, to bear the consequences for the Hungarians living abroad to preserve their identity. Fidesz justified their national policy by arguing that:

- foreign Hungarians are not an obstacle to integration, but on the contrary; Hungary can only remain a stable country, if foreign Hungarians can succeed in their native country;
- conflicts are not in the interest of Hungary or the European Union (long-term failure of foreign Hungarians lead to strengthening radical views that could cause tension)
- the political role of a Hungarian minority in individual countries is a fundamental point (in Slovakia and Romania, minority Hungarian political parties helped to establish democracy and the market economy; their “message” to Europe was unambiguous, they can be counted upon regardless of the fact whether they are in government or opposition);
- the role of economic factors (the economy of Hungary is at such a level as to export capital that assists Hungarian minority, facilitates its economic relations, and thus neighbouring countries can use the capital that will contribute to their stability).⁵⁴

In 2010 (the second government of Viktor Orbán), the newly elected Parliament, supported by the large majority (97,7%), adopted an amendment to the Act on Citizenship.⁵⁵ On the basis of this, foreign Hungarians were able to regain or gain Hungarian citizenship under a simplified procedure.

Attila Mesterházy, chairman of the MSZP, on January 16, 2013, in Cluj (Romania, Kolozsvárt), apologized to foreign Hungarians for his party’s agitation in 2004 against the possibility of obtaining citizenship. “*We harmed Hungarian-Hungarian relations,*

53 Organization representing foreign Hungarians did not receive a place in the BGA leadership (it was a certainty during previous governments). They created a nine-member committee, which was in charge of proposals for support. The head of the committee was Zsolt Semjén, Deputy Prime Minister responsible for national policy, nominating former MAV chairman Szilveszter E Vizi. – the right to make decisions had Zsolt Semjén, András Levente Gál, State Secretary for Public Administration, and Szuzsanna Répás, Deputy State Secretary for National Policy.

54 Klein András. Néhány gondolat az Orbán-kormány külpolitikájáról. [online]. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.prominoritate.hu/folyoiratok/1999/ProMino99-1-11-Klein.pdf>>.

55 344 voted for the motion, three MPs voted against (Gyurcsány Ferenc (MSZP) Szanyi Tibor (MSZP), Molnár Csaba (MSZP), piati sa zdržali hlasovania(Baracska József (MSZP), Oláh Lajos (MSZP), Vitányi Iván (MSZP), Dorosz Dávid (LMP), Szabó Tímea (LMP))

and we also caused feelings in foreign Hungarians which offended them. It was a misguided political decision, and we apologize to all the people we offended”⁵⁶

Zsolt Semjén⁵⁷ derived the acceptance of dual citizenship from the principle that everyone can have as many citizenships as they have real identities. “In the same way Hungary does not mind the Pilis Slovak adopting Slovak citizenship and Gyulian Romanian adopting Romanian citizenship, we also expect the neighbouring countries not to feel as a step against them nor a harm to their national interests if their Hungarians use their human rights and ask for Hungarian citizenship.

Zsolt Semjén swore that Hungary would no longer submit its national interests to the internal policies of other countries. He stressed that Hungary would not provide other states with information on who was granted citizenship.

Adoption of the amendment on Double Nationality Act caused hysterical reactions in Slovakia among members of political parties.⁵⁸ Prime Minister Robert Fico (Smer-SD) and Foreign Minister Miroslav Lajčák (Smer-SD nominee) in 2010 said that the Hungarian amendment to the Act ignores the basic agreement between Slovakia and Hungary. This states that all fundamental decisions affecting both countries must be consulted bilaterally. However, no consultations with Hungary regarding the amendment to the Act were held.⁵⁹

According to SAS historian Dušan Kováč, “the principle of dual citizenship should be common. In specific Central European conditions, the law would have no significant practical consequences. It was an expression of failure of the Hungarian government to come to terms with the collapse of the former Hungary.”⁶⁰

By 2015, foreign Hungarians submitted 750,000 applications for citizenship and an oath was sworn by 700,000 citizens. On that basis, Zsolt Semjén stated that the target of a million new Hungarian citizens by the beginning of 2018 will be met “they are those

56 Bocsánatot kérni jött Erdélybe Mesterházy Attila. [online]. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.maszol.ro/index.php/belfold/7405-bocsanatot-kerni-jott-erdelybe-mesterhazy>>.

57 SEMJÉN, Zsolt. Megharcolunk minden magyarért! Mozaikok a magyar nemzet közjogi egyesítéséről, a keresztény politika kísérletéről. Budapest : Barankovics Alapítvány, 2011, p. 92.

58 KDH: Rejected the Hungarian Dual Citizenship Act, and announced that if the Act passes, they would take action. It advised that the government is preparing domestic and foreign steps and the response would be tough; Prime Minister Robert Fico even called on other political parties to forget the upcoming elections for a while. He wanted the Slovak political parties to have a united opinion. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.sme.sk/c/5376349/dvojake-obciansstvo-zmeni-me-aj-ustavu.html>>. “As soon as the Hungarian Parliament approves the law, the government will meet and in a brief legislative procedure shall adopt a package of laws that will respond to the Hungarian law,” said Fico.

59 KOVÁČ, Dušan. Maďarský zákon o občianstve nebol porušením základnej zmluvy. [online]. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.teraz.sk/slovensko/historik-dusan-kovac-zakon-obciansstvo/125136-clanok.html>>.

60 KOVÁČ, Dušan. Maďarský zákon o občianstve nebol porušením základnej zmluvy TASR, 15. marca 2015, Available on the Internet: <<http://www.teraz.sk/slovensko/historik-dusan-kovac-zakon-obciansstvo/125136-clanok.html>>.

who were not Hungarian nationals, but are attached to Hungarian culture, speak our language and their ancestors come from the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom“⁶¹

A year later, Zsolt Semjén informed the public about the already allocated number of dual citizenships of 920,000.⁶²

In 2018, parliamentary elections will be held in Hungary. From Fidesz's point of view, simplifying the granting of citizenship was not only a grandiose gesture and a symbol of national fellowship with foreign Hungarians, it was also a political calculation for a long-term strengthening of power. It is possible that the granting of citizenship to foreign Hungary will not yield the expected results in the next elections. *„Dual citizenship is a serious matter from an emotional point of view, its giveaway on the political market has been successful, I think the current government's political gain in the next election will be negligible. (Foreign Hungarians) did not decide on the two-thirds support (of Fidesz) in 2014. Unfortunately, it rather helped cause hostility among Hungarians against foreign Hungarians. The mistrust is already mutual...“*⁶³

Three strategies

After the regime change, three strategies were determined in national politics (none of them is exclusively related to the right or the left).

The first strategy was based on the idea that at first, good neighbourly relations must be developed and then minority issues addressed. Its protagonists imagined the implementation of their policies as signing basic agreements with individual countries and solving problems through mixed minority committees. The strategy expected Hungarian minorities to strengthen their position in the individual states, especially if their representatives are members of government coalitions (or were in the parliaments). Hungary would help them only through foreign politics.

They saw a good way in strengthening the economy and social life of Hungarian minority communities. It had an anti-national rhetoric, rejected symbolic politicization and national rhetoric. These characteristics mainly determined the national politics of the left-wing governments (Gyula Horn, Péter Medgyessy, Ferenc Gyurcsány).

The second strategy- the ideology of a united nation – was based on Hungarian unity. It could be implemented by the abolition of the borders of national states (within the framework of EU integration). According to this ideology, minority Hungarian communities were torn away from the Hungarian nation. Political unity of the Hungarian ethno-cultural society was symbolized by the Hungarian Standing Commission (Magyar Állandó Értekezlet, MAÉRT) and a Hungarian ID (*“magyar igazolvány”*) and

61 Csenge Gergely 2018-ra egymillióval nőhet a magyar állampolgárok száma! 2015-07-15 Available on the Internet: <<http://4024.hu/2015/07/15/2018-ra-egymillioval-nohet-a-magyar-allampolgarok-szama/>>.

62 30. november 2016, szombat, 13:33 | MTI. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.maszol.ro/index.php/kulfold/73277-semjen-a-honositas-kezdet-e-ota-920-ezer-uj-allampolgar lett>>.

63 Paraszti az Orbán-politika sakktábláján a nemzetpolitika – Interjú Törzsök Erikával. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.cecid.net/hu/taxonomy/term/31>>.

Hungarian citizenship (“*magyar állampolgárság*”) at the individual level. The concept was based on the fact that the Hungarian government should develop its relationship with the minority Hungarian communities in individual regions specifically (and vice versa). Zsuzsanna Répas, a national policy expert, characterized it as follows: „*If we want to achieve unified Hungarian nation thinking in a unified way, we need to find answers to different problems in these communities.*”⁶⁴

The unification of the nation (without changing borders) with national rhetoric emphasized by symbolic gestures is characteristic of the right-wing governments (Orbán’s governments).

The third strategy is based on European integration and puts emphasis on regionalization. Its exponents assume that common regional interests can remove ethnic conflicts. Some politicians see integration opportunities for Hungarian minorities in the development of border areas and in the regionalization of individual states. For the sake of this, the development of regions (on both sides of the borders) must be adapted to local conditions and demands (historical, ethnic, geographical, economic ...). These people think that they can create an autonomous territory from the regions.

Conclusion

Since 1919 to the present day, several Hungarian foreign policy makers have developed several strategies (doctrines, alternatives) to “process” the national political consequences of their defeat in the First World War and to obtain support for the implementation of Hungarian national interests. In the individual periods, the objectives and interests have been changing, shaping and developing according to the possibilities of the country, and world politics.

Emphasis was placed on regaining lost territories and to protect and secure the rights of minority Hungarians. Newer strategies supported the implementation of autonomous efforts of minority communities, or legal standards ensuring the free connection of Hungarian communities.

Since 1989 programs, ideas and promising attempts to create a national policy strategy have been switching in Hungary, according to the ideological focus of individual governments (left, right).⁶⁵

64 Nemzetpolitikai kérdésekről tanácskoztak a Kárpátaljai Nyári Szabadegyetemen. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.hirado.hu/2016/07/01/nemzetpolitikai-kerdesekrol-tanacskoztak-a-karpataljai-nyari-szabadegyetemen/>>.

65 The most important results of the national policy since 1989 can be considered: the topic of foreign Hungarians and their integration into the state administration; creation of a support system and its institutionalisation; Act on Foreign Hungarians (2001); establishing and supporting Hungarian universities in neighboring countries; Creating a Forum (negotiating) MÁÉRT (Hungarian Standing Conference), Magyar Diaszpóra Tanács (Council of Hungarian Diaspora), KMKF (Forum of Hungarian Members of the Carpathian Basin); modification of the Citizenship Act (2010) simplification of the granting of dual citizenship to foreign Hungarians; the creation of the Committee of National Parliaments in the Parliament (Magyar Országgyűlés Nemzeti Összetartozás Bizottsága).

They had one thing in common: each government put emphasis on promoting the preservation of the Hungarian minority in its homeland.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, migration from Hungarian regions still continues, as well as silent assimilation. None of the Hungarian governments has found a way to help disadvantaged regions in border areas and stop migration from border regions.

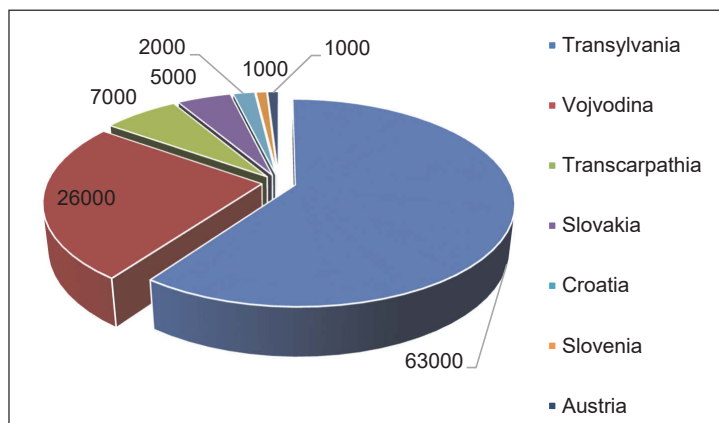


Figure 4⁶⁷
Immigration of Hungarians from individual countries
(from neighbouring countries) to Hungary between 1991 – 2000

According to Nándor Bárdi, until 2010, the national policy focused on building a parallel minority community within individual countries. Institutional systems to ensure the strengthening of national identity were created. *“Since 2010, there has been a change in the policy, the first projects did not concern foreign Hungarians: the Trianon Memorial Day, House of Hungarianship (Magyarság Háza), travel projects, simplified granting of citizenship – all of this concerned Hungary and not foreign Hungarians.”*⁶⁸

66 Erősen fogynak a határon túli magyarok (is) Available on the Internet: <http://www.vagy.hu/tartalom/cikk/859_erosen_fognak_a_hataron_tuli_magyarok_is>; KOVÁCS, András. Hová tűnt 300 ezer magyar a határon túli országokban? Available on the Internet: <<http://www.mag-yartudat.com/hova-tunt-300-ezer-magyar-a-hataron-tuli-oroszagokban>>. Eltűnt 1,4 millió magyar <http://hvg.hu/vilag/20130509_Eltunt_tobb_szazezer_magyar>.

67 Figure from: A magyar nemzetiségű népesség Magyarországra vándorlása országonként 1991 és 2000 között (bevándorló fő) Megjegyzés: A grafikon Sebők László munkája alapján készült. Felhasználása a szerző engedélyével történt. Lásd: Sebők László: *Térképek és diagrammok a Köztes-Európa térség országairól*. Teleki László Intézet Közép-Európa Adatbank. Available on the Internet: <<http://adatbank.telekiintezet.hu/index.php?page=maps&lang=hun&index=htmhmagy&id=1&pid=2>>.

68 A diskurzus nem a külhonról szól – interjú Bárdi Nándor történésszel. Available on the Internet: <<http://vs.hu/kozelet/osszes/a-diskurzus-nem-a-kulhoniakrol-szol-interju-bardi-nandor-tortenesszel-1205#!s1>>.

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3

The juridical aspects of national minorities status

The Issue of National Minorities and Ethnic Groups in the Case Law of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic after Slovakia's Accession to the European Union (2004 – 2016)

Ladislav Orosz

Abstract:

Obsah príspevku tvorí analýza judikatúry Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky z obdobia po vstupe Slovenskej republiky do Európskej únie (2004 – 2016), ktorá vecne súvisí s problematikou právneho postavenia a právnej ochrany národnostných menšín a etnických skupín. V úvodnej časti príspevku autor stručne približuje postavenie Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky v štruktúre najvyšších ústavných orgánov, ako aj jeho právomoci a následne analyzuje rozhodnutia Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky dotýkajúce sa menšinovej problematiky, ktoré boli vydané v konaní o súlade právnych predpisov podľa čl. 125 ods. 1 Ústavy Slovenskej republiky, v konaní o volebných sťažnostiach podľa čl. 129 ods. 2 Ústavy Slovenskej republiky a v konaní o ústavných sťažnostiach podľa čl. 127 ods. 1 Ústavy Slovenskej republiky. Autor stručne rozoberá aj obsah najvýznamnejších rozhodnutí Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky zo skúmanej oblasti a na základe výsledkov analýzy formuluje aj hodnotiace závery. Z analýzy vyplýva, že väčšina rozhodnutí Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky zo skúmanej oblasti sa týka namietanej diskriminácie osôb patriacich k rómskej etnickej skupine.

Kľúčové slová:

Ústava Slovenskej republiky, judikatúra Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky, národnostné menšiny a etnické skupiny, právna ochrana

Introduction

It is clear from the title of my contribution that the subject matter should be an analysis of the decisions of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic (hereinafter referred to as the “Constitutional Court”) from the period after the accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union, which directly or indirectly affect issues of national minorities and ethnic groups. In the introductory part, in the context of the thematic objective of this contribution, I consider it desirable to mention that in recent decades, the status and the importance of judiciary bodies in the structures of public bodies has been significantly increasing in all modern states including the Slovak Republic. This is mainly due to the fact that, in principle, any decision of the bodies of public power under

the conditions of a modern democratic legal state is subject to judicial review, whether within the administrative judicial system, which is aimed at reviewing its legality, or within the constitutional judicial system, which focuses on the review of the constitutionality of the contested decisions of public authorities. This phenomenon, in the legal literature, is known by the term “*judicialization of politics or public life*”. Sometimes we also talk of the so-called “*courtracy*”.¹

These facts suggest that the content analysis of decisions of judicial authorities that relate to a certain part of public and political life can serve as a barometer of current social problems in the area under review. Although this conclusion has a rational core, it must be given some doubt, in particular due to the fact that judicial bodies, unlike legislative or executive bodies, are not entitled to act on their own initiative, nor ex offio (although there are certain exceptions), i.e. the structure and content of the court’s decisions shall be subject to whether the authorities (active legitimate entities) use their authority to initiate proceedings before a constitutional or administrative court. At the same time, the greater the number of active entities to initiate court proceedings are determined by the law or the constitution, the greater the value of the conclusions that can be deduced from the analysis of the case law of the relevant court.

The subject of my contribution is the analysis of the decision of the Constitutional Court, which has a dominant position in the structure of the judicial bodies of the Slovak Republic, in particular in the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, i.e. rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic (hereinafter referred to as “the Constitution”), or a qualified international treaty on human rights and fundamental freedoms to citizens from national minorities and ethnic groups. Given the wide range of actively legitimate entities entitled to initiate proceedings before the Constitutional Court, the content analysis of the case law of the Constitutional Court relating to certain areas of public life can potentially be of sound, informative value. In spite of this, I will be cautious when formulating conclusions that could result from the content of my contribution and I shall instead focus on providing the reader with as much information on the reviewed issue as possible.

On the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic and its Powers

According to the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, the Constitutional Court is “*an independent judicial body for the protection of constitutionality*” (Article 124 of the

1 This is a phenomenon that has undoubtedly positive as well as negative aspects. However, this contribution is not focused on its analysis. From the available legal literature on policy judicialization of politics, see e.g. KYSELA, Ján – ONDŘEJKOVÁ, Jana (eds). *Jak se píše o soudech a soudcích: soudní moc v mezioborové perspektivě*. Praha : Leges, 2012, p. 264.; SVÁK, Ján. *Súdna moc a moc sudcov na Slovensku*. Bratislava : EUROKÓDEX, 2011, p. 168.; KYSELA, Ján. Kdopak by se „soudcovského státu“ bál? In Šimíček, Vojtěch. (ed.). *Role nejvyšších soudů v evropských ústavních systémech – čas pro změnu?* Brno : Masarykova universita, 2007, s. 127 – 143.; or KÜHN, Zdeněk. *Judicializace politiky aneb hrozí nám soudcovský stát? část I.* [online]. In *Jiné právo*, 26. listopad, 2006. [cit. 2.3.2017]. Available on the Internet: <<http://jinepravo.blogspot.sk/2006/11/judicializace-politiky-aneb-hroz-nm.html>>.

Constitution). The quoted constitutional article expresses the constitutional function of the Constitutional Court. In order to fulfil this constitutional function, the Constitution² entrusts the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic with an extremely wide spectre of decision-making powers, which, in international comparison, places it among the most “equipped” courts in Europe and the world.³ Under the current constitutional status, the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic has 18 powers in different types of proceedings. Individual types of proceedings before the Constitutional Court are governed by the Act of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 38/1993 Coll. On the organization of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic, on the proceedings before it and on the status of its judges, as amended (hereinafter referred to as the “Constitutional Court Act”).

It is not the purpose of this contribution to analyse in more detail the competences of the Constitutional Court, but, in view of its thematic focus, only to underline that the issue of national minorities and ethnic groups is potentially subject to the execution of any jurisdiction of the constitutional court. However, the analysis of the current decision-making activity of the Constitutional Court shows that the examined issue has a higher frequency in only three types of proceedings;

- a. in the conformity of legislation proceedings pursuant to Art. 125 par. 1 of the Constitution⁴

2 In addition to the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, 2 other powers are set out by the Constitutional Act No. 357/2004. Coll. On the protection of public interest in the performance of functions of public officials, as amended by Constitutional Act No. 545/2005 Coll.

3 See e.g. MACEJKOVÁ, Ivetta. Právomoci Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky po dvadsiatich rokoch. In *Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie: Postavenie ústavných súdov ich vplyv na právny poriadok štátu. Košice 9. apríl 2013*. Košice : Equilibria s.r.o., 2013, p. 13 – 18; GAJDOŠIKOVÁ, Eudmila – LUBY, Ján – MOCHNÁČOVÁ, Marianna – OROSZ, Ladislav – MACKO, Rudolf. Rozširovanie právomoci Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky a aktuálne problémy rozhodovacej praxe. In Orosz, Ladislav – Dobrovičová, Gabriela. (eds.) *15 rokov Ústavy Slovenskej republiky: Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie. Košice 6 – 7. septembra 2007*. Košice : UPJŠ, 2008, p. 223 – 279; also DRGONEC, Ján. *Ústava Slovenskej republiky. Teória a prax*. Bratislava : C.H. Beck, 2015, p. 1293 – 1499.

4 According to Art. 125 par. 1 of the Constitution, the Constitutional Court decides on compliance of

- a) laws with constitution, with constitutional laws, with international treaties, approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic and ratified and proclaimed in the manner prescribed by law,
- b) government regulations, generally binding legislation of ministries and other central state administration bodies with the Constitution, with constitutional laws, with international treaties, approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic and ratified and proclaimed in the manner prescribed by law, and laws,
- c) generally binding regulations pursuant to Art. 68 with the Constitution, with constitutional laws, with international treaties, approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic and ratified and proclaimed in the manner prescribed by law, and laws, unless otherwise decided by another court,
- d) generally binding legal regulations of local state administration bodies and generally binding regulations of territorial self-governing bodies pursuant to Art. 71 par. 2 with the Constitution, with constitutional laws, with international treaties, proclaimed in the manner prescri-

- b. in the proceeding on electoral complaints pursuant to Art. 129 par. 2 of the Constitution⁵
- c. in the proceedings on complaints under Art. 127 par. 1 of the Constitution⁶

For this reason, the analysis in this contribution will be limited to decisions on minority issues issued in the above types of proceedings before the Constitutional Court. At the same time, given the already indicated risks related to the formulation of the more critical conclusions derivable from such analysis, I will confine myself to a few generalizing assessments for each of these types of proceedings.

The issue of national minorities and ethnic groups in the proceeding for compliance of legislation under Art. 125 par. 1 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic

The competence of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic to decide on compliance of legislation is one of the standard and, at the same time, key competencies of the specialized judicial bodies for the review of constitutionality. This competence of the constitutional courts is based on hierarchical structure of the law of the respective state, at the top of which the constitution stands as the fundamental law of the state and the resulting requirement that all other legislation shall be in conformity with the constitution. In a wider context, it is a requirement to ensure that all lower legal regulations comply with higher legal regulations, i.e. to ensure internal harmony of the legal order as such.

Legal consequence of the Constitutional Court's decision of non-compliance with the constitutional law (or other higher law) is, as a rule, the annulment of the contested law (e.g. in the Czech Republic) or the suspension of its effectiveness in order to provide time for the public authority that issued the contested law to bring it into compliance with the constitution or with other legislation of higher law. Shall the competent public authority fail to bring the non-compliant legislation in compliance with the constitution or other legislation of higher legal force, such legislation shall lapse after this period expires. The same legal consequences, according to the Slovak Constitution (Article 125, par. 3 of the Constitution),⁷ has the decision of the Constitutional Court of the

bed by law, with laws, with government regulations and with generally binding legal regulations of ministries and other central state administration bodies, unless otherwise decided by another court.

- 5 According to Art. 129 par. 2 of the Constitution, the Constitutional Court decides on the constitutionality and legality of the election of the President of the Slovak Republic, the elections to the National Council of the Slovak Republic, elections to the bodies of territorial self-government and elections to the European Parliament.
- 6 According to Art. 127 par. of the Constitution, the Constitutional Court decides on complaints of natural persons or legal entities if they object to violation of their fundamental rights or freedoms or human rights and fundamental freedoms resulting from an international treaty ratified by the Slovak Republic and proclaimed in a manner established by law, unless the protection of such freedoms is decided by another court.
- 7 According to Art. 125 par. 3 of the Constitution, if the Constitutional Court, by its decision, declares that the legislation referred to in paragraph 1 is inconsistent, the relevant regulations,

Slovak Republic, issued in the proceedings on compliance of legal regulations. The Constitutional Court decides on the compliance of the law by finding, its decision is generally binding and is published in the Collection of Laws of the Slovak Republic.

The legal theory distinguishes abstract and specific review of the constitutionality of legislation. The essence of a specific review of constitutionality is that the competent authority for judicial review of constitutionality may assess the compliance of the contested legislation with the Constitution or other legislation of a higher legal force only in relation to the decision on a particular legal dispute (case), deciding on the compliance of the legislation as a preliminary (prejudicial) question. On the contrary, the essence of abstract review of constitutionality is the fact that the constitutionally legitimated entities may initiate a procedure for compliance of legislation, regardless of the existence of a particular legal dispute, i.e. they can directly challenge the constitutionality of a law or other legislation. There is no doubt that the abstract review of constitutionality has a more radical political dimension, especially if the parliamentary minority (opposition) has the right to initiate a proceeding on legal compliance.

The Constitution of the Slovak Republic establishes the competence of the Constitutional Court to decide on the compliance of legislation fundamentally in the abstract form of the review of constitutionality of the legislation,⁸ while it establishes an extremely wide range of entities eligible to initiate proceeding on legal compliance, which also includes a parliamentary minority (one fifth of the members of the National Council).⁹ These facts enable formulation of general conclusions on the scale of current

their parts, or some of their provisions lose effectiveness. The authorities which issued this legislation are obliged to bring them into compliance with the Constitution, constitutional laws and with international treaties, in a manner proclaimed by law, within six months of declaring the decision of the Constitutional Court and, in the case of the regulations referred to in paragraph 1 b) and c), as well as other laws, and in the case of the regulations referred to in paragraph 1 d), also with the government regulations and with generally binding legislation of the ministries and other central state administration bodies. If they fail to do so, such regulations, parts or provisions lose effectiveness six months after the decision is announced.

- 8 The specific expression of abstract control of constitutionality occurs when proceedings before the Constitutional Court are initiated by the General Court in connection with their decision-making activity (by deciding a particular dispute). Its essence lies in the fact that, if the General Court deciding on a specific legal matter comes to the conclusion that the legislation to be applied in the matter, is not in compliance with the constitution or other legislation of higher legal power, it shall suspend the proceedings and submit to the Constitutional Court a proposal for commencement of proceedings for review of the constitutionality of the relevant legal regulation. Subsequently, the Constitutional Court decides, in the regime of abstract control of constitutionality, on (not) compliance with the relevant legislation with the Constitution or other legislation of higher legal power, whereby the General Court may decide on a particular case only after the decision of the Constitutional Court; however, in its decision it is bound by the legal opinion of the Constitutional Court (see Article 144 par. 2) of the Constitution).
- 9 Pursuant to Section 18 par. 1 letters a) to g) together with Section 37 par. 1 of the Act on the Constitutional Court, the Constitutional Court shall begin proceedings on compliance of legal regulations, if the proposal is submitted by:
 - a) at least one fifth of the members of the National Council of the Slovak Republic,
 - b) the President of the Slovak Republic,

social problems, which are usually the subject of a political battle or at least a wider (not only professional) public debate, on the basis of the content of the proposals to initiate the proceeding on the compliance of law. If we build on the aforementioned point of view, we may, in relation to the minority agenda that has appeared in the constitutional court's decision-making process in the proceeding on compliance of law pursuant to Art. 125 par. 1 of the Constitution to formulate, in my opinion, at least two generalizing assessments.

1. The issue of the legal status of national minorities and ethnic groups has been largely reflected in the constitutional court's decision-making work on legal compliance, especially during the first decade of its activity (1993-2003), when it was confronted with a number of extremely sensitive proposals for the opening of proceedings, in which we could "feel" the existence of relatively high tensions in ethnic relations (especially in relation to the Hungarian national minority). Most of the proposals to initiate legal compliance proceedings that were directly, or at least indirectly, related to the minority issue were linked to interventions of the lawmaker in the rights of national minorities and ethnic groups guaranteed by the constitution; these were in particular
 - the proceedings conducted under file ref. PL. CC 8/96, in which the Constitutional Court, at the suggestion of a group of members of the National Council of the Slovak Republic (hereinafter referred to as the "National Council"), examined the contested incompliance of several provisions of Act No. 270/1996 Coll. On the state language, limiting the linguistic rights of ethnic minorities, by the constitution and international treaties,¹⁰ or
 - the proceedings conducted under file ref. PL. CC 4/97, in which the Constitutional Court reviewed, at proposal of the President of the Slovak Republic (among

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- c) the Government of the Slovak Republic,
 - d) the court, in connection with its decision-making activities,
 - e) the General Prosecutor of the Slovak Republic,
 - f) the Chairman of the Court of Justice of the Slovak Republic in matters of compliance of the legal regulations pursuant to Art. 125 par. 1) of the Constitution relating to the judiciary,
 - g) the public defender of rights in matters of compliance of legislation pursuant to Art. 125 par. 1 of the Constitution if their continued application may endanger the fundamental rights or freedoms or the human rights and fundamental freedoms resulting from an international treaty ratified by the Slovak Republic and which was proclaimed in the manner prescribed by law.

- 10 The Constitutional Court in the case file No. PL. CC 8/96 of 26 August 1997 stated that Section 3 par. 5 of the Act on State Language, which provided that written submissions of citizens to public authorities are to be submitted (exclusively) in the state language, in conjunction with Section 12 of this Act (Section 12 of the Act on State Language cancelled the Act of the Slovak Republic No. 428/1990 on the Official Language of the Slovak Republic) is not in compliance with Art. 34 par. 2 letter b of the Constitution and it did not uphold the rest of the proposal of a group of members of the National Council. Please find the text of the finding in: *Zbierka náleзов a uznesení Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky 1997* [online]. Košice : Ústavný súd Slovenskej republiky, 1998, p. 199. [cit. 2.3.2017]. Available on the Internet: <<https://www.ustavnysud.sk/vyhľadavanie-rozhodnuti#!DecisionsSearchResultView>>.

other things) the compliance of § 31 of the Act of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 350/1996 Coll. On the Rules of Procedure of the National Council of the Slovak Republic with several provisions of the Constitution, which established the Slovak language as the sole negotiating language of the National Council,¹¹

- the proceedings conducted under file ref. PL. CC 19/98, in which the Constitutional Court, at the proposal of a group of members of the National Council, examined (inter alia) the constitutionality of the so-called ethnic quotas introduced by Act No. 346/1990 Coll. On the elections to municipal self-governing bodies by an amendment to this law carried out several months before the elections (the purpose of the so-called ethnic quotas was to limit the number of nominated candidates from national minorities and ethnic groups to municipal elections, i.e. it was an effort of parliamentary majority to limit the participation of national minorities and ethnic groups in public life.¹²
2. The frequency of the proposals for initiation of legal compliance proceedings “motivated” by ethnic issues has slightly decreased after the accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union (after 2004), however, there have been at least three proposals for initiation of proceedings on compliance of legal regulations with the Constitution, which can be attributed a minority dimension; these are proposals made by the Constitutional Court under the file ref. PL CC 8/04, PL CC 16/2010 and PL CC 11/2012.

In my opinion, the decision of the Constitutional Court in the case filed under file ref. PL CC 8/04 is fundamental to the subject under consideration. The subject of this proceeding was the decision on the proposal of the Government of the Slovak Republic for a declaration of non-compliance of Section 8 par. 8 of Act No. 365/2004 Coll. On equal treatment in certain areas and on protection against discrimination and on the amendment of certain laws (Anti-Discrimination Act) with several provisions of the Constitution. The provision of Section 8, par. 8 of the Anti-Discrimination Act in the contested diction reads as follows: *“In order to ensure equality of opportunity in practice and observance of the principle of equal treatment, special compensatory measures may be taken to prevent disadvantages related to racial or ethnic origin.”*

11 The Constitutional Court did not uphold this part of the President’s proposal in the case file No. PL. CC 4/97 of February 24, 1998. See *Zbierka nálezov a uznesení Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky 1998* [online]. Košice : Ústavný súd Slovenskej republiky, 1999, p. 29. [cit. 2.3.2017]. Available on the Internet: <<https://www.ustavnsud.sk/vyhľadavanie-rozhodnuti#!DecisionsSearchResultView>>.

12 The Constitutional Court in the case file No. PL. CC 19/98 of 14 October 1998 stated the incompliance of the relevant provisions of the Act of the Slovak National Council No. 346/1990 Vol. On Elections to Self-governing Bodies of Municipalities, as amended by Act No. 233/1998 Coll. regulating the so-called national quotas with a number of constitutional provisions. Please find the text of the finding in: *Zbierka nálezov a uznesení Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky 1998* [online]. Košice : Ústavný súd Slovenskej republiky, 1999, p. 173. [cit. 2.3.2017]. Available on the Internet: <<https://www.ustavnsud.sk/vyhľadavanie-rozhodnuti#!DecisionsSearchResultView>>.

It is quite obvious that by the contested provision, the lawmaker attempted to implement positive discrimination in the legal order of the Slovak Republic, which was aimed at eliminating the disadvantage related to “...*racial or ethnic origin*.” The Constitutional Court decided on the proposal of the Government by finding file ref. PL. CC 8/04 of 18 October 2005, which declared the non-compliance of the contested provision of the Anti-Discrimination Act with Art. 1 par. 1 and Art. 12 par. 1 first sentence and 2 of the Constitution.¹³

The Constitutional Court justified the non-compliance of the contested provision of the Anti-Discrimination Act with Art. 1 par. 1 of the Constitution, because it “*does not include the aspect of temporality, the framework definition of methods to achieve the intended purpose, the permitted object of compensatory measures and the criteria for defining their content*,” which it considered to be incompatible with the principle of the rule of law, guaranteed by Art.1 par. 1 of the Constitution.

From the point of view of the issue reviewed in this contribution, the legal view, based on which the Constitutional Court declared the non-compliance of the contested anti-discrimination law with Art. 12 par. 1 and 2 of the Constitution, is of fundamental significance. According to the Constitutional Court, “*the constitutional order of the Slovak Republic recognizes as a generally accepted approach to ensuring equality in rights only such deviation from the universal understanding of equality (prohibition of discrimination), which has an explicit constitutional basis addressing natural inequalities between people, which, if not balanced by legal means, could lead to unjustified hardness towards certain groups of people (for example the adolescents, women, disabled people). The contested provision of the Anti-Discrimination Act, however, in the Constitutional Court's opinion, does not have such a constitutional basis which would justify the constitutionally accepted deviation from the universal principle of equality expressed in Art. 12 par. 1 in the second sentence and in Art. 12 par. 2 of the Constitution.*”

The limited capacity of this contribution does not allow for a more detailed technical discussion with the cited legal opinion of the Constitutional Court (moreover, it is not the purpose of this contribution). I shall therefore confine myself to stating that the legal opinion of the majority of the plenary of the Constitutional Court that positive discrimination has no constitutional basis in the Slovak Republic is very problematic, especially with regard to Art. 33 and Art. 34 of the Constitution, granting citizens of national minorities and ethnic groups basic rights that are not available to other citizens or other natural persons. The questionability of the conclusion reached by the majority of the plenary of the Constitutional Court is confirmed by the fact that up to five judges of the Constitutional Court attached different opinions to the finding of 18 October 2005.¹⁴

13 Full text of the case file No. PL. CC 6/04 of 18 October 2005 (including different opinions see: *Zbierke zákonov a uznesení Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky 2005* [online]. Košice : Ústavný súd Slovenskej republiky, 2006, p. 53 – 79. [cit. 2.3.2017]. Available on the Internet: <<https://www.ustavnsud.sk/vyhľadavanie-rozhodnuti#!DecisionsSearchResultView>>.

14 In particular, see the joint opinion of Judges Ludmila Gajdošíková, Štefan Horváth and Alexander Brösl.

In my opinion, it is highly desirable for the Constitutional Court to review this legal conclusion at the earliest opportunity, which would allow the legislative and executive bodies to have more room for resolving problems related to the real status of the Roma ethnic group.

The subject of proceedings under file ref. PL. CC 16/2010 was the decision on the proposal of a group of 31 members of the National Council, represented by the member of parliament Rafael Rafaj (former chairman of the SNS MPs club) to initiate proceedings on the compliance of some provisions of Act No. 245/2008 Coll. On Education and Training (Education Act) and on the amendment and supplementation of some laws, as amended by Act No. 37/2009 Coll. (Hereinafter referred to as the “Education Act”), which make it possible to provide geographic names in teaching aids in the language of national minorities, with a number of constitutional provisions. The contested provisions of the Education Act stipulate in particular that textbooks as well as workbooks published in the language of a national minority, list geographical names that are used in the language of the national minority bilingually; first in the language of the respective national minority, and then in brackets or after the slash in the state language. The Constitutional Court did not deal with this proposal meritfully, but only in a procedural manner, since, by resolution of PL. CC 16/2010 of 29 September 2010, it was rejected on the grounds that the request for a majority of the judges of the Constitutional Court requested by the Constitution did not vote for adoption of the proposal of a group of members of the National Council for the next proceeding.¹⁵

The subject of proceedings under file ref. PL. CC 11/2012 was a proposal of a group of 30 members of the National Council concerning the exceptionally monitored dispute about the constitutionality of some provisions No. 40/1993 Coll. On the Citizenship of the Slovak Republic, as amended by Act No. 250/2010 Coll. The contested provisions, which were implemented in a shortened legislative proceeding into the Act on Citizenship through promptly prepared amendment, reacted to the extraterritorial effects of the Hungarian Citizenship Act. By amending the Act on Citizenship, implemented by Act No. 250/2010 Coll., another reason for the loss of citizenship of the Slovak Republic arose; the acquisition of foreign citizenship on the basis of explicit expression of the will of the natural person concerned. The person concerned, pursuant to the contested amendment of the Act on Citizenship, is obliged under a threat of sanction (financial penalty) to notify this fact (the acquisition of foreign citizenship) immediately to the local district office. Even in this extremely sensitive and legally complex matter, the Constitutional Court did not reach the required constitutional consensus and the proposal was rejected by a PL resolution CC 11/2012 of 17 September 2014, of the Judge-Rapporteur and the counter-proposal of the judge Lajos Mészáros, constitutionally required majority of all judges of the Constitutional Court did not vote. In this context, it has to be mentioned that the inability of the Constitutional Court to merit a decision on the proposal of a group of members of the National Council was not insig-

¹⁵ Pursuant to Art. 131 par. 2 of the second and the third sentence of the Constitution “*The Constitutional Court plenum shall act by an absolute majority of all judges, if this majority is not reached, the proposal shall be rejected.*”

nificantly influenced by the fact that it was incomplete in its composition (at the time of the decision on this matter, there were only 11 judges in 13-members Plenary of the Constitutional Court).¹⁶

Issues of national minorities and ethnic groups in electoral complaints pursuant to Art. 129 par. 2 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic

The exercise of the power of the constitutional court to rule on the electoral matters set out in the aforementioned Art. 129 par. 2 of the Constitution (see footnote No. 5) is more detailed in the provisions of Sections 59 to 63d of the Constitutional Court Act. The Constitutional Court may decide on electoral complaints by:

- a. declaring the elections invalid,
- b. cancelling the contested election result,
- c. cancelling the election commission's decision and declaring the person who was duly elected,
- d. rejecting the electoral complaint.

Deciding on electoral complaints belongs to the most applied powers of the Constitutional Court, from a quantitative point of view. Between 1993 and 2016, the Constitutional Court received almost 600 electoral complaints. Most electoral complaints were directed against the results of the elections to the municipal self-governing bodies (530), while in 48 cases the Constitutional Court upheld the complainant (36 times the elections were declared invalid, 5 times the contested election result was cancelled and 7 times the one who was duly elected was declared elected).¹⁷

The objections raised by the complainants in electoral complaints are very diverse, with some of these objections obviously having ethnic context; in particular the objections related to the participation of the Roma ethnic group in the elections. The most frequent objections concerning the Roma ethnic group in electoral complaints include, in particular, the objection of buying votes of Roma voters (electoral corruption), the objection to the violation of electoral moratorium, or the application of the prohibited forms of electoral agitation in parts of municipalities inhabited by the Roma ethnic

16 Given the fact that the decision was made on a very sensitive case, the Constitutional Court chose an unconventional solution, when they included in the justification of their decision to reject the proposal of the group of MPs a proposal by the Judge-Rapporteur seeking to withdraw the constitutionality of the contested Act on Citizenship, as well as a counterclaim by Judge Lajos Mészáros, in order to pronounce the unconstitutionality of some of the contested provisions of the Act on Citizenship. The Constitutional Court thus allowed the public to become aware of the different approaches of judges to assess the constitutionality of the contested provisions of the Act on Citizenship. Available on the Internet: <<https://www.ustavnysud.sk/vyhľadavanie-rozhodnuti#!DecisionsSearchResultView>>.

17 For more on this part of the Constitutional Court's decision-making process, see e.g. MACEJKOVÁ, Ivetta – BABJAK, Miloslav – MIHALOV, Ján – MOZEŠOVÁ, Zuzana. *Volebné sťažnosti v rozhodovacej činnosti Ústavného súdu Slovenskej republiky*. Košice : Eurounion spol. s r.o., 2016, p. 224., or available on the Internet: <<https://www.ustavnysud.sk/konania-vo-volebných-veciach>>.

group, “transporting” Roma voters to polling stations organized by individual candidates.¹⁸ An objection to unauthorized influencing voters belonging to the Roma ethnic group directly at polling stations is also common.¹⁹ The highest intensity of violation of electoral regulations is already standard in elections in the eastern Slovak village of Žehra, inhabited predominantly by a Roma ethnic group, where the complainants also objected to the non-participation of the non-Roma population in general elections and open manipulation of the election results.²⁰

Even without deeper analysis of the above-mentioned proceedings in electoral issues containing the “Roma issue”, it can be stated that the Roma ethnic group is the centre of interest of all candidates in municipal elections (as well as other types of elections), which is probably related to the fact that this part of population is apparently the most vulnerable and predisposed to manipulation by unfair campaigning (in particular electoral corruption) in the pre-election period. At the same time, it is part of the population, which generally has no electoral preferences, and direct election campaigning is therefore effective immediately before the elections, and it is also based on minor material benefits (goulash, alcoholic beverages, etc.) as well as unrealistic promises. From the content of electoral complaints, it can also be deduced that opinion-forming personalities directly from the Roma ethnic group (e.g. vajdas) are generally involved in influencing the votes of Roma voters.

The ethnic dimension is also part of electoral complaints challenging the results of elections in municipalities or towns located near the Slovak-Hungarian border, containing an objection to the abuse of Hungarian mass media for the purpose of electoral agitation of some candidates belonging to the Hungarian national minority (even at the time of the electoral moratorium). However, this is an objection that has only recently appeared in a limited number of electoral complaints.²¹

The issue of national minorities and ethnic groups in proceedings of complaints under Art. 127 par. 1 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic.

In view of the immediate and particular constitutional protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms of natural persons or legal entities, the decision of the Constitution-

18 Several electoral complaints proceedings containing such objections upheld by the Constitutional Court, we can highlight the following in particular; proceeding under file No. PL. CC 45/07 (Brzotín), PL. CC 1/2011 (Levoča), PL. CC 13/2011 (Svinia) or PL. CC 28/2014 (Roztoky). At the same time, we would also like to draw attention to some other proceedings in electoral matters which have a significant “Roma dimension” and had an unsuccessful ending for the complainant; these are, for example, proceedings under file No. PL. CC 8/07 (Vrbov), PL. CC 10/2011 (Čičava), PL. CC 90/2011 (Moldava nad Bodvou), PL. CC 25/2011 (Richnava), PL. CC 51/2014 (Trebišov) or PL. CC 26/2011 (city part Lunik IX Košice).

19 E.g. complaint under file No. PL. CC 56/2014 (Sabinov).

20 See the proceedings under file no. PL. CC 90/07, as well as PL. CC 17/09.

21 See the proceedings on electoral complaint against the results of the Mayor’s elections in the city of Dunajská Streda under file No. PL. CC 90/07 (the Constitutional Court upheld this election complaint by a decision of 19 November 2008 and declared the Mayor’s election invalid).

al Court on the so-called constitutional complaints under the aforementioned Art. 127 par. 1 of the Constitution (see footnote 6) is of fundamental significance. Decisions on constitutional complaints are, from a quantitative point of view, a dominant part of the constitutional court's decision-making agenda (more than 90% of applications delivered to the Constitutional Court are constitutional complaints), and, in terms of legal means available to the constitutional court in the area of individual protection of constitutionality, it is obviously the most effective legal tool for the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution as well as human rights and fundamental freedoms resulting from applicable international treaties of natural persons and legal entities. The power resulting from Art. 127 par. 1 of the Constitution is based on the principle of subsidiarity, which means that the Constitutional Court can apply it only if the complainant has already used all other legal means of protection of their rights, which the legal order of the Slovak Republic effectively provides.

Effectiveness of the constitutional protection provided on the basis of a constitutional complaint is underlined by Art. 127 par. 2 of the Constitution, according to which if the Constitutional Court upholds the complaint and decides that a lawful decision, measure or other intervention by the competent public authority violated the rights or freedoms, the violation of which the complainant objected, the Constitutional Court shall also

- (obligatory) cancel such decision, measure or other interference,
- possibly return the matter for further proceeding,
- prohibit the continuation of violations of fundamental rights and freedoms or human rights and fundamental freedoms under a valid international treaty;
- if possible, order that the person who violated the rights or freedoms restores the condition prior to their violation,
- in the event that the violation of rights or freedoms arose from the inactivity of the competent public authority, it may also order for the person who violated those rights or freedoms to act in the matter. In addition, pursuant to Art. 127 par. 3 of the Constitution, the Constitutional Court may, by means of a decision gratifying a complaint, grant appropriate financial compensation to the person whose right was violated under paragraph 1. Constitutional complaints are very diverse from a substantive point of view. Therefore, it is not surprising that many of them are directly related to the violation of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution only to citizens from national minorities and ethnic groups (fundamental rights provided for in Article 33 and Article 34 of the Constitution), or constitutional complaints by citizens of national minorities and ethnic groups (or legal entities representing the interests of national minorities or ethnic groups) who seek the protection of their other fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, which occurred or should occur primarily because of their belonging to a national minority or ethnic group, i.e. on a discriminatory basis, explicitly prohibited by Art 12 par. 2 of the Constitution.²²

22 According to Art. 12 par. 2 of the Constitution “*Fundamental rights and freedoms are guaranteed in the territory of the Slovak Republic to all, irrespective of... race, colour of the skin... national or*

In the period under review (after the accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union), complaints where complainants complained of (only) violations of the fundamental rights guaranteed in Art. 33 and Art. 34, i.e. rights belonging only to citizens of national minorities and ethnic groups are practically non-existent.²³ On the other hand, in the register of constitutional complaints delivered to the Constitutional Court in the period under review, there are a number of complaints by citizens from a national minority or ethnic group who seek constitutional protection because of their discrimination for their nationality or ethnic origin. These constitutional complaints can be divided into several groups from thematic point of view.

These thematic groups can include constitutional complaints by citizens belonging to the Roma ethnic group claiming violation of their fundamental rights due to unequal treatment in connection with their access to employment. This group includes, for example, the complaint of a complainant belonging to Roma ethnic group who objected to violation of her fundamental rights on the grounds that the General Courts failed to uphold her (antidiscrimination) complaint that the city of Spišská Nová Ves, in the selection procedure for field social workers funded from the Social Development Fund, violated the principle of equal treatment. The Constitutional Court upheld the applicant's complaint by finding III. CC 90/2015 from 1 December 2015, annulled the contested judgment of the Court of Appeal and returned the matter for further proceeding.²⁴

social origin, nationality or ethnic group... No one can, for these reasons, be harmed, preferred or disadvantaged”.

23 Several such complaints appeared in the previous period; see e.g. proceedings concerning the complaint of two members of the national minority, as well as the Association of Ruthenian-Ukrainians of the Slovak Republic and the Ruthenian Revival, in which they objected to violation of their rights under Art. 34 par. 1 and Art. 34 par. Article 2 c) of the Constitution, as well as Art. 11 par. 1 and 3 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages by the decision of the Central Director of the Slovak Radio of 17 March 2003, in which he decided to abolish the Chief Department of National-Ethnic Broadcasting of Slovak Radio Prešov and the inclusion of its part in the Regional Studio of Slovak Radio (the Constitutional Court rejected this complaint by finding file No. I. CC 191/03 dated 5 November 2003), or a proceeding on a complaint of a group of inhabitants of Dobšiná from Roma ethnic group, objecting to the violation of their fundamental rights and freedoms resulting from Art. 12 and Art. 33 of the Constitution, by order of the City Council of Dobšiná of 5 August 2002 ('the contested order'), which annulled its resolution of 20 March 2002 approving the concept of the construction of low-standard housing. According to the complainants, the contested order was issued on the basis of a petition by other residents of Dobšiná, who supported the petition in the following wording: *"I disagree with the construction of apartments for citizens of Gypsy nationality in Dobšiná because there is a risk of influx of in-adaptable citizens of the Gypsy nationality from the neighbourhood, or even other districts and regions"* (the Constitutional Court rejected this complaint as manifestly unfounded by resolution III CC 40/2003 of 5 February 2003).

24 Available on the Internet: <<https://www.ustavnsud.sk/vyhľadavanie-rozhodnuti#!Decisions-SearchResultView>>.

All the decisions of the Constitutional Court referred to below are available on the website of the Constitutional Court, note).

On the other hand, the complaint of two complainants regarding the violation of their rights on the grounds that the General Courts dismissed their action seeking a declaration that the legal entity concerned denied them the right to employment on account of their belonging to Roma ethnic group, was denied by the Constitutional Court's decision No. I. CC 77/2013 on February 6, 2013. In the marked resolution, the Constitutional Court "approved" of the decisions of the General Courts not to comply with the complainants' claim, mainly because they did not bear the burden of proof (they did not prove their claim of discriminatory approach of the legal entity concerned to their employment).

This category includes also constitutional complaint of a Roma complainant with university education who filed a complaint against the decisions of the General Courts in relation to her previous unsuccessful application for employment at a special primary school, where only complete secondary education was necessary (also due to lack of funding, the position was filled by a candidate with a lower level of education than the complainant); the General Courts of Appeal did not uphold the complaint, while the Constitutional Court "agreed" with their decision rejecting the complainant's complaint No. II. CC 65/2015 on 4 February 2015.

Refusal of access to Roma ethnic group to pubs, accommodation or other similar facilities is a serious problem of coexistence between the Roma ethnic group and the rest of the population, also in terms of thematic focus of several constitutional complaints. Such attitudes of the owners or the leasers of the designated facilities undoubtedly present (of course, only if proven) a violation of the principle of equal treatment, and hence a violation of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The Constitutional Court dealt with this problem, for example, in a complaint filed under file No. I. CC 43/2011, which, by resolution from 3 February 2011, was dismissed as manifestly unfounded. In this resolution, the Constitutional Court, "approved of" the decision of the General Courts, which partially upheld the applicants' claim (they were of Roma origin), insofar as they declared that the defendant (the café owner) had breached the principle of equal treatment and direct discrimination with regard to them, and imposed on him to apologise to the complainant, but did not uphold the part of their claim seeking the compensation for non-pecuniary damage. A similar complaint was made to the Constitutional Court in the proceedings under the file ref. III. CC 91/2015. The Complainant (Civic association Counsel for Citizens and Human Rights) objected to a violation of their rights guaranteed by the Constitution, which was due to the fact that the General Courts dismissed their action seeking a declaration that the defendant's actions (businessman providing accommodation) were direct discrimination on the grounds that he refused to provide accommodation for about 20 persons of Roma origin for whom the complainant organized an event resulting from their main activity. The General Courts dismissed the action on the grounds that the complainant could not prove his claims, while the Constitutional Court in resolution file ref. III. CC 91/2015 endorsed this conclusion of the General Courts and therefore dismissed the complaint as manifestly unfounded.

The Constitutional Court also dealt with a number of constitutional complaints by complainants of Roma origin who objected violation of their constitutionally guaran-

teed rights by the procedures and decisions of the law enforcement bodies or General Courts deciding on criminal matters. This category includes, for example, proceedings on a complaint relating to the examination of the decisions of General Courts concerning the murder of three persons of Roma origin committed by a member of the Hurbanov Municipal Police (outside service). The proceedings on this constitutional complaint submitted by the survivors of the murdered persons were conducted by the Constitutional Court under file No. II. CC 328/2015. By their constitutional complaint, the complainants objected the violation of their constitutionally guaranteed rights by a judgment of the Special Criminal Court, which convicted the defendant of assassination of three persons for an unconditional sentence of imprisonment of 9 years and the plaintiffs were referred to civil proceedings with their claim for compensation of damages. In particular, the complainants objected that they were not entitled to appeal against the decision on the punishment (they considered the punishment of 9 years in prison for killing of three persons manifestly disproportionate). In this context, they also objected to the Special Criminal Court's conclusion that the defendant committed a criminal offense of murder in a state of reduced sanity (according to an expert opinion) and also that the court failed to take sufficient account of the fact that it was a racially motivated attack. The Constitutional Court rejected this complaint by resolution of file No. II. CC 328/2015 of 27 May 2015, on one hand because it concluded that the Special Criminal Court procedure complied with the law (in the part relating to referring the aggrieved parties to civil proceedings), and partly because of the lack of jurisdiction, with reference to the fact that in proceedings under Art. 127 par. 1 of the Constitution, the senate of the Constitutional Court acting in the matter cannot review the compliance of the legal regulations with the Constitution (in the part by which the complainants complained that they could not challenge the court's verdict on the length of sentence), as this competence falls within the competence of the plenary of the Constitutional Court in the procedure for compliance of the law pursuant to Art. 125 par. 1 of the Constitution.

At least partly, the complainants were more successful in proceedings under file No. II. CC 424/2012. Their constitutional complaint was preceded by criminal proceedings before the General Courts in which (3) defendants were sentenced to unconditional punishments for the offense of bodily injury (resulting in the death of a Roma citizen and numerous injuries to others) and violations of domestic freedom. The complaint was filed by the husband and children of the deceased Roma citizen as the injured who also suffered their own injuries during the attack of the defendants on their housing ²⁵ (the defendants' 'attack on the complainants' homes occurred during the night hours in year 2000). One of the convicts was also ordered by the General Court decision to compensate to the injured party proven funeral expenses and restitution, while in the case of non-pecuniary damage compensation, the complainants were referred to civil proceedings. The complainants filed several claims in civil proceedings, both in respect to the loss suffered by their wife's and mother's death, as well as damages in the form of restitution and aggravated social claims for injuries sustained by the defendants themselves. In the course of the proceedings, the complainants changed their claims on several occasions

²⁵ Baseball bats were used during the attack.

and, among other things, withdrew their claim in the part demanding compensation for non-pecuniary damage for the death of their wife and mother (ultimately claiming compensation of non-pecuniary damage in the amount of SKK 300,000 to each of them). The District Court dismissed the complainants' action and the Regional Court confirmed its decision. Subsequently, the complainants filed a constitutional complaint demanding the Constitutional Court to pronounce a breach of their constitutionally guaranteed rights (including the fundamental right under Article 33 of the Constitution, which belonged to them as an ethnic group, note), annulment of the contested decision of the Court of Appeal, and the award of adequate financial compensation amounting to € 100,000. The Constitutional Court partially upheld the complaint by declaring that the Regional Court, in the contested decision, had violated the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the complainants, annulled the decision of the Court of Appeal and returned the case to the next proceedings. At the same time, the Constitutional Court granted the complainants adequate financial compensation in a symbolic amount of € 1 000 for each of them, while emphasizing that the annulment of the contested decision creates scope for the General Courts to settle the non-pecuniary damage in the next proceedings.²⁶

Another, comparative but relatively separate group of constitutional complaints consists of complaints made by citizens belonging to the Roma ethnic group, objecting violations of their constitutionally guaranteed rights of decisions of law enforcement bodies or decisions of general courts relating to their sterilization. This is a relatively large group of complaints, some of which have been rejected by the Constitutional Court during the preliminary hearing,²⁷ but in three cases the complaints were upheld; these were complaints in cases brought under the file No. III. CC 86/05, III. CC 194/06 and IV. CC 10/2010.

The subject matter of the complaint of three complainants of Roma origin, file No. III. CC 86/05, objected to the breach of their constitutionally guaranteed rights and rights guaranteed by the Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Funda-

26 The category of proceedings which investigate the procedures and decisions of law enforcement bodies can include the still ongoing proceedings of the Constitutional Court on constitutional complaints concerning other very well-known media cases, concerning:

- a) violence against minors and juveniles of Roma origin caused by members of the police forces after their arrest by motorized police patrol and being brought to the premises of the District Police Department – of Košice – South (in this case, one of the police officers was charged and subsequently the prosecution was filed, but the general courts released the defendant from the charges and the plaintiffs were referred for reimbursement of damages to civil proceedings); the Constitutional Court deals with the complaints under file No. Rvp 12 658/2015, however, has not decided yet,
- b) the police intervention on Budulovska Street in Moldava nad Bodvou on June 19, 2013, during which numerous injuries of several persons belonging to the Roma ethnic group occurred (in this case the complainants complain in form of constitutional complaint insufficient examination procedure of the police intervention unit proceedings by the law enforcement bodies, including the possible racial motif of brutal intervention against the complainants – the Constitutional Court is deciding on the complaint in proceedings under file No. Rvp 4955/2016).

27 This was a complaint filed under No. III. CC 51/08, III. CC 231/08, I. CC 176/2010, I. CC 318/2010, III. CC 316/2011, IV. CC 243/2011 a IV. CC 118/2012.

mental Freedoms (hereinafter referred to as “the Convention”, which allegedly occurred by investigator’s resolution to stop the prosecution of their illegal sterilization, which allegedly occurred at the Hospital in Krompachy (with the conclusion that the investigation did not reveal any facts for criminal prosecution of specific persons or the circumstances that the complainants stated in their complaint) and by the resolution of the Regional Prosecutor’s Office in Košice, which rejected their complaint against the decision of the investigator to stop the prosecution. The Constitutional Court decided on the complainants’ complaints with the finding of file No. III. CC 86/05 of 1 June 2005, in which it declared a violation of their right to an effective remedy guaranteed by Art. 13 of the Convention in conjunction with Art. 3 of the Convention and Art. 16 par. 2 of the Constitution by the contested resolution of the Regional Prosecutor’s Office, which it annulled and returned the Regional Prosecutor’s Office for further proceedings. The Constitutional Court criticized the Regional Prosecutor’s Office in the reasoning of the finding that it decided on the complainants’ complaint against the resolution of the investigator in a formalistic manner, without having it examined materially, although it was eligible to do so.

The matter under file No. III. CC 194/06 immediately follows the decision of the Constitutional Court in the case filed under file No. III. CC 86/05; it was a repeated constitutional complaint of the same three complainants of Roma origin who repeatedly objected to violation of their rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the Convention by a further order of the Regional Prosecutor’s Office in Košice (respecting the order of the Constitutional Court issued in the case file No. III CC 86/05) which re-examined the complainants’ complaint against the decision of the investigator to stop the criminal prosecution of their illegal sterilization and rejected it again. The Constitutional Court decided on the case by finding file No. III. CC 194/06 of 13 December 2006, declaring that the fundamental rights of complainants have been violated under Art. 16 par. 2 and Art. 19 par. 2 of the Constitution and their rights under Art. 3 and Art. 8 of the Convention, annulled the order of the Regional Prosecutor’s Office and awarded to every applicant appropriate financial compensation in the amount of 50 000 Slovak crowns and reimbursement of costs of proceedings. Resulting from the reasoning of findings, the Constitutional Court concluded that in the criminal case the law enforcement authorities did not use all available means to objectively ascertain the facts.

The matter filed at the Constitutional Court under file. No. IV. CC 10/2010 also concerns a complainant of Roma origin who was subjected to sterilization at L. Pastuer University Hospital in Košice, with the difference that the complainant filed a constitutional complaint for violation of her rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the Convention by the decision of the Regional Court in Košice (not criminal but civil case), which, as the Court of Appeal, upheld the decision of the District Court Košice II, which rejected the complainant’s claim to personality protection (the applicant has requested that the Court order the defendant hospital to send her an apology letter for conducting illegal procedure and award her non-pecuniary damage in the amount of SKK 500 000). The Constitutional Court concluded that the contested decision of the Regional Court was not adequately justified, unconvincing and arbitrary and, on that basis, stated that it violated the applicant’s fundamental right to judicial protection under Art. 46

par. 1 of the Constitution and the right to a fair trial under Art. 6 par. 1 of the Convention, cancelled the contested judgment and returned the case to the Regional Court for further proceedings while admitting the complainant reasonable financial compensation in the amount of EUR 1500 and reimbursement of the costs of proceedings.

In addition to the aforementioned, it shall be noted that the decisions of public authorities of the Slovak Republic regarding the illegal sterilization of Roma women have an international dimension as well. The European Court of Human Rights dealt with more such complaints, and in a number of its decisions held that the Slovak Republic in its decisions and procedures against the citizen of Roma origin concerning their sterilization violated their rights guaranteed by the Convention.²⁸ This is still a relevant issue, as confirmed by the fact that the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations only quite recently “*urged the Slovak government to take responsibility for investigating cases of forced sterilization of Roma women from the past and set up an independent investigative body for this purpose.*”²⁹

Conclusion

The findings of the analysis of the examined part of the case law of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic clearly indicates that the issue of various forms of discrimination against persons belonging to the Roma ethnic group is currently one of the most serious problems of ethnic relations in the Slovak Republic. This issue is adequately reflected in the decision-making process of the Constitutional Court as well as other (General) courts of the Slovak Republic. In my opinion, an especially worrying fact is that discriminatory practices occur not only in horizontal relations, i.e. in the relations of the majority population to Roma fellow citizens, but also in vertical relations, i.e. also by decisions of public authorities, which in some cases not only did not provide the required judicial or other legal protection for Roma citizens, but by their own decisions, proceedings or other interventions violated their rights guaranteed by the constitution, or directly discriminated them. Therefore, the key conclusion of my contribution may not come as a surprise, according to which one of the key problems in the Slovak Republic in the future will be dealing with status of citizens from the Roma ethnic group with regard to the general population, as well as providing effective legal protection to all citizens (regardless of their ethnic origin) by the competent public authorities in the context of expanding discriminatory practices.

28 These are the decisions of V. C. against Slovakia, Complaint No. 18968/07, decision of 8 November 2011; K. H. et al. against Slovakia, Complaint No. 32881/04, decision of 28 April 2009; I. G. et al. against Slovakia, Complaint No. 15966/04, decision of 13 November 2012; N. B. against Slovakia, Complaint No. 29518/10, decision of 12 June 2012 (all available on: <www.coe.int>.)

29 See „*Výbor pre ľudské práva žiada prešetriť násilné sterilizácie Rómiok*“. available on: <www.teraz.sk>., news agency portal TASR, 11. november 2016.

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Current Problems of Research on the Legal Status of Minorities in the Czech Republic

René Petráš – Jan Kuklík

Abstract:

Článek podává přehled dosavadních výzkumů právního postavení menšin v ČR v minulosti i současnosti a také aktuální plánovaná bádání. Jde přitom převážně o menšiny národnostní. Zatímco ve starší době, tedy na konci monarchie a v meziválečné ČSR vyvolávalo toto téma velký zájem právních odborníků, tak za komunistické éry se ocitlo téměř na indexu a skoro žádná odborná právní literatura z té doby neexistuje. I po roce 1989 byl zájem právních odborníků léta jen minimální a to až přibližně do roku 2007. V té době na Právnické fakultě Univerzity Karlovy začaly fungovat menší ale i větší týmy věnující se problematice vedené Janem Kuklíkem, René Petrášem nebo Haraldem Scheu. Od té doby odborná právní literatura přibývá dosti rychle. Většina publikujících odborníků je přitom soustředěna na Právnické fakultě Univerzity Karlovy, která má rozsáhlé kontakty s dalšími odborníky i zahraničními pracovišti.

Klíčové slova:

národnostní menšiny, právní postavení menšin, stav bádání

The subject of minorities is of great importance in social sciences and its research has a long tradition. For Czech as well as Slovak lawyers, however, the status of minorities is usually of less interest than say for historians or sociologists. Nor can be overlooked the fact that, despite the extent of the field (for example, in terms of number of students and graduates), the number of publishers is not too great. Nevertheless, research into minority issues has been undergoing complex development in the Czech lands.¹

The title of the article mentions the status of minorities, however, in modern Czech and Slovak history (from about 1848) there are predominantly national minorities; with the national question being significantly linked to minority. Religious or racial/ethnic minorities have had less significance as they were mainly groups linking various elements of their definition; as has been the case with the Jews and the Roma. The importance of religious minorities has recently increased in the countries of Western Europe and gradually also in the Czech Republic and Slovakia with the emergence of new minorities through migration. In France, for example, there are already very large communities which are linked by languages (mainly Arabic, but also Berber dialects)

1 See also PETRÁŠ, René. Právní historie a výzkumy národnostní otázky. In Gajdoš, Marián – Konečný, Stanislav – Lukáč, Marián (eds.) *K výskumu dejín Rusínov a Ukrajincov: teoretické a metodologické otázky*. Košice : CSPV SAV, 2016, p. 15 – 18.

and origin (usually, but not exclusively, Northwest Africa), but mainly by religion, i.e. by Islam, and the lifestyle related to it. So far, Czech and Slovak society has encountered this only marginally. Nevertheless, at least some experts of Czech legal sciences have been trying to examine these problems which could become an actual problem in the Czech Republic, in part due to the membership in the European Union (EU) where it is already an issue in some countries.

Focus of legal science before 1989

Even in current research, a crucial factor is how the material was studied in the past and to what detail. Even in practice (e.g. issues of restitution of Jewish property) there is a need to solve problems closely related to both the interwar and even older legislation; where it is essential to be able to rely on the legal literature of the period. In terms of legal science, the minority question has always been a rather specific topic. At the end of the Monarchy and in interwar Czechoslovakia, national and minority issues were very important, and therefore the interest of Czech and Slovak legal professionals was quite considerable – especially Emil Sobota, Zdeněk Pešek, Emil Stodola.² Language law also sparked great interest (e.g. Cyril Horáček). Despite the considerable extent of professional literature, however, one cannot ignore its considerable weaknesses, when the interpretation of narrow partial problems mainly from linguistic law prevailed; whereas we can hardly find any more general (and usable) work with the exception of Zdeněk Pešek. An exceptionally complicated element is the concept of professional literature, which in the area of minority law is fundamentally controversial. So the differences between the authors are crucial, and to a degree sometimes somewhat repellent.³

After 1945, the issue lost its urgency due partly to the expulsion of Germans but also by inclusion in the Soviet bloc which prevented interstate minority disputes, and the topic was confined to the edges of interest. The interest of legal science in the issue of nationality is therefore minimal in the Communist era (perhaps we can mention the work of Jan Šindelka), which differs from some other social sciences, where the research of the national issue was quite common. In professional legal journals (*Lawyer*, *State and Law*, *Legal Studies*), there were remarkably few contributions on the minority issue.⁴ The relationship between Czechs and Slovaks was routinely written about, but minorities (i.e., nationalities in the contemporary language) are not even mentioned in the articles directly touching on the problem; such as the extensive discussion of Stalin's study "On Marxism in Linguistics" in the *Lawyer* in 1951, which sometimes seems like a comedy.⁵

2 See e.g. PETRÁŠ, René. Emil Stodola. In *Antologie československé právní vědy v letech 1918 – 1939*. Praha : Linde, 2009, p. 499 – 506.

3 For details see PETRÁŠ, René. *Menšiny v meziválečném Československu*. Praha : Karolinum, 2009, p. 282 – 285.

4 See PETRÁŠ, René. *Menšiny v komunistickém Československu*. Praha : Eurolex, 2007, p. 23 – 24, and p. 392.

5 For details see PETRÁŠ, René. *Právo, právní historie a národnostní výzkumy v ČR*. In *Interakce národnostních kultur / teoretické a metodologické přístupy*. Opava : Slezské zemské muzeum – Slezská univerzita, 2008, p. 55 – 62.

Interest of legal science in the minorities after 1989

An important milestone for social sciences was 1989. However, not many legal publications focusing on minorities and national issue were written until about 2007; which is the subject of one of the following chapters. Other humanities produce a large number of books on this issue, although not always of the highest quality, and, moreover, there is a distinctly different interest in individual topics, where issues concerning the Roma and Jewish minority are particularly fashionable. In the Czech legal sciences, only a few articles had been written until about 2007, and there was a lack of a comprehensive overview of the legal status of minorities since there was only one publication of this kind from Hana Frištenská and Andrej Sulitka; which is not even a hundred pages long, and mainly contains copied legislation.⁶ Compilations on the legal status of nationalities were also few and they were not too extensive – some of them were published by the Government Council for National Minorities,⁷ which also publishes overviews of nationality policy in the Czech Republic. Even textbooks – such as for the constitutional law – do not to this day pay more attention to minorities than just a few pages.⁸ In some Western countries, the problem of minorities forms a considerable part of the subject, especially in the area of constitutional law.⁹

This lack of interest in the problem and the fact that it is not scientifically elaborated on is not so surprising. Czech legal science has other gaps – for example, the well-known system of European human rights protection in the Strasbourg court, which has long been dealt with only by the rare books of prof. Pavel Šturma. Although the problem is a matter of a number of legal fields (constitutional, international, but also civil, etc.), the textbooks essentially ignored the matter. Both the problem of minorities and the European system of human rights protection differ in many ways from the usual Czech legal order, although both in a different way, and this undoubtedly contributes to the lack of interest on the issue.

Regarding the individual authors, relatively often these are younger researchers who are particularly interested in the issues of international law – Harald Scheu, Monika Forejťová, Ivo Pospíšil.¹⁰ The research of legislation in other states was carried out

- 6 FRIŠTENSKÁ, Hana – SULITKA, Andrej. *Průvodce právy příslušníků národnostních menšin v České republice*. Praha : Demokratická aliance Slovákov, 1995, 94 p.; HOŠKOVÁ, Mahulena. Der Minderheitenschutz in der Tschechischen Republik. In *Der Minderheitenschutz in der Republik Polen, in der Tschechischen und in der Slowakischen Republik*. Bonn : KDV, 1994, p. 83 – 118.
- 7 E.g.. *Sborník příspěvků ze semináře o implementaci zásad stanovených Rámcovou úmluvou o ochraně národnostních menšin v České republice*. Praha : Úřad vlády ČR, 2004, 99 p.; *K problematice ratifikace Evropské charty regionálních či menšinových jazyků v České republice*. Praha : Úřad vlády ČR, 2005, 120 p.
- 8 HŘEBEJK, Jiří. Práva menšin. In PAVLÍČEK, Václav a kol. *Ústavní právo a státověda II.2.*, Praha : Linde, 2004, p. 176 – 184.
- 9 For details see PETRÁŠ, R. *Právo, právní historie ...*, p. 55 – 62.
- 10 SCHEU, Harald. *Ochrana národnostních menšin podle mezinárodního práva*. Praha : Karolinum, 1998, 100 p.; FOREJTOVÁ, Monika. *Mezinárodněprávní ochrana menšin*. Plzeň : Západočeská univerzita, 2002, 118 p.; POSPÍŠIL, Ivo. *Práva národnostních menšin: mezi univerzalismem*

mainly by Mahulena Hošková.¹¹ Some articles, in particular on the definition of minorities in international law were written by Dalibor Jílek.¹² In international law, however, it was possible to find lessons in foreign literature, even though it is often surprisingly not extensive on this topic. Only Vladimír Mikule wrote more closely about Czech law, besides the aforementioned Hana Frištenská and Andrej Sulitka.¹³ The Roma issue is addressed by Eva Davidová, who also dealt with its legal elements.¹⁴ The group of researchers dealing with the legal aspects of nationality issues is so narrow in the Czech Republic that they usually know each other in person.

The interest of lawyers, even German ones, was triggered by presidential decrees, the expulsion of Germans and related issues, which is also a current legal problem and will be discussed in legal history¹⁵

For comparison, it is also possible to say that even in Slovakia, where the problem of minorities is current, the interest of legal science (unlike other social sciences) was not too great. We must at least mention Ľudmila Somorová, Mojmír Benža and Ladislav Orosz.¹⁶ In Slovakia, however, sociologists and historians also showed considerable interest in legal issues, for example researchers from the historical research centre of the Institute of Social Sciences in Kosice.

Legal history after 1989 and minority research

Legal history, which is a specialization of the authors, is discussed separately. In the past, approximately until 2007, the research of the legal status of minorities suffered from problems similar to legal science as a whole, and the situation often persists to this day. Above all problems is the total unevenness of interest in individual topics. While the problem of presidential decrees, the expulsion of Germans, and related issues, including topical issues, provokes extraordinary interest, only a handful of authors

lidských práv a partikularismem etnické difference. In Hanuš, Jiří (ed.). *Lidská práva. Nárok na obecnou platnost a kulturní diferenciace*. Brno : Centrum pro studium demokracie, 2001, p. 82 – 107.

- 11 See e.g. HOŠKOVÁ, Mahulena. Der Minderheitenschutz in der Slowakischen Republik. In *Der Minderheitenschutz in der Republik Polen, in der Tschechischen und in der Slowakischen Republik*. Bonn : KDV, p. 119 – 158.
- 12 JÍLEK, Dalibor. Pokus o definování právního pojmu „národnostní menšina“ podle výkladových prohlášení smluvních stran k Rámcové úmluvě o ochraně národnostních menšin z roku 1995. In *Národnostní menšiny a majoritní společnost v České republice a v zemích střední Evropy v 90. letech XX. století*. Opava – Praha : Slezský ústav SZM, 1998, p. 15 – 19.
- 13 See e.g. MIKULE, Vladimír. Národnostní menšiny v České republice pohledem českého práva (historie a současnost). In *Menšiny v ČR a v sousedních zemích z perspektivy integrace ČR do Evropské unie*. Praha, 1996, p. 44 – 71.
- 14 DAVIDOVÁ, Eva – LHOTKA, Petr – VOJTOVÁ, Petra. *Právní postavení Romů v zemích Evropské unie*. Praha : Triton, 2005, 156 p.
- 15 For details see PETRÁŠ, R. *Právo, právní historie ...*, p. 55 – 62.
- 16 See e.g. OROSZ, Ladislav. *Práva národnostných menšín a etnických skupín v medzinárodných dokumentoch a ich implementácia do právneho poriadku Slovenskej republiky*. In Šutaj, Štefan (ed.). *Národnostná politika na Slovensku po roku 1989*. Prešov : Universum, 2005, p. 22 – 35.

deal with other issues. Even after 1989, the problem of presidential decrees and the expulsion of Germans can be found in hundreds of professional papers. Apart from the most famous authors, such as Václav Pavlíček, an expert on constitutional law, and Jan Kuklík, a legal historian¹⁷ many others are also involved in the problem, more or (sometimes unfortunately) less professionally.¹⁸ Some German authors traditionally criticized both Czechoslovak and contemporary Czech minority politicians. The restitution of Jewish property has become a current problem.¹⁹

Besides the famous “battle for decrees”, particularly at the time of entry to the EU, there were only a few topics.²⁰ In addition to these current issues, only a few Czech and Slovak researchers were dealing with nationality law from the past – among lawyers it was Peter Mosný²¹ (especially the first Czechoslovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia), René Petráš²², partially also Helena Petrův (the Jews during Occupation), Karel Malý (the beginning of the 20th century), Harald Scheu (the development of international legal protection).²³

Among historians, Jiří Kořalka (early 20th century), Jaroslav Kučera, Václav Kural (both inter-war language law), also dealt, mostly marginally, with legal aspects²⁴, and from Slovakia mainly Štefan Šutaj (Hungarians after 1945), Soňa Gabzdilová (minority education) and Bohumila Ferenčuhová (inter-war international protection of minorities).²⁵ The importance of the legal status of minorities has been largely reflected in

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- 17 See e.g. KUKLÍK, Jan. Dekrety prezidenta republiky – výraz kontinuity československého právního řádu nebo jeho revoluční změny? In *Vývoj práva v Československu v letech 1945 – 1989*. Praha : Karolinum, 2004, p. 132 – 189.
 - 18 More significant works e.g. ELIÁŠ, Karel. Ještě jednou k některým otázkám konfiskace podle dekretů prezidenta republiky č. 12/1945 Sb. a č. 108/1945 Sb. (Expozé v barvách vrchního soudu) In *Právník*, Vol. 133, 1994, p. 971 – 980.
 - 19 KUBŮ, Eduard – KUKLÍK, Jan. Die Rückerstattung jüdischen Eigentums in den böhmischen Ländern nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. In *Raub und Restitution. „Arisierung“ und Rückerstattung des jüdischen Eigentums in Europa*. Frankfurt a M. : 2003, p. 184 – 204.
 - 20 For details see PETRÁŠ, R. Právo, právní historie..., p. 55 – 62.
 - 21 MOSNÝ, Peter. Československý menšinový problém v mezinárodních smlouvách po prvej svetovej vojne. In *Právněhistorické studie* No. 31, 1990, p. 151 – 168.
 - 22 PETRÁŠ, René. Menšiny v Československu 1945 – 1989. In *Vývoj práva v Československu v letech 1945 – 1989*. Praha : Karolinum, 2004, p. 240 – 280.; PETRÁŠ, René. Minderheiten in der Zwischenkriegs-Tschechoslowakei – ihre rechtliche und faktische Stellung. In *Historica* No. 10, 2003, p. 197 – 228.
 - 23 PETRŮV, Helena. *Právní postavení židů v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava – 1939 – 1941*. Praha : Institut Terezínské iniciativy, 2000, 175 p.; SCHEU, Harald. *Standard ochrany národnostních menšin v rámci Rady Evropy*. Praha : interní tisk PFUK, 1997, 176 p.
 - 24 KOŘALKA, Jiří. Češi v habsburské říši a v Evropě 1815 – 1914. Praha : Argo, 1996, 354 p.; KUČERA, Jaroslav. *Minderheit im Nationalstaat / Die Sprachenfrage in den tschechisch – deutschen Beziehungen 1918 – 1938*. München : Oldenbourg Verlag, 1999, 335 p.; KURAL, Václav. Jazykový problém a jazykové právo v ČSR 1918 – 1938 z hlediska česko-německého. In *Slezský sborník* No. 89, 1991, p. 32 – 38.
 - 25 ŠUTAJ, Štefan. *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1948*. Bratislava : Veda, 1993, 196 p.; GABZDILOVÁ, Soňa. *Maďarské školstvo na Slovensku v druhej polovici 20. storočia*. Dunajská Streda : Lilium Aurum, 1999, 128 p.

more general works, however, there has been a lack of more detailed studies and, in particular, monographs; although minorities are a demanding legal problem requiring special research²⁶

The state of research in the last ten years

Approximately around 2007, minority legislation research was moved to a higher level, which was also due to cooperation of researchers who had been working alone until then. Since then, projects dealt with at the Faculty of Law at UK have played the most important role; where most of the literature is being written both on the legal history of minorities or the current legislation. At the core there is a small group of researchers, currently in their forties, working at this faculty, namely Jan Kuklík, René Petráš, and Harald Scheu – originally Austrian – and Helena Petrův (now Hofmannová). They included other researchers from the Czech Republic and abroad, and created a basic overview of this issue in the book *Minority and Law in the Czech Republic*, consisting of 507 pages,²⁷ which is the first thorough overview of the interwar period, and is a fundamental basis for further research. It has also become a foundation for incorporating this issue into teaching, i.e. in textbooks. The *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Iuridica* magazine has played a special role, as three monothematic issues on this topic have been published.²⁸ However, many other books, most often legal-historical, have been published mainly by René Petráš²⁹ and Jan Kuklík.³⁰

In contrast to the aforementioned overview of the years 1989 to 2007, where, due to existence of only a few publications, even small articles were often observed, monographs cannot even be mentioned. The NAKI (National and Cultural Identity) project from the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic, developed at the Faculty of Law of Charles University in the years 2012 to 2015, Problems of legal status of minorities and their long-term development, is the largest project focused on nationality and cultural identity. Its leaders were Jan Kuklík and Secretary René Petráš. Within the project, a number of professional publications and manuals on minority rights or certified methodologies were created. In particular, extensive cooperation was established with

26 PETRÁŠ, R.: *Právo, právní historie...*, p. 55 – 62.

27 PETRÁŠ, René – PETRŮV, Helena – SCHEU, Harald a kol. *Menšiny a právo v České republice*. Praha : Auditorium, 2009, 512 p.

28 Already three monothematic issues of *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Iuridica dedicated to minorities* No. 1/2013, 4/2015, 1/2016, available in print and free on the Internet <<http://www.prf.cuni.cz/casopis-auci-1404042417.html>, which is very unusual in case of legal science>.

29 PETRÁŠ, R. *Menšiny v komunistickém Československu...* p. 23 – 24, and p. 392.; PETRÁŠ, R. *Menšiny v meziválečném Československu...* p. 282 – 285.; PETRÁŠ, René. *Cizinci ve vlastní zemi. Dějiny a současnost národnostního napětí v Evropě*. Praha : Auditorium, 2012, 256 p. See e.g.. PETRÁŠ, René. *Práva národnostních menšin v justiční a správní praxi*. In *Československé právo a právní věda v meziválečném období (1918 – 1939) a jejich místo ve střední Evropě I*. Praha : Karolinum, 2010, p. 485 – 514.

30 KUKLÍK, Jan – NĚMEČEK, Jan. *Od národního státu ke státu národností?* Praha : Karolinum, 2013, 452 p.; KUKLÍK, Jan – PETRÁŠ, R. *Minorities and Law in Czechoslovakia 1918 – 1992*. Praha : Karolinum, 2017 (in print).

the central minorities authority in the Czech Republic, the Government Council for National Minorities, for which PFUK still provides legal and scientific services, such as the organization of workshops. Legal issues related to minorities are often extremely complicated and in the Czech Republic only minimally investigated, therefore, central government authorities often use PFUK experts.

However, there is often a close link between legal sciences, which must also use the knowledge of other disciplines such as history, and practice. It can also be illustrated by a publication published in the framework of the NAKI project by the renowned Karolinum Publishing House in April 2015 ‘How to compensate the Holocaust’ consisting of 756 pages, where the main authors were Jan Kuklík and René Petráš. Its publishing was motivated by urgent legal problems, particularly at the Foreign Ministry with internationally negotiated claims for compensation of Jews, which also required the elaboration of a large-scale scientific comparison. However, this issue is far from closed.³¹

Current research tasks

In the framework of older projects, in particular the NAKI project from 2012 to 2015, the legal issues related to minorities in the Czech Republic were elaborated on at a national level. However, in case of most important regional aspects, only probes could be done. Research has so far focused on the current minorities, without any significant monitoring of development dynamics. Currently, plans for further research are being prepared (for example, a follow-up NAKI project is being developed), where the current development of minorities, which is one of key societal challenges in many Western countries, will play a major role. The most intense cooperation with foreign countries besides Austria and Hungary, is, of course, mainly with Slovakia, where the traditional research centre of the Institute of Social Sciences of SAS in Košice – nowadays the Centre of Social and Psychological Science SAS, and also the only workplace in Slovakia with a larger number of lawyers interested in minorities: the Police Academy in Bratislava.

The question of creating new minorities in the recent past and present will be monitored and compared also at regional level. It is often overlooked that the largest minorities in the Czech Republic, i.e. the Slovaks and Roma, are mostly made up of persons who moved to the Czech lands only after 1945, or their descendants, and these processes are far from finished. Even more significant is the case of some smaller groups such as the Hungarians or Greeks. Especially from the 1990s, a next “generation” of new minorities such as the Vietnamese is emerging in the Czech Republic. In these new groups, religion often plays a crucial role in Western Europe, especially in relation to Islam.

The Law Faculty of Charles University is one of the few major legal scientific centres in the Czech Republic, and it is one of the largest law faculties even in Europe. As the only legal scientific institution in the Czech Republic, it focuses on the status of minorities, and there will also be a special scientific centre focused on minority rights which will be the only one in the Czech Republic. The Government Council for

31 See also PETRÁŠ, R. *Právní historie a výzkumy...*, p. 15 – 18.

National Minorities, for example, by unanimous resolution No. 150 on November 10 2014, welcomed the intention of the PFUK to establish a permanent centre for minority rights, as voted by the then Minister for Human Rights, Equal Opportunities and Legislation, Mr. Dienstbier³²

Also, the high representatives and executives of the academic sphere of Slovakia expressed interest in creating a similar workplace based on co-operation in Bratislava – given the small interest of Slovak legal science on minorities and migration – which would initially be a PFUK subsidiary.

Therefore, it can be summarized that despite the publication of a large number of publications since 2007, a number of aspects have so far been examined only minimally or not at all. Key research challenges now include monitoring the impact of migration, but a number of other issues are also explored, and there are also many other issues that are to be examined by legal science, especially legal history.³³

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- DAVIDOVÁ, Eva – LHOTKA, Petr – VOJTOVÁ, Petra. *Právní postavení Romů v zemích Evropské unie*. Praha : Triton, 2005, 156 p.
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32 See the minutes on the website of the Government Office <<http://www.vlada.cz/cz/ppov/rnm/jednani-rady/jednani-rady-dne-10--listopadu-2014-124754/>>.

33 See also PETRÁŠ, R. *Právní historie a výzkumy...*, p. 15 – 18.

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Slovaks, Slovak National Minority and Slovak Language in Selected Localities in the Czech Republic¹

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Abstract:

Štúdia vznikla v rámci Implementácie Charty menšinových jazykov v Českej republike (ČR), ktorá sleduje znenie menšinového slovenského jazyka v českom prostredí, v podstate bez ohľadu na početnosť a postavenie slovenskej národnostnej menšiny v ČR. Preto v predkladaných výsledkoch výskumu sledujeme slovenský jazyk vo vybraných lokalitách, kde v určitom vymedzenom období fungoval ako výrazný kultúrny prvok, slúžil k zachovaniu identity miestnych Slovákov a znel v celej miestnej spoločnosti nielen vďaka Slovákom, ale i vďaka spoločným médiám. Opakované výskumy ukazujú, že so zánikom spoločného štátu šírenie slovenčiny je obmedzené na úzke rodinné prostredie. U Čechov postupne zaniká nielen bezprostredné porozumenie slovenčiny, utlmuje sa prenos slovenských kultúrnych hodnôt do českého prostredia, čím zaniká cenný prvok spoločného kultúrneho dedičstva.

Kľúčové slová:

slovenský jazyk v Českej republike, Slováci v Českej republike, slovenská národnostná menšina

In the project, obtained under the Implementation of the Charter of Minority Languages, it was our focus to document the use of Slovak language in the territory of the Czech Republic (CR), depending on the number of Slovaks in the locality. For this reason, interviews were conducted and questionnaires were prepared to include the local population, including the Slovaks. It included the survey of the economic status of the population.

One example of a large, dispersed ethnic minority in the Czech Republic are the Slovaks. Although this minority in general terms does not demand its minority interests on the political scene, in the cultural field or in the field of education, from time to time, there are mentions in the press that the needs of Czech Slovaks remain unfulfilled.

1 The study summarizes the results of the project *Slovak language and the Slovaks in selected locations of the Czech Republic* which, within the framework of the *Implementation of the Charter of Minority Languages*, was allocated by the Czech Government Office to the project of the *Documentation and Museum Centre of Slovak Minority in the Czech Republic*. The coordinator and researcher was Helena Nosková from the Institute of Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences Of the Czech Republic, co-operators were sociologist Ludmila Jirásková and economist Eva Zajíčková.

What these unfulfilled needs are is not quite clear, because the coexistence of Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks in the Czech and Moravian regions has never been problematic. This is evidenced by the current migration of Slovaks to the Czech Republic, the large influx of Slovak students to Czech universities, the harmonic relations of minority and majority and the local culture and everyday conditions. Moreover, many Slovaks do not feel like a minority. Their minority rights are espoused by Slovak societies; the majority of which are based in Prague.

Czech and Slovak institutions provide funding to Slovak societies for implementation of cultural and educational projects. However, not everything can be done from above. With regard to linguistic and cultural cognition and common history within a single state, a substantial part of the Slovak minority exercises the right to natural integration; including the use of Czech language. This applies especially to those who have voluntarily come to the Czech lands and have settled permanently. Some migrants and students return to Slovakia, while others remain in the Czech Republic, or go to other countries for work and education. A significant fact is that the consumer of Slovak culture in the Czech Republic is not only the Slovak minority, but also the majority which is interested in Slovak culture. This is regardless of whether the culture was imported from the Slovak Republic (SR) or created by the minority in the Czech environment. Other national minorities and foreigners in the Czech Republic are gradually becoming consumers of Slovak culture. However, the interest is not the same everywhere, it does not include everything and it is not permanent. It varies with time, area, and audiences. The Slovak minority program must be of high quality, because it is competing with a parallel majority program that has wider possibilities. And as languages and cultures are related, the minority will also choose the better one. This was the case in the past, and so it is today. This is not a problem of belonging to a nationality, but a problem of quality, choice etc.

The seamless coexistence of the majority and minority in the past resulted from the fact that, until 1993, the Slovaks were not a national minority in the common state – Czechoslovakia. This means that even in the territory of the Czech Republic, within the Czechoslovak federation, they had the same rights as the Czechs. However, it was necessary to implement the legislative that allowed the creation of Slovak educational and cultural institutions in the Czech territory. The current promoters and organizers of cultural and educational needs of the Slovaks in the Czech Republic may argue that the fulfilment of these needs, to which the Slovaks were entitled to under the Czech Republic laws, could not be carried out due to political relations before 1989. Civil society was destroyed in February 1948 when the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC) took power. Until November 1989, their political apparatus decided on the establishment of all institutions, including educational and cultural ones. Its structures decided on the formation and focus of clubs and afterwards controlled their activities. Slovaks in the party apparatus, in government institutions in Prague and potential founders of Slovak organizations within the National Front were aware of this and, in regard to the 1950s, reflected their experience with Slovak bourgeois nationalism.²

2 The status of Slovak National Assembly and other Slovak national authorities in Slovakia also played a role, influencing Slovaks' activities in Prague. Status of SNA between 1948 – 1967 in:

In the 1950s and in the following years, Slovaks in Prague did not want to emphasize nationality, although their cultural and educational needs in the mother tongue could have been fulfilled in the Czech Republic, had they been interested. They were aware of the risks that could arise from these demands. It was not the modern version of Czechoslovakism – it was a period of internationalism, proclaiming the convergence of nations and nationalities, which was promoted by the Communist Party. Its political power was dominating, and it also affected the Slovak Matica in Martin.³ However, there was an exception, the establishment of a Slovak primary school in Karviná in 1956, as the interest of parents and children was sufficient and it persisted. The Karviná Slovak School was attended mainly by children of the so called “Slovak” recruit for the so-called five-year works, whose return to Slovakia was expected over the next few years. Therefore, it was desirable for children to maintain not only knowledge of Slovak language, but also to learn within a Slovak curriculum. Other attempts at Slovak schools or Slovak language teaching were not successful.⁴

A certain change in this situation occurred between 1968–1969. The political power of the anti-reform core of the Communist Party was temporarily weakened and the Slovak part of the republic wished for a federation. After the rehabilitation of former Slovak politicians, convicted of “bourgeois nationalism” in 1963, there were reservations about the constitutional settlement of relations between Czechs and Slovaks. Extensive expansion of the activities of the Slovak National Council was expected.⁵ The Prague Spring of 1968 and the pressure of society for democratic transformation resulted in the demand for a federal arrangement on the Slovak side. The Federation eventually happened, but without democratization of society. The occupation of Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968 ended the process of *socialism with a human face* and confirmed the unlimited political power of the Communist Party.

After 1968, the Slovaks in the Czech part of the republic were once again in a special position with regard to the non-authentic federation. They were not a nationality. These were the Germans (1968), the Hungarians, the Poles and the Ukrainians (1960). In the Czech lands, only Germans and Poles,⁶ who also took part in the Council for Nationalities of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic under Constitutional Act No. 144/1968 Coll., had their cultural societies. Their ethnic societies were founded according to Act No. 68/1951 Coll. on Voluntary Organizations. Organizations of nationalities had a special status among social organizations. Communist authority always allowed only one organization of this kind, and its activity was limited to the cultural and educational area. The officials of an ethnic society could not act on behalf of the

ŠTEFANSKÝ, Michal. Postavenie SNR v rokoch 1948 – 1967. In Pekník, Miroslav (ed.). *Pohľady na slovenskú politiku*. Bratislava : SAV, 2000, p. 449 – 458.

3 ŠTEFANSKÝ, Michal. Postavenie SNR..., p. 457.

4 Podrobne: NOSKOVÁ, Helena. *Pražské ozvěny. Minulost a současnost Slováků v českých zemích*. Praha : ÚSD AV ČR, 2015, p. 124 – 138.

5 More information in: KAPLAN, Karel. *Kořeny československé reformy 1968. II. Změny ve společnosti. IV. Struktura moc*. Brno : Doplněk, 2002, p. 231 – 255.

6 Shortly also Ukrainians, Gypsies and Slovaks. in the years 1969 – 1972, Slovaks Club of Slovak Culture from 1969 to 1992 and continues to the present.

whole nationality and the societies could operate only in one region. Communists considered anything else a manifestation of nationalism.⁷

Although the Slovaks were not legally entitled to their own association activity based on a national basis, they still found a way to establish an association that would present Slovak culture in a Czech environment, spread culture and develop traditional Slovak folk culture, dance and music. However, it was limited to the capital city of Prague and it included not only the Slovaks, but also the Czechs. After 1993, several Slovak societies were established which also carried out education in Slovak language.

Research of current Slovak Language Literacy in the Czech Republic

In 2016, the Documentary and Museum Centre of the Slovak Minority in the Czech Republic prepared a questionnaire on the occurrence and literacy of Slovak language in the Czech, Moravian and Silesian regions which had a high percentage of resident Slovak population. The survey included interviews with additional questions for selected respondents.

The interviews included:

- 1) people from the Slovak national minority with Czech citizenship; included the young, middle and older generations, with the older generation prevailing;
- 2) Slovaks by origin, but assimilated in favour of Czech nationality and declaring Czech nationality; members of young and middle generations were predominant in this group,
- 3) Czechs characterized by close coexistence with the Slovak minority, Slovak partner, etc.; all generations were represented almost equally,
- 4) we included a group of Czechs with no relation to the Slovaks and Slovakia for comparison; members of younger and middle generation were predominant in this group.

The questions focused on the perception of presence of Slovaks by the majority population, the perception and use of Slovak language, knowledge of Slovak language in common practice, reading of books and magazines in Slovak language. Another series of questions was focused on the knowledge of Slovak culture and Slovak personalities, interest in political events in Slovakia, an overview of Slovak customs and traditions, information about Slovak societies in the Czech Republic and their activities. We kept the respondents anonymous. Another part was a questionnaire survey which was also anonymous. Completing the questionnaire took around 15 – 20 minutes. We obtained 562 completed questionnaires, processed into relevant graphs by a sociologist from the Documentation Centre.

From History of Research of Slovaks in the Czech Republic

By questionnaires and interviews, we followed up on the previous field research in localities Jeseník, Bruntál, Karlovy Vary, Králíky in 2012. Older surveys were conducted

7 More information in: KAPLAN, Karel. *Kořeny československé reformy 1968...*, p. 348 – 350.

in the 1980s and early 1990s in the localities in Sokolov region (Jindřichovice, Oloví, Libavské Údolí, Kynšperk nad Ohří), Cheb region (Luby Skalná, Cheb, Plesná, Starý Rybník), Tachov region (Tachov, Přímدا, Hoštka). The research in the 1980s was to be part of future joint research of Slovak and Czech institutions, which was to focus on the history and the present of Slovaks in the Czech and Moravian border regions. It should have recorded their knowledge of Slovak language, its use and their cultural possibilities in their mother tongue. However, joint research was not carried out. In 1990-1996, unfamiliarity with the lives of Slovaks in the Czech Republic gave rise to a claim by some Slovak politicians on the almost violent assimilation of the Slovaks in the Czech Republic in 1945-1989; when they had no possibility to send their children to Slovak schools, as these did not exist in the Czech Republic, and they had no chance to enjoy Slovak culture. As a counter-argument, Documentary and Museum Centre for the Slovak Minority in the Czech Republic was established, and it began to collect materials relevant to the life of Slovaks in the Czech Republic. In 2016, the research was extended to České Budějovice, Prague, Brno, Liberec, Bruntál and Semily.

10 to 17% of Slovaks lived in the selected localities after the first post-war census in 1950. In the following population census in 1961, a decline of Slovak population was recorded. 5 to 10% Slovaks lived in these locations. The decline was caused not only by a partial outflow of Slovaks back to Slovakia, but also by the fact that Slovak families originally from Romania, which were characterized by a higher number of children in the family, reported their children born in Bohemia to Czech nationality. It was similar in the families of Slovaks from Hungary, Slovaks from the former Transcarpathian Russia, Slovaks from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and France. We obtained these facts by an analysis of census operates for individual Slovak localities in the years 1950, 1960 and 1970.

The aforementioned older research in the late 20th century assumed that the Slovak community in Bohemian and Moravian borderlands was able to preserve their mother tongue and culture in their environment through expressions of Slovak material and spiritual culture and interest in the events in Slovakia, and would eventually be able to preserve Slovak cultural awareness; which in turn would be transferred to the generation of their children.

After 1989, the revival of spiritual traditions and some manifestations of material culture was evident in these localities. The local Slovaks tried to incorporate some folk traditions into the local customs and incorporate them also in the private business within tourism in Karlovy Vary, Jeseník, České Budějovice, Brno and Prague. They began painting Easter eggs, making wicker products, carving small souvenirs from wood, embroidery, etc. They brought some street plays to the public; for example the ones related to the annual customary cycle, carols and Easter customs, all accompanied in the Slovak language. Their already Czech grandsons and great-grandsons began to show interest in the origins of Slovak grandparents and often, as students of humanities departments of universities, began to write seminar papers on the history of their ancestors.

Localities with a lower percentage of Slovaks (Semily) were included in the research to compare the viability of Slovak language and Slovak traditions in the distinctly Czech environment. However, preliminary results have shown that there is interest in Slovak language, Slovak culture and Slovakian traditions not only from local Slovaks but also

from local Czechs in these localities. Prague, Brno, České Budějovice are distinctive localities. They oscillate between interest and indifference.

Preliminary results of qualitative research

With regard to the preliminary results, we can mention the following:

The ability to understand Slovak language in spoken form has significantly decreased, even in case of descendants of Slovak families, who still come into contact with Slovak language in the family. However, most of them say that they are able to make themselves understood in Slovak.

General literacy is vanishing. Not only Slovak magazines and books, even Czech magazines are not being read. This has a significant impact on the knowledge of Slovak culture, realities, Slovak personalities, politics. Not a single Slovak writer is known among the Czechs and descendants of the Slovaks in the Czech Republic, nor any literary work, besides Rysavá jalovica, which the older generation knows, as it was in the textbooks of Czech literature. The older generation of Slovaks in the Czech Republic know Jozef Gregor Tajovský, Martin Kukučín, Pavel O. Hviezdoslav and Ján Jesenský.

There is almost no known person from Slovak science and culture. Only the older generation and some of middle generation knew for example Emília Vášáryová, Ladislav Chudík, Maroš Kramár, middle and younger generation knew the singers: Pavol Habera, Elán, Dara Rolins and Jana Kirschner. Most respondents stated Robert Fico, Andrej Kiska, and even Ivan Gašparovič as a personality of contemporary Slovak science and culture.

The interest in politics is not incidental. There is a presumption that the economic situation is still better in the Czech Republic than in Slovakia. Therefore, according to the respondents' answers, life is better in Bohemia than in Slovakia.

All the respondent said that the Slovaks in the Czech Republic have an equal position with the Czechs and that they have very well coped with all the differences and integrated into Czech society. All respondents expressed their unequivocally positive attitude towards the preservation of customs and traditions. Slovaks in the Czech environment should preserve them. Answers to questions about knowledge of Slovak customs and traditions have shown that many of the respondents no longer know any Slovak customs and traditions. Traditional Slovak dishes that are still remembered are only *halušky* and rarely someone mentioned Slovak cheeses, namely *bryndza*.

According to Czech respondents, Slovaks are the most popular nationality in the Czech Republic, every Czech understands them without an interpreter. When filling in the questionnaire, some Czechs were surprised by the fact that they realized they knew almost nothing about the present-day Slovakia.

The range of questions concerning Slovak citizens' associations operating in the Czech Republic was interesting. They did not know about their existence in the selected locations where our research was carried out, but showed a great interest in Slovak magazines and books. The most pronounced interest was in Semily, where a Slovak clergyman, dean of the district for over 15 years, is very popular. Semily and the surrounding areas do not have a stronger representation of Slovak population, although

in the 1950s, Slovaks from the floodplains of the Orava Dam were relocated to three villages in Semily (Pipice, Smrčí, Studenec) and found work in a local quarry, textiles and a toy factory. They and their descendants live there until today. In the 1960s, several Slovak families came to work in the local factories, and a slight influx manifested itself at the end of the 20th century. Local Czechs, including the newly arrived, are creating a positive relationship with Slovakia thanks to the work of the Slovak clergyman, who also takes care of cultural interests of Slovak parishioners. They are trying to get books, especially the works of J. G. Tajovský and M. Kukučín. His spiritual activity is an example worth following.

If we compare the research from 2012 with the research in 2016, we find that from a territorial point of view and the number of inhabitants, Králiky and their surroundings are similar to Semilsko, but the situation is different especially because Slovaks from Rudohorie in Sedmohrad and Slovaks from Hungary live in Králiky and its surroundings. There was rapid assimilation, and even new Slovaks with their birth place in Slovakia, who have good knowledge of Slovak language, have Czech nationality. In Ceske Budejovice and its surroundings where Slovaks from Romania have also lived assimilation also took place, but the majority did not take it fully embrace it and the relationship to Slovaks is more critical.

Liberec and its surroundings are characterized by a reserved relation to national minorities, except for the Jews. This is an obvious outcome of educational work at schools. Slovaks are also the most liked minority, but it is less spontaneous.

Unlike previous research, we were monitoring the relationship to other national minorities; especially Germans, Russians, Ukrainians, Jews and Roma. Based on the representation of minorities, we also selected research localities: Liberec and its surroundings (Germans, Roma, Ukrainians, Russians), Prague, Brno, Bruntál and České Budějovice.

Relationship with national minorities

General characteristics

The regions where we collected the data for our research were included in the selection with a view of maintaining continuity with previous years of monitoring the relationship with national minorities. According to the number of inhabitants, the largest are Prague and the Moravian-Silesian Region, the smallest is the Karlovy Vary region.

Region	Number of inhabitants
Praha	1, 267 449
Liberecký	439, 639
Juhočeský	637, 834
Juhomoravský	1, 213 311
Moravskoslezsky	1, 175 025
Karlovarský	297, 828

Attractiveness of a region and a city is indicated by the number of inhabitants who come to individual regions and cities, compared with the number of people who move out (stated data are total numbers regardless of nationality). In 2015, in the cities where we conducted data collection, population growth due to migration was positive only in Prague and České Budějovice, in other cities more people moved out.

Growth of inhabitants by migration year 2015

City	Moved in	Moved out	Increase/decrease
Praha	33, 711	27, 680	6, 031
Semily	171	232	-61
České Budějovice	2, 502	2, 328	174
Brno	8, 934	9, 698	-764
Bruntál	399	512	-113
Karlové Vary	1, 610	2, 007	-397

Economic characteristics of regions

Collection of data for the purpose of our research was conducted in five regions, which, in economic terms, can be characterized by the most commonly used indicator for monitoring the performance of the economy; the gross domestic product (GDP). Not only the largest but also the most effective is Prague, where GDP per capita reaches 1.92 times the average of the Czech Republic. At the opposite end, there is the Liberec Region, where GDP per capita reaches only 0.73 times the average of the Czech Republic. The South Moravian Region is the closest to the average of the Czech Republic with a share of 0.92. Juhočeský region with 0.80 share and Moravskoslezský region with 0.78 share on the average of the Czech Republic are close to each other in economic performance. Karlovarský Region is lowest with GDP per capita at only 0.67 share.

GDP year 2015

Region	GDP total mil. CZK	GDP/1 inhabitant CZK	Average CR
CR	4, 554 615	432 006	
Region			
Praha	1, 112 788	881, 411	2.04
Liberecký	147, 208	335, 210	0.78
Juhočeský	230, 508	361, 699	0.84
Juhomoravský	498, 757	424, 994	0.98
Moravskoslezsky	434, 971	357, 939	0.83
Karlovarský	86, 965	291, 304	0.67

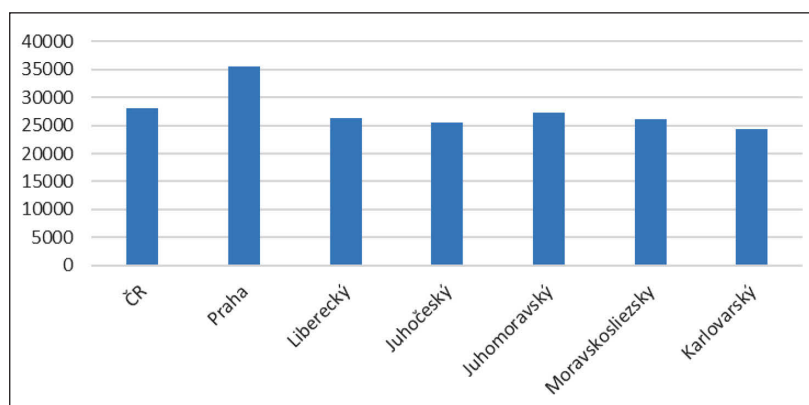
Despite these differences in GDP generation, the situation in the income area is much more balanced, where the variation of comparison of individual regions is not so great. Compared with the average of the Czech Republic, the highest wages in Prague

are 1.27 times the average of the Czech Republic. In other regions, the average gross wage ranges from 0.90 to 0.96 times the average wage in the Republic. The lowest average wage in 2015 was in the Karlovarský region, representing only 86.48% of the average in the Czech Republic. None of these regions, however, achieves the average wage of the Czech Republic. In this respect, the situation in the monitored regions is relatively balanced, which will also be reflected in the social status of the inhabitants in individual regions.

Average monthly wage for natural persons for year 2015

Region	CZK	Average CR in %
CR	28, 142	
Region		
Praha	35, 546	126.31
Liberecký	26, 236	93.23
Juhočeský	25, 585	90.91
Juhomoravský	27, 262	96.87
Moravskosliezsky	26, 139	92.88
Karlovarský	24, 336	86.48

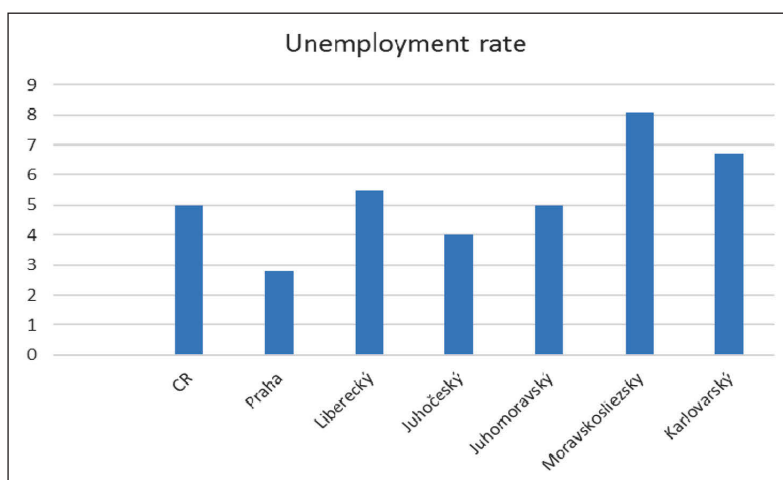
Average monthly wage for natural persons for year 2015



The aforementioned figures are further adjusted by the unemployment rate in individual regions. Compared to the average, only Prague has a low unemployment rate at only 0.56 of the total indicator for the Czech Republic. The Juhočeský region has a lower unemployment rate than the average of the Republic. Significantly higher unemployment in comparison to the national average is in the Moravian-Silesian region, at 1.62 times. This region is in the overall last place in our survey, with a comparable average wage with the Liberec region there is a significantly higher unemployment rate.

General unemployment rate in % year 2015

Region	Unemployment rate	Average CR
CR	5.0	
Region		
Praha	2.8	0.56
Liberecký	5.5	1.10
Juhočeský	4.0	0.80
Juhomoravský	5.0	1.00
Moravskoslezský	8.1	1.62
Karlovarský	6.7	1.34

***Ethnic composition***

There are two sources of monitoring ethnic composition of the population, both of which are processed by the Czech statistical Office. The first source are the results of the population census, the last one was in 2011. Nationality is declared by a person, only the children are declared by their parents. 64.3% of the respondents declared their nationality. A total of 2, 646 666 respondents, representing 25.3%, did not declare their nationality. Interestingly, in the previous population census, only 172,825 respondents did not declare their nationality. 163,648 respondents declared dual nationality, which is 1.6% (mostly it was Czech-Slovak, Czech-Moravian, Czech-German, etc.).

Slovak nationality was declared by 147,152 respondents, compared with 2001, this represents only 76, 2%. Overall, Slovaks made up 1.4% of the population in 2011, representing the largest national minority.

The largest increase between the last two censuses was in case of Ukrainian nationality - 240.8%, Vietnamese – 169.9% and Russian – 144.5%.

The table also shows university education for individual ethnic minorities, as stated in the 2011 census. This figure may have an impact on how minority citizens are presented in public.

Ethnic composition during population census 2011

		University education	%
Respondents total	10, 436 560	1, 114 731	10.68
Stated their nationality	7, 630 246		
Nationality Czech	6, 711 624		
Moravian	521 ,801		
Silesian	12, 214		
Slovak	147, 152	24, 541	16.68
Polish	39, 096	6 ,116	15.64
German	18, 658	1 ,810	9.70
Roma	5 ,135	357	6.95
Hungarian	8 ,920	1, 341	15.03
Vietnamese	29 ,660	1 ,032	3.48
Ukrainian	53, 253	5, 188	9.74
Russian	17, 872	6 ,848	38.32
Belarussian	2, 013	636	31.59
Chinese	3 ,212	327	10.18
Moldavian	2 ,929	232	7.92
Mongolian	3 ,735	538	14.40
Greek	2 ,043	312	15.27
Ruthenian	739	178	24.09
Serbian	1 ,717	462	26.91
Dual nationality	163, 648		
Not stated	2 ,642 666	171, 737	6.50

Distribution of population according to nationality in individual regions is not uniform, in the monitored regions, the highest number of Slovaks is in the Moravian-Silesian Region, Ukrainians and Russians are mostly represented in Prague.

The second source of information about citizens of other nationalities in the Czech Republic is the data which is also published by the Czech Statistical Office and provided by the Directorate of the Foreign Police Service. There are citizens of other countries with long-term residence in the Czech Republic, 464,670 as of 31 December 2015. The largest numbers were 105,614 from Ukraine, 101,589 from Slovakia, 56,900 from Vietnam, 34,710 from Russia, 20,464 from Germany and 19,840 from Poland. During the whole period, citizens from 150 states lived in the country. The largest group consists

National composition according to regions, population census 2011

Nationality	Praha	Liberecký	Juhočeský	Juho-moravský	Moravsko-slezský	Karlo-varský
Inhabitants total	1, 268 796	432, 439	628, 336	1, 163 508	1, 205 834	310 ,245
Nationality Slovak	23 089	6, 053	6, 602	14, 106	26, 068	7 ,351
Polish	1, 721	1, 363	358	772	28, 138	251
German	1, 264	1 ,774	700	453	1, 155	4 ,504
Roma	368	295	296	309	691	225
Belarussian	795	60	104	177	47	85
Chinese	2 ,337	34	57	66	58	26
Hungarian	1, 419	430	347	695	1, 317	779
Moldavian	881	265	131	232	24	36
Mongolian	484	144	82	568	33	119
Ruthenia	167	30	16	67	35	37
Russian	9, 413	411	412	886	484	1, 130
Greek	290	50	20	243	759	23
Serbian	1, 028	24	34	150	55	50
Ukrainian	21, 316	2, 567	2, 150	4, 989	673	1 ,386
Vietnamese	6 ,313	1, 108	1 ,441	2, 401	1, 900	3, 781

of the listed countries, it is a total of 339,117. The remaining 120,000 citizens come from the 135 countries that were not listed. These citizens, together with Czech citizens who declare to be of a different nationality than Czech, create a framework that was a base for our respondents in providing data for our research.

Slovak national minority

A population census after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic was carried out in 1921, 1930, 1950, 1961, 1970, 1980, 1991, 2001 and 2011. The censuses were different in both methodical and political approach to collecting and publishing data, including data on nationality, e.g., in years 1921 and 1930, Czechoslovak nationality was monitored. When analysing statistical data, the baseline is 1961, but data for previous years are available too, obtained either by census or as a qualified estimate.

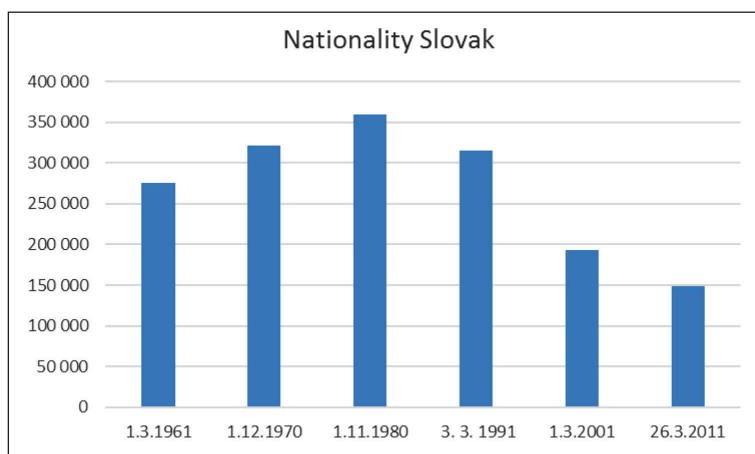
Since 1961, detailed information on the population, declaring Slovak nationality has been available. Until 1980, the number of inhabitants who declared Slovak nationality grew, but this number has been decreasing since that year. The biggest increase was in the period 1961-1970, the biggest decrease in the period 1991-2001.

Share of Slovak nationality during population census

Year	Slovak nationality in %
1921	0.2
1930	0.4
1950	2.9
1961	2.9
1970	3.3
1980	3.5
1991	3.1
2001	1.9
2011	1.4

Share of Slovak nationality on population census

Year	Number of inhabitants CR	Nationality Slovak	growth/decrease	Change in %
1.3.1961	9, 571 531	275, 997		
1.12.1970	9, 807 697	320, 998	45 001	+16.3
1.11.1980	10, 291 927	359, 370	38 372	+12.0
3. 3. 1991	10, 302 215	314, 887	- 44 483	-12.4
1.3.2001	10, 230 060	193, 190	- 121 697	-38.6
26.3.2011	10, 562 214	149, 140	- 44 050	-24.4



A characteristic feature of Slovak ethnic minority is its territorial distribution throughout the Czech Republic. In absolute numbers (census 2011), most Slovaks live in the districts of Prague – 23,369, Karviná – 9,491, Ostrava-city – 7,250, Brno-city – 6,427 and Frýdek-Místek – 4,228. The share of Slovaks on the total number of inhabitants is the highest in the region of Karviná, where it amounts to 3.6%, 2.8% in Jeseník, 2.8%, 2.5% in Sokolov, 2.5% in Cheb and 2.4% in Mladá Boleslav. The overall distribution of the individual regions, according to the last census, is follows:

Population census 2011

Region	Number of inhabitants total	Nationality Slovak
Czech Republic	10, 562 214	149, 140
Praha	1, 272 690	23, 336
Benešov	95, 157	699
Beroun	85, 500	932
Blansko	106, 614	610
Brno-city	384, 277	6, 427
Brno-country	204, 818	1, 837
Bruntál	96, 671	2, 075
Břeclav	114, 844	1, 674
Česká Lípa	103, 429	1, 271
České Budějovice	186, 961	1, 757
Český Krumlov	61, 945	1, 364
Děčín	133, 128	1, 655
Domažlice	60, 812	745
Frýdek-Místek	211, 768	4, 228
Havlíčkův Brod	95, 169	508
Hodonín	156, 952	1, 915
Hradec Králové	163, 361	1, 635
Cheb	95, 908	2, 400
Chomutov	126, 223	2, 490
Chrudim	104, 550	664
Jablonec nad Nisou	89, 954	1, 337
Jeseník	40, 657	1, 142
Jičín	80, 054	808
Jihlava	112, 222	813
Jindřichův Hradec	92, 749	721
Karlovy Vary	122, 249	2, 380
Karviná	265, 379	9, 491
Kladno	159, 194	2, 157

Region	Number of inhabitants total	Nationality Slovak
Klatovy	87, 851	876
Kolín	96, 583	1, 276
Kroměříž	107, 669	1, 044
Kutná Hora	74, 395	767
Liberec	170, 912	2, 793
Litoměřice	119, 308	1, 166
Louny	86, 685	1, 485
Mělník	104, 511	1, 481
Mladá Boleslav	124, 231	2, 958
Most	115, 211	1, 971
Náchod	112, 447	1, 207
Nový Jičín	152, 483	2, 040
Nymburk	93, 870	1, 125
Olomouc	232, 230	2, 678
Opava	177, 294	1, 506
Ostrava- city	332, 433	7, 250
Pardubice	169, 042	2, 213
Pelhřimov	72, 569	463
Písek	70, 661	685
Plzeň-South	62, 136	509
Plzeň-city	187, 047	3, 185
Plzeň-North	75, 466	772
Praha-East	149, 294	2, 535
Praha-West	122, 759	1, 741
Prachatice	51, 313	622
Prostějov	109, 665	922
Přerov	133, 504	1, 603
Příbram	113, 507	1, 161
Rakovník	55, 632	466
Rokycany	47, 854	686
Rychnov nad Kněžnou	79, 251	705
Semily	74, 967	755
Sokolov	92, 088	2, 571
Strakonice	71, 043	571
Svitavy	105, 263	645
Šumperk	123, 890	1, 106
Tábor	102, 788	952
Tachov	53, 528	1, 279

Region	Number of inhabitants total	Nationality Slovak
Teplice	128, 873	1, 853
Trutnov	120, 570	1, 309
Třebíč	113, 748	627
Uherské Hradiště	144, 125	1, 656
Ústí nad Labem	120, 943	1, 618
Ústí nad Orlicí	139, 373	1, 310
Vsetín	145, 310	1, 380
Vyškov	89, 093	959
Zlín	193, 355	1, 831
Znojmo	113, 190	1, 166
Žďár nad Sázavou	119, 019	590

If we consider the total number of Slovaks living in the Czech Republic in 2011, then the highest number from all regions is in the Moravian-Silesian region, Prague region and Stredočeský Region.

Slovaks according to their distribution in the regions of the CR

Region	Slovaks out of total of 149 140 in %
Praha	15.7
Stredočeský	11.9
Juhočeský	4.5
Plzeňský	5.4
Karlovarský	4.9
Severočeský	8.2
Liberecký	4.1
Královohradecký	3.8
Pardubický	3.3
Vysočina	2.0
Juhomoravský	9.6
Olomoucký	5.0
Zlínský	3.9
Moravskosliezsky	17.7

In absolute numbers, the distribution of Slovaks in the regions during the census 2001 and 2011 is as follows:

Slovak in the regions of the CR

	2001	2011	increase/decrease
CR total	193, 190	149, 140	-44, 050
Region			
Praha	19, 275	23, 336	4 ,061
Stredočeský	15, 278	17 ,298	2 ,020
Juhočeský	9, 025	6 ,672	-2, 353
Plzeňský	7, 773	8 052	279
Karlovarský	14, 079	7, 351	-6, 728
Severočeský	22, 214	12, 238	-9, 976
Liberecký	8, 743	6, 156	-2, 587
Královohradecký	8 ,518	5, 664	-2, 854
Pardubický	5 ,932	4, 832	-1, 100
Vysočina	3, 703	3, 001	-702
Juhomoravský	16, 058	14, 588	-1, 470
Olomoucký	11, 421	7 ,451	-3, 970
Zlínský	7 ,713	5 ,911	-1, 802
Moravskoslezsky	43, 458	26 ,590	-16, 868

Although the majority of Slovaks still live in the Moravian-Silesian region, there has been also the highest decrease. The only three regions with growth are Prague, Stredočeský and Plzensky region. In a sense, the overall decrease in the population declaring Slovak nationality in the Czech Republic corresponds to the total decrease in the population declaring any nationality, which occurred between 2001 and 2011.

In terms of our questionnaire investigation, it is also significant that one of the places, where the research was carried out repeatedly, belongs to the two regions in the Czech Republic with the most diverse national structure during the population census in 2011. 10.7% citizens in the district of Frýdek-Místek and 10.1% in the district of Bruntál declared nationalities other than Czech, Moravian and Silesian.

These facts and figures form the framework of conditions in which our respondents live. The next part of this paper deals with how they reflected in the attitudes of respondents and the results of our research.

Slovak and Slovak language in the selected localities of the CR in sociological probes

As part of the project, we conducted extensive research on the relationship of the Czech population and local Slovaks to Slovakia, especially the Slovak language

The course of research and the characteristics of the research group

The questionnaire survey was conducted from April to September 2016. In terms of age structure, it included mostly the youngest generation, namely secondary school students. Questionnaires were distributed in selected cities (Bruntál, Liberec, Semily, Prague, České Budějovice). When selecting places, we took into account the composition of the population in relation to minorities. We distributed the questionnaires either personally or with the help of trained surveyors. When responding to the questionnaire, respondents' anonymity was retained. At the end of the questionnaire, we requested identification details of the respondents, i.e. date and place of birth and employment. Up to 89% of respondents were students, the vast majority (93%) were of Czech nationality. Questionnaire completion took about 20 minutes and we received 467 completed questionnaires globally. With regard to personal distribution of questionnaires, we achieved almost 100% return. The questionnaire contained 16 questions, which were formulated as closed, i.e. a respondent selected from the possible answers the one they identified with the most. At the same time, we used several semi-closed questions where the respondent could add an answer in their own words.

Research results

The results of the questionnaire were focused on perception of the presence of Slovaks by the majority population, perception and use of Slovak language, knowledge of Slovak language in common practice and viewing of the Slovak media. The next round of questions was focused on knowledge of Slovak culture and its personalities, interest in Slovak customs and traditions, information about Slovak associations in the Czech Republic and their activities.

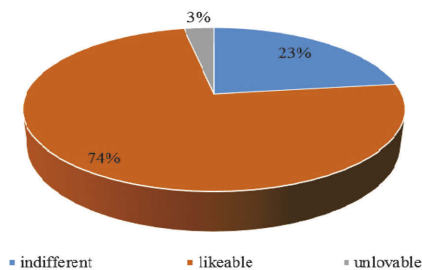
In the first question, we focused on the extent to which the members of individual nationalities seem likeable/unlikeable to the respondents – Slovak, German, Russian and Ukrainian, Roma and Jewish. As expected, the Slovaks were labelled as the most likeable – three quarters said they were “likeable”, 23% said they were “indifferent” and only 3% stated they were “unlikeable”. This likeability is certainly helped by personal contact, half of the respondents admitted that they visit Slovakia (50% sometimes, often 7%).

These answers are consistent with the results of the research from year 2012.

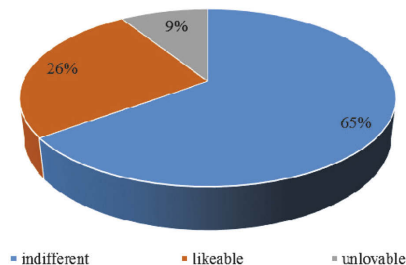
We were interested in the relationship of respondents with selected nationalities living in the CR. Most of them (61-68%) said that their relationship to Germans, Russians, Ukrainians and Jews living in the Czech Republic is indifferent. About a quarter of respondents considered Germans and Jews a likeable nationality. In contrast, 68% of respondents considered the Roma an unlikeable nationality.

In comparison to 2012 there was an increase in indifference towards the Germans, Russians and Ukrainians and at the same time a decrease of unlikeability towards these nationalities.

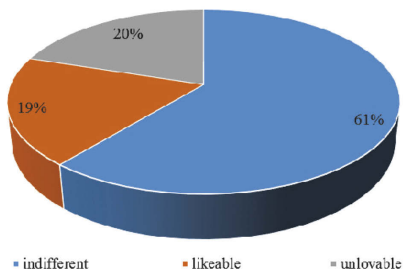
G1a: Slovaks living in the Slovak Republic are



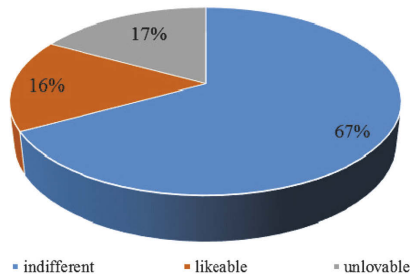
G1b Germans living in the Slovak Republic are

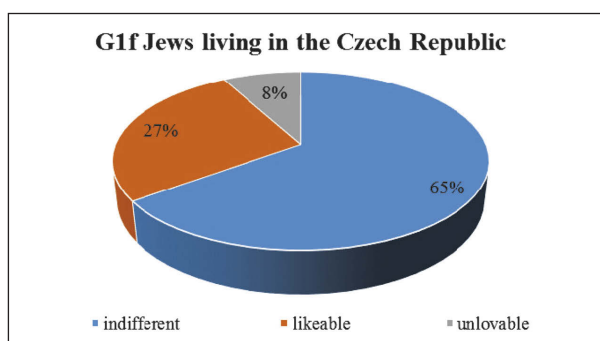
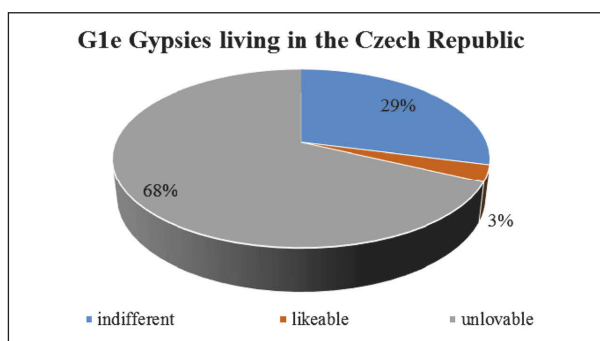


G1c Russians living in the Czech Republic



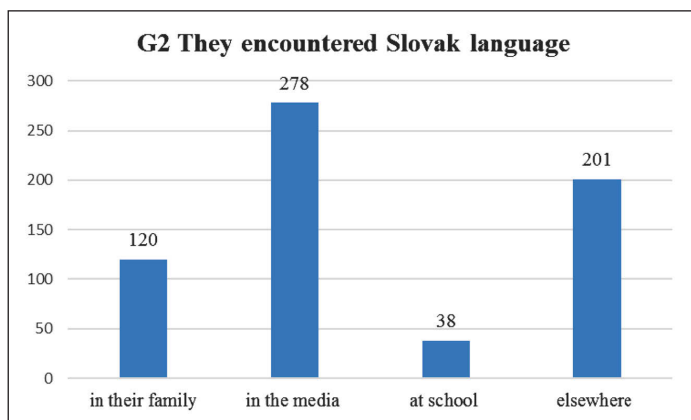
G1d Ukrainiens living in the Czech Republic



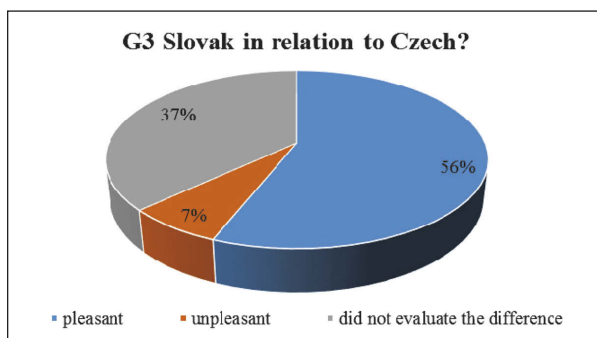


We asked the respondents where they encountered Slovak language. They could choose from alternatives: in their family, in the media, at school or elsewhere. Many chose more variants at the same time, but the most frequent answer was “in the media” (278 replies). Less often they answered, “in their family” and the least frequent answer was “at school”. In general, all respondents have the opportunity to encounter the Slovak language.

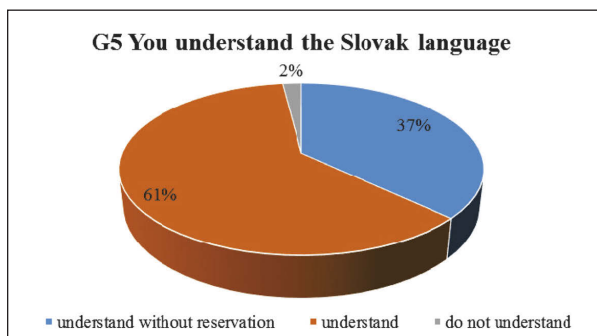
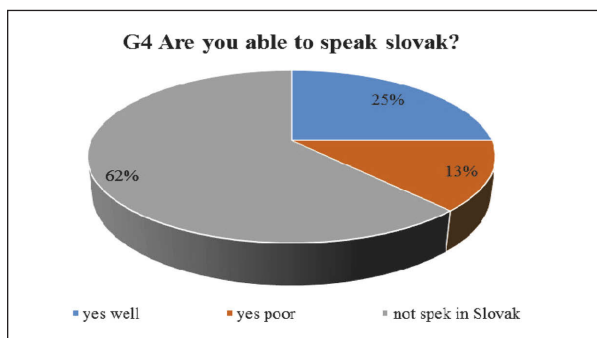
This distribution of responses corresponded to the result from year 2012



Another set of questions related to the relationship with the Slovak language. How do respondents perceive Slovak in relation to Czech? Most, 56%, consider Slovak language to be pleasant, 37% of the respondents did not evaluate the difference between Czech and Slovak language, only 7% of Slovak respondents do not think Slovak sounds pleasant.



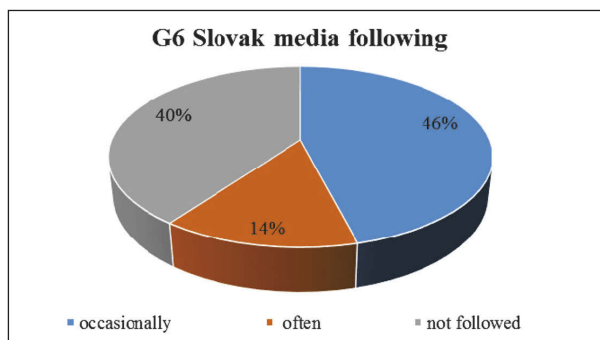
Compared to year 2012, the number of responses “pleasant” decreased by 17%, the answer not evaluating the difference between Czech and Slovak language increased by the same percentage.



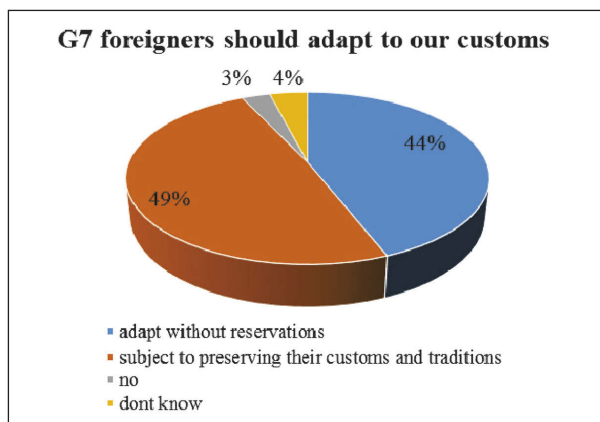
Most respondents responded yes (well 25%, badly 62%) to the question whether they were able to speak in Slovak. Only 13% said they were unable to speak Slovak.

In this context, we asked how they understood this language. 61% of respondents understand without reservation, 37% understand, however, they don't know some words. Only a minor percentage, i.e. 2% said that they do not understand Slovak language and that they have a problem with it. In 2012, the answer "do not understand" did not occur at all.

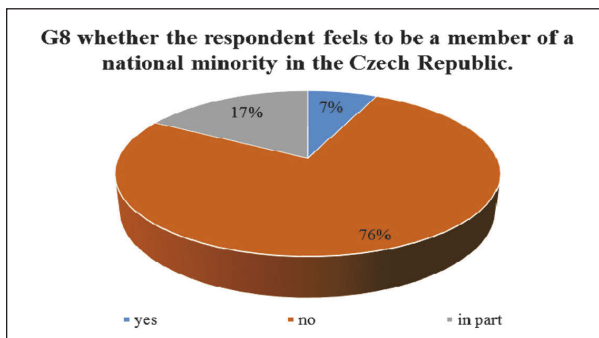
In relation to Slovak language, we have monitored the slight tendency of a deterioration in the ability to speak and understand Slovak, which is probably related also to the slight decline in Slovak media following. 60% of respondents follow Slovak media (46% occasionally, 14% often), in 2013 it was 69% (47% occasionally, 22% often). Slovak radio, television or press are not followed by 40% of respondents (in 2012: 33%).



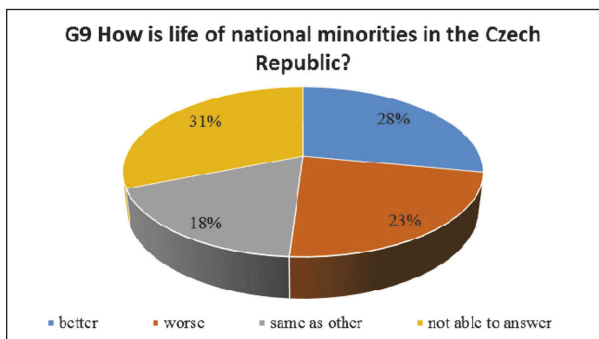
An overwhelming majority answered the question whether foreigners should adapt to our customs by yes – 93%. Approximately the same number agreed that foreigners should adapt without reservations (44%) subject to preserving their customs and traditions (49%). In 2012, the answer ratio was 27%: 62%, i.e. the respondents were more open with regard to the issue of adaptation.



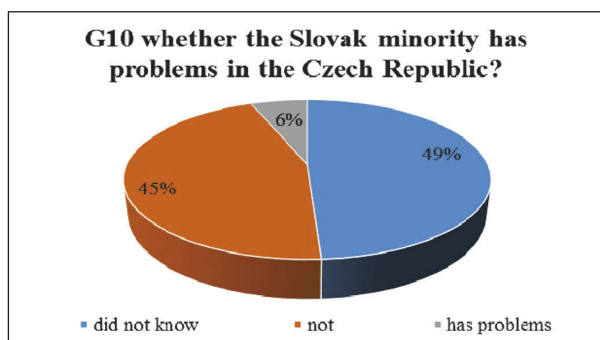
The next question was whether the respondent feels to be a member of a national minority in the Czech Republic. Three quarters of the respondents answered that no, 17% responded in part and 7% responded unambiguously yes.



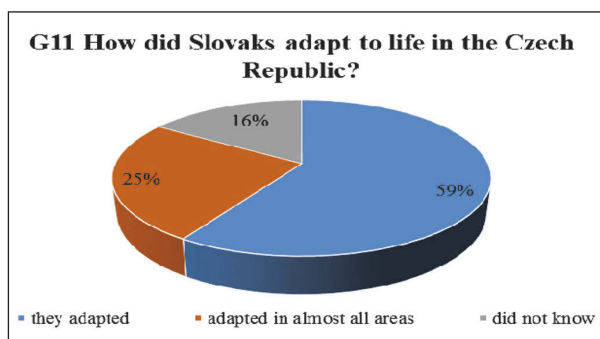
This was followed by the question what, in their opinion, is the life like for the members of national minorities in the Czech Republic. 28% responded that it is better than for the citizens of Czech nationality, 23% responded it is worse, 18% responded same as others. 31% of the respondents were not able to answer.



The next question was whether the Slovak minority has its own specific problems in the Czech Republic, 49% did not know, 45% think it does not and 6% of the respondents think it has problems, e.g.: getting a job, Czechs are rude, they do not understand Slovak language well, minor problems with language, culture, they are not accepted, they are mocked that they are Hungarians, divorces, inadaptability, they are very proud of being Slovaks, Czech language at school, other customs.



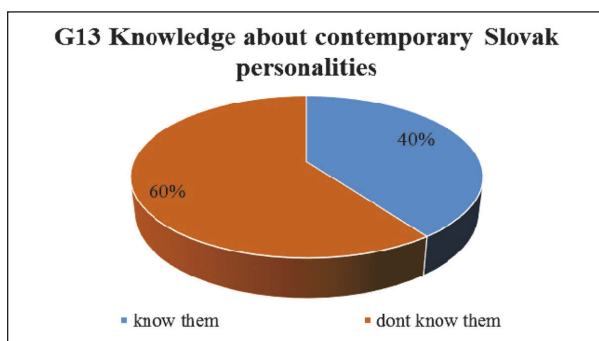
How did Slovaks adapt to life in the Czech Republic? The vast majority of respondents answered that they adapted (84%). Of these, 59% adapted in almost all areas and 25% only in some areas. 16% of the respondents did not know, they could not assess this issue.



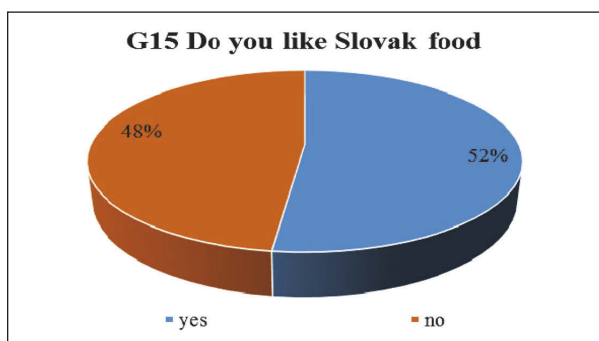
Knowledge about organizations of Slovaks in the Czech Republic was minimal, only 4% of the respondents said they know them (e.g.: Slovaks, associations within DNM, Limbora).



On the other hand, much more respondents had knowledge about contemporary Slovak personalities from science, culture, sports (40%) and identified specific personalities, with respect to the age of respondents, most often from sports and music, e.g.: P. Sagan, GoGo , Z. Chára, M. Hossa, M. Hamšík, P. Habera, D. Rolins, M. Žbirka, Celeste Buckingham, P. Lipa, J. Ráž, Elán, Majk Spirit, L. Nagy, R. Fico, M. Kramár, T. Tatár (hockey), A. Kiska, M. Ďuriš, A. Sekera, D. Kováč, J. Jablonický, sisters Vašáryové, M. Lasica, J. Satinský, J. Tiso, J. Čarnogurský, B. Bugár, F. Gál, I. Radičová, J. Slotá, F. Fenič, L. Chudík, M. Labuda, A. Babiš, M. Kňažko, M. Markovič, A. Krnáčová.

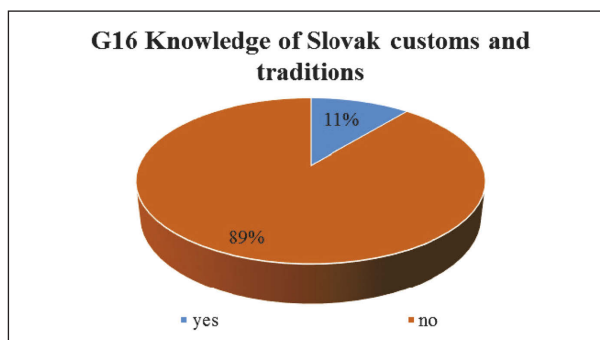


Half of the respondents like Slovak food. Typical Slovak dishes that were stated were especially *halušky*, *halušky* with *bryndza*, *bryndza*, cheese, *ostiepok*, *pirohy*, *kapustnica*, *šúľance*, *kyselica* and *langoše*.



It was worse with regard to the knowledge of Slovak customs and traditions associated with observed holidays. Most of them, 89%, do not know these customs and traditions, only 11% of the respondents said they know them. Knowledge of customs and traditions was more prevalent among older respondents, but not the students. The respondents wrote down the following customs and traditions related to holidays: costumes, fairs, carnival, Christmas – pouring lead, wafers with honey and garlic, Easter Holidays, All Saints, Easter – pouring water and fragrance, fasting, pilgrimages,

carnivals, harvest festival, on Easter Friday and during the Easter holidays the women are ‘whipping’ men, the Sunday Mass, ‘swearing at Hungarians’.



At the end of the questionnaire survey, we can conclude that while compiling the data, we met with interest in the issue, as well as the helpful approach of the management of schools where we mostly conducted the research. The research results reveal the views of young people, high school students who made up 89% of our respondents. With regard to the researched issue, we focused on young people, whose opinions are specific in comparison to rest of the population. For some issues, we compared the results with the research that was conducted in 2012. Even then, it was a group composed mostly of students, although the research sample was more varied with regard to age. The interest in the knowledge and understanding of Slovaks by the majority community is decreasing significantly, and thus the interest in Slovak culture is decreasing as well. However, prominent Slovak personalities can still be successful in Czech environment – e.g. currently Maroš Kramár, Jana Kirschner, Andrea Kerestesová – Ružička. However, they are not perceived as carriers of ‘Slovakness’ and Slovak culture.

Summary

In 2016, apart from Slovak language, we did not include any other minority language that could benefit from financial support from the Implementation of the Charter of Minority Languages in our research. In the questionnaire research, we included minorities that are on the rise in the Czech Republic, a large part of them not belonging to national minorities but to new migrants with different length of residence – i.e. foreigners. The most numerous are the Ukrainians and the Russians. We also followed the attitudes towards them in 2012. Russian and Ukrainian languages are often heard in selected localities of the presented research, which also includes the relationship of Czechs to their speakers. From additional interviews, including a slight shift in the percentages in the graphs, we note that the attitudes towards the Ukrainians and the Russians has improved slightly. The local majority has become accustomed to these foreigners, although only part of them can distinguish Ukrainian language from Russian. But it is also due to the fact that most Ukrainians try to speak Russian with the Czechs

rather in Ukrainian, because they assume at least basic knowledge of Russian language from the past.

Additional interviews with the respondents showed a more significant shift towards lesser knowledge and frequency of Slovak language, less frequent visits and interest in the events in Slovakia. As the research shows, Slovak personalities - artists, especially actors – are actually becoming part of the majority. They are not perceived as bearers of ‘Slovakness’ but as outstanding actors, singers, performers, artists from various areas, who become part of Czech culture. This perception is not common, for example, in case of Russian personalities, who remain the bearers of Russian culture, traditions, and also Russian language, even though they often left Russia for political reasons and are not supporters of the current Putin’s regime. Czech Russists, who are important bearers of Russian cultural values, play a key role in the attitude and new acceptance of Russian language by part of the Czech majority, following mainly the Czech-Russian relations in the 19th century, the first half of the 20th century and the Russian dissent of the second half of 20th century. In the promotion of Slovak language, Slovak culture does not have its bearers in the Czech environment or respected Slovaks, who would be able to spread Slovak language and Slovak culture in a more significant way. Ukrainian language is by the local majority perceived only as a language of households – families of Ukrainians in selected localities. In addition, similarly to Russian language, it does not belong to the Convention Implementing the Charter of Minority Languages in the Czech Republic. Both languages, as well as the languages of eight other national minorities, are supported only within the framework of educational projects in the languages of national minorities of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, within support of the development of ethnic cultures based on the projects of the Ministry of Culture, the projects of the City Hall of the Prague Capital City, the Town Hall of Brno and other regional towns that support education and culture of national minorities on their territory. In this group, the most supported language, thanks to its bearers, is the Russian language. As part of Implementation of the Charter of Minority Languages, the most common language in the Czech Republic is German language, followed by Polish language in Silesia and Northern Moravia. The situation of Slovak language was characterized in this study and documented by the number and social status of Slovaks in the Czech Republic. Social status of Slovaks is not disproportionate to the majority population. The fundamental problem we perceive is the lack of interest of the majority population in Slovak language and culture. A more pronounced and lasting interest would motivate not only Slovaks, but also their descendants, both open and hidden sympathizers.

In the research of 2012, we found out that the interest in Slovaks, Slovakia and Slovak language has not disappeared but has been moved to the side by the possibilities of unprecedented consumption, new possibilities of discovering unknown countries and their cultural values, the struggle for existential security, which has, to an unprecedented extent, hit the regions where a higher number of Slovaks live.

We can now state that interest continues to decline; especially in the younger generation who completely lose interest if their families do not educate them in their ancestry. That is why we consider searching for new solutions to be necessary. By opening up

new possibilities, it is not possible to lose the knowledge of a related language that generations of ancestors understood throughout the centuries. Slovak language and Slovak culture remain part of the history and traditions of the Czech lands and may be expected to be rediscovered. Therefore, our research has also focused on other languages, in case of which gradual rediscovery has already occurred.

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4

Historical aspects of national minorities status

The Status of the Jewish population in the Czech Lands during the 20th Century and the Beginning of the 21st Century

Petr Bednařík

Abstract:

V období první republiky se židé v Československu mohli hlásit k židovské národnosti, což část z nich využila při sčítání lidu v letech 1921 a 1930. V Československu bylo silné česko-židovské asimilační hnutí a současně i výrazné byly i aktivity sionistů. V období druhé republiky Československo zachvátila vlna antisemitismu. Česko-židovské hnutí a sionisté se lišili v pohledu na odchod do emigrace. Po skončení druhé světové války židé očekávali, že opět bude možné se hlásit k židovské národnosti, což se ale nestalo. Do velkých potíží se dostávali židé, kteří se ve 30. letech přihlásili k německé národnosti. Problém také představovala snaha židů dosáhnout restituce svého majetku. V období 50. let došlo k výrazné redukci počtu židovských náboženských obcí. V 60. letech se v době politického uvolňování projevovala tematika holocaustu výrazně v kultuře. V období normalizace opět nastalo potlačování připomínek židovských obětí druhé světové války. Židovské obce fungovaly ve složitých podmínkách. Docházelo k devastaci židovských stavebních památek a hřbitovů. Po roce 1989 byla v České republice vytvořena nová struktura deseti židovských obcí.

Klíčová slova:

Židé, Antisemitismus, Židovské obce, Českožidovské hnutí, Sionismus.

A. Period of interwar Czechoslovakia

The first Czechoslovak Republic introduced the possibility of claiming Jewish nationality, which was exceptional even in a European context. The criteria for claiming Jewish nationality was very liberal; there was no need to prove knowledge of one of the Jewish languages, nor a need to be a member of a Jewish religious community. It was sufficient to express one's own will.¹ The President Tomáš Masaryk, who had been known internationally since the end of the 19th century as a person opposed to anti-Semitism, was very important in the status of the Jews in the new state, but also liked the Zionist idea of creating an independent Jewish state in Palestine. He considered Zionism a good

1 ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina. Češi, Němci, Židé? *Národní identita Židů v Čechách 1918 – 1938*. Praha – Litomyšl : Ladislav Horáček – Paseka, 2005, p. 30 – 33.

prospect for a Jewish nation.² Nevertheless, the period of Masaryk's Presidency cannot be described as completely without manifestations of anti-Semitism. Between 1919 and 1920, the Republic did not avoid anti-Jewish riots when at a time of economic crisis, Jewish shops were looted. Similarly anti-German feeling was also expressed against the Jews in the Republic as Jews often had German as their main language. This was evident in the early 1930s in the big Czech cities of Prague, Brno and Ostrava. Although in the 1920s and 1930s various fascist parties and groups existed in the Czech lands, they never actually achieved any significant success in the elections at any level.³

The Jews in the Czech lands were divided into assimilators and Zionists. Assimilators claimed the Jewish faith, however, they did not perceive themselves as Jews by nationality but developed their identity within the Czech nation in terms of language, culture and history. On the other hand, the Zionists claimed Jewish nationality and they supported the idea of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. For the Zionists, the Central Zionist Union was the key organization that organized international Zionist congresses in 1921, 1923 and 1933 in Czechoslovakia. The Union had branches throughout the country. Assimilators and Zionists engaged a lot in Union activity. It was very important for the Zionists to be able to claim Jewish nationality in the Republic, regardless of their language.⁴

In the 1921 census, the distribution of population claiming Jewish religion was reported as follows: 38% claimed Czechoslovak nationality (43,350), 35% German nationality (39,629) and 26% Jewish nationality (29,613). Significantly more people claimed Jewish nationality in Slovakia (70,500) and the Carpathian Ruthenia (80,000). Out of a total of 354,000 people of Jewish faith, 180,700 reported Jewish nationality. In the population census in 1930, out of a total of 356,700 Jewish citizens, 187,000 people claimed Jewish nationality – 30,000 in the Czech lands, 65,000 in Slovakia, 91,000 in Carpathian Ruthenia.⁵

Among Czech Jews and Zionists, there was a great deal of tension related to a different view of how the Jews should perceive their Jewishness throughout the entire period of the First Republic. The Zionists were also very active in promoting their interests on the political scene. From the end of the 1920s, they even had a deputy for the Jewish Party in the Parliament. With the increasing threat from Nazi Germany, Zionism gained ever greater support from young people who were interested in leaving for Palestine.

2 SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. T. G. Masaryk a židé (Židé), židé (Židé) a T. G. Masaryk: legenda a skutečnost. In Soukupová, Blanka – Zahradníková, Marie (eds.). *Židovská menšina v Československu ve dvacátých letech*. Praha : Židovské muzeum, 2003, p. 113 – 125.

3 ČERMÁKOVÁ, Radka. Československá pluralistická demokratická společnost ve stínu nacistického Německa. In Pojar, Miloš – Soukupová, Blanka – Zahradníková, Marie (eds.). *Židovská menšina v Československu ve třicátých letech*. Praha : Židovské muzeum, 2004, p. 9 – 20.

4 The activities of the Czech-Jewish movement, the activities of the Zionists and the mutual relations of these two groups are described by Kateřina Čapková in her book *Češi, Němci, Židé? Národní identita Židů v Čechách 1918 – 1938*.

5 See PĚKNÝ, Tomáš. *Historie Židů v Čechách*. Praha : Sefer, 2001, 702 p.

B. Period of the Second Republic

Following the Munich Agreement, the Czech Republic sought to find someone to blame for its difficult situation. In October 1938, the Czech press published a criticism of the twenty years of the Republic including its current parliamentary structure, the Czechoslovak foreign policy, liberalism and President Edvard Beneš. Other attacks included those against Jews in the Czech press. In Czechoslovakia, there were sudden manifestations of anti-Semitism and right-wing parliamentary parties joined the attacks against the Jews and the activity of Czech fascists increased dramatically. Jews were accused of having too strong a position in the economy. Organizations of Czech doctors and lawyers began to exclude Jewish members from their ranks so that Czech members could take over their clientele. The Jews (whether they were the assimilators or the Zionists) were viewed as people who should no longer have any influence on Czech culture. Jewish emigrants, who found asylum in Czechoslovakia in the 1930s after their departure from Germany and Austria, were put in an increasingly difficult position.⁶ There were very strong views on both the political scene and in the press that the immigrants should leave. This requirement was justified by the fact that the Republic was struggling with many economic problems and could no longer afford to look after immigrants. Germany exerted intense pressure on the Czechoslovak government to take anti-Jewish measures, which finally happened at the end of January 1939. The government introduced measures to allow immigrants to leave Czechoslovakia within six months and domestic Jews started to lose their jobs in state services.⁷

In this difficult situation, assimilators and Zionists would have been expected to join forces in the fight against anti-Semitism, but the age-old disputes worsened. The Union of Czech Jews (assimilators' organisation) supported the notion that only persons of Czechoslovak nationality from the territory which the Republic had to give up under the Munich Agreement should be able to settle permanently in Czechoslovakia. In their opinion, a reduced nation would only have a very small number of minority numbers. According to the Zionists, however, the state should take care of all its citizens, regardless of their nationality. They considered it discriminatory to divide the refugee Jews from the Sudetenland by their nationality. The Zionists emphasized that the Jews from the Sudetenland, who reported German or Jewish nationality, should also be taken care of. The assimilators also argued that the Zionist emphasis led to increased anti-Semitic sentiment in Czech society, which in the critical situation of the Republic was not in favour of minority demands. Both groups differed in view on the departure of Jews from Czechoslovakia. The Union of Czech Jews, as the most important organization of assimilators, considered people who were leaving abroad at such a critical time for the country to be cowardly deserters. The Zionists, on the other hand, emphasized that de-

6 For the issue of asylum of Jewish emigrants in Czechoslovakia, see ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina – FRANKL, Michal. *Nejisté útočiště. Československo a uprchlíci před nacismem 1933 – 1938*. Praha – Litomyšl : Paseka, 2008, 424 p.

7 BENDA, Jan. *Útěky a vyhánění z pohraničí českých zemí 1938 – 1939*. Praha : Karolinum, 2013, p. 248 – 256, 399 – 404.

velopments in Europe showed the need to create an independent Jewish state, and that young Jews should make a great effort to leave for Palestine. The onset of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws put the assimilators and the Zionists into the same position of a persecuted population. The Jews tried to emigrate but encountered problem of obtaining visas.⁸ Most Jews were unable to leave, and fell under the genocide of Nazi ideology. As early as March 1939, Jews were limited in their rights. From the autumn of 1941 they started to be summoned for transportation. A large Jewish ghetto was built in Terezin, and the Jews were eventually deported to the extermination camps in Poland.

C. Period 1945-1948

After the war only 53 municipalities (34 in Bohemia and 19 in Moravia) were renewed out of the original 208 Jewish religious communities in the Czech lands in 1938; 80 of which were in the territory withdrawn after Munich. The principle that every community had to have a minimum of 100 members could often not be fulfilled.⁹ The decline in the number of the Jewish population could be shown in specific numbers. At the beginning of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939, there were 118,310 Jews in its territory, of whom 103,960 were Jewish, while others belonged to the definition of a Jew according to the Nuremberg Laws. One year after the liberation in May 1946 the Registry of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities published the information that 9,156 persons were found in the Registry of the Jewish community in Prague, who were subject to racial persecution during the Protectorate. Of these, two-thirds were of the Jewish faith while the other third were Catholics, Evangelicals, and atheists. There were 6,700 Jews in the registries of municipalities outside Prague.¹⁰

Every returning Jew received only a few pieces of clothing and a pair of shoes from the state authorities. Other than that, they were supposed to take care of themselves. That was why the Jews asked for help from the Jewish Religious Community (JRC) in Prague, which was a central community that tried to provide them with food, medicine, clothing, footwear and housing. It took care of the children who had lost all their relatives in the war. Foreign financial and material assistance provided for Jews by the American Joint Distribution Committee in Czechoslovakia was also very important. However, no funds were left to repair the synagogues and cemeteries.

The Jews started to claim restitution of property that was lost as a result of racial persecution. They expected their businesses to be returned. However, they did not meet with a great effort from the state authorities to speed up this process. In fact the opposite

8 Due to the confines of the study, we will not pay more attention to the period of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

9 For more details on the situation of the Jewish population in Czechoslovakia in the post-war period, see WEHLE, Kurt. The Jews in Bohemia and Moravia (1945 – 1948). In *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*. Volume III. New York – Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America and the Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews, 1984, p. 531 – 546.

10 NESG. Osudy židů v Čechách a na Moravě. In *Lidová demokracie*, 1946, Vol. 1, No. 118, p. 5.

happened; Jewish property, which was largely owned by the Germans as the result of aryanization during the occupation, was confiscated as German property after the end of the war, and state authorities appointed state administrators to manage the operations of individual enterprises. In post-war Czechoslovakia, there were socialist tendencies that contradicted the efforts of the original owners to restore their property. On October 24, 1945, President Edvard Beneš signed decrees nationalising mines, key industries, stock banks, private insurance companies and the food industry. Political parties in post-war Czechoslovakia planned to continue in this socialization trend. This period saw the transfer of property from private individuals to state ownership. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, as the strongest political party after its election victory in 1946, did not have a reason to promote the termination of national administrations and the transfer of businesses to their pre-war owners.¹¹

Czechoslovak politicians in 1945 declared that the liberated republic would be the state of two equal nations – the Czechs and the Slovaks. Minority members should merge with the Czechs and the Slovaks, unless they were relocated. The liberated Republic started to place great emphasis on Pan-Slavism and alliances with the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia should be a republic of Czechs and Slovaks who would be the closest to other Slavic nations in the liberated Europe.¹² In this new concept of the state, however, it was obvious that it did not include the pre-war possibility of claiming Jewish nationality as equal nationality. State authorities demanded that the Jews assimilate, and post-war legislation no longer included Jewish nationality. In this situation, the Zionists saw that they could not expect the state to support their movement. However, Britain's attempt to forbid the relocation of Jews from Central Europe to Palestine did not allow them to leave.

The Jews of German nationality were in the most difficult situation after the war. The authorities approached this group of Jews in the same way as the other German population, which meant that the same measures applied to them. Only those Jews who were officially recognized as anti-fascists were excluded. Thus, there was an absurd situation whereby the Jews who had survived the Nazi concentration camps were officially condemned along with other Germans. They had to wear white ribbons and some of them were in collection camps, part of whom were transported to Germany. No pension was granted to pensioners, and all these Jews received German food vouchers with lower food rations than the Czechs had.¹³ The Council of Jewish Religious Communities asked the Ministry of the Interior to issue a decree that would absolutely prevent any Jews of German nationality from being enrolled for relocation. Only on September 10th, 1946, the Ministry of the Interior issued a decree stating clearly that

11 KUKLÍK, Jan (ed.). *Jak odškodnit holocaust? Problematika vyvlastnění židovského majetku, jeho restituce a odškodnění*. Praha : Karolinum, 2015, p. 145 – 193; LÁNÍČEK, Jan. *Czechs, Slovaks and the Jews, 1938 – 1948. Beyond Idealisation and Condemnation*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 151 – 155.

12 KAPLAN, Karel. *Pravda o Československu 1945 – 1948*. Praha : Panorama, 1990, p. 14 – 22.

13 STANĚK, Tomáš. *Odsun Němců z Československa 1945 – 1947*. Praha : Academia a Naše vojsko, 1991, p. 163 – 165, 339 – 345.

it was not allowed to list Jews who claimed German nationality in 1930 for relocation. On September 13th, 1946, the Minister of the Interior Václav Nosek issued a decree containing instructions on how the authorities should proceed to maintain the citizenship of Jews of German or Hungarian nationality. According to the decree, the Czech and Slovak nations rejected the racist differentiation of the victims of Nazi persecution from other national survivors of Nazi oppression. It rejected any discrimination due to ancestry, religion and mother tongue. This decree recognized that all Jews and people with Jewish ancestry who lived in the occupied territory were victims of Nazi or fascist terror. Therefore, the condition for the preservation of Czechoslovak citizenship was fulfilled for Jews of German or Hungarian nationality. If another condition was fulfilled, i.e. that such a person never harmed the Czech and Slovak nations, then there was no reason to deny Czechoslovak citizenship according to the decree. Simple nationality or use of language were not to be regarded as Germanization or Magyarization.¹⁴ The Jews relied on the fact that the Decree would solve all cases of discrimination, but this did not happen. In the following year, there were several cases related to restitution in Czechoslovakia, where parts of the Decree that defined Germanization became very controversial. People who wanted to prevent Jews from restitution of their property tried to prove that a Jew was not eligible for restitution of property due to committing acts that could be included under Germanization; for example, the person concerned was accused of employing Germans in the 1930s, or being a member of German societies. There were also different ways to explain how a Jew who lived abroad during the war was to demonstrate that they had kept loyal to the Republic. As of December 30th, 1946, there were 1,876 Jews of German nationality in the Czech Lands (Bohemia 1,536, Moravia and Silesia 340). Most of these people belonged under the offices in Prague (621), Litoměřice (435), Liberec (227), Karlovy Vary (117), Brno (115) and Opava (97).¹⁵ In 1947, in a situation where the state showed less interest in Jews of German nationality, many of them used the opportunity for voluntary emigration abroad. Certainly, the difficult experience of these people who had to wait 16 months for the Decree of the Minister of the Interior to protect them from the danger of being put into transport and relocated to Germany contributed to this situation.

After the war, approximately 12,000 Jews from Transcarpathian Ukraine came to the Czech lands and settled mainly in northern Bohemia, where housing and jobs were to be found after the expulsion of the Germans. However, they were unable to gain Czechoslovak citizenship. Under the Treaty of 29th June, 1945, Czechoslovakia gave up the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine to the Soviet Union. Until 1st January, 1946, local citizens had the right to file an optional statement to obtain Czechoslovak citizenship. However, this right of choice belonged only to people of Czech or Slovak nationality or to Russian and Ukrainian nationalities who had fought in the Czechoslovak army. The Jews of Transcarpathian Ukraine, however, had mostly Jewish nationality. That is why even those who had lived in the Czech lands from 1945 could not opt for

14 Decree of the Minister of the Interior. *Věstník Židovské náboženské obce*, 1946, Vol. 8, No. 11, p. 91.

15 STANĚK, T. *Odsun Němců z Československa 1945 – 1947...*, p. 343.

Czechoslovakia. Under the Treaty, they automatically became citizens of the Soviet Union. These Jews, however, did not want to return to the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine. They left for Northern Bohemia, where the possibility of restoring the Jewish religious communities (Liberec, Ústí nad Labem, Děčín - Podmokly, Teplice - Šanov) had vanished during the occupation of the Sudetenland in 1938. The status of the Jews from Transcarpathian Ukraine was very uncertain because the Soviet authorities could take them to the Soviet Union at any time. Czech authorities did not have special interest in the Jews, as these immigrants from Transcarpathian Ukraine were predominantly Zionists who could not be expected to assimilate. Given this tense situation, 6,000 Jews from Transcarpathian Ukraine moved to the American zone in Germany. Another 6,000 Jews, however, remained in the Czech lands and, due to their number, became an important part of the Jewish religious community in which the Zionist representation was strengthened.¹⁶

D. Period 1948-1968

In 1948, the Communists quickly took control over Jewish religious communities. In the first weeks after the political coup, members of Jewish religious communities were persuaded by their new leaders to support the CPC's policy. It should be noted that a number of young Jews had already become members of the CPC between 1945 and 1948 because of their great sympathy for the Soviet Union. For many of them, the Red Army was the army that had liberated them in the camps in 1945. These young people believed that the Soviet Union was the country that eliminated anti-Semitism. They thought that the Communists in Czechoslovakia would also ensure that anti-Semitism could never happen again.

The independent state of Israel, after its inception in May 1948, faced attacks by the Arabs. In the summer of 1948, the Czechoslovak government helped greatly by training Israeli soldiers in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, despite the UN embargo, they sold the Israeli army weapons of Czechoslovak production. This aid is in Israel is still considered to be a very important element in Israel's efforts to defend their new state.¹⁷ The Israeli Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Jehuda Überall-Avriel on 15th November 1948 asked the Foreign Minister Vladimír Clementis to allow the Jews to leave Czechoslovakia for Israel, where they wanted to accept Jews who would settle their free land. The government supported this emigration, because many Zionists, but also Jews who did not sympathize with the new regime, could leave Czechoslovakia. During the years 1948-1949, the number of members of Jewish communities in the Czech lands and in

16 JELINEK, Yeshayahu. Carpatho-Rus' Jewry: The last czechoslovakian Chapter 1944 – 1949. In *Studies in Russian and East European, Jewish History and Culture*. Tel Aviv University, 1995, p. 531 – 549; JELINEK, Yeshayahu. The Jews in Slovakia 1945 – 1949. In *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, volume III, New York – Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America and the Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews, 1984, p. 531 – 549.

17 For military help for Israel see KAPLAN, Karel – DUFEK, Jiří – ŠLOSAR, Vladimír. *Československo a Izrael v letech 1945 – 1956*. Praha : Ústav pro soudobé dějiny, 1993, 339 p.

Slovakia was greatly reduced as about 19,000 Jews moved from Czechoslovakia to Israel.¹⁸

In 1949, the National Assembly adopted Act No. 217/1949 on the Establishment of a State Office for the Affairs of the Church, in charge of overseeing church and religious life in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, the National Assembly also approved Act No. 218/1949 on the Economic Provision for Churches and Religious Societies by the State. The Act determined that the state would pay the salaries of the clergy of all churches and religious societies. The clergy thus became state employees and had to have state approval for their activities. At the same time, it financed the material costs associated with the religious services, religious acts and the church administration. Churches were required to submit their budgets and closing statements to the State Office for the Affairs of the Church for approval, and the state also paid the cost of the faculties of theology, with the matrimonial registry agenda being transferred to state offices. In addition to the State Office for the Affairs of the Church, church secretaries in the national committees also supervised the Church at regional and district level. The Clergy and workers of Jewish Religious Community were paid by the state, but they could determine how many people would act within the JRC. The Council of Jewish Religious Communities established a budget for the operation of municipalities, but it depended on the State Office for the Affairs of the Church how much money would really be allocated to municipalities.¹⁹

However, the JRC Council needed considerable funding for its extensive social-oriented work. Here, it still relied on the funding it received from the American Joint Distribution Committee, and the JRC Council also provided funds for repairing synagogues and Jewish cemeteries. The financial situation of Jewish religious communities markedly worsened in January 1950, when the activity of the American Joint Distribution Committee was banned in Czechoslovakia, and the activities of Zionist organizations were also stopped by the state. From the beginning of 1950, there was a ban on the import of food packages from abroad. Jewish religious communities thus became heavily dependent on the state in terms of funding and the poor were to seek support from national committees. Due to the worsening international situation, contact of Jews in Czechoslovakia with their relatives abroad were becoming more difficult.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia campaigned against Zionism, which was named a harmful capitalist cosmopolitan ideology to be vigorously countered. Zionism was characterized as a worldwide Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world. Most notably, the regime's anti-Semitism manifested itself in the framework of a structured political process in 1952, with the former General Secretary of the Communist Party, Rudolf Slánský, and other high-ranking party and state officials who were of Jewish origin being singled out for propaganda purposes. The Jews were presented as

18 KAPLAN, K. – DUFEK, J. – ŠLOSAR, V. *Československo...*, p. 28.

19 National archives in Prague (next NA Prague), fund (next f.): Státní úřad pro věci církevní, carton No. 3, sign. 51, zpráva Státního úřadu pro věci církevní ze 14. 2. 1953 o postavení církví v Československu.

an exclusive group of people of bourgeois origin, oriented to the west. Claiming Jewish faith in this period meant bringing the unwanted attention of State Security.

The Registry of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in 1950 stated a total of 10,486 persons of Jewish faith associated in 49 religious communities in the Czech lands. However, a significant reorganization took place in the following years. According to a report by the State Office for Church Affairs in March 1952, the Council of Jewish Religious Communities first proposed that there should be 29 mother and 24 filial communities in the Czech lands. The proposal was received by the regional church secretaries, who laid down plans for the existence of 15 mother and 19 filial municipalities. However, the State Office for Church Affairs protested that this number was too high. Their number was supposed to be based on the real number of Jewish believers and administrative costs. According to the State Office for Church Affairs, it was not necessary to have a Jewish religious community in each region and, for example, one community should suffice for Hradec Králové and Pardubice regions.²⁰

On June 29th 1952, the 3rd Congress of Delegates of Jewish Religious Communities was held in Prague, where a committee for the reorganization of municipalities was elected. The proposal was to establish 9 municipalities – Ostrava, Olomouc, Brno, Ústí nad Labem, Plzeň, Kyjov, Liberec, Karlovy Vary and Prague. Reorganization of municipalities took place on January 1st, 1953. There were nine municipalities in the Czech Lands, the other former municipalities were transformed into synagogue associations. There were 39 of them and they only engaged in religious activities, while municipalities provided administrative and social activities. A Board was at the head of the municipalities and the administrative work was provided by a secretary. The highest authority of Jewish Religious Communities was the JRC Council, which had two bodies: a wider committee and the board.²¹

The possibilities of emigration of Jews from Czechoslovakia to Israel were stopped. There were also very limited contacts between the Jews in Czechoslovakia with Jews who emigrated to Israel at the end of the 1940s, or left to the Middle East during the inter-war period. The Jewish Museum in Prague (founded in 1906) changed in 1950 into the State Jewish Museum. Especially because of the director Hana Volavková and despite the difficult conditions, it managed to take care of rare collections and to devote itself to research activities (from 1956 as part of the research of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences). Although there was a Museum of Oppression in Terezín, it emphasized the history of the Small Fortress. State institutions did not want to have a museum exhibition that would capture the history of the Jewish ghetto during the Second World War. The museum also did not engage in any research activities.²² Thus, the Jews were disappearing from history. The real situation of the Jews during World

20 NA Prague, f.: Státní úřad pro věci církevní, carton No. 210, návrh Státního úřadu pro věci církevní z března 1952 zaslaný církevním oddělením krajských národních výborů v Čechách o úpravě obvodů židovských náboženských obcí.

21 NA Prague, f.: Státní úřad pro věci církevní, carton No. 210, situační zpráva o průběhu sjezdu židovských náboženských obcí v červnu 1952.

22 MUNK, Jan. Z historie Památníku Terezín. In *Terezínské listy*, 1993, Vol. 21, p. 11 – 14.

War II was not written about, the victims of the Holocaust from the territory of Czechoslovakia were not spoken of. When the number of World War II victims was reported, the definition of how many of these victims were Jewish was missing. There was no information on what the representation was of Jews in Western and Eastern military units. There was no reason to remember the history of the Prague Jewish ghetto, and in a number of cities, the synagogues became warehouses.

The situation changed after 1956 with the slight relaxation in the political atmosphere. There were gradual steps, and it was not a period of complete concealment of Jewish history, but the CPC's attitude to Zionism did not change. The Holocaust after many years again became a topic in Czechoslovak culture. An outstanding theatre event was held in June 1957 in the Theatre in Vinohrady, then the Central Theatre of the Czechoslovak Army, with the premiere of the play *Anne Frank's Diary* (by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett). The performance was directed by Jan Střejček with Jiřina Jirásková in the title role. In Czechoslovakia, the American film adaptation of *Anne Frank's Diary* was also screened. The writer Jan Otčenášek wrote the novella *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*, which was soon after published and adapted for Television and film and was successfully published abroad.

In 1958, the first short stories of Arnošt Lustig with the topic of Holocaust, *The Night and Hope*, and *Diamonds of the Night* were published. Jiří Weil (an employee in the State Jewish Museum in the 1950s), after years of forced silence, was able to publish the book *Elegy for*

77,297 victims, and at the same time he completed the novel *Mendelssohn is on the Roof* (published in 1960 after the author's death).

Jewish religious communities tried to continue their activities in the 1950s. In 1959, the number of members was as follows: Ústí nad Labem 1,100, Brno 900, Kyjov 300, Karlovy Vary 500, Olomouc 450, Ostrava 500, Plzeň 350, Praha 5,000, Liberec 400.²³ In the second half of the 1950s, the situation became better, with the use of the synagogues in Prague. The Ministry of Health handed over the Spanish Synagogue to the State Jewish Museum in Prague. It could not yet be used for religious life, but at least it became the depositary of the museum's collection of textiles. After many years the efforts of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities and the State Jewish Museum were also successful and Pinkas Synagogue in Prague exhibited on its walls the names of 77,297 Jews from Bohemia and Moravia who were murdered by the Nazis. The synagogue was officially opened in 1959. The State Jewish Museum was able to open new exhibitions and organize other foreign ones during the 1960s.²⁴

In the 1960s the Jewish theme received further attention from the Communist regime. A number of internationally successful films were created: *Transport from Paradise* (1962, directed by Z. Brynych), *Diamonds of the Night* (1964, directed by J. Němec), ...

23 ILTIS, Rudolf. *Die aussäen unter Tränen, mit Jubel werden sie ernten*. Praha : Ústřední církevní nakladatelství, 1959, p. 215.

24 Situation and activity of the State Jewish Museum in the 50s and 60s are described in detail in chapters: VESELSKÁ, Magda. *Archa paměti. Cesta pražského židovského muzea pohnutým 20. stoletím*. Praha : Academia a Židovské muzeum v Praze, 2012, p. 162 – 207.

and the fifth Horseman is Fear (1964, directed by Z. Brynych), *Saint Elizabeth Square* (1965, directed by V. Bahna), *The Shop on Main Street* (1965, directed by J. Kádár, E. Klos), *Dita Saxová* (1967, directed by A. Moskalyk), *The Cremator* (1969, directed by J. Herz). Several foreign awards were also won for the television adaptation of *Prayer for Kateřina Horowitzová*, based on the original by Arnošt Lustig, who also co-wrote the screenplay (1965, directed by A. Moskalyk). Through these films the general public, including the younger generation, could learn about what the Jews experienced during World War II, and in the case of *Dita Saxová*, also after the war. Other books by Arnošt Lustig were published and Jewish themes were also dealt with by Ladislav Fuks, Josef Škvorecký, Rudolf Jašík and Hana Bělohradská. The Conference in Liblice in 1963 allowed literary scientists to pay more attention to Franz Kafka and other Jewish authors of his generation writing in German.

In 1964, the publishing house Nase vojsko published Karel Lagus's and Josef Polak's book *Town behind Bars*, which was the first professional publication written during the Communist era regime and focused on the Jewish Ghetto of Terezín. The authors described the persecution of Jews in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia their life in the ghetto and eventual transportation of large numbers of them to the death camps. The publication was supplemented by photographs and various archive sources.

Between 1961 and 1962, the curators in Terezín put on new exhibitions, including two rooms from 31 dedicated to the Terezín ghetto. Though few, this showed a willingness to confront the hitherto, largely ignored issue. The new exhibition of the National Terezín Memorial in 1965 devoted more space to the history of the ghetto. In December 1968, the government approved a new exhibition plan, which included a museum of the ghetto in Terezín.²⁵

However, diplomatic relations with Israel were still very tense in the 1960s. The State Security monitored the contacts of Jewish religious communities with foreign diplomats, although the regime did allow Jews in Czechoslovakia to obtain financial assistance from some foreign Jewish organizations, and despite the number of Jewish communities in Bohemia reducing to three (Prague, Plzeň and Ústí nad Labem) and to two in Moravia (Brno and Ostrava), the Council of Jewish Religious Communities prepared large celebrations for the Millennium of Jewish Settlement in the Czech Lands and 700 years of the existence of Prague's Old-new Synagogue.²⁶

In 1967, Czechoslovakia, under Moscow's influence, after the Israeli-Arabian Six-Day War stopped diplomatic relations with Israel and participated in the anti-Zionist propaganda of the Eastern Bloc (while writers in Czechoslovakia supported Israel at their June congress). The expectations of possible positive changes ended with the political fallout after August 1968, and the number of Jews declined due to another wave of emigration.

25 MUNK, J.. *Z historie Památníku Terezín...*, p. 14 – 16.

26 HEITLINGEROVÁ, Alena. *Ve stínu holocaustu a komunismu. Čeští a slovenští židé po roce 1945*. Praha : G plus G, 2007, p. 42 – 46.

F. Period 1969-1989

The normalization period 1969-1989 was once again linked to campaigns against Zionism and tense relations between the countries of the Communist Bloc and Israel. The Normalization regime blamed Zionists, in part, for the political crisis of 1968/69, together with US secret services. A Jewish intellectual was implicated with the Prague Spring. The regime led campaigns against Zionism, and Israel was negatively depicted in the media as a country that was responsible for the tensions in the Middle East; notwithstanding this, Czechoslovakia favoured Yasir Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Movement.

Despite this difficult situation, the Jewish communities maintained their religious and social activities; however, there was distinct lack of rabbinical positions. Between 1971 and 1983, the municipalities in the Czech lands did not have a Rabbi. Jewish communities were still monitored by the State Security. Jewish origin was featured in cadre materials and could be a cause for complications at school or at work.²⁷ Normalization again meant new suppression of information on the history of Jews. In Terezín in the early 1970s, it was possible to reconstruct the Jewish cemetery, the crematorium and the monument at Ohře. However, the original plan of new museum exhibitions could no longer be carried out. In the L 417 ghetto building, which was home to boys from 10 to 15 years of age during the war, a ghetto museum exhibition was created. However, the building was taken over by the Ministry of the Interior, which built the Museum of the National Security Corps and the Revolutionary Traditions of the North Bohemian Region.²⁸ There was not even a plaque in the town of Terezín to commemorate the Jewish ghetto that was there during the war. The only mention of the existence of the ghetto was only in the crematorium; but travel agencies did not take visitors there at all. School trips only went to Terezín's Small Fortress, where the guides did not mention the Jewish ghetto in the city during the war at all. In the early years of the Communist regime, there was still the situation when information on how many Jews were among Czechoslovak victims of the Second World War was omitted. It was not reported how Jews participated in domestic and foreign anti-Nazi resistance. The Communist regime, for example, strongly emphasized the battle of Czechoslovak soldiers on the Eastern Front, however, it was not pointed out that there was a large representation of Jewish soldiers in the so-called Svoboda Army.

In this difficult situation, the State Jewish Museum continued to operate, however, there were significant personal changes at the beginning of normalization. In the 1970s, the museum was not allowed to carry out exhibitions abroad, and at the same time, lectures for the public were cancelled and the organization of short-term exhibitions and publishing of publications was considerably restricted. The suppression of history was reflected in the regime's approach to the Pinkas' Synagogue, which was closed in the mid-1960s due to damage caused by underground water and poor roofing. The state institutions did not seek to repair the synagogue so it remained closed throughout the normalization period, and the names of Holocaust victims on

27 HEITLINGEROVÁ, A. *Ve stínu holocaustu...*, p. 47 – 52.

28 MUNK, J. *Z historie Památníku Terezín...*, p. 17 – 21.

the walls were destroyed.²⁹ The situation changed in the 1980s. The regime realized that presenting collections of the State Jewish Museum abroad could have an economic effect. Large exhibitions took place in Great Britain, Italy and there was a three-year traveling exhibition in the US, Canada. Sales of foreign-language publications brought profit. However, the work of the museum towards the public at home was still limited as far as lectures and publishing activities were concerned.³⁰

The devastation of Jewish monuments and cemeteries continued. Most cemeteries were in poor condition and local authorities were not interested in their condition. Sometimes people even took the tombstones to their homes to use in construction and synagogues in a number of towns and villages served as warehouses. Political opposition reacted to this situation. Charter 77 issued document 28/89 April 1989, pointing out the lack of public awareness of the Holocaust and the involvement of Jews in anti-Nazi resistance at schools and in the media. The document criticized the state of the Pinkas' Synagogue as well as many other Jewish landmarks including cemeteries and restrictions on the activities of Jewish religious communities. Charter 77 document ended with the question whether there was hidden, official, politically motivated anti-Semitism in Czechoslovakia. It is also necessary to state that this Charter 77 document was from April 1989, and therefore the Jews, their history and anti-Semitism in Czechoslovakia were not among the topics that the political opposition perceived as of such fundamental importance.³¹

G. After 1989

In a free society, Jewish religious communities could once again carry out their activities. They paid much attention to the question of the return of Jewish property. However, to date, in many aspects this issue remains complex.³² Communities achieved partial restitution of property, but it was often in very poor condition and it required large financial investments (synagogues, cemeteries etc.). The Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic, as the body associating Jewish communities, manages Jewish cemeteries, which are being gradually reconstructed. However, every year there are incidents of these being targeted by vandals.

There are currently ten Jewish communities in the Czech Republic – Prague, Brno, Karlovy Vary, Liberec, Olomouc, Ostrava, Plzeň, Teplice, Ústí nad Labem and Děčín. Geographically, most communities are in northern Bohemia. The largest municipality is in Prague, which currently has about 1,700 members. The community recorded significant development in 1989, when the number of members grew by 900 and the average age dropped from 80 to 57 years. The Prague community gained young members and at the same time benefited from the fact that its members were also foreigners who had

29 Synagogue could only reopen after 1992, when 4 year long renovation of the names on walls began.

30 VESELSKÁ, M. *Archa paměti...*, p. 207 – 221.

31 SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948 – 1992*. Praha : Ústav pro soudobé dějiny, 1994, p. 64 – 67.

32 KUKLÍK, Jan (ed.). *Jak odškodnit holocaust? Problematika vyvlastnění...*, p. 216 – 250. (chapter of the Jewish property restitution in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic after 1989)

moved to Prague. Other communities are significantly smaller. Brno has about 300 members, numbers in others range from 50 to 150 people. Although the small communities are able to carry out activities in the religious, social and cultural areas.³³

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³³ More information about the activities of Jewish communities in the Czech Republic is available on the Federation of Jewish Communities website <www.fzo.cz>.

Issues of the Jewish Question in Slovakia between 1945 and 1953

Michal Šmigel'

Abstract:

Štúdia si kladie za cieľ priblížiť výskumy realizované v rokoch 2009 – 2015 kolektívom slovenských historikov a doktorandov v oblasti povojnovej židovskej otázky na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1953, poukázať na úroveň súčasného poznania problematiky a zdôvodniť celkové výsledky výskumu založené na vlastnom zadefinovaní jednotlivých fáz, respektíve etapovitosti problematiky. V celku vyhodnotiť vládnu politiku vo vzťahu k židovskej minorite na Slovensku. Napokon poukázať na fragmenty témy, ktoré vyžadujú ďalšie bádania. V neposlednom rade prehlibnúť poznanie o tzv. malých menšinách v kontexte korektúr celkového poňatia národnostnej otázky na Slovensku (a tým aj v Československu) povojnového obdobia.

Kľúčové slová:

židovská otázka, repatriácia, antisemitizmus, židovská emigrácia, sionizmus, Slovensko po druhej svetovej vojne.

In the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century, the interest of Slovak historiography (with regard to the Slovak Jewish question) focused primarily on examining the situation and position of Slovak Jews during the Slovak state and the Holocaust (1939-1945). Of course, it was a topic that was stripped of “chains of secrecy” and resonated in society at that time. On the other hand, only marginal attention was paid to the problem of post-war Jewry (i.e., in the second half of the 1940s and the early 1950s). The lack of historical knowledge was substituted mainly by works of Slovak and Czech ethnologists or Czech and Israeli historians.¹ Although a fair degree of work has been done and they outlined the general framework of the issue, there still remained a number of unanswered questions about the status, position and situation of Slovak Jewry in the post-war period.

Such a state of affairs led some of the staff of the Department of History of the Faculty of Philosophy (formerly the Faculty of Humanities) of the University of Matej Bel in Banská Bystrica to the idea of carrying out a systematic research of the topic. This was helped with two grant projects from VEGA which produced: “Manifestations of anti-Semitism in Slovakia in post-war years 1945-1948” (2009-2011) and “The Jewish question in Slovakia in 1945-1953” (in 2012-2015), with the participation of postgradu-

¹ Primarily works and studies of (mapping different fragments of the issue) P. Salner, R. Büchler, A. Jelinek, G. Fatranová, J. Svobodová, H. Krejčová, M. Hanková, A. Heitlingerová, S. Singerová, P. Mešťan, A. Bitušiková etc.

ate students from the Department of History in Banská Bystrica and at the Institute of Social Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Košice (within the framework of a joint postgraduate program).²

In the process of researching the topic, the research team sought answers to several yet unanswered questions such as: the number and situation of surviving Jews in Slovakia in 1945; the results of the repatriation of the Jewish people (involuntarily relocated, displaced abroad at the time of the war); civil and property rehabilitation of surviving Jews; the nature and intensity of post-war anti-Semitism in Slovakia; motives, direction, stages and frequency of Jewish migration between 1945 and 1949; Czechoslovak support of Israel, the influence of Zionism on Slovak Jews and the migration aspect of Jewish transit from the surrounding countries; the Jewish question in the context of political processes in Czechoslovakia (end of the 1940s – early 1950s); the basis and results of the battle against Zionism and cosmopolitanism in Slovakia (in Czechoslovakia) in the early 1950s.

The contours of the Jewish post-war question as a whole were gradually formed under the influence of advanced research and the resolution of the aforementioned problems. The results of the research published in partial studies, and – in the case of postgraduate students – in more complex works in the form of successfully defended dissertation works, finally led to the definition of the individual phases of the post-war Jewish question in Slovakia (1945-1953) in the following form: 1st phase – repatriation (1945-1947); 2nd phase – the so-called popular anti-Semitism (1945-1948); 3rd phase – emigration (1945-1948/49) and 4th phase – the so-called governmental (political) anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism (1949-1953). These phases were overlapping and mutually influencing.

The study aims to present the research carried out between 2009-2015 by a team of Slovak historians, to point to the level of current knowledge on the issue and to justify the overall results of the research. Furthermore, to point to areas of topics that require further research. And last but not least, to deepen the knowledge of the so-called minorities through correcting the overall concept of the nationality issue in Slovakia (and thus also in Czechoslovakia) in the post war period.

1st phase – repatriation (1945-1947)

The end of World War II on the European continent was accompanied by a major problem of the massive movement of people who were forced (involuntarily or voluntarily) out of their home environment due to war and war-related issues. There were almost 14 million people in Europe³ who were granted international status of a *Displaced person* – DP. This set of people included also the surviving Jewish DPs.

Primary basic care of DPs (provision of food, clothes, health care, etc.) was implemented through allied troops and in cooperation with the International Red Cross and

2 On solving of the two VEGA projects were participated: doc. Michal Šmigel', doc. Miroslav Kmet', prof. Karol Fremal; PhD students: Jana Šišjaková, Lucia Sotáková, Martin Šromovský a Juraj Jankech.

3 For details see JANKECH, Juraj. Povojnová repatriácia obyvateľstva v Európe v rokoch 1945 – 1947. In *Vojnová kronika*, 2013, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 23 – 32.

UNRRA. At the same time, DP camps were set up for collective support and prevention of unrestrained self-repatriation. The basic platform for the subsequent organized repatriation of the DP was put forward by the Allied Conference in Malta in February 1945, at which the USSR, the United Kingdom and the US agreed on a binding framework for repatriation treaties (France also joined in June 1945).⁴

The practice of concluding bilateral repatriation treaties was subsequently transferred to other interested countries and was thus a relatively efficient network of search, assembly, recovery and subsequent transporting of European DP to places of their former residence, which was confirmed by legislation between the individual countries. Czechoslovakia was also involved in this complex process through the liberation of its own territory. The questions of assembly of unorganized groups of transiting and passing people (including emergency assistance) on the partially liberated territory of the republic were first addressed by the *Repatriation Administration Department* at the Slovak National Council, then the *Central Czechoslovak Repatriation Office* in Bratislava and Prague's *Institute for the Care of Immigrants*. The Republic took full part in the European repatriation practice in May 1945 through the established Repatriation Department at the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare of the Czechoslovak Republic in Prague.⁵

The Repatriation Department (which consisted of ten sections) covered the search for missing persons abroad, managed the repatriation agenda, medical and disinfection care, provision of national inspections and transport to home country, provision of shelter, food and financial support. According to J. Jankech – in relation to members of the Jewish minority who found themselves outside the borders of Czechoslovakia and Slovakia – Czechoslovak repatriation process could be established in the form of three autonomous, yet successive stages:⁶

- *ante-repatriation* – search, provision of necessary material and medical assistance, integration in the DP camp, regional distribution and verification of persons;
- *organized repatriation* – specific repatriation movement; transportation of DP to their home country, support /basic assistance/ through border (arrival) and inland (arrival to the district) detention centres;
- *post-repatriation* – return of the repatriate to their original home and their final settlement; periodic /secondary/ medical, material and financial support.⁷

4 WYMAN, Mark. *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945 – 1951*. New York : Cornell University, 1998, p. 63.; ŠMIGEL, Michal. Sovietska repatričná akcia a jej špecifiká na Slovensku (1944 – 1952). In Šmigel, Michal – Tišliar, Pavol (eds.). *Migračné procesy Slovenska (1918 – 1948)*. Banská Bystrica : Vydavateľstvo Univerzity Mateja Bela – Belianum, 2014, p. 455.

5 National archives in Prague (next NA in Prague), fund (next f.) Ministerstvo práce a sociální péče – Repatriční odbor (ďalej MPSP-RO) 1938-1951 (1960), carton No. 247, sign. R 1319. Přehled o vzniku repatriace, průběhu, provádění a zhodnocení.

6 JANKECH, Juraj. *Repatriácia a migračné tendencie židovskej menšiny na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1949*. (Dissertation thesis). Banská Bystrica : Filozofická fakulta UMB, 2016, p. 61 – 82, 198 – 199.

7 However, in practice this form of secondary support had not always been fully implemented (depending on factors and attitudes of regional authorities in Slovakia – the number of repatriates in the district, the extent of war damage, budget possibilities of the district, municipalities, etc.).

A total of 160,000 people was repatriated to the Czechoslovak republic during 1945-1947 of which about 16,000 were Jewish DPs (i.e. 10% of the total number of repatriates). Numbers of successful repatriation of Jewish people, especially from DP camps in Poland, Germany and Austria, through the Slovak territory, reached approximately 9,000 Jews⁸ (i.e. 56.25% of Czechoslovak Jewish repatriates). The number of individually re-emigrating Jews was not documented and apparently did not exceed a few hundred people.

The total amount of Czechoslovakian funds spent on the repatriation of its residents in the years 1945-1947 amounted to about CSK 229.5 mil. (1945 – 149 million, 1946 – 76 million, 1947 – 4.5 million) and UNRRA contribution (until April 1947 – CSK 24 million) represented CSK 252.5 million.⁹ From the perspective of a relatively small state, it was undoubtedly a very significant financial contribution to the settlement of European repatriation and the issue of returning Jewish and non-Jewish DPs to the country (although this process was often tentative, complicated and carried out in difficult conditions). The positive significance of this phenomenon was mainly due to the massive involvement of the state apparatus in the principles of anterepatriation, its own official repatriation, and, especially, the post-repatriation care of Jewish and non-Jewish returnees.¹⁰ In the previous works regarding this issue, the measure of such state policy, and in particular state aid for displaced persons, was virtually overlooked (only aid for the Jews from UNRRA, the Red Cross, international Jewish organizations, local Jewish communities, etc. was emphasized).

Returning 9,000 Jewish repatriates added to the 11,000 strong Jewish community in Slovakia who survived the Holocaust in the territory of the 1st Slovak Republic. These figures were supported by about 10,000 Jews who survived in the Slovak territory belonging to Hungary between 1939 and 1945. Thus, in the first years after World War II, there were approximately 30,000 Jewish survivors¹¹ (out of the original 136,737 recorded by statistics in 1930, i.e. only about 22%) in Slovakia. However, this number did not stagnate in the post-war period. On the contrary, migratory tendencies (emigration outside Slovakia, but also immigration from abroad, including the former Transcarpathian Russia), changed greatly and therefore a constant value – here we have to agree with other authors – cannot practically be quantified.

8 JANKECH, J. *Repatriácia a emigračné tendencie...*, p. 90.

9 NA Prague, f. MPSP-RO 1938-1951, carton No. 247, sign. R 1319. Přehled o vzniku repatriace, průběhu, provádění a zhodnocení.

10 JANKECH, J. *Repatriácia a emigračné tendencie...*, p. 199.

11 CICHOPÉK-GAJRAJ, Anna. *Beyond violence. Jewish Survivors in Poland and Slovakia 1944 – 1948*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 96. Compare with BUMOVÁ, Ivica. Povoynové pomery židovskej komunity na Slovensku a emigrácia Židov do Palestíny/Izraela v rokoch 1945 – 1953. In Vrzigulová, Monika (ed.). *Reflexie holokaustu*. Bratislava : Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, Ústav etnológie SAV, 2010, p. 17.

2nd phase – the so-called popular anti-Semitism period (1945-1948)

The liberation of Czechoslovakia and the end of World War II did not mean the end of Jewish suffering in Slovakia, although several members of the Slovak Jewish minority virtually (and naively) expected it. On the contrary, a number of problems began, and the negative impacting of the post-war reality through their re-emergence in society were immediately activated. The post-war period as a period of social, political and moral crises was reflected in full, and the Jews faced hostility once again. Anti-Semitic unrest in Slovakia that broke out in the first days and months after World War II and was one of characteristic features of post-war development in Czechoslovakia, fit into the overall situation as existed on European territory.¹² The wave of post-war anti-Semitism significantly impacted all the neighbouring states,¹³ much more than in Czechoslovakia or in Slovakia – here, in comparison with the Czech lands, its physical manifestations were stronger, more unrestrained, due to differences in the causes themselves. The authorities and the general public were not happy about the presence of refugees (from Poland, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine), and in general, the Jews had difficulty adapting to the post-war society, which was characterized by post-war psychosis, administrative chaos and various problems related to the rebirth of the republic. Efforts to remove legislative and administrative barriers imposed on Jewish citizens preventing their full inclusion into society were compounded by manifestations “from the bottom”, motivated by the subjective incentives of the civilian population, taking “justice” into their own hands.¹⁴ The so-called “popular anti-Semitism” was manifested.

During the first post-war years 1945-1948, anti-Semitic moods were observed continuously, however, waves of their increased occurrence can be profiled in 3 stages:

- the first major wave (*the period of increasing anti-Semitism*) took place in the first months after the end of the war (July-September/December 1945),
- the second (*the peak period of the anti-Jewish appearances in Slovakia*) - in the summer months of 1946,
- the third (*the period of lingering anti-Semitism*) in the first half of 1947 (connected with the ongoing trial with Jozef Tiso and his subsequent execution) and again in August 1948 (as the last appearance of a popular character in Slovakia).

Manifestations of anti-Semitism consisted of various kinds of disturbance and minor conflicts of “racially-inspired” character (provocations, street fights, threats, defama-

12 LOWE, Keith. *Krutý kontinent. Európa krátko po druhej svetovej vojne*. Bratislava : Premedia, 2014, p. 218.

13 See: KMEŤ, Miroslav – OTTMÁROVÁ, Bernadeta. K histórii prejavov antisemitizmu v Maďarsku v povojnovom období (1945 – 1948). In *Acta historica Neosoliensia*, 2010, Vol. 13, No. p. 1 – 2, 111 – 129; ŠROMOVSKÝ, Martin. Povojnový antisemitizmus v Poľsku (1945 – 1948). In *Acta historica Neosoliensia*, 2013, Vol. 16, No. 1 – 2, p. 170 – 192; CHUDÍŠ, Pavol. Zakarpatskí židia v migračných procesoch medzi Československom a Sovietskym zväzom v rokoch 1945 – 1948. In *Acta historica Neosoliensia*, 2016, Vol. 19, No 1, p. 63 – 77.

14 ŠIŠJAKOVÁ, Jana. *Prejavy antisemitizmu na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1948*. (Dissertation thesis). Banská Bystrica : Fakulta humanitných vied UMB, 2009, p. 115 – 116.

tion associated with the spread of untrue reports of “malicious” activity of the Jews); painting of anti-Jewish slogans in public places, distribution of posters and leaflets disparaging race, nationality or religion; alarming reports and traditional anti-Jewish rumours; armed attacks on the Jewish population; anti-Jewish demonstrations.¹⁵ From time to time, there were more serious incidents when the lives of Jewish citizens were directly threatened; as was the case with the Topoľčany pogrom in September 1945,¹⁶ the Bratislava riots in August 1946 and in August 1948,¹⁷ or in the case of the murders of Jews in the district of Snina in November – December 1945.¹⁸

Although the period of post-war anti-Semitism was a consequence of the previous anti-Jewish propaganda and the policy of the Slovak state (1939-1945), the Jewish effort for civil rehabilitation, indemnification and property claims (restitution of property) became the main causes for activities against them in society. Though the Jews were accused of much during this period – the extra benefits due to surviving the suffering (including post-repatriation support at the expense of the other population affected by the war), lack of adaptation and knowledge of Slovak language, no interest in the renewal of the country and “construction work”, black trade, mass applications into the Communist Party, etc.¹⁹ – an underlying cause of acts motivated by anti-Semitism was related specifically to property ownership. This was because Jewish property had been aryanized and was still in the private ownership of the former aryanizers or was under national administration of, in particular, former partisans and other members of the resistance. Therefore, it was a natural subject of interest to the returning or surviving original owners and their relatives. In this regard, the most common conflicts (as J. Svobodová noted “*while in Bohemia it was rather about the acquisition of Jewish*

15 ŠIŠJAKOVÁ, J. *Prejavy antisemitizmu na Slovensku...*, p. 116.

16 See: KAMENEC, Ivan. Správa o pogrome. In *Hľadanie a blúdenie v dejinách*. Bratislava : Kalligram, 2000, p. 373 – 382; KAMENEC, Ivan. Protižidovský pogrom v Topoľčanoch v septembri 1945. In *Studia historica Nitriensis*, 2000, No. 8, p. 85 – 99; ŠIŠJAKOVÁ, Jana. „Prípado Topoľčany“ – Protižidovský pogrom (nielen) z pohľadu dobových dokumentov. In *Acta historica Neosoliensis*, 2007, No. 10, p. 232 – 240.

17 See: BUMOVÁ, Ivica. Protižidovské výtržnosti v Bratislave v historickom kontexte (august 1946). In *Pamäť národa*, 2007, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 14 – 29; ŠMIGEL, Michal. Protižidovské výtržnosti v Bratislave v rokoch 1946 a 1948 (v kontexte povojnových prejavov antisemitizmu na Slovensku). In Medvecký, Matej (ed.). *Fenoméno Bratislava*. Bratislava : Ústav pamäti národa, 2011, p. 252 – 275.

18 See ŠMIGEL, Michal. Vraždy Židov na severovýchodnom Slovensku v roku 1945 – Kolbasovská tragédia. In Vrzgulová, Monika – Richterová, Daniela (eds.). *Holokaust ako historický a morálny problém v minulosti a v súčasnosti*. Bratislava : Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, Úrad vlády SR, 2008, p. 181 – 191.

19 See: SOTÁKOVÁ, Lucia. *Situácia a problémy slovenského židovstva v povojnových rokoch 1945 – 1948*. (Dissertation thesis). Banská Bystrica : Filozofická fakulta UMB, 2014, p. 31 – 35; ŠIŠJAKOVÁ, Jana. K niektorým problémom antisemitizmu na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1948. In Vrzgulová, Monika – Richterová, Daniela (eds.). *Holokaust ako historický a morálny problém v minulosti a v súčasnosti*. Bratislava : Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, Úrad vlády SR, 2008, p. 172 – 180.

property, in Slovakia it was more about keeping in non-Jewish hands”).²⁰ The consolidation of relations certainly did not benefit from a lengthy resolution of the issue of restitution, although political representatives were aware of the fact that this was the real source of riots and the newspapers were initially filled with statements by the top political leaders on the speedy resolution of restitution issues. The greatest annoyance in Slovak society was clearly caused by the Restitution Act No. 168/1946 Coll., the adoption of which was the direct cause of the riots in summer 1946.²¹ Due to restitution requirements and a certain disappointment of unfulfilled expectations, the wave of anti-Semitism was transferred to old resistance organizations.²² It was most notably manifested during a partisan congress in August 1946 in Bratislava, when there were massive anti-Jewish riots in the capital and then in many other places in Slovakia.²³ A fiercely hostile environment formed in Slovakia and post-war anti-Jewish speeches were aimed at intimidating the minority, attempting to stir up nervousness and uncertainty in their ranks, or to force Jews to leave the village, region, country, or into emigration.

What was the position held by the government, political and security authorities during this period? Generally speaking, the Czechoslovak government and other authorities at higher state level officially condemned any anti-Semitic attacks against the Jewish population and advocated their strict punishment. However, it was only on paper. When a decisive action was needed, the measures were in many cases insufficient, the security authorities failed, and the statements or specific steps to warn the perpetrators were inadequate in the least. The state administration and security authorities at lower regional level often proceeded according to their self-interest and sympathy or antipathy of local representatives.²⁴ Finally, the post-war radicalism on the national issue (at its political level) practically invoked popular anti-Semitism and the possibility of Jewish emigration was positively reflected in the environment of the ruling elite.

Despite all of this, the Jews in Slovakia, with the help of state post-repatriation support (characterized by the provision of domestic and foreign financial and material resources), Jewish religious communities, domestic and foreign Jewish organizations

20 SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. Projevy antisemitizmu v českých zemích v letech 1948 – 1992. In Hoensch, Jorg K. – Biman, Stanislav – Lipták, Ľubomír (eds.). *Emancipácia Židov – antisemitizmus – prenasledovanie v Nemecku, Rakúsko-Uhorsku, v českých zemiach a na Slovensku*. Bratislava : VEDA, 1999, p. 194. Compare with JELINEK, Yeshayahu. The Jews in Slovakia: 1945 – 1949. In Dagar, Avigdor a kol. *The Jews of Czechoslovakia. Historical studies and surveys. Volume III*. Philadelphia, New York : The Jewish Publication Society in America; Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews, 1984, p. 533.

21 ŠIŠJAKOVÁ, J. *Prejavy antisemitizmu na Slovensku...*, p. 36 – 39; SOTÁKOVÁ, Lucia. Reštitúcie židovského majetku v rokoch 1945 – 1946. In *Acta Facultatis Humanisticae Universitatis Matthiae Belii Neosoliensis: historické vedy, filozofia a etika*. Banská Bystrica : Fakulta humanitných vied UMB, 2010, p. 78 – 87.

22 ŠMIGEL, Michal. Prejavy antisemitizmu v odbojových zložkách na Slovensku v povojnových rokoch 1945 – 1947. In Hruboň, Anton – Krištofik, Juraj (eds.). *Partizáni a Slovensko*. Krakov : Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2013, p. 263 – 282.

23 See: BUMOVÁ, I. *Protizidovské výtržnosti v Bratislave v historickom...*, p. 14 – 29; ŠMIGEL, M. *Protizidovské výtržnosti v Bratislave v rokoch...*, p. 252 – 275.

24 ŠIŠJAKOVÁ, J. *Prejavy antisemitizmu na Slovensku...*, p. 117.

that represented their interests, in comparison with neighbouring countries, quickly consolidated, wherever possible²⁵ – further aggravating the majority population. However, not all Jews were able to integrate into society, due to their suffering and the post-war reality. In essence, as noted by P. Salner²⁶ – Slovak Jews (let us add European Jews as a whole) in the first post-war years stood before the decision either to keep the Jewish traditions with all that belonged to them (although religion was no longer the main element bringing the Jews together after the war), or to gradually assimilate (the phenomenon of Slovakisation of Jewish names stands out in the process of total Slovakisation) or to emigrate (i.e. migrate to an urban environment which provided greater anonymity, migrate to the Czech lands, or emigrate abroad/overseas, including to Palestine/Israel).

3rd phase – emigration (1945-1948/49)

A positive attitude to Jewish emigration from the perspective of the Czechoslovak government was gradually reflected in two ways; firstly, (from the point of view of internal politics) it was a loss of a minority population, fulfilling the post-war doctrine of an ethnically homogeneous state of Czechs and Slovaks freed of minority communities (in this regard, mitigation of anti-Jewish sentiments in society was expected), and secondly (from the point of view of foreign politics), it was the support of Zionist tendencies in Palestine and the establishment of the independent State of Israel (May 14th, 1948).

The overall support from the CSR in relation to Israel was initially very significant on three levels: diplomatic, military, and, from the point of view of the emigration of the Jews from the Czechoslovak Republic, or from Slovakia, migration.²⁷ However, the most crucial area in Czechoslovak influence on the matter of Israel's independence was in fact the helpfulness of the Czechoslovak government with regard to migration; and manifested itself on two levels:

- with regard to issues of post-war Jewish transit from Poland and Hungary (1945-1949),²⁸
- with regard to its own Jewish emigration from the Republic (1945-1949).

25 See SOTÁKOVÁ, Lucia. Židia v povojnovom Slovensku – medzi integráciou a odmietaním. In *Vojnová kronika*, 2014, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 24 – 37. Compare with KORČOK, Martin. Postavenie Židov na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1948. In *Acta Judaica Slovaca* 20. Bratislava : SNM – Múzeum židovskej kultúry, 2014, p. 98 – 124.

26 SALNER, Peter. Židia na Slovensku medzi tradíciou a asimiláciou. Bratislava : Ústav etnológie SAV – ŽNO Bratislava – Inštitút judaistiky UK, 2000, p. 149.

27 JANKECH, Juraj. Československo a Izrael v druhej polovici štyridsiatych rokov: emigrácia priateľstva? In *Promýšlet Evropu dvacátého století: konflikty beze zbraní*. Brno : Matice moravská, 2015, p. 113 – 126.

28 See: ALEKSIUN-MĄDRZAK, Natalia. Nielegalna emigracja Żydów z Polski w latach 1945 – 1947. In *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1995, No. 4, p. 67 – 90; FRIEDL, Jiří. Returning home and Leaving for Freedom. The Role of Czechoslovakia during the Migrations of Polish Citizens from 1945 to 1948. In Zudová-Lešková, Zlatica (eds.). *Resettlement and Extermination of the Populations. A Syndrome of Modern History*. Praha : Historický Ústav, 2015, p. 525 – 537; BÜCHLER, Robert, Y. Ilegalna emigrácia Židov z Maďarska do Izraela v roku 1949

About 116,574 Jews from Poland and at least 19,000 Jews from Hungary passed through Czechoslovakia in the years 1945-1949 in an officially documented manner²⁹ (the numbers of people in Jewish transits from Transcarpathian Ukraine have not yet been calculated, as they were illegal), and in most cases, their journey again temporarily ended in the DP camps of the Allied Occupation Zones in Austria and Germany.

The massive course of Jewish transit through Czechoslovak territory required additional funds from the Czechoslovak budget – CZK 40,143,500, needed for financial coverage and direct transport logistics of the transits. The Slovak part of the republic determined its expenses related to Polish and Hungarian transits (for the period from 1st June 1945 to 31st December 1947) to the amount of CZK 5,365,602.³⁰ In principle, it was a notable contribution to the history of the European Jewish emigration of the post-war period. However, it is still disputable as to what extent it was the necessary “unwanted” financial aid that was borne on the basis of the failed bilateral agreements of their reimbursement, and to what extent it was a more altruistic act in regards to a more positive development of the European Jewish question.³¹ In any case, the transit of foreign Jews through the territory of Czechoslovakia during this period also had a “pro-emigration” effect on Slovak Jews. Let us even state that a significant psychological effect took place which, in combination with other domestic factors, eventually triggered the massive Jewish emigration from the country. Numerous aspects created a mosaic of events, influences and pressures which influenced those Jews who chose to leave (whether permanently or temporarily) Czechoslovakia or Slovakia.

The emigration of Slovak Jews can be divided into two waves. The first one, which took place between 1945 and 1947, was weaker and it was directed largely abroad/overseas (in addition to internal migration to the western part of the republic and lesser expatriation to Palestine). The second wave from 1948 to 1949 can be described as culminating period and it was mostly directed to Israel.³² In principle, the structure of Slovak Jewish emigration did not differ significantly from the Czech one, although it was quantitatively higher (out of Slovakia, approximately 17,684 Jews out of 30,000 people emigrated, whereas only 10,957 Jews, out of 40,000 emigrated from the Czech lands). In other words, while every other Jewish survivor emigrated from Slovakia, in the case of Czech countries, only every fourth Jew emigrated.

z hľadiska československých bezpečnostných orgánov. In *Soudobé dějiny*, 1996, Vol. III, No. 2 – 3, p. 264 – 270.

29 JANKECH, J. *Repatriácia a emigračné tendencie...*, p. 159.

30 NA Prague, f. MPSP-RO 1938 – 1951, carton No. 757, sign. VIIa 3123. Nezdařená repatriace; sign. R 5122. Celkové vyúčtovanie nákladov nezdařenej repatriáčnej akcie vykonávanej na Slovensku od 1. 6. 1945 do 31. 12. 1947.

31 JANKECH, J. *Repatriácia a emigračné tendencie...*, p. 147 – 159.

32 See JANKECH, Juraj. Emigrácia Židov zo Slovenska (1945 – 1949) v československom kontexte. In Šmigel, Michal – Tišliar, Pavol (eds.). *Migračné procesy Slovenska (1918 – 1948)*. Banská Bystrica : Vydavateľstvo Univerzity Mateja Bela – Belianum, 2014, p. 589 – 614.

Table 1 Emigration Waves of Jews from Slovakia and the Czech Lands in 1945-1949³³

Emigration Waves of Jews from Slovakia	Number and direction of Emigration	Number and direction of Emigration	Emigration Waves of Jews from the Czech Lands
Wave I: 1945-1947 6, 700 emigrants	1, 500 to the Czech lands		Wave I: 1945-1947 4, 105 emigrants
	4, 000 abroad outside Palestine	3, 000 abroad outside Palestine	
	1, 200 to Palestine	1, 105 to Palestine	
Wave II: 1948-1949 10, 984 emigrants	1, 000 abroad outside Israel	1, 000 abroad outside Israel	Wave II: 1948-1949 6, 852 emigrants
	9, 984 to Israel	5, 852 to Israel	
Total 1945-1949	17, 684 Emigrants	10, 957 Emigrants	Total 1945-1949

On the other hand, the mere fact that the first, less numerous emigration wave of the Jews from Slovakia (1945-1947) in the period of the escalation of popular anti-Semitism, did not (compared to the next wave) lead to a radical emigration decline of the Jews from the country, and its increase was recorded only in the second emigration wave (1948-1949), suggests a lesser impact of this set of negatives on repatriates than it might have seemed. Anti-Semitism in the Slovak case was probably not the main (and not the only) impulse for Jewish emigration. The aforementioned finding therefore essentially disputes, or corrects the protracted theses of (mostly) Jewish authors (e.g. A. Jelínek) that, under the influence of increasing despair, a significant part of Jews present in Slovakia after the war decided to leave the environment in the shortest possible time.³⁴

When looking at the size of Slovak Jewish emigration, it is quite obvious that the decisive determinants of the emigration of the Jews from Slovakia were rather the elements of the international context concerning the emergence of the independent state of Israel (which should also include psychological inspiration by transit), an active republican Zionist base (operating in the atmosphere of maturing Zionist ideas) and, of course, also the (individual) degree of domestic existential problems of citizenship, restitution of property, labour, negative social contacts and anti-Semitic moods in the society – together representing the so called post-repatriation disillusionment (it is possible to look at the related repatriation and emigration of part of the Jews as return vectors).³⁵

33 Source of tables No. 1 and No. 2: JANKECH, J. *Repatriácia a emigračné tendencie...*, p. 188 – 189.

34 See JELÍNEK, Yeshayahu A. Zachráň sa, kto môžeš. Židia na Slovensku v rokoch 1944 – 1950: poznámky a úvahy. In *Acta Judaica Slovaca 4*. Bratislava : SNM – Múzeum židovskej kultúry, 1998, p. 91 – 119.

35 JANKECH, J. *Repatriácia a emigračné tendencie...*, p. 203.

Table 2 Emigration of the Jews from Czechoslovakia in 1945-1949

Part of CSR	Number of Jews	Wave I. of emigration	Wave II. of emigration	Together in 1945-1949	%
Slovakia	30, 000	5,200 (6,700)*	10,984	16, 184 (17,684)*	54,0 59,0*
Czech lands	40, 000	4, 105	6,852	10, 957	27.4
Together for CSR	70, 000	9, 305	17, 836	27, 141	38.8
Out of which outside Palestine/Israel		7, 000	2, 000	9, 000	33.2
Out of which to Palestine/Israel		2, 305	15, 836	18, 141	66.8

* Total figure including 1 500 Slovak Jews who, in the first migration wave (1945-1947), moved to the Czech part of the Republic.

After the emigration in 1945-1949, a total of 27,141 Jews left Czechoslovakia (38.8% of their total number of 70,000), 42,859 Jews (i.e. 61.2%) stayed in the Republic. In Slovakia, after the emigration of approximately 17,684 Jews – 59% of their total number (i.e. including 1,500 of those who moved to the Czech lands within national migration), 12,316 Jews stayed, i.e. 41% of their total numbers did not emigrate. Therefore, their presence seemed not to have been affected by the international “pro-Israeli” situation, nor Zionist-post-repatriation influences, as these were essentially “strongly” assimilated persons. It is therefore not possible to speak about Jewish emigrants from Slovakia as about two-thirds of the total number of the Slovak minority, but only as a larger half of this number. Nevertheless, out of the total of about 27,141 Jewish emigrants from the whole of Czechoslovakia, Slovak Jewish emigrants made up for almost 60% of this total.

A reversal of the official relationship of the state towards Jewish emigrants occurred gradually and it was a logical result of the considerable influence of the USSR on Czechoslovakia. In the context of the incipient and deepening Cold War, it also led to stricter rules, complicating Jewish emigration from Czechoslovakia or from Slovakia in the gradually closing Soviet bloc. Jewish emigration applications were thoroughly examined and linked to the need to prevent the “subversive spying activity” of these people abroad, and they also foreshadowed the rise of anti-Zionist tendencies in communist Czechoslovakia. At the same time, however, the ruling Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunistická strana Československa, KSČ) advocated the preservation of a part of Jewish intelligentsia, students, industry experts, medical personnel, etc., as the previous mass emigration waves saw their sharp decline.³⁶ For this reason, the number of Jewish emigrants in the first half of the 1950s was only in the range of hundreds and not in thousands of emigrants, as it was in the late 1940s.³⁷

36 JANKECH, J. *Repatriácia a emigračné tendencie...*, p. 203 – 204.

37 ŠROMOVSKÝ Martin. *Židovská otázka na Slovensku (1945 – 1953)*. Kniha II. Antisemitizmus a antisíonizmus v Československu (1948 – 1953). Banská Bystrica : Vydavateľstvo Univerzity Mateja Bela – Belianum, 2015, p. 67 – 79.

4th phase – the period of the so-called governmental (political) anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism (1949-1953)

The Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 meant the overall subordination of the Republic to the policy of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, its delayed (compared to other socialist countries) integration into the Soviet satellite system was also reflected in the delayed reactions to the processes running in the bloc. A new wave of anti-Semitic atmosphere camouflaged by the fight against the Zionist movement and the State of Israel spread from the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia during 1949.³⁸ It was preceded by the altered attitude of Moscow towards Israel and the momentum of the Cold War. Moreover, as already mentioned, the Soviet bloc was closing down borders. In this situation, quite naturally, there was also a change in the attitude of Czechoslovakia towards the issue of aid to Israel and Jewish emigration, as well as towards the so-called visible Jews in the country.

In principle, it can be said that in Czechoslovakia from 1949, the popular anti-Semitism (from 1945 to 1948) changed to governmental, political anti-Semitism (1949-1953). It was a characteristic and was carried out under the pretext of fighting Zionism and cosmopolitanism, under the pretext of seeking an internal enemy in the party in the process of the internal-political struggle for power, and in attempting to “nationalize” and proletarianize the regime and the Party.

The Soviet-Israeli problem (1949) influenced the fate of Zionist organizations and Jewish organizations and their contacts with the West. Their activity was stopped in the USSR and its satellites by the end of 1948 and the first half of 1949. For the above reasons, Czechoslovakia constituted an exception (i.e. activity was banned only in January 1950, Zionist organizations were active in the country until spring – summer 1951). From the end of 1948 until mid-1949, Jewish emigration to Israel was restricted in the Soviet bloc. Czechoslovakia was again an exception, since precisely in this period mass emigration to Israel peaked in the Republic as well as Jewish transit from neighbouring countries (which raised criticism of socialist neighbours). In the autumn of 1951, Jewish emigration to Israel was stopped in virtually all the Soviet bloc countries. In most countries a campaign was officially launched to fight Zionism, however, it often manifested in clear anti-Semitism.³⁹

In addition to this, the internal power struggle was ongoing in the USSR and its satellites. The struggle was under the pretext of looking for an internal enemy within the party since the Soviet-Yugoslavian conflict (1948). In Communist Hungary, László Rajk, the Foreign Minister, was its first victim (for the first time in the Soviet bloc, allegations of Zionism appeared as enemy movement). In the CSR, the search for an internal enemy in the party culminated in an elaborate process with the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Rudolf Slánský et al. (1951-1952). This

38 For more details see MEYER, Peter – WEINRYB, Bernard – DUSCHINSKY, Eugen – SYLVAIN, Nicolas. *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*. Syracuse : Syracuse University Press, 1953, 620 p.

39 ŠROMOVSKÝ Martin. The attitude of the government towards the Jewish question in Czechoslovakia during 1945 – 1953. In *East European History*, 2016, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 29 – 31.

process was already clearly in the anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist spirit; of the fourteen defendants only three had no Jewish background. It was managed by Soviet advisors working in Czechoslovakia Security (according to the motto: “Every Jew is a Zionist and every Zionist is a spy”) and its chronology copied the Moscow political process with the officials of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.

The trial with Slánský et al. was accompanied by a massive campaign in the press (from November 1951), characterized by identification of persons of Jewish origin as potential cosmopolitans and Zionists. The publication of articles directed against Zionism and the State of Israel intensified. Cosmopolitanism began to be associated with Zionism, “Jewish capitalists “or” Western imperialism” and portrayed as a threat to the existence of a “human-democratic” regime. The press was full of absurdities in this direction, depicting the co-operation of two completely different ideological worlds – national (Zionism) and transnational (cosmopolitanism). Such a media campaign could cause nothing other than another wave of anti-Semitism in the common population, which fortunately did not lead to open anti-Jewish riots. It was mostly verbal, and although the government was not interested in provoking anti-Semitism among the population, it indirectly caused it by their actions.⁴⁰

The trial with Slánský subsequently triggered the so-called secondary processes (they can be described as processes with anti-Semitic undertones) which occurred in Czechoslovakia from 1953 to 1954 and affected the officials of Jewish origin, Israeli nationals, leaders of Jewish communities and security personnel (e.g. the trial of officials of Zionist organizations, processes with State Security officers, Home Affairs, etc.). At the hearings, allegations from the Slánský process were repeated; attempts to break the Communist regime in the republic, damaging its economy, stability, interests, etc. were highlighted.⁴¹

It is a paradox that the victims of anti-Semitism in Czechoslovakia at the beginning of the 1950s were mainly those who no longer considered themselves to be Jewish. Anti-Jewish cleansing in Czechoslovakia was, similarly to other Soviet bloc countries, an attempt to “nationalize” the communist regime. It is a fact that many of the high communist functionaries in the Eastern Bloc countries (including Czechoslovakia) had Jewish roots, and the majority population accepted the “a Jew equals a Communist” equation, or Communism was linked to “Jewish-Bolshevism”, which kind of “sought” – from a political point of view – a strenuous intervention as part of “cleansing” of the party’s name. The purges thus became a welcome opportunity to proletarianise the party and the state. At the beginning of the 1950s, a new generation of workers’ cadres was reaching adulthood and the “old” Communists of Jewish origin constituted, in some

40 ŠROMOVSKÝ, Martin. Vlna antisemitizmu v Československu vyvolaná politickým procesom s Rudolfom Slánským a spol. [online]. In *Človek a spoločnosť*, 2015, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 61 – 67. [cit. 1.3.2017]. Available on the internet: <<http://www.clovekaspolocnost.sk/sk/rocnik-18-rok-2015/2/studie-a-clanky/vlna-antisemitizmu-v-ceskoslovensku-vyvolana-politickym-procesom-s-rudolfom-slanskym-a-spol/>>.

41 For more details see ŠROMOVSKÝ, M. *Židovská otázka na Slovensku (1945 – 1953)*. Kniha II. Antisemitizmus..., p. 124 – 155.

sense, an obstacle for them. Other factors in the choice of Jewish victims were the economic difficulties that human-democracies struggled with at the beginning of the 1950s (and the Jews were once again an easy victim).⁴²

As for the Jewish population of Slovakia or Czechoslovakia, they faced the wave of new political anti-Semitism as in the past. The already small number of Jews who remained in the republic after the emigration waves in the years 1945 – 1949, joined the “invisible” Jews,⁴³ who earlier decided to conceal their Jewish origin or assimilated; while a group of “politically visible”, i.e. Communists of Jewish origin, determined the perception of Jewry as a whole.

The “invisibility” of the Jewish community in Slovakia was clearly shown in the results of the population census in the Republic in 1950. Only 307 people claimed Jewish nationality in Slovakia, and only 7,476 people claimed Israelite religion,⁴⁴ although in 1949, there were at least 12,000 Slovak Jews who had not emigrated. In other words, more than half of the Jewish inhabitants of Slovakia kept their origin secret or distanced themselves from the Jewry.

Government policy towards the Jewish minority in Slovakia in 1945 – 1953 must be identified as a two-fold policy, regardless of the fact whether it was a regime of managed democracy (1945-1948) or the communist regime in Czechoslovakia (1948-1953). On one hand, the repatriation of Jews to their homeland was promoted and post-repatriation aid and care for surviving Jews was carried out; the activities of Jewish domestic and foreign organizations within minority consolidation were also tolerated. On the other hand, the government was unable to promptly solve the problems of nationality and citizenship of Jews (claiming German and Hungarian nationality before the war) and was not interested in the Jews from Ruthenia. Citizens’ rehabilitation, indemnification and property claims of Jews (restitution of property) in Slovakia were not carried out. Measures to suppress anti-Jewish moods in society were also ineffective, and the punishments were also weak. Although the support of foreign Jewish transit was presented in a favourable light, activities of Zionist organizations were tolerated and emigration of its own Jews was encouraged, the real purpose was the outflow of members of minorities (in the process of homogenization of the society) and it was expected to calm the situation in Slovakia (especially with regard to property). After the Communist regime began in Czechoslovakia in 1948, the national problem ceased to exist at first glance, or it was suppressed and the contours of the Slovak Jewish problem had a nationwide character. However, even in this period of Stalinist Czechoslovakia (1948-1953), the two-fold policy continued – “visible” (socially active) Jewry was negated without intervening in the environment of the “invisible” Jews.

42 ŠROMOVSKÝ M. Židovská otázka na Slovensku (1945 – 1953). Kniha II. Antisemitizmus..., p. 169 – 170.

43 See: SALNER, Peter. „Viditeľní“ a „neviditeľní“ Židia v slovenskej spoločnosti po roku 1945. In *Acta Judaica Slovaca* 4. Bratislava : SNM – Múzeum židovskej kultúry, 1998, p. 121 – 133; BITUŠÍKOVÁ, Alexandra. Ako ďalej? Židovská identita 1945 – 1952. In *Acta Judaica Slovaca* 4. Bratislava : SNM – Múzeum židovskej kultúry, 1998, p. 187 – 192.

44 *Sčítání lidu a soupis domů v republice Československé ke dni 1. 3. 1950. Díl 1.* Praha : Státní úřad statistický, 1958, p. 6. (tab. 13.)

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