

# REPORTS

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## STRATEGIES OF SURVIVING THE HOLOCAUST AND URBAN ELITES – INTERIM REPORT OF THE PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

Since 2017, grant project no. 1/0254/17, funded by the Scientific Grant Agency (VEGA) and entitled *Stratégie prežitia holokaustu a mestské elity* [Strategies of Surviving the Holocaust and Urban Elites], has been running at the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice. The main academic intention of the project is the analysis and interpretation of specific cases of Holocaust survival strategies in confrontation with various reactions of members of urban elites in order to significantly advance knowledge in the field of research of the social background of the Holocaust in the Slovak State in the years 1939–1945, especially in relation to specific survival strategies and activities of local rescuers and local aggressors. The project team, under the leadership of the principal investigator Martin Pekár, was composed of Zuzana Tokárová (deputy principal investigator), researcher Slávka Otčenášová and doctoral students, and involved analyses, through micro-historical probes and case studies, of the issues of Holocaust survival strategies and of the types of aid that were given to Jews by the majority population, as well as of intergenerational discourse between the generations of direct actors and subsequent generations.

The issue of elite transformation in connection with fundamental social changes, changes which took place especially at key turning points, is one of the increasingly intensively discussed topics in the forums of historians; however, research on the theoretical basis in regard of this issue has so far stagnated in Slovak historiography. Thus, in the first phase of the project's implementation, after the settling of the structure of individual outputs and discussions on how best to proceed, significant interest was paid to the researching of theoretical background and methodological procedures for the researching of elites.

The second working phase of the project included ongoing research and the presentation of research results of individual researchers in domestic but especially international scientific forums. Of all the conferences, the international scientific conference *European Social Science History Conference* (ESSHC), which took place in Belfast on 4–7 April 2018, deserves special mention. The conference's rich programme, which covered a wide range of socio-historical issues and reflected the latest trends in academic research, consisted of 1,400 papers, organized into more than 380 specific sessions, grouped into 27 major thematic research networks. As part of the project implementation a special session at this conference was organized by Martin Pekár in cooperation with a partner, Andrea Pokludová, from the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ostrava. The session "The Urban Elite at Breaking Points in the Political History of Small European Nations in the 19th and 20th Centuries" provided an excellent opportunity to present the latest research in the field of character and transformation of municipal elites of so-called small European nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this session the project researcher Zuzana Tokárová spoke about the mechanisms of legislative interventions into the composition of municipal self-government as an instrument of anti-Jewish policy during the Holocaust period in four selected countries (the General Government, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the Slovak State and Hungary) and she offered a comparative view. The current state of research in the field of administrative and political elites in the twentieth century was also reflected in the session "Walking the Line between Great Opportunities and Broken Careers: the Administrative and Political Elite in Central and Eastern Europe in the Years 1917–1921". In this session, Martin Pekár and Zuzana Tokárová presented a paper on the transformation of Slovak political elites in Slovakia after 1918, when the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire disintegrated and, in the newly formed Czechoslovakia, the Slovak national-emancipation process accelerated, resulting in new demands in relation to the political elite and its worldview. The process of elite replacement was captured through the example of the selected political figure of Gejza Fritz. Furthermore, interim results of research conducted within the project were also presented at the international scientific conference *Proměny elit v první polovině 20. století* [Transformations of Elites in the First Half of the 20th Century] in Prague in October 2018, which was organized by the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in cooperation with the

Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the University of Vienna in order to discuss some of the major issues regarding the transformation of elites in relation to fundamental political and social changes in the first half of the twentieth century. Lectures analysed the process of elite transformation, in particular the context and manifestations of this transformation, as well as the relationships between old and new elites. Martin Pekár and Zuzana Tokárová presented a case study capturing the nature of municipal political elites and their transformation after the taking over of power by Hlinka's Slovak People's Party in Slovakia in the autumn of 1938 and after 14 March 1939. The discussion forum, composed of an international audience for diverse presentations, offered different but at the same time very inspiring views on the researching and interpretation of the elites transformation in the first half of the twentieth century, leading to quality academic dialogue.

Part of the second phase of the project implementation was the publication of ongoing outputs. The most important publication output of the project is a monograph by Martin Pekár *Príbeh Juraja Szánta. Rozhovor o záchrancoch a obeť* [The Story of Juraj Szánto: Interview about Rescuers and a Victim], which was published in 2018.<sup>1</sup> The book is the personal testimony of Juraj Szánto, native of Prešov of Jewish origin, who in the interview with Martin Pekár narrated his own life story and elucidated how he survived the Holocaust in Slovakia during World War II. The interview is prefaced by historian Ivan Kamenec and supplemented by an accompanying study by Martin Pekár on the issue of anti-Jewish policy in Slovakia in the years 1938–1945. The conclusion of the book was written by Juraj Szánto. The publication was publicly presented in Prešov and Košice in March and May 2018, and almost the entire printing of 1,000 copies was distributed free of charge for educational purposes to schools in the Košice Region. Since its publication, the book has received many positive responses and special interest from both professionals and the public. The interest of the public proves that personal stories of antisemitism and the testimonies of Holocaust survivors are, even after many years, greatly fascinating. But more importantly, with the rise of extremism and neo-Nazism, the capturing and preserving of the survivor's memories and Holocaust remembrance are more relevant than ever. From among the more significant publications of the project team, it is necessary to mention the foreign papers or papers published in academic journals registered in prestigious databases. Martin Pekár and Zuzana Tokárová published a joint research output focused on the process of municipal political elites' replacement in Slovakia in the period 1938–1944 in relation to interventions in the municipal government in connection with important socio-political events (Post-Munich crisis, declaration of the Slovak state, Salzburg negotiations etc.). These processes are analysed by the authors in the case of the city of Prešov, a city in which the followers of the incoming Hlinka Slovak People's Party had to fight for the seizure of power, which required the use of all available means.<sup>2</sup> As part of the project research Zuzana Tokárová published a paper focusing on the issue of legislative interventions of the state in local administrations and bodies of self-government resulting in the formation of new local political elites whose representatives played significant roles in the implementation of anti-Jewish policy during the Holocaust era. In the paper, she analyses the mechanisms of legislative interventions in the creation of new local political elites in selected examples of Nazi-occupied countries and allied regimes of Nazi Germany.<sup>3</sup> Slávka Otčenášová in cooperation with Eszter Bartha published papers focusing on the issue of Holocaust research in relation to memory and politics. The authors analyse the politics of memory and the impact of new theoretical currents on Holocaust research in two selected

1 See: PEKÁR, Martin. *Príbeh Juraja Szánta: Rozhovor o záchrancoch a obeť*. Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika, 2018.

2 See: PEKÁR, Martin – TOKÁROVÁ, Zuzana. Výmeny mestských politických elit na Slovensku po páde medzivojnovej československej demokracie (Prešov, 1938–1944). In: *Studia Historica Nitriensia* 1/2019, pp. 144–157.

3 See: TOKÁROVÁ, Zuzana. Legislative Interventions into the Creation of Local Political Elites as an Instrument of Anti-Jewish Policy during the Holocaust (A Comparative View). In: *Mesto a dejiny*, 2019, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 80–109.

countries, Hungary and Slovakia. They introduce some major historical debates of selected countries which illustrate the ideological and political struggles in Holocaust research and its interpretation.<sup>4</sup>

Special attention was paid to the organization of professional, as well as popular-science and educational events during the implementation of the project. One of the main planned outputs of the project was an internal academic seminar, *Sociálna mobilita v prostredí mestských elit na Slovensku v období holokaustu* [Social Mobility in the Environment of Urban Elites in Slovakia during the Holocaust], which was held in Košice on 3–4 September 2019. The seminar was organized by the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice with the financial participation of the Holocaust Documentation Center. The event was arranged in the format of a two-day seminar, during which six papers by invited guests were presented. In addition to project researchers Martin Pekár and Zuzana Tokárová, the invited speakers Eduard Nižňanský (Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava), Ján Hlavinka and Michala Lónčíková (Holocaust Documentation Center) and Veronika Szeghy-Gayer (Közép-Európa Kutatóintézet, Nemzeti Közzolgálati Egyetem – Eötvös József Kutatóközpont, Budapest) participated. The aim of the internal seminar was to introduce and evaluate the current state of relevant research, to provide an accessible forum in which to compare methods and procedures and to open a deeper discussion on issues of the replacement of municipal elites and social mobility in the context of anti-Jewish policy during the Holocaust period (especially Aryanzation and the eviction of Jews at the city level) and the question of Holocaust survival strategies. To this end, invited guests introduced original themes which offered a cross section of the whole complex of problems regarding the social environment of the Holocaust and social mobility in Slovakia in the period 1938–1945. Purposefully selected experts with specific topics formed a perfect setting for inspiring discussion and constructive criticism which indicated questions for further reflection and research. In addition, exhibitions, discussions and screenings of documentaries were organized within the project. In May 2017 an interactive exhibition entitled *Kto bude ďalší?* [Who Will Be the Next?] was organized. The exhibition was devoted to the genocide and was its second edition after the successful running of an exhibition of the same name in 2016. From 8 November 2017 to 8 December 2017 the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice hosted a traveling exhibition *Obraz nepriateľa v propagande počas II. svetovej vojny na Slovensku* [The Image of the Enemy in Propaganda during World War II in Slovakia] presenting examples of the visual component of the propaganda of the Slovak State in the form of dozens of propaganda posters, official photographs, contemporary cartoons, newspapers and quotes placed on double-sided banners describing the reality in the period of the Slovak State and its war, pro-German, anti-allied and anti-Jewish propaganda. The official opening of the exhibition was linked to a guest lecture by historian Eduard Nižňanský on the issue of official propaganda. In terms of attendance, the exhibition exceeded all the expectations of the organizers, and in just four weeks it was visited by several hundred visitors, including students of primary and secondary schools from Košice and the surrounding area. As one of the outputs of the project, a presentation of Eduard Nižňanský's book *Obraz nepriateľa v propagande počas II. svetovej vojny na Slovensku*<sup>5</sup> was also organized in Košice in November 2017. From among the events organized within the project's implementation it is important to mention at least briefly the screening of the series of films entitled *Seredské svedectvá* [Testimonies from Sered] which took place on 7 February 2019 in Košice. The event was organized by the Department of History of the Faculty of

4 See: BARTHA, Eszter – OTČENÁŠOVÁ, Slávka. Memory and Politics: "Totalitarian" and "revisionist" approaches to the study of the Holocaust in Hungary and Slovakia. In: *Central European Papers*, 2019, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 9–24. BARTHA, Eszter – OTČENÁŠOVÁ, Slávka. A holokaust az emlékezet és a politika vonzásában: Totalitárius és revizionista irányzatok a magyar és a szlovák holokaust-irodalomban. In: *Eszmélet: Társadalomkritikai és kulturális folyóirat*, 2019, no. 124, pp. 94–117.

5 See: NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard. *Obraz nepriateľa: v propagande počas II. svetovej vojny na Slovensku*. Banská Bystrica: Múzeum Slovenského národného povstania, 2016.

Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice on the occasion of the International Day of Commemoration in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust in cooperation with Sereď Holocaust Museum, Association Ester and Civic Association Edah. With the participation of two actors in short documentaries and of many important personalities, including the Consul General of Hungary, the Honorary Consul of Israel and leading representatives of the Catholic Church, the testimonies of Holocaust survivors in the form of short films were screened. As mentioned above, personal stories of survivors capturing the tragedy of the Holocaust arouse extraordinary interest from the public, as evidenced by this event.

The final phase of the project (until the end of 2020) includes the finalization of project deliverables. The COVID-19 pandemic did/does not allow Martin Pekár and Zuzana Tokárová to present project outputs at the planned international conference ESSHC in March 2020 in Leiden or at the *15th International Conference of the European Association for Urban History (EAUH)* in September 2020 in Antwerp (where the organization of a section was also planned), both of which have been postponed to 2021. In the following months, the project researchers will focus on finalizing publication outputs.<sup>6</sup>

It is important to note that in addition to the academic benefits of the project in the form of new knowledge on the survival strategies of the Holocaust in the context of relations between the Jewish minority and the Slovak majority populations and the deepening of existing knowledge in elite research, especially at the level of urban elites, the project brings benefits in the field of education. Previously mentioned popular-educational activities and some publication outputs serve as important sources of information in the educational processes for students of different types of schools. At the same time, the involvement of an internal doctoral student (in the last year of the project, PhD student Lukáš Katriňák was replaced by PhD student Patrícia Fogelová) connected the academic part of the project with education and provided space for those candidates own research and for them to practice presentation skills and to receive valuable feedback as early stage researchers. And another of the project's outputs will be the doctoral dissertation entitled "Politika vo verejnom priestore na Slovensku v rokoch 1939–1945. Prípadové štúdie miest Prešov, Ružomberok, Nitra" [Politics in Public Space in Slovak Republic in the years 1939–1945: Case Studies of Prešov, Nitra and Ružomberok] which will be defended in August 2020. Finally, it is necessary to see the benefits of the project also in the social field. Due to the increase of extremist tendencies and controversy regarding Slovak statehood in the years 1939–1945, it is necessary for Slovak society to deal with the past to avoid the relativization or even denial of the Holocaust in Slovak historiography. The project responds to this problem not only at the level of research but also by dissemination in the form of the aforementioned popular-science activities and by the intention to link research to the educational process.

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<sup>6</sup> For example, see the study by Martin Pekár in this issue of the journal *The City and History*: PEKÁR, Martin. Replacement of Municipal Political Elite as a Tool for Seizing Power and Consolidating an Authoritarian Regime in Slovakia 1938–1940. In: *The City and History*, 2020, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 93–111.

## FIRST TOUCH WITH FREEDOM: ONGOING PROJECT REPORT

The project *First Touch with Freedom* is being implemented within the internal grant scheme (VVGs) of the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice under the code VVGs-2019-1385, from January 2020 to January 2021. The main idea of the project is a multi-layered reflection of the events of November 1989 in Czechoslovakia, with special regard to Slovakia and Košice and its didactic-historical mediation, at several levels. The main goal of the project is to create interactive multimedia study materials with a focus on teaching the Velvet Revolution. It will consist of an interactive website and an electronic textbook available as a free download.

In addition to factual material, the study material should also help to develop the basic dimensions of historical consciousness, namely “identity”, “historicity”, “space”, “time” and “memory”. The added value is that the concept of developing the dimensions of historical consciousness presented in the materials will be freely applicable to the teaching of various historical topics. The secondary objective of the project is to actively support the practical application of e-learning, not only for university students, but also for primary and secondary school pupils. The project also aims to present and promote the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice as a modern scientific research and educational institution under whose auspices the material will be distributed to the target groups.

The first activity, on which the implementation and output of the project conceptually stand, was an exhibition of the same name, organized on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution. The event was organized under the auspices of the Košice Self-Governing Region, the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice, the Nation’s Memory Institute, the Ján Bocatio Public Library in Košice and the Radio and Television of Slovakia (RTVS). In addition to commemorating the November revolutionary events, it accentuated the broader contexts of policy and economics, as well as significant socio-cultural depth and multigenerational overlap bringing us to the present, which was the key aspect of conveying the didactic concept of the dimensions of historical consciousness.<sup>1</sup> Equally important was the application of theoretical principles of public history as a second conceptual platform,<sup>2</sup> closely linked to memory locations in a public (in this case, urban) space that generally act as communication channels between past and present.<sup>3</sup> Significant value was added by the implementation of the didactic tool called Universal map (U-map). It enables the observation of “great” and “small” history: local, national and European historical events taking place at different times in different places. In addition to space and time, it integrates in a coherent concept the other categories mentioned, namely identity, historicity and memory, as well as current problem-based concepts of global education.<sup>4</sup> The project *First Touch with Freedom* is therefore conceptually based on the initial exhibition, which in this context has largely served as a practical application or verification of the theories in practice. The planned implementation of the project has four basic working

1 For the content and realization of the exhibition, see the event report: JANČURA, Mikuláš. Prvý dotyk so slobodou [First Contact with the Freedom], Košice, 14. november 2019. In: *Mesto a dejiny*, 2019, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 91–93. For a virtual tour of the exhibition, see: <https://nezna.3-d.sk/>.

2 For the definition, basic characteristics, problems and pitfalls of public history concepts, see, for example: BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta. „My“ historici a „Oni“ učítelia dejepisu. Public history ako nástroj narušenia status quo. In: JANČURA, Mikuláš – BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta (eds.). *Dejiny tvoríš Ty! História-škola-verejný priestor*. Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika, 2019, pp. 9–23. Online version: [https://www.upjs.sk/public/media/17371/Dejiny\\_tvoris\\_Ty\\_komplet\\_nahlad.pdf](https://www.upjs.sk/public/media/17371/Dejiny_tvoris_Ty_komplet_nahlad.pdf). Regarding public history in general, see, for example: <https://public-history-weekly.degruyter.com/>.

3 One of the key authors approaching memory concepts is Pierre Nora. For example, see: NORA, Pierre. Mezi pamětí a historií. In: BENSA, Alban (ed.). *Politika paměti: Antologie francouzských společenských věd*. Praha: Francouzský ústav pro výskum ve společenských vědách, 1998, pp. 7–32.

4 See for example: *Rozvojové vzdelávanie. Témy a metódy IV*. Bratislava: Nadácia Pontis, 2018. Prínosnou je najmä štúdia: BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta. Dejepis globálne. In: *Rozvojové vzdelávanie. Témy a metódy IV*. Bratislava: Nadácia Pontis, 2018, pp. 6–54.

phases. The first, currently ongoing phase is focused on the conceptualization of the forms and content of the study material, as well as on heuristics and summarization of the source base.

The basis of the website will be a graphic depicting a standing cordon of police officers and a crowd of demonstrators. A girl will be in the foreground, handing a flower to one of the police officers. This graphic will be complemented by a background of anonymous urban scenery. Clicking on specific icons representing the different dimensions of historical consciousness will illuminate the relevant graphical areas and display text and menus with links to additional audio-visual and visual materials. Factually, the first work phase is ensured by the available historical literature on the topic and source materials of various provenance. This is mainly comprised of photographs, archival documents, articles and headlines from the daily press, period television and radio news and broadcasting, and music, but also a diverse “revolutionary folklore” in the form of poetry and various distributed pamphlets.

The first phase is based on a broad portfolio of available titles from Czech and Slovak historiography ranging from broader contextual and synthesized works to analytical studies. Attention is therefore focused on the work explaining the broader context of the end of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia with regard to the genesis of the regime, its leaders, or aspects such as the economy or everyday life.

The political situation in the years 1945–1948, as well as the period immediately after 1948, approaches the collective monograph *Kapitolami najnovších slovenských dejín* [Through the Chapters of the Latest Slovak History], compiled by Jan Pešek and his team.<sup>5</sup> The ideology and political practice of the regime itself is described in a collective monograph compiled by Michal Šmigel, *Radikálny socializmus a komunizmus na Slovensku (1918–1989)* [Radical Socialism and Communism in Slovakia (1918–1989)].<sup>6</sup> The topic of communist propaganda can be explored, for example, in the work of Marina Závacká, *Kto žije za ostnaným drôtom?* [Who Lives behind Barbed Wire?],<sup>7</sup> or a collective monograph compiled by Valerián Bystrický and Jaroslava Roguľová, *Storočie propagandy: Slovensko v osídlach ideológií* [Century of Propaganda: Slovakia in the Settlements of Ideologies].<sup>8</sup> The sphere of culture and everyday life in the second half of the twentieth century in Czechoslovakia is approached by a collective monograph by the compiler Jaroslav Pažout, *Každodenní život v Československu: 1945/48–1989* [Everyday Life in Czechoslovakia: 1945/48–1989].<sup>9</sup> The economic functioning of the communist regime is discussed in one of the most complex, synthesizing works, namely *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1914–1992* [Economic and Social History of Czechoslovakia 1914–1992], by Václav Průcha. Its second volume is focused on the period under review.<sup>10</sup> The period of normalization is approached by, for example, the authors Miroslav Londák, Elena Londáková and Stanislav Sikora in *Od predjaria k normalizácii: Slovensko v Československu na rozhraní 60. a 70. rokov 20. storočia* [From Early Spring to Normalization: Slovakia in Czechoslovakia at the Turn of the 60s and 70s of the 20th Century].<sup>11</sup> Against this background, the key “personalities of normalization” also come to the fore, for example in the works of Slavomír

5 PEŠEK, Jan et al. *Kapitolami najnovších slovenských dejín*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV vo vydavateľstve Prodama, 2006.

6 ŠMIGEL, Michal et al. *Radikálny socializmus a komunizmus na Slovensku (1918–1989)*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2007.

7 ZAVACKÁ, Marina. *Kto žije za ostnaným drôtom? Oficiálna zahraničnopolitická propaganda na Slovensku, 1956–1962: Teórie, politické smernice a spoločenská prax*. Bratislava: Ústav politických vied SAV, 2005.

8 BYSTRICKÝ, Valerián – ROGUĽOVÁ, Jaroslava. *Storočie propagandy: Slovensko v osídlach ideológií*. Bratislava: AEP, 2005.

9 PAŽOUT, Jaroslav (ed.). *Každodenní život v Československu: 1945/48–1989*. Praha: Ústav pro výskum totalitních režimů; Technická univerzita v Liberci, 2015.

10 PRŮCHA, Václav. *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1914–1992. Druhý díl: období 1945–1992*. Praha: Doplněk, 2009.

11 LONDÁK, Miroslav – LONDÁKOVÁ, Elena – SIKORA, Stanislav. *Od predjaria k normalizácii: Slovensko v Československu na rozhraní 60. a 70. rokov 20. storočia*. Bratislava: Veda, 2016.

Michálek and Miroslav Londák, *Gustáv Husák: Moc politiky, politik moci* [*Gustáv Husák: Power of Politics, Politics of Power*],<sup>12</sup> and *Dubček*,<sup>13</sup> *Gustáv Husák* by Michal Macháček,<sup>14</sup> and *Biľak: Zradca či kolaborant?* [*Biľak: Traitor or Collaborator?*] by Peter Jašek.<sup>15</sup>

From the wider perspective of political context, Jozef Gál's monograph, *Československo v rokoch 1968–1990* [*Czechoslovakia in 1968–1990*],<sup>16</sup> and Michal Pullmann's *Konec experimentu: Přestavba a pád komunismu v Československu* [*The End of the Experiment: Reconstruction and Fall of Communism in Czechoslovakia*],<sup>17</sup> are also beneficial. From the Czech environment we can also mention the more extensive work of Jan Rychlík, *Češi a Slováci ve 20. století. Spolupráce a konflikty 1914–1992* [*Czechs and Slovaks in the 20th Century: Cooperation and Conflicts 1914–1992*].<sup>18</sup> The topic of the Velvet Revolution itself is accentuated by several works that have been published mainly in the last decade. This includes, for example, Jiří Suk's *Labyrintem revoluce – aktéři, zápletky a křižovatky jedné politické krize* [*Labyrinth of the Revolution – Actors, Plots and Crossroads of One Political Crisis*].<sup>19</sup> Additionally, the publications of authors working within the area of science and research at the Slovak Nation's Memory Institute are very beneficial. Peter Jašek and his work on V. Biľak have already been mentioned, but in direct relation to the Velvet Revolution, the work *November očami ŠtB. a ulice* [*November Through the Eyes of State Security and the Street*] from the compilers Petr Baloun and Gabor Strešňák is also relevant.<sup>20</sup> Also beneficial are the magazine *Pamät národa* [*The Nation's Memory*], and numerous monographs, editions of documents and collections focusing on the topic. These include, for example, the work of Branislav Kinčok, *Gustáv Husák a jeho doba* [*Gustáv Husák and his Time*],<sup>21</sup> Peter Balun's edited collection of documents, *1988: Rok pred zmenou* [*1988: a Year before the Change*],<sup>22</sup> *1989: Rok zmeny* [*1989: a Year of Change*] by Peter Jašek<sup>23</sup> and the anthology *Posledné a prvé slobodné (?) Voľby 1946–1990* [*The Last and First Free (?) Elections 1946–1990*] by Matej Medvecký.<sup>24</sup>

On the sidelines, we can also mention the collective work of compilers Mikuláš Jančura and Alžbeta Bojková (currently Alžbeta Šniežko), *Dejiny tvoríš Ty!* [*You Make the History!*], which also includes a significant didactic aspect in the form of sample lessons on selected topics from the history of Slovakia in the twentieth century by Alžbeta Bojková and Katarína Hromuľáková.<sup>25</sup> A specific focus on memories of the November events is approached by Klára Kohoutová, in the study *November 1989 očima Slovákov* [*November 1989 through the Eyes*

12 MICHÁLEK, Slavomír – LONDÁK, Miroslav. *Gustáv Husák. Moc politiky, politik moci*. Bratislava: Veda, 2013.

13 MICHÁLEK, Slavomír – LONDÁK, Miroslav. *Dubček*. Bratislava: Veda, 2018.

14 MACHÁČEK, Michal. *Gustáv Husák*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 2017.

15 JAŠEK, Peter. *Biľak. Zradca či kolaborant?* Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2018.

16 GÁL, Jozef. *Československo v rokoch 1968-1990*. Banská Bystrica: Metodické centrum v Banskej Bystrici, 1991.

17 PULLMANN, Michal. *Konec experimentu. Přestavba a pád komunismu v Československu*. Praha: Scriptorium, 2011.

18 RYCHLÍK, Jan. *Češi a Slováci ve 20. století. Spolupráce a konflikty 1914-1992*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 2012.

19 SUK, Jiří. *Labyrintem revoluce – aktéři, zápletky a křižovatky jedné politické krize*. Praha: Prostor, 2003.

20 BALUN, Peter – STREŠŇÁK, Gábor (ed.). *November očami ŠtB a ulice*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2009.

21 KINČOK, Branislav et al. *Gustáv Husák a jeho doba*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2015.

22 BALUN, Peter (ed.). *1988: Rok pred zmenou*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2009.

23 JAŠEK, Peter (ed.). *1989: Rok zmeny*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2017.

24 MEVECKÝ, Matej. *Posledné a prvé slobodné(?) Voľby 1946-1990*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2006.

25 BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta – HRONUĽÁKOVÁ, Katarína. Vzorová hodina: „Dejiny tvoríš Ty!“. In: JANČURA, Mikuláš – BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta (eds.). *Dejiny tvoríš Ty! História-škola-verejný priestor*. Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika, 2019, pp. 92–112.

of Slovaks],<sup>26</sup> and the historical reader *Klíče k dějinám Košic* [*Keys to the History of Košice*] provides a regional probe into the November events in Košice.<sup>27</sup>

In the case of source material, the relevant starting sources are selected volumes from the collective edition of *Pramene k dějinám Slovenska a Slovákov* [*Sources for the History of Slovakia and Slovaks*].<sup>28</sup> The main sources are the mentioned archives and various unpublished source material. Archival documents come primarily from the collections of the Nation's Memory Institute. These are primarily State Security situation reports that monitored the events of the streets during the revolution. Other archived material relates to, for example, the trial of the so-called "Bratislava Five", and records of the so-called "traces" of the lives of people. Photographic materials come from a variety of sources. Again, some of these are from the archive of the Nation's Memory Institute, but many of the photographs come from the private collections of photographers from Košice. Digital databases are also relevant sources of photography. We use the database of the Press Agency of the Slovak Republic (TASR), *Vtedy.sk*, which has an extensive photographic collection of mostly reportage provenance, taken in part from the archives of the former Czechoslovak Press Office (ČTK). The periodical press comes primarily from the collections of the Ján Bocatus Public Library in Košice. The newspapers most frequently used are *Pravda*, *Nedeľná pravda*, *Smena*, *Rudé právo*, *Magazín VN*, *Večer*, *Uj szo* and *Východoslovenské noviny*. Various examples of contemporary television news at the national and local levels come from the RTVS archive.

The second working phase of the project will include the preparation and subsequent didactic processing of texts and visual material forming the content of the interactive website and electronic textbook. This phase will also include the preparation of a model lesson on the topic of the Velvet Revolution with a link to the practical application of the U-map. We plan to compile the textbook itself from six related chapters, while the texts will include a theoretical introduction which will approach the concepts used and outline the application of theory in practice using the example of an interactive exhibition. The factual part of the textbook will include texts on the broader context of the situation both internationally and in Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 1980s. Special attention will be paid to the Velvet Revolution itself, partly at the national level and at the level of the territory of Slovakia, but with special regard to Košice. The textbook will conclude with a sample lesson on the topic of the Velvet Revolution with a demonstration of the practical use of the U-map. The third and fourth working phases of the project will primarily concern graphic design, editorial and assessment work, finalization and publication of outputs.

The benefits of the project can be perceived on several basic levels. On a historical level, it is a commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution, which fundamentally influenced practically the entire spectrum of political, economic and cultural-social life in Slovakia. Another beneficial aspect is that the implementation and output of the project are conceptually based on an interactive exhibition installed in a public space, which was not an isolated event aimed at the scientific community, but primarily addressed the general public. This is directly related to another level of contribution, namely didactic-educational, which has a direct impact on the project's target groups, namely university students and primary and high school students. The didactic-educational level is related to the internal concept of the material, which communicates historical facts about the events of November 1989 through a typologically wide spectrum of sources and anchors them in the didactically beneficial concept of developing the dimensions of historical consciousness. For university students, the material will have a real connection with the subjects "History of Slovakia after 1945", "Repression of the ruling regimes in the 20th century", "Regional history" and last but not least the didactic

26 KOHOUTOVÁ, Klára. Listopad 1989 očima Slováků [November 1989 Through the Eyes of Slovaks]. In: *MEMO: časopis pro orální historii/oral history journal*, 2016, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 5–37.

27 ŠUTA, Štefan (ed.). *Klíče k dějinám Košic. Dejepisná čítanka*. Košice; Prešov: Univesum, 2009.

28 DVOŘÁK, Pavel et al. *Slováci a nástup socializmu: Pramene k dějinám Slovenska a Slovákov XIII c.* Bratislava: Literárne informačné centrum, 2017. DVOŘÁK, Pavel et al. *Novembrová revolúcia a československý rozchod: Pramene k dějinám Slovenska a Slovákov XIV.* Bratislava: Literárne informačné centrum, 2002.

disciplines “Teaching history in practice” and “Didactics history”. However, due to the internal structure of the resulting material, it will have an impact beyond the teaching boundaries of the Department of History and the Faculty of Arts. The material will be relevant, for example, to students of mass media communication and political science, and also pedagogy, psychology or law. Another significant benefit is the long-term sustainability of the project’s results, which will be achieved by disseminating the electronic version of the study material in question, and wide access to the website by target groups (for example primary and high school students). In general, this work will supplement and exceed the standard scope of teaching material on the topic of the Velvet Revolution, and at the same time, in its internal form, will offer the opportunity to apply selected approaches to the teaching of other historical topics.

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#### ETHNIC RELATIONS IN SLOVAKIA WITH FOCUS ON URBAN HISTORY

The European continent as a whole is ethnically heterogeneous and European countries also show considerable ethnic diversity. According to FUEEN (Federal Union of European Nationalities), there are more than 400 indigenous minorities in Europe, representing a population of more than 100 million. Approximately every seventh inhabitant of this continent belongs to one of them. Slovakia, where 14.2 % of the population is from an ethnic minority, is approximately in the middle of the ranking of countries.

The ethnic stratification of society is a natural source of different views on how to deal with domestic political events and the direction of the national policy of the state. The issue of the position of minorities and their participation in the development of Slovak society is an important one which has, in some recent periods, also accentuated topics in professional and political discourse in Slovakia. That is why there is a need for an objective scientific study of this topic that does not only focus on the international dimension.

The project *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of national issues in the years 2004–2020) – (TESS2)* IS supported by the Agency for Support of Science and Research in Slovakia. The lead researcher, as well as the heart of the whole project is prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. (Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Pavol Jozef Šafárik University [UPJŠ] in Košice). The project has run since 1 July 2016 and will be completed in October 2020.

The Centre for Social and Psychological Sciences SAS (CSPS SAS) is also participating in the project. CSPS SAS and its component the Institute of Social Sciences represent sites for the basic research (project promoter), having long specialized in the issue of the status of national minorities and national relations.

The project also involves two departments within the Faculty of Arts at UPJŠ: the Department of Political Science and the Department of History, both of which supply staff and material facilities. In the past, faculty members from both departments have participated in research relating to the goals of the current project, and both departments directly focus on the history of cities in their research plan. It is one of the four main centres dealing with the international project *History of European Urbanism in the 20th Century (urbanHIST)* funded by the EU Horizon 2020 program. The main goal is a comprehensive interdisciplinary study of the development of European urbanism over the past century, which geographically covers the entire continent and focuses primarily on the identification and interpretation of common development trends. A key element of the innovative network is also the development of excellent doctoral studies completed with double diplomas. At the same time, it also has a valuable peer-reviewed journal entitled: *The City and History*, with a thematic orientation on contributions from the field of urban history. This intention is related to one of the scientific priorities of the centre – research into the history of Košice.

Elaboration of the history of cities has been one of the most sought-after goals in historiography since the nineteenth century. In addition to research into the history of cities, there are accounts of political, cultural and local events, as well as analyses of economic conditions, which involve a description of the stratification of the populations that lived through those times. The city, thus defined by the field of research, is an urban and settled entity, a living organism, but also a social scene that has changed dynamically and continues to change over the centuries. The process of this transformation can be identified in the hierarchical structure of the city and the demographic composition of the population, as well as their identity. The publication presents findings from the TESS2 project relating to how the ethnic composition of the population developed in connection with the history of Slovak cities.

The TESS2 project focuses on the fulfilment of three basic goals. The first goal is to analyse the development of national relations in the years 2004–2016. This includes describing the national policy strategy of the Slovak Republic, the intentions of political parties in relation to ethnicity, the demographic development of national minorities at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and cooperation between European and Slovak policies in the field of institutions and the management of national policy. This goal also covers the analysis of legislation in Slovakia and neighbouring countries, as well as the evaluation of press monitoring on issues of ethnic development and relations in Slovakia in the years 2004–2018.

The second goal of the project is the implementation of interdisciplinary empirical research, focused principally on theoretical, methodological and practical issues of ethnicity and national relations. The content of the research can be classified into basic thematic blocks, namely: 1. characteristics of the respondent in a social and ethnocultural context; 2. reflection on history and its impact on current interethnic relations (history and present); 3. perception and assessment of current public issues (including national ones) and political life; 4. attitudes towards migrants; 5. perceptions of security; and 6. identifying features of a person, family and household. The basic empirical methodology applied is a questionnaire. An “etic/emic” approach was applied in its construction, by searching for common features of all involved and, at the same time, perceiving the state of affairs from the position of a minority community. Emphasis is also placed on individual and group reflections on their opinions and attitudes. In addition to person identifiers, the structured questionnaire contained 57 questions grouped into four areas: ethnicity, interethnic relations, legal regulation and current issues of social life (respondents’ opinions). The sample consists of 1,151 respondents who completed the questionnaire in 2017. The targeted respondents were Slovaks from ethnically mixed localities and six ethnic communities living in Slovakia – Hungarians, Germans, Roma, Rusyns, Ukrainians, Czechs. Within each group, respondents were selected according to quotas based on predetermined criteria.

The third goal of the project is to communicate the research findings to the public, university students and public institutions. The prepared workshops were and are intended for students from the field of history, political science and other scientific disciplines, and provide information about the unique approach to scientific research carried out within this project. Attracting the attention of students to scientific research, as well as providing education about tolerance in the field of national relations, are equally important parts of the project. The main role in this part of the project was played mainly by the staff of the Faculty of Arts at UPJŠ in Košice, who, in cooperation with the researchers from CSPS SAS, prepared interesting presentations of information for students.<sup>29</sup>

29 On 18 October 2016, a workshop entitled: *Facts, Interpretations and Memory* was held in the Platón building of the Faculty of Arts, UPJŠ. On 3 May 2017, a workshop for history students on the topic of Ethnic Relations and Visuality in Slovakia took place. The workshop screened the film *Arbitration* produced by the Nation’s Memory Institute and Mgr. Bohunka Koklesova, PhD, presented the Picture Report on the Slovak landscape in the years 1939–1945. On 20 November 2017, a workshop for students of history and political science on the topic of *Ethnicity and the Media* took place, which was prepared in cooperation with the Radio and Television Slovakia (RTVS). Contributions about television and radio broadcasting for national minorities were heard. There was also an interactive part called “Express yourself”, and a series of short interviews with students of the Faculty of Arts at UPJŠ on the topic of Ethnicity, Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Politics. On 3 May 2018 there was a workshop for students of history and political science on the topic of *Ethnicity in the context of “big milestones”: Ethnic politics*,

The project also included planned conferences, such as the introductory conference *Current Issues in Research of National Politics and National Relations in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries*, which was held on 14–15 November 2016 in the Historical Hall of the Rectorate of UPJŠ. The main content conference focused on the purposes and methods of the planned investigation and interpretation of the position of national minorities in Slovakia, as well as Mediterranean cooperation with national participation. There were sixteen speakers from Slovakia and abroad. The conference resulted in a publication with the same title: *Current issues of research in national politics and national relations in Slovakia in the 20th and 21st centuries*.<sup>30</sup>

On 15 November 2018, a second conference entitled *Central European Contexts of National Development at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century* took place at UPJŠ in Košice. It focused on the fact that the Central European context of national development and national policy in Slovakia needs to be monitored, especially since most national minorities in Slovakia have their mother nations in the surrounding countries and Slovak minorities live in other European countries. In addition to national issues, the final proceedings of the conference were also focused on the results of empirical research on ethnicity and national relations. The collection of these data took place in 2017 and results were compared with an empirical probe from 2004. The proceedings, also entitled *Central European Contexts of National Development at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century*, contain a total of 15 articles. One valuable study on the history of cities is project leader Prof. Štefan Šutaj's "Košice and Problems of Ethnicity after World War II", which deals with changes in the ethnic structure of Košice after World War II. The changes were the result of the situation regarding the ethnic status of population, which adapted to the changing borders and the population claiming to be Slovak or Hungarian nationality. The changes in ethnicity were also the result of the Czechoslovak authorities' post-war measures, in particular reslovakization, but also the resulting exchange of population between Czechoslovakia and Hungary and the unilateral expulsion of the Hungarian population, which moved to Košice after Vienna Arbitration, based on the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the winning powers.

Another result of the project is a number of publications and scientific studies, not only at the conference level. The selection we provide here is illustrative.

The final research report – *Tendencies of the development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of national issues in the years 2004–2020) (Final research report)*<sup>31</sup> – is one of the key ones in which the members of the project research team participated. The final report analyses the changes that occurred in the field of national relations and national policy in the years 2004 to 2017 according to the reflections of the research participants. How

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*relations and their transformation after 1918, 1938 and 1948*. Three lectures were given during the workshop. Prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc, approached the topic of *National Issues after 1948 on the example of Košice*, Mgr. Ondrej Ficeri, PhD, spoke with the paper *Ethnonational Transformation of Košice in the Post-Imperial Period* and Mgr. Ján Mitáč spoke about *The Attitudes of the Hungarian Governments to the Problems of the Slovak Minority in the Years 1938–1945*. On 21 November 2019 was a workshop at which the results of the project research were presented. In the form of panels, individual sections of research concerning ethnicity, interethnic relations and current issues of ethnicity were presented. On 16 December 2019, a workshop for students of history and political science entitled *Act on Nationalities and the Council of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic for Nationalities (Ideas and Reality)*. During the workshop, Doc. Mgr. Jana Šutajová, PhD, from the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts at UPJŠ presented results. The last project workshop for students is also planned for the second half of 2020.

30 ŠUTAJ, Štefan – REGINÁČOVÁ, Nikola – HELDAKOVÁ, Lucia (eds.). *Aktuálne otázky výskumu národnostnej politiky a národnostných vzťahov na Slovensku v 20. a 21. storočí*. Prešov: Universum, 2017. ŠUTAJ, Štefan – HELDAKOVÁ, Lucia – REGINÁČOVÁ, Nikola (eds.). *Current Issues of Research on Nationality Policy and Nationality Relations in Slovakia in the Twentieth and the Twenty-first Centuries*. Prešov: Universum, 2017. The Publication in the Slovak and English version see: <https://apvv-projekt7.webnode.sk/>.

31 ŠUTAJ, Štefan et al. *Tendencie vývoja etnických vzťahov na Slovensku (komparatívny výskum národnostnej problematiky v rokoch 2004-2020)*. (Záverečná správa z výskumu). Prešov: Universum, 2019. Publication in PDF version see: <https://apvv-projekt7.webnode.sk/>.

respondents perceived these changes is important not only for the knowledge of Slovak society (with regards to science or politics), but also for the development of mutual relations between the inhabitants of Slovakia in connection with their ethnicity. These data can serve as another source of information on the implementation of policies at various levels – not only, as in this case, by the relevant political authorities and the President of the Slovak Republic, but also for other political entities in Slovakia.

Currently (during 2020) a collection of scientific studies is being prepared based on the results of the project *Ethnic relations in Slovak society at the beginning of the Twenty-first century*, alongside a scientific monograph entitled *National Policy in Slovakia in 2004–2019 (on the example of the Hungarian minority)*.

The original contribution of the presented project lies in its ability to record the developmental tendencies of the studied social phenomena by comparing empirical data obtained in 2004 with data recorded ten years later. The uniqueness of the presented research plan also lies in the effort to comprehensively grasp the issue, through the application of scientific methods of several social science disciplines (sociology, psychology, history, political science, sociolinguistics), providing the opportunity to formulate broader conclusions in the interpretation of research findings. In the field of national relations, it presents the results of special socio-psychological and sociological research dealing with the issue of ethnic identity, specifically relating to Hungarians, Roma, Ukrainians and Rusyns living in Slovakia. At the same time, it provides information on minorities' sense of national consciousness, which can be a very interesting source of information for research into the history of cities in Slovakia.

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