

Štefan Šutaj

ETHNIC DEVELOPMENT IN KOŠICE AFTER 1945

Abstract

This article deals with ethnic development in Košice in the period immediately following the Second World War and the factors that most significantly influenced this development. These primarily consisted of the eviction of Hungarian citizens, who had come to the area after the First Vienna Arbitration Award; the exchange of inhabitants between Czechoslovakia and Hungary; and the state-organised change of ethnic identity known as re-Slovakisation.¹

Key Words: Košice, re-Slovakisation, population exchange, ethnic changes after the Second World War.

Słowa kluczowe: Koszyce, wtórna ‘słowakizacja’, wymiana ludności, zmiany etniczne po II wojnie światowej.

For Košice, liberation by the Soviet Army meant not only liberation from the Nazi regime, but also the return to Czechoslovakia from Hungary, to which the city belonged since the Vienna Arbitration Award of 2 November 1938.

The ethnic character of Košice was a matter of numerous disputes. For a long-time, Košice was a multi-ethnic city, with Germans, Slovaks and Hungarians playing significant roles. In the 20th century, in accordance with the prevailing tendency of establishing national states, ethnicity was of key importance. The inhabitants of Košice, being largely bilingual, adapted to this when declaring their ethnic affiliation, reflecting the relevant changes of borders and the affiliation of the city to different states.²

In spite of the fact that the majority of population claimed they were “Slovak” at the end of the 19th century, in 1910 Hungarians comprised 75.43% of the inhab-

¹ This paper was created within the project VEGA 1/0101/12: Historical Places in Košice (Historical Breakthroughs and Institutions), Miesta pamäti Košíc I. (historické prelomy a inštitúcie).

² In this regard, it was mainly the local papers that wrote about the “Košice ethnicity”, which was supposed to be a “solution” to its unclear ethnic status.

itants of Košice. In 1910, 33,500 people of the total population of 44,211 declared themselves to be of Hungarian nationality. After the borders changed, in the 1920 census, 21.2% of the 52,598 inhabitants claimed they were of Hungarian ethnicity and 59.7% claimed they were Czechoslovaks. However, in the 1930 census, 16.4% of the 70,117 inhabitants of Košice were of Hungarian affiliation and 60.2% were of the Czechoslovak nationality. It can be argued that the total increment of the population during this period took place, maintaining approximately the same number of Hungarians during the entire decade. However, this seemingly demographic change was not brought about by natural migration. In 1938, along with the surrounding Slovak villages, the entire Košice area was awarded to Hungary after the Vienna Arbitration Award. The way in which southern part of Slovakia was annexed to Hungary in 1938 and 1939 and the way some of the Slovaks had to leave this territory were considered to be a historical injustice by Slovaks. Approximately 100,000 Slovak and Czech inhabitants had to leave the occupied territory under pressure exerted by the Horthy regime. Following the establishment of the Slovak state on 14 March 1939, the Hungarian army attacked the southern parts of Eastern Slovakia and also occupied the territory of Transcarpathia. Public opinion polls conducted on the topic show that this period is perceived by Slovaks as negatively and intensely as the Hungarians living in Slovakia see the repressions of the 1945–1948 period.³ For the Hungarian inhabitants of Košice, the post-war period was rather traumatic.

The 1938 census does not explain the decrease in the number of Slovaks in the city, even if we take into account the departure of a part of the Slovak population. In this census, only 9,441 people of the total of 58,000 inhabitants claimed they were Slovak (in 1930 the number was 42,245 inhabitants). The number of Hungarians grew from 11,504 in 1930 to 44,472 in 1938. In 1950, when the actions related to the accomplishment of the Czechoslovak concept of building a national state of Czechs and Slovaks, only 1,642 inhabitants of the total population of 62,465 claimed they were of Hungarian nationality, representing 2.63% of the total population of the city. However, in terms of ethnic structure, only the 1961 census is deemed to be relevant, because the former censuses were influenced by the re-Slovakisation process. However, in Košice, this was obscured by the fact that in this census the villages surrounding Košice were also taken into account as a part of the same administrative unit. In 1970, 5,816 people claimed to be ethnic Hungarians in Košice. At that time, most of the inhabitants reported their ethnicity in relative accordance with their internal beliefs. Still, it is not possible to eliminate the various forms of pressure exerted by either side when declaring one's ethnic affiliation. In case of Košice, the census was radically influenced by strong migration patterns due to the establishment of East Slovakia

³ Cf. Štefan Š u t a j, "History and National Identity," [in:] *Politics of the Past: The Use and Abuse of History*, ed. Swoboda Hannes and Viersma Jan Marinus, Brussels: The Socialist Group in the European Parliament, 2009, pp. 193–204.

Steelworks [*Východoslovenské železiarne*]. The population of Košice, under the influence of labour migration, increased threefold during the decade, as shown in the table below:

Inhabitants of Košice between 1920 and 1961 by ethnicity⁴

	1920*	1930*	1938*	1950	1961	1970
Total	52,598	70,117	58,000	62,465	182,669	145,024
Slovak	31,572 59.7%	42,245 60.2%	9,441 16.3%	57,432 93.54%	162,743 89.1%	133,501 92.1%
Hungarian	11,206 21.2%	11,504 16.4%	44,472 76.6%	1,642 2.63%	16,223 8.9%	5,816 3.9%

* Data according to Ján Svetoš, *Slováci v Maďarsku. Príspevky k otázke štatistickej maďarizácie* [*Slovaks in Hungary. Papers on Statistical Hungarisation*], Bratislava: Vedecká spoločnosť pre zahraničných Slovákov, 1942, p. 135. The 1920 and 1930 censuses in Czechoslovakia enquired about Czechoslovak national affiliation.

Ethnic development in the city of Košice in the post-war period was influenced by many factors. The effects of the war, including the changes of ethnic structure in Košice during the period of annexation to Hungary, were visible even in the administration of the city. In spite of the fact that after liberation, Košice became the seat of the Delegation of the Slovak National Assembly for the liberated territory (i.e. administration of the liberated country was concentrated here) and then became the temporary seat of the Slovak National Assembly and later the seat of the Czechoslovak government and the president of the republic, it was not administered by a municipal national committee as was common in other Slovak towns and cities, but by an administrative commission, as it was typical for cities with a majority of ethnic Hungarians or Germans. Public employees of the city of Košice hired after 2 November 1938 were dismissed on 28 February 1945 without any right to severance pay. However, they were allowed to file a request to remain in service or could ask for a re-assignment.⁵ The Košice National Committee was created only on 22 August 1945.

Similarly to the previous periods marked by border changes, the ethnic structure in Košice has changed significantly even though the actual movement of population was less significant. A specific feature of the post-war period was

⁴ Estimates of the Re-Slovakisation Committee regarding the population of Košice in 1947: Slovaks: 48,000; Hungarians: 3,000. Archiv ministerstva zahraničných vecí ČR [*Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic*] (AMZV ČR), Prague, Generálny sekretariát Jana Masaryka a Vladimíra Clementisa [*General Secretariat of Jan Masaryk and Vladimír Clementis*] (GS-A), cart. 170. Reslovakizácia podľa obcí a okresov k 1.1.1947 [*Re-Slovakization by municipalities and districts, as of January 1, 1947*]

⁵ Archív mesta Košice [*Košice City Archives*] (AMK). The minutes of meeting of the Administrative Committee of Košice of March 8, 1945.

that the actions aimed at the changing of ethnic identity were organised by the state, which was then supported by the necessary legislation. Based on the resolution of the Board of the Slovak National Assembly, the Commission for the Internal Affairs in Košice issued a call to perform extraordinary measures on 1 March 1945 before the arrival of the president. Security agencies were to “pay extraordinary attention to identifying fascist spy and sabotaging elements.” The “dangerous and suspicious people of German and Hungarian ethnicity” were supposed to be removed from the city if they had been involved in the activities of fascist organisations, as well as those who had committed offenses against the Red Army, or against the interests of the Czechoslovak state and Slovak national interests. Those against whom there was enough evidence were to be arrested. The evictions were to be performed in municipalities in Czechoslovakia and the evicted persons were given 24 hours to prepare to depart. They could only take the things they could carry themselves. The eviction could be postponed by 30 days in case of old and sick people or for economic reasons. The notice stated at the end that the action was supposed to be “performed in a decent and human way and all blunders of security agencies shall be severely punished”.⁶

The atmosphere during the war as well as that of the post-war period was also evident in the inhabitants’ relationships. One of the reactions to Hungarians monopolising power between 1938 and 1945 was increased anti-Hungarian nationalism in various forms. This trend was evident across the political spectrum. The daily *Demokrat* [Democrat] of the Democratic Party wrote: “...whether the Hungarians of Košice like it or not, the Slovaks are now the masters... and we repeat the slogan, which was heard on the day of our victory: the mouths of those who do not want to speak Slovak must be shut.”⁷ The radical anti-Hungarian spirit was present mainly among the Resistance fighters. During a manifestation of the Association of Slovak Resistance Fighters in Košice on 13 May 1945, which was organised with the goal of “the purging of Košice and the renewal of the Slovak character of the city”, Lieutenant Suchý gave a speech on how the Hungarians abused democracy in the Czechoslovak Republic and came to the following conclusion: “in the end it was all the same whether the Hungarians were red, black or green, they all dreamed of the reestablishment of Greater Hungary.”⁸

The gravest form of anti-Hungarian chauvinism were the activities of pseudo-revolutionary individuals and adventurers who abused the post-war situation by launching actions against inhabitants of Hungarian ethnicity and the so-called “Anyás” Hungarians (who arrived during the Hungarian occupation) in the city,

⁶ Slovenský národný archív [*Slovak National Archives*] (SNA) Bratislava, Povereníctvo vnútra [*Commission for the Internal Affairs*], inv. no. 16, cart. 1. Mimoriadne opatrenia v Košiciach [*Extraordinary Measures in Košice*].

⁷ *Demokrat* [Democrat], vol. I., no. 43, June 7, 1945. V jednote je sila [*Strength by Unity*].

⁸ *Demokrat* [Democrat], vol. I., no. 33, May 15, 1945. Za očistu Košic a za ich slovenský ráz [*For the Purging of Košice and its Slovak Nature*].

persecuting and terrorise civilians, and looting. At the beginning, there were various militias and guards that ensured “order” on their own. The National Security Service (NSS) was established by order of the Board of the Slovak National Assembly of 23 February 1945. However, it was only on 18 May that the commander of the NSS for Eastern Slovakia ordered the dissolution of all other security units “effective immediately”.⁹ Until then, the adventurers had conditions that allowed them to abuse the post-war situation and take advantage of the possibilities and conditions to conduct robberies, enrich themselves and persecute the affected parts of the population. In Košice, the case of captain Jozef Mlynský, an officer of NSS 2 was arguably the best known.¹⁰ His post-liberation criminal activities brought him before a military court on 17 October 1947. According to the findings, his NSS units performed inspections of German and Hungarian households and committed thefts between May and August 1945.¹¹

Multiple factors changed the ethnic structure in the post-war era, ranging from the organised relocation of population to the state-organised change of ethnicity. After the armistice was declared between the Allies and Hungary on 20 January 1945, Hungarian citizens who came to southern Slovakia after 2 November 1938 were expelled. The contemporary term for such people was “Anyás”. According to the wording of the Armistice Agreement, Hungary withdrew from war against the Soviet Union and other Allied nations, including Czechoslovakia. In the second article of the Agreement, Hungary accepted its obligation to evacuate from the occupied territories, including that of Czechoslovakia, all troops and officials within the limits of the frontiers of Hungary existing on 31 December 1937. The so-called “Anyás” symbolised the Hungarisation of southern Slovakia – the territorial changes and claims Hungary had made against Slovakia – both in the eyes of the Slovak political elite and its population. Hungarians who had moved

⁹ Štátny archív [State Archives] (ŠA) Prešov, Prešov branch office, f. ONV Prešov [Prešov District National Committee], cart. 15, no. 1067/45 pres.; ŠA Košice, Košice branch office, f. ONV Košice-okolie [District National Committee Košice-okolie], cart. 2, no. 234/1945 pres.

¹⁰ As mentioned by Róbert Letz, *Slovensko v rokoch 1945–1948. Na ceste ku komunistickej totalite [Slovakia Between 1945 and 1948. On the Path to the Communist Totalitarian Regime]*, Bratislava: Ústredie slovenskej katolíckej inteligencie, 1994, p. 112; Vystúpenie poslanca za Demokratickú stranu Júliusa Kukliša na pléne SNR. Stenografický záznam o priebehu 4. zasadania pléna SNR 28–29.11.1946 [The speech of Július Kukliš, MP for the Democratic party in the plenum of the Slovak National Assembly. Stenographic recording of the 4th session of the plenum of the Slovak National Assembly, November 28–29, 1946], online: <http://www.psp.cz/eknih/1946snr/stenprot/004schuz/s004009.htm> and also Štefan Hlaváč, *Po priamych cestách [On direct paths]*, Trnava: Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1990, p. 222. In 1947, J. Mlynský was employed by the company “PARTKO – Ústredné družstvo Zväzu partizánov” *already in 1947*.

¹¹ Charged were the captain Jozef Vladimír Müller-Mlynský, National Security Service official Karol Jamriška and National Security Service sergeant L. Horák. Čas, vol. IV. no. 240, October 19, 1947, pp. 1–2. Súdny donucujú skladať účty z revolučných prechmatov [Courts Enforcing Responsibility for the Blunders of the Revolution]. ŠA Košice, branch office Košice, f. Krajský súd Košice [County Court of Košice], tk, 1946, cart. 504, sig. 255, Minutes of September 18, 1947).

to southern Slovakia after the Vienna Arbitration Award were evicted, and their property confiscated and passed to the state. According to data in the archives, 31,780 Hungarians who had migrated to southern Slovakia after 1938 were evicted by 1 July 1945.¹² These ethnic Hungarians never had Czechoslovak citizenship and they were the only group to be deported from Slovakia by the Czechoslovak authorities unilaterally and uncompromisingly, with very few exceptions (in 1948, 539 such inhabitants were identified in 31 districts).¹³ By June 1945, 3,483 the Anyás had been relocated from eastern Slovakia, 1,833 of whom were evicted from Košice.

The agreement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary concluded on 27 February 1946 also altered the ethnic structure of Košice. In accordance with Article V of the Agreement, the number of inhabitants transferred from Czechoslovakia to Hungary was supposed to be identical to the number of ethnic Slovaks and Czechs who wished to move from Hungary to Czechoslovakia. In accordance with Article VIII of the Agreement, ethnic Hungarians who had committed criminal offenses, the so-called war criminals as defined in Arts. 1–4 of Regulation no. 33/1945 of the Slovak National Assembly of 13 May 1945 as well as also Art. 5 of the same regulation were to be transferred to Hungary. The headcount of these people was not to exceed 1,000. Slovaks living in Hungary could register for the population exchange on a voluntary basis; Hungarians, however, were nominated by the relevant state administration bodies of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Between 1945 and 1948, a total of 89,660 ethnic Hungarians were transferred from Czechoslovakia to Hungary. Of them, approximately 34,000 were removed beyond the scope of the Population Exchange Agreement. Approximately 12,000 people moved to Czechoslovakia from Hungary outside of the scope of this population exchange between 1945 and 1948. In Hungary, according to the statistical data, 95,421 people volunteered for the exchange.¹⁴ In spite of the fact that the Population Exchange Agreement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary was signed on February 27, 1946, its implementation was continually postponed. This was mainly due to the effort of Hungary to prevent the exchange, expectations of the results of the 1946 Paris Conference and by the fact both parties played tactically, resulting in the forced transfer of Hungarians to Bohemia and the subse-

¹² Sándor Balogh, *A népi demokratikus Magyarország külpolitikája [The Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic State of Hungary] 1945–1947*, Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1982, p. 131; Juraj Zvara, *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku po roku 1945 [Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia After 1945]*, Bratislava: Epocha, 1969, p. 56.

¹³ ŠA Košice, Trebišov branch office, f. ONV Kráľovský Chlmec [*Kráľovský Chlmec District National Committee*], no. 39/48 pres.

¹⁴ SNA Bratislava, f. Generálny tajomník Š. Bašťovanský [*Secretary General Š. Bašťovanský*], no. 522, *Správa Osídľovacieho úradu o ukončení výmeny obyvateľstva medzi Československom a Maďarskom [Report of the Population Office on the Termination of the Population Exchange Between Czechoslovakia and Hungary]*.

quent termination of the population exchange preparations. After the troublesome negotiations, the real “reciprocal” population exchange started in April 1947.¹⁵

It is difficult to find out the exact numbers of people evicted from Košice during the population exchange. It is complicated due to the lack of data as well as the unavailability of the data from the Population Office. Therefore, the results are fragmentary and are not necessarily correct. According to the transport schemes, Košice exchanged transports with the following Hungarian towns and cities: Budapest (11 transports); Miskolc (2 transports); Sátoraljaujhely (9 transports) and Forró (2 transports) – a total of 24 transports.¹⁶ In the period between 11 April and 22 December 1948 there were 12 transports; 2 trains arrived to Košice from Hungary, in which 270 economic units (families), i.e. 970 people, were transferred.¹⁷ At the same time, 16 transports and 38 trains with 405 economic units (e.u.) totalling 1,511 people left Košice and Kráľovský Chlmec.¹⁸ The first transport left Košice on 17 July 1947. The first part of the transport consisted of 67 wagons, in which there were 23 families and 67 individuals. On Friday, 18 July, 1947, the second part of the transport left, with 16 families and 48 individuals. Thus, the total of 39 families and 115 inhabitants of Košice left with the first transport. These were mostly the families of traders and craftsmen.¹⁹

The selection of people for relocation was performed by the Regional Department of the Population Office in Košice. At the national level, it was performed by the Population Office in Bratislava. On 26 August 1946, the list of ethnic Hungarians was officially handed over to the Hungarian government, which

¹⁵ For details, cf: Štefan Š u t a j, “Zwangs austausch bzw. Aussiedlung der Madjaren aus der Slowakei – Pläne und Wirklichkeit” [*Forceful Exchange and/or Eviction of Hungarians from Slovakia – Plans and Reality*], [in:] *Erzwungene Trennung. Die Vertreibungen und Aussiedlungen in und aus der Tschechoslowakei 1938–1947 im Vergleich mit Polen, Ungarn und Jugoslawien* [*Forceful Separation. Eviction and Transfers Within and From Czechoslovakia Between 1938 and 1947, Compared to Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia*], eds. Detlef Brandes and Edita Ivaničková and Jan Pešek, Essen: Klartext, 1999, pp. 251–271; Štefan Š u t a j, “Magyar Minority in Slovakia Before and After the Second World War,” [in:] *Slovakia in History*, eds. Mikuláš Teich and Dušan Kováč and Martin D. Brown, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 269–284.

¹⁶ AMZV CR Praha, f. GS-A, cart. 170.

¹⁷ Národný archív Českej republiky [*National Archives of the Czech Republic*] (NA ČR), f. Úrad predsedníctva vlády [*Office of the Prime Minister*] (ÚPV), cart. 1112. Číselný výkaz o umiestnení obojstranných transportov [*Numerical Report on the Deposition of Mutual Transports*]. However, this report does not include the people who arrived before the Agreement has been signed, nor the people transferred in unidirectional transports in the second half of 1946. In this case we do not even know if they were settled in Košice or in the surrounding municipalities.

¹⁸ NA ČR, f. ÚPV, cart. 1112. Číselný výkaz odsunu osôb maďarskej národnosti združenými transportmi [*Numerical Report of the Transfer of Ethnic Hungarians in Aggregated Transports*]. It does not mean, though, that all these people were from Košice, since the same table contains also the transports and trains leaving from Kráľovský Chlmec.

¹⁹ Čas, vol. IV. no. 164, July 20, 1947. Odsun Maďarov z Košíc [*Eviction of Hungarians from Košice*].

applied consular protection to those people as they were recognised as Hungarian citizens. Data concerning people selected for the population exchange vary as well. According to the documents of Hungarian Population Transfer Committee based on the list handed over by the Czechoslovak authorities on 26 August 1946, 2,832 people from the city of Košice and surrounding areas were selected for the population exchange in accordance with Article V. The list of war criminals pursuant to Arts. 1–4 contained 2,033 names and the one prepared in accordance with Art. 5 contained 372 names.²⁰ Slovak sources state that according to the *Statistical Data of Ethnic Hungarians Selected for the Population Exchange*,²¹ 2,025 people were selected for the exchange from Košice pursuant to Art. V. These people owned 525 houses and represented 816 economic units. They owned 7 agricultural enterprises, 200 small businesses and 525 other businesses. In accordance with Article VIII of the Agreement, 1,288 people charged with offenses pursuant to Arts. 1–4 of Regulation 33 of the Slovak National Assembly were included in the programme – these represented 689 economic units and owned 193 houses, 179 agricultural businesses, 159 small businesses and 351 other businesses. Pursuant to Art. 5,²² 92 of the convicted did not own homes nor did they represent independent economic units according to this list.²³

In the Regional Department of the Population Office in Košice documents, there is a folder entitled “Hungarians” that contains this Final Report of the Regional Department of the Population Office in Košice on the Population Exchange Proposals:²⁴

Proposed for the exchange:	734 economic units;	1,559 people;
Charged:	568 economic units;	1,456 people;
Intellectuals:	65 economic units;	151 people;
Total:	1,367 economic units;	3,183 people.

On 19 July 1946, the Population Office Representative for Eastern Slovakia officially received the list from the Head of the Regional Department of the

²⁰ Árpád Popély, “Československo-maďarská výmena obyvateľstva a menné zoznamy na presídlenie vybraných Maďarov zo Slovenska” [*The Czechoslovak-Hungarian Population Exchange and the Lists of Ethnic Hungarians Selected for Removal from Slovakia*], *Človek a spoločnosť* [*Man and Society*], 12, 1, (2009), available at: http://www.saske.sk/cas/public/media/5850/200901_05_popely.pdf

²¹ ŠA Košice, Košice branch office, f. Oblastná úradovňa Osídľovacieho úradu [*Regional Department of the Population Office in Košice*] (OÚOÚ) Košice, cart. 5. Štatistika osôb maďarskej národnosti určených na odsun podľa dohody medzi republikou maďarskou a Československom [*Statistics of Ethnic Hungarians Selected for Transfer Pursuant to the Agreement Between the Hungarian Republic and Czechoslovakia*].

²² It is not clear if they really were charged in one case and convicted in the other – the clerk authoring the table just did not understand the difference between the two terms.

²³ ŠA Košice, Košice branch office, f. OÚOÚ Košice, cart. 3. Zoznam reemigrantov z Maďarska, došlých legálnym spôsobom [*List of Legally Arrived Re-emigrants from Hungary*].

²⁴ ŠA Košice, Košice branch office, f. OÚOÚ Košice, cart. 3. Celkový prehľad OÚ v Košiciach [*Final Report of the Population Office in Košice*].

Population Office. The list included 191 economic units and 851 persons, i.e. 2,929 persons in total, selected for the exchange.²⁵

The population exchange between Czechoslovakia and Hungary was not fully implemented and people were removed from the lists for various reasons during its implementation. The reasons for this were ethnic, family or political, as well as interventions by various people and influential social groups, corruption and a number of other reasons that would require separate research and attention. The Košice city archives also contain the lists of people selected for exchange from Košice, which became “irrelevant” in the matter of population exchange of August 1946.²⁶

With regard to the people selected for the population exchange in the category of war criminals, the following needs to be noted: a total of 22,278 people were brought in front of the National Court and People’s Tribunals in Slovakia before 31 December 1948. Of these, 8,962 were convicted (i.e. 40.23% of the accused) and 13,316 people were freed. A total of 14,216 ethnic Hungarians were brought in front of People’s Tribunals and 34.7% of them were convicted. The most frequent penalty was a prison sentence lasting less than one year (36.05%) and public reprimand (32.31%).

In Slovakia, it was not the decree of the president, which was used when trying war criminals. Instead, Regulation 33/1945 of the Slovak National Assembly was passed for the punishment of fascist criminals, occupiers, traitors and collaborators and on the establishment of people’s courts. Within the scope of the population exchange performed pursuant to Art. VIII of the Population Exchange Agreement, 817 economic units with 2,746 people were relocated from Slovakia to Hungary as persons convicted pursuant to Regulation 33/1946 of the Slovak National Assembly. Of these, 660 economic units with 2,130 people were not transferred during 1947 and 1948.²⁷

In this regard, data on the charged Košice inhabitants selected for the population exchange as war criminals pursuant to Art. VIII are also notable. The central registers currently available list 41 economic units with 63 people as ethnic Hungarians from Košice selected for the population exchange pursuant to Art. VIII²⁸ in accordance with Arts. 1–4 of the 1945 Slovak National Assembly Regulation, while 46 economic units with 151 people pursuant to Art. 5. According to the said data, 21 economic units and 30 convicted persons were really transferred pursuant to Arts. 1–4; and 6 economic units and 15 people pursuant to Art.

²⁵ ŠA Košice, Košice branch office, f. OÚOÚ Košice, cart. 3.

²⁶ ŠA Košice, Košice branch office, f. OÚOÚ Košice, Addendum, cart. 2.

²⁷ AMZV ČR, f. GS-A, cart. 169. Štatistický prehľad odsúdených Maďarov presídlených podľa čl. VIII Dohody [*Statistical Overview of the Convicted Hungarians Transferred Pursuant to Article VIII of the Agreement*].

²⁸ NA ČR Prague, f. ÚPV, cart. 1112. Štatistický prehľad odsúdených Maďarov podľa nar. SNR č. 33 [*Statistical Overview of the Hungarians Convicted Pursuant to Regulation 33 of the Slovak National Assembly*].

5 of the Regulation. Not transferred were 20 economic units and 33 convicted persons pursuant to Arts. 1–4; and 40 economic units and 136 people pursuant to Art. 5 of the Regulation. However, statistical data regarding the Hungarians convicted in Košice pursuant to Regulation 33/1945 deposited in the archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Masaryk and the State Secretary Vladimír Clementis, differ from the above-mentioned data.²⁹

The District People’s Tribunal in Košice was established on 18 September 1945. The court performed 30 trials during its operation.³⁰ According to the relevant information, 112 persons were tried in front of the court by the end of 1945, 711 trials took place in 1946 and 754 trials were held in 1947.³¹ The best known was the case known as the “Košice monster trial”. This trial started in July 1946 and, according to Košice press, 715 inhabitants of Košice were charged in the trial with “participation in various minority political parties and associations.”³² The trial also was a subject of harsh arguments between the representatives of Czechoslovakia and Hungary at the Paris Peace Conference. During the meeting of the Political Committee for Hungary at the Paris Peace Conference, held on 20 September 1946, State Secretary Vladimír Clementis delivered his response to the statement of the Hungarian delegation presented during the previous session.³³ The Hungarian representative stated that, as a part of the population ex-

²⁹ AMZV CR, f. GS-A, cart. 169. Štatistický prehľad odsúdených Maďarov presídlených podľa čl. VIII Dohody [*Statistical Overview of the Convicted Hungarians Transferred Pursuant to Article VIII of the Agreement*]. Pursuant to Art. 1 to 4, there were 41 families with 63 persons notified in total; of which 4 families were transferred in the regular ‘D’ and ‘R’ transports in 1947 and 16 families with 25 persons in 1948. One economic unit with 1 person moved beyond the scope of the official transport. 20 families with 33 persons were not relocated. Pursuant to Art. 5, 46 economic units with 151 persons were notified. Of these, 4 economic units were transferred in 1947, while in 1948 there were 6 economic units with 15 people transferred in regular transports and another two economic units with 2 families were transported outside of the official transports, with 40 economic units and 131 people not relocated. Thus, a total of 27 economic units with 45 persons were transferred from Košice pursuant to Arts. 1–5.

Košice data:

Notified;		transferred in 1947 and 48;		not transferred	
Arts. 1–4	Art. 5	Arts. 1–4	Art. 5	Arts. 1–4	Art. 5
41/63	46/151	17/26	12/17	20/33	27/45

³⁰ Radoslav Maška I, “Ľudové súdnictvo na Slovensku po 2. svetovej vojne a proces s nilašmi na Okresnom ľudovom súde v Košiciach” [*People’s Tribunals in Slovakia After the Second World War and the Hungarian Fascists Trial at the District People’s Tribunal in Košice*], *Človek a spoločnosť* [*Man and Society*], 9, 1 (2006), accessed June 18, 2013, <http://www.saske.sk/cas/archiv/1-2006/index.html>.

³¹ ŠA Košice, f. OES v Košiciach [*The District People’s Court in Košice*], c. no. 1.

³² *Demokrat* [*Democrat*], vol. II., no. 168, July 27, 1946 – Košický monster proces začal [*Košice Monster Trial of Has Begun*].

³³ Clementis responded to the speech delivered by Aladár Szegedy-Maszák on September 18, 1946. Prejav V. Clementisa z 20. septembra 1946, vyvrátenie maďarských štatistických údajov [*Speech of V. Clementis of September 20, 1946 – Disproval of the Hungarian Statistical Data*], AMZV ČR, f. GS-A, cart. 87.

change, 23,192 Hungarian war criminals were to be transferred without a right to appeal and that 750 cases were heard and decided upon within the period of 8 days in July by the court in Košice, and “thus, allegedly, some 40–50 people were convicted per hour.” Clementis stated that he had requested the official summary of the cases, according to which “there were 310 persons charged in 163 cases, with 171 people convicted” in July 1946.³⁴

In reality, 441 people of Hungarian, Slovak, Ruthenian, Jewish and Polish ethnicity were tried during the trial that took place in July and August 1946 at the District People’s Tribunal in Košice. Of the accused, 258 people declared Slovak nationality,³⁵ 179 Hungarian, 2 Jewish, 1 Polish and 1 declared Ruthenian ethnic affiliation. They were accused of taking part in the destruction of the Czechoslovak state and participating in anti-Czech and anti-Slovak demonstrations and rallies before 2 November 1938 in their capacity as members of the Hungarian party. On 14 August 1946, the District People’s Court of Košice announced the sentences. Of the 441 charged, 8 were sentenced to two months in prison (they were to be kept in jail for one month and in a labour camp for another month); 15 were sentenced to one month in a labour camp; and 40 were sentenced to 14 days in a labour camp. In addition, all of the convicted were sentenced to the loss of civil rights for a period of 5 years and the confiscation of one quarter of their property. 6 of the accused were sentenced to seven days in a labour camp and to the loss of their civil rights for a period of two years. 134 of the accused were sentenced to public reprimand, while 238 were acquitted – these mainly had become members of the Hungarian party only after the occupation of Košice mostly because they were forced to do so or in order to protect their families.³⁶

Similarly, records of those who moved to Košice as part of the population exchange are questionable, too. The first group of the unilaterally transferred intellectuals and poor arrived to Košice in 1946. On 14 October 1946, “another” group of Slovaks arrived from Nyíregyháza and Debrecen, a total of 118 people.³⁷ The District Directorate of the National Security Service prepared the list of re-emigrants of Hungary who had arrived legally as of 30 November 1946.³⁸ It was a list of 122 people residing in Košice. The time of arrival of these people

³⁴ Prejav V. Clementisa z 20. septembra 1946, vyvrátenie maďarských štatistických údajov [*Speech of V. Clementis of September 20, 1946 – Disproval of the Hungarian Statistical Data*], AMZV ČR Praha, f. GS-A, cart. 163.

³⁵ These were the people who claimed to be Slovak during the 1930 census, however, during the Hungarian occupation of Košice. they mostly claimed to be Hungarian.

³⁶ ŠA Košice, f. District People’s Court in Košice, c. no. 26.

³⁷ Hlas ľudu [*People’s Voice*], vol. II., no. 233, October 17, 1946. Ďalší Slováci z Maďarska v Košiciach [*More Slovaks from Hungary in Košice*].

³⁸ ŠA Košice, Košice branch office, f. OÚ OÚ Košice, cart. 5. Štatistika osôb maďarskej národnosti určených na odsun podľa dohody medzi republikou maďarskou a Československom [*Statistics of Ethnic Hungarians Selected for Transfer in Accordance With the Agreement Between the Hungarian Republic and Czechoslovakia*].

is noteworthy as they came before the period the reciprocal exchange of population was actually taking place,³⁹ and their arrival was related to the decisions of the Mixed Committee in accordance with which it was possible to unilaterally transfer the poor. After the Paris Conference, negotiations came to an end and the deportation of Hungarians to Bohemia began as a part of the “recruitment” of workforce for Bohemian lands and the Hungarian government stopped the unilateral transfers. According to the list of 167 re-emigrants from Hungary, deposited in the Košice archives, it can be deduced that the arrival of re-emigrants continued in an unorganised fashion even longer. The said list, which contains the names of the relevant persons as well as the places and times of their arrival to Slovakia, indicates that more Slovaks were coming from Hungary to Košice at the end of October and at the beginning of November.⁴⁰

Another significant event, the forced transfers of ethnic Hungarians to Bohemia, did not affect Košice.⁴¹

The most significant intervention into the ethnic structure of the population of Košice in the post-war period was the change of ethnic identity organised by the state known as re-Slovakisation.⁴² Originally, the state wanted to create conditions for those inhabitants of Slovakia who in previous periods had been forcedly assimilated to return to Slovak ethnicity. However, the Commission for the Internal Affairs, taking the population exchange into account and in order not to relocate these people to Hungary, issued the Re-Slovakisation Regulation on 17 June 1946.

After the troubles with acceptance of the Re-Slovakisation Committee, re-Slovakisation was controlled by the directive of the Ministry of Interior issued on 1 March 1947, on the execution of pars. 1 and 2 of Art. 1 of the Decree of the President of the Republic issued on 2 August 1945, as well as the resolutions of

³⁹ ŠA Košice, Košice branch office, f. OÚOÚ Košice, cart. 3. Zoznam reemigrantov z Maďarska, došlých legálnym spôsobom [*List of Legally Arrived Re-emigrants from Hungary*].

⁴⁰ ŠA Košice, Košice branch office, f. OÚOÚ Košice, cart. 3. Zoznam reemigrantov došlých transportom z Maďarska [*List of Re-emigrants Arriving With the Transports from Hungary*].

⁴¹ For details, cf: Štefan Š u t a j, *Nútené presídlenie Maďarov zo Slovenska do Čiech. Deportácie obyvateľstva maďarskej národnosti zo Slovenska do Čiech po druhej svetovej vojne* [*Forced Transfer of Hungarians from Slovakia to Bohemia. Hungarians Deported from Slovakia to Bohemia After the Second World War*], Prešov: Univerzum, 2005. Štefan Š u t a j, “Slovakia and Hungarians in Slovakia in the Aftermath of World War II, 1945–1948”, [in:] *Auflösung historischer Konflikte im Donauraum* [*Resolution of Historical Conflicts in the Danube Basin*], Festschrift für Ferenc Glatz zum 70. Geburtstag [*A Publication Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of Ferenc GLATZ*], ed. Arnold Suppan, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2011, pp. 619–633.

⁴² For details, cf: Štefan Š u t a j, *Reslovakizácia. Zmena národnosti časti obyvateľstva Slovenska po II. svetovej vojne* [*Re-Slovakization. Change of Ethnicity of the Population of Slovakia After the Second World War*], Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1991; Štefan Š u t a j and Viera B a č o v á, “Reslovakisation. Changes of Nationality and Ethnic Identity in Historical Development in Slovak – Hungarian Environment”, [in:] *Small Nations and Ethnic Minorities in an Emerging Europe*, München: Slavica Verlag dr. Anton Kovač, 1993, pp. 239–243.

the government issued on 21 June 1946 and 9 August 1946.⁴³ The people selected for population exchange were to be excluded from the re-Slovakisation process.

In accordance with the re-Slovakisation Directive of 2 April 1946, the state did not expect automatic re-Slovakisation of Slovaks living in the territory affected by the Arbitration Award (i.e. having their domicile there), even if they reported being Slovak in 1930. In Košice, 98.7% of the inhabitants who reported being Hungarian in 1930 filed re-Slovakisation applications.⁴⁴ According to the district re-Slovakisation summary reports of 9 January 1949, 5,793 re-Slovakisation applications were filed in Košice concerning 13,573 people. In the applications, the language “of intercourse” was registered as Slovak in 5,313 applications, in 384 cases it was Slovak and Hungarian, and in 96 cases it was Hungarian. Division by the occupation of the heads of the families was as follows: 2,443 workers, 975 small business owners, 2,279 clerks and 96 landlords. None of the applicants registered as peasants. 63 heads of families were of Slovak ethnicity, 89 families were Slovak and Hungarian and 5,641 were Hungarian.⁴⁵

Štefan Šutaj

ZMIANY ETNICZNE W KOSZYCACH PO 1945 R.

Streszczenie

Artykuł podejmuje problem zmian etnicznych w Koszycach po 1945 roku. Były to skomplikowane procesy, które w dużej mierze spowodowane były zmianami granic w XX wieku. Władze państwowe bezpośrednio lub pośrednio wymuszały na ludności swoistą lojalność, a przez to i stymulowały określanie odpowiedniej afiliacji narodowościowej. Na przykładzie Koszyc autor omawia zmiany struktury narodowościowej w Czechosłowacji, jak również wymianę ludności pomiędzy

⁴³ SNA Bratislava, f. Slovenská liga [*Slovak League*], cart. 7. Právny základ reslovakizácie [*Legal Base of Re-Slovakization*].

⁴⁴ SNA Bratislava, f. Generálny tajomník [*Secretary General*], unnumbered, Poznámky k vývinu a stavu obyvateľstva južného Slovenska [*Notes on the Development and Status of Inhabitants of Southern Slovakia*].

⁴⁵ SNA Bratislava, f. Slovenská liga [*Slovak League*], cart. 7. District Summary Reports on the Processed Statistical Data Regarding Re-Slovakization as of January 9, 1949. According to the numerical sheet of the persons applying for re-Slovakization (results reported by district committees), the following data were reported for the city of Košice:

In 1930, the population of Košice was:	70,117 inhabitants
Slovaks in Košice in 1930	42,245 (66.0%)
Czechoslovak citizens – Hungarians:	11,504 inhabitants (16.41%)
Hungarians applying for re-Slovakization in 1930:	10,377 inhabitants (90.19%)
Families applying for re-Slovakization	6,263 families
Number of applicants in the first phase of re-Slovakization:	12,724
Total number of applicants accepted for re-Slovakization until 1948	9,339 inhabitants
(SNA Bratislava, f. Reslovakizačná komisia [<i>Re-Slovakization Committee</i>], cart. 49.)	

Czechosłowacją i Węgrami związane ze zmianami przebiegu granic. Po drugiej wojnie światowej widzimy skutki polityki wtórnej słowakizacji społeczeństwa. Szczególna uwaga poświęcona została latom sześćdziesiątym XX wieku związanym z rozwojem miasta i jego uprzemysłowieniem. W szczególności ważny jest fakt, że tak po zakończeniu wojny, jak i w powojennej Czechosłowacji Koszyce były siedzibą najważniejszych instytucji państwowych.