

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

**Two States, Three Narratives: Cultural Trauma in Slovak-
Hungarian Relations and Political Discourse**

Bachelor Thesis

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Daniel Marcell

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Hungarian Relations and Political Discourse**

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Declaration of Originality

I declare that this bachelor thesis is my own work and has not been published in part or in whole elsewhere. All used literature and other sources are attributed and cited in references.

Bratislava, 15 February 2017

Daniel Marcell

Signed: _____

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Author: Daniel Marcell

University: Bratislava International School of Liberal Arts

Thesis Advisor: Mgr. Dagmar Kusá, PhD.

Head of the Defence Committee: prof. PhDr. František Novosád, CSc.

Defense Committee: Doc. Samuel Abrahám, PhD, Prof. František Novosád, CSc., Mgr. Dagmar Kusá, PhD, prof. Silvia Miháliková

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Abstract

This thesis shows that how the symbol of Trianon today still influences our daily lives through cultural trauma narrative that is a part of our collective memory. This research is going to present three distinct narratives of Trianon that have developed in Slovakia and Hungary – the Slovak narrative, the Hungarian narrative, and the narrative of the Hungarians living in Slovakia.

The purpose of this paper is to observe how these narratives vary in relation to what is taught in schools and what real life experiences experience these communities have.

In the empirical part, there is going to be an analysis and comparison of surveys. This survey going to be about peoples knowledge about the Trianon Treaty, how it influenced their or family member lives, and the Slovak – Hungarian relations and political discourse and policymaking today.

**Dve štáty, Tri Narratívy: Kultúrna Trauma vo Slovensko-Maďarských
Vzťahoch a Politické Diskurzia**

Autor: Daniel Marcell

Univerzita: Bratislavská medzinárodná škola liberálnych štúdií

Vedúci bakalárskej práce: Mgr. Dagmar Kusá, PhD.

Predseda komisie pre obhajobu bakalárskych prác: prof. PhDr. František Novosád, CSc.

Členovia komisie pre obhajobu bakalárskych prác: Doc. Samuel Abrahám, PhD, Prof. František Novosád, CSc., Mgr. Dagmar Kusá, PhD, Prof. Silvia Miháliková

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Abstrakt

Táto práca poukazuje na to, ako symbol Trianonu ešte aj dnes ovplyvňuje naše každodenné životy cez naratív kultúrnej traumy, ktorý je súčasťou nášho kolektívneho povedomia.

Tento výskum odprezentuje tri rozličné naratívy Trianonu, ktoré sa vytvorili na Slovensku a v Maďarsku: Slovenský naratív, Maďarský naratív a naratív Maďarov žijúcich na Slovensku.

Cieľom tejto práce je pozorovať, ako sa tieto rozličné naratívy líšia vo vzťahu k tomu, čo sa učí v školách a k tomu, ako tieto komunity žijú v skutočnosti.

Praktická časť bude pozostávať z analýzy a porovnania dotazníkov. Tieto dotazníky budú skúmať vedomosti ľudí o Trianonskej Dohode, ako táto dohoda ovplyvnila životy ich rodinných príslušníkov, slovensko-maďarské vzťahy, politický diskurz a tvorbu zákonov dnes.

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Chapter One: Historical Background

Introduction

Hypothesis: What is the impact of cultural trauma narratives on current political discourse and interethnic relations in Slovakia and in Hungary?

This thesis is about the Slovak – Hungarian relations. History is very important, because consequences still have an impact on everyday life. We started to study history in primary school. Almost every nation is proud of their history, and therefore it teaches it to its students, but it is important how it is taught. As a Hungarian living in Slovakia, I have always been interested in Hungarian history, about “our” kings, wars, and I was always proud of it. It is interesting, because I always felt it is my history too, although I am a Slovak citizen. Year after year I have always studied about the same stories, but to a greater depth, and felt even prouder of it. Due to my studies, I had a view of Hungarian history in my mind, which seemed unshakable -- and I could not imagine, that version of history which would incorporate both sides could be created, although I know it would be the solution to two country relations.

The Treaty of Trianon, is one of the historical events that are having one of the biggest historical consequences for Hungary that happened after the First World War. The Treaty of Trianon is the closing treaty of the First World War, which was signed on 4th of June 1920 in Versailles. The “Resulting treaty cost Hungary an unprecedented 2/3 of her territory and 1/2 of her total population or 1/3 of her ethnic-Hungarian population” (Federation). The First World War, in which the Central and the Entente Powers fought against each other lasted from 1914 to 1918. The Entente Powers came out as victorious from the War and the Central powers lost. The term ‘Entente’ is derived from contracts signed in 1904 between England and France, the group of Entente included United Kingdom, France, the Russian Empire, Empire of Japan, Italy, the United States, Romania, Serbia, and Brazil. The Central Powers included the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria. The name of the association is due to the geographical position of the countries. The German Empire, the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire dissolved, and new states in Europe and the Middle East

were created, Germany and the Ottoman Empire's colonies came under the control of the Entente powers and the League of Nations was established. The Treaty of Trianon is the closing treaty of the First World War, which were signed in 4th of June 1920 in Versailles.

What was the treaty about?

“By the terms of the treaty, Hungary was shorn of at least two-thirds of its former territory and two-thirds of its inhabitants. Czechoslovakia was given Slovakia, sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, the region of Pressburg (Bratislava), and other minor sites. Austria received western Hungary (most of Burgenland). The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) took Croatia-Slavonia and part of the Banat. Romania received most of Banat and all of Transylvania. Italy received Fiume. Except for plebiscites in two small regions, all the transfers were effected without any plebiscites. The seeds of much resentment, ethnic conflict, and tension were sown through the treaty. Hungarian Officials Opposed what they'll Considered its violation of Hungary's historical character, as well as the displacement of so many ethnic Magyars, Especially without plebiscites, in violation of the Principle of self-determination” (Britannica, 2009).

Due to the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the pieces of Hungary fell apart. Three main historical narratives emerged within this territory. One of them is the Slovak narrative, the Hungarian narrative, and the narrative of the Slovak Hungarians.

The three narratives

Narratives are really important in this topic, because thankfully for we know their stories. I chose to look at this topic through a narrative approach, because I think through the narratives I can get deeper view in the history.

What is a narrative? According to Kusá “Narratives serve to tell the story of us, our mission, destiny, challenges, built against the narratives of surrounding nations and ethnic communities” (Kusá, Narratives of Trauma and Suffering in Slovak-Hungarian Relations, 2016, p. 3).¹ Before the Treaty of Trianon, Czechoslovakia had their own narratives, for example Czech, Slovak, Moravian. Both states had their own citizens, and nationalities. After the dismemberment of Great Hungary, “Hungary lost two thirds of the territory of the country's population has halved - which was perhaps the most important of them - more than three million of ethnic Hungarians got under the

¹ I am citing it with the permission of the author, Ms. Kusá

rule of Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Austria” (Cartledge, 2010, p. 90). Therefore, we can say that after the Trianon Treaty, Hungarian narrative started to belong to the Czechoslovak narrative too.

The Slovak Narrative

Czechoslovakia, later on Slovakia, is one of the luckiest countries compared to Austro-Hungarian Empire, who came out as victorious from the World War 1, because it gets a big territory, 61.578 km² with 3.5 million inhabitants (Lukács, 1940). Czechoslovakia, as a multinational state, was created by the great powers. Treaty of Trianon is not only connected only to Czechoslovakia, but to Romania, Yugoslavia, Austria, Italy and Poland as well. They some territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire too (Halassy, 2012). According to 1919s Saint-Germain-Laye Treaty the rights of minorities were to be respected, but this direction is constantly violated. By the end of December 1920, 105 thousand Hungarians were forced to leave Czechoslovakia, 45 thousand Hungarian citizens did not get the citizenship, and tens of thousands were forced to leave their homes. The breakdown of the Hungarian territories was started by the resettlement of Czech and Slovak residents into the areas populated by mainly Hungarian speaking population. “The 1920 Land Reform by the new state was intended as steps towards modernization of agriculture...The basic principles of the Reform were set and estates were grouped in sizes not exceeding 150 ha for arable and 250 ha for other land...It was prevalently within the framework of the "residual estates" that large estates in the hands of Hungarian nobles were to broken down into smaller compounds and assigned to local owners” (Torsello, 2003, pp. 51-52). That means that around 250 hectares of Hungarian lands were confiscated during the land reform, which was divided between the Czech and Slovak settlers (discussed in the second section).

Unfortunately, many Slovaks do not know about the Trianon, and if they know something, it is very basic knowledge from school (discussed in the third chapter). The burden of the Slovak state was not only a high number of citizens of Hungarian origin, but also a strong hatred that also influenced the Slovak literature.

We can divide the Slovak literature roughly into two parts. The Slovak Cultural Historical Foundation (Matica slovenská), and authors who disagree with The Slovak Cultural Historical Foundation. Since I am a student from Hungarian schools, who

always studied the Hungarian history, about the Conquest, big territory, the kings, etc., I was surprised when I encountered a book that was totally against what I studied in high school. Július Handžárik's book *Hungarian Delirium (Maďarské blúznenie)* talks about "Hungarian lies about the history of the Slovaks: not only Balaton was Slovak! The whole Hungary was inhabited by the Slavs"; "Tales about the 1000 years old Hungary"; "Hungarian kings were not Hungarians! Hungarians are not Hungarians"; and "Hungarians raped and ravaged Slovakia" (Handžárik, 2009). He maintains that the Slovaks lived here long before the Hungarians came into the Carpathian Basin. He says that in 9th century, Slovakia and Bulgaria had common borders. According to Hungarian history at the time, Svätopluk's empire was falling apart, which facilitated the Hungarians ascend. In 902, the entire territory of the Carpathian Basin was placed under their control. The Slovak narrative of the past portrays a different version from the very beginning of the nation, it is a story of a thousand years long suffering and oppression. Some kind of anti-Hungarianism released before the Treaty of Trianon too, because at this time books were published, which were against Hungarians. Such a poet is Janko Král. His poem *Tri Věšky* was born during the 1848-1849's revolution. The first line of the poem: "Where we can find three hills gold cross" (Král) refers to the Hungarian coat of arms where we can found on three hills and a cross in a golden crown on it. According to Roman Holec "If, however, in the twenties, some work has actually touched the Trianon issue, it was not the major literary stream, but rather on the edge" (Holec, 2013, p. 133). Authors at this time do not wrote especially about the Treaty of Trianon, but rather knowingly. Of course readers known that it is about the Trianon, but it was not written there.

Not all of Slovaks and Slovak historians agree with Handžárik, and the nationalist historical narrative around the Slovak Cultural Historical Foundation (*Matica slovenská*). There are critical voices, which indicate that the Slovak historical narrative is not unified. One of the authors who disagree is Miroslav Michela. According to him, after Trianon came a new start: "1918-1920 periods as the imaginary "zero point", in other words "New start", which is also the launch of the process of fundamental re-evaluation of the Slovak-Hungarian / Hungarian --Slovak relations " (Michela, 2016). In his book, he talks about that a rivalry between the Slovak and the Czech narratives because of the Great Moravian tradition. After that,

the national oppression began and the negative image of the Hungarian and Austrian feudal elites was linked together. At this time a new Slovak history interpretation started to develop, where the Great Moravian Empire had the most important role. He tolerated and accepts the history that way how the Hungarians remember it.

There were few events which Hungarian and Slovak Hungarian citizen felt that it is “against Hungarian” interests. One of them was which shocked the Hungarian citizens, when Robert Fico, the Slovak Prime Minister has banned László Sólyom from Slovakia. It happened, when in Révkomárom the St. Stephen statue was unveiled. The head of state condemned the acts of the Slovak authorities. Sólyom László said: “This in the relationship between two allied states inexplicable, particularly to justify the ban, namely that my presence is a security risk” (László, 2009). According to Slovak Prime Minister, the main reason why the banned out of Slovakia is that they could not provide security for him. In the area around the statue of St. Stephen’s around two thousand people gathered. According to Index correspondent “two dozen outraged Slovaks appeared at the event, with inscriptions such as Hungary in 1918 eliminated, and it was enough of occupation and intervention” (Index, 2009). The second biggest problem was the Cyril and Methodius Statue in Komárno in 2010. Hungarians and Slovak Hungarians regarded it as a provocation from the side of The Slovak Cultural Historical Foundation. According to SMK: “The statue placement is the way typical of how it is interpreted by the outgoing government's exercise of power while circumventing the applicable laws around the placement of the statue of secrecy and power arrogance cannot be achieved nothing positive, such a process can only be interpreted incorrectly as a provocation” (Dunajsky, 2010). Robert Fico marked that the statue at Kossuth Square in symbolic because it is a junction of roads in Bratislava, Budapest and Nové Zámky. There were few problems with the statue for example at the handover there were Hungarian inscriptions on the memorial but then it disappeared and many times it get vandalized. But today everyone learned to live with it.

The Hungarian Narrative

The Hungarian narrative talks about suffering the most, as they had the biggest loss, loss of territories and loss of citizens. But what hurts them the most is that their former residents became part of other states. These things together led to a cultural trauma: “Cultural trauma is first of all an empirical, scientific concept, suggesting new

meaningful and causal relationship between previously unrelated events, structures, perceptions and actions” (Alexander, Eyerman, Giesen, Smelser, & Sztompka, 2004). By that they means that cultural trauma is a trauma for a group of people who share a common narrative about that trauma. Cultural trauma is not solely for one person. A cultural trauma is not created by a sudden event, but it is a process of a formation of a narrative following the traumatizing event. Cultural trauma is thus a constantly changing narrative created later than the actual event took place. Many Hungarian people talk about the 4th of June as the “Black Day of Hungary”, because due to the Trianon Treaty, “Hungary lost two-thirds of the territory of the country's population was halved, was stripped of rail network, roads - and two thirds of a channel network, 80% of forest and mines, and, which was perhaps the most important of them - more than three million of ethnic Hungarians got under the rule of Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Austria” (Cartledge, 2010, p. 90). As one of my Hungarian respondent said how Treaty of Trianon influenced their parents or grandparents life: „Székely Land² was taken away so my grandparents had to move if they wanted to live in Hungary”. The persistence of the perception of Trianon as “the Black Day of Hungary” is visible for example on the change of the Hungarian Preamble of the Constitution in 2010. Trianon is referred to as the biggest cultural trauma which all citizens have to remember with a heavy heart. Because of the treaty there were formed the cultural memory, which means that “Cultural memory preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity” (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995, p. 130). It means that cultural memory is not memory of one person, but memory of all citizens in one state. “We promise to preserve the intellectual and spiritual unity of our nation torn apart in the storms of the last century. The nationalities living with us form part of the Hungarian political community and are constituent parts of the state” (constituteproject.org). According to Miroslav Michela, “The topic is still current, not only is present in academic debates among historians but - quite unfortunately - in politics, and even inter-state relations” (Michela & Zahorán, 2010, p. 5). Politicians like to talk about Trianon, because it suggests that we can trust them, they propose that because of them, it cannot happen again. Nowadays of course not every citizen feels that way (see Chapter 3, where questionnaire results are discussed). Since few generations grew up, they do not feel

²Székely Land is field area in Transylvania

much about it. Most of them know about the Trianon only from schools, where teachers teach them only the basics, thus they do not have such a deep feelings about Trianon, as their parents, grandparents had. But since it is a cultural trauma for today's generation too never going to forget it, it is in their mind, but they do not care about it. There always going be a second part of Hungarians, who are really proud of their history, and they going to pass these feelings to their offsprings.

This thesis holds that three groups developed in Slovakia and among the Hungarians. One of them who do not care about the history, they have no problems with Slovaks, the second group who cares about history, do not really like Slovaks, but they know how to live next to each other. The third one are the Hungarians with deep feelings of their history, who still perceive Trianon as a cultural trauma and they hold Slovaks responsible for the annexation of their areas.

According to Hungarian historian, Ignác Romsics, the positions of Slovaks and Hungarians are overlapping with each other and they are interested in Hungarian opinions about the Treaty of Trianon, because in his speech he pointed out that other ways his books would not be translated in Slovak, too. Really interesting is his belief that if Great Hungary would exist for a few years longer, the Slovak nation would disappear. In his view the West is still interested in the subject of Treaty of Trianon, and they know that it was an unjust decision, but they say is has happened such a long time ago therefore it is not worth talking about it (Romsics, 2016).

Czechoslovakia got Felvidék which is due to the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, when pieces of Hungary fell apart. Felvidék now is in Southern Slovakia. Felvidék is still a majority Hungarian-inhabited area. This is the main reason why these two states had bad relations, and why people from these two states dislike each other for years.

The Narrative of the Hungarians Living in Slovakia

The biggest losers of the Trianon Treaty are obviously the citizens who got stuck "between the borders". "This narrative advocated the need for minorities to make efforts to influence the course of their history" (Romsics & Király, 2011). At this time, nobody asked them where they wanted to live; they just automatically put them in Slovakia. The biggest problem with the new Slovak citizens was that they did not speak the language, and for the new residents, a big problem was that they were here.

After years Hungarian minority in Slovakia had no rights, therefore, the prime minister did everything that the Hungarian minority in Slovakia get mixed up with Slovak citizens, for that he introduced reforms (discussed in section two).

Like many who live in this area as Hungarians living in Slovakia, I always had a feeling that we are exposed to a cross-fire – between the mill stones of Hungary and Slovakia. Fortunately, year after year, this relation is better which is proven in section three with Graph 12, where 32% of Slovaks said that the relationship between Slovakia and Hungary it is not problematic, and 11% of Hungarian living in Slovakia said that it is not problematic. Graph 13 shows us that 58% of Slovak respondent and 62% of Hungarians living in Slovakia said that the relationship between Slovaks and Hungarians is not problematic in community where they live. I would like to quote respondent's word, what they think about the Slovak-Hungarian relationship: "In everyday life among the population there are no problems, I rather think that problem is caused by politicians".

I remember, when acquaintances, friends told me stories, when they lived or studied in Bratislava, or in other Slovak-inhabited areas, they could not speak Hungarian, because they were always afraid to speak in Slovak, because after their first sentence everyone knew they were not Slovak. Fortunately it has changed. I am a Hungarian Slovak student, and I often talk Hungarian in Bratislava, I never had any accidents. The good relationship from the Slovak side depends on few things, for example the location. As Jozsef Demmel says: "Slovaks living in South Slovakia nowadays have much more positive views of Hungarians than Slovaks living in the North, because Slovaks living in the South are closer to and create personal relationships between each other. Slovaks in the North have no connections with Hungarians, and they know very little about them" (Demmel, et al., 2013, p. 26). One of the respondents said the same on the question, what he/she thinks about the Slovak-Hungarian relations: "Especially in the northern region". By that he/she mean that people in north Slovakia do not have as much touch with Hungarians as Slovaks in South, because of they do not have positive views on Hungarians.

Felvidék is an area with high concentration of ethnic Hungarians, whose residents fought for decades for their own minority rights within Czechoslovakia and later within the Slovak Republic. As already mentioned, this area is, figuratively speaking,

exposed to cross-fire from both Hungary and Slovakia. This area is different from the rest of Slovakia and from Hungary too, they have their own sense of identity. It is interesting, because it seems that we have our language, mix of the Slovak and Hungarian. The biggest ethnic minority in Slovakia is the Hungarian minority group. Their number in Slovakia in the year 2011 was 458 467, which means 8.5% of Slovak citizens. Unfortunately, the number of Hungarians is decreasing, in the year 2001 were 9.7%, and in the year 1991, 10.08% (Bielik, 2014). The reason why this number is decreasing is because of Slovak – Hungarian intermarriage, and moving abroad.

Because of Hungarian minority is the largest minority in Slovakia, some political leaders had problematic relations with them, because they wanted more rights, more freedom of speech, which they get years after years, but at first it was very hard, because of the dislike towards the minority. It was manifested during first Slovak State, and then during the Beneš period mainly, in points, that they had done everything to deprive the Hungarian minority in Slovakia from their rights (discuss in section two).

After the Second World War, Hungarian minority was a big problem in Slovakia, and still it is. On August 2, 1945, the Czechoslovak President Edvard Beneš issued decrees affecting Hungarians and Germans living in Czechoslovakia. In these decrees, he deprived the non-Slavic population living in Czechoslovakia of their nationality. The Beneš decrees have stripped the Hungarians and Germans of property, and agricultural property. As one of my respondent said: “Expulsion of Germans from the Sudetenland. Expropriation of German and Hungarian properties. Population transfers of ethnic Hungarians to Czech lands. Population exchange between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Beneš Decrees declared collective guilt of all Germans and Hungarians for the terrors of the Second World War and the destruction of the First Czechoslovak state”. The Czechoslovak authorities dismissed the Hungarian public officials, expelled Hungarian students from universities and eliminated the Hungarian educational institutions (Kálmán, 1994). The Beneš Decrees violated in several respects fundamental human rights, as it discriminated on grounds of nationality, have introduced forced labour, arbitrary arrest and loss of large number of properties. According to second respondent: "After the second World War II in Czechoslovakia national minorities - Hungarians and Germans were declared collectively as war criminals. Reslovakization of Hungarians living in Slovakia. As a consequence, a

replacement of the population in Hungary and Slovakia took place, which in practice meant that a property which was left was given to the other State of a similar amount. But the difference was that Hungarians living in Slovakia were not asked whether they want to leave their home but the Slovaks living in Hungary could decide for themselves".

Conclusion

I chose to look at this topic through a narrative approach, because I think through the narratives I could get deeper view in the history. Narratives are forming and defining ethnic identity according to how we interpret different historical events. There is only one history, but every ethnic community created its own narrative of the past events. Trianon was a tragedy, a disaster for Hungary, because of it has bad meaning for them. As it was perceived as a cultural trauma, almost every person processes it differently, for someone it hurts even to this day, for someone it has only a bad meaning, and some do not care about it. It is emotionally charged, and thus impacts nowadays relations. Trianon is still alive, politicians talk about it because they want to get support of citizens.

Chapter Two: Minority Rights for Better Life

Minority rights

This section discusses the minority laws which are connected with the Hungarians living in Slovakia, and show how Trianon appears in the discussions around these laws and how it influences them. Of course, there were not laws which were openly against minorities, but if we are reading between the lines, there seems to be some discrimination. Minority rights according to Miroslav Kusý are: "The rights of national and ethnic minorities tend to have the tendency to align to the rights of nations, thus wants to be accepted by the society as certain collective rights. These collective rights are not something that the members of national and ethnic minorities receive in addition to their ordinary civil rights which have all others: they are rights that the others have in the form of specific rights "ruling" or - which is the same - "state-building" nation." (Kusý, 2016, p. 46)

According to 1921s census in Czechoslovakia lived 637,183 Hungarians (Gabzdilová, 2011, p. 36). During the interwar period, Hungarians in Slovakia lived a full life, they had everything what they needed, and had political parties. They formed the most significant opposition policy of pursuing the National Christian Socialist Party. There was also the Hungarian National Party, which was merged in 1936 under the name of United Hungarian Party. Slovak Hungarians also formed significant cultural organizations, published a number of daily, weekly and monthly journals and independent sports associations. In 1938 – 1939 the Czechoslovak Republic fell apart because of the internal problems and as a result of the aggression of Nazi Germany. After 29 September 1938 and the Munich Agreement, Germany overtook the regions inhabited by Germans in the Czech Republic and the Hungarian government also began to encourage ethnic-based policies. Then a number of southern Slovaks were organizing demonstrations, where they demanded the annexation of the Hungarian-inhabited areas to Hungary. Hungarian representatives established the Hungarian National Council, with the aim to peacefully annex Felvidék, to Hungary. (Simon). "The First Vienna Award Took place on 2 November 1938, where Czechoslovakia returned 11.927 square kilometers large territory inhabited predominantly by Hungarians to Hungary" (Kocsis, 2013).

After the Second World War, Hungary also came out from the war as loser. The First Vienna Arbitration was not accepted and the reinstatement of the 1937s Czechoslovakia's borders took place. Consequently once again, Hungarians in Slovakia were forced to minority status. (Frank, 2006, p. 254)

Importance of minority rights

According to the United Nations, they view “minorities as based on national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity, and provides that States should protect their existence” (the United Nations Organization, 2010, p. 2). According to this definition, minority is a small group of people, who usually live close to each other, making a community. Many of these groups exist around the world; one of them is the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. Because of that they are not anymore in their homeland, laws which had in their homeland do not apply to them, therefore they are strangers in a new country, they need laws, which protect them. For protecting the minorities, political parties appeared which are supporting the ethnic minorities. In Slovakia, there are two different political parties which are supporting the Hungarian minority: the Hungary Community Party (MKP or SMK), and the newly formed Hungarian Christian Democratic Alliance (MKDSZ or MKDA). In Slovakia were formed a political party, called MOST-HID, which is not an ethnic political party, but, their target is to serve the Slovak-Hungarian reconciliation. Their main aims are to support minorities in Parliament, creating laws which are favourable for the Hungarians in Slovakia.

A number of international documents are dealing with human rights and protection of minorities. The United Nations, the Council of Europe, the OSCE, and the European Union are also dealing with the protection of minorities, directly or indirectly.

“Today, there is no doubt that national minorities are rightly subject to national and international protection. Francis Braxator (Protection of minorities in Europe, La Herradura, Spain) defines the following content of protection: Language rights: minority education for all grades, including higher education, all educational and training facilities in their mother tongue. Writing first and last name as it is in their mother tongue. Designation of places, streets and public buildings in the region in the minority language. Culture: own independent development of minority cultures and cultural traditions, right to publications, periodicals, right to broadcast on radio and television. Public activity: access to all public authorities, the opportunity to

create political parties as well as practice civil rights, demography rights, economic rights and take part in government” (Kusý, 2016, pp. 268-269).

Various autonomous and self governing entities ensure better conditions for the minority to survive. The minority self-government is established in international documents on national minorities as well. The minority self-government can be personal self-government community-based, regional-based or a region of self-governance “self-government or devolved power, and whether the arrangements are symmetrical or asymmetrical, would increase the chances of minorities to participate in the exercise of authority over matters affecting themselves and the entire society in which they live” (Rights, 2014). They provide an opportunity to develop the structures of minority communities in accordance with their needs and create the conditions that ensure their long-term not only existence but also integral development (Őry, 2014). The minority self-government institutional system of security makes minority communities life liveable, the minority existence is granted by effective advocacy tools through providing the gain of the possibility of development and the ongoing renewal.

There may arise a question: How do these rights or lack of them influence or relate to the narratives? According to definition of narratives, they are “... built against the narratives of surrounding nations and ethnic communities” (Kusá, *Narratives of Trauma and Suffering in Slovak-Hungarian Relations*, 2016). That means that the narratives are based on the otherness, in this case, of an ethnic group. Narratives are used to reinforce patriotism and nationalism in ethnic communities, thus to strengthen their allegedly different identities. “Ethnicity refers to shared cultural practices, perspectives, and distinctions that set apart one group of people from another. That is, ethnicity is a shared cultural heritage. The most common characteristics distinguishing various ethnic groups are ancestry, a sense of history, language, religion, and forms of dress. Ethnic differences are not inherited; they are learned” (Zgourides, 2000). Zgourides also claims that the existence of ethnic communities cannot be traced back to bloodlines, but it is a constructed phenomenon. The reinforcement of ethnic identities are happening through the construction of identities through history, religion and forms of dress – thus by schools, media and the church.

Interesting thing is, during the Austrian-Hungarian Empire the Slovaks formed minority group on territory of Austrian-Hungarian Empire, this nowadays changed,

because these days Hungarians forms minorities in Slovakia. The two main states were Austria and Hungary, but there lived more nationalities, for example Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, which all were minorities. Now Hungarian minority is minority in Slovakia.

1968: Language law

“Language is the most significant component of human identity. Man becomes a human being through language, verbal communication with other people. Man thinks in his own language. Substantial part of its human rights a person to use or implemented through language” (Kusý, 2016, p. 320). The Language law is one of the most important laws for national minorities, because using the mother language makes everyday’s life easier. The story of my grandmother may serve as an illustration. She was born in 1942, when, according to her experiences, studying did not have as important role as it nowadays has, because at this time, not everyone wanted to go to the university, and not everyone had enough money for it. Because of that, she did not want to continue her studies, and did not invest too much energy in it, the same way as the rest of her classmates. At this period, knowing Slovak language was not that important for a Hungarian child, and in school, the main focus was on the Russian language. For that reason she had to study Russian language more than Slovak, and nowadays, she knows almost nothing in Slovak. She always uses the word “nerozumiem”- I do not understand. I am sure that my grandma is not the only one who has the same problem, and therefore it is important to use mother language, because without it she worth nothing. It happens many times, that she must get something done, and she is happy that she can use her language. The second reason why it is important is that everything is easier in mother tongue, study, healthcare, when we need to use special words, which are sometimes difficult even in mother language, so it is even more difficult in a foreign language. According to the Hungarian professor, Szépe György “The first language that the individual acquires, is the mother language, with reference to the central role of the mother in the child's primary socialization - in the sense that it is the most widely accepted method of language learning” (Szépe & Nagy, 2005, p. 86).

“The 1920 Czechoslovak Constitution stipulates that it is mandatory to allow free use of mother language in private, business affairs or before the court because it facilitates the daily lives of minorities” (Dr. Gerencsér, 2005, pp. 94-95). The education in their mother tongue was based on percent system, where the limit was over 20% in Hungarian and German inhabited areas. Over 20% people could study in their mother language. After the Second World War, Slovak constitution stated that the minorities living in the country can use their mother tongue in education and public life if the Slovak minorities in the mother state have the same right to use the Slovak language too. After the Second World War, minorities were deprived of their nationality and language rights, the use of German and Hungarian language was forbidden. The 1968 Constitution of Czechoslovakia provided the minorities living in Czechoslovakia with the development of the native culture and education, cultural development, and creation of their own cultural organizations. After the change of the regime in 1989, in Slovakia no minority language has received official status; the use of minority languages was regulated legally (Vass, 2013, p. 74). According to the 1990 law on the state language, that the Slovak is the only official language of the state. Nevertheless it allows the minorities that they can use their language in administrative issues as well if the percentage of the minority exceeds 20% of the overall population in the given town. Later on, in 1993, Slovak National Party and the Matica Slovenská called for the adoption of law on the use of minority languages in order to "defend" the Slovak language. In order to continue with the negotiations on the admission to the European Union, the government had to accept the rights of the minority language usage. This is a law on the use of minority languages made in 1999, which allowed for public use of the minority language where the minority is more than of 20% of the total population (Kusý, 2016, p. 534).

“Slovak Constitution enshrined Slovak language as our official language. The Slovak language had already a strong position in the Constitution as a state language. This was already considered to be exaggerated with the conditions back then, so the Constitution adopted a conditional approval of a law on state language with the compensating law on the language usage of national minorities... it was not and up to this day it is not a balanced additional and limiting law about the usage of the languages of national minorities.” (Kusý, 2016, pp. 300-301). The law of using the minority language would be good for minorities, because thanks for this law

minorities could use their language more freely. According to Kusý, complaints of using the minority languages were not only from the Hungarian side, but many Slovaks did not like them either (Kusý, 2016, pp. 301-302). The State can provide the use of relevant languages of ethnic minorities on their territory, as so many countries did for example Canada, where the official state language is English, but there lives French ethnic minority, so the state provided the use of French as official minority language.

The State Language Act was adopted in 1995. “State Language Act which came into force from 1996 means a further crackdown on minorities by using the principles of the nation-state of the Slovaks. It significantly limits the possibilities for the use of minority languages in official communication and to extend mandatory use of the state language” (Kusý, 2016, p. 544). This law is about the names of municipalities in national minority languages and use of minority languages in public use. The names of municipalities and their parts and names of streets and other public spaces shall be in the state language. According to the law on the state language, in all Hungarian schools, the whole proceedings had to be conducted in Slovak language. In Hungarian schools there were created a new alternative teaching, according to it, in Hungarian schools some subjects must be taught in Slovak language (Zákon č. 270/1995 Z. z. o štátnom jazyku). „Law on the use of minority languages was finally adopted in the year 1999” (Kusý, 2016, p. 555). According to the modified language law in 2011, in settlements where the amount of minorities is higher than 15%, the minority can use its native language there. Before the reform, this percentage was 20% (Zákon č. 184/1999 Z. z.).

1993: Autonomy

“In international instruments, there is no explicitly fixed right to autonomy for national minorities, but autonomy is a legitimate form of constitutional arrangement in many European countries. Not inconsistent with the Constitution and its possibility is even enshrined in the Slovakia-Hungarian treaty” (Kusý, 2016, p. 225). The representatives of ethnic Hungarians were dealing with autonomy between the years of 1920-1938. There were more ideas on the Slovak side, since they were also keen to achieve a kind of autonomy within the Czechoslovak state. The political representation of the Hungarians of Czechoslovakia supported these ideas of the Slovaks in the hope that a Slovakia with a wide range of autonomous rights would be

more understanding towards the Hungarian demands as well. “Members of the Hungarian Coalition for Coexistence-MKDH 9 October 1993 identified four key requirements of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia: (1) cultural and educational autonomy, (2) a new law on names and surnames, (3) the enactment of bilingual names of municipalities and Hungarian as an official language the mixed areas, and (4) decentralization of powers to local authorities at national and regional levels” (Kusý, 2016, p. 63), however, they failed to receive them, as evidenced declaration by László Solymos: MOST-HID: “The aim is educational and cultural self-government, not autonomy” (Solymos, 2015).

“Regional autonomy is a taboo subject for any Slovak politician, for fear that such a solution would be the first step to attach southern Slovakia to Hungary” (Csáky, 1996). This means that Slovak politicians were afraid of the demand of the restoration the Trianon borders. Which would be big loss for Slovakia, loss of large territory and high number of citizen. It seems impossible now, because of the mix of nationalities. Kusý is agreeing with Csáky: “It is talking about territorial or political autonomy on ethnic grounds, and Slovak politicians mostly considered this as the last step towards secession” (Kusý, 2016, p. 579).

Creation of cultural autonomy could be the first step, which means there would be municipal financing and self-control in Slovakia in Hungarian cultural and social institutions. “The common interest of Slovaks and Hungarians living in Slovakia in general and especially in southern Slovakia, is territorial civil government, well run for the benefit of both of these ethnic groups in conformity with the European principle of subsidiary. Efforts ethnic territorial self-government (autonomy) for Hungarians” (Kusý, 2016, p. 580). The minority press and publishing support belong in this sphere , part of this system is the national radio and TV editorial, Hungarian theatres in Komárno and in Kosice. Directors would be the regional and local self-government bodies. They would oversee the Hungarian-language kindergartens, primary and secondary schools and colleges. This system would ensure edition of the textbook as well as the collaboration of methodological work. “The system would be connected through a flexible structural solution to the ministry of education. The distribution of competences would be regulated through laws. In this case we would not be in the situation that it is not possible to gain the majority of votes at the

regional elections” (Csáky, 1996). This is a concrete proposal of autonomy in South Slovakia, from Csáky Pál.

Szilárd Somogyi, the SAS former representative said: “I want it to be a region where people from all over Slovakia would be glad to move in. A kind of a paradise in earth” (Felvidék.ma, 2014).

1996: Law on Territorial Administrative Reform

Because of the Treaty of Trianon, Slovakia received a largely Hungarian-inhabited area. “Amendments on the administrative system of the country in recent times in virtually all cases, adversely affected the Slovakian Hungarians” (Őry, 2014, p. 13). Before the Law on Territorial Administrative Reform there were regions in Slovakia, which has been changed in 1996, when the parliament abolished the regions and developed the districts. Slovak politics rather sought to separate the Hungarian-inhabited areas as much as possible. Because of the establishment of new districts, numerous villages were taken away from the previous regions. It served the purpose of the introduction of multiethnic districts and that these districts would diversify ethnically.

“The Law on Territorial Administrative Reform provoked a stir among the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, which came into force on 22th March 1996” (Katona, 2011). Shortly before the release of the law, Vladimír Mečiar “who against our Hungarians acted according to the motto: “The winner takes it all!”” (Kusý, 2016, p. 548), signed the 2 laws, the Treaty on Slovak-Hungarian cooperation and the Territorial-Administrative Law, which stated that Mečiar will refrain from policies or practices aimed at the assimilation of persons belonging to minorities against their will. Slovakia also pledged to refrain from measures that would alter the proportion of the population in regions inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities, or restrict the rights and freedoms of these persons (Katona, 2011, p. 130). According to this law, districts in the south of Slovakia, oriented from west to east, were redrawn to north to south orientation. That way they divide up the Hungarian-inhabited areas, they thought that because of this splitting Hungarian parliamentary candidates could not get as many votes as they need to get into the parliament. By doing this, “Mečiar also violated several laws, for example: It is forbidden to intentionally change the

demographic composition of a region inhabited by a national minority to the expenses of this minority” (Katona, 2011). With redrawing of administrative regions the country changes the ethnic composition. That would be good for Slovak political parties because in that way they could get easier into the Parliament, but it would not be good for the Hungarian Slovak minority. The main reason of the law was to hinder the self-organization of the Hungarians-inhabited areas. This measure looks like as Mečiar policy was anti-Hungarian: “Mečiar policy was, inter alia, anti-minority, and within this framework, in addition, strongly anti-Hungarian oriented. Authoritarian regime needs an "enemy" and after the split of Czechoslovakia (until then it was the Czechs) Mečiarovci and Slotovci (Slovak National Party) have worked hard to build the myth of "Hungarian threat" allegedly based on domestic and foreign Hungarians” (Kusý, 2016, p. 549). The main reason why the district were created in such a way is the consequence of Treaty of Trianon, that on South Slovakia live high number of Hungarian minorities on unified area, and somehow they want to break this area.

2002: Status Law

Hungarian Parliament adopted the Act on Hungarians Living in Neighboring Countries (the Status Law). Within the law was considered a good neighborly relationship between Slovakia and Hungary (Harris, 2007, p. 52). The Status Law came into effect on 1 January 2002. This program was very successful and popular; unfortunately I do not have data many people have taken advantage of it, but “estimations expected approximately 7-800 thousand of ethnic Hungarians will take advantage in it” (Kántor, 2002, p. 80). After the entry of the Status law, applicant’s gets an ID card, which looks like a passport, with personal data. Because of the ID we can feel that we partly belong to Hungary. The main point of it was to provide benefits and assistance to the persons who declare themselves Hungarian, even those who may have other nationalities. “Purpose is to admit some symbolic value of the Status Law (subsidies for cultural and educational venues in Hungary for students and pensioners) the truth is that membership in the European Union makes the law and its benefits, particularly in the area of employment de facto redundant” (Harris, 2007). The benefits and assistance of the Status law is recommendation of the Hungarian minorities living abroad. Photo identification constitutes as an official document. This ID helped in access to employment, education, culture, travel, academic activities, as well as in the field of social and health care benefits may be available. Public

educational institutions of the neighboring countries, Hungarian students or students of any higher education institution personal relationship with and within the scope of the status enjoyed by citizens entitled to Hungarian student ID (A Népszabadság one-line, 2001).

“The Status law is since Trianon the first huge Hungarian national movement, that symbolically, but also genuinely includes the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin” (Dobos). Its core aim was that the separately living Hungarian nation would again constitute a national unity. The Status Law was highly contested and led to a negative low in Slovak – Hungarian relations. This conflict was an open conflict. From the Slovak side, there were few arguments against the Status Law. “Hungarian law wants to enter into force on the territory of the Slovak State (as well), so they want to enforce it on the Slovak state citizens. Dzurinda, Slovakian Prime Minister referred to the law as extraterritorial because it has effects on people across the state border, thus the status quo and the Slovak state territory is violated. A second Slovak argument against the status law was that the Slovak citizens are being discriminated against the others. The discrimination happens because of ethnic reasons, since for some people it provides more financial opportunities than the others” (Hamberger, 2004, p. 39). According to my view Dzurinda's reaction on it is pointless, because Hungarian state cannot make status law for all Slovak citizens. The main point of it is to make Hungarian minorities connect together, and that way they can feel themselves as a part of Hungary. The greatest fear of the Slovak politicians is linked to the Treaty of Trianon, because they are afraid that the Hungarian politician's next step will be to step to restore the borders before the Treaty of Trianon.

2010: Dual citizenship

Dual citizenship has been in force since August 20, 2010 in Hungary. This law allows for the naturalization of Hungarians living abroad. But Slovak Prime Minister, Robert Fico objected, and, as a result, the Slovak citizenship law was amended in a way that strips people of their Slovak citizenship who acquire new nationality. According to the law: “Slovak nationality can be lost: the acquisition of a foreign citizenship on the basis of explicit consent” (Zákon č. 40/1993 Z. z., 2015). This means that “if a citizen of the Slovak Republic makes voluntary steps to acquire the citizenship of another country, then the acquisition of citizenship of a foreign country loses their Slovak citizenship. This was a reaction from the Slovak side to Hungarians” (Berta, 2015). In

the third section the graph 19 shows us, that most of Slovak respondents, 39% and most of Hungarian living in Slovakia respondents, 49% think that changing the law on dual citizenship is against the rights of minorities.

In principle, there are not many advantages, because Slovakia and Hungary are members of the European Union, and in addition both countries are in the Schengen area. Disadvantage is that the amended Slovak citizenship law requires that anyone who takes up of his own volition citizenship of another country loses the Slovak citizenship. The Slovak National Party agrees with the changing of the law. Hungary community party made steps to amend the law, but they were rejected. Then Most-Híd political party made a step to amend the law, they were successful. The new law: "allows former Slovak citizens who lost their citizenship after January 1, 1993, to grant exemptions to their Slovak citizenship," added: "Since the law also allows for applicants aliens stay in the Slovak Republic" (Sita, 2015). This means that those who acquired foreign citizenship after 2010 on the basis of residence. According to the vice-president of the Slovak National Party, Jaroslav Paska, "The law cannot be overruled by regulation. The Slovak citizenship is to be granted in cases where the applicant has valid residence permit in Slovakia and has also greatly contributed in the country's economic, scientific, cultural and sporting performance, thereby prominent supporter of the Slovak Republic" (Berta, 2015).

And losing the Slovak citizenship has disadvantages; because a person can live in Slovakia, but cannot vote, and if they cannot vote, it would reduce the chance of access to Hungarian parties gets in parliament even if very low Slovak citizen lost their citizenship of acquiring Hungarian. In addition, if a lot of people would lose their Slovak citizenship could reduce the possibility of using minority rights. A minimum of 20% of the Hungarian population in villages can make administrations in Hungarian language. If many people would lose the Slovak citizenship in case this ratio would fall below the critical ratio in several settlements.

Chapter three: Questionnaire

Third part of this bachelor thesis is the questionnaire, because it is the easier way to get in contact with enough people, and to get enough answers to make a survey. Questionnaire is important in this thesis, because it was needed to know what people think about the history and about the rights from three narratives, and I wanted to prove my hypothesis with people's view, that is Treaty of Trianon influence today's life according to their view.

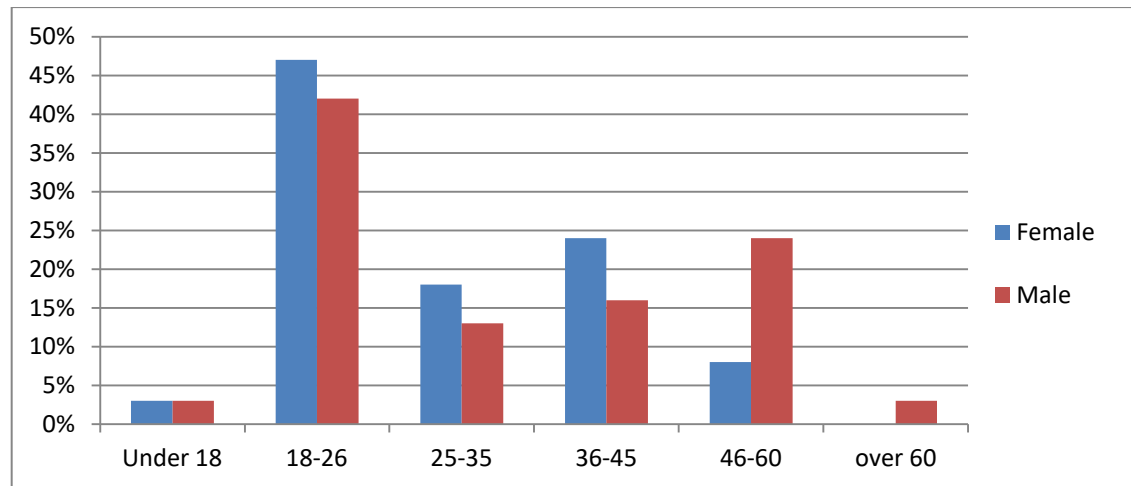
In the first part of the questionnaire we can get the answers to questions like what the respondents think about the history, their knowledge about the history. It shows us and reflects on the events, happened in their life or the life of their parents, grandparents. And in the second part there are questions which are connected with rights and laws, and again what they think about them, whether these laws or decisions were good or bad.

Since the questionnaire is anonymous, I cannot know who the respondents were, but I tried to choose people from different age categories, because this is important, how their opinion change through the life. Since this thesis is concerning two countries, but three narratives, I made two surveys. The first one was for Slovakia, where there are two narratives, the Slovak narrative, and the Hungarian narrative, and the second for Hungarians. In Hungary I tried to select from two kinds of people, one of them who were born in Hungary, and they can only rely on their knowledge rather than personal experience. The second kinds of people were who moved from Slovakia to Hungary, which was not easy to get in touch with such a people, and collect their votes. It was not easy to find Slovaks living in Hungary, but fortunately I have some familiars, who live in Hungary, and they know people, who also moved to Hungary from Slovakia who field in this questionnaire. They have been wrote Slovak for their nationality so I know that some of them filled the questionnaire.

At the end there is going to be a conclusion, where through comparisons I am going to conclude some consequences.

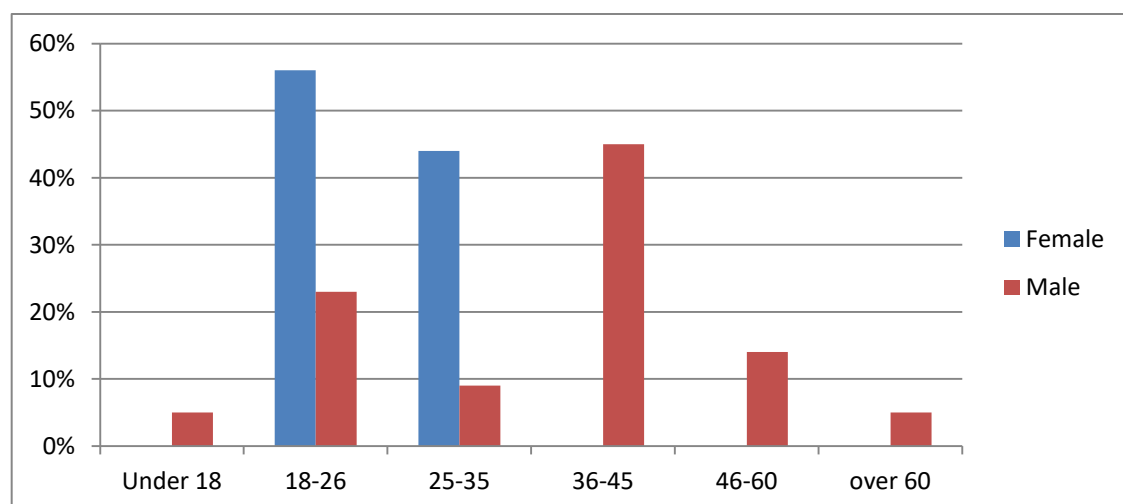
Processing results of questionnaire – Slovaks and Hungarians living in Slovakia

Graph 1: Male female proportion age



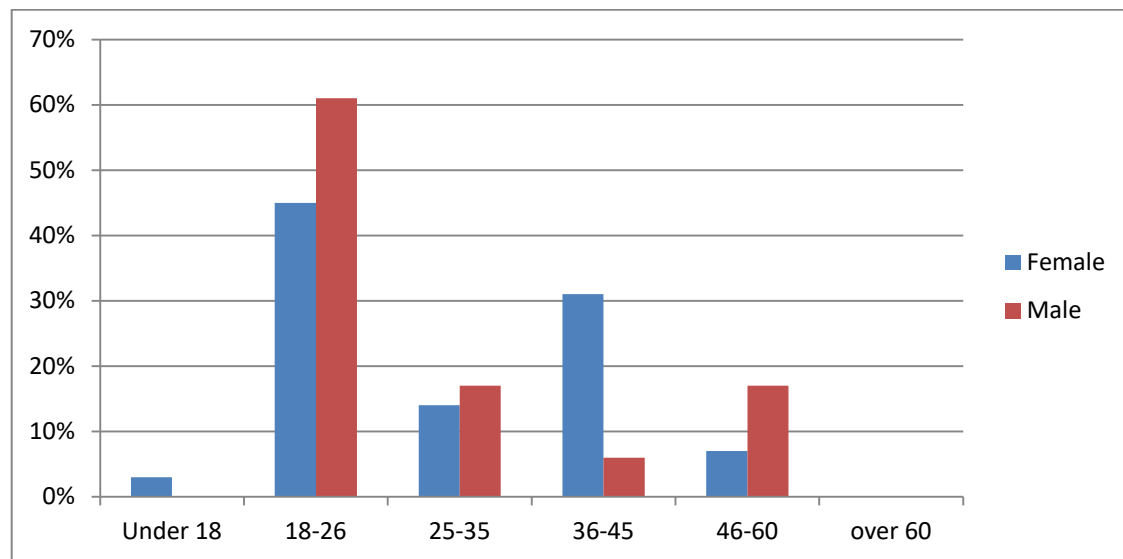
The first graph shows us the proportion of the age of the respondents. The blue column shows the number of female respondents, while the numbers of males are marked by the red column. The graph shows us, that male respondents gave the most of the answers, 42 percent from age range 18 - 26 years, and the least answers were given by respondents under 18 years which is 3 percent and over 60 years old, which is 3 percent. The most of female respondents were from age range 18 – 26 years, 47 percent and the fewest from age range under 18 years, 3 percent. Unfortunately, no female over 60 years was represented.

Graph 2: male – female age proportion in Slovak Narrative



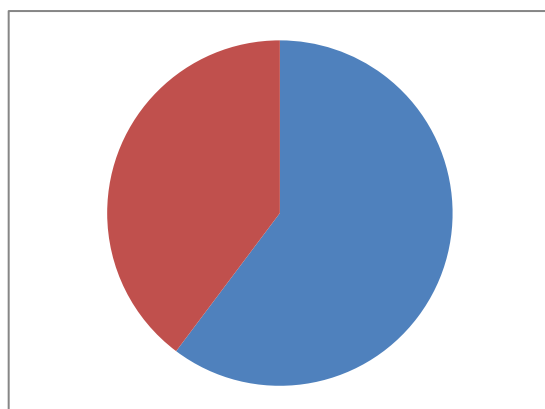
From the Graph 2, we can see the age proportion in the Slovak sample. The highest number of respondents were males between the ages of 36-45 which is 45 percent, while women between the ages 25-35 had a bit less representation here which is 44 percent.

Graph 3: male – female proportion age in Hungarians living in Slovakia
Narrative



From this graph, we can see the proportion age in Hungarians living in Slovakia and the number of respondents. The highest percentage of respondents was males between the ages 18 – 26; 61 percent, while the lowest rate of the respondents was women, under 18; 3 percent. Unfortunately, we have no respondents for the age over 60.

Graph 4: nationalities of the respondents



The graph shows that the majority of respondents, (60. 3 percent) are ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia with blue color, while Slovak respondents only made up, 39. 7 percent with red color.

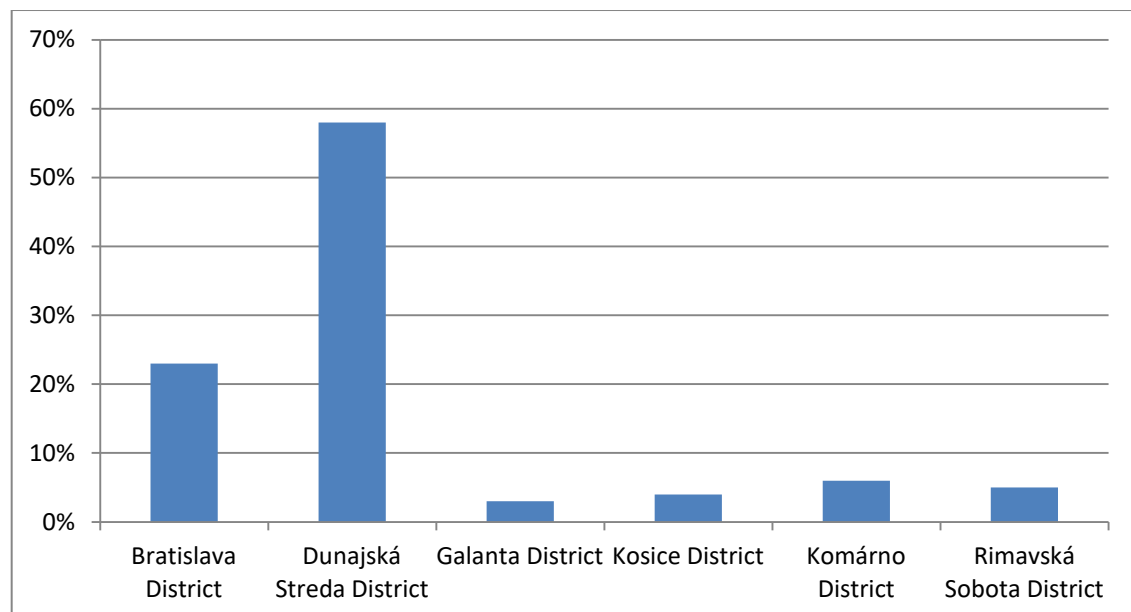
What is your nationality?

For the question on nationality, 58 percent of Slovak respondents felt themselves to be Slovaks, while 16 percent of Slovaks felt themselves as Hungarians. This is really interesting, because the Slovaks came from all over Slovakia, from Bratislava to Kosice. 39.74 percent of all respondents were Slovak. 60. 3 percent were Hungarians living in Slovakia, from them 1. 69 percent felt themselves Slovak and 1. 69 percent felt themselves to have another nationality.

Languages spoken at home

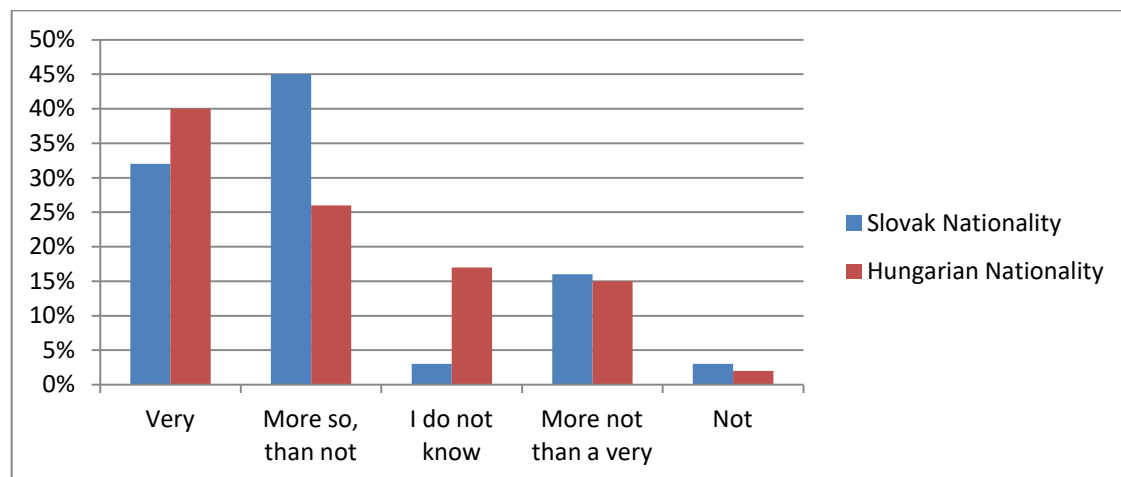
18.91 percent of the Slovak respondents speak both Hungarian and Slovak at home and 25 percent of the Hungarians living in Slovakia respondents speak both languages at home.

Graph 5: The residence of respondents



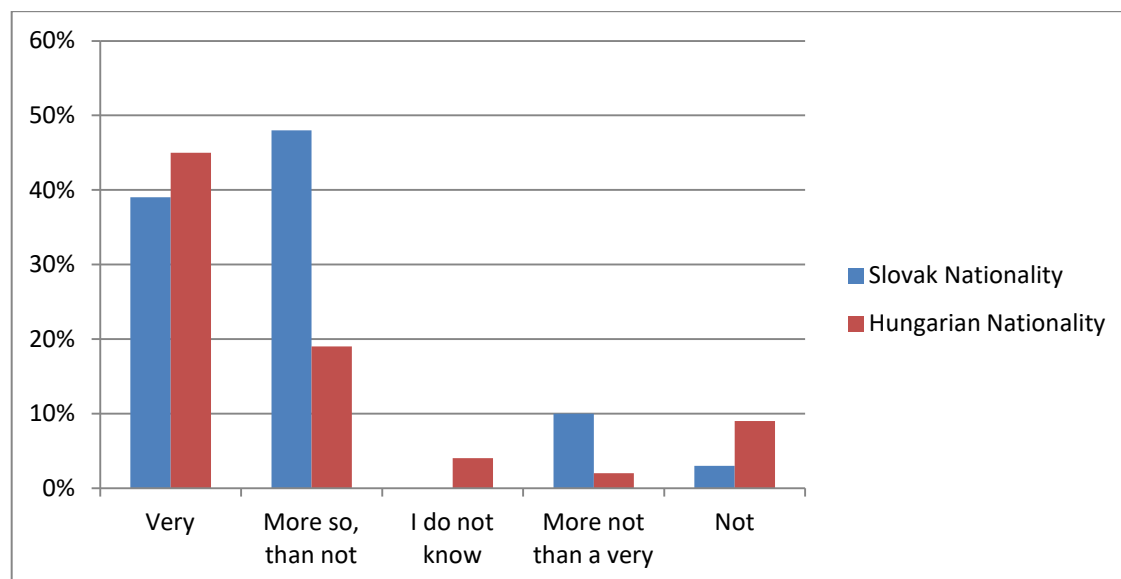
Graph 5 shows the districts of the respondents. The graph shows us that most of the answers were received from the Dunajská Streda district (58 percent), 23 percent from Bratislava district, 6 percent from Komárno district, 5percent from Rimavská Sobota district, 4 percent from Kosice district and the fewest in the district of Galanta with 3 percent.

Graph 6: Shows us the importance of history for respondents



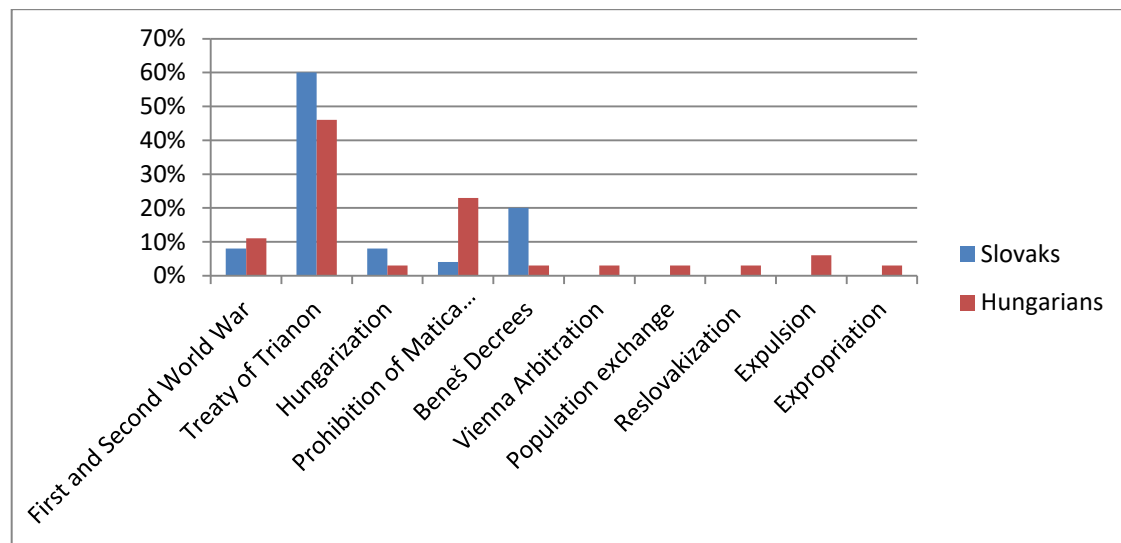
The sixth graph shows that for 40 percent of the ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia responded that history is very important, while only for 32 percent of the Slovak respondents is history important.

Graph 7: Does history influence the current Slovak - Hungarian relations?



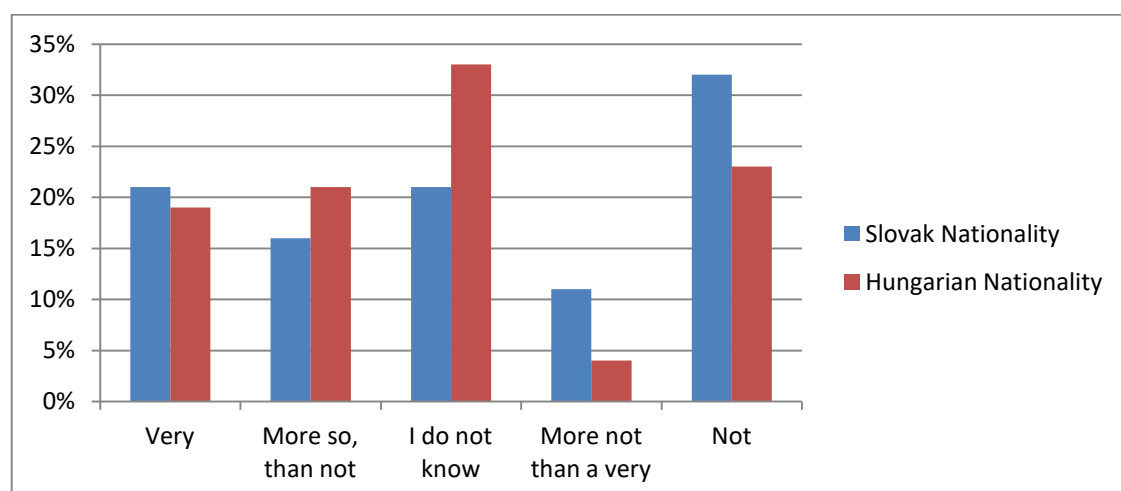
This graph gives the answer to the question whether according to the respondents history influences the current Slovak-Hungarian relations. 39 percent of the Slovak respondents said that history influences the current relations, and 45percent of Hungarian living in Slovakia said the same. From this graph we can see that history is perceived as more important by ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia.

Graph 8: Historical factors that influence the current Slovak Hungarian relations, according to the respondents:



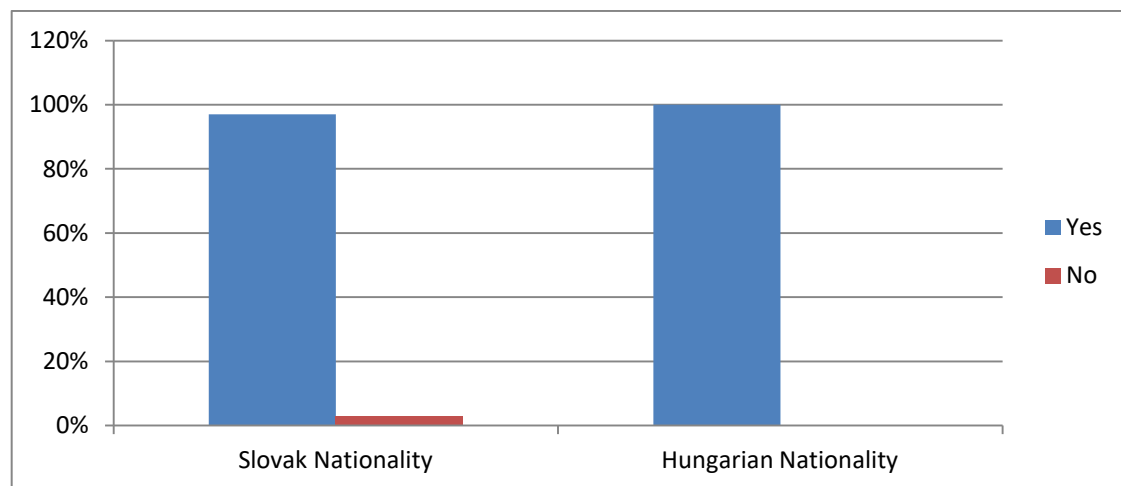
For this question, most of the Slovak 60 percent as well as the Hungarians living in Slovakia, 46 percent clearly considered Trianon to be responsible for influencing the Slovak Hungarian relations. 20 percent of Slovaks respondents mentioned Beneš Decrees, 8 percent said the hungarization, and 8 percent said the First and Second World War. 23 percent of Hungarians living in Slovakia have written Beneš Decrees, 11 percent the First and Second World War. This graph shows us, that after 97 years; people still thinks that the Treaty of Trianon influenced the current Slovak – Hungarian relations the most.

Graph 9: Did any of these factors influence your parents, grandparents' lives?



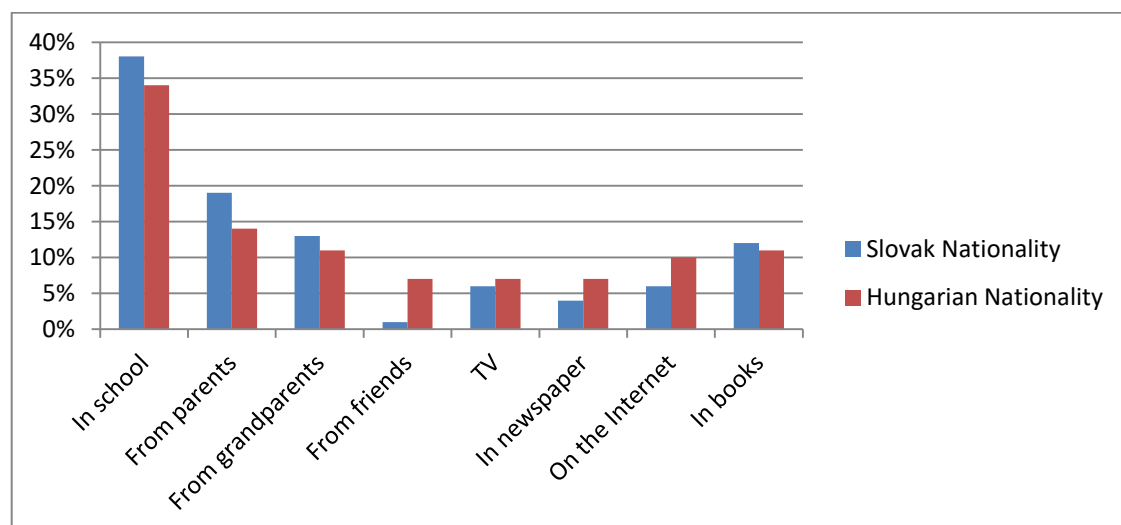
Graph 9 shows that 21 percent of Slovak respondents parents or grandparents life were influenced by these factors. 32 percent of them said none of these historical factors influences their parents, their grandparent's life. 19 percent of Hungarians living in Slovakia respondents said that it influenced their parents, their grandparents' life. 33 percent of them do not know that one of the factors affected the lives of their families, and 23 percent said that none of the factors influenced them.

Graph 10: Have you ever heard about Trianon Peace Treaty?



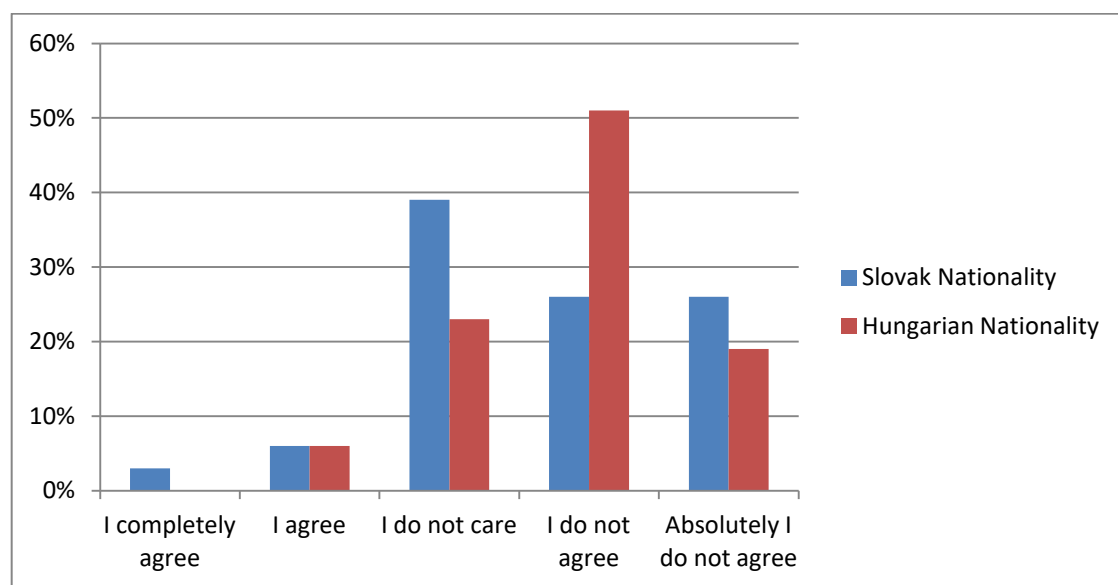
Graph show that 97 percent from the Slovak respondents have heard of the Trianon Peace Treaty and 3 percent of them not. 100 percent from the Hungarian respondents from Slovakia has heard about the Trianon Peace Treaty.

Graph 11: Where did you heard about the Trianon Peace Treaty?



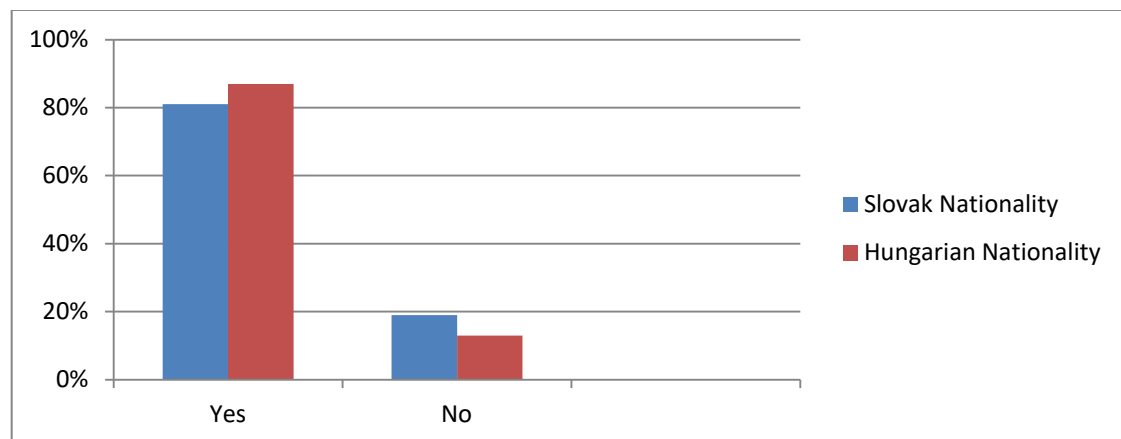
Graphs illustrate that the 38 percent of Slovak respondents heard about Trianon in schools whereas the lowest mark with 1 percent heard about it from their friends. 34 percent of Hungarian respondents living in Slovakia heard about it mainly from school or from their parents. In this case, the TV and the newspaper received the fewest answers with 7 percent. This shows us, that Trianon Treaty is still a topical subject in Schools; teachers still teach it, and that parents and grandparents still like to talk to their children about the history and how it influenced their life.

Graph 12: What do you think of the Trianon peace treaty which led to the disintegration of Hungary?



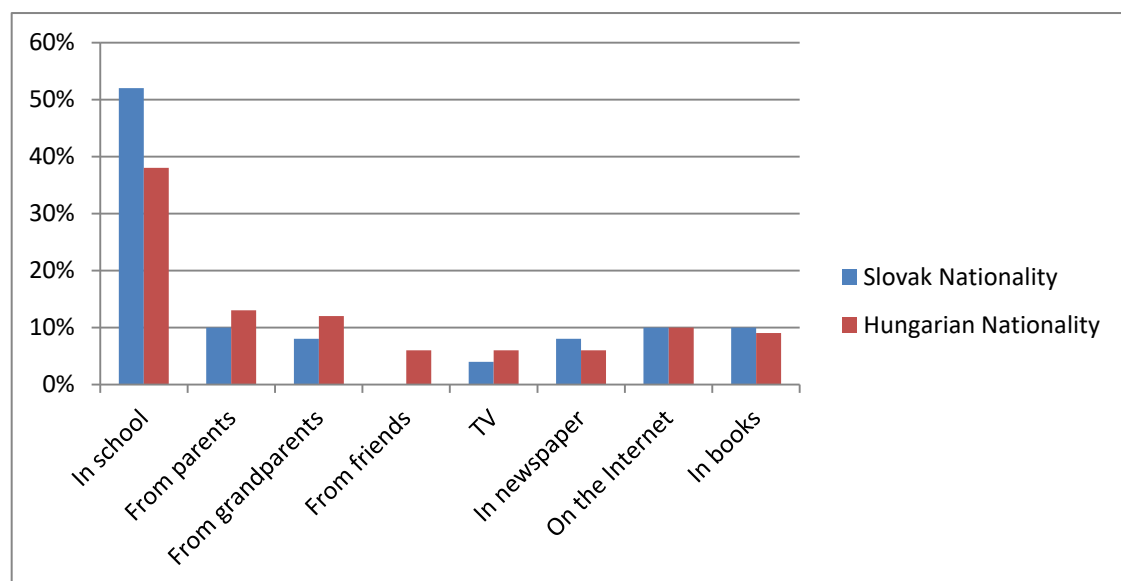
The graph shows that the majority of the Slovak respondents, 39 percent is not interested in the Treaty of Trianon and the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy 26 percent of them do not agree with it. The majority of Hungarian respondents 51 percent do not agree with it and 23 percent of them do not care about the Treaty of Trianon.

Graph 13: Have you ever heard about the Beneš Decrees



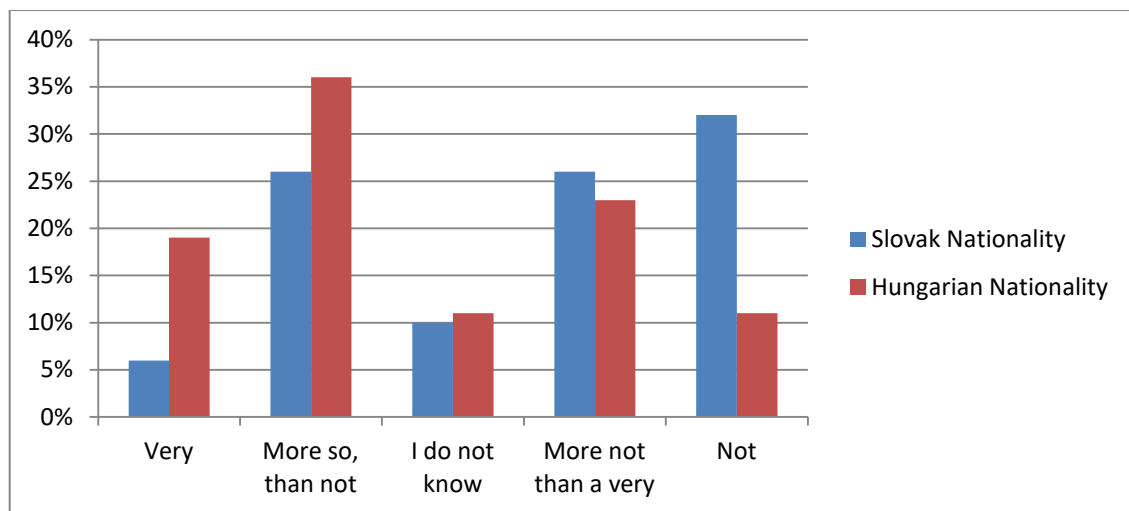
From this graph we can see that 81 percent of Slovak respondent's heard of Edvard Beneš and his Decrees, and 19 percent never heard about it, while Hungarians living in Slovakia, 87 percent had heard about them and 13 percent of them never heard about it.

Graph 14: where did you heard about the Beneš decrees



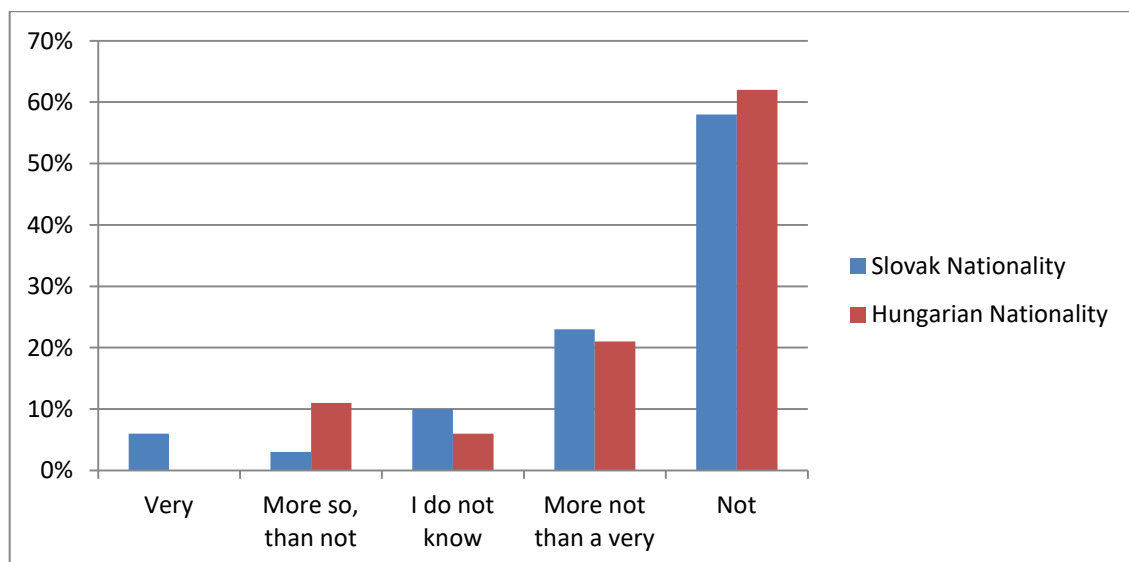
From this graph we can see that most of the Slovaks 52 percent and Hungarians living in Slovakia 38 percent had heard of the Beneš Decrees in their schools. Parents and grandparents did not have many responses, from the Slovak side 10 percent and from Hungarians living in Slovakia 13 percent. It shows us that about the Beneš Decrees there is not as much talk as about the Treaty of Trianon.

Graph 15: Slovakia-Hungarian Relations in Slovakia are problematic?



This graph shows that according to 32 percent of the Slovak respondents the relationship between Slovaks and Hungarians in Slovakia is not problematic, compared to 11 percent the Hungarians living in Slovakia. Most of the Hungarians living in Slovakia, 36 percent said that it is rather problematic.

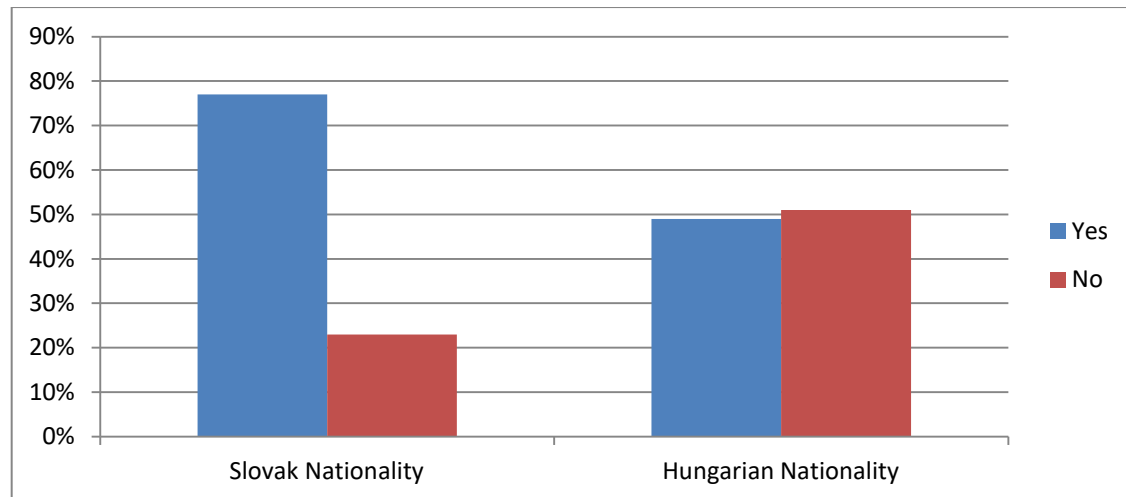
Graph 16: Are Slovak-Hungarian relations in your community problematic?



This question received a clear answer from Slovaks and Hungarians living in Slovakia that in their town the Slovak – Hungarian relations are not problematic. 58 percent of Slovaks said that it is not problematic, and 6 percent that it is very problematic, and 62 percent of Hungarians living in Slovakia said that it is not problematic. Where in mixed communities people usually have better relations, since they have day to day

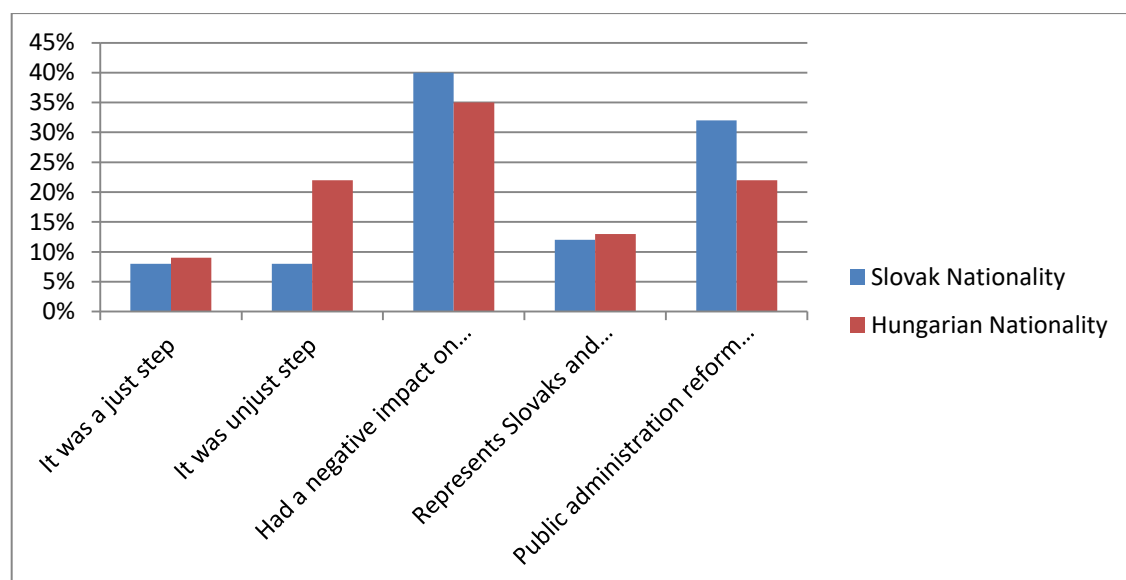
contact with the other nationality. In everyday life, historical narratives, like the Trianon treaty play a lesser role.

Graph 17: Have you heard of territorial and administrative reform?



The chart shows that the majority of the Slovak respondents, 77 percent had heard of the Territorial administrative division and 23 percent not, while the Hungarians living in Slovakia only 49 percent of respondents have heard about it, and 51 percent not.

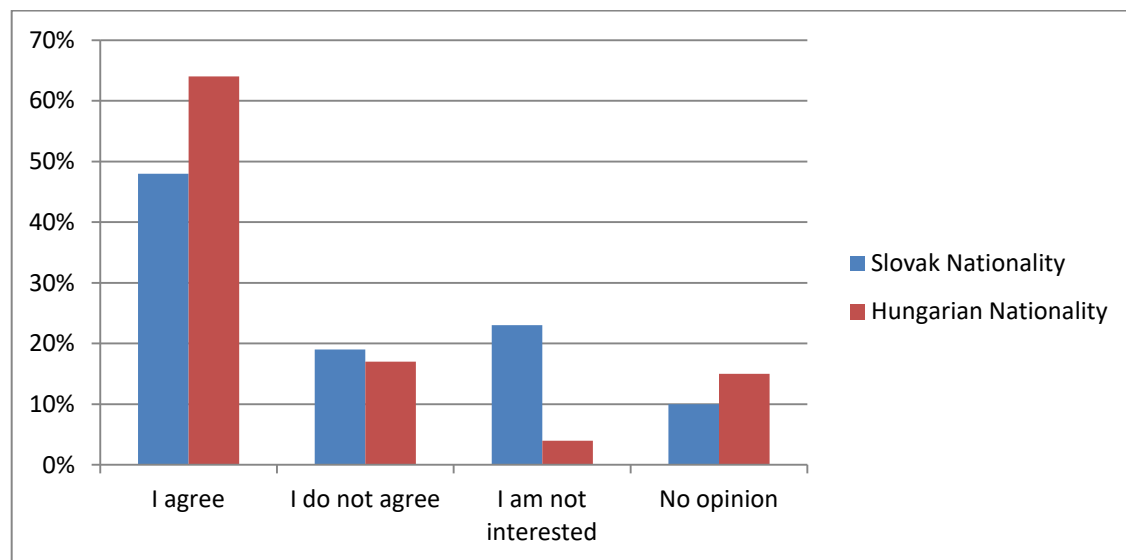
Graph 18: What do you think about the territorial and administrative reform?



From this graph we can see that according to the majority of respondents of Slovak, 40 percent said that it has bad influence on the Slovak-Hungarian relations, while 35 percent Hungarians living in Slovakia said the same. The least number of answers

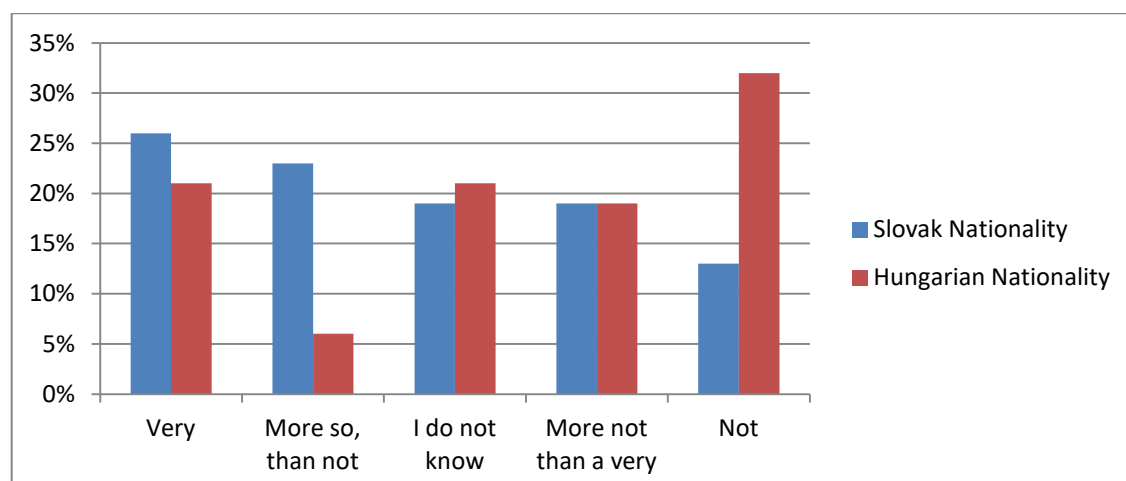
from the Slovak side 8 percent and from Hungarians living in Slovakia side 9 percent get that it was a just step.

Graph 19: Language law that applies to the use of the Hungarian language as the administrative in the Slovak areas where more than 15% of the Hungarian population live - was the right step?



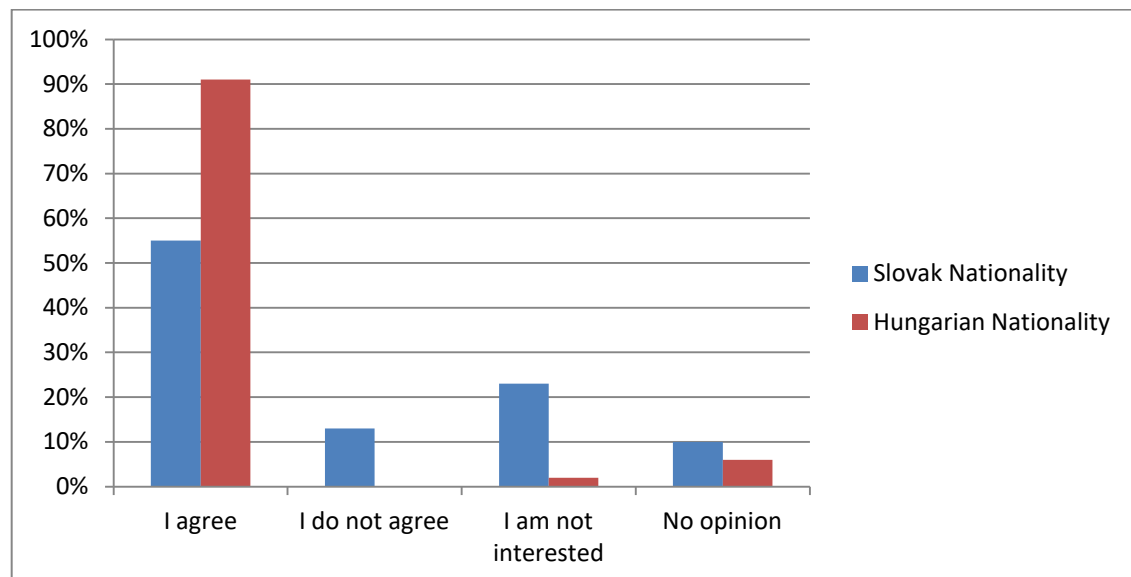
48 percent of the Slovak and 64 percent of Hungarians living in Slovakiens respondents agree that there, where live more than 15 percent of Hungarians there can use the Hungarian language as the administrative language. 19 percent the Slovak respondents answer said that they do not agree with it and 17 percent of the Hungarians said that they do not agree with it.

Graph 20: Do you think that language law has contributed to improving relations between Slovaks and Hungarians in Slovakia?



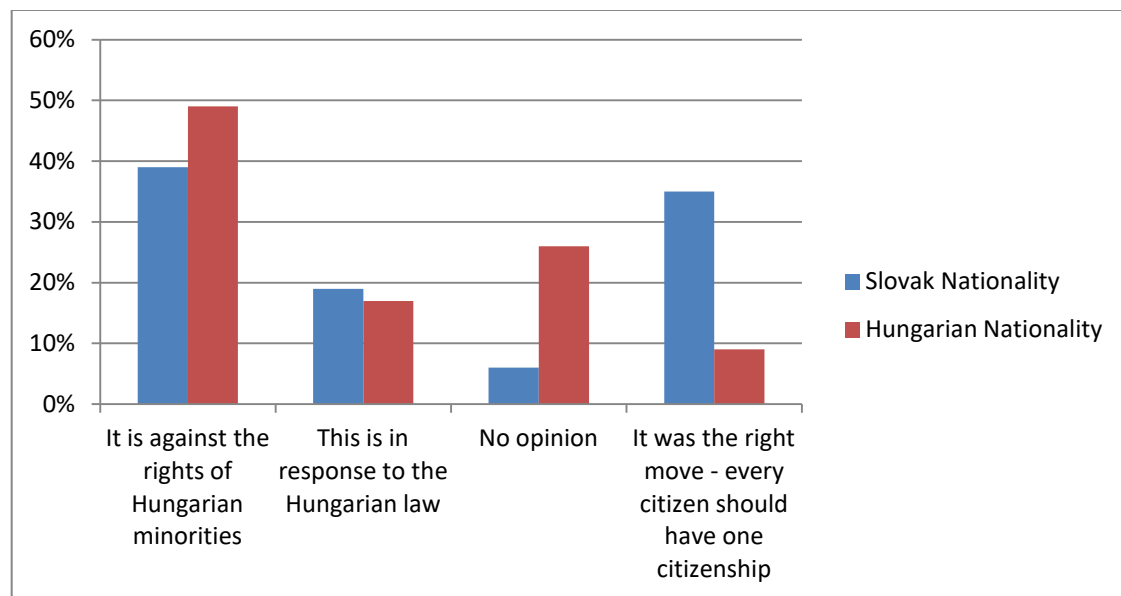
26 percent of the Slovak respondents said that yes, this step influenced the possibility of having the right to use the Hungarian language as the administrative language in the cities, where the Hungarians exceeds 15 percent, to improving the Slovak - Hungarian relations while 21 percent of the Hungarians living in Slovakia respondents said the same. 13 percent of Slovak respondents and 32 percent of Hungarians living in Slovakia said that did not contribute to improving relations between Slovakia and Hungary.

Graph 21: What do you think of public inscriptions / signs in the Hungarian language used in those areas where more than 15% of the Hungarian population live?



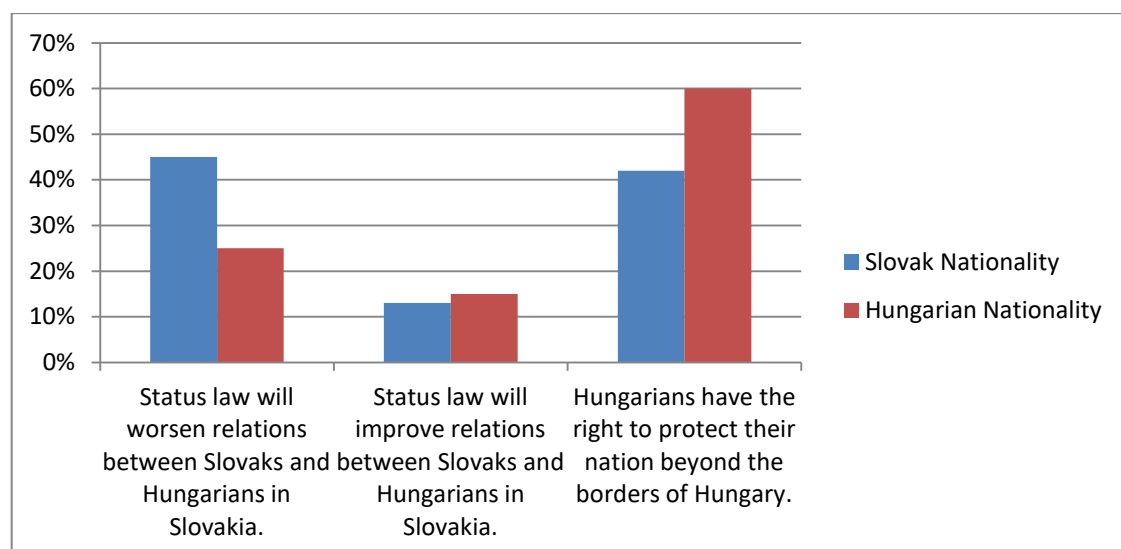
From this chart we can see that the Slovak and Hungarian respondents living in Slovakia also agree the names of towns and villages are also indicated in Hungarian language, provided that the Hungarian population there exceeds 15 percent. 55 percent of Slovak respondents and 91 percent of Hungarians living in Slovakia said that. 13 percent of Slovak respondents said that they do not agree with it.

Graph 22: What do you think about changing the law on dual citizenship?



From this table, we can see that there of most of Slovak respondents, 39 percent said that it is against the rights of Hungarian minorities in Slovakia, and 35 percent of Slovaks said that it was the right move, every citizen should have only one citizenship, while 49 percent of Hungarians living in Slovakia respondents said that it is against of the Hungarian minorities, and 9 percent of them said that it was the right move, every citizen should have one citizenship.

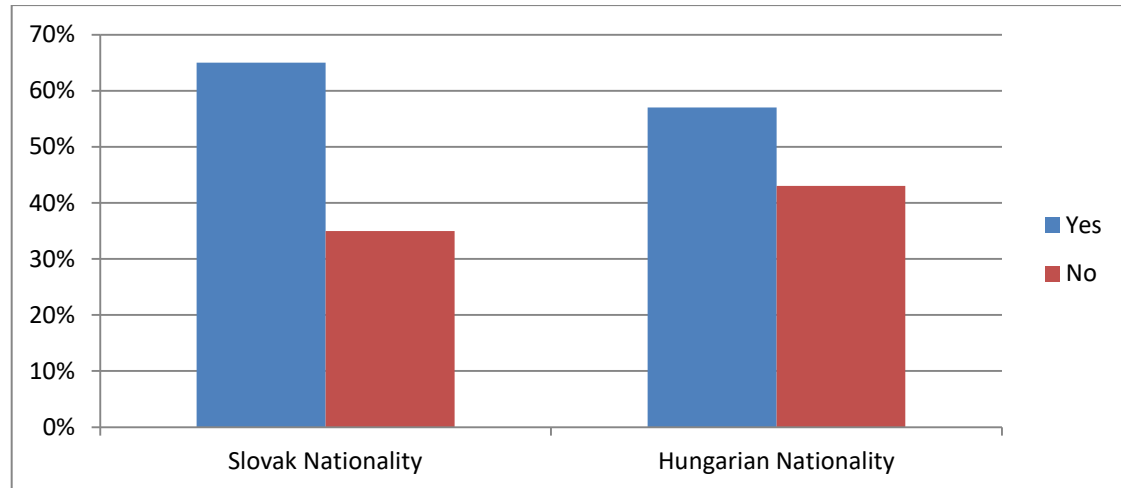
Graph 23: What do you think about the Status law?



From this table it shows that the majority of Slovak respondents, 45 percent think that the Status Law worsened the relations between Slovaks and Hungarians, while the

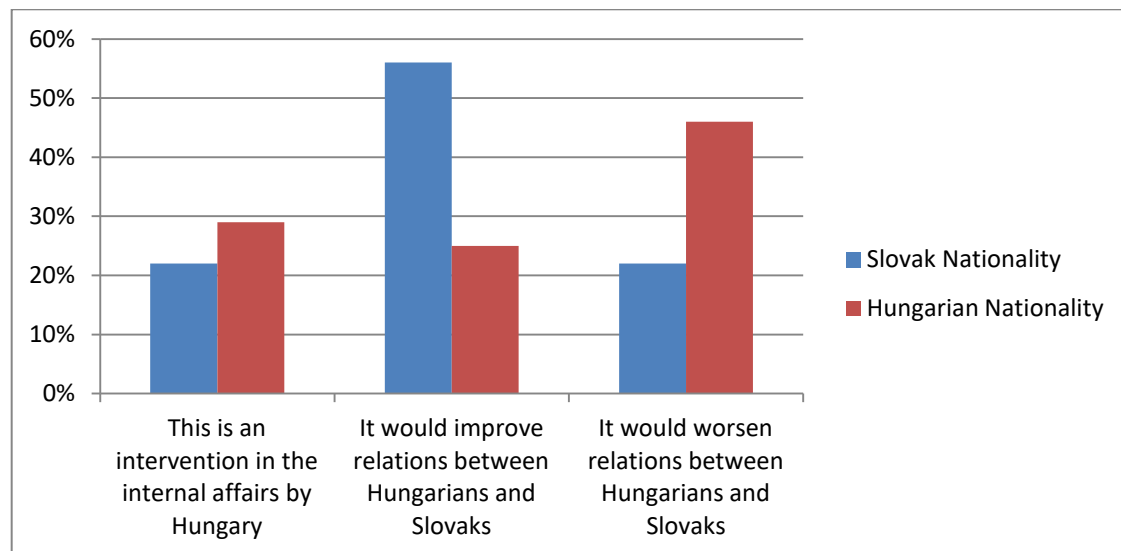
most of Hungarians living in Slovakia respondents, 60 percent believe that they have the right to cherish their Hungarians beyond the border.

Graph 24: Have you ever heard about the Hungarian autonomy in Slovakia?



This chart shows that 65 percent of Slovak respondents had heard about the Hungarian autonomy in Slovakia, while 57 percent of the respondents of Hungarians living in Slovakia heard of it.

Graph 25: What do you think about autonomy?



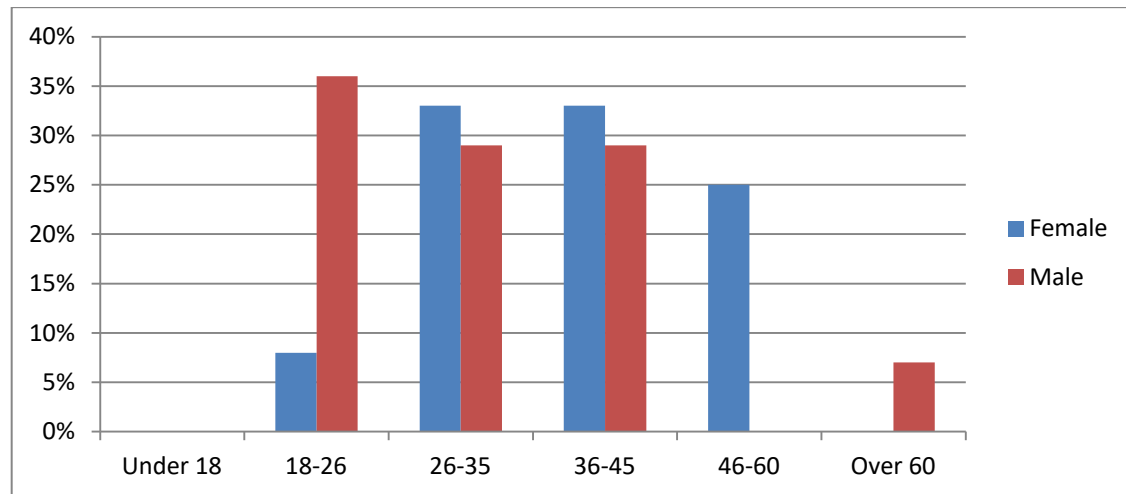
From this graph we can see that, according to 56 percent of the Slovak respondents, thinks the autonomy would lead to better relations between the two countries, while according 45 percent of Hungarians living in Slovakia it would be the contrary, they think it would make the relationship between the two countries much worse. Only 25

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percent of Hungarians living in Slovakia thinks that it would improve the relations between the states.

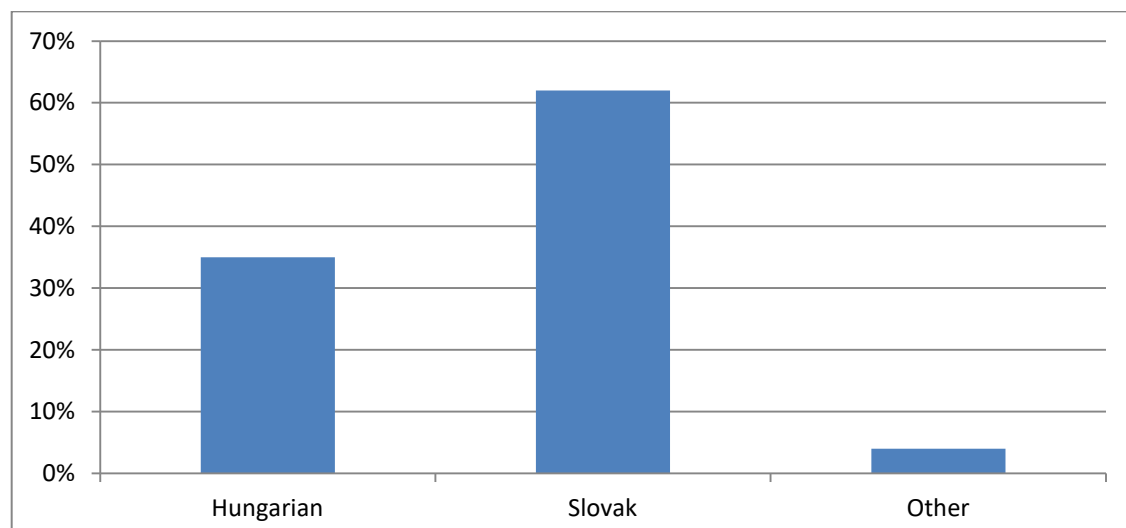
Processing results of questionnaire – Hungary

Graph 26 Male female proportion age



This graph shows us the proportion of respondent's age. The graph shows us, that male respondents gave the most of their answers, from age range 18-26; 36 percent and the least age from age range over 60; 7 percent. Female respondents gave the most of their answers from age range 26-35 and 36-45; 33 percent and the least from age range 18-26; 8 percent. Unfortunately have any respondents under 18 from either sex, and any female respondents over 60.

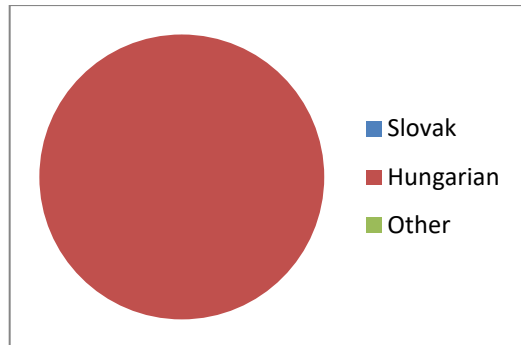
Graph 27: What is your nationality?



From this graph we can see that 35 percent of Hungarian respondents nationality is Slovak, 62 percent is Hungarian and 4 percent is other. The reason why is there

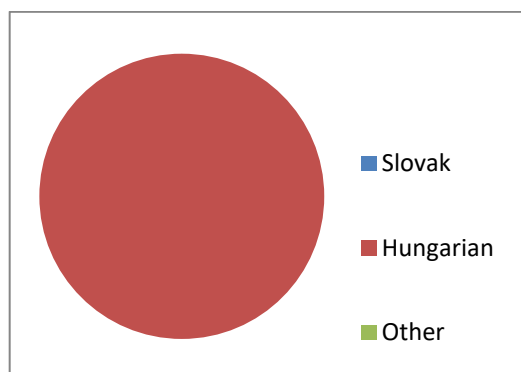
Slovak nationality too is that I asked people from Hungary, who were born in Slovakia, but from several reasons they moved to Hungary.

Graph 28: You feel yourself as



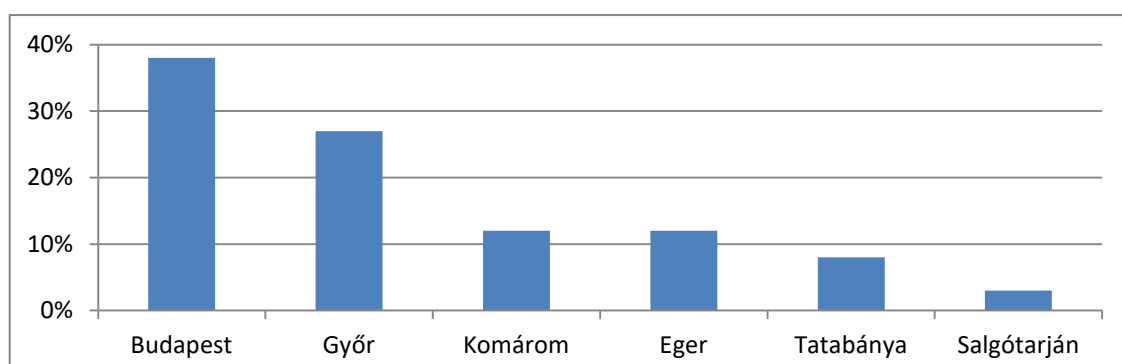
The next graph shows us that 100 percent of respondents feel themselves as Hungarians.

Graph 29: Home we speak:



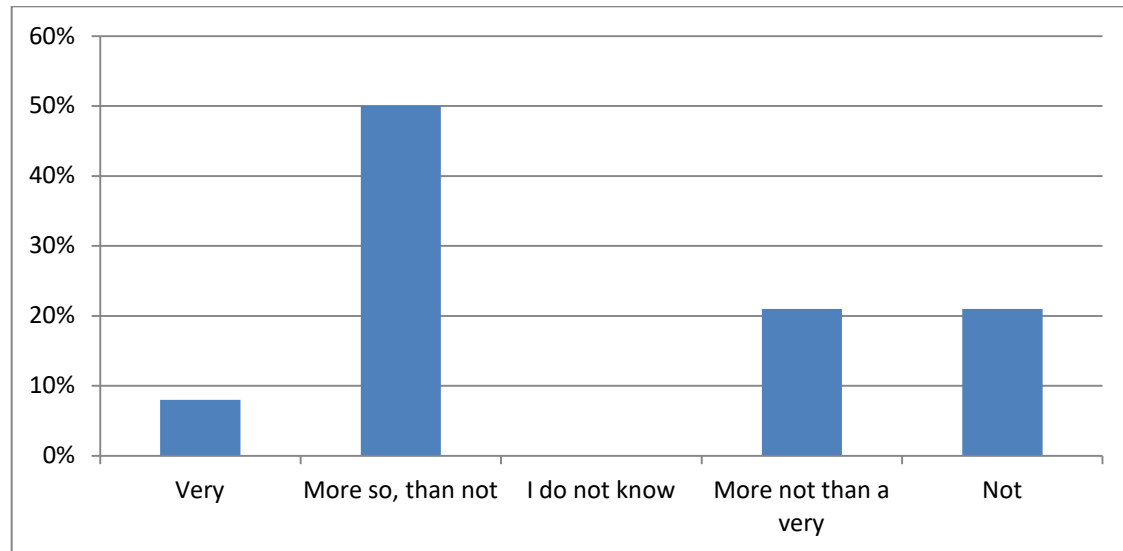
The following graph shows us that 100 percent of respondents at home speak Hungarian language.

Graph 30: Residence:



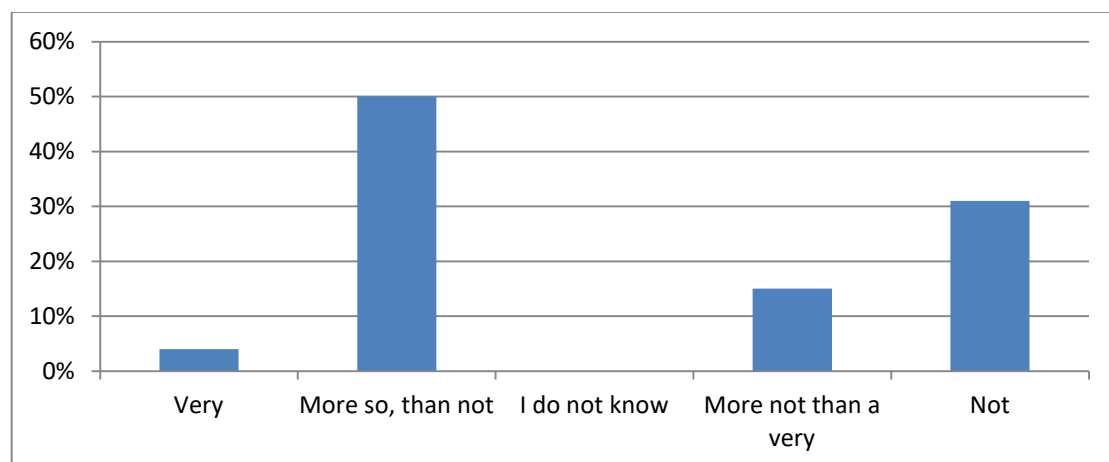
This graph shows that, most of the respondents were from Budapest, 38 percent; 27 percent from Győr, 12 percent from Komárom, 12 percent from Eger, 8 percent from Tatabánya, and the lowest number of respondents from Salgótarján 3 percent.

Graph 31: Does history is important for you?



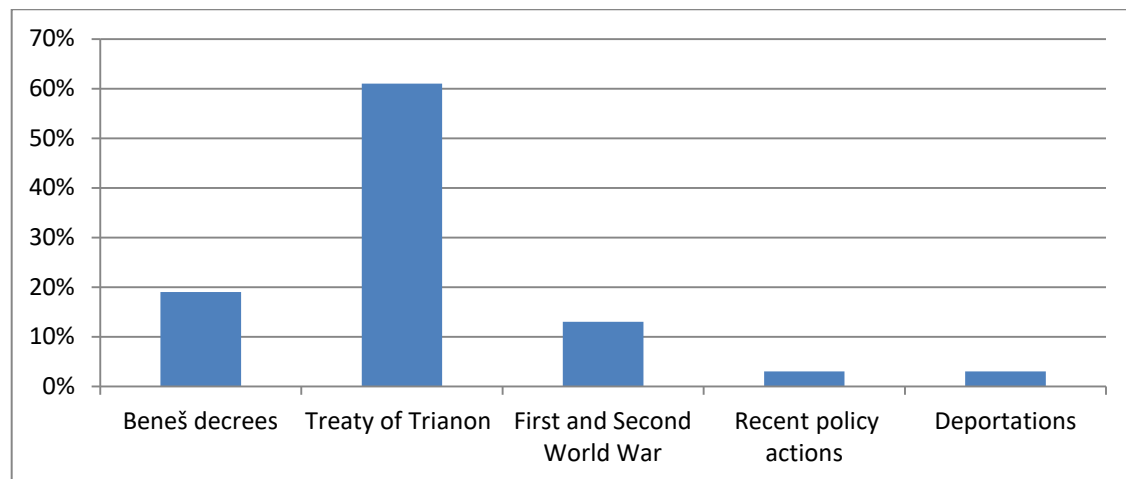
From this graph we can see that most of Hungarian respondents, 50 percent said that history is more so than not important, and only 8 percent of them said that it is very important. This shows us, that Hungarians still feel something about the Treaty of Trianon, but not as much. Same number of responses I got on more not than very, and not, 21 percent -21 percent.

Graph 32: Do you think that history influences the current Slovak-Hungarian relations?



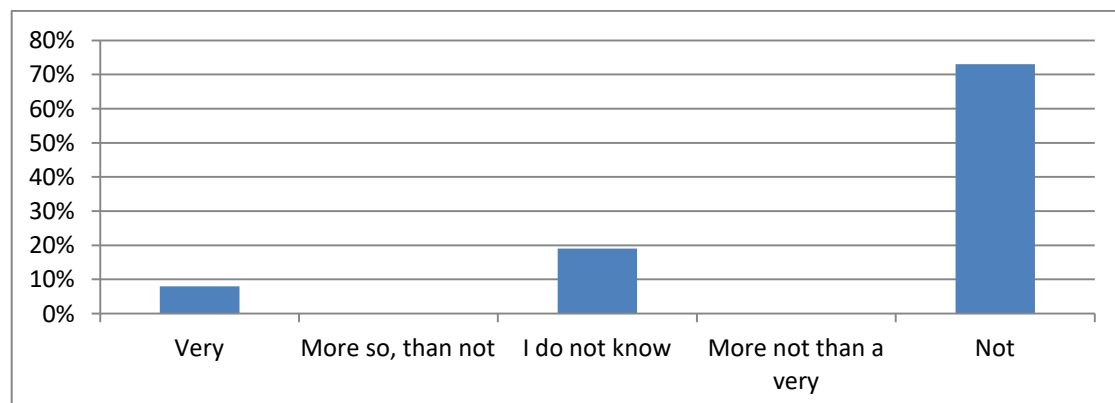
From this graph we can see that 50 percent of Hungarian respondents said that it influence more so than not, and only 4 percent said that it influences current relations a lot. High number of Hungarian respondents, 31 percent said that the history does not influence the current Slovak-Hungarian relations.

Graph 33: Please list historical factors, which according to you affected the Slovak-Hungarian relations.



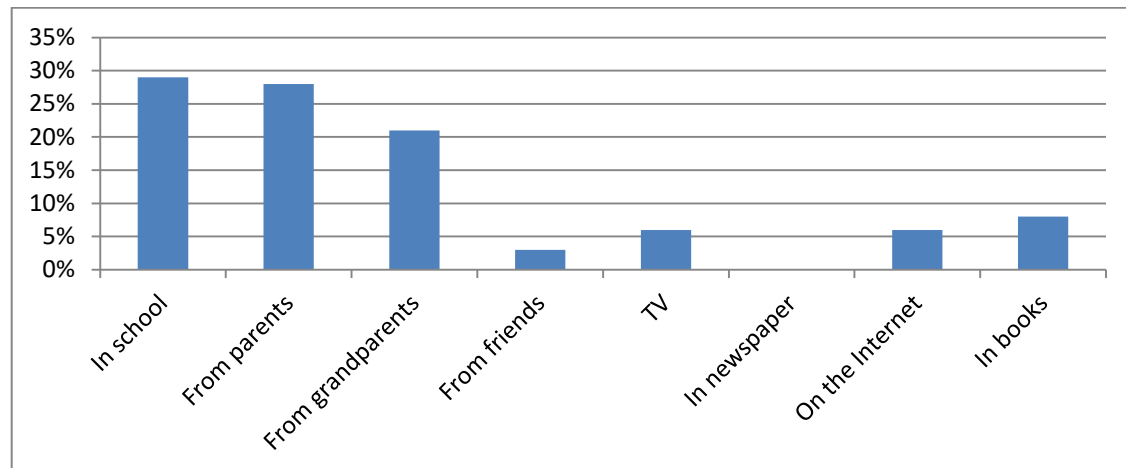
This graph shows us that 61 percent of Hungarian respondents said that the Treaty of Trianon affected the Slovak-Hungarian relations. 19 percent get the Beneš Decrees, and 13 percent the First and Second World War. The proportion concurs with the Slovak and Hungarians living in Slovakia opinions.

Graph 34: Among them, any of factors influenced your parents or grandparents lives?



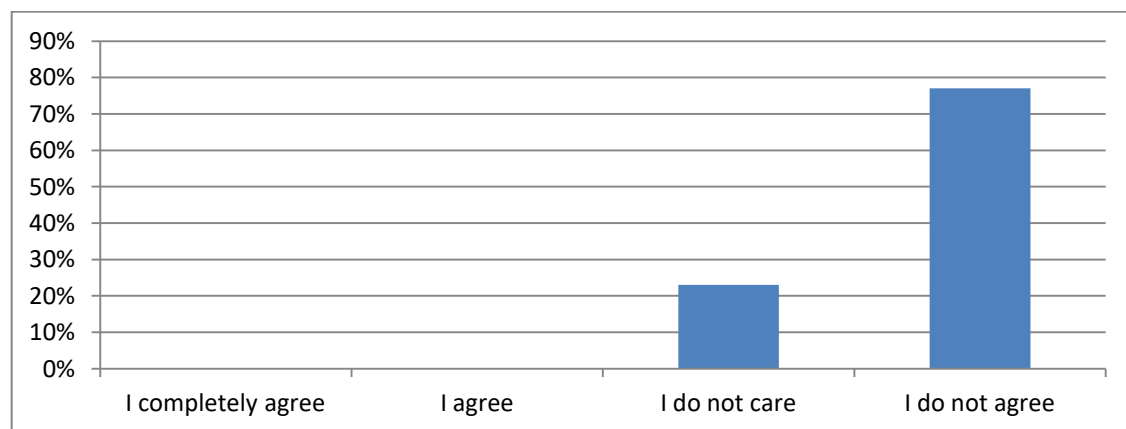
This graph shows us that only 8 percent of Hungarian respondents think that the lives of their parents or grandparents' were influenced by the factors which were mentioned in graph 6. 19 percent do not know if they influenced them—, which could mean that parents and grandparents do not talk about history at home. 73 percent of respondents' believe that their parents or grandparents' lives were not influenced these factors.

Graph 35: Where did you hear about the Treaty of Trianon?



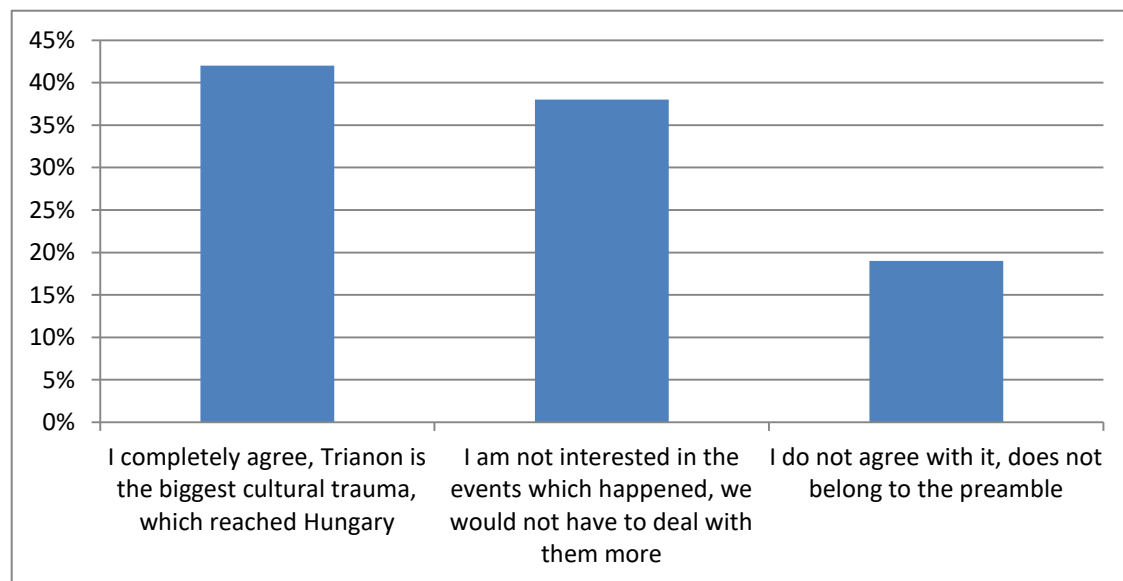
This table shows us that 29 percent of Hungarians heard about the Treaty of Trianon in schools, 28 percent from parents, 21 percent from grandparents, only 3 percent from friend – the same result as for the Slovaks and Hungarians living in Slovakia. Newspapers did not receive any response, which can mean that respondents do not read newspapers, or there are no newspapers in which writers talk about it.

Graph 36: What do you think of the Trianon peace treaty?



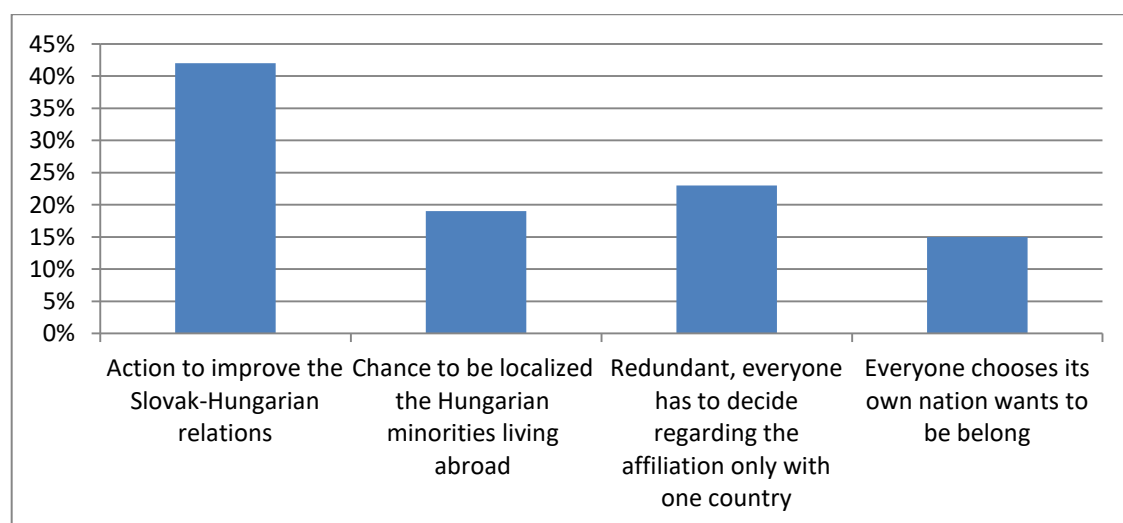
77 percent of Hungarians do not agree with disintegration of Hungary, and 23 percent do not care about it.

Graph 37: In 2010, Hungary changed the Preamble of the Constitution that now includes the Trianon treaty. What do you think that they included the treaty in their constitution?



In this question opinions are not consistent. 42 percent of respondents said that they agree, Trianon should be in Preamble of Hungary, 38 percent of respondent said that they are not interesting in events which happened several tens of years ago, and 19 percent do not agree with it. This shows us, that there are people who still care about history, and feel strongly about the Treaty of Trianon; because of that they agree it must be in the Preamble.

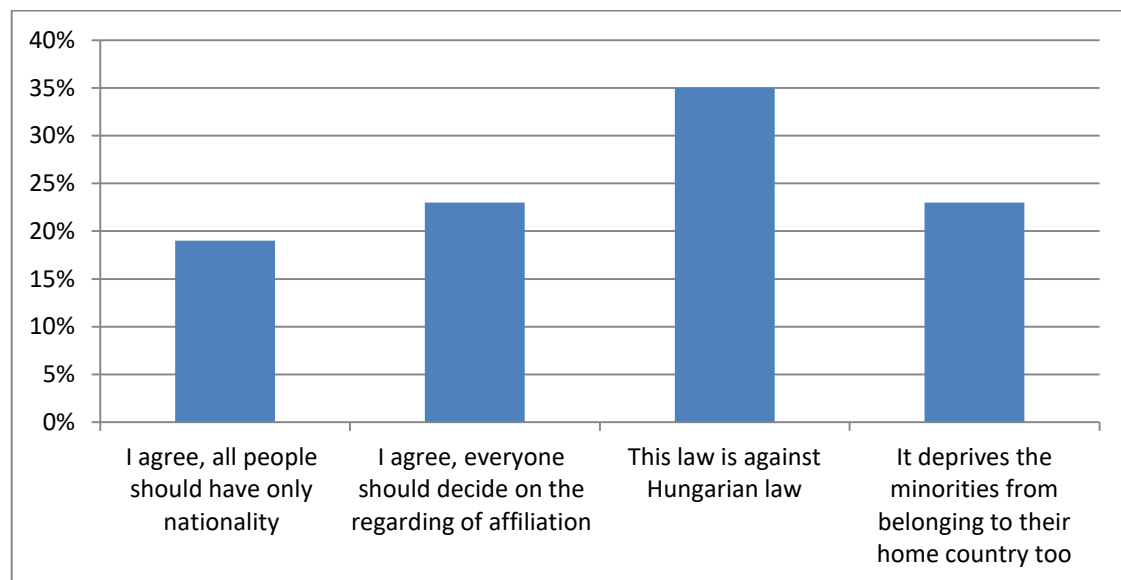
Graph 38: What do you think about the Law on dual citizenship



Answers to this question vary, too. Most of the respondents, 42 percent said that the dual citizenship improved the Slovak – Hungarian relations, 23 percent said that it is

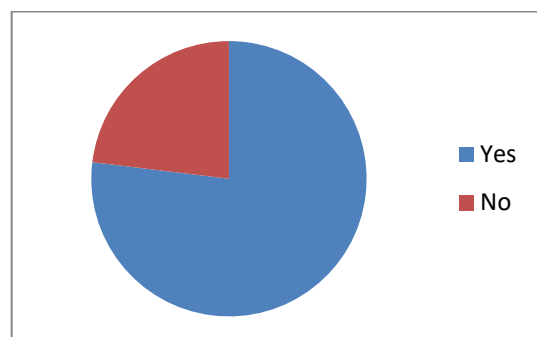
redundant, and everyone has to decide regarding the affiliation only with one country, 19% said that it is chance for the Hungarian minority to be localized and 15 percent said that everyone chooses its own state where wants to be belong.

Graph 39: What do you think about the step of the Slovak Prime Minister regarding the dual citizenship?



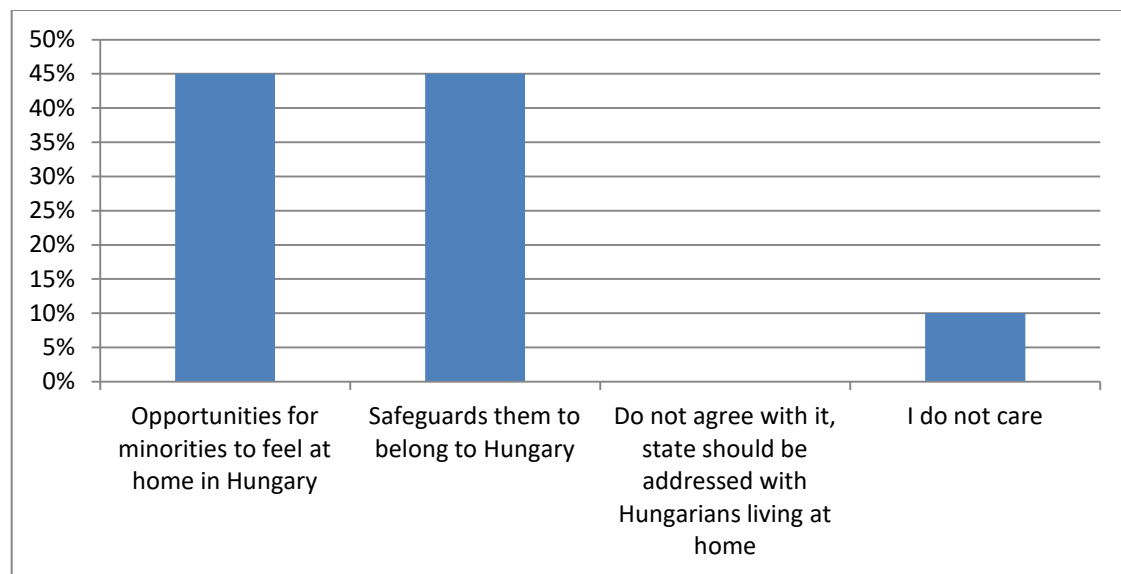
Graph 39 shows us that 35 percent of respondents think that Slovak Parliaments step was against to the Hungarian law and 23percent thinks that it deprives the minorities from belonging to “their home country” too. 23 percent of respondents agree in that, everyone should decide on the regarding of affiliation and 19 percent of respondents agree with Prime Ministers step.

Graph 40: Have you ever heard of the Status Law?



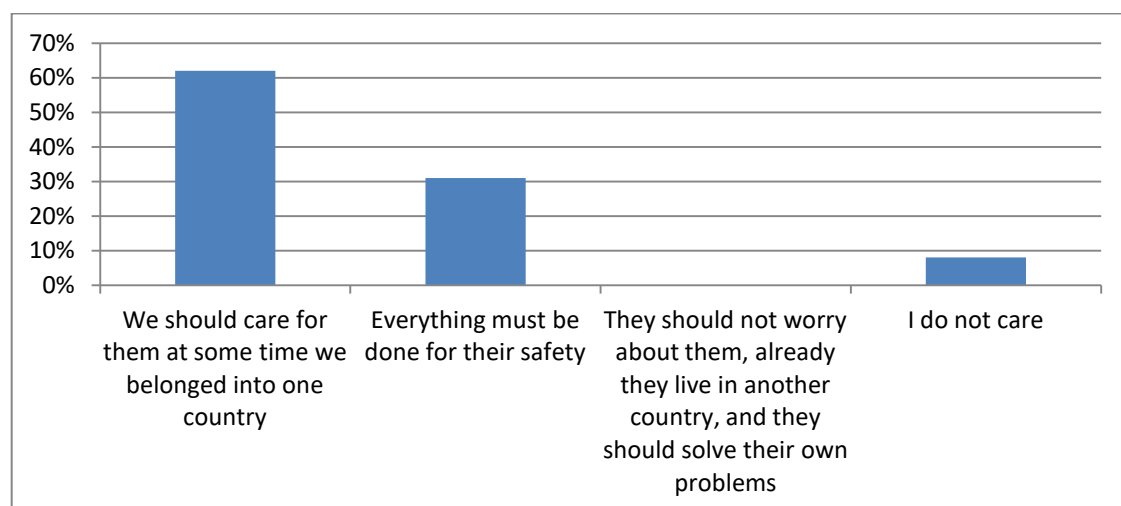
This graph shows us that 77 percent of respondents heard about the status law, and 36 percent never heard about it.

Graph 41: What do you think about the Status Law?



The answers are the same, most of the respondents said that it is for the benefit of a sense of belonging to Hungary, as it was before the Treaty of Trianon, 45 percent of respondents said that it is opportunity for minorities to feel at home in Hungary, and 45 percent that it is safeguards them to belong to Hungary. 10 percent of respondents said that they do not care about it.

Graph 42: What do you think about the Hungarian minorities?



Almost everyone said that Hungary should care about national minorities, and everything must be done for their safety. 62 percent said that Hungary should care about Hungarian minorities elsewhere, 31 percent said that everything must be done

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for their safety. A small part of the respondents, 8 percent said that they do not care about it.

Conclusion

After developing and processing responses I clearly get the answer, that after time elapsed people are changing, they started to care about everyday problems, and they do not care about the past. They are concerned about the future. After the answers I think, most of the people cared about the Treaty of Trianon in schools, when they studied about it. The biggest problem I saw, that many Slovaks do not really care about history, which shows us the graph 9; Hungarians living in Slovakia narrative is much higher in case of schools, than Slovak narrative. Slovaks should teach more of it in schools, and their parents should talk about it to their children's, grand children's. The graph 10 was surprising to me too, because many Slovaks do not agree with Treaty of Trianon too, I was expecting the opposite answers. Graph 11 is interesting too, because since Edvard Beneš was Czechoslovak Prime Minister more Hungarian living in Slovak studied about him, and more Hungarian living in Slovakia parents and grandparents told about him, than Slovaks. According to respondents the answers distinguish in question that the Slovak Hungarian relations are problematic in Slovakia, or in their home cities. The answer should be that people generally thought that in Slovakia it is, but re respondents are mostly from towns or cities where are not many Slovaks or Hungarians, and there is peace between them. Questions are connected with Treaty of Trianon; since I am searching for question what kind of impacts do have historical events have on our life, on political discourse, and minority rights. I choose Treaty of Trianon, because that is one the biggest historical event for Hungary and I think one of the biggest event for Slovakia too, which guided to cultural trauma.

As regards the second half of the questionnaire I was totally surprised; I never thought that people so care about the minorities, and they are so compassionate from both, Slovak narrative, and Hungarian narrative. Graphs 16; 18; 19; 22 shows us, that respondents from Slovak narrative are really tolerant, and they agree with Hungarians who living in Slovakia right. From these graphs we can see, that most of the Slovak respondents want to create a more livable life for Hungarian minority in Slovakia.

The anticipated completion in this thesis I can say, that it is the same with the real completion.

Resume

Moja práca sa zaoberá slovensko-maďarskými vzťahmi. Cieľom tejto práce bolo dokázať, že Trianon je stále živá téma, a že stále ovplyvňuje dnešné slovensko-maďarské vzťahy. Dokázal som, že história je ešte stále dôležitým faktorom dnešného života.

Trianonská Zmluva, ktorá sa uskutočnila v roku 1920, je jedna z najväčších historických udalostí pre Maďarsko. Táto zmluva bola záverečná zmluva Prvej Svetovej Vojny a bola podpísaná vo Versailles. Dôsledkom tejto zmluvy bolo, že Maďarsko stratilo 2/3 územia a 1/3 obyvateľstva. Z týchto obyvateľov viac než 3.5 milióna maďarských občanov sa stalo menšinou v iných krajinách. Takto sa stali Maďari na Slovensku menšinou. Vďaka rozpadu Rakúsko-Uhorskej ríše, sa vyvinuli tri dôležité naratívy na tomto území: Slovenský naratív, Maďarský naratív a naratív Maďarom žijúcich na Slovensku.

Slovenský naratív:

Československo - a neskôr Slovensko - je jeden z najšťastnejších štátov, lebo dostal veľké územie (61.578 km²) s 3.5 miliónmi nových bývalých maďarských občanov. Nie každý politik bol rád, že Maďari sa dostali na územie Slovenska a urobili všetko, aby Maďari zmizli, alebo sa asimilovali do slovenskej kultúry. Maďari trpeli v protimaďarskom slovenskom prostredí, čo sa vyvíjalo aj v literatúre. Slovenskú literatúru môžeme deliť na dve časti, na Maticu Slovenskú, a na literatúru ktorá s nimi nesúhlasila.

Maďarský Naratív:

Maďarský naratív, ktorý hovorí o trpení najviac, tvrdí, že Maďari mali najväčšie straty - strata územia a stratu občanov. Avšak to, čo ich najviac bolelo, bolo to, že ich bývalí obyvatelia sa stali súčasťou iných štátov a preto sa vyvíjala kultúrna trauma. Trianon sa stál kultúrnou traumou a deň, v ktorý podpísali zmluvu sa stál čiernym dňom Maďarska. Kvôli tomu politici radi hovoria o Trianone, lebo si myslia, že im občania budú dôverovať, a že keď sa vyvíja nejaká podobná situácia ako Trianon, tak politici ich budú chrániť. Po rokoch sa v Maďarsku vyvíjali ľudia, ktorých môžeme začleniť do troch skupín: tí, ktorý nemajú záujem o históriu a nemajú žiadny problém

so Slovákmí, potom tí, ktorí majú záujem o históriu, a nemajú radi Slovákov, ale sa naučili žiť pri sebe, a napokon tí, ktorí nemajú radi Slovákov - títo Maďari majú hlboký cit k histórii.

Naratív Maďarov žijúcich na Slovensku:

Najväčšou stratou Trianonskej Zmluvy sú zrejme občania, ktorí uviazli medzi hranicami. Doposiaľ sa ich nikto neopýtal, kde chcú žiť. Jednoducho, automaticky ich pričlenili ku Slovensku. Najväčší problém s novými slovenskými občanmi bolo to, že nehovorili po slovensky, a pre nových obyvateľov veľkým problémom bolo, že musia byť na Slovensku. Veľkým problémom pre nových občanov bolo to, že na začiatku vôbec nemali žiadne práva. Táto oblasť sa líšila od Slovenska aj od Maďarska, nakoľko títo obyvatelia majú svoje vlastné zmysly pre etnickú identitu. Je to zaujímavé, pretože sa zdá, že majú svoj jazyk, miešaný slovenský a maďarský.

Druhá sekcia sa zaoberá menšinovými zákonmi, ktoré sú spojené s Maďarmi žijúcimi na Slovensku, a poukazuje na to, ako sa Trianon objavuje v diskusiách okolo týchto zákonov a ako ich ovplyvňuje. Menšiny nie sú vo svojej vlasti, sú cudzinci v novej krajine, a preto potrebujú zákony, ktoré by ich chránili. Pre ochranu menšín sa objavili politické strany, ktoré podporujú národnostné menšiny.

1968: Jazykový zákon

Jazykový zákon je jedným z najdôležitejších zákonov pre národnostné menšiny, pretože použitie materinského jazyka robí každodenný život jednoduchším. 1920 Československá ústava povoľuje umožnenie používania materinského jazyka v súkromných a v obchodných záležitostiach. Vzdelávanie vo svojom materinskom jazyku bolo založené na percentovom systéme, kde limit bol viac ako 20% v maďarskej a nemeckej oblasti. Viac ako 20% ľudí mohlo študovať v ich materinskom jazyku. Nový zákon o používaní menšinových jazykov z roku 1999 povoľuje v miestach používať menšinové jazyky, kde menšina je viac ako 20% z celkového počtu obyvateľov.

1993: Autonómia

Zástupcovia etnických Maďarov sa zaoberali autonómiou v rokoch 1920-1938. Tam bolo viac nápadov na slovenskej strane, pretože aj oni sa snažili dosiahnuť akési autonómie v rámci československého štátu. Členovia maďarskej koalície MKDH

stanovili v roku 1993 štyri kľúčové požiadavky pre maďarské menšiny na Slovensku, z ktorých jeden bol kultúrna a vzdelávacia autonómia. Regionálna autonómia je tabu pre akéhokoľvek slovenského politika, zo strachu, že by takéto riešenie bolo prvým krokom k upevneniu južného Slovenska k Maďarsku. Tá by bola veľká strata pre Slovensko, strata veľkého územia s vysokým počtom občanov. Tvorba kultúrnej autonómie by mohla byť prvým krokom k obecnému financovaniu a sebaovládaniu na Slovensku v maďarských kultúrnych a spoločenských inštitúciách.

1996: Zákon o území administratívnych reformách

V roku 1996 vytvoril parlament 79 okresov. Slovenskí politici sa skôr snažili oddeliť maďarské obývané oblasti. Podľa tohto zákona, okresy boli orientované zo severu na juh. Kvôli tomuto rozdeleniu by maďarskí parlamentní kandidáti nedostali toľko hlasov, koľko by potrebovali, aby sa dostali do parlamentu.

2002: Krajanský zákon:

Zákon bol považovaný za uzákonenie dobrých susedských vzťahov medzi Slovenskom a Maďarskom. Hlavným bodom bolo poskytnúť výhody a pomoc osobám, ktoré sa hlásia k Maďarom, a to aj tých, ktorí môžu mať iné národnosti. Jeho cieľom bolo, aby Maďari, žijúci oddelene, opäť predstavovali národnú jednotu. Krajanský zákon bol veľmi obľúbený medzi občanmi, no napriek tomu to viedlo k zhoršeniu slovensko-maďarských vzťahov. Tento konflikt bol otvoreným konfliktom.

2010: Dvojité občianstvo:

Tento zákon umožňuje naturalizáciu Maďarov žijúcich v zahraničí. Napriek tomu sa tento zákon neuskutočnil tak, ako si to Maďari želali, lebo Slovenský premiér zmenil zákon o dvojitom občianstve. Nový zákon hovorí, že občan Slovenskej republiky nemôže mať dvojité občianstvo. Zmena spôsobila veľký konflikt medzi Slovákmi a Maďarmi, a mnohí si myslia, že táto zmena bola priama reakcia na Maďarský zákon.

Tretia sekcia v tejto bakalárskej práci je dotazník, z ktorej som si získal informácie, čo si respondenti myslia o histórii, ich znalosti o histórii. Ukazuje nám, že ovplyvnil niektoré z týchto udalostí, život ich rodičov, starých rodičov. Obsahuje otázky, ktoré

sú spojené s právami a zákonmi, a znovu to, čo si myslia o nich, či sú tieto zákony alebo rozhodnutia dobré alebo zlé.

Moja hypotéza je dokázaná, Trianonská Zmluva stále ovplyvňuje dnešné slovensko-maďarské vzťahy a stále má dopad na politickú diskusiu a na menšinové zákony. I keď je pravdou, že dnes už nie v takej miere, ako to ovplyvnil pred rokmi, Trianon má na to stále dopad. Napriek všetkému je možné, že jedného dňa už nebude Trianon tieto vzťahy a politickú diskusiu ovplyvňovať do takej miery, a že sa pomaly ponorí do zabudnutia.

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- All graphs were made by myself according to survey.

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for the Slovak and Slovak Hungarian Respondents:

Slovak - Hungarian relations in the past and present

Dear respondents!

I would like to ask you to fill out the following questionnaire. The questionnaire is anonymous and the answers will be used only the bachelor thesis, which focuses on Slovak - Hungarian relations in the past and in the present, knowledge about history, minority rights, dual citizenship and autonomy.

For more information or final outcome of the research, please contact me via e-mail at: marcelldaniel94@gmail.com.

The official site of the university: www.bisla.sk

Thank you in advance for cooperation!

Daniel Marcell.

By clicking on "accept" button, I acknowledge that the survey will be used anonymously, and that provided answers will only be used for the purposes of the final bachelor thesis.

☐ Accept

Age:

- ☐ Under 18
- ☐ 18-26
- ☐ 26-36
- ☐ 36-45
- ☐ 45-60
- ☐ Over 60

Gender:

- ☐ Women
- ☐ Men

Nationality:

- ☐ Slovak
- ☐ Hungarian

- ☐ Other

What is your nationality?

- ☐ Slovak
- ☐ Hungarian
- ☐ Other

At home we speak:

- ☐ Slovak
- ☐ Hungarian
- ☐ Both Slovak and Hungarian
- ☐ Other language

Residence:

In the next section, you will find a few questions on history and everyday problems of interethnic coexistence.

Is history important for you?

- ☐ Very
- ☐ More so, than not
- ☐ I do not know
- ☐ More not than a very
- ☐ Not

Do you think that history influences the current Slovak-Hungarian relations?

- ☐ Very
- ☐ More so, than not
- ☐ I do not know
- ☐ More not than a very
- ☐ Not

Please list any historical factors, which according to you affected the Slovak-Hungarian relations.

Among them, any of factors influenced your parents or grandparents lives?

- ☐ Very
- ☐ More so, than not
- ☐ I do not know
- ☐ More not than yes
- ☐ Not

If yes, please describe how:

Have you ever heard of Trianon?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Where did you hear about it?

- ☐ In school
- ☐ From parents
- ☐ From grandparents
- ☐ From friends
- ☐ TV
- ☐ In newspaper
- ☐ On the Internet
- ☐ In books

What do you think of the Trianon peace treaty?

- ☐ I completely agree
- ☐ I agree
- ☐ I do not care
- ☐ I do not agree
- ☐ Absolutely I do not agree

Have you ever heard about the Beneš Decrees?

- ☐ Yes

- ☐ No

If so, where do you heard about the Beneš decrees?

- ☐ In school
- ☐ From parents
- ☐ From grandparents
- ☐ From friends
- ☐ TV
- ☐ In newspaper
- ☐ On the Internet
- ☐ In books

What do you know about those Beneš decrees which were dealing with the Hungarian - German minority living in Czechoslovakia?

What do you think about the Beneš decrees dealing with the Hungarian - German minority living in Czechoslovakia?

- ☐ They were fair solution
- ☐ They were unjust solution
- ☐ No opinion
- ☐ The validity of the Beneš Decrees should be officially confirmed
- ☐ Beneš Decrees should be declared invalid.
- ☐ These events should be understood as part of the Second World War.
- ☐ Beneš Decrees are fair retribution to the Hungarians and Germans for the wrongs of the past.

In the second part, there will be questions about the current relations, of minority rights, on dual citizenship and language laws, and the Law on Territorial Administrative Reform.

Are Slovak-Hungarian Relations problematic in Slovakia?

- ☐ Very
- ☐ More so, than not
- ☐ I do not know
- ☐ More not than yes

- ☐ Not

Comment:

are Slovak-Hungarian relations problematic in your community ?

- ☐ Very
- ☐ More so, than not
- ☐ I do not know
- ☐ More not than yes
- ☐ Not

Comment:

Have you heard of Territorial division that was institutive amendment, it was perceived to be favouritism minority compared to Slovak majority?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

What do you think about the Territorial division?

- ☐ It was a just step
- ☐ It was unjust step
- ☐ Had a negative impact on relations between Slovaks and Hungarians
- ☐ Represents Slovaks and Hungarians alike
- ☐ Public administration reform was made with the intention of integrating minorities into politics.

Language law that applies to the use of the Hungarian language as the administrative in the Slovak areas where more than 15% of the Hungarian population live - was the right step?

- ☐ I agree
- ☐ I do not agree
- ☐ I am not interested
- ☐ No opinion

Do you think that this law has contributed to improving relations between Slovaks and Hungarians in Slovakia?

- ☐ Very
- ☐ More so, than not
- ☐ I do not know
- ☐ More not than a very
- ☐ Not

What do you think of Public inscriptions / signs in the Hungarian language used in those areas where more than 15% of the Hungarian population live?

- ☐ I agree
- ☐ I do not agree
- ☐ I am not interested
- ☐ No opinion

What do you think about changing the law on dual citizenship? (Slovak citizens cannot have dual nationality or lose Slovak)

- ☐ It is against the rights of Hungarian minorities
- ☐ This is in response to the Hungarian law
- ☐ No opinion
- ☐ It was the right move - every citizen should have one citizenship

What do you think about the Status law?

- ☐ Status law will worsen relations between Slovaks and Hungarians in Slovakia.
- ☐ Status law will improve relations between Slovaks and Hungarians in Slovakia.
- ☐ Hungarians have the right to protect their nation beyond the borders of Hungary.

Have you ever heard about the Hungarian autonomy in Slovakia?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

What do you think about autonomy?

- ☐ This is an intervention in the internal affairs by Hungary
- ☐ It would improve relations between Hungarians and Slovaks

Marcell: Two States, Three Narratives

- It would worsen relations between Hungarians and Slovaks

Marcell: Two States, Three Narratives

Questionnaire for Hungarians

Slovak - Hungarian relations in the past and present

Dear respondents!

I would like to ask you to fill out the following questionnaire. The questionnaire is anonymous and the answers I going to use only the diploma thesis, which is built on Slovak - Hungarian relations, in past and in the present, knowledge about the history, minority rights, dual citizenship and autonomy.

For more information or final outcome of the research, please contact me via e-mail, to: marcelldaniel94@gmail.com.

The official site of the University: www.bisla.sk

The cooperation Thank you in advance! Daniel Marcell

By clicking on "accept" button acknowledge that the survey will be used anonymously, well as you provide answers can only be carried out only final diploma thesis research.

☐ Accept

Age:

- ☐ under 18
- ☐ 18-26
- ☐ 26-36
- ☐ 36-45
- ☐ 45-60
- ☐ over 60

Gender:

- ☐ women
- ☐ men

Nationality:

- ☐ Slovak
- ☐ Hungarian
- ☐ Other

What is your nationality?

- ☐ Slovak

Marcell: Two States, Three Narratives

- ☐ Hungarian
- ☐ Other

At home we speak:

- ☐ Slovak
- ☐ Hungarian
- ☐ Both Slovak and Hungarian
- ☐ Other language

Residence:

In the next section questions are recovering on history and everyday minority problems.

History is important for you?

- ☐ Very
- ☐ More so, than not
- ☐ I do not know
- ☐ More not than a very
- ☐ Not

Do you think that history influences the current Slovak-Hungarian relations?

- ☐ Very
- ☐ More so, than not
- ☐ I do not know
- ☐ More not than a very
- ☐ Not

Please list any pair of historical factors, which according to you affected the Slovak-Hungarian relations.

Among them, any of factors influenced your parents or grandparents lives?

- ☐ Very
- ☐ More so, than not

Marcell: Two States, Three Narratives

- ☐ I do not know
- ☐ More not than a very
- ☐ Not

If yes, please describe how:

Where did you hear about the Trianon?

- ☐ In school
- ☐ From parents
- ☐ From grandparents
- ☐ From friends
- ☐ TV
- ☐ In newspaper
- ☐ On the Internet
- ☐ In books

What do you think of the Trianon peace treaty that led to the disintegration of Hungary?

- ☐ I completely agree
- ☐ I agree
- ☐ I do not care
- ☐ I do not agree
- ☐ Absolutely I do not agree

In 2010, Hungary changed the Preamble of the Constitution that now includes the Trianon treaty. What do you think that they included the treaty in their constitution?

- ☐ I completely agree, Trianon is the biggest cultural trauma, which reached Hungary
- ☐ I am not interested in the events which happened, we would not have to deal with them more
- ☐ I do not agree with it, does not belong to the preamble

Law on dual citizenship take into force in 20. August 2010, which allows the naturalization of Hungarians living abroad, but this, is not possible in Slovakia because the Slovak prime minister has changed the Slovak basic law that

resident's Slovak citizenship cannot add another nationality, because going to lose the Slovak. What do you think about the dual citizenship?

- ☐ Action to improve the Slovak-Hungarian relations
- ☐ Chance to be localized the Hungarian minorities living abroad
- ☐ Redundant, everyone has to decide regarding the affiliation only with one country
- ☐ Everyone chooses its own nation wants to be belong

What do you think about the step of the Slovak Prime Minister regarding the dual citizenship?

- ☐ I agree, all people should have only nationality
- ☐ I agree, everyone should decide on the regarding of affiliation
- ☐ This law is against Hungarian law
- ☐ It deprives the minorities from belonging to their home country too

Have you ever heard of the status law that students, teachers Hungarians living in Slovakia request so called Hungarian card, which they can get various discounts? (Travel, various tickets)

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

What do you think about the status of law?

- ☐ Opportunities for minorities to feel at home in Hungary
- ☐ Safeguards them to belong to Hungary
- ☐ Do not agree with it, state should be addressed with Hungarians living at home
- ☐ I do not care

What do you think about the minorities?

- ☐ We should care for them at some time we belonged into one country
- ☐ Everything must be done for their safety
- ☐ They should not worry about them, already they live in another country, and they should solve their own problems
- ☐ I do not care