Summary

This monography offers a reconstruction of Slovak society and the Slovak national movement, political tensions, conflicts, and attempts at rapprochement between the Hungarian government and the Slovak nationality. He traces the ideological and legal background of nationality question in Hungary after the Austro–Hungarian state compromise of 1867. As in this period no Slovak national region was constitutionally defined in Northern Hungary, and the Slovak nation was in *non dominant* position from the constitutional point of view, the Slovak national movement (Slovak National Party) fought for autonomy for the compact Slovak language area, while the Hungarian government fought for changes in the ethnic character and the reinforcement of Hungarian political dominance in Upper Hungary.

Chapter I. examines actual interpretations given by Hungarian state and nationalities on the concept of unified Hungarian political nation, codified by the Nationality Law of 1868/XLIV. Relations between contemporary concepts of the nation and political programs of nationalities area also sketched. Every nationality in Hungary – except for Transylvanian Saxons – decided to renounce the concept of a unified Hungarian political nation and of a nationstate. In the interpretation of Kálmán Tisza and the following Prime Ministers, this gave free hand to Hungarian governments in limiting the rights assured to nationalities in the Law of 1868.

Chapter II. offers an overview of inner transformations of Slovak society, and processes of migration and urbanization in the area of Upper Hungary in the period of Dualism (after 1867). In consequence of inner migrations and American emigration, the region of the Slovak nationality suffered a migration loss of more than 500 000 people. This was, from the point of view of the Slovaks, further aggravated by assimilation processes.

An analysis of the causes and consequences of socially and economically motivated spontaneous Magyarization, and cultural, educational and administrative policy for a concious Magyarization demonstrates the intertwining of the two assimilation processes which mutually increased their influence.

Chapter III. analyses the organizational framework and political program of the Slovak national movement. The Slovak National Party could not consider cooperation with the Hungarian government as a real alternative. On the other hand, during the parliamentary elections, the radical opposition lacked or the radical opposition was not productive. Thus political passivity in the 1880s and 90s was not a manifestation of protest, but a provisory acquiescence of the hopeless situation of nationality policy. After the turn of the century, the Czech-Slovak cooperation offered a new, real alternative to the Slovak movement. The second part of Chapter III. analyzes the genesis of this conception, not entirely without antecendents, but with any political and constitutional dimensions.

Chapter IV. and V. presents the development of the Hungarian government's Slovak policy in the period of Dualism. This first restrictive measures against Slovaks were the suspension of three Slovak high schools and the cultural-national association *Matica slovenská* in 1875. Subsequently, Hungarian governments supported first by Hungarian associations in Upper Hungary, later by county administrations, adopted a combination

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of prevention, restriction and concessions. On the information basis of regular nationality reports from the counties, governments strived after preventing the spread of a nationality movement and agitation by regional nationality actions. The autor analyses in detail as an example the actions of Prime Minister Gyula Szapáry in 1890, and István Tisza in 1913–14 in Upper Hungary.

Realization of the ideas of the government's Slovak policy was hindered by two fundamental conceptional errors of contemporary Hungarian nationality policy. First, Hungarian governments did not acknowledge real ethno-regional aims of the Slovak national movement. Second, the Hungarian government could not find any effective ways to negotiate with the leaders of Slovak movement because of considered their movement as nationalist propaganda. There were no constructive conciliations with the movement.

Chapter VI. presents the reasons and arguments of Slovak separatism in the framework of the disintegration of historical Hungary in 1918. As a result of the failure of Slovak efforts for autonomy in the period of Dualism, and of the weakness of Hungarian governments isolated in foreign policy, no political fractions of the Slovak National Council regarded the Hungariangovernment's autonomy project as an alternative equivalent to the participation in the foundation of the Czecho-Slovak state.

The last chapter, a kind of appendix presents the final solution of the Slovak question at the Paris conference, the codification of the foundation of Czechoslovakia. It also analyses the contradictions of internal and foreign policy of this solution, by presenting the activity of the Czechoslovak and the Hungarian peace delegations concerning the Slovak question.