

THE EUROPEAN CHARACTER OF THE SLOVAK REGIONAL AND LOCAL PRESS (PART ONE)

Andrej TUŠER

Department of Journalism, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University,
Štúrova 9, 811 02 Bratislava, Slovakia

The introduction of the article is devoted to a typological description of the regional and local press in Slovakia, taking into account the theoretical opinions of foreign experts on journalism on this subsystem. It is assessed from the perspective of territory, effect and frequency. Socio-professional and universal regionality and localness are demonstrated on an etymological basis. The historical part, against the background of which the subsystem of the periodical press is studied, is divided into several developmental stages till the establishment of the Slovak Republic in 1993. The focus of this part is on the development of the regional and local press in Slovakia from the earliest times to the end of World War II in 1945.

Slovakia belongs to the European region; in the narrower sense, to the Central European region. This fact is reflected in several spheres of its life. It is particularly evident in the domain of the mass media: the structure of Slovak media is similar to that of other countries of Europe. It is visible if compared with the neighbouring countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Austria, but also Germany) with a similar historical background in many aspects, for example the Austro-Hungarian monarchy or the Czechoslovak Republic. In spite of different state formations, nations, and ethnic groups living there, they shared a common development and fate which was reflected especially in the periodical press of regional or local type.

Before we begin to monitor the Slovak regional and local press in Slovakia within the context of the above-mentioned events it is necessary to specify its typology. It is similar (or even akin) to the typological features of the Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Austrian or German regional and/or local press. The opinions on this issue of terminology differ more or less (what is regional? and what is local?); however, they overlap in particular points, and it is here that common features are found.

The differentiated appeal of the mass media has the result that the reader is attached to a periodical which maximally fulfils his needs and interests. Experiences and sociological research confirm that the reader is most interested in what he

knows, being most curious about things and events which are closest to him, around which he moves and in which he lives. Such media are territorial and local – regional and local newspapers and journals.

The concepts of regional and local have recently occurred in both social and journalistic terminology very often. It is not only because the idea of the implementation of a modern Europe of regions is entering its second decade,¹ and thanks to the Maastricht Treaty it is being realized *de iure* in Western Europe, it even reaches the northernmost and easternmost part of Europe through associated countries (regionality in the broader sense). It is also because regionality, as the philosophy of coexistence, is becoming an imperative term for mutual communication of different human communities also on smaller territories (regionality in the narrower sense).

Our specification of the concepts of regional and local communication is based on the definition of mass communication, where a variety of contents (communications) are conveyed in public from communicator to recipient through technical means. Local and regional communication takes place within the mass communication field consisting of:

- communicator (editors, co-workers, correspondents with the mediation of the editor's office),
- communication (newspaper, journal, radio or television programme, cinema newsreel),
- communication technical instrument or medium (press, radio, TV, film),
- communicant (addressee – reader, listener, viewer).

There is no unambiguous understanding of regional and local press in either Slovak or foreign journalistic literature (as has already been indicated above) or an unequivocal boundary between these two concepts.

In comparison with the content groups of journalistic communication (politics, economy, culture, sports, etc.) regionality and localness are not estimated as thematic-content but are determined and limited primarily by space (territorially). The regional can be differentiated from the local by the etymological value of the concepts: region can be an official region, an area, a district and locality is a city, a village, part of a town, a housing estate, a company, a school:

Table 1

REGION
county, area, district

Table 2

LOCALITY
city/town, village, part of a town, housing estate, company, school

¹ See de ROUGEMONT, D.: *Die Zukunft ist unsere Sache*. Stuttgart 1980.

By this division we speak about the *t e r r i t o r i a l l y* limited units, within which the regional and local press is published. In accordance with the definition of the concepts of the *r e g i o n* and *l o c a l i t y* we can determine the types of particular subsystems: regional periodicals are published in the region (county, area, district). Local periodicals are published in the locality (city, village, part of a town, housing estate, company, school).

Since some periodicals published in regions cover territories greater than one region, we speak of medium and small regional periodicals, so-called subregional (they intervene the territories of a village and its surroundings, several villages or towns plus their surroundings) and of very large regional periodicals, so-called supraregional (covering the territories of several districts, areas or regions).

Table 3

REGIONAL	district	SUBREGIONAL	village + surroundings several villages
	area	SUPRAREGIONAL	town + surroundings several districts
	region		several areas several regions

In localities, sublocal entities (part of a town, housing estate, company, school) can publish their own mass media. In this case we speak of *s u b l o c a l* periodicals:

LOCAL	village	school	
	municipal	company	
		housing estate	sublocal
		part of a town	

From the point of view of its appeal, the regional and local press can have a dual character:

- universal
- socio-professional.

The universal background is represented by newspapers with coverage of the topical phenomena from all areas of social activities in the particular territory for which they are published (region, area, district, city, village, town parts, housing estates), with the content covering general interests and needs of the people living in the particular region, area, district, city, village, town parts or housing estate. It is consensed with *u n i v e r s a l* regional or local affairs.

Periodicals with a socio-professional background are devoted to the interests of narrower communities within the mentioned regions and localities (local socio-cultural, socio-information, information-advertising or advertising magazines, periodi-

cals published by political parties, movements, organizations, unions, clubs, parishes, civic initiatives, so-called alternative press, schools, companies, etc.). These are concerned with s o c i o - p r o f e s s i o n a l regional or local affairs.

We simultaneously speak about territorial division since the alternative press (e.g. the Green Movement and others), periodicals of the political parties or of churches, can also be subregional, regional, supraregional, or sublocal and local.

From the point of view of the frequency of publication, the regional and local press is divided into dailies (morning, noon, evening papers), periodicals appearing every other day, weekly, every ten days, fortnightly, monthly, quarterly, twice a year or irregularly.

For instance in Germany, the regional or local press means dailies (it is probably because in German literature the concept of the region and the ensuing concept of the regional weekly is understood in a broader sense than in Austrian or Slovak literature); on the Austrian media market regional and local papers are published weekly but they bring the news. In Slovakia, there is evidently more variability in this area. More detailed investigation into the German and Austrian, but also the Czech, Hungarian, and Polish regional-local media markets and classifying the periodicals into the particular typological groups and subgroups, would also show greater variety.

Some authors from the countries with more advanced journalism (including Slovakia) sometimes evaluate the issues of the regional and local press uniformly as the local press without differentiating between its regionality and localness. Under local journalism they understand everything which is below the central level. The author of this article thinks, however, that this is a simplified approach.

After the study stay at the Institute for Journalism and Communication Science at the University of Vienna in 1993, I studied the aspects of regionality and localness in German-speaking settings. I saw publications, research and dissertation works of a historical, theoretical and sociological-journalistic character dealing with the given issues. Differences in the views on the issues of terminology used in the regional or local press are observable here as well (as in Slovakia). For instance, three German authors (Hüther, Scholand, Schwarte)² place into the category of the regional press all dailies that are not distributed throughout the country (they are not of nation-wide appeal) but only appear in a particular territorial regional unit, which is determined geographically, socio-economically or administratively. With regard to the publishing structure they recognize (like the author of this article) "regional large papers" and "regional medium- and small-sized" newspapers, the latter meaning the local press. Another author (Benzinger)³ recognizes simply regional and local newspapers. Another German source⁴ speaks about the local

² HÜTHER, J.—SCHOLAND, H.—SCHWARTE, N.: *Inhalt und Struktur regionaler Großzeitungen*. Düsseldorf 1973, p.7.

³ BENZINGER, J. P.: *Lokalpresse und Macht in der Gemeinde*. Nürnberg 1980, p. 7.

⁴ *dtv-Wörterbuch zur Publizistik*. München 1968, p. 309.

press being disseminated in provinces or federal states and about supraregional (nationwide) press.

It is the structure of the press in Hungary that is stimulating for Slovak regional and local journalism. County dailies are published in the counties (similar territorial and administrative units to the Slovak regions). In Poland, after the abolition of districts and formation of smaller regions, regional weeklies are published, while local dailies remained in the original regional centres.

The international conference on the local press and journalism held in 1985 in Katowice, Poland⁵ (regretfully, since then, such a wide forum of the West and East has not been devoted to these issues) adopted some conclusions which should have brought light into the nonuniform terminology and understanding of the concepts of the regional and local press. Three basic types were established for this subsystem:

- the press appearing in different administrative units (village, town, district, county, area and region)
- the press of different types and genres ('house magazines', cultural and political, socio-information, publicity periodicals, etc.)
- the press of different political parties and groups in local conditions, "local" meaning locality and region.

The regional and local periodicals are irreplaceable in the system of the press in any country. Their radius of action covers a smaller area or an economically closed territory which enhances the efficiency of published communications. Wolfgang Langenbacher⁶ said that functioning local communication is part of the quality of life and local media have the basic prerequisites for it. They cover the small and medium size towns, the place of residence and the town part, the magazine of a parish and the city papers. They are very important for fulfilling the information needs of citizens. Some authors ascribe a supplementary role to them with respect to central periodicals; they have, however, such a large inner content information strength that one cannot do without them. The reader obtains information on the events at home and abroad in central periodicals but accepts the known close, local information in an entirely different way (more confidentially).

The importance of this subsystem has been constantly increasing in the Slovak Republic. We witnessed an exceptionally strong growth after the 1989 socio-political changes. While in 1989, 122 regional and local periodicals were published in Slovakia, it was as much as 293 in 1992, and 353 two years later: 100 of them were regional, 150 local, 74 company, and 29 advertising.⁷ Their strength is underlined

⁵ TUŠER, A.: *Polemicky o miestnej tlači*. In: *Otázky žurnalistiky*, 36, 1993, č. 3, s. 155.

⁶ LANGENBUCHER, W.: *Lokalkommunikation – Analysen, Beispiele, Alternativen*. München 1980, p. 11.

⁷ HOLINA, V.: *Journalism and Journalism Education in Slovakia since 1980*. In: *Žurnalistika XXI-XXII*. Zborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského. Bratislava 1996, pp. 5-9.

by other quantitative data.⁸ By October 31, 1990, the central Slovak dailies (there were 11 of them: Čas, Ludové noviny, Národná obroda, Práca, Pravda, Roľnícke noviny, Slovenský denník, Smena, Šport, Új Szó for Hungarian citizens, and Verejnosť) had a total circulation of 1,149,700; regional and local media (centrally registered regional, district, municipal, and company papers) had a circulation of 1,185,500 (three of them were regional dailies – Hlas ľudu for the West Slovakia Region, Smer for the Central Slovakia Region, and Východ for the East Slovakia Region, with a total of 148,400 copies, 3 municipal evening papers – Večerník of Bratislava, Večer of Košice, Večerník of the town of Prešov, with 116,800 copies, 44 district papers with 390,000 copies and 80 company papers with 530,000 copies).

As early as after one year⁹ the data confirm an increased interest in the regional and local press: in spite of the same number of central dailies published in Slovakia (Ludové noviny ceased to exist but another daily was founded for Hungarian citizens, namely Szabad Újság, and Čas was replaced by Nový čas) the total circulation figure decreased to less than 1 million (998,203), but the centrally registered regional and local periodicals (3 regional dailies – Hlas ľudu, Smer renamed Smer DNES and Východ became Slovenský východ, with 125,200 copies and four municipal dailies with the new Košický večer with a circulation of 112,500) and together with about 130 other periodicals registered regionally and locally reached the number of 1,691,530, which is almost three quarters of a million more copies than the total circulation of the central dailies.

By 1995 the growth of the titles of the regional and local press had undergone a still more remarkable change. According to I. Sečík¹⁰ the number of central dailies published in Slovakia was the same (11) (Szabad Újság ceased to exist, new dailies started to be published, e.g. Hospodárske noviny and Slovenská republika, others continued) – Národná obroda, Nový čas, Práca, Pravda, Roľnícke noviny, SME (Smena was fused with SME in September), Šport, Új Szó with a total circulation of 873,600 but the number of regional and local periodicals was as much as 353 plus nine dailies: 4 regional dailies (Hlas ľudu, Smer DNES, Slovenský východ, and a new paper Východoslovenské noviny LÚČ – with a circulation of 911,700), 5 municipal dailies and/or evening papers (Večerník of Bratislava, Košický večer, Prešovský večerník, and the new Večerník in Banská Bystrica and Korzo in Košice with total circulation figure of 85,200 copies), 100 regional peri-

⁸ *Atlas tlače I.* Bratislava, Novinársky študijný ústav 1990. Informácie z Úradu vlády Slovenskej republiky, 1991 (mimeographed).

⁹ *Adresár periodík a vydavateľstiev 91.* Bratislava, Novinársky študijný ústav 1991. Ročný výkaz o periodickej tlači za rok 1991 z Odboru pre informatiku a masmédiá Ministerstva kultúry Slovenskej republiky, 1991 (mimeographed).

¹⁰ SEČÍK, I.: *Vývojové tendencie trhu periodickej tlače na Slovensku.* Otázky žurnalistiky, 38, 1995, No. 3, pp. 193-202.

odicals with a circulation of 446,900, 150 municipal, local, sublocal (school, regional, company, alternative, etc.) with a circulation of 279,000 and 74 company papers with a circulation of 211,400, that is a total of 1,114,200 copies. If we add a single edition of the new typological group of 29 advertising-information regional and local periodicals with a circulation of 715,400, the sum of the subsystem of the regional and local press is 1,829,600 copies, which is almost one million more than the total circulation of the central dailies published in Slovakia.

At the time of writing this part of the study (July 1997), the author of this paper is doing research for the research task of Národné centrum mediálnej komunikácie (National Centre for Media Communication) entitled 'Changes in the infrastructure of the media at regional and local levels under the conditions of the new territorial and administrative division of Slovakia'. The preliminary results show a growing trend in the regional and local press.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGIONAL AND LOCAL PRESS IN SLOVAKIA

The historical overview of the development of the regional and local press in Slovakia passes through the following stages: before 1918, the period of the old Kingdom of Hungary, the years between 1919 and 1938, the period of the first Czechoslovak Republic, 1938-1945, the period of the dissolution of Czechoslovakia and the establishment of the Slovak state, 1945-1960, the period of the people's democratic Czechoslovak Republic, 1960-1990, the period of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, 1990-1992, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, and the Slovak Republic from January 1, 1993.

The first enclaves of the future germs of readers' regions of Slovakia were created (according to DarMO)¹¹ around economically agile centres, municipal communities, and the main routes of communications by mail. The regional press of the old Hungarian counties was mostly Hungarian, exceptionally German and rarely Slovak. Between 1849 and 1918, there were 71 counties throughout the Kingdom of Hungary. The present territory of Slovakia included the whole of 10 counties and parts of a further 8.¹² The counties were as follows: Abov-Turňa, Bratislava, Gemer-Malohont, Hont, Komárno, Liptov, Nitra, Novohrad, Orava, Ostrihom, Spiš, Šariš, Tekov, Trenčín, Turiec, Užhorod, Zemplín, Zvolen.

It was mainly the dependent status of Slovakia within Austria-Hungary that stimulated the development of cultural regionalization. The "appearance of the regional press was also based on the necessary economic-social conditions of Slovakia... It was primarily accelerated by the Magyarization pressure, when, in al-

¹¹ DARMO, J.: *Slovenská žurnalistika 1919-1938*. Martin, Matica slovenská 1966, p. 115.

¹² *Malá encyklopédia Slovenska*. Bratislava, Veda 1987, pp. 659-660.

most every county or district town, Hungarian regional newspapers were established with the aid of state funds: in Bratislava, Trnava, Trenčín, Žilina, Martin, Dolný Kubín, Spišská Nová Ves, Levoča, Prešov, Košice, Michalovce, Rožňava, Rimavská Sobota, Levice, Lučenec, Banská Bystrica, Nitra.”¹³ Almost all the regional newspapers in Slovakia originally published in German changed gradually to German-Hungarian and were finally included in the Hungarian press.

The Slovak regional press appeared at first as socio-political monthly papers at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first Slovak regional periodicals were the *Považské noviny* (1902-1904) in Nové Mesto nad Váhom, *Liptovsko-Oravské noviny* (1902-1904) in Ružomberok, *Pokrok* (1903-1909 and 1910-1916) in Skalica, *Zvolenské noviny* (1904-1914) in Zvolen and *Nitriansko-Trenčianske noviny* (1912-1914) in Bánovce nad Bebravou.

Immediately after the emergence of the Slovak regional press, regional periodicals written in the Slovak language appeared. They were financed by the Hungarian government or particular Hungarian political parties. *Krajan* published in Banská Bystrica (1906-1918) was supposed to balance *Zvolenské noviny*, *Obzor* published in Myjava (1907-1918) balanced *Pokrok* of Skalica, which from 1909 had the insulting subtitle *Hazafias Tót Hetilap* (Patriotic Slovak Weekly). *Naša zastava* published in Prešov (1907-1918) had a similar mission.

In the period of the Kingdom of Hungary, Hungarian journalism penetrated into the northernmost Slovak towns, e.g. into Čadca, Dolný Kubín, Trstená, Bardejov, Podolinec, etc.

The really unsatisfactory state of the Slovak regional press before 1918 is evident from the total number of periodicals published in particular counties or district towns. We have selected several examples (in alphabetical order): in Banská Bystrica, which was the seat of the County of Zvolen 9 regional, at first German and later Hungarian journals were published. Among the 5 Slovak, 25 Hungarian, 1 German, and 1 Latin periodical published in Banská Štiavnica, there were 12 regional newspapers but all were Hungarian. Bratislava, as the centre of the County of Bratislava, had a rich journalistic life, but there were only eight regional newspapers worth mentioning – all Hungarian. In Košice, the seat of the County of Abov, over 160 periodicals were published, including a number of regional or local character. They were mostly Hungarian, or German and Jewish. The only bilingual Slovak-Hungarian newspaper was the *Úradný list* (Official letter) of the County of Abov-Turňa and of the town of Košice (1901-1922).

The seat of the County of Spiš was Levoča, where more than 10 titles were published, predominately Hungarian but also German. The first regional newspaper was German (exceptionally also with Hungarian or sometimes with the Slovak text) *Zipser Anzeiger-Szepesi Értesítő-Spišský oznamovateľ* (1863-1874), which appeared after several changes from 1909 under the title *Szepesi Hírnök* (Spiš Herald) only in Hungarian,

¹³ DARMO, J.: op. cit., pp. 115-116.

but from 1920 to 1925, when it ceased to exist, its title was again trilingual. In Liptovský Mikuláš, the centre of the County of Liptov, 19 periodicals, were recorded and four of them were regional Hungarian papers. The seat of the County of Novohrad was alternatively Lučenec and Balážske Ďarmoty. Before World War I about 30 periodicals were published, all in Hungarian. The only Slovak paper was the social monthly *Ipeľ* and Rimava (1913) printed in Balážske Ďarmoty, a town which is now in Hungary. In Martin, the seat of the County of Turiec, approximately 40 periodicals were published before 1918. They were mostly Slovak but regionally only Hungarian.

More than 80 periodicals were published in Nitra, the seat of the County of Nitra. Together with Bratislava and Košice, Nitra belonged to the three main centres of other-language journalism in Slovakia in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Apart from several German and Slovak periodicals, almost all the periodicals were Hungarian. From 1872 *Nyitra-Trencséni Közlöny* and *Nitra-Trenčínske noviny* appeared simultaneously. They changed into the regional political periodical *Nyitra* with a Slovak supplement before elections in the same year (1872-1873).

In Prešov, the centre of the County of Šariš, over 30 periodicals were published, primarily in Hungarian or German, 14 of them were regional. In Ružomberok, in addition to one of the first Slovak regional periodicals – *Liptovsko-Oravské noviny*, 35 periodicals were published. Twelve of them were Hungarian. Trnava was a significant newspaper publishing centre within the County of Bratislava, but its regional periodicals were Hungarian. In spite of this, the first regional newspaper was the German *Tyrnauer Wochenblatt* (Trnava Weekly; 1869-1880) with a Hungarian supplement (1877-1878), which continued as the *Nagyszombati Hetilap* (Trnava Weekly; 1880-1918). In Zlaté Moravce, the seat of the County of Tekov, 13 Hungarian periodicals were registered, but the beginnings of journalism in this county belong to Levice with 10 newspapers. From among Slovak periodicals published in Zvolen, the regional *Zvolenské noviny* was published for the longest time, but more regional periodicals were published in Hungarian. In Žilina, which was part of the County of Trenčín, the only regional periodical published in Slovak apart from Hungarian periodicals, was the *Považské noviny* (1913-1916).

In 1918, after the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, the Czechoslovak republic took over the territorial division in the territory of Slovakia as by law enacted – article 21/1886 – (without the counties of *Ersztergom* and *Užhorod*). This lasted until 1922. By virtue of the Government order No. 310/1922 there were established 5 counties instead of former 16 counties in Slovakia: Bratislavská, Košická, Podtatranská, Považská, Zvolenská.¹⁴ This situation lasted until 1927. By the law

¹⁴ *Malá encyklopédia*, op. cit., p. 250. According to the publication *Slovensko. Dejiny*. Bratislava, Obzor 1971, the counties were as follows: Bratislavská (Bratislava), Nitrianska (Nitra), Pohronská (Zvolen), Podtatranská (Liptovský Mikuláš), Považská (Martin), Košická (Košice).

No. 125/1927 Coll, brought to effect on January 1, 1928, counties were cancelled and the uniform territorial division was introduced throughout the Czechoslovak Republic (so-called division into provinces and districts. Four provinces were formed: Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, Slovakia and Ruthenia.¹⁵ The counties were again established in the territory of the Slovak Republic between 1940-1945 by the law No 190/1939 Coll., namely: Bratislavská, Nitrianska, Pohronská, Šarišsko-Zemplínska, Tatranská, Trenčianska. By the orders of the Slovak National Council Nos. 26 and 96/1945, the counties were abolished and replaced by national committees.¹⁶

The establishment of the first Czechoslovak Republic (ČSR) brought favourable conditions for the development of the Slovak press. New periodicals (about 200) mainly of regional character were formed during the existence of the first ČSR. Most of them were organs of a particular political party or organization. Their significance was mostly at local level, many had a short life. Their size varied between four and twelve pages with a circulation over several hundreds and weekly or fortnightly frequency. As the number of the titles of the Slovak regional press increased, the number of regional periodicals published in other languages, which had prevailed before 1918, decreased.

The centres of regional journalism in Slovakia were primarily Banská Bystrica, Kežmarok, Komárno, Košice, Levice, Liptovský Mikuláš, Lučenec, Martin, Nitra, Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Nové Zámky, Piešťany, Rimavská Sobota, Rožňava, Ružomberok, Skalica, Spišská Nová Ves, Trenčín, Trnava, Zvolen, and Žilina.

Between 1918 and 1938, Slovak regional journals were published in more than 50 towns (in alphabetical order): Bánovské noviny in Bánovce nad Bebravou (1932-1933); in Banská Bystrica – Hronské noviny (1919-1928); Úradné noviny župy Zvolenskej (1920-1922), Rovnosť ľudu (1921-1922), Pohronský socialista (1924-1925), Pohronský hlásnik (1926-1939); Banskobystrické noviny (1934-1935), which continued as Naše noviny (1936-1939); Banská Štiavnica – Hlasy zpod Sitna (1922-1928), continued as Štiavnické noviny (1929-1930); Ozvena hôr a baní (1932) with a subtitle *Nepolitický časopis pre obyvateľov okresov* (Non-political journal for the inhabitants of the districts of) Banská Štiavnica, Kremnica, Nová Baňa, and the periodical Štiavničian (1935-1942); Bratislava – Úradné noviny župy Prešporskej – Pozsonyvármegye Hivatalos Lapja (1919-1928), continued as Úradné noviny župy Bratislavskej – Pozsonyvármegye Hivatalos Lapja, from 1924 Úradné noviny župy XV Bratislavskej, monthly Devín had a subtitle *Vlastivedný časopis okresu bratislavského a malackého* (1932-1938), Magyar Vidék (Hungarian Countryside, 1932-1933) was a weekly for Hungarian inhabitants of western and southern Slovakia.

The Kysucká trúba (1925-1926) and Kysucké hlasy (1927-1933) were published in Čadca; Naša Orava (1918-1922, 1933-1936), Úradný časopis Oravskej stolice – Úradný časopis Oravskej župy (1919-1922), Orava (1923-1926, 1929-

¹⁵ *Malá encyklopédia Slovenska*, op. cit., p. 251.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 660.

1932) in Dolný Kubín; Žitný ostrov (1928-1938) was the Slovak regional periodical and two regional periodicals for Hungarian inhabitants in Dunajská Streda, one Slovak regional periodical – Galanta (1932) was recorded in Galanta together with one Hungarian Mátyusföldi Lapok (1919-1921); Hlohovec: Hlohovecké noviny (1932-1933) with its editor's office in Piešťany; Ilava: Naš cieľ (1926-1944), Kežmarok: Kežmarčan (1920), which continued as Hlas Tatier (1920) and was replaced by Podtatranská Slovač (1923-1933), Spišské slovo appeared in 1933.

Komárno: in addition to five Hungarian periodicals, an attempt was made to publish an "independent weekly of the Czechoslovak minority" Južné Slovensko (1926); Košice: a regional daily Slovenský východ (1919-1937), later named Novosti (1937-1938); from among other regional periodicals worth noting: Žiara východu (1921-1922), Gazdovské noviny (1923-1938), Slovenská pravda (1920-1936) published in Košice between 1924 and 1931, Stráž východu (1927-1929), Echo východu (1932-1935) and six Hungarian regional periodicals; Kremnica: Naš kraj (1935-1936), which continued as Horský náš kraj (1936-1937), Kremnica (1938) and Banská Kremnica (1939), Kremnické hlasy (1938), immediately after the establishment of the Czechoslovak republic, Hontiansky Slováč (1918-1922) was published in Krupina.

Levice: by the side of three Hungarian regional periodicals, the first Slovak regional weekly Južné Pohronie (1932-1938) appeared, with the title Pohronie from 1934; Liptovský Mikuláš: Republikán (1919-1935), Slovač (1924-1928), Úradné noviny župy Liptovskej (1920-1922), later renamed Úradné noviny župy Podtatranskej (1923-1926); Lučenec: in addition to seven Hungarian regional newspapers there were quite a number of Slovak ones – Novohradská stráž (1919-1920, 1925-1926), which appeared as Slovenský juh in 1920, Národná jednota (Slovenská národná jednota, 1921-1924), Pohraničný posol (1922-1923), Národný týždenník (1929-1938).

Malacky: Slovenské Záhorie (1930-1932), Martin: Úradné noviny župy Trenčianskej (1919-1922), Úradné noviny župy Považskej (1923-1928) and Turčiansky kraj (1932), Michalovce: Zemplín (1919-1920 and 1936), Zemplínske noviny (1928-1929), Nový Zemplín (1938) and Prebudená dedina (1938), Myjava: Slobodný Slováč (1918-1920) immediately after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic and Noviny zpod Bradla (1921-1925).

The tradition of the Slovak regional press in Nitra was launched by the weekly Národná stráž (1921-1938) as a continuation of Nitrianske noviny (1919-1923, 1925-1933); other periodicals published there were Ludová politika (1921-1923), Nitra (1923-1924), Nitriansky kraj (1935), Nitrianska pravda (1934), and Nitrianske slovo (1931-1935). There was also a variety of Hungarian regional periodicals published in Nitra. Nové Mesto nad Váhom: Považské hlasy (1918-1933) and Považské listy were printed there for some time, but were published in Trenčín. Nové Zámky: the first Slovak regional weekly published here was Slovenský juh (1927-1938) and three Hungarian periodicals were also published there.

Pezinok: *Pezinské hlasy* (1932), *Piešťany: Piešťanské zprávy – Piešťaner Nachrichten* (1924-1929), *Piešťanské hlasy* (1928), *Piešťany a okolie* (1929) *Piešťanský obzor* (1932), which continued as *Piešťanský zpravodaj – Pistyaner Berichterstatter* (1933); Poprad: the illegal *Spišská pravda* (1934), Prešov: *Šarišské hlasy* (1919-1920), *Slovenská pravda* (1920-1936), *Východný Slovák* (1922-1935), the Ukrainian *Narodnaja gazeta* (1924-1935) and Hungarian *Új Világ* (1919-1940), Prievidza: *Náš kraj* (1919-1944) and *Hornonitriansky trň* (1937), Púchov: the weekly *Československá vzájomnosť* (1933-1938) which was a continuation of the fortnightly *Moravskoslovenské pohraničie* (1933) in Slovak and in Czech with the newspapers *Piešťanský kraj*, *Trenčiansky kraj*, *Žilinské noviny* and the supplement *Trenčianske Teplice*.

Rimavská Sobota: *Gemer-Malohont* (1919-1938) and *Okresný Vestník okresu Rimavsko-Sobotského* (1930-1932); Rožňava: *Šafárikov kraj* (1932-1938) but also three Hungarian regional periodicals; Ružomberok: *Zornička pravdy* (1920), *Prebudenie* (1923-1926), which continued as *Naše prebudenie* (1926-1927), *Slovenský pozorovateľ* (1929-1933), *Podtatranský kraj* (1934-1938), *Ružomberské záujmy* (1935) and *Podtatransko* (1936).

Sabinov: regional periodicals *Šariš* (1927-1928) and *Sabinovské listy* (1928); Senec: *Senecký zpravodaj* (1931-1933); Skalica: *Slovenské Pomoravie* (1929-1930) and *Moravsko-slovenské pomedzie* (1936-1938) in Slovak and Czech, *Spišská Nová Ves: Tatry* (1919-1922), which continued as *Naša pravda* (1922) and was replaced by *Podtatranská Slovač* (1924-1938), *Spišské hlasy* (1934-1939); *Spišská Stará Ves: Naša Magura* (1923-1924), which continued as *Naša obrana* (1925-1927); *Šahy: Úradné oznamy županského úradu župy Hontianskej* (1919-1921) and two Hungarian periodicals; there were only Hungarian regional papers in *Šamorín* and *Štúrovo*.

The *Topoľčianske noviny* (1929-1938) was published in Topoľčany; Tornaľa: only two Hungarian papers; Trenčín: *Trenčanské noviny* (1918-1925), which continued as *Považské noviny* (1925) and *Považské listy* (1925-1930), *Trenčan* (1923-1945), *Trenčanská pravda* (1934) and *Trenčianske hlasy* (1938); Trnava: *Slovensko* (1918-1923), *Trnavský kraj* (1920-1921), *Nové Slovensko* (1923-1938), *Trnavské hlasy* (1927), *Úradné noviny okresu Trnavského a Hlohoveckého* (1929-1935); Trstená: an attempt to publish *Oravské noviny* (1920).

In Vranov, the local branch of *Matica slovenská* published *Zemplínska stráž* (1922-1923); Zlaté Moravce: *Úradné noviny župy Tekovskej* (1919-1922), *Tekov* (1919-1921), *Žitavsko-Hronské listy* (1930-1933), which continued as *Hronské listy* (1933-1940); Zvolen: *Pluh* (1921-1934), from 1923 as *Stredoslovenské noviny* (1933-1938), *Úradné noviny župy XVIII* (1923-1928), *Obzor národohospodárskej župy Stredoslovenskej* (1931-1938), Žilina: regional *Právo ľudu* (1920-1922), *Slovenské noviny* (1922-1928), *Slovenské listy* (1923-1925), *Naše hlasy* (1933-1935) and *Považská pravda* (1933-1934). Five issues of the “*Úradný časopis Miestneho výboru Slovenskej Národnej Rady v Žiline*” *Sloboda* (founded on 10

November 1918, immediately after the establishment of the Czechoslovak republic) appeared.

The dissolution of Czechoslovakia from 1938 to 1945 had a significant influence on the situation in Slovakia. The image of the press in Slovakia changed after the Diktát of Munich by the four Great Powers, and especially after October 6, 1938, when Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (HSLS) became the ruling political power, and after the so-called Žilina agreement with other parties, its proposal for the Constitutional law on the autonomy of Slovakia was adopted).¹⁷ A ban was imposed on the press of all other parties, trade unions, and interest organizations, so that the HSLS gained a monopoly. The regional press was thus also remarkably slimmed down. In spite of that, regional papers were published in about twenty towns. The most important centres were Banská Bystrica (Naše Pohronie), Michalovce (Nový Zemplín), Nitra (Nitrianska stráž), Prešov (after the occupation of the town of Košice by Horthy's Hungary, the daily Slovenská sloboda was founded), Ružomberok (Liptov, Tatranský Slovák), Spišská Nová Ves (Spišské hlasy, Tatranské hlasy), Topoľčany (Nové hlasy, Topoľčianske hlasy), Trenčín (Trenčan), Trnava (Trnavské noviny, Trnavský kraj), Zlaté Moravce (Slovenské listy), etc.

The situation was also different due to the occupation of Slovakia by Horthy's Hungary. In Komárno Hungarian regional periodicals Barázda and Komáromi Lapok (Komárno Letters) gradually disappeared, but a new periodical Új Komárommegyei Hírlap was founded (1939-1944). In Košice, also afflicted by the violent occupation of Horthy's Hungary, a regional daily Felvidéki Újság (1938-1945) was published till 17 January 1945. Naša zastava, the periodical from 1907-1908 was renewed and published in the east-Slovakian dialect with the aim of supporting "the independent East-Slovakian nation of Upper Hungary" (1939-1945). Exclusively Hungarian regional periodicals were published in Levice, Rimavská Sobota, and Rožňava. Two Hungarian periodicals were still published in Nové Zámky till the liberation of the town in 1944, but the weekly Slovenská jednota (1939-1944) of the Party of Slovak National Unity in Hungary, which started to be published in Nové Zámky, is also worth noting. Its readers were mostly Slovaks from southern Slovakia annexed to Hungary on the basis of the Vienna Arbitration.

The regional illegal press from the period between 1938 and 1945, including the time of the Slovak National Uprising, was a special chapter in the history of the press in Slovakia. The periodicals appeared in different areas – in Bánovce nad Bebravou, Banská Bystrica, Dobšiná, Hlohovec, Hnúšťa, Klenovec, Liptovský Mikuláš, Liptovská Osada, Martin, Modrý Kameň, Porúbka, Prievidza, Revúca, and Zvolen.

¹⁷ DARMO, J.: op. cit., p. 321.