



**VIEW OVER THE
VÝCHODOSLOVENSKÉ STROJÁRNE
(EAST-SLOVAKIAN MACHINERY
WORKS)**


POHLAD NA VÝCHODOSLOVENSKÉ
STROJÁRNE

Source Zdroj: AMK. Kronika všetkých
služieb od ich začiatkov do 1967

Socialist Industrialization as a Factor of Urban Development and a Difficult Legacy in Košice, Slovakia

Socialistická industrializácia ako faktor urbánneho rozvoja a neľahké dedičstvo v Košiciach, Slovensko

Adam Górk, Dana Kušnírová

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Predkladaná vedecká štúdia sa venuje analýze procesu industrializácie Košíc po roku 1945 a tiež analýze vývoja industriálnych zón mesta v postsocialistickom období, po novembri 1989. Pozostáva z dvoch častí, prvá predstavuje historickú analýzu procesu industrializácie Košíc v rokoch 1945 – 1960, pričom sa na spriemyselňovanie mesta pozerá cez prizmu dobových inštitúcií. Potom, čo bol stavebný priemysel roku 1948 v Československu znárodnený a súkromná prax vymizla, ostali inštitúcie jedinými *agentmi zmien* a činiteľmi v procese urbánneho a stavebného rozvoja miest v ČSR. Centralisticky riadená vláda týmto krokom vytvorila vhodné podhubie na začatie rapidnej industrializácie, ktorá bola zároveň ideologicky podnecovaná dôsledkom prudkého zhoršenia medzinárodných vzťahov. Dôležitým faktorom bolo aj znárodnenie kľúčového priemyslu a baní, ktoré prebehlo ešte v roku 1945. Východoslovenskému mestu Košice industrializácia v praxi priniesla zásadnú zmenu identity mesta spolu s jeho ne-bývalým priestorovým rozvojom. Samozrejme, takýto ambiciózny projekt sprevádzali aj komplikácie. Prvý pokus o umiestnenie väčšej fabriky v blízkosti mesta v podobe výstavby Hutníckeho kombinátu počas rokov 1950 – 1953 sa skončil neúspechom a s obrovskými hospodárskymi škodami. V rovnakom čase však došlo aj k premiestneniu a výraznému rozšíreniu Magnezitovej továrne a Východoslovenských strojární (VSS), ktoré v menšej miere podnikli bytovú výstavbu a naznačili ďalšie smerovanie rozvoja mesta. Definitívne Košice získali industriálny charakter a spolu s ním aj povest najrýchlejšie rastúceho mesta v republike rozhodnutím vlády ČSR o výstavbe Východoslovenských železiární (VSŽ) v roku 1959.

Tento príspevok približuje najdôležitejšie lokálne inštitúcie a ich prostriedky na realizáciu územného plánovania a výstavby v Košiciach v sledovanom období. Zároveň zachytáva priestorový rozvoj štyroch najvýznamnejších priemyselných podnikov v meste v čase industrializácie, ale aj v období po novembri 1989, na ktoré sa zameriava druhá časť príspevku. Táto časť analyzuje fyzický a funkčný rozvoj industriálnych zón postsocialistických Košíc, pričom využíva metódy urbánnej morfológie, špecificky *Conzenianovský* prístup analýzy mestských plánov. Komparáciou viacerých kartografických zdrojov bola vytvorená GIS (Geographic Information System) databáza, na základe ktorej prebehla analýza industriálnej evolúcie mesta v druhej polovici 20. a na začiatku 21. storočia. Pri porovnaní urbánneho vývoja Košíc počas oboch sledovaných období je možné nájsť analógiu – oba tieto časové úseky priniesli zásadné politické a spoločenské

zmeny, ktoré umožnili vytvorenie tzv. *window of possibilities*, priestoru pre veľké zmeny v rámci celkového urbánneho smerovania Košíc. V oboch prípadoch to demonštruje nielen nevyjasnenosť územného plánovania, rýchle zmeny, ktoré ho sprevádzali, ale napríklad v období konca štyridsiatych a v priebehu päťdesiatych rokov aj časté inštitucionálne premeny. Umiestnenie Východoslovenských železiární do bezprostrednej blízkosti Košíc malo za následok započatie procesu *path-dependency*, a to v tom zmysle, že industrializácia udávala charakter výstavby v meste. Počet obyvateľov v Košiciach vďaka VSŽ markantne vzrástol, čo v ďalších desaťročiach reflektovala aj bytová výstavba a postupné rozširovanie hraníc mesta.

Druhýkrát sa *window of possibilities* otvorilo po roku 1989, hospodárske reštrukturalizácie a zmeny majetkových pomerov ovplyvňovali využitie a funkciu sledovaných priemyselných objektov. V rámci Košíc v súčasnosti zachytávame existenciu rovnako *greenfields*, ako aj *brownfields* a *mixed zones*. Najväčší priemyselný podnik v meste, VSŽ, bol sprivatizovaný koncom deväťdesiatych rokov, súčasným majiteľom je americká oceliarená U.S. Steel. Významný je rozvoj spomínaných *mixed zones*, pre ktoré je charakteristické, že dominantné postavenie na ich území má viac ako jedna podnikateľská aktivita. Táto mozaika rôznych typov biznisu je v súčasnosti najrozšírenejšia v rámci mestských (post)industriálnych zón Košíc a zároveň dobre reprezentuje charakter post-socialistickej transformácie. V porovnaní s procesmi, ktoré sa odohrávajú v iných častiach mesta, transformácia industriálnych oblastí je intenzívna a odohráva sa rôznymi smermi s rôznymi výsledkami.

Proces urbánneho plánovania v päťdesiatych rokoch, kedy boli pripravené tri rôzne územné plány, a snaha nadväzovať na socialistické plány v deväťdesiatych rokoch, ukazujú rozdiely v prechodoch medzi sledovanými obdobiami urbánneho rozvoja. Obdobie socializmu bolo revolučnou dobou v košickej histórii vďaka rapidnej industrializácii a následnej urbanizácii. V porovnaní s tým, na začiatku post-socialistickej transformácie viaceré priemyselné podniky pokračovali vo svojej činnosti, pričom sa snažili adaptovať na novú realitu voľného trhu. Zmeny sa postupom času urýchlili a väčšinu nových investícií sa v Košiciach darilo rozvíjať po roku 2000. Aj napriek tomu nachádzame podobnosť medzi dynamikami rozvoja v päťdesiatych a deväťdesiatych rokoch 20. storočia. V prvej fáze po otvorení *window of possibilities*, rozvoj je menej koordinovaný, zmena nastáva po *turning point* (bode obratu), keď je činnosť viac plánovaná, čo

umožňuje uskutočňovať väčšie projekty. V prípade Košíc, kde post-socialistická transformácia otvorila nové *window of possibilities*, priemysel aj naďalej zohrával dôležitú úlohu v urbánnom vývoji Košíc ako základ lokálnej ekonomiky. Avšak viaceré procesy, ktoré sa aktuálne v meste odohrávajú, ukazujú, že sa mesto snaží zmeniť tento trend. Napríklad nárast sektora služieb viditeľne formuje morfológiu jadra mesta, zatiaľ čo rozširovanie Košíc presunulo priemyselné a bytové investície mimo centra mesta, ďalej do pôvodne vidieckych oblastí.

Otázka industrializácie a jej miesta v urbánnych dejinách stredoeurópskych miest je aktuálna, no zároveň značne komplexná a vyžaduje si interdisciplinárny prístup, ktorý bol zvolený aj pre túto štúdiu. Vybranými metódami historického inštitucionalizmu a urbánnej morfológie môžeme na sledovaný fenomén nazrieť z viacerých hľadísk: geografického, historického a urbánneho. Na základe analýz je možné identifikovať konkrétne znaky industrializácie miest, ktoré môžu byť charakteristické aj pre ďalšie mestá centrálnej Európy.

The decades after World War II were significant for urban development in Central and Eastern Europe, in which many cities experienced rapid growth and heavy industrialization. The communist regimes wanted to create new societies with the working class in a dominant role. The city of Košice illustrates how the localization of industrial entities' serves as a catalyst for urbanization. Industrialization of eastern Slovakia was one of the key points of the Two-Year Plan in Czechoslovakia after 1945, and Košice became the center of those changes. During the following years, this development changed the city's character from a mid-sized provincial town into a large industrial city. Later, after the Velvet Revolution, the post-socialist transformation redirected this trend. Together with global tendencies of industrial relocation, postindustrial areas have been left within the city structure that need redevelopment. From a broader perspective, the first phases of socialist and post-socialist periods show similar dynamics as a time of significant changes that set the guidelines for city development in the following decades. According to the path-dependency concept,¹ those two periods offered windows of possibilities in which the former course of development was changed.

The following paper will analyze those periods in Košice's development from the perspective of industrialization and later transformation processes. First, it will describe the political and economic situation after WWII, analyzing the city planning and decision-making process that led to the rapid urbanization that Košice underwent in the socialist period. By presenting the main industrial entities, it will analyze the development of the main industrial zones and the overall city structures. The next part will focus on post-socialist transformation and the diversity of this phenomenon. Moreover, it will describe the contemporary history of Košice with various examples of how industrial zones were treated in the past three decades. Referring to general concepts, it will discuss the results by looking into patterns in Košice's urban evolution and analyze how the location of the main industrial entities influenced city development.

The paper is a combined outcome of two research projects, both focusing on Košice's urban development but each from a different context. On one side, it forms a historical study with the focus on archival sources and the perspective of the institutional approach, which helps to understand the frames that the centrally planned economy imposed on the city growth. The second research project² concentrates on the physical and functional development of Košice from the perspective of urban morphology studies, especially the Conzenian approach.³ By comparing multiple cartographic sources, a GIS database was built and used for mapping and analyzing city evolution. An important part of the analysis consisted of the materials collected during fieldwork, which help to understand recent changes but also to detect objects/processes not visible in other sources. The synthesis of those approaches gives insight into the development of Košice in the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries.

The First Decades After WWII

After the re-establishment of Czechoslovakia at the end of WW II, Košice survived wartime almost physically undamaged,⁴ (unlike the rest of east Slovakia) which made it possible to start an initiative for Košice to become an administrative, industrial, cultural and academic center. The first three years after liberation, up to the communist coup d'état in 1948, were marked by a severe housing crisis which dated back to the interwar period. To solve it become one of the key tasks for city officials. Unfortunately, insufficient progress was made, with only 125 housing units built in the years 1945 – 1948 while at the same time the population grew by 6,000 new settlers.⁵

At the beginning of the 1950s, Košice had a concentric structure, with the medieval old town surrounded by districts of tenements and several suburbs. Small industrial zones were located

Type	Description	Data availability	Source
Cadaster	Geometrical determination, inventory, and description of real estate	2019 live–updated database	WMS server from National Geoportal of Slovakia
OpenStreetMap	Open-source project with data from various sources	Database downloaded at 14. 6. 2019	www.openstreetmap.org www.download.geofabrik.de
State map	Maps based on cadaster, prepared since the 1950s in scale 1:5 000	1952, 1960, 1981, 1988	Monochromatic scans from Central Archives of Geodesy and Cartography (ÚAGK) in Bratislava
Base map	Topographic maps prepared since the 1970s in scale 1:10 000	1975, 1985, 1989, 1996	Color scans from Central Archives of Geodesy and Cartography (ÚAGK) in Bratislava
Other topographic maps	Various topographic maps in different scales	1955, 1958, 1964, 1990	WMS servers from National Geoportal of Slovakia
Orthophotomaps	Orthophoto imagery with various levels of details	1949 – 1950, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2013, 2015	WMS servers from National Geoportal of Slovakia
Satellite imagery	Satellite pictures with different levels of details	2006, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019	Google Earth software
Planning documents	Archival planning maps	1952, 1959, 1971, 1973, 1976, 1978, 1984, 1999, 2010, 2014	Color scans from Department of Architecture, Košice Municipality

**THE CARTOGRAPHIC SOURCES
USED FOR BUILDING A GIS
DATABASE**

KARTOGRAFICKÉ ZDROJE POUŽITÉ
NA VYTVORENIE GIS DATABÁZY

around the city core and close to the railway. Most of the urban space was concentrated on the west bank of the Hornád river, with only a few suburbs and military barracks on its east bank.

The Industrialization of Slovakia

With the approval of the Košice Program in 1945, the Communist Party gained influence over economic policy in Czechoslovakia, which represented a fundamental change. Mines and key industries, including the building industry, were nationalized by the end of 1945.⁶ After the elections in 1946, the Communists took a leading role in the government. Two months after the election, the government approved its new program, the *Budovateľský program* (Building program)⁷, which included preparation of a Two-Year Plan of renovation and construction of the republic 1947 – 1948, already outlining a concrete form of transition to a planned economy, all according to the Soviet example. Although nationalized, the industry still maintained a degree of autonomy during this period.⁸

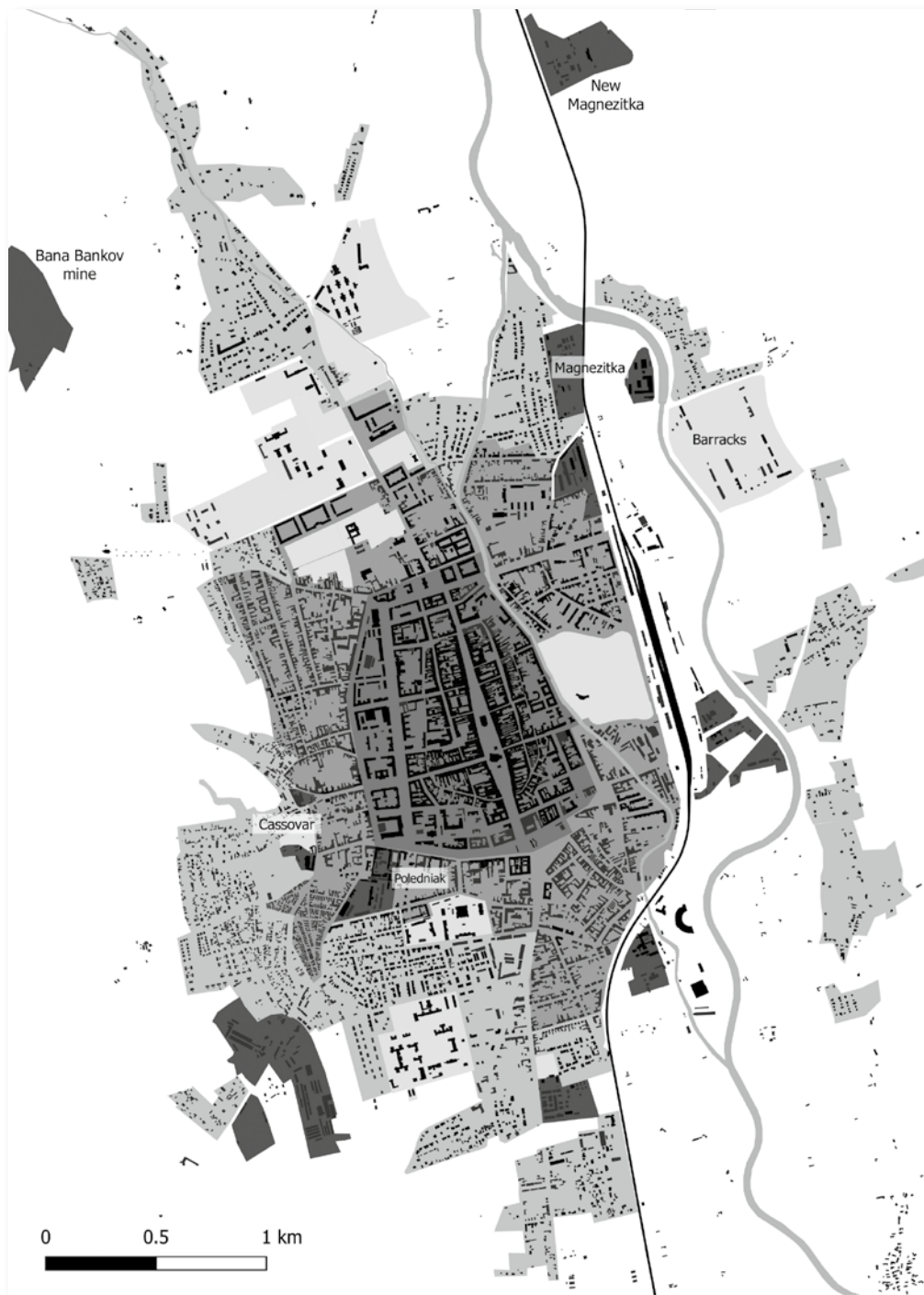
It was soon decided that after the Two-Year Plan a Five-Year Plan would follow. Around the same time, the Communist Party of Slovakia proclaimed industrialization as the broad aim of its economic policy.⁹ Initially started as a way of reconstruction of the country after wartime and a means of equalization between the Czech and Slovak parts of the country, industrialization was ideologically enhanced after the communist coup d'état in February 1948.

In 1949, when the first Five-Year Plan was adopted, the international situation had deteriorated, and the states within Eastern Bloc expected to begin a new war with “imperialism”. In these circumstances, the focus of the Five-Year Plan turned toward “intensifying economic independence, increasing the pace of industrialization, and paying close attention to armaments”.¹⁰ The industrialization of Slovakia launched the construction of several new sectors of heavy industries. Košice was assumed to play a prominent role in these plans with the construction of the HUKO – Hutný Kombinát (Ironworks). The decision about its construction was introduced at the Meeting of Central Committee in February 1951, and one month later the HUKO site was confirmed in Veľká Ida, 20 km south of Košice. The party expected to start the production already in 1953 and the entire factory to be finished in 1955.¹¹

City Institutions and Socialist City Planning

The communist plans intended Košice to become the core of a new industrial center, with a significant increase of inhabitants. The building industry was nationalized in 1948, and private architectural practice virtually ceased to exist. To fulfill these ambitious plans, there was a need for an effective and complex network of state institutions. Toward this end, several institutions were created or transformed with varying degrees of responsibilities and competences.

Two major institutions managed the planning and building development of Košice: the Československé Stavebné Závody (Czechoslovak Building Works; after 1951 *Pozemné stavby*/



THE CITY STRUCTURES OF KOŠICE AROUND 1952

ŠTRUKTÚRA MESTA KOŠICE, OKOLO 1952

- Buildings** Budovy
- Demolished after 1952**
Demolované po roku 1952
- Railways** Železnica
- Water** Vodná plocha

Functions Funkcie:

- Industrial zones** Industriálne zóny
- Historical center** Historické centrum
- Tenements** Obytné domy
- Suburbs** Predmestia
- Other functions** Iné funkcie

Author Autor: Adam Górka

Above-Ground Construction) established in 1949 in Košice and, under its authority, the design office Stavoprojekt. To improve project documentation for plants in the mining industry and ensure better specialization, the Štátny ústav pre projektovanie rudných baní – Rudný project (State institute for the Design of Ore Mines – Ore Project) emerged in 1953 in Prague, with two branches in Brno and Košice. In addition, the Urbanistické stredisko (Urban Center),¹² a spatial planning bureau for the whole East Slovakia region, was created in 1960. After reorganization in 1961, the design office Stavoprojekt gained a survey center. Finally, in 1965, Košice received its Ústav hlavného architekta (Institute of the Chief Architect).¹³

The uncertainty of Košice's urban planning is visible through closer examination of the steps taken by the city's organizations during the 1950s. Between 1952 and 1959, three masterplans were

THE CITY STRUCTURES OF KOŠICE AROUND 1989

ŠTRUKTÚRA MESTA KOŠICE,
OKOLO 1989

Functions Funkcie:

- Industry** Priemysel
- Old town** Staré mesto
- Tenements** Obytné domy
- Housing estates** Sídlišká
- Suburbs** Predmestia
- Railways** Železnica
- Roads** Cesty
- Airport** Letisko
- Water** Vodná plocha

Author Autor: Adam Górká



created. František Kočí from Brno¹⁴ developed the first masterplan with the assistance of experts from all over the country, most noticeable Jíří Hruza.¹⁵ In addition to Košice, the masterplan also covered the area plan for HUKO and the adjacent housing estate of Šaca. Nevertheless, most of the plan was never realized and by 1953 all the work around HUKO stopped because of significant financial shortfalls.¹⁶ As mentioned in *Architektura ČSR*: “A specific idea of the purpose, scope, and content of the work did not exist from the very beginning of the project, thus affecting the degree of accuracy of the outcome”.¹⁷

After the collapse of the HUKO project, the following years were a period of uncertainty and the tempo of investments slowed down. Because of this situation, Ján Gabríni and Ladislav Greč created a new city masterplan between the years 1956 and 1957.¹⁸ The plan covered the

city's development over several years on an ad hoc basis¹⁹ by managing the housing crisis on one hand, and meeting requirements related to the ideology of industrialization. However, the government did not abandon the idea for Košice to be an industrial center and by 1958 approved the construction of the Východoslovenské železiarne (East-Slovakian Steelworks, VSŽ). This decision led to yet another city masterplan completed in 1959 by a team of architects composed of Milan Hladký, Ján Kurča and Ivan Bányai.²⁰ At the time of this plan's approval, Košice had 100,000 inhabitants, by the end of 1965 the number was meant to reach 120,000 and by 1975 up to 180,000.²¹

Rapid industrialization and urbanization started in 1960 with the construction of VSŽ and the district Nové Mesto (New City), continuing throughout the entire socialist period leading Košice to be labeled "the fastest growing city in the republic".²² In the 1970s, a new masterplan changed the concept of future development from the *compact city* to the *metropole*.²³ The new idea of city structure proposed the location of new housing estates further from the center, yet connected with other parts by a network of high-capacity streets.

It was socialist industrialization and the big housing estate projects realized to house the incoming workers for the industrial entities that determined the city's physical structure at the end of the socialist period. The construction of housing estates was preceded by demolition of several tenement and suburban districts, mostly on the west and south-eastern bank of the old town. The branch of the river next to the old town was drained and turned into a wide street. Meanwhile, the industrial areas grow extensively alongside the railways, with the biggest zones in the north (Magnezitka) and south (Juh).

With the development of new housing estates further from the city core, the transport infrastructure extended with new tram lines connecting southern parts of the city with the center. The train station, rebuilt in 1973, and a new bus station, constructed in 1976, created a communication hub. The airport built in the 1950s between the Barca district and VSŽ expanded in 1974 – 1977.

Under socialist urbanization, urban sprawl started in Košice. Suburbanization took place mostly alongside the main communications axes out of the city. In addition to the improved transport connection of Šaca and VSŽ with the rest of the city, the gap between those areas and the city core was only partly filled.

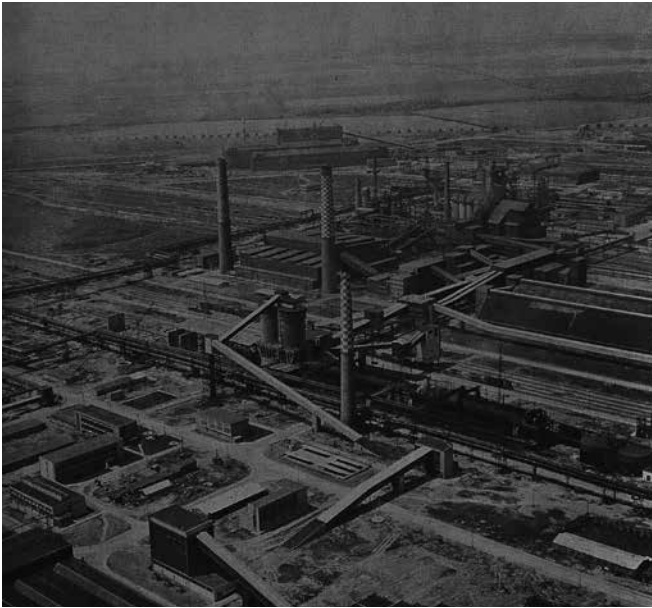
Main Industrial Entities in Košice

The industrial entities established in Košice before 1948 experienced significant growth in the subsequent years. Following the decision regarding Košice's industrialization, several new entities were located in the city. The following chapter will examine four of them, chosen on the basis of such criteria as localization and overall importance for city development.

The biggest industrial entity in Košice was Východoslovenské železiarne (East-Slovakian Steelworks, VSŽ), the construction of which marked a turning point in the city's industrialization. The Hutný Projekt (Metallurgical Project) office in Prague prepared a conceptual project, and the construction was approved at the end of 1958.²⁴ Hutný Projekt then created its Výhledová štúdia (Prospective Study) and Zastavovací plan (Building Plan). Košice was chosen out of 19 locations within east Slovakia. After detailed analysis, the commission recommended placing VSŽ 14 km to the southwest from Košice's city center. Much attention was given to transport infrastructure, especially the construction of railways with connections to the nationwide network and the scheme of planned roads. Most employees were to commute by the electrified tramline built between Košice and Šaca. By the 1980s, VSŽ became the most advanced metallurgic enterprise in Czechoslovakia.²⁵

Magnesite mining in Košice dates back to 1909,²⁶ when quarrying started in the Bankov area (the hills surrounding Košice from the north). Magnesite ore was processed in a factory in the north part of the city close to the railway. During the first Five-Year Plan, it was decided that the factory would be relocated and extended further to the north from the center, close to the railway, and the village of Ťahanovce. In 1949, the city administration applied for building permits for a cableway²⁷ that would connect the mine with the new factory. By the end of the 1950s, the national enterprise Slovenské magnezitové závody (Slovak Magnesite Works) was implemented, which combined several other Slovak mines into the same entity. Because of adverse geological conditions at the quarry, construction of the underground mine started in 1965 and finished by the 1970s.²⁸

Another industrial entity relocated after 1948 was Východoslovenské strojárne (VSS) (East-Slovakian Machinery Factory). Construction started in 1949 in the south part of today's Košice, with most of the machinery was taken from Strojárň a zlievareň Karola Poledniaka (the Karol Poledniak



**VIEW OVER THE
VÝCHODOSLOVENSKÉ ŽELEZIARNE
(EAST-SLOVAKIAN STEELWORKS)**

POHLAD NA VÝCHODOSLOVENSKÉ
ŽELEZIARNE

Source Zdroj: BALOG, Ján, 1969.
10 rokov VSŽ. Košice: VSŽ, p. 7



**VIEW OVER THE BAŇA BANKOV
MAGNESITE MINE**

POHLAD NA BAŇU BANKOV
S ŤAŽBOU MAGNEZITU

Source Zdroj: AUGUSTÍN, Ján, 1972.
Slovenské magnezitové závody, n. p.
Košice 1946 – 1970. Bratislava: Obzor

Machinery and Foundry), one of the biggest industrial entities in the city before 1945. After its nationalization in 1946,²⁹ the Karol Poledniak Machinery and Foundry served as a foundation for VSS and its relocation from the city center to the south continued after the 1960s.

The Košice brewery Cassovar was funded during the second half of the 19th century in a location on the west bank of the old town. As the business steadily grew, the industrial area expanded. After WWII the brewery was turned into a state-owned company, the main buildings were reconstructed and extended with a 60-m-tall chimney.³⁰

Košice during Post-Socialist Transformation

The end of the socialist period, followed by the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1993, created a new reality for city development: a free-market economy, the reestablishment of local government, and the increasing role of private investors. With independence, the position of Košice changed to that of the second-largest city in the country, from only the fifth in Czechoslovakia. In the 1990s, several industrial entities were closed (Magnezitka in 1996, the Cassovar brewery in 1997) and in certain cases, their buildings remain abandoned, but the main industrial zone of VSŽ stayed active. At the same time, the urban planning process continued based on plans from the socialist period with a few adjustments made in the 1990s and early 2000s.³¹ At the same time, the urban planning process continued based on plans from the socialist period with major adjustments made in 1990s and 2000s. While the 1990s were marked mostly by the adjustment to the new reality and economic crisis, in the first decade of the 21 century the tempo of investment sped up with the construction of several retail centers and office buildings.

The new investments are concentrated in several parts of the city, while other areas (mostly socialist housing estates) lack the same dynamism. There is also a visible concentration of identical categories of investments, which allows delimiting several categories of active areas (in the meaning of ongoing transformation processes).

In the northern part of the city, the last of the socialist housing estates, Ťahanovce, was under construction until 1997. Nevertheless, the original project was not completed. Another example of the continuation of socialist projects was the construction of the city ring-road. Significant for the post-socialist transformation (and the globalization processes) is the change of the role of the airport in Košice. In the last decades, several investments were made, and the volume of air traffic has systematically grown. Partly connected with the airport, the new logistics and industrial zone was established in its neighborhood in 2009.

The city center has drawn into its focus the processes of revitalization. The old town and surrounding areas are undergoing reconstruction. An interesting project was realized in the old



THE MAPPING OF THE POST-SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION IN KOŠICE

MAPOVANIE POST-SOCIALISTICkej TRANSFORMÁCIE V KOŠICIACH

Post-socialist transformation

Post-socialistická transformácia:

- (post) Industrial zones** (post) Industriálne zóny
- Multifunctional subcenter** Multifunkčné subcentrum
- Retail subcenters** Maloobchodné subcentrá
- Revitalization** Revitalizácia
- Socialist projects** Socialistické projekty
- New housing estates** Nové sídliská
- Intensive suburbanization** Intenzívna suburbanizácia
- Airport** Letisko

Author Autor: Adam Górka

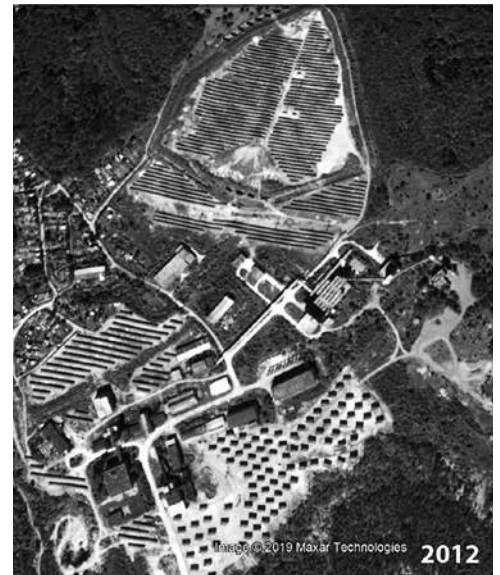
military barracks, turned into Kasárne Kulturpark – a venue for exhibitions and cultural events with an open-access public space. At the southern edge of the old town, a multifunctional area developed starting from Námestie Osloboditeľov alongside Štúrova ulica. There is a noticeable concentration of new objects/buildings with different functions: retail center, offices, multifunctional arena, apartments, etc. Štúrova, followed by Moldavská, is the new development axis that leads to the biggest retail area developing on the south-western outskirts of the city.

In opposition to the mass-scaled socialist housing estates, private developers have realized smaller projects, aiming to increase the density of the buildings by filling up the gaps within the city but also expanding the urban space. The character of the new housing estates differs from the socialist ones and contemporary processes such as the development of gated communities

SATELLITE PICTURE OF THE BANKOV MINE BEFORE AND AFTER INSTALLATION OF SOLAR PANELS

SATELITNÁ SNÍMKA BANE BANKOV PRED A PO INŠTALÁCII SOLÁRNYCH PANELOV

Source Zdroj: Google Earth



are visible. The increase of the urban sprawl process is a significant indicator of the post-socialist transformation in Košice. Suburbs have emerged in the neighborhood areas and across the city limits. Urban sprawl is also visible in the localization of new industrial entities alongside the Pereš industrial zone next to the airport and an extensive zone developed near the village of Kechnec, 15 km outside of Košice.

Transformation of Industrial Zones

The industrial zones developed during the socialist period in Košice are undergoing a process transformation that leads to different outcomes. In the 1990s several significant industrial entities were shut down (Magnezitka, Cassovar, The Mill). However, the biggest industrial entity in the city (VSŽ), after privatization in 2000, changed its ownership to that of US Steel and continues its production. Today it remains the most significant employer in Košice (12,000 employees in 2018).³²

In the last decades, several brownfield investments were made in Košice. Among them, the most significant is the construction of a solar powerplant in the Baňa Bankov magnesite mine. After the termination of mining works in 1999, activity in this area ceased for several years. Later, the new owner intended to reopen the mine and for this purpose started several investments, including the installation of 96 solar panels in 2011, with the purpose of producing energy for the entire mining operations. As for now, the powerplant is operating, but mining has yet to start. Further brownfield investments are also found in other industrial zones of Košice. In the magnesite processing factory area, an international company from the automotive sector opened its enterprise, while in the southern part of Košice, in the area of the VSS, several entities are located such as Falco Engineering or Steelcon Slovakia.

Greenfield investment in Košice is concentrated in the Pereš Industrial Zone located close to the Košice Airport. In 2009, a new zone of 250,000 m² opened for logistics, industrial, and office premises.³³ Since that time, several corporations have established locations here and there are plans for its extension. According to the latest urban masterplan, this area will be a part of a bigger industrial and logistic zone. Moreover, there is a plan to extend the industrial zone between the districts of Barca and Nad Jazerom. A big Industrial park is planned close to the village of Haniska located just outside Košice's southern city limits. Together with existing enterprises (VSŽ), it will create a still more significant concentration of industrial activities outside of the city core.

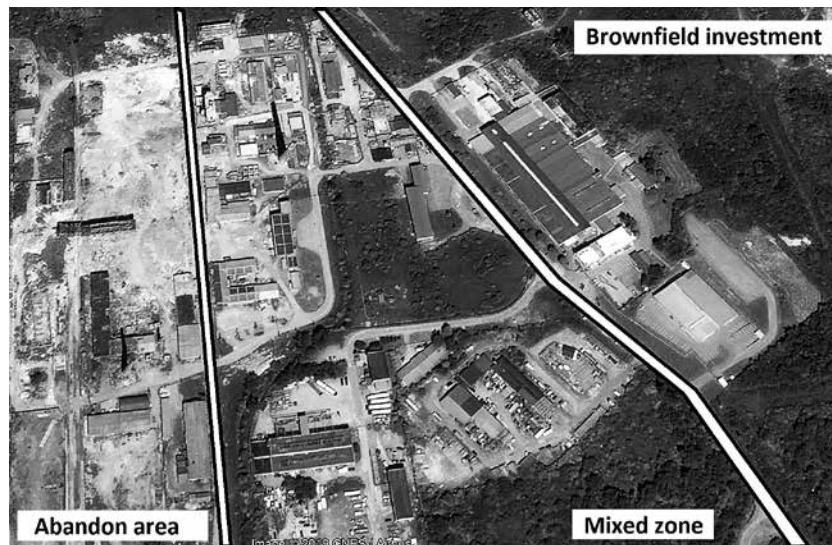
The area of the former Cassovar brewery, located close to the city center, is an example of the change of industrial function and revitalization. The brewery closed in 1997, and for the next decade, the area was abandoned. In the years 2007 – 2012, the Cassovar Business Center was constructed. Together with the start of the IT Valley in 2007, it marks the ongoing dynamic development of the service sector in Košice. Office buildings, retail centers, and housing replaced most of the



**CASSOVAR BUSINESS CENTER
WITH CHIMNEY FROM THE
CASSOVAR BREWERY**

BIZNIS CENTRUM CASSOVAR
SO ZACHOVANÝM KOMÍŇOM
Z PIVOVARU CASSOVAR

Photo Foto: Adam Górka



**THE DELIMITATION OF DIFFERENT
ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE FORMER
MAGNEZITKA INDUSTRIAL ZONES**

VYMEDZENIE RÔZNYCH AKTIVÍT
V RÁMCI BÝVALEJ PRIEMYSELNEJ
ZÓNY MAGNEZITOVÝCH ZÁVODOV

Source Zdroj: Google Earth

brewery buildings. The only remaining brewery objects in this area are the brick chimney and the 19th-century house of the brewery founder.

The area of the magnesite processing factory (Magnezitka) is a specific case, presenting divergent results of an industrial zone transformation. After the end of production in 1998, an extensive area was left abandoned. Many of the buildings were vandalized, several collapsed on their own, which led to the decision to demolish the remaining dangerous ones in 2012. At the same time in the northern part the company Howe Leathers located a major brownfield investment, and between those areas smaller business developed, creating a mixed zone of different functions.

During fieldwork in this area, various smaller or bigger businesses from different economic sectors were mapped, mixed with still-abandoned objects. Because of these specifics, it remains impossible to categorize those areas under one dominant function or even morphological class. A significant example of this type of mixed-function zone is present in the southern part of Košice. Close to each other are a new retail center, warehouses in old buildings, various production entities, and abandoned buildings. The illustration on page 43, top right pictures this with the example of a newly built shopping center to the right and an old factory building just partly used (in the center) and partly ruined (left).

The analysis of industrial zones transformation allows us to build a typology of different processes and outcomes mapped in contemporary Košice. As the main industrial entity located outside the central urban area continues its production, most of the industrial zones within the city have been transformed. The industrial areas close to the city center changed their function, while in



**MIXED-FUNCTION AREAS IN THE
MAGEZITKA INDUSTRIAL ZONE**

ZÓNA ZMIEŠANÝCH FUNKCIÍ
V BÝVALEJ PRIEMYSELNEJ ZÓNE
MAGNEZITOVÝCH ZÁVODOV

Photo Foto: Adam Górka



**MIXED FUNCTIONS AREAS IN THE
JUH INDUSTRIAL ZONE**

ZÓNA ZMIEŠANÝCH FUNKCIÍ
V PRIEMYSELNEJ ZÓNE JUH

Photo Foto: Adam Górka

other locations the situation is more complex. Since in only a few locations the industrial production continues in brownfield or greenfield settings, in most of the cases the former industrial zones have changed into mixed-function zones.

Conclusions

Industrialization determined Košice's development after WWII, with the decision over the localization of the Steel Works in 1959 forming the turning point. The previous decade was marked by ad hoc investment with no clear direction of development. Emblematic for this period is the HUKO – a big steelworks complex built without a masterplan, a project that collapsed as well as the following plans for the city development. This period of uncertain future is marked by the three different masterplans for Košice prepared within just 7 years.

Beginning in 1960, rapid urbanization continued during the whole socialist period. “The fastest-growing city in the republic” outgrew its masterplan from 1959 and in the 1970s needed a new one. The new idea for the city structure as a metropolis has also been implemented even after the Velvet Revolution, up to contemporary times. Such a formulation accurately describes the difference in the transition between the described stages of urban development. The socialistic period was a revolutionary time in Košice's history with rapid industrialization and urbanization. In comparison, at the beginning of the post-socialist transformation, former projects were continued and most of the entities tried to adapt to new free-market reality. The changes sped up over time and most of the new investments developed after the year 2000.

The industrialization of Košice followed certain general patterns. Starting from the 1950s, with rapid urbanization, there was a tendency to relocate the industrial zones further from the city center. Although land rent in socialist economics and urban planning played a limited role, the need for open space for development motivated the relocation out of the city core. One exception was the Cassovar brewery, which expanded physically but remained in its location close to the city center. The location of new industrial zones followed the pattern of existing infrastructure, concentrating mostly near major rail lines. A separate case is the development of VSŽ – outside of the city with special transport infrastructure built deliberately for this purpose.

In the last decades, the tendency to move the industry out of the city core has continued while new zones have been developed or are planned. Meanwhile, the industrial areas created in previous periods within the city are transforming, and in Košice we can witness an entire spectrum from the continuation of production through abandonment, brownfield or greenfield investments, to complete changes of the function. A significant finding is the development of mixed zones, with more than one dominant activity. This mosaic of different businesses is most common within the city's industrial zones and aptly represents the character of post-socialist transformation. Compared with processes underway in other parts of the city, the transformation of industrial areas is intense and follows various paths that lead to a different outcome.



THE TYPOLOGY OF INDUSTRIAL ZONE TRANSFORMATIONS IN KOŠICE

TYPOLÓGIA TRANSFORMÁCIÍ INDUSTRIÁLNYCH ZÓN V KOŠICIACH

Industrial zone typology

Typológia industriálnych zón:

- Continuation** Pokračovanie
- Brownfield** Brownfield
- Mixed functions**
Zmiešané funkcie
- Greenfield** Greenfield
- New functions** Nové funkcie
- Abandoned** Opustené
- Planned** Plánované

Author Autor: Adam Górká

The development of Košice after World War II, with the key role of socialist industrialization followed by post-socialist transformation, can be understood via general concepts. While theoretical models (concentric/sector/multinuclei model of the city) capture the changing city structures, the changes in dynamics and decision-making processes can be understood using the path-dependency theory.³⁴

From this perspective, there are visible similarities between the socialist and the post-socialist periods, as new political and economic realities invariably opened the “window of possibilities”. In the 1940s and 1950s the plans for Košice’s development changed. The decision over the localization of VSŽ was the moment that fixed the direction of city development to industrialization, and the city was locked into that path until the fall of the Communist regime. The post-socialist

COMPARISON OF THE DYNAMICS BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST AND POST-SOCIALIST PERIODS IN KOŠICE'S DEVELOPMENT

KOMPARÁCIA DYNAMIKY VÝVOJA V KOŠICIACH V SOCIALISTICKOM A POST-SOCIALISTICKOM OBDOBÍ

	Socialist State	Post-socialist transformation
Phase I (Managing the crisis):	Ad hoc industrialization/urbanization	Ad hoc transformation
Phase II (Locking into the path):	Planned industrialization/urbanization	Organized transformation

transformation activated processes that redefined urban structures: urban sprawl, relocation of industry, or reestablishment of the land rent, and a new window of possibilities opened. There are similarities between the dynamics in the 1950s and 1990s. As the window of possibilities opens, the first phase of development is less coordinated, but after the turning point the actions are more carefully planned and larger-scale projects are conducted.

In the case of Košice, when the post-socialist transformation has opened a new window of possibilities, the industry still plays an important role in Kosice's development as a base of the local economy. Despite that, several processes show that the city has attempted to change its path. The municipalities invested in several "metropolitan facilities" such as a multifunctional arena, new stadium, culture centers, or recreation areas. And projects like the IT Valley intend to increase the role of other economic sectors in city development. It is visibly evident that the development of the service sector shapes the city core morphology, while urban sprawl moved industrial and housing investment outside of the city core and even far into rural areas.

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MGR. DANA KUŠNÍROVÁ

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
FACULTY OF ARTS
PAVOL JOZEF ŠAFÁRIK
UNIVERSITY IN KOŠICE

Šrobárova 2
040 59 Košice
Slovak republic

dana.historicke@gmail.com

MGR. ADAM GÓRKA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
FACULTY OF ARTS
PAVOL JOZEF ŠAFÁRIK
UNIVERSITY IN KOŠICE

Šrobárova 2
040 59 Košice
Slovak republic

DEPARTMENT OF SPATIAL
PLANNING, BLEKINGE TEKNISKA
HÖGSKOLA IN KARSKRONA

37179 Karlskrona
Sweden

adam.k.gorka@gmail.com

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