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Dr. M. P. Josko
1850 Monroe Street, N.W.,
Washington 10, D.C.

Washington, D.C., March 11, 1959

Re : Slovak separatism - Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

Dear Sir :

Walter Winchell (Commentary, February 22, 1959) and a Letter to the Editor of Washington Post and Times Herald (Slovak separatism, March 11, 1959) are reminding the American public that a certain Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky is in this country and that he, with the help of his political friends, is active in trying to gain the support of influential American personalities, especially in the international field, for such an arrangement of conditions in Central Europe, that some kind of Slovak state should be established instead of Czechoslovakia, now unfortunately under Communist domination. Both those manifestations are, of course, against the tendencies of Dr. F. Durcansky and against his person.

These warnings were timely, because uninformed (and even some well informed) persons of Slovak origin leaning toward Slovak separatism and thus also toward Dr. Durcansky, to such extent that they are performing lobbying services for Dr. Durcansky on Capitol Hill and at other centers of American public and political life, asking the Congressmen and political personalities to receive Dr. Durcansky and to listen to him, in order that he may gain from them positive promises of cooperation to be able operate with them all over the world, especially in Europe, and if possible in Czechoslovakia, where he wishes to gain adherents and where he has no support at all.

I have known Durcansky very well personally for over 30 years. As a student, a newspaperman, a political prisoner during the war, one of the organizers of the Slovak National Uprising 1944 against the Nazis and against the pro-Nazi regime of the so-called Slovak State, as a Democratic Member of the Slovak National Council 1944 - 1946 in Bratislava and of the Czechoslovak Parliament 1945 - 1948 in Prague, a political prisoner imprisoned by the Communists after February 1948 coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia, as a Czechoslovak exile in Austria, in U.S. and also as an American citizen, I have carefully followed his political activity during all that time.

Replying to numerous questions of my American friends concerning the advisability of speaking to him, should they come into contact with Durcansky, I cannot reply positively. My democratic conscience and conviction, and a regard for the religious and industrious people in my native land, who suffered so much spiritually, physically and materially during the last war and continue to suffer now under Communist tyranny, stop me from agreeing to this approach. Although I am a Slovak and a Roman Catholic, as is Dr. Durcansky himself we have never stood on the same platform. He is the follower of totalitarianism

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of the most pronounced type ; I am a confessor of the broadest democratic principles, as are embodied in the American constitution and as were embodied also in the original Czechoslovak constitution of 1920 which was passed on the model of the American constitution . I disagree with the opinions of Dr. Durčanský ; and, I am sure that the great majority of the Slovak nation suffering under Communist domination today, as well as the great majority of the Czechoslovak exiles in the free world share my conviction in this basic belief : that a compact state-political unity of Slovaks and Czechs is the uniquely possible and historically authorized platform for a free, independent and successful development of these two brotherly and equal nations, who, according to the principles of President "W. Wilson in regard to self-determination, renewed in the year 1918 the cohabitation in the Czechoslovak Republic interrupted centuries ago ; Dr. Durčanský is for just the contrary ; for the Slovak state, which means for the destruction of Czechoslovakia as such .

He already tried once to accomplish this goal in the following ways :

- 1) As a member of the radical and extremist wing of the party of Father Andrej Hlinka (who was for Czechoslovak unity until his death) at the Congress of the Young Slovak Generation in Trenčianske Teplice 1932, he sided with Communist leaders Dr. Vladimír Clementis, Dr. Ján Pončian, Dr. Daniel Okáli etc. against the democratic forces of the Slovak youth; he and Slovak autonomists later continued in this alliance ;
- 2) He negotiated a complot in Czechoslovakia in 1938 with Marshall Goering for the disruption of the country and to its occupation by Nazism ;
- 3) He was one of the leading persons in the Hlinka Guard, a semimilitary formation, which was an avantgarde of Nazism and pro-Nazism in Slovakia ;
- 4) He proclaimed, in March 1939, ideas introducing the following pro-Nazi order in Slovakia from the Vienna Nazi broadcasting station ;
- 5) He was the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the so-called Slovak State, proclaimed at the will and order of Hitler on March 14, 1939 ;
- 6) He was one of those who drafted and signed the Schutzvertrag with Hitler's Third Reich for the time 25 years (a diplomatic, military, and protective alliance treaty) signed on fourth day of the so-called Slovak independence in Vienna on March 18 and in Berlin on March 23, 1939 ;
- 7) He was one of the prominent personalities who in Slovakia helped, to expel the Czechs to the Protectorate Böhmen und Mähren and the Jews to concentration camps and finally to gas-chambers ;
- 8) He was one of those who, together with his master Dr. Bela Tuka, supported the Slovak alliance with the USSR ;
- 9) He took advantage of the Arization (seizure) of the Jewish and foreign properties, even when he was set aside from politics in the Nazi order because he differed from those who remained as leaders of the regime only in that he wanted to be the only leader in the fascist alliance with Nazism ;
- 10) He became again active in politics toward the end of the war and, on September 13, 1944, he declared war against all those who, on August 29, 1944 espousing the cause of the Allies took up arms in the Slovak National Uprising against the pro-Nazi Slovak regime and against the German Army ;
- 11) He is the author of a memorandum of young members of the Fascist totality who on September 20, 1944 asked the leaders of the pro-Nazi regime to solve the Jewish and Czech problem in Slovakia at once and to all consequences (a liquidation according to the Nazi slang and treatment) and to punish the main culprits of the August uprising (trials, death sentences, deportations to concentration camps in Germany, confiscation of property, tec. followed) ;
- 12) He organized a congress of the young Slovak generation in Piešťany on

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January 14, 1944 ; the principal aim of this congress was to further support Germany in the fight, because "this fight cannot end otherwise than with the victory of our and of the European spirit" (Hitler's New Europe) ;

13) He escaped from just punishment for his deeds to Nazi Germany (Austrian territory) with the retreating German Army, here he continued in his activities which were unfavorable to the American fighting Army (Donausender, Linz,) ;

14) Because he was wanted for war crimes, he escaped to Argentina ; after some years, he returned to Germany . He was not permitted entrance into the United States, but recently he succeeded in coming here by way of Canada .

As I already mentioned Dr. Ferdinand Durčanský and his supporters are now trying to gain at least promises for aims similar to those which he has followed in the past .

It is possible that you will come into contact with his name..If it is possible that he or some of his Slovak separatists friends will try anything to induce you to receive him .

For preceding reasons, I take the liberty to ask that, before taking any action concerning Dr. Ferdinand Durčanský, and his Slovak separatist follower, you read carefully the enclosed summary and outline of the book History of Modern Slovakia by Jozef Lettrich (published 1955 by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. New York) which I hope you will find interesting as reference material for your decision, or that you consult the Department of State or other proper authorities .

Sincerely yours,


Dr. Matt P. Jocko

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HISTORY OF MODERN SLOVAKIA

Josef Lettrich

History of Modern Slovakia comes at a time when such terms as the Slovak State and Slovak Separatists appear with surprising frequency in the United States Congressional Record and before Senate and Congressional investigating committees where the testimony of Separatists and their allies is often quoted authoritatively as bespeaking the mind of the Slovak nation. It is not untimely, therefore, to review the history of Slovakia from the standpoint of recent events and with a mind to future developments behind the Iron Curtain.

Who are the Slovaks? What was their past? What were their relations with the Czechs and Czechoslovakia? And who are the Slovak Separatists whose voices one hears so often in American committees and the press? Are they true friends of American democracy? What part did they play in the Slovak State in World War II and what have they in mind now as to their political and national future? What was the oft mentioned Slovak State like? Was it reasonably independent or was it nothing but a satellite of Hitler's Third Reich?

The purpose of this book is to answer these questions by presenting documentary evidence and thereby to contribute to a better understanding of the Slovaks, of Slovakia, and of the Czechoslovak Republic. Lastly, it is a humble effort to assist American opinion in appraising friend and foe to American democracy.

The author finds considerable supporting material in the testimonies and secret documents which came to light at the Nuremberg trials before the International Military Tribunal. The disclosures prove conclusively the part the Fifth Column played in Hitler's plan of world aggression. In the case of Czechoslovakia, there is ample evidence to show how the enemy within, the Sudeten Germans together with the Slovak Separatists, participated in Hitler's conspiracy to destroy the Republic. Contrary to what Neville Chamberlain said, waiving responsibility for the consequence of Munich at the moment Hitler's armies were crossing Czechoslovakia's truncated border, Czechoslovakia did not disintegrate internally, but from without. The part of the Fifth Column, the Sudeten Germans and the Slovak Separatists, in the conspiracy is related in Part II Chapter II.

Hitler's conspiracy, known under the code name of "Fall Green," was planned far in advance. As Henlein, the Sudeten German Nazi stooge was to admit later, Hitler had decided in favor of a struggle "under camouflage and by methods which appeared quite legal to the outside world," for that was the only way "we could have fulfilled the political task of destroying Czechoslovakia, a bastion in the alliance a-

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gainst the German Reich." (Part II Chapter II, p.87) In his work of destruction, Henlein found very willing accomplices among members of the radical members of the Slovak People's Party. The Sudeten Germans and the Slovak Separatists, guilty of treason long before Munich, were very "useful" not to their own State but to a foreign power. Such names as Tiso, Durčanský, Mach, Černák, Sidor, later on Tuka appear frequently in secret Nazi documents. (Many of the same names have shown up since then in exile in plots against Czechoslovakia's resurrection and against democracy.)

Munich was Hitler's greatest triumph. Czechoslovakia suffered a mortal blow and from then on it was but a question of time before Hitler would completely destroy the Republic.

With Czechoslovakia in the throes of a tragic political and psychological depression, the Populists struck to exploit their bid for total power. First they created a new governmental crisis which was followed on October 5th, 1938, by the resignation of the President of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Eduard Beneš.

Within Slovakia there was a great internal struggle between the radicals and the democratic parties and between factions of the radicals themselves, the Autonomists and the Separatists. On some issues the two latter groups were in sharp opposition to one another, such as on the question whether Slovakia was to remain an autonomous part of the Czechoslovak Republic, as suggested by the Autonomists, or whether she should separate and form an independent state of her own. In other matters, however, both factions were in complete agreement. They thoroughly agreed that the Slovak People's Party should assume dictatorial powers in Slovakia and that democratic rights, liberties, and institutions should be abolished. By strangling all political opposition the usurpers formed a Slovak Government, in which they, themselves, occupied a majority of seats. They organized armed Party troops called Hlinka Guards patterned after Hitler Storm Troopers, provoked anti-Czech and anti-Jewish feeling, and introduced political terror. In that atmosphere they then proceeded to hold undemocratic and controlled elections with a single list of candidates for the Slovak Diet. Slovakia was at the mercy of the Separatist radicals - and the Czechoslovak Republic, deprived of much of its territory by the Dictate of Munich, shaken to its foundations politically and economically, was at the mercy of Hitler.

It was only a matter of time before Hitler would occupy and partition the remaining parts of Czechoslovakia. Hitler's emissaries and his Slovak and German agents in Slovakia had prepared everything beforehand.

The Slovak Separatists had made a number of secret conspiratorial journeys abroad of which the public knew nothing. The shroud of secrecy was lifted until after the war by the publication of documents and memoirs in the free world.

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On one of these trips to Berlin Durčanský read a "Declaration" to Göring in which he expressed gratitude to the Führer for the help he had given the Slovaks, enabling them to achieve autonomy. The Declaration further stated that the "Slovaks want full independence and the closest possible political, economical, and military ties with Germany"; that "an independent Slovakia will be proclaimed in the first Slovak Diet"; that "the Jewish question will be settled in the same manner as in Germany"; that "German influence in the Slovak Government appears desirable"; and that a "German will be appointed to the Cabinet of Ministers." Göring replied to the Slovak Separatist delegate that "Slovak efforts to achieve independence are to be aided in a suitable manner" because "Czechia without Slovakia will then be entirely at our (i.e. German) mercy."

Sometime later, February 12, 1939, Hitler himself received Vojtech Tuka, a Slovak radical, who addressed him as "Mein Führer," assuring him that "the Slovak nation will gladly fight under the Führer's leadership for the protection of European civilization" and ended his speech with the words: "I lay the destiny of my people in your hands, my Führer, my people await their complete liberation by you." (Part II, Chapter II, Separatism, p.105)

The alleged liberation of Slovakia, as agreed upon between Slovak radicals and the German agents, was a conspiracy to be carried out by acts of terrorism against anyone who stood in the way of the conspirators. It was agreed in Vienna to send trained terrorists from Germany into Slovakia to create confusion. The plan was carried out and Slovakia "liberated herself," strictly according to the plan of the Nazis and the Slovak Separatists. In the final stage, Hitler invited the ex-premier of the Slovak Government Jozef Tiso to a meeting in Berlin on March 13, 1939, and presented the question of Slovakia's secession from the Czech lands of the Republic in the form of an ultimatum. The Slovak Diet complied with Hitler's ultimatum and proclaimed the Slovak State the following day. On March 15, 1939 German troops crossed the Czechoslovak frontiers and began the occupation of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Western Slovakia. On the same day Hungarian troops entered Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Czechoslovakia, partitioned for the second time within half a year, ceased to exist. The Czechs and Slovaks were split for the second time in their history.

The Slovak nation received the report of Tiso's visit to Hitler and of the decision of the Slovak Diet with a deep sense of grief, anger, and shame. (Part III, Chapter I, The Protectorate). The Slovaks felt cheated, betrayed, sold down the river. Tiso himself acknowledged (before the National Tribunal in Bratislava on March 17, 1947): "Without the pressure exercised by Hitler, the Slovak Diet would never have voted in favor of the independence of Slovakia."

The leaders of the new regime received numerous protests from the most respected Slovak patriots, public declarations from Slovak organizations and associations, but the course of the nation had already been irrevocably decided by a group of wilful men.

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While the Slovak Separatists were busy proclaiming Slovakia an independent and self-governing state, Hitler regarded it as territory annexed by Germany. By signing the Treaty of Protection, the three signatories Tiso, Durčanský, and Tuka subjected Slovakia to the position of a German satellite. Slovakia renounced an independent foreign policy. Moreover, it was the unconditional duty of the Slovak State to organize the Slovak Army in close cooperation with that of Germany, even if Slovakia was not threatened by external aggression. Henceforth Slovakia's military fate was linked closely to that of Hitler; Slovak Armies fought on Hitler's side whomever the Nazis were fighting and where-ever the Nazis ordered them to fight.

The Slovak State could exist only in the shadow of Hitlerite Germany. As time went on, its authoritarian regime became still more rigid. The Slovak Government established the first concentration camp in Slovakia's entire history for "people whose past and present activities give reason to fear that they would continue to obstruct the building of the Slovak State." Government by the "Führer" principle was introduced under the "leader" Jozef Tiso, who first became Prime Minister, then Chairman of the totalitarian Slovak People's Party, and later President of the Slovak State.

Slovak National Socialism became the official ideology, a faithful reproduction of Nazism. It professed the creed of "a common destiny of Slovakia and the German Reich." (Part III, Chapter II, Under the S-wastika)

In fulfilling the role of a German satellite, the regime strained to convince the people of Slovakia that Germany's interests were identical with the interests of Slovakia, that service to Germany was also service to Slovakia. (Part II, Chapter III, Totalitarianism).

There was no political life at all in the democratic sense of the word. The Slovak People's Party with a membership of 280,000 in 1943 was the only political party permitted. However, it was no longer a domestic party, but a mere imitation of the Nazi NSDAP organization. Little by little, the legislative powers of the Slovak Diet were pared down until it was left with practically no power of control at all. Political opposition was denounced as anti-state activity and made punishable as a serious offense against the state.

Cultural publications and those of the churches were rigidly controlled and were not permitted to print anything not in complete accord with the official doctrines of the regime. Not a word could be uttered that did not square with the party line.

When the Slovak State was proclaimed with the destruction of Czechoslovakia on March 14, 1939, the Jews were lost. As early as October 1938, in Berlin, Ferdinand Durčanský, a member of the Slovak autonomous Government, had promised to Field Marshal Hermann Göring that "the Jewish question (in Slovakia) will be settled in the same way as in Germany." The regime embarked on a ruthless persecution of the Jews, but first the Separatists had to destroy democratic institutions, after which they were able to realize their Separatist and anti-Jewish objectives. The Hlinka Guards launched a crusade against the Jews under the

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slogan: "With Sidor against the Jews." Anti-Semitism was made a matter of official policy and Jewry was declared enemy No. 1 of the Slovak people. The Nuremberg laws were extended to Slovakia and the propaganda office assumed the lead in this anti-Jewish hysteria. (PART III, Chapter 4. Anti-Semitism)

The most terrible year for the Jews was 1942, the year of mass arrests and deportations to concentration camps. This was the so-called third period, or "final solution" of the Jewish question. The Minister of the Interior Alexander Mach declared that "the supreme law of the land is this: deport all Jews." The Hlinka Guards staged man-hunts for them, by day and by night, and hauled them away to concentration camps. In the year 1942 alone, some 68,000 Jews were deported from Slovakia to Germany, where nearly all of them were exterminated.

The people as a whole manifested sincere sympathy with the persecuted Jews and helped in hiding them. The Protestant and the Catholic Church both tried to protest and defend the Jews, but the liquidation continued.

The number of Jews had decreased to 12,000. During the six years of existence of the Slovak State, three-fourths of the Jews of Slovakia perished. Only a negligible fraction survived the starvation and other extermination methods of the concentration camp.

The responsibility for the lives of tens of thousands of Slovak citizens of Jewish faith rests jointly and severally upon the Reich Germans, the Germans of Slovakia, and upon their henchmen, the Slovak Separatists. The crime committed against the Jews by the leaders of the Slovak State is all the more heinous because they committed it of their own initiative, of their own free will. The Jewish question was not dealt with in such a manner in any other state under German control except Germany itself.

As a vassal state of the German Reich, the Slovak State took part in all of Hitler's wartime adventures: against Poland, the USSR, Great Britain, and the United States. In his attack on Poland, Slovakia was of outstanding value. Long before the attack the German Army command had made the necessary preparation in Slovakia (Part III, Chapter 3, In Germany's Grip).

After the military invasion of Poland was completed, Tiso, on October 1, 1939, formulated the policy of the state at a convention of the Slovak People's Party in Trenčín: "We chose a German orientation. And we shall continue along this path, because we believe in this orientation.... I assured Hitler that he would never be disappointed in the Slovak State."

The German orientation was followed also in respect and relations with the Soviet Union. After the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed, the pact which cleared the decks for the Second World War, the Slovak State reversed itself completely. A Slovak Legation was set up in Moscow with

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Frano Tiso first Slovak Minister. Slovak propaganda at home tried frantically to explain to the people that Nazi-Soviet friendship was the best safeguard to European stability. The new Soviet Minister Pushkin was welcomed warmly in Bratislava by President Tiso. This honeymoon lasted so long as it served the Nazi purpose. As soon as Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Slovak troops were also on the march along with the German army.

On September 27, 1940, Hitler signed the Tripartite Pact with Italy and Japan by which these three powers divided Europe and Asia into spheres of interest. Germany obtained pledges from her satellites that they would go along with her military operations which were being prepared against the East and the West. Tuka, with the assistance of Cernak, signed an agreement in Berlin whereby the Slovak State acceded to the Tripartite Pact. The participation of the Slovak State in the war against the Soviet Union and the United States was the logical consequence. The Slovak Diet gave its approval to the Protocol of Accession to the Tripartite Pact on Febr. 6, 1941. Thus in World War II Czechoslovakia, with her Government in exile, was an ally of the Western Powers while the Slovak State was a member of the Hitlerite coalition.

The Slovak State made common cause with Germany in its attitude toward Great Britain and the United States. Doubts have been voiced as to whether the Slovak State had actually been in a state of war with those powers at all. Facts dispel any doubts, however (p.168). After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a note at the request of Berlin to the Chancellery of Jozef Tiso, attached to which was the text of the announcement of a declaration of war on the United States and Great Britain. The note mentioned that Tiso had approved the declaration of war by telephone from the mountain resort of Javorina. On the same day the Chancellery of the President replied to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that it was returning the proclamation of the declaration of war, signed by Tiso. A report of the state of war between Slovakia and the United States, as well as Great Britain, was published on December 13, 1941, in the paper Slovenska Politika.

From then on the Slovak State behaved toward America and Britain as toward enemy countries. Slovak troops were dispatched to battle with such bombastic phrases as "our confession of faith ... in the victory of the German armies ... in the Fhrer of national socialist Europe" etc. In the autumn of 1943, the Slovak Government withdrew its so-called security division from the Soviet Front, reequipped it as a technical division and moved it, in October 1943, against the American and British armies in Italy, where it built bridges and fortifications. Under the command of Jan Vesel its operations eventually covered most of Italy.

Apart from direct participation in the fighting during the Second World War, Slovakia also provided valuable economic and material aid to Germany (p.171). In its efforts to help German war production, the Slovak Government ordered the general mobilization for

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labor of Slovak citizens. As many as 100,000 to 140,000 Slovak workers were shipped to Germany to work in armament and other industries. The wages earned by these workers were credited the German-Slovak clearing account. The Slovak Government paid allowances from its own funds to the dependents of the workers. The resulting losses to Slovakia ran into billions. In the summer of 1943 the Slovak Government made an offer to Berlin to send 10,500 men of the labor units of the Slovak army to help defend the German Reich against air attacks. The Slovak soldiers revolted, however, and refused to put on German uniforms and to be shipped to Germany.

Throughout its entire existence the Slovak State was hanging onto the coattails of Germany's war policies. As long as Hitler's star was ascending, as long as he kept occupying one country after another and winning the war, the Slovak Quislings followed him voluntarily and eagerly. When Hitler's luck began to wane, his Slovak allies continued to follow him from sheer necessity. As the situation deteriorated, the last vestiges of Slovakia's paper-independence were wiped out and Slovakia became more and more a mere German province. By the end of August 1944 Tiso felt no reluctance in calling in German forces to help him maintain order in Slovakia against his own army and Slovak citizenry who refused obedience to the Slovak Government, revolted against it and staged the Slovak National Uprising. The Slovak State was falling apart.

The overwhelming majority of the Slovak people had never reconciled themselves to the Munich settlement and to the policies of the Slovak Separatists. They refused to accept political dictatorship and the anti-Czech and anti-Jewish actions, remaining unalterably loyal to the Czechoslovak idea of statehood, to their Slovak national, democratic Western ideals. When they could no longer stand up for these principles, they launched an underground struggle. From the day of the Munich agreement, September 29, 1938, a widespread movement of underground resistance began to develop in Slovakia, which operated in complete accord with the Czechoslovak liberation movement abroad, whose leaders were in London under the leadership of Dr. Eduard Beneš. A number of trusted Slovaks were in the Cabinet. (Part IV, Chapter 1, The Resistance against German Domination).

Resistance at home was governed by the following objectives: to weaken the German war effort; to provoke difficulties that would prevent the consolidation of the Slovak Government; to keep alive the faith in the renewal of Czechoslovak independence; and finally, to prepare an armed uprising against the Germans and Slovak Quislings. To achieve these aims the underground resistance established a unified command in Slovakia in Autumn 1943. A clandestine Slovak National Council was formed in December 1943 consisting of 6 representatives, 3 from democratic and 3 from Socialist groups, the latter comprised of Socialists and Communists. The Czechoslovak Government in London approved the plans of a unified leadership and promised help. Contact was maintained with both the Western and Eastern allies.

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Suddenly, without informing the Slovak National Council or its military leaders, Soviet partisan units became active in Slovakia, blowing up railroad bridges and tracks. The local population thought that this was the beginning of the armed uprising and began joining the partisans in large numbers. From then on no measures of the government could control the situation - the revolution had swept over Slovakia. Tiso called in the German Army against his own people who were enjoined "to welcome the German troops everywhere as our allies."

At that time, the leaders of the Resistance issued orders for an armed insurrection. The Slovak National Council proclaimed itself the organ of the Liberation Movement at Home which functioned in close cooperation with the Czechoslovak Liberation Movement Abroad. It solemnly reaffirmed the wish "to live with the Czech nation in the new Czechoslovak Republic." (Part IV, Chapter 1, Struggle for Liberty).

The Slovak people rose in arms against the regime, overthrew it, and renewed Czechoslovak sovereignty on Slovak territory, establishing their own legislative and executive organs. The Slovak puppet government lost all control over insurgent Slovak territory and depended on the Germans to put them back again.

The uprising lasted two months. Despite the people's elation and willingness to fight, the odds were against them from the start. The insurgents were poorly armed and no help was forthcoming from the outside while the Germans kept sending reinforcements: Hitler's crack tank, SS, and Wehrmacht divisions and air force units. The insurgents called for help in vain. Deliberately the Soviet High Command, failing to fulfill its promises of supplying arms, inflicted further irreparable injury by preventing the British and American armies from coming to the assistance of the insurgents. The Soviet Government found it undesirable for the Slovak people to free themselves from German domination by their own valiant efforts. The Soviets wanted to be the ones to liberate Czechoslovakia and by such liberation to impose a Communist regime and Soviet domination upon the Republic.

The dispersed insurgent forces were forced to retreat to the forests and mountains but a partisan type of fighting went on for another six months, until the end of April 1945. Although the uprising proper ended in two months, the Slovak liberation forces kept tens of thousands of German troops tied down in Slovakia to the very end of war.

The Germans and the Slovak Government ordered widespread reprisals against participants of the uprising and against all Jews. Thousands of persons were put to death in Slovakia and in concentration camps in Germany without a hearing and without trial.

Among the victims were both Military Commanders of the insurgent forces, Generals Jan Gollan and Rudolf Viest (sent by the London Government), numerous political and military leaders, and also 15 members of the American Military Mission captured on Slovak territory.

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Germany's triumph was shortlived, however and with Hitler's defeat the Slovak State was also defeated. Numerous representatives of Slovak Separatism and political officials of the Slovak State were able, nevertheless, to save themselves by fleeing with the German armies to Austria and Germany. With the passage of time a number of them found asylum in overseas havens and in spite of their defeat in the war on the side of Hitler, they were able to start a vicious political campaign against the democratic wartime leaders and against the reestablishment of a free Czechoslovakia.

Unfortunately, under an agreement between the three Allied Great Powers, Czechoslovakia was liberated not by the Western forces but by the Red Army. Moscow made the maximum use of the country's liberation. It had already placed Communists in key economic and administrative positions in the Czechoslovak Government; thus Czechoslovakia fell under the influence of the Communists working as a Fifth Column for Moscow. First, the Communists tried to use Slovakia as a springboard to seize power in all of Czechoslovakia. There was bitter political fighting from 1945 to 1948 between the democratic majority and the Communist minority for control of the state's democratic institutions. In the 1946 election, the anti-Communist parties obtained 70% of the votes and the Communists 30%. Since the Communists could not achieve their aim in Slovakia, they prepared a political coup in Prague, which they carried out in February 1948. Czechoslovakia was taken behind the Iron Curtain. (Part IV, Chapter 2, The Struggle for Democracy)

The Communist dictatorship has put into effect a systematic Sovietization of Czechoslovak public life and in many ways Communist enslavement has proved to be even worse than the Nazi occupation, especially as to political terror, the subjugation of churches, and the economic persecution of entire classes of society. (Part IV, Chapter 3, The Resistance against Communist Domination).

A great many political leaders and tens of thousands of ordinary citizens escaped from Czechoslovakia to the West, and in exile began organizing immediately a new Liberation Movement Abroad, the purpose of which is the defeat of Communist and Soviet rule and the restoration of the freedom and independence of a democratic Czechoslovakia. The Council of Free Czechoslovakia, established in February 1949 in Washington, D.C., has become the focal point of all these efforts. Both Czechs and Slovaks are represented proportionally in the organization, prompted by a common goal - a free unitary state.

The Council of Free Czechoslovakia and individual democratic political exiles have received invaluable assistance for their political, cultural and propaganda activities, in particular from Free Europe Committee, Inc., an American organization created in 1949. The purpose of this organization includes, apart from operating Radio Free Europe, the rendering of moral and material support to exile groups in the United States, the gathering, analysis, and dissemination of information about conditions prevailing in Communist dominated countries.

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Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenians regard the existence of the Czechoslovak state as a lofty ideal, worthy of any sacrifice. The Nazi occupation and the Communist domination of Czechoslovakia were both imposed against the will of the large majority of the Czechoslovak people. When the moment for action arrives, it will again be the people who will play the decisive role in renewing the independence of Czechoslovakia. The more recent trends for European unity do not negate the justification for Czechoslovakia, but on the contrary, argue in her favor.

In earlier chapters the author discusses briefly the history of the Slovaks (Part I, Chapter 1, The Pre-Hungarian Period and Chapter 2, Under the Magyars) and that preceded World War I before the creation of Czechoslovakia, the union of two brother-nations. Chapter 3, In Czechoslovakia, deals with the problems of the new state and the new partnership. Naturally, there were problems of adjustment between the Czechs and Slovaks which presented themselves in creating and maintaining the unitary state. The two decades between the two world wars could not remove what centuries had piled up between the Czechs and Slovaks. Numerous political mistakes were made by both Czechs and Slovaks who objected to the centralization of state powers in one place. Despite these and many other obstacles, the state prospered remarkably; in the two years the Slovaks achieved unique cultural, national, political, economical, and social progress.

In view of the present tireless efforts of the enemies of a united, free Czechoslovakia, the author finds it necessary to describe in some detail the differences between the Slovaks and the Czechs, and between the Slovaks themselves, in particular between the Slovak Autonomists and the Slovak Separatists who became the ideological adherents and actual agents of Hitler's National Socialism. (Part II, Chapter 1, Autonomism and Chapter 2, Separatism, Products of Slovak Radicalism)

The vast majority of the Slovak people did not approve of the political extremism of the Slovak Separatists. They could carry out their treasonable plans only by first establishing a political dictatorship, which would enable them to rule without the approval, nay, against the will of the Slovak nation. Yet, in exile, they claim to be speaking in the name of the Slovak nation. They stress their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist policies, and conveniently forget their totalitarian past. Thus they have succeeded in gaining the support of some Americans of Slovak origin, who uncritically accept the Separatist views. Thus we find the names of Durčanský, Paučo, Kirschbaum, Sidor (to the day of his death) and other Slovak radicals in the foreign language press of America. Worse still, we read their names in the Congressional Record signed to declarations. Some even testify in Congressional investigating committees. Actually they renewed their activities abroad already before the end of World War II on Hitlerite German soil. Anti-Czech and anti-democratic elements are on the march again, just as they were in the years 1938-1939. After Munich these forces grabbed all the power in Slovakia and helped to destroy the Czechoslovak Republic. It is no mere coincidence that once again the center of anti-Czechoslovak and

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Separatist tendencies is in Germany. The leaders are German expellees from Czechoslovakia and Slovak emigres. Even the names are the same.

The Separatists and other enemies of Czechoslovakia can offer nothing that could satisfactorily replace Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia is a necessity, not only to the Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenians, but also to Europe. Though a European federation is attractive as a seeming solution, it is, in fact, but political wishful thinking. The idea of a Central European Federation is still in the stage of theoretical planning and to renounce Czechoslovakia today as if a Federation already existed is tantamount to political suicide. Moreover, the Separatists are moving counter to European development when they demand the destruction of the Czechoslovak entity. European development is moving from the existing small, medium, and large states towards the formation of regional entities and possibly towards a European Union.

As to the mutual relations between the Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenians, these are and must remain domestic problems of the Czechoslovak Republic. All experiences to date indicate clearly that neither a centralized state nor national separatism are the proper paths toward a permanent solution. It is political folly to agitate against the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic only because it has not solved this internal problem.

The American leaders of both world wars knew very well what they were doing when they put the entire weight of their mighty nation behind the efforts of the Czechs, Slovaks, and Subcarpathian Ruthenians to establish at the close of World War I and to renew in World War II the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The future of the Slovaks is at the side of the Czechs in Czechoslovakia. That is the meaning and the message of Slovakia's past.

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