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SECURITY INFORMATION

1. NAME OF SUBJECT OR TITLE OF INCIDENT <u>DURCHANSKY, Ferdinand</u> <u>Slovak Separatist Leader</u>	2. DATE SUBMITTED <u>9 July 1952</u> 3. CONTROL SYMBOL OR FILE NO. <u>Salzburg DAR-7120</u> Ref. No. <u>S-14198</u> CET/par
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4. REPORT OF FINDINGS

The following information was submitted to this Agent on 1 July 1952 by Informant 3780 (Evaluation: "B"), who obtained the material from personal observation.

(Information: 3)

On 30 June 1952 this Agent directed Informant 3780 to attend a lecture delivered by SUBJECT, former Foreign Affairs Minister of Slovakia from 1939 to 1945, currently the leader of a group of Slovak refugees who are strong adherents to the formation of a separate Slovak state. This lecture was given before members and invited guests of the Salzburg Press Club on the subject, "Problems of the Eastern Emigration" (Probleme Der Emigration). The lecture was scheduled for 2030 hours, 30 June 1952 at the premises of the Salzburg Press Club located at Sigmund Ruffner Gasse 16; however, the meeting was delayed by the late arrival of the Club chairman, Dr. Gustav CANAYAL, chief editor of the daily publication, Salzburger Nachrichten, who introduced SUBJECT to the audience at approximately 2115 hours.

Subsequently, SUBJECT delivered an informal address of approximately 45 minutes duration setting forth the following major theses:

a. SUBJECT identified himself as the leader of the expatriate Slovak separatist organization, "Slovak Liberation Committee" (Slovensky Oslobodzovaci Vybor), established for the purpose of combating Soviet as well as Czech influence in Slovakia and with the aim of striving for creation of an independent Slovak national state. In order to substantiate his antagonism toward the incorporation of Slovakia in a unified Czechoslovak state, SUBJECT cited a detailed list of the allegedly erroneous policies, commitments and pro-Soviet compromises of the leading Czech politicians during the past ten years, who unwittingly or knowingly contributed to the extension of total Soviet control over Czechoslovakia beginning with the Moscow agreement of Eduard BENES in October 1943.

5. TYPED NAME AND ORGANIZATION OF SPECIAL AGENT

CLYDE E. TAYLOR, S/A CTC

330th CTC Sub-Det "A" (Salzburg)

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SIGNATURE OF SPECIAL AGENT

Clyde E. Taylor

WD 341

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Slovak Separatist Leader

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b. SUBJECT stated that his organization stood in sharp opposition to the Council of Free Czechoslovakia (Rada Svobodneho Ceskoslovenska). (Agent's Note: An expatriate Czech political organization, believed to enjoy the support of the US Department of State, headed by Dr. Peter ZENKL, former mayor of Prague, with headquarters in Washington, D.C.).

c. SUBJECT advanced it as his major political principle that since no treaty was concluded with the Slovak National Government after the last world war, the Slovak Government still existed in international law and should be considered the rightful successor to the present Soviet-dominated regime in Czechoslovakia. With this concept in view, SUBJECT stated his rejection of the Slovak constitutional plebiscite advocated by the expatriate leader Karol SIDOR and his Slovak National Council in Exile (Slovenska Narodna Rada v Exilu).

d. SUBJECT announced his preparedness to enter into negotiations with General PRCHALA (Agent's Note: Former exile in the United Kingdom, currently heading a Czech refugee organization in the US Zone of Germany) for the purpose of establishing a joint political platform.

e. SUBJECT stated that he was opposed to abrupt unification of eastern European countries (after their liberation from Soviet rule) with any group of western European nations, and committed himself in favor of an inter-European tariff preference system.

f. SUBJECT assailed the Czech personnel of Radio Free Europe, describing them as collaborators of the Communist Czechoslovak government and he averred that financial subsidies extended by the Council of Free Europe to Czechoslovak expatriate organizations enabled these groups to rebut Slovak separatist attempts at a mutually acceptable compromise.

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CLYDE E. TAYLOR, S/A CIC
430th CIC Sub-Det "A" (Salzburg)

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DURCHANSKY, Ferdinand
Slovak Separatist Leader

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9 July 1952

CIC Salzburg
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In answer to several questions, preponderantly by Dr. Gustav CANAVEL, SUBJECT asserted that the Czech program directors of Radio Free Europe were "convenient opponents" for the present Czechoslovak regime since they had been implicated in many of its postwar measures; that approximately 80 per cent of all Slovak refugees were adherents of SUBJECT's group, 10 per cent followers of the Free Czechoslovakia Council and 10 per cent members of the SIDOR group; that Slovak separatists disowned all measures introduced against German ethnic groups in Slovakia by the postwar Czech Governments; and that, although the time has not yet arrived for active resistance against the present Czech regime, many Slovaks, driven into active opposition by strong Communist repression, seek refuge in the mountainous areas of Slovakia where they engage in sporadic guerrilla operations against government security forces.

FILE CHECK:

The files of this Sub-Attachment contain numerous references to Dr. Ferdinand DURCHANSKY (DURCANSEI) as the chairman of the Slovakian Action Committee (SAV); a former Foreign Minister of Slovakia; and a leader of Slovak expatriates in western Germany and Austria. (B-2)

The files of this Sub-Attachment contain numerous references to Dr. Gustav CANAVEL as Editor-in-Chief and publisher of the newspaper Salzburger Nachrichten; member of the Council of the Committee of Former Political Prisoners and Persecuted Persons; and an honorary member of the Board of Directors of the Cultural Group. (C-3)

AGENT REPORT, CIC, Sub-Attachment "A", dated 5 June 1952, (Ref. No. S-15704), Subject: KANTALOVSKY, Eugen, (Dr., Alleged Representative of (FEPS) Free Europe Press Service", states that Frantisek SILACEK is the chief correspondent of the Czechoslovak section of Radio Free Europe in Salzburg.

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Slovak Separatist Leader

3 Jul 1952

CIC Salzburg **DAR-7120**
Ref. No. S-1414 6821 par

passage of SUBJECT's talk concerned with the rebuttal of Slovak diplomatic advances in 1944 by the president of Slovakia, Jozef TISO, appeared to be of interest since it revealed unwittingly that it was SUBJECT in person who attempted to establish confidential contact between unidentified Soviet representatives and the Slovak Chief of State.

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430th (IC Sub-Det "A" (Salzburg))

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9 Jul 52

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ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO. 200-8-1-213	SOURCE RUBA-5461	DATE OF DOCUMENT 16 July 53	ANALYST []
SUBJECT Digest of [] Information on Czechoslovak Dissidents			DATE 23 June 54
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
<p>Dispatch from [] To: Chief, EE [] From: []</p> <p>[] prepared brief sketches of Czechoslovak dissidents who had at one time or another passed through Switzerland and who still may be of interest for Henry L.T. Koren, the Legation's Peripheral Reporting Officer. Koren, in turn, passed the information along to us. The following is a digest of new information and comments taken from these sketches:</p> <p>....</p> <p>Page 2.</p> <p><u>EURCANSKY, Ferdinand</u>: Considered an adept international lawyer. Was formerly Foreign Minister of the puppet Slovak state of Mr Tiso. He was very pro-German and pro-Hitler but at the same time was able to maintain good relations with the Catholic Church. After the war he passed through Switzerland under a false name. Since 1947 he has been in Argentina as the head of the Committee of Slovak Liberation. He is opposed to all ideas of a united Czechoslovakia and to the "ational Slovak Council in Montreal. (The only other information we have on EURCANSKY in our files was derived from the following: Amembassy Despatch, London to the Department No. 1395, dtd 22 Sept. 1950; Amembassy Despatch, London to the Department No. 1471, dtd 10 Oct. 1950; amembassy, London Air Pouch No. 1755, dtd 13 Oct. 1950; and Amembassy, London Air Pouch No. 2227, dtd 9 Nov 1950.)</p> <p>.....</p> <p>THAT IS ALL THE PERTINENT INFO ON SUBJECT IN THIS DOCUMENT. TAKEN VERBATIM.</p>			
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ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY	
FILE NO. 32-6-10-80	SOURCE MGOK-15693	DATE OF DOCUMENT 18 Aug 1952	ANALYST C J	
SUBJECT Policy Statement/Zipper-DURCANSKY			DATE 16 July 54	
PERTINENT INFORMATION				
<p>Chief of Station, Frankfurt Attention: Pullach Chief, E²</p> <p>.....</p> <p>2. In brief it was decided that Dyclaim can in no way lead support to the DURCANSKY group even indirectly through Zipper.</p> <p>3. It was further concluded that Dyclaim cannot disassociate itself from any Zipper exploitation of the DURCANSKY group since German support, as long as Zipper is U.S. subsidized, would always be interpreted as having at least tacit American approval.</p> <p>4. It is recognized that Zipper will continue to play with DURCANSKY with or without our approval, but that any substantial support will most likely come to our attention one way or another. Utilization of individual DURCANSKYITES in Zipper Slovakian operations undoubtedly will continue and is not necessarily objectionable.</p> <p>5. A review of this policy may be made at such time there is evidence that the DURCANSKY group's assets and potentialities warrant it.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>THAT IS ALL THE PERTINENT INFO ON SUBJECT IN THE DOCUMENT. TAKEN VERBATIM.</p>				
PERMISSION TO INCLUDE IN () CONTROLLED BY: DIV: <u>EE/EG</u> DATE <u>2/1/54</u>		DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT DATE 2003 2006		
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1589-CMKWU

22 August 52

SUBJECT: [redacted]

Transmittal of Report on Durcansky

Deadlines	Checked
By [redacted] Dep. by [redacted]	
See para [redacted]	
Hq Comm'n's [redacted]	
See para [redacted] by pouch	
For info and files	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

TO: Chief/EE
Washington, D.C.

INFO: Chief of Mission
Frankfurt, Germany

ATTN: [redacted]

ATTN: [redacted]

1. Enclosed herewith is a report on Durcansky written by [redacted] as requested by [redacted] while in the field recently.

[redacted]

As per

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3 - Wash w/l encls.
3 - Fran w/o encls.

Enclosure: HEREWITH
1. a/s
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[redacted]

FROM [redacted]

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SUBJECT: Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY; His Political Activities; Political Trials of Slovak Democratic Party Officials (Ursiny, Kempny, Bugar) and Their Affiliation with the Durcansky Movement.

Who is Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, what have been his political aims and activities? Durcansky was graduated from the Law School of Komenskeho University in Bratislava and from the University of Political Science in Paris. His political activities were affiliated right from the beginning with the Hlinkova Slovenska Ludova Strana (Hlinka Party). Although young, he was able shortly after joining the Party to get an important position and much influence. He was known as a person whose driving force was not hindered by anything. He became publicly known especially as a fighter for Slovak autonomy and for standing on the side of the activists. "To reach the goal at any price and at any sacrifice" was Durcansky's motto. In October 1938 he became the member of the first Slovak Government as a Minister of Justice, later as a Minister of Communications. In the spring of 1939 he supported the movement for independence of Slovakia with the help of German Nazi leaders. His close friend and political collaborator (fm) MUTNANSKY was sent to Vienna, where through the help of Nazi radio (Radio Vienna) he broadcasted Slovak-language lectures supporting the independence movement. Durcansky was the man who in the critical time of March, 1939, left Slovakia for Vienna and looked for help to anyone who could support his personal aims. He established contact with top Nazi leaders (e.g. Baldur von Schirach) and prepared the way of his own political benefits at the expense of the Slovak nation's fate. He made the first step for the visit of Slovak politicians at the Fuhrer's headquarters and joined Dr. Josef Tiso in his flight to Hitler's Headquarters. There, on 13 March 1939, they decided about the future of Slovakia and the next day proclaimed

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in Bratislava the Slovak Republic under the support and auspices of Germany and Hitler himself. Durcansky became in the first Slovak Government the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was a political radicalist and was behind the move of the purge of Karol Sidor, Minister of Interior. After Sidor's purge Durcansky took over Sidor's Government position too.

In 1941 a rumor spread in Slovakia that Durcansky accumulated around himself some individuals known as radical-politicians. The names of these politicians are as follows: Dr. Falath, Karol Murgas, K. Mutnansky, Dr. Obtulevic, Dr. Krajcovic, etc. The reputation of the mentioned persons was listed as unreliable. These people were against correct policy of Tiso and his Government, and pledged themselves for closer collaboration with the Nazis on the one side, but on the other side were making plans for the unlimited ruling of Slovakia themselves. Dr. Tiso as Slovak President met Hitler in the so-called "Salzburg meeting", succeeded in purging Durcansky from all high-level political positions, and in this way he (Dr. Tiso) was able to continue in his policy "to salvage for the Slovak nation whatever could be salvaged". Durcansky and his followers were not arrested or otherwise punished. They just had to give up their public activities.

The period 1941-1944 can be listed in regard to Durcansky as a non-political in the sense that he did not perform any public political activities.

After the Slovak uprising with the near battle lines in the East, and allied victories on the Western front, the Slovak Government realized together with Dr. Tiso that its existence was nearing the end. Durcansky,

* Other sources inform us that Durcansky was fired at the insistence of the Germans, who suspected him of dealing with the British - i.e. buying English wool for Slovak textile industry. This view more favorable to Durcansky.

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on the other side hand viewed this possibility as his last chance to become a leader and take over the Government of the Slovak Republic. He started a new radical movement against the Allies based on anti-Communist propaganda. But it was too late for him to do anything. His last public appearance was at a radical-youth congress in Piestany. Durcansky left together with other members of the Government, high rank officials, Party functionaries, etc. for Austria or Germany.

Mr. Durcansky's name appeared on the official State Department list of War criminals as a proscribed Fascist.

The exile activities of Durcansky can be shortly divided into three parts:

1. First period: Common exile problems brought all Slovak political refugees together in one camp, based on the thesis of "continuation of the Slovak Republic". But this thesis could not last long, because of the legal establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic by peace treaties and United Nations acceptance.

2. Second period: Political efforts to form a common organization for establishment of freedom and independence of Slovakia. Durcansky proved himself once again as a radical, and after some arguments with Sidow and his followers Durcansky organized an independent separatist organization SAV* - Slovensky akcny vybor (Slovak Action Committee). Here are some leading names of his followers: Dr. Polakovic, Dr. Krajcovic, Dr. Meciar, Dr. Bartek, etc. The split was a result of two different political conceptions and characters. On the one side, Sidow with honest patriotism and love for Slovak nation; on the other side, Durcansky, political gambler, materialist and totalitarian who is using the Slovak

* Now SOV. Slovak Freedom Committee

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nation as an instrument of his desires.

3. Third period: Durcansky left Europe (came back last fall) for Argentina (the only country where he, as a Fascist, could find support) and pushed his activities through SAV (branch offices in Austria and Germany), using all means without concern to accomplish the goal of his personal benefit.

The case of Jan URSINY, Deputy Chairman of the Slovak Democratic Party and Deputy Prime Minister in the Czechoslovak Government from 1945 till October 1947.

In the middle of October 1947 the Communist Party represented by its Government members brought up charges against Ursiny on the basis of affiliation and illegal connections with the movement and organization of the "Second World War criminal, Dr. Durcansky". The charges were brought up on one of the Government meetings and were not given publicly at that time. The democratic members of the Government first considered the charges as a Communist Party move to compromise the democratic leaders, and in this manner to get rid of the fighters against Communist activities. The argument between the Communist leaders and the democratic parties' representatives went through 3-4 weeks with the final result of a compromise: Ursiny to resign from his government post and submit his defense story to the government. The Communist promised that, in the mean time, they would not make public the whole affair, and any further action would depend on a new government issue after Ursiny's defense story. But the Communists did not keep their word. In the beginning of November, 1947, the police (the police force was under the Communist Minister NOSEK)

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arrested all members of Ursiny's cabinet. The named of arrestees are as follows: Chief of the Cabinet Dr. Kubricky, Private Secretary Dr. Ondrus, Chief of the Legal Section Dr. Kalous, Press Secretary Jan Obuch, Secretary Lili Simakova, etc. All were released from prison in two days except Jan Obuch and Dr. Kubricky. Charges were brought up especially against Jan Obuch who was accused of being a cut-out between Ursiny and Durcansky's movement SAV. Ursiny was forced to resign sooner than agreed in the government meeting.

The Press Secretary Obuch was accused of maintaining contact with SAV movement in Austria and Germany through Durcansky's agents. Of all the agents of Durcansky, only a certain (fnu) Komandera was mentioned by name. (The name Komandera was known to the public in connection with the case Bugar and Kempny - see below). The police claimed that some compromising material was found in the safe and desk of Obuch's office: two letters addressed to Obuch from Germany brought inside of Czechoslovakia by couriers, propaganda material and newspaper issues published by SAV, proved connections with members of the Slovak separatist movement in Italy (probably Udine, where was located the Radio-broadcast station of SAV), etc.

During the police interrogation, Obuch claimed that he informed Ursiny on all issues, that he maintained the connections with Ursiny's blessing, that he shipped some secret Government material to SAV on Ursiny's advice, etc. Komandera also claimed during the police investigation that Ursiny knew all about it. On the other hand Ursiny denied all charges and claimed he never spoke with Obuch about the matters under inquiry and

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did not maintain any connections either directly or indirectly with Durcansky or SAV movement.

Ursiny was arrested shortly after the Communists took over in February 1948. He was brought before a political trial in March 1948, was found guilty on all charges and sentenced to seven years in prison.

From my own experience, I know for sure that the private secretary of Ursiny, two days before the Police search, broke into the desk and safe of Obuch to find out if there was any compromising material as claimed by the Communist charges. He did it on orders of Ursiny and of the Secretary General of the Slovak Democratic Party. The Private Secretary took a bunch of material from Obuch's desk but did not get a chance to go through the safe. The mentioned Secretary is now in exile working for Voice of America in New York. There is no question that Ursiny knew about the activities of Obuch and that he discussed the matter with him. The question is only how far Ursiny agreed with these activities.

Persecution and political trial of Dr. Kempny and Dr. Bugar because of affiliation and contacts with Durcansky's movement.

According to the agreement between the Slovak Democratic Party and the highest representatives of the Catholic Church before the last free elections in Czechoslovakia in spring 1946, Kempny and Bugar became members of House of Representatives for the Slovak Democratic Party and Secretaries General for the same Party. They both were

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Catholics with good relations with the Catholic hierarchy.

The Communist Party tried from the beginning of 1947 to compromise by any means the democratic leaders, especially the individuals who were fighting Communism without fear. As a part of the mentioned Communist move was an attack against Kempny and Bugar. The attack was a public one on the base of anti-Government activity, affiliation with the Slovak Separatist movement in exile, spying for the mentioned movement, etc.

After this public attack Kempny and Bugar were put before the House investigation and immunity Committee. Before the immunity Committee the Communist members supported by the Social Democrats brought charges against both of them (Kempny and Bugar): They accused them of moral and financial supporting of the Slovak Separatist movement in exile, of connections with agents working with Durcansky and the SAV organization, of spying for the mentioned organization, etc. As witness the Communist brought a certain (fnu) Komandera who according to the Communist was an agent (courier type) of Durcansky and was caught by the Czechoslovak police after being shadowed for weeks. Kempny and Bugar denied all charges. The House Committee with the votes of Communist and Social Democratic members against the votes of democratic members by a majority of two released Bugar and Kempny for a regular police investigation and trial procedure.

The public opinion was that the charges were contrived to incriminate the subjects, and that Komandera was an agent-provocateur of the police.

The trial took place only after the Communist coup d'etat. Kempny

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and Bugar were sentenced to long prison terms, although they both pleaded not guilty on all charges, Komandera, the police witness, testified that Kempny and Bugar were carrying on the contact with him giving him financial support and reports for SAV. (Kempny admitted only that Komandera tried once to approach him, but that he himself did not commit and collaboration with the witness).

In May 1948 I met in Germany and spoke with a Slovak political refugee (an engineer - I do not recall his name) who came to Germany in 1945 and was a prominent member of Durcansky's movement. The mentioned person who was living in an Ukrainian DP camp at Regensburg told me that Komandera was his roommate in 1945-1946. He knew also that Komandera's mission in Slovakia was to make contact with prominent representatives of the Catholic Church. The engineer testified also that Komandera accomplished in 1946 a few mission to Slovakia very successfully, and that he did not return from one of them because he was caught in Slovakia by the Czechoslovak police.

23 July 1952

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Congressional Record

United States
of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 82^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Speech of Paul C. Kazimer on the Slovak Nation's Sacrifice for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1952

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I want to include with my remarks the very excellent speech made by Mr. Paul C. Kazimer at the conference on psychological warfare held in Washington, D. C., on February 22 and 23, 1952.

Text of the speech follows:

SLOVAK NATION'S SACRIFICE FOR FREEDOM

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests, I think that the sponsors of this conference, and especially the Honorable Congressman O. K. ARMSTRONG and the Honorable Congressman CHARLES KERSTEN, could not have selected a better day for this conference than the birthday of the Father of our Country, George Washington, who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.

When I rise to address you as a former GI, who served with my son in World War II, I visualize a picture of a Valley Forge over in the Tatra and Carpathian Mountains in Slovakia, where today, just like during the war for our American independence the Father of our Country prayed, there in a deep snow, leaders of the Slovak underground imbued with the same democratic spirit of George Washington are praying and fighting communism.

As an American of Slovak extraction, whose parents were born in Slovakia, I am greatly honored to address you at this most important psychological strategy conference on cold war. I was deeply touched by the remarks of my good friend Displaced Persons Commissioner Edward O'Connor, who covered the importance and significance of this conference in his keynote remarks most admirably.

My remarks are limited to some 15 minutes and therefore I shall try hard to utilize every moment of the time allotted to me. I am a spokesman today for the people of Slovakia who unfortunately cannot speak for themselves. It is a great honor and privilege which I cherish most highly. In order to appreciate the plight of the brave people of Slovakia, permit me to give the following facts.

The Slovak Nation has an ancient history which begins in the eighth century, A. D.

At that time Slovakia was an important independent nation in the heart of Europe. It is often referred to as a country on the crossroads of Europe. Slovaks are a devout Christian, democratic people, whose brief history was recently registered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by the Honorable PAUL DOUGLAS, United States Senator from Illinois, proving that democracy is not new to the Slovak nation.

The Slovaks were the first to turn to Christianity of the central European peoples. The first Christian church in Slovakia was consecrated in 830 A. D. in the historical city of Nitra, where today rule the godless tyrants of Kremlin.

The advent of the apostles of Saints Cyril and Methodius to the Slovaks in 863 marked a new epoch of the cultural enlightenment not only for the Slovaks but entire Slavonic nations and their neighbors.

The Slovaks have been dominated by foreign powers for centuries but despite alien domination they have not lost their national characteristics and national spirit. This national spirit was demonstrated during World War I, when the Austria-Hungarian Empire was crushed. The Slovak patriotic movement demanded independence for the Slovak nation. These leaders were banking on the Wilsonian principles of self-determination which were unfortunately disregarded in the peace settlement following the World War. Those interested in history of this period should read the late Col. Stephen Bonsel's works, dealing with this catastrophe and called by him as the Unfinished Business, in his book published under the same title, a Pulitzer prize winner, and also his book Suits and Suppliants. The Slovak nation became thus a part of the Czechoslovak Republic. In this relationship the Slovaks looked forward to promises of autonomy within a federation under the direct sponsorship of the United States Peace Delegation at Versailles headed by President Woodrow Wilson.

Unfortunately the pledges given to the Slovaks by T. G. Masaryk were not kept and, therefore, with the outbreak of World War II the Slovaks were caught between the powerful pincers of the two tyrants, Hitler and Stalin. Hitler began the dismemberment of the Czechoslovak Republic by declaring a protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Once again the Slovak people had to fight for preservation on one hand against Hitler and on the other against Stalin. It was in these circumstances that the Slovak Republic was proclaimed on March 14, 1939.

In this conflict between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union there were no neutrals—the Slovaks because of their natural

hatred for the godless philosophy of communism attempted to defend its borders against the Soviets.

With the end of World War II, the Slovaks suffered persecution from the agents of the Kremlin long before the Communists took over completely in Prague. Few people realized that long before the Communist coup in February 1948, Slovakia had many Lidices—yes; many towns and villages were razed to the ground not only by the Nazis but also by the Reds and their agents. Slovak women, including nuns, were raped by the "big brothers from Russia" long before the vast American and western press woke up to the bestialities of our so-called allies—the Red Army. It was no wonder that when the people of Slovakia were given the opportunity to exercise their free vote, they made it clear how much they despised communism by voting over 70 percent against Communists in the first postwar election of May 26, 1946.

But despite the Slovak protests against the Reds, and despite the majority ballots cast against the Reds, the Reds nevertheless took over entire Czechoslovakia in February 1948. This was no news to us Americans of Slovak extraction who have diligently followed the course of events in the country of our forefathers and witnessed the massacre and murder of the Slovak people by the so-called people's courts.

The Slovaks were among the first to be forcefully dragged off to Siberia, where over 30,000 of them perished. Thousands of them fled into voluntary exile. I had the rare opportunity to see with my own eyes, during my 5-month tour in various countries of Europe in 1949, just how the people of Slovakia and its neighbors have suffered and what the Soviet occupation of their homelands brought them. It was then, in the many displaced-persons camps, after seeing their misery and listening to their true stories of persecution, that I vowed to devote all my energies to the liberation of the peoples of the oppressed nations.

Way back since 1946 the Slovak people had to confine their activities to the underground (which was ably described in an article "Stalin's Troubles With the Underground", published in the Saturday Evening Post on December 29, 1951, by Dr. V. Stefan Krajcovic and reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 17, 1952, by Congressman MELVIN PRICE, of Illinois).

The reason I mention this article is because I had an opportunity to meet during my sojourn in Germany in 1949 a Slovak hero mentioned in underground exploits, one Alois Suty, who will go down in history as a martyr of the Slovakian underground. Suty

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was a courier between the underground in Slovakia and its free representatives in exile.

Since I met and spoke to thousands of exiles in those DP camps, I can summarize their aims and desires with these sentences:

"If America fails us, then we and our compatriots in the countries behind the iron curtain countries are doomed forever. America is our only hope. Please, do not fail us."

It is their cry to us, to us Americans, whose country was founded by the DP's and the refugees of another century.

When we analyze the strategy of Soviet Russia, we can see that she is playing for time and although peace is her slogan, we know that wherever Soviet soldiers move in there is no peace. There is a saying in Slovakia that the Slovaks waited several hundred years to see the Russians and then in a short period of a few weeks experienced the battle fronts of their "brotherhood"—brutalities that they shall not forget for centuries.

I am very happy that this conference was called because we must act in unison. Our United States Government does not want war and has never been an aggressor. Franklin D. Roosevelt assured us that every nation, no matter how small, is entitled to its statehood. The great statesman, Thomas Jefferson, has proclaimed in this city, the great Capital of our country, that "God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time." This also pertains to the peoples of all oppressed and enslaved countries.

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The Americans of Slovak descent and those democracy-loving exiles who have chosen the barren DP camps instead of their homes, today condemn the brutalities of the Reds in Slovakia and other satellite countries. They are ashamed that the unworthy Cains have chosen to murder their brothers. They voice their protests against Gottwald, Stalin's stooge in Czechoslovakia, whose greatness has imprisoned American newspaper Correspondent William N. Oatis and Johnny Hvasta, an American GI of Slovakian parentage from Hillside, N. J., who is languishing in a Czech prison for the past 3 years and whose case was brought to the attention of American press on several occasions. Although President Harry S. Truman has assured the parents of Johnny Hvasta through Congressman Peter W. Rodino, Jr., of Newark, N. J., that he is not a forgotten man, nevertheless, he is still a prisoner in Leopoldov, the same prison which holds the three bishops of Slovakia and thousands of democracy-loving Slovak patriots.

According to our program, we will hear Mr. Robert A. Vogeler, fortunately a living example of the Communist brutalities. We will also hear United States Senator Pat McCARRAN, to whom I pay great tribute for his untiring efforts in ridding this country of the great menace of communism. I salute you, Senator McCARRAN on behalf of the Slovak people.

I express the deep appreciation and thanks of those brave and oppressed Slovak people

to the present administration for its firm stand against communism and its realistic program of appropriating the \$100,000,000 aid to the recognized underground movements behind the iron curtain. At this time I heartily endorse the keynote address of the Honorable Commissioner Edward O'Connor, in which he presented a practical plan which would rock the Soviet conspirators to their heels. Every moment of delay means more suffering to the oppressed people behind the iron curtain. To us Americans it is a great loss because our procrastination is only strengthening the position of our enemy in this cold war.

There is one thing I am sure of, and that is that the Slovak people will never accept the doctrines of communism. I am equally certain they will resist to their death all encroachments of the Soviet Union.

The Slovaks are our unquestioned and loyal allies in the common struggle against the dictatorship of communism.

In conclusion, on this birthday of the father of our country, I want to leave these prayerful thoughts with you: Let us make this February 22 the day of the rededication of our efforts to crush communism, the worst plague the world has ever known. Let us put our words into action that the people of the oppressed nations may soon joyfully sing with us: "Let freedom ring from every mountain side—God bless America, and damn communism."

blem of the promised land. It means, my son, the hope of humanity. Live for it. Die for it.

LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 19, 1950

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I am including an address on labor productivity by Mr. George P. Delaney, international representative of the American Federation of Labor, at the Thirty-third General Conference of the International Labor Organization, Geneva, Switzerland.

This is a timely and important subject, and it is for this reason that I am including it in the Record. The address was well received and created a great deal of favorable comment from many of the foreign delegates to the Conference.

[From ILO News Service of June 14, 1950]

Before proceeding to the discussion, I should like to take enough time to compliment the director general on the comprehensive and enlightening report presented to the conference.

I should also like the privilege, on behalf of the millions of American workers whom I represent, to express our regret that the director general was unable to be present, and to wish him a full and speedy recovery.

American workers believe in high productivity. They know that it brings higher wages and shorter hours. They are not opposed to greater profits for their employers so long as their own standard of living rises in proportion. They have welded together a strong trade-union movement to make sure that such a sharing of increased output takes place.

American workers know that under the gift and take of free industry and free labor within the framework of a democratic society their hours during the first half of this century have been reduced in most cases to 40 a week. It means that most industrial establishments operate on a 5-day week, with premium pay for overtime.

The American workers know that while their hours have been decreased, their real wages have gone up. They have better housing, finer food, improved educational opportunities.

American workers know that increased productivity through the teamwork of intelligent labor and resourceful management has accomplished this.

In the United States, a bicycle is not a means of transport for industrial workers, but the automobile is. I dare say more workers pedal to work each morning on bicycles in the Canton of Geneva, Switzerland, than in all of the great industrial centers of the United States combined. The American worker regards the bicycle as a luxury for sport and exercise, the automobile almost as a necessity. Certainly, there are a hundred times more motor cars on the factory parking lots of the United States than there are bicycles.

I have mentioned the automobile as one of the most obvious examples of the results of increased output. There are many others. The mass production of electric stoves and refrigerators, of inexpensive radios and television sets, was made possible because American industry, given the freedom to produce, saw the opportunity of greater profits which came by producing goods in ever-increasing volume at prices which workers can afford to pay.

Output has not been geared to provide a small quantity of choice articles for the rich. As costs decline, prices are reduced. More and more people enter the ranks of those who can afford to buy. The market expands. Production is increased.

I do not wish to create the impression that all this has been accomplished without some pulling and hauling. There have been depressions. There have been strikes. Some Americans live in city slums. Some live in rural shacks. We have criminals, invalids, and unemployed. But the services and assistance provided for their rehabilitation are constantly improving, too.

No one can measure with accuracy to what extent the strong trade-union movement in the United States has been a stabilizing factor in all these changes. Certainly, the few strikes which in the United States during the war were partly a result of the leadership exerted by the unions. Certainly, the shorter hours and higher wages which were made possible through intelligent good faith on the part of labor unions.

All these factors have helped to maintain high productivity and high purchasing power even during the difficult period of postwar readjustment. All segments of the American economy are now agreed that increased production must be accompanied by an expanding market.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that there is no point in obtaining a high output if goods are not sold. This leads duly to bad times for the worker, who must do without, and for the employer, who cannot make profits without a sufficient volume of sales.

We have found by long experience that our best hope of an expanding market lies at home in the pay envelopes of the very workers who produce the goods. We are anxious to send our products overseas, of course. But it is not a part of the American economic philosophy to rely on foreign trade as the prime target for expansion.

In some parts of the world today, however, large quantities of goods are being stored despite low production. This means that wages are even lower than production. As a result, thousands of workers have inadequate diets, poor living quarters, heavy enough clothing, and in many instances no shoes. This is a bad situation. It is worse than bad because it is unnecessary.

It is a situation in which the trade unions can—and should—play a decisive role. They, too, can help develop a high-output, high-wage economy by putting first things first.

It is no secret that American labor's principal aim throughout the years has been to secure higher wages. This accomplished two things.

First, it helped to make sure that the benefits of mass production were used to raise living standards by increasing purchasing power as well as by reducing prices.

Secondly, our unions have both forced and helped along the drive for higher productivity. They forced it by demanding wages so high that employers had to install labor-saving machinery in order to meet increasing unit costs. They helped it because they saw that increased output was a way in which to

get still higher pay, shorter hours, and better living standards.

In general, our unions have taken a realistic view of the introduction of labor-saving machinery. They have resisted change which brought them no benefit. But more often they have cooperated in the application of new discoveries in such a way as to benefit the consuming public, their employers, and themselves. Coal miners, for instance, welcomed the introduction of machinery and cooperated in boosting productivity. As a result, they are today the highest paid and most productive coal miners in the world. In the few but highly publicized cases in which the unions resisted the coming of machinery, they found themselves losing out and eventually adopted more far-sighted policies.

Our unions have followed up their wage increases by active cooperation with employers in reducing expenses, eliminating waste and increasing output. Union accountants have shown small employers how to operate more efficiently. The unions have even lent money to the employers to keep machinery going in slow times. Only a few weeks ago, one of our milk wagon drivers in Baltimore won a wage increase of \$200 a year for its 500 members. When it found that the employer was having a hard time to meet expenses, it went out and campaigned for new customers. The drivers shortly afterward presented their employer with 11,000 new accounts.

It is now generally recognized in the United States that the lowest-income groups represent the best hope of an expanding market for low-cost manufactured items. Consequently, it is generally agreed that these groups must get the largest proportionate increase if the essential market growth is to be maintained. After all, well-to-do people can't eat much more than they do already. They already buy the goods which are advertised for sale. But persons living on substandard incomes can both eat more and use more once they have been provided with the necessary purchasing power.

It is significant that, in the years since 1945, while every group in America has gained in income, the lowest-income groups have gained the most. The lowest-paid three-fifths of the population of the United States have increased their incomes more than twice as much as the highest fifth. As a result, a larger proportion of our national income is now flowing to the low-income groups, and a smaller proportion to the wealthy.

I want to emphasize, however, that these gains in the lower-paid groups were not obtained at the expense of the better paid. All have gained, although the lower-paid workers gained the most.

Most of the benefits of increased production are measured in hours and cash wages, however. Collective bargaining has provided workers with many other benefits. Today 88 percent of collective agreements provide vacations with pay. Rapid progress has been made since the war in securing greater security against illness and old age. Today at least half the agreements in manufacturing provide insurance, or health and welfare plans, or pensions.

The worker's gains from increased productivity are shown in the striking contrast between his budget today and that at the start of the twentieth century. Fifty years ago, the American worker spent 88 percent of his weekly wage on the bare essentials of food, clothing, shelter, fuel, and light. The tiny margin that was left was seldom enough to provide for all the other expenses such as sickness, accidents, carfare, furniture, etc.

Today he eats better, is better clothed, and lives in a warmer, more attractive, well lit dwelling on 80 percent of his wage. That leaves him 20 percent for other items. After paying taxes and providing for medical care, he has an average 25 percent of his

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on the subject. Or haven't you read about the terrors and outrages committed by the Nazi SS troops?

Paragraph 4: (a) Tiso was not "nabbed in Czechoslovakia." Our army was ordered to surrender him to Beneš's government in November 1945. Tiso and the whole Slovak Government had surrendered to our forces earlier in the year and asked for asylum. The United States broke American and democratic tradition when it surrendered Tiso and the Slovaks to Prague. For Tiso it meant death. Today our Government offers asylum to a Communist like Houdak (recently resigned as UN delegate from Czechoslovakia), because it fears Houdak would die if he were shipped to Czechoslovakia.

(b) Sidor was tried by the Czech National Court's Krasavco court, presided over by Rosh and their collaborators, you mean.

(c) You storm the point that in October 1947, the "Commiss had not yet arrested Czechoslovakia, which was still a democracy under President Eduard Beneš." The Reds held the most important posts in Beneš's government, but you insist that Czechoslovakia was still a democracy. Even Beneš's "assassinated" collaborator-politicians, who told us that what you are telling us now, admit that there was little if any real democracy in Czechoslovakia after Beneš walked into the country behind the Red army in 1945.

Paragraph 5: (a) Sidor does not have to pass as a good anti-Communist "conscientiously forgetting his pre-war record." The fact is that he and all patriotic Slovaks were outspoken anti-Communists long before you were, Walter. And what pre-war record? Establish one. First, Mr. Winchell, then talk about it. Of course, how could you know that the Nazis even planted a bomb outside Sidor's residence to get rid of him?

(b) Sidor has not "duped" the good citizens of Scranton, Pa. But you, Walter, certainly were duped by some of Beneš's trustees, the good citizens of Scranton, Pa. But you, Walter, certainly were duped by some of Beneš's trustees, but collaborated with them until February 1946 and some of them even thereafter. Mr. Winchell, the good citizens of Scranton displayed more sense than you did. They know more facts about the Slovaks and their struggle for freedom than you and your friends here do. They acted in the American way, Walter, something that you should not hesitate to imitate.

(c) About February 1939, Mr. Winchell, I do not know right now whether Sidor sent any delegation to Berlin to discuss anything with Gen. Hermann Goering, but if he did, tell us what was wrong with that. And tell us whether the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, etc., too, had any such discussions with the Germans at that time.

(d) And what's wrong with wanting to be a "permanent resident" of the United States of America? You and I seem to be enjoying it, Walter. And I believe, Einstein, Kravchenko, and thousands of other refugees and IIP's are, too. There is something in this country of ours, Walter, that is utterly lacking in countries over there. Don't minimize or try to destroy it. Our business is to sell American democracy to the nations of the world, remember?

Paragraph 6: (a) Sidor asked for a visitor's visa and it was granted. I doubt that our State Department conditioned that visitor's visa on "one speech before a Slovak group in Cleveland." The Slovak League of America wanted him here, and the State Department graciously obliged. This is still America, Mr. Winchell, where they do not limit even fellow like you to one speech or article every 8 months. The action of the State Department has met with the hearty approval of the vast majority of Americans of Slovak descent (about 1,800,000 in the United States of America), as well as that of their enslaved brethren in Slovak's old times: in emigration in the various countries of the world.

But then, why be afraid of speeches, Walter? Sidor really can tell you how the Slovaks have consistently fought communism since 1945 and yet were sold out to the Red Moloch of Moscow by some Beneš.

Paragraph 7: (a) The stuff you offer to prove the stupidity of the State Department in Sidor's case is just so much tripe. It certainly is proof enough of your stupidity and your utter ignorance of Slovak people, their problems and their traditions. The State Department, if it did have anything against granting a visa to Sidor in the past, certainly must have a good reason for changing its mind. And I firmly believe that the events that have transpired in Czechoslovakia since 1945 had something to do with it. We do not believe foreign politicians and former Red collaborators as readily as we did heretofore. Somebody certainly wants Sidor on a permanent blacklist, that much is evident. We have a good idea who that somebody is, and we may as well tell you, Walter, that we honestly believe it's the gang that's duping you up on Sidor and Tiso, the same anti-Slovak gang that suddenly turned anti-Communist in 1948.

Paragraph 8: (a) What made Sidor a desirable visitor in May 1950, you ask, if he was so good in the eyes of the State Department in September 1947? Check up on your IIP, Walter. And if he really was so, then the stuff got into the State Department records in possibly the same way that it got into your Daily Mirror columns on June 7, 1948. People opposed to Slovak freedom and independence—Czech chauvinists and imperialists and former Czech Red collaborators and political opponents of Tiso and Sidor—gladly furnish such stuff without charge. Hey, I believe they are even willing to pay to have it accepted and propagated.

(b) You talk about Sidor's rotten record. What rotten record? You still haven't proven that Sidor's record was rotten, Walter. Why not give credit to the American counsel in Montreal and the State Department for not seeing the big rotten record that actually wasn't there?

Paragraph 9: (a) Sidor's case is not, as you state, just one more instance of blundering red tape. But you, Walter, certainly have blundered in Sidor's case.

(b) And it's certainly not an idiotic plan on the part of some State Department officials to give American shelter to the killers of American soldiers. A nasty dig, Walter, but you have a chance to convince yourself that Sidor and Tiso killed no American soldiers, but the Czech armament and ammunition plants—which Beneš somehow forgot to destroy before or after he resigned as President—certainly helped Hitler then to do some killing and are helping Stalin's boys to do a bit of killing in Korea right now.

(c) Quite a dramatic ending, Walter. First you make a mess of reporting on Sidor and Tiso, and then ask Secretary of State Acheson to explain it to Gold Star Mothers and crippled GI's in vets' hospitals, because, as you admitted, you could not. Mr. Winchell, you may as well know it that there are quite a few American Gold Star Mothers of Sidor's descent who have been insulted by your vicious and vulgar smear of Tiso and Sidor. I know what I am talking about, because I belong to one Slovak outfit that had just about every fourth member in the service of Uncle Sam. And that organization, as well as most other Slovak organizations in America, is behind the Slovak League of America, which in turn is giving moral and material aid to the Slovak National Council Abroad, an organization of Slovak DP's or refugees headed by Sidor.

In conclusion, Mr. Winchell, need I remind you that it is hardly the mission of the American press and radio to poison the minds of the American people with falsehood, half-truths, and misstatements. In

my humble opinion, in Sidor's case you have abused the freedom of the press and radio. You have smeared a man about whom you know practically nothing. Mr. Karol Sidor, former Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Slovak Republic to the Vatican (1938-43), is willing to meet you at any time to prove to you that you were wrong about him. He is in America, Walter, and you know it. You've told your version of the Sidor case to the American public, now let Sidor tell you and the American public his side of the story. It's the American way of doing things.

Mr. Winchell, you have spoken and written some nasty things about Mr. Sidor and Father Tiso, two men that shall go down in Slovak history as outstanding champions in the fight for Slovak freedom and independence. The Slovak League of America and the Slovak organizations affiliated with it are American institutions. Prove your charges against Sidor, Mr. Winchell, and they shall be granted to you for it. They certainly do not want to back anything or anybody that smacks of nazism, fascism, or communism. In the meantime, Walter, don't hold it against Slovak patriots if they keep on fighting for their natural and God-given rights—freedom and independence. I, for one, cannot see how any real American can wish any people less freedom than he himself enjoys.

Yours for democracy,
FRANZ A. HROUSKA,
Editor of the *Justice*, President of
the Slovak League of America,
Muncie, Ind., Pa.

WHAT IS THE TRUTH ABOUT SIDOR?
[The Catholic Light, official newspaper of the Diocese of Scranton, on July 13, 1950, published the following letter from Rev. Nicholas Spivak, answering Walter Winchell's vicious and malicious charges that Karol Sidor, former Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary of Slovakia to the Vatican (1938-43) was a pro-Nazi.]

DEAR SIR: While visiting here in Scranton, I had a chance to follow the controversy that has arisen in the newspapers over Mr. Karol Sidor and his wartime record. I was born and brought up in Slovakia and left my country in 1946, 3 months after the Russian Armies took it over. In November 1945 I was named the Slovak Delegate to the Third Vatican mission for DP's, which was attached to the American Headquarters in Frankfurt, Germany. The purpose of this third Vatican mission was to bring spiritual and material help to millions of homeless people in Germany and Austria from the Holy Father. From February 1946 to June 1946 I worked in Vatican Central Bureau for DP's in Rome. I was an eyewitness of the events which occurred in Slovakia before the war and during the war. Reading the charges and accusations brought against Mr. Sidor as a pro-Nazi politician, I think, would make every honest person in Europe. Because it was and it is still an established fact that Mr. Karol Sidor was the only man who dared to say to Adolf Hitler and to his emissaries in those revolutionary days of March 1939 that he would not take any orders whatsoever from Hitler; that it was up to the Slovak Parliament, elected in the democratic elections during its Czechoslovak Republic to declare Slovakia's independence, and certainly not up to Hitler.

A lot of articles have been written about Mr. Sidor's anti-Nazi attitude, and I think that for the sake of justice it is proper to bring up at least some of them in order to show to the truth-loving reader the inside story of Mr. Sidor's case.

Here are some of the proofs of Mr. Sidor's anti-Nazi attitude:
1. During the Nuremberg trials the following letter written by Adolf Hitler on March 13, 1939, to Herman Goering was produced:

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overwhelming majority of organized Slovaks in the United States of America, will be grateful to Winchell if he can prove his charges against Sidor. We certainly do not want to back anything or anybody that smacks of racism, fascism, or communism. We dare Winchell to prove his claims against Karol Sidor.

Winchell's column published on Sidor and Congressman Elder's statements prove their appalling ignorance of the Slovak people and their problems. They have been duped by Valushek and his henchmen, the Senate demagogue who claims that all nations—except the Slovak nation—are entitled to freedom and independence.

F. A. KROGER, President Slovak League of America, and Sidor of Jackson.

The Ludovik Horvitz (People's News), a pro-Communist paper (weekly) published in Pittsburgh, Pa., carried an article by Dussler Benar, July 15, 1950.

Under Benar's name we find: the former editor in chief of the New York Daily.

Location of Military and Industrial Plants in Montana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESLEY A. D'ARWY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 13, 1950

Mr. D'ARWY. Mr. Speaker, I received this information from the Weststone, Montana, community. The Weststone, Montana, community is a small town of 100 people. It is situated in the northern part of the State. It is a typical farming community. It is a typical farming community. It is a typical farming community.

As Mr. Whistler's plan, there has been increasing consideration in several weeks of the wisdom of decentralizing our industrial plants to provide greater safety in the event of hostilities.

I include as a part of my remarks Mr. Whistler's summary of the special advantages offered in Glacier County, Mont., for new industrial plants, and I might add that these advantages are sufficient to merit serious consideration regardless of whether or not defense strategy is being taken into account.

Further, I would like to say that other sections of our State also offer fine opportunities for industrial development with easy access to raw materials, ample and inexpensive power, capable and hard-working men, and women to man the plants, and good transportation service both East and West. In the matter of climate, recreational advantages, and similar considerations Montana exceeds most other States. A glance at the map will show that we are superbly situated with regard to defense strategy.

Mr. Whistler's summary of the advantages offered by Glacier County, Mont., is as follows:

- GLACIER COUNTY, MONT.
- Largest oilfield in the mountain West, with two large refineries.
- Abundant electric power from Glacier County R.E.A. via Montana Power Co., with tie-in to Fort Peck and possible future connection with Hungry Horse.

Largest natural-gas area in the mountain West for power and inexpensive fuel. Main line Great Northern transcontinental railway.

On Western Airlines, Los Angeles-Edmonton route, with two flights daily each way, using 43-passenger Convair planes. Federally financed airport is one of best in the Northwest. Port of entry to Canada.

Adequate labor supply, good workmen available.

Large acreages of open lands, inexpensive, suitable for large installations or decentralized plants.

Sharp, deep river banks (river never floods) could be used for underground installations. Ample water supply from lakes and rivers.

CITY BANK, COWLEY MAY

New \$500,000 hospital for medical care. Ample school facilities, new \$300,000 building.

Several church organizations, modern buildings.

City spending about one-half million dollars for new dam on Out Bank River, purification plant nearing completion.

Recently expanded storm-drain system.

Competent construction labor, housing could be made available quickly.

Out Bank has swimming pool, golf course, many recreational facilities.

Swimming summer, skip winter snows heavy winters. Domestic statistics on weather may be had at local airport, compiled for several years.

Harvey Denounces the Brannan Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 12, 1950

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, the Brannan plan is being urged upon the American people as an experiment to sustain a prosperous agriculture. Advocates claim it will operate to the benefit of all farmers, consumer, and taxpayer.

As a farmer I have studied the Brannan plan. Like others who believe a healthy agriculture is essential to over-all prosperity, I am convinced the Brannan plan is a dangerous and unwound proposal. Among its chief faults are these:

First. The intent of guaranteeing the farmer a high cash income, while lowering the price of his products in the market place, is so illogical that it could succeed only by increasing general taxes by billions of dollars annually. Furthermore, as every housewife knows, the consumer's cost of food and clothing is due as much to transportation and processing of raw materials as it is to the farmer's share of the ultimate selling price.

Second. The individual farmer, aside from being subjected to strict production control, would find himself dependent on the Federal Treasury for a substantial part of his annual income. He thus would surrender economic freedom to an extent never suggested for any other member of our free enterprise society.

Third. Beyond doubt, operation of a scheme as far-reaching as the Brannan plan would create a new bureaucracy,

adding thousands to the public payroll as police-state employees. They would inspect farms, enforce directives from the Secretary of Agriculture, and saddle every farmer with a year-round burden of detailed bookkeeping.

The Brannan plan would be another step toward socialism.

Behind the War in Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 18, 1950

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the Korean situation has resulted in widespread discussion of the war of aggression that is being waged against the Republic of South Korea in an effort to stamp out its concept of western-style democracy.

The following magazine article by Dr. Robert T. Oliver appeared in the July 15, 1950, issue of the New Leader magazine and is an authoritative discussion of the reasons for the Kremlin-inspired attack on the Republic of South Korea.

Mr. Oliver is a resident of State College, Pa., in my congressional district, and is a columnist for a group of Korean newspapers. He is recognized as an expert on life in Korea and is well qualified to discuss events that are responsible for the war now being waged against the Republic of South Korea.

Mr. Oliver's article is as follows:

By Robert T. Oliver

Democracy worked in South Korea. That is one little-quoted reason why Stalin ordered his puppet under on June 25 to attack the tiny Republic which represented an oasis of freedom in the monstrous hemisphere of his Asiatic empire.

The experiment of trying to establish a western-style democracy in South Korea was launched under difficulties so great that a miracle seemed necessary for even partial success. With most of the country's basic productive wealth in the Soviet zone, and over 4,000,000 refugees and repatriates to be cared for, the tiny Republic faced crushing economic problems. Yet a combination of ECA determination, American advice, and slightly over \$100,000,000 annually in ECA funds had pumped new life into its economy.

In the first year ending June 30, over-all factory and mine production increased 25 percent. Formerly a food-deficit area, South Korea exported 100,000 tons of rice. The excess of imports over exports was cut from a \$47,318,000 quarterly average in 1947 to \$22,087,000 for the last quarter of 1949. The sensitive barometer of currency circulation reflected these gains, falling from a high of 75,000,000,000 won in February 1950 to a low of \$1,000,000,000 in May.

Outstripping the economic gains, literacy was cut from about 70 percent of the adult population to about 30 percent. Women were granted full legal equality with men. Political issues were freely and fully debated, and an average of more than 85 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls in the two general elections of 1948 and 1950. The Associated Press listed the Republic of Korea as among the half-dozen

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ness in our Nation and to proceed promptly to correct deficiencies.

From a military standpoint we are probably worse off than is generally realized. The early engagements in Korea indicate a superiority of equipment in favor of the North Koreans which must be embarrassing to every proud American. Also, this inferiority of American weapons is corroborated by an article by Hanson W. Baldwin in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post.

Mr. Baldwin, who is a highly respected military expert, goes a long way toward de-rating our ego as to American prowess in war. He says that the best plane at the beginning of the last war was a Jap fighter, and at the end a German jet. Japan and Germany had night-flying naval vessels. Russia and Germany had tanks superior to ours, and even now Russia is ahead of us in tanks, submarines, and some other items. Mr. Baldwin cites some weapons in which we were and are superior, but in the main we are second, third, or worse in many important categories.

Significant is the fact that Mr. Baldwin says the equipment in which we lead the world is that which was adopted from commercial sources—that which was designed and developed by private industry. The equipment in which we trail other nations is that designed and developed by Government personnel.

If this is true—and there seems to be no good reason to doubt it—then we have a lesson that should be heeded immediately. That lesson is to organize so that the Government military experts and the specialists of private industry can collaborate more effectively in the design and construction of military equipment.

Our resources, capable, and gigantic private industry is one of the few things in which we lead the world, yet Washington Congress are condemning it consistently. Now that we are in serious trouble, why not utilize its ability and know-how to correct the weakness of our Government's military system.

Why Should Nazi War Criminals Be Admitted to the United States?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN OF NEW YORK IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, July 19, 1950

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, I have spoken before of my apprehension because there seems to be an increasing tendency on the part of some of our top level officials to forget and forgive the Nazi criminals who plunged the world into the blood-bath of the Second World War, and perhaps greased the skids for a worse war to come.

It was only a few weeks ago that I was depressed and horrified by discovering that Karol Sidor, a Nazi quisling with the blood of American soldiers on his soiled hands, had been admitted to this country and is making a lecture tour here.

Now information has been placed before me indicating that one Ferdinand Durciansky, a convicted war criminal, who has been hiding out from justice in Argentina for many years, has been granted a visa.

I have filed telegraphic protest with the Department of State and have asked the Attorney General to bar the man's entry as an undesirable alien and a dangerous criminal if he appears at any port or station of entry.

I should be disturbed by the admission of these creatures in any case. However, what is most upsetting is that enemy aliens like this can gain admission when other aliens, against whom there is no derogatory information or suspicion of any kind, cannot. It is departmental policy at this time to deny visitor's visas, regardless of legal admissibility, to natives of countries whose annual immigration quota is oversubscribed, or to foreigners who at some time in the past made application for an immigration visa for permanent residence.

There is a growing suspicion in my mind, which I cannot banish, that the law and administrative directives are being rigidly enforced against some minorities, and almost completely relaxed in favor of others. It is noteworthy that in my daily mail the applicants for visitor's visas, who have been refused, are most likely to be natives of Italy or of Israel. That may be coincidence; it may be bias.

Remember that there is no question in this policy of adverse or derogatory information; those factors are provided for in law, and the only way in which I have questioned the operation of the law is in those instances where the derogatory information seemed to be flimsy, or merely malicious gossip, or the denial was based on an unduly rigid application of the law.

My files would yield many instances in which some type of visa has been denied for reasons which seemed to me exceedingly thin; certainly in most of those cases the basis has been for offenses or suspicious far less than the known crimes of Karol Sidor and Ferdinand Durciansky.

Mr. Speaker, under leave, I am including as part of my remarks my telegrams of July 18, 1950 to the Secretary of State and the Attorney General and a press release issued by the Anti-Nazi League which is the principal source of my derogatory information against Durciansky.

The Honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE: I have been informed that a visa has been issued to Ferdinand Durciansky one time foreign minister of the Nazi puppet regime in Slovakia. I have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the information laid before me. This would indicate that Ferdinand Durciansky was convicted by a duly constituted court of the Benes government in Czechoslovakia for grave war crimes and has been a fugitive from justice since that time. There is nothing to show that he is in any sense a refugee from persecution.

I not only protest the admission of this man and ask that any visa granted him be revoked but am asking the Attorney General to prevent Durciansky's entrance into the United States through any port or immigration station.

It is incredible to me that visas should be issued to known criminals who made war against this country at the same time that departmental policy prevents the entry of other persons of good character. I cannot

avoid a growing suspicion that the exclusion statutes are being rigidly enforced against some minorities and completely relaxed for others.

ARTHUR G. KLEIN, Member of Congress.

The Honorable the ATTORNEY GENERAL: I have been informed that a visa has been issued to Ferdinand Durciansky one time foreign minister of the Nazi quisling state of Slovakia. I have no reason to doubt the information given me. This would indicate that Durciansky was convicted by a duly constituted court of the Benes government in Czechoslovakia of grave war crimes and that he has been a fugitive from justice for many years. There is nothing to show that he is in any sense a refugee from persecution.

I have protested the issuance of the visa in a telegram to the Secretary of State and have requested that any visa which may have been granted to Durciansky be revoked.

However, should this man reach a port or station of entry it lies in your power to bar his entrance, and I request appropriate action on your part to notify all immigration officers to be on the lookout for him and to refuse entrance until and unless he can prove himself admissible under the laws of the United States. Derogatory information given me against him would indicate that he is a dangerous criminal who would endanger the security of this country.

ARTHUR G. KLEIN, Member of Congress.

[News release of Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, New York, N. Y., of Monday, July 17, 1950]

ENTRY OF SLOVAK QUISLING PROTESTER The reported granting of a United States entry permit to the former Foreign Minister of the wartime puppet state of Slovakia—described as "the Quisling of Slovakia"—was protested last night in a telegram to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League.

Subject of the protest is Ferdinand Durciansky, who was Foreign Minister of the Nazi puppet regime of Joseph Tiso, set up in Slovakia by Adolf Hitler. Durciansky, the league pointed out, was the man who "delivered" Slovakia to Nazi Germany, in conference with Joachim von Ribbentrop. Durciansky is a fugitive from a death sentence imposed after a trial in Slovakia by the Czechoslovakian Republic for his collaboration with Nazi Germany. (Important note: This trial and conviction took place under the Republican Government of President Edward Benes and Jan Masaryk—not under the present regime.)

"With the eyes of the world focused upon the efforts of the United States to perceive freedom in Korea, we can ill afford to welcome to this country such notorious Nazi quislings and fugitive war criminals as Durciansky," the Anti-Nazi League asserted in its wire to Secretary Acheson.

Durciansky has spent recent years in Buenos Aires, Argentina, engaged in an extensive propaganda along lines consistent with policies of the discredited Slovakian regime. His trip to the United States is for purposes of political agitation and propaganda, and is being openly sponsored by former pro-Nazi organizations here, the Anti-Nazi League charged.

Earlier last week the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League protested to the Attorney General, J. Howard McGrath, regarding the presence in this country of Karol Sidor, also a member of Tiso's quisling regime, in which he served as Minister of Interior. Congressman Arthur G. Klein, Democrat of New York, has taken the lead in securing congressional support for the expulsion of Sidor

continued?
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232.1

19 September 1952 L-156

SUBJECT: Ferdinand DURCANSKY

1. Some days ago, Fr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY had a conversation with priest KOSTOLNY in Salzburg.
 2. During such conversation DURCANSKY mentioned that he greatly disapproved the attack instigated by Jozef VALEO against Father SOMICHRAST in December 1951 (please refer to my letters L-55, dated 19 December 1951, subject: Salzburg Police Investigation against Reverend Karol SOMICHRAST for alleged Embezzlement, and L-63, dated 5 February 1952, same Subject).
 3. Regarding his trip to Europe, DURCANSKY showed rather disappointed. His endeavors to establish closer connections with U.S. circles had failed, whereas the Germans, regarding Slovakian questions, still kept waiting - an attitude which he is inclined to partly attribute also to CERNAK's activity for SIDOR - and are not yet strong enough to have some influence in Middle Europe. He felt however sure that in due course the Germans will again play a leading role, a fact also desired by a number of Bonn foreign office personalities.
 4. Regarding Slovakia, DURCANSKY still represented the idea of a continuity of the Slovakian State of 1939. In this question he fully agreed with the Germans.
 5. KOSTOLNY replied that in such case Minister HASIK would have to become leader of the Slovakian emigration because, according to the Slovakian constitution, the minister oldest in rank becomes head of the state, if there is no president or prime minister. (HASIK, who presently lives in Argentina, is a personal enemy of DURCANSKY.) KOSTOLNY further stated that only three fourths of the Slovakian territory could be taken into consideration, because in 1939 one fourth was under Hungarian rule.
- DURCANSKY answered evasively, but emphasized that his policy was driving at an inseparated Slovakia.

Encl. /

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EASA-103

Chief of Mission, Frankfurt

26 September 1952

Chief of Station, Vienna

Operational

Captain Ferdinand DURCANSEY

Attached hereto is a CIC report on Subject who was contacted by a Dr. Wilhelm HOETTL in Lins, Austria. It is stated in the attached report that HOETTL is anxious to enlist the aid of DURCANSEY in getting him to look for qualified, trustworthy Slovaks. These people would be employed to obtain political and military information from the Eastern Zone of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. This report is being forwarded for whatever interest it may be to you.

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TO : 25.50/C

30. September 1952

FROM : 50/S/Cs

Nr. 358/52

SUBJECT : Prof.Dr.med.Frantisek SUBIK / Kontaktherstellung zu
Prof.Dr.Ferdinand DURCANSKY.

- 1.) Der ehemalige Rektor der Universität BRATISLAVA, Prof.Dr.med. Frantisek SUBIK, etwa 45 Jahre alt, ist ein enger persönlicher Freund und politischer Weggenosse Prof.DURCANSKYs. Beide kommen aus der katholischen Jugendbewegung, wo sich die ersten gemeinsamen Weltanschauungen und politischen Bindungen ergaben. Dr.SUBIK gehörte während des Krieges, als Arzt von Rang und Namen, in Vertretung des slowakischen Staates der KATYN-Kommission an. Er wurde 1945 durch cs.Organe verhaftet und im Konzentrationslager LEOPOLDOV/Slowakei festgehalten. Anfang dieses Jahres gelang es Dr.SUBIK, nach WIEN zu fliehen. Er wurde durch amerikanische Dienststellen von WIEN nach Westdeutschland geflogen und soll sich in Westdeutschland aufhalten. Angeblich ist er Mitarbeiter eines KATYN- Ausschusses.
- 2.) 50/S hält es für aussichtsreich, wenn ein direkter oder indirekter Kontakt zwischen Prof. SUBIK und Prof. DURCANSKY hergestellt werden könnte, da Prof. SUBIK in der Lage sein dürfte, interessante Forschungstips zu geben. Es ist bekannt, daß aus verschiedenen, erklärlichen Gründen besonders in den KZ's in der Slowakei beachtenswerte Lockerungserscheinungen eingetreten sind. Einer der maßgebenden Gründe mag das starke Rückversicherungsbedürfnis sein, das bei den KZ-Kommandostellen anfängt und sich immer stärker werdend fortsetzt bis zu dem kleinsten Wachorgan. Die politischen Häftlinge haben gute Verbindung mit der Außenwelt und wissen sich so nicht nur Informationen, sondern auch persönliche Hilfeleistungen zu verschaffen. Daraus ergibt sich,

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daß ein Häftling mit zahlreichen früheren Verbindungen Kenntnis über viele Einzelheiten hat, welche sich nicht nur auf den Personenkreis seines früheren Interessensbereiches sondern auch auf Personen und Persönlichkeiten erstrecken, die sich unter den geänderten Verhältnissen halten konnten oder sogar schnittige Positionen besetzt haben.

- 3.) Aufgrund obiger Ausführungen bittet 50/S, falls von dort möglich, die Kontaktaufnahme zwischen Prof. DURCANSKY und Prof. SUBIK zu vermitteln. *KV*

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

TO : 25.50/C

7 October 1952

FROM : 50/S/Cs

Tr. 368/52

SUBJECT: Prof. DURCANSKY - co-operation with SCV movement

REF. : 25.50 Nr. 4870 of 20.9. 1952

1.) The establishment of contact to Prof. DURCANSKY and his "liberation committee" (SOV) was made for the reason that

- a) Dr. DURCANSKY and the leading exponents of the SCV movement were principally prepared to co-operate with a German IS organization;
- b) the second extensive Slovak emigration movement (Slovak National Committee abroad- SNRVZ) under the presidency of Karl SIDOR has already been co-operating with the IS-groups KOPAVCO and MATUS;
- c) especially the SCV movement contains a great number of young active Slovaks who through their hatred of Bolshevism and their patriotism are quite ready to risk freedom and life.

2.) During the discussion between the org. and DURCANSKY at the Wallersee in June 1952 the following arrangements were made:

- a) through his IS-deputy DURCANSKY will place at our disposal candidates from circles of SCV-movement for positive missions in Slovakia;
- b) Dr. DURCANSKY will place at our disposal bases and sources for intelligence work among his friends and followers. Before such sources are taken on their positions and possibilities will be carefully investigated;
- c) Prof. DURCANSKY will name particularly efficient exponents of his movement as "Tipper" and "Forscher" for further extension of intelligence work against Slovakia.
- d) The org. on her part will try to help Dr. DURCANSKY to get his entry permit to Germany;

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
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- e) The organization will continue to support Dr. DURCANSKY to find an apartment in Austria and in Germany;
- f) The organization will try to assist radio-activities of the SCV movement in the fight against Bolshevism.

3.) The present stage of development on the basis of the arrangements made as per cipher 2) is the following:

- a) Since the beginning of the co-operation which upon agreement of Prof. DURCANSKY started already before his arrival in Europe in Spring 1952 the SCV-movement placed a number of agents at our disposal. After careful examinations and screening, the "pillars" of the operations FATRA, BPSKID, ICK and the agent JURIS for a ferrying operation were selected and trained for their commitments;
- b) The new interrogator named by the SCV group BLASKO is now being trained;
- c) The exponent Austria of the SCV movement "ALY and the SOV member IUVAC of Linz did valuable work as "Forscher" and "Tipper". From the SCV-Forschung came a.o. the suggestions Col. LYSICKY, Major MATOSFK, the "N-TARKA" with affiliated military sources which will partly be worked on by agent JURIS (requests are being prepared). Finally "Forschung" POLKA is also a result of SCV-co-operation;
- d) Dr. DURCANSKY is prepared to place other sources and co-workers at our disposal of the same level as above mentioned. The names and functions of these sources must be checked as well as their capability as it is possible that some of them are no longer available through the political development or have another job in the meantime. The attempted contact of Prof. D. with Prof. SUBIK will be one of the possible means of control.
- e) While Dr. DURCANSKY has fulfilled to a large extent the promises made during the Wallerseel-conference the org. has hardly been able to do the same due to the present situation. The fact that the so very important entry permit could not yet be procured is chiefly due to the general difficulties in connection

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with the "black lists";

f) finally the reserves to be mobilized now through SCV could only partly be used because the project group dealing with SCV agenda has so much work to do that it can proceed step by step only;

4.) Further activation of sources to be named by Prof. DURCANSKY will be postponed until such time when the question of the entry permit is settled. New "advance payment" might easily lead to a certain political debt which is to be avoided.

5.) In case the competent Allied authorities should not give the permission for Prof. DURCANSKY entering Germany he intends to follow an offer from London to settle down there or a call from some friends to take his residence in "ome.

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SECRET

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY	
FILE NO. C 2	SOURCE ECLA-666	DATE OF DOCUMENT 27 Oct 52	ANALYST C 2	
SUBJECT Bolf, Alexander			DATE 7 July 54	
PERTINENT INFORMATION				
<p>Report from Pullach. Attached hereto for your information is the first half of what is probably Zimper's last interrogation of Bolf.</p> <p>Page 21 b) Tätigkeit des SCV: Ueber die Tätigkeit des SCV gab ich an, dass es sich um den Kampf der Slowaken für eine selbständige Slowakische Republik handle, um den Kampf gegen den Tschecho-Polschewismus und dass an der Spitze dieser Bewegung Univ. Prof. DURČANSKY, Ferdinand, stehe. Weiters, dass es der Kampf gegen den Slowakischen Nationalrat in Ausland wäre. Sie fragten, ob SCV ein ND-Netz hat. Ich antwortete, dass in Valka nichts wäre und fragten wollte ich nicht, damit ich nicht auffalle. Ich erklärte, dass SCV Verbindung mit der Slowakei hat, welcher Art wäre mir nicht bekannt. Ich begründete dies damit, dass in den SCV- Zeitschriften neue, Konkrete Angaben über die Heimat enthalten waren. Ueber den ND des SCV habe ich nichts angegeben.</p> <p>THAT IS ALL THE PERTINENT INFO ON SUBJECT IN THE DOCUMENT. TAKEN VERBATIM.</p> <p>DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY: CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT DATE 2003 2008</p>				
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FOR COORDINATION WITH State

AIR POUCH CONFIDENTIAL SECURITY INFORMATION
FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

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FROM AMEMBASSY, VIENNA #838

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON

November 4, 1952.

REF

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SUBJECT PERIPHERAL: Press Attacks on Radio Free Europe.

The Embassy's despatches Nos. 1508 and 1549 of March 21 and 26, 1952, respectively, reported on the beginning of Ferdinand Durcansky's efforts to attract to the support of the Slovak Liberation Committee (SOV) various elements of the Volksdeutsche and Sudeten Germans in Austria. Despatch No. 1598 of April 1, 1952, expanded on this subject and reported the apparent success with which Durcansky's efforts were meeting. This despatch likewise gave some details of the support which the Volksdeutsche news organ, Wegwarte, had given SOV in the latter's efforts to undermine the popularity of Radio Free Europe. The Embassy's despatch No. 218 of August 4, 1952, gave additional details of this program of the SOV and reported on the arrival in Austria of Durcansky, who apparently plans to remain here to promote the aims of his organization.

Recently, attacks on Radio Free Europe have appeared in the local press which obviously were of SOV inspiration. The Wegwarte of November 1, 1952, carried a small item which claimed that the RFE station in Munich was harmful to the Czech people and the Sudeten Germans, and that the Federative Committee of Czechoslovaks and Sudeten Germans had decided to demand a change in the station's basic policy, "or else apply to the West German radio for the allocation of a broadcast hour in order to establish as soon as possible their own shortwave station". The article claimed that the Soviets were attempting to "tie the Czechs to Moscow forever" by propagating fear of the Germans among the Czechs, and that RFE was indirectly playing into the hands of the communists "by ignoring and even opposing an understanding between exiled Czechoslovaks and Sudeten Germans". It was probably less by accident than by design that this article appeared in the issue which contained a lead story that the "Neo-Czechoslovakia wants to slaughter the Slovaks". This story referred to a recent meeting of exiled Czechoslovaks in Chicago where, allegedly, "members of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia had propagated a mass murder of Slovaks who reject a Neo-Czechoslovakia and had demanded that adequate measures be taken to provide for the possibility of occupying Slovakia by means of a Czech military force".

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The above stories were preceded by an article in the Salzburger Volksblatt which appeared in the Austrian province of Salzburg on October 21 and 22, 1952. The Suedost Tagespost (People's Daily) of Salzburg, Austria, claimed that RFE had been the "target of fierce criticism for the past few months", and that a recent administrative reorganization of RFE had been nothing but a ruse to beguile the people into believing that steps had been taken to eliminate the alleged subversive forces in RFE's employ. The article went on to state that black marketers were employed by RFE and that such men of ill repute will continue to use RFE for their "anti-German campaign of hatred".

The second of these articles appeared in the Salzburger Volksblatt (Independent) of Salzburg on October 22. This one was prefaced with the remark that although RFE's voice was directed against the East, "the voices that speak into its microphones belong to people who, not only according to German opinion, are unqualified to speak for a 'free Europe'." It ended with the comment that "it is hard to believe what use can be made of American money. That is, for a free Europe, of course!" Between the opening and closing remarks the article was identical with the one printed in the Suedost Tagespost.

There is little doubt from the content and timing of these three stories that they are a part of the SOV's campaign to discredit the Czechoslovak department of Radio Free Europe. To recapitulate, one article appeared in the Wegwarte which had gone over to Durcansky's side some time ago, another echoing the established line of the SOV, appeared in an independent newspaper in Salzburg (Durcansky's headquarters), while the third, although it was published in the British Zone of Austria, was identical to the second. The Wegwarte, however, seems to have made the most revealing statement when it stated that the Federative Committee of Czechoslovaks and Sudeten Germans would establish its own radio station if RFE failed to comply with its demands. It will be recalled that despatch No. 1026 of January 9, 1952, reported that SOV propaganda had informed the Slovaks (in Slovakia) that the Durcansky station Voice of the Slovak Republic (believed formerly to have been in Madrid, but probably not connected with the White Legion) would soon be heard again and that the frequencies would be announced at a later date. It is thus possible that, in addition to the SOV's promoting its campaign against RFE's non-Slovak employees and RFE's failure to support Slovak separatism, the SOV hopes to build up a case against Radio Free Europe which will pave the way for obtaining permission from the Bonn government for the establishment of a Slovak separatist propaganda station on West German territory. The contention that RFE is preventing German-Czechoslovak harmony, and the concomitant implication that a SOV-sponsored station can create and maintain a state of happy relationship between Germany and the people of Czechoslovakia, would appear to be useful arguments for obtaining the necessary authorization.

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TRANSLATION

Articles which appeared in the Suedost Telegram of October 21, 1952, and the Salzburger Volksblatt of October 22, 1952.

The privately financed U.S. network Radio Free Europe has been the target of fierce criticism for the past few months. Its anti-Europe Chauvinism was only recently attacked by the Sudeten emigrants and the Sudeten German-Czech Federative Committee headed by Dr. Ludwigman and General Prchala.

Slovak Nationalists representing the majority of exiled Slovaks who request the restoration of an independent Slovak state are barred from Radio Free Europe, just as the Prchala group, which advocates the return of the Sudeten Germans to Czechoslovakia. The sharp criticism provoked by the network's strange propaganda caused the recent dismissals of 25 employees while notorious chief editor Pavel Tigrid resigned.

It has now been learned that this purge was nothing but a dodge. The so-called Council of Free Czechoslovakia, consisting of Benes followers, informed its friends from Radio Free Europe by confidential letter that the dismissals in the Czech Department were only a tactical maneuver. Only those persons are to be dismissed who are not in favor of the Council or belong to right-wing Czech parties. While the vacancies are to be filled with loyal Benes followers, Tigrid will be displaced by a Mr. Kohat who will serve as straw boss while Tigrid continues his work for Radio Free Europe.

The fact that seven employees of the Czech Department have been arrested on charges of espionage and several others are in jail because of hard currency rackets explains what kind of shady personalities have been and will use Radio Free Europe for their anti-German campaign of hatred. The head of the program "Greetings To My Home Country" turned out to be a Communist agent after working half a year, and escaped with a file of names of exiled Czechs' relatives still living in Czechoslovakia.

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Vienna

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A copy of the articles which appeared in the August 1958
and the Salzburger Volksblatt is enclosed

FOR THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Walter Dowling
Deputy High Commissioner

Enclosure:

1. Copy of articles.

Copies to: Prague, HICOG (Frankfurt PR), HICOG (Lonn),
Amconsulate General Munich, Moscow, Tel Aviv,
Budapest, Bucharest.

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NOTES FROM THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS

AV-372

Czechoslovak

November 26, 1952

HAPSBURG INFLUENCES SUSPECTED BEHIND BONN CONFERENCE OF NATIONALITY
GROUPS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovak New Yorksky Dennik of November 25th reports a few additional details about the conference of emigre nationality groups from Czechoslovakia, held in Bonn on October 10th, and expresses the view that the gathering and the formation of a "Council of the Peoples of Czechoslovakia" on its occasion might be connected with the new campaign for a Central European Federation under Otto of Hapsburg.

The daily describes the new Council as a center for these elements, which in 1939 participated in the disruption of Czechoslovakia. It defines their present program as aiming toward "dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and obstructing the efforts of the exiles for the reconstruction of a democratic Czechoslovak Republic". It lists the members of the new Council as follows: For the Czechs: Gen. L. Frchala, Dr. K. Lecher; for the Slovaks: Matus Cernak and Dr. Ctibor Pokorny; for the Sudeten Germans: Dr. R. Lodgman von Auen, Reitzner and Schuetz, the last two former members of the Prague Parliament; for the Germans of Slovakia: A. Birkner; for the Hungarians: Dr. O. Kazmer, B. Szilassi and Ch. Hokky; for the Ruthenians: I. Nebola.

As analysis of the list shows that both Slovak separatist centers are represented in the Council: Dr. Ctibor Pokorny is the vice president of Durcansky's Slovak Liberation Committee, while Matus Cernak, former member of Tiso's government, is leader of the pro-Sidor Slovaks in Munich. This would confirm previous reports that representatives

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AV-372

November 26, 1952

of both rival centers participated in the Bonn meeting, an occurrence without precedent to date. I. Nebola is identified in the daily's report as a member of the Ukrainian Nationalist Guard "Sitch" during the short-lived Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic of 1939.

Concerning the political background of the conference, New Yorksky Dennik observes:

"It is probable that this group receives its political advice as well as financial and other support from the people close to Otto of Hapsburg, the champion of a new Central European Federation scheme. It would seem that during the recent visit of Archduke Otto in Bonn the self-styled organizers of the new 'Council of the Peoples' paid a visit to him and assured him of the loyalty of their 'peoples' to the dynasty of the Hapsburgs."

Archduke Otto's Action Discussed

On November 11th, New Yorksky Dennik published an article by its political commentator, F. C. Hajovsky, discussing a lecture delivered recently in Bonn by Archduke Otto at the invitation of German federalists on the issue of the role of Central Europe in federalist plans. The writer points to the "literal repetition of Hitler's terminology" in the wording given by the lecturer to his subject, "European Aspect of the Danube Living Space (Lebensraum)." He also calls attention to the presence among the audience of active members of the West German government, members of the Hohenzollern family, and representatives of German exiles from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc.

Concerning the views expressed by the lecturer, the writer quotes the comment of Die Zeit, which called his plea for the inclusion in the European federation plans of the Central European zone up to the Carpathian mountains a repetition of now familiar suggestions, but found interesting his ideas as to how to organize that zone. For this purpose, Die Zeit stated, recommended exploiting the traditional ties

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which have bound the peoples of the Hapsburg Monarchy for a period of a thousand years. He absolved the West of responsibility for the ill-considered destruction of the Monarchy and put the blame upon Edward Benes and his political friends from Bucharest and Belgrade. He did not mention T. G. Masaryk in this connection, the writer observes, apparently fearing to weaken his position by assailing a leader popular in the democratic world. The writer points to sympathetic reports on the lecture in German and Austrian papers and he predicts that the Hapsburg movement soon will gain strong official and popular support in Germany.

F. C. Majovsky, in his own remarks, dismisses Archduke Otto's conception as a worn-out idea of "ultra-rightist world reaction." Nevertheless, he sees a potential danger in the adoption by the Archduke of the nationality principle as a basis for his Central European plans. In his opinion, this factor may attract not only former fascist elements among the exiles from behind the Iron Curtain but also the "so-called democratic political leaders who had nothing to do with Nazism during the war and were even sometimes persecuted by the Nazis, but, nonetheless, became infected during the Hitler era by the idea of the so-called nationality independence, based upon German Nazi philosophy." Describing these leaders, not Otto of Hapsburg, as the real threat against democracy in Central Europe, he continues:

"There are many of them, hiding today in various exiled representations and unofficial political organizations acting for the countries behind the Iron Curtain. They begin as great democrats and act as champions of the rights of their nationalities to independence. It would be a thing of great interest and of immense importance for future democratic development if proper American government circles would examine from this viewpoint the ideas, conceptions and programs of all organizations and groups coming from behind the Iron Curtain."

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November 26, 1952

German Attacks Against RFE Draw Comment

The Chicago daily Svornost of November 11th reprints from the Cleveland Novy Svet a review of attacks in West German papers, Rheinischer Merkur and Christ und Welt, against the Czechoslovak division of RFE for beaming allegedly pro-Communist and anti-German propaganda to Czechoslovakia and for employing persons with Communist connections in the past. An article by Richard Sperber, upon which the review was based, appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

In its own comment, Novy Svet takes a stand in defense of Paul Tigrid of the RFE Czechoslovak division, the main target of the German press attacks, declaring that it knows him as a "good Catholic" and an author of numerous strongly anti-Communist articles in exiled publications. It observes:

"If it is true that certain employees of the radio station conducted their anti-Communist propaganda in countries behind the Iron Curtain in a manner which actually aided the Communists, it would be proper to state precisely who is meant in such charges and what he did. It would also be proper to reveal by whom these boys were recommended to RFE and by whom they were placed there, and to draw the necessary consequences of it."

Referring to these remarks in the Chicago separatist Slovak v Amerike, Michal Zibrin points to the Free Czechoslovakia Council as the culprit to be blamed for introducing "Communist collaborators" into the Czechoslovak division of RFE. He voices disapproval over the fact that an article with such a question has been reprinted in the same Svornost whose former editorial co-worker, Dr. Michal Mudry-Sebik, used to be one of the leading RFE officers, responsible for the Czechoslovak division.

Zibrin recalls his previous warnings against pro-Communist influences in the Free Czechoslovakia Council and names as other outstanding

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AV-372

November 26, 1952

pro-Communists in it: Prof. Macek, whom he describes as the author of the economic section of the 1948 Constitution of Czechoslovakia, and General Dastich who, "together with another general, was recommended by the Council as an adviser for the American occupation administration in Germany." He asserts that one hundred Czechoslovak university students protested against the admission to a DP camp in Ludwigsburg of Prof. Macek who in 1948 expelled them from their schools, and staged demonstrations against him.

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COURIER

Security Information

EQMA-2573

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Chief of Mission, Frankfurt

18 December 52

Chief of Station, Munich

ATTN: []

OPERATIONAL - []

INFO: []

/EE
] POB

Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY's Presence in Munich

1. [] official report M-450 dated 15 November 52 noted that he was informed on 6 November by [] in Wels that subject was in Munich. Further investigation by [] revealed that this report was true, and that DURCANSKY was living at Pension Excelsior, Kalbachstr. 85, Tel. 360113. We therefore contacted POB officials who confirmed the report and stated that on 1 December DURCANSKY moved to a new address in the outskirts of Munich. Info copy of a POB cable on this subject was apparently routed to MOB but cannot be located here.

2. [] informed us that DURCANSKY's entry into Germany, and German visa, if any, was arranged by ZIPPER personnel, but that he did not know what action the Combined Travel Board had taken on the matter, or whether it had been consulted. We therefore investigated confidentially through []

- 3. It appears that:
 - a. DURCANSKY is on the proscribed list of persons forbidden by the Occupation Powers to enter West Germany;
 - b. the Combined Travel Board never approved the issuance of a German visa to DURCANSKY; and
 - c. in the past the Germans have scrupulously observed the CTB proscribed list in issuing visas.

A previous visa application by DURCANSKY from Argentina was refused by German authorities on this ground. It therefore seems clear, and [] states, that DURCANSKY is in Germany either with no visa, a visa illegally issued, or issued on the basis of a false identity. A further question is whether official German circles knowingly issued a visa in violation of the agreement with CTB, or whether some German procured a visa without the knowledge of the authorities officially charged with such responsibility.

4. Based on a lengthy recent conversation with [] it appears that all parties concerned - ZIPPER, POB, and ourselves - agree that DURCANSKY's

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2006

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present intelligence potential is virtually nil, and that his future prospects are problematical. We are informed that the German interest in him is frankly political. Although we foresee no immediate substantial interference by DURCANSKY in Grolig's U.S.-controlled intelligence activities, we believe that any improvement in DURCANSKY's political position is contrary to the best interests of U.S. influence in Slovakia and among the Slovak emigration, however much it may serve German circles with whom DURCANSKY collaborated during World War II.

5. Since it is well known that no one can enter the Federal Republic of Germany in the face of CTB objections DURCANSKY's presence here indicates to emigre politicians that he now has some U.S. blessing. Otherwise he ostensibly could not be here. Many months ago Anton Maly, DURCANSKY's representative in Austria, claimed in emigre circles that DURCANSKY would get a German visa, because the German intelligence service would clear it with the Americans by whom they were supported. DURCANSKY's presence here gives the appearance of substantiating this claim.

6. Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, DURCANSKY representative in Germany, has been negotiating for time on the Hamburg and Stuttgart radios. Germany already sponsors the Sudeten irredentists, and through DURCANSKY, will take over by U.S. default the leadership of the Slovaks, despite the fact that the Slovak people look to the U.S., not Germany, for leadership. (The reason for this is apparent when one considers that there are 1,000,000 Slovak-Americans in the U.S. to 3,000,000 in Slovakia, and that there have been a negligible number of Slovaks in Germany).

7. In view of all the foregoing, we would like to inquire if any U.S. interest is served by permitting DURCANSKY to remain in Germany in violation of our own CTB proscribed list and in violation of Bonn's own representations to the Allies, particularly when DURCANSKY's present intelligence potential is agreed to be minimal.

DURCANSKY's presence here is now known in emigre circles. R. Matus Cernak's newspaper openly publishes such fact - or publicity is given in some other manner by rival emigres or others - U.S. authorities as well as Bonn will be placed in an embarrassing position. In the meanwhile the U.S. is condoning the growth of a movement specifically contrary to traditional U.S. policy.

On the other hand, if a CTB note to German authorities forced them to expel DURCANSKY, the expulsion would be a blow to his prestige and to those Slovak circles who follow the German, as opposed to U.S., line. This could not be blamed by ZIPPER, since they could argue that DURCANSKY's presence in Munich became known to CTB and that they obviously could not interfere in open contradiction of the official U.S. proscribed list, in short that DURCANSKY had blown himself and therefore could not be backed up.

Approved by:
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Chief of Mission, Frankfurt

29 December 52

Chief of Base, Munich

ATTN: []

OPERATIONAL [] [] []

INFO: [] [] []

Dr. Ferdinand DUCANSKY

REF: FGMA-2573, 2705

1. Enclosed as supplementary information for reference is copy of a despatch received from POB, with respect to which the following comments are offered:

a. [] informs us, on the basis of the facts cited in enclosure, that DUCANSKY is in Germany illegally and is subject to immediate expulsion at the instance of the Combined Travel Board.

b. The statement of the CTB that it "lacks jurisdiction" is a routine reply given to applicants for entry into West Germany who are referred to the appropriate Bonn office. Bonn, however, must check back with CTB and may not issue entry permits to persons on the CTB proscribed list. [] stated that this appears to be a rare instance of Bonn's playing behind the back of the Occupation Powers. Should word of DUCANSKY'S presence come to CTB from any source, considerable embarrassment to Bonn as well as DUCANSKY'S expulsion may be expected to follow.

c. We have asked [] (who is also chief of Identity A) to refrain from taking any action and from alerting the CTB as he would normally be obliged to do, until this matter has been called to the attention of all parties concerned.

2. As a side issue, [] can furnish interesting information on SCHAFFARCEK. Fearing as a victim of Nazi persecution, the latter actually voluntarily applied for membership in NSDAP, to [] knowledge, and was turned down for reasons of partial Jewish ancestry. Also of interest is [] statement that SCHAFFARCEK has a sister now in Poland, in return for whose exfiltration to the West he would be willing [] Although doubtless too sensitive an operation to consider at this time, such information might be useful at some future time.

Approved by: [] [] []

Distr:

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- 3 - EE w/attach
- 1 - POB
- 3 - []

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 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2003 2006

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OFFICIAL DISPATCH

VIA: AIR DISPATCH NO. EGQW-3781
SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH

~~SECRET~~
SECURITY INFORMATION
CLASSIFICATION

1953

TO : Chief of Mission, Frankfurt
Attention: Pullach
FROM : Chief, EE

DATE: _____

SUBJECT: GENERAL - Operational
SPECIFIC - Ferdinand DURCANSKY - Name Traces

Ref- EGQW-3710

1. We have the following traces on subject at present and are attempting to determine what specific charges resulted in his being labelled a war criminal.

2. Excerpts from State Department Memo of Conversation, dated July 6, 1950: (Conversation was held in reference to attempted intercession by members of "Slovak v Amerike" in attempt to obtain U. S. visa for DURCANSKY.)

(Slovak v Amerike) suggested that since Karol SIDOR had received a visa many Americans of Slovak descent believed that DURCANSKY should also be issued a visa. They said that this was all the more important in that DURCANSKY was a more forceful leader than SIDOR and had a larger following in Czechoslovakia. * * * * (State Dept.) pointed out that it's view was that the two cases were distinguished by important differences. DURCANSKY had been listed as a war criminal by the United Nations War Crimes Commission sitting in London and because of this the Department could not find it possible to recommend the issuance of a visa for entry to the United States if an advisory opinion should be requested by any consular officer abroad to whom DURCANSKY might apply. This had been (State Dept's) view previously when the same question had arisen and * * * * the conclusion was that there was no basis for changing our earlier view. (Slovak v Amerike) asked whether any appeal might

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CLASSIFICATION

Originated 19 January 1953

FORM NO. 51-29
JUN 1949

(722)

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be made against this decision or the findings of the United Nations War Crimes Commission. (State Dept.) replied that the United Nations War Crimes Commission comprised a number of trained lawyers considered of objective attitude from various nations, including the United States and Great Britain. (State Dept.) had been guided by their findings in many cases and saw no reasons thus far not to accept them in the present instance. It would not, therefore, seem likely that (State Dept's) position would be changed even if the matter were carried higher."

3. On 10 April (52) Victor PZ ESTENSORO, leader of the Bolivian Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) was visited at his apartment in Argentina by delegations of Slovaks, Ukrainians and Croats. The purpose of the visit was to congratulate PAZ --- on the successful revolt carried out by the MNR in Bolivia. The Slovak delegation was headed by Reverend P. DILAN, a Franciscan who spoke on behalf of Ferdinand DURCANSKY.

^{Dilong}
 4. Who's Who in Occupied and Satellite Europe (May 1944): Ferdinand DURCANSKY: Slovak politician, born circa 1906. Son of Senator Juraj DURCANSKY, representative of Slovak People's (Hlinka) Party in Czechoslovakia Senate. As student fervent partisan Slovak-Hungarian Union. Started career as unknown lawyer. Studied Paris and Berlin, where made intimate contacts with Hitler Youth Leaders. On return Czechoslovakia founded monthly Nastup with Nazi aid. First came into prominence Minister of Justice in Slovak autonomous Government, founded October 1938 (after Munich). Later obliged by Czech opposition to flee to Vienna, where he violently attacked Czechoslovak Republic. Appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs; became Minister of Interior in first independent Slovak Government, 14 March 1939. Suddenly dismissed September 1941. Reported to be on demand of Germans who were playing off the group of Tuka and Mach against that of DURCANSKY. Article in Slovak March 1943, accused Slovaks of inciting anti-Czech feeling.

5. FBI Memo of 19 February 1948: Information available to Bureau from confidential, reliable sources indicates that Vendelin CERNANSKY, a Slovak national, prior to his entry into U. S. was in contact with Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY and the Slovak Action Committee. Source stated that CERNANSKY was urged to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act in the U. S. to act

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EGQW-3781

upon DURCANSKY's behalf in this country. There is no evidence at the present time that DURCANSKY has in fact acted in this connection in this country.

6. Another report states that Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY, ex-Slovak Minister and president of the local branch of the anti-Communist Slovak Action Committee has lost considerable prestige especially among the more recent Slovak arrivals in Argentina. These groups of immigrants are decidedly partisan to the ex-Ambassador of Slovakia to the the Vatican, Dr. Carlos SIDOR, who is at present living there in the U. S.

Two reasons are advanced for this continued split involving the two men. The struggle which has been in evidence for many years has become accentuated because of the vocal support provided Dr. SIDOR by the recent Slovak arrivals to Argentina. Also the outward attachment DURCANSKY has toward the Nazi element and the Peronistas has diminished the once popular influence he had previously exercised.

Another reason given for the shift in favor of SIDOR is the attitude of the former Slovak Minister of War (fnu) STEFANIC (phonetic) who is an enthusiastic supporter of Dr. SIDOR. STEFANIC, at this time, living in Buenos Aires, is looked upon as being pro-American.

DURCANSKY is criticized by the Slovak Community as being selfish and ambitious apart from being a proponent of totalitarian ideology. He is a close friend of Ante PAVELIC, Croat chieftain, and Father Virgilio Filippo, former ecclesiastical aide to President PERON, along with many other Nazi and Fascist collaborators.

Subject is considered to be a man without scruples, violently anti-Semitic and anti-American.

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OFFICIAL DISPATCH

VIA: AIR
SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH

DISPATCH NO. ESB-Y-359

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CLASSIFICATION

JAN 19 1953

TO
FROM Chief, EE

DATE: _____

SUBJECT: GENERAL -
SPECIFIC - Operational
Ferdinand DURCANSKY

Reference: ESB-A-451, ESB-A-87

1. Subject is still considered a war criminal and as such would not be allowed to enter the United States.
2. A report from London, dated 1 March 1951, states that DURCANSKY arrived in the U.K. by air from Zurich on 14 September 1950 and left by air for Montreal on 14 December 1950.
3. The Zipper Desk states that DURCANSKY carries an Argentine passport and identity documents.
4. For your information only: DURCANSKY, who entered Germany on 9 November 1952, is now residing in Munich with Zipper footing his rent bill. He obtained a German entry permit through a very good contact in the Zipper organization.

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DATE 2003 2006

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DATE 2 Feb. 1953		

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GPO 93-18073

Date of origin: 15 Jan. 1953

FORM NO. 61-29
JUN 1949

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OFFICIAL DISPATCH

VIA: AIR
SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH

DISPATCH NO. EGQW-3710

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SECURITY INFORMATION
CLASSIFICATION

TO : Chief of Mission, Frankfurt
FROM : Attention: Chief, EE K / Pullach

DATE: JAN 27 1953

SUBJECT: GENERAL - Operational
SPECIFIC - Ferdinand DURCANSKY

Ref- EGLA-1238

1. The contents of reference seem to indicate that the position you have taken toward DURCANSKY since the beginning has been the correct one. The fact that DURCANSKY is not able to list his "assets" comes as no surprise as we have always been dubious that any genuine intelligence assets existed. From your last paragraph, which states that ZIPPER is now paying only his rent and does not intend to pay even this much longer, it would appear that they too are somewhat less than enchanted. Another possibility, of course, is that DURCANSKY has begun to realize that ZIPPER is presently in no position to meet his demands unconditionally, and has decided to market his wares elsewhere. Based on personal friendships and political sympathies, however, ZIPPER will no doubt continue to maintain an interest in, and probably lend a hand to his activities whenever possible.

2. The person whom you identify as "X" in paragraph 2b. of reference has been intensively interrogated at DRG, is presently in the HARVARD disposal channels, and intends to emigrate to the United States as soon as possible. All this is for your information only. We cannot, of course, preclude a meeting between "X" and DURCANSKY, should it be arranged by either ZIPPER or DURCANSKY himself, but we feel we should take no part in arranging such a get-together. "X" himself, who responded openly and freely to a most comprehensive interrogation, made no mention of any knowledge of resistance or espionage nets or individuals within CSR. "X" further has expressed no desire to see either DURCANSKY or any other member of SOV. We feel therefore that very little or nothing would come of a meeting between the two that would enhance DURCANSKY's value to us as an intelligence personality, and could very well

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AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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JUN-1949

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EGJW-3710

expose certain U. S. personalities, modus operandi and disposal channels to DURCANSKY. We recommend, therefore, that you stall ZIPPER on their request for a meeting between "X" and DURCANSKY until such time as he is emigrated, when we will notify you.

3. Going further into reference to paragraph 2e., where ZIPPER states that V-11425 and V-21644 "strictly reject the notion of performing IS work for anyone", we are amazed. After the length of time these two, and particularly V-11425, have been employed, paid, described as forschers, and after lengthy discussions and reports of the "Inspector" with 800 men under arms in Slovakia, and other sundry proposals, that this attitude should suddenly be expressed must be regarded as little more than a swindle. No matter whether ZIPPER prefers to call them "Forschers", and "tippers", certainly these individuals have known, in some detail, that they were employed by and working for a U.S.-sponsored intelligence agency, and have accepted a considerable amount of money for their less than satisfactory efforts. We ourselves "reject any notion" that we are paying these individuals "only for advancing the interests of SOV", and strongly recommend that until their status is clarified, preferably in a written contract, all payments of whatever nature be suspended. Little if anything would be lost, in fact, if both were dropped outright, and such action might indicate to DURCANSKY that neither we nor ZIPPER intend to be pressured into anything.

4. We have compiled a number of traces on DURCANSKY for you which we are forwarding by separate pouch. While there is little as yet of real value, by sheer weight of numbers the reports indicate that he is something of an unsavory character. We have definitely established that DURCANSKY was branded a war criminal by the United Nations War Crimes Commission in London in 1945, and we are endeavoring to determine the specific charges. A recent query by the Swiss states that they have an extradition request for DURCANSKY from the Czech Legation and asks if he is still considered a war criminal. The answer is yes. The query was prompted by a Swiss desire to determine whether or not DURCANSKY should be permitted to reenter Switzerland. The Swiss decision in this matter is not at present known. Inasmuch as DURCANSKY is now believed to have Argentine citizenship, this may not be pertinent, but we believe no harm will be done if DURCANSKY is advised that he may be unable to reenter Switzerland, and also that the Czechs have requested his extradition from that country.

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RGNA-979

3 February 1953

Chief of Mission, Frankfurt

Chief of Base, Bonn

Operational/CART

Ferdinand DURCANSKY (I)

1. In case you should not be familiar with the travel restriction regulations agreed upon between the Allies and the Germans, let me give you briefly an explanation of the categories that have been established:

Category A: Refer to Allies before issuing travel documents

" B: Issue travel documents and inform Allies on subject's travels inside Germany

" C: Refuse travel documents

2. Ferdinand DURCANSKY, born 18 December 1906 in Rajec, Czechoslovakia, applied from London in September 1950 for an entry visa into Germany which was granted. On 16 June 1952 he again applied from Paris for an entry visa which was refused because his name appeared on the Allied TCL (Travel Control List - Sperrliste). On 3 September 1952, DURCANSKY applied from Bad Ischl, c/o Anton Maly, Auroldsmuensterstr. 47, Ried i/Innkreis, Austria, to the French Security Service in Innsbruck for an entry permit into Germany. Evidently his application was granted because on 9 November 1952, DURCANSKY registered at the Pension Excelsior, Kalbachstr. 85, Munich, and on 3 December 1952 he had moved to Waldperlach bei Muenchen, c/o KRONNACHER, Putzbrunnerlandstrasse. At the time DURCANSKY applied for a German visa in Innsbruck, he was listed under Category B according to which the German government granted him the entry visa and kept the Allies informed about his whereabouts in Germany.

3. In the meantime the Combined Travel Board (CTB) received advice from the State Department that DURCANSKY was an "undesirable" alien and should not be permitted to enter Germany. Accordingly, on 3 November 1952 the CTB submitted to the Allied duty liaison officer for transmittal to the BIV a request that DURCANSKY be placed in Category C with the following explanation:

"DURCANSKY was a Nazi collaborationist. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Slovakia and Josef TISO. It is believed that if subject were permitted to enter Germany, he would visit the camps containing Czech refugees and

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engage in activities which would seriously increase tension within these camps."

4. Obviously, the State Department - CTB request did not reach the BFV in time to prevent DURCANSKY from entering Germany, or if it did the German Foreign Office simply ignored it. The question now arises if we should insist that DURCANSKY be placed in Category C or do we prefer to have him remain in Category B of the TCL?

Approved: []

[]
Dist:

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NOV 1951

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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ROUTING	
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TO: DIRECTOR CIA
 FROM: SR REP PULLACH ROUTINE
 ACTION: EE 6 1457Z 6 FEB 53
 INFORMATION: DD/P 2, FI, FI/OPS, FI/STC, PP 2, PP/PYD 2, PP/PAD, FI/RI 2

PULL 4911

TO: DIR INFO: SFRAN, SMUNI CITE: SPULL

REF: DIR 39082 (OUT 86273)

1. FEEL ACTION CONTEMPLATED PARA 3 REFERENCE INADVISABLE AS WISHFUL THINKING.

2. ZIPPER EXAMINATION DURCANSKY POSITIVE POTENTIAL TO BE COMPLETED SHORTLY, ALREADY FEELS HE HAS NO POTENTIAL AS I.S. LEADER. ZIPPER WILL MAINTAIN EFFORTS WITH INDIVIDUAL SOV MEMBERS FOR SPECIFIC TRIAL RUNS AND WILL PROBABLY MAINTAIN DURCANSKY AS SPECIAL CONNECTION FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE POLITICAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL FIELDS AFTER LEGALIZATION ZIPPER.

3. IN VIEW FAILURE DURCANSKY DEVELOP AS I.S. LEADER ZIPPER VERBALLY REPORTED INTENTION SECURE (WE FEEL IT ALREADY HAS) CONNECTION TO SIDOR GROUP AS STRONGEST SLOVAKIAN EMIGRES THROUGH MATUS CERNAK WHO ACCORDING ZIPPER IS DISSATISFIED HIS PRESENT F.I.S. CONNECTION. WE HAVE NOT TOLD ZIPPER OF ANY AIS CERNAK CONTACT BUT ASKED FOR WRITTEN REPORT ON PROPOSAL AFTER WHICH WE WOULD REQUEST TRACES AND BE IN POSITION TELL ZIPPER HANDS OFF IF WASH SO DESIRES.

4. IN ANY EVENT THIS INTENTION/CONNECTION ZIPPER/CERNAK SEEMS PRECLUDE CERNAK DENUNCIATION DURCANSKY IN ORDER CONCEAL KUBARK HAND.

5. POB HAS NO OBJECTION ANY ACTION TO EXPEL DURCANSKY FOR VIOLATION CTB REGULATIONS, I.E., BY-PASSING CTB GETTING VISA GERMAN AUTHORITIES, AS WE TOLD ZIPPER WE COULD GIVE NO PROTECTION SINCE WE NOT ADVISED PRIOR HIS ARRIVAL GERMANY. HOWEVER, THIS DECISION INVOLVES POSSIBLE FRICTION CTB/GERMAN VIS. OFFICE. IF DONE CTB DOES NOT HAVE TO DISCLOSE SOURCE ITS INFORMATION. NO REASON GROGIG TO FEEL DURCANSKY WOULD SINGLE HIM OUT FROM HIS MANY ENEMIES AS INSTIGATOR.

END OF MESSAGE
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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3828
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2008

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FOR COORDINATION WITH State

AIR POUCH
PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

S/O Hossay
940/0/3-2058
RECEIVED
MAR 19 4 12 PM '53

FROM : HICOG, BONN

2748

DESP. NO.

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

March 10, 1953

DATE

REF :

15 For Dept. Use Only	ACTION	DEPT.	EUR S/S G F
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SUBJECT: Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Executive Council, Liberation Committee.

There is enclosed for the Department's information a copy of a letter addressed to the U.S. High Commissioner by Durcansky concerning the programs of the radio station of the "National Committee for a Free Europe" in Munich. This letter, in turn, includes a copy of a letter from Durcansky on the same subject to the Political Adviser of Radio Free Europe in Munich.

Edward T. Lampson

E. T. Lampson
Chief, Survey Group
Office of Political Affairs

Enclosures:

1. Letter to U. S. High Commissioner.
2. Letter to Political Adviser of Radio Free Europe.

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2008

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REPORTER

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Retain in divisional files or destroy in accordance with security regulations

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Page _____ of _____
Desp. No. _____
From _____

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

Page 1.
Serial No. 1
Doc. No. 2768
From _____

Ferdinand Durcansky
President of the Executive Council
of the Slovak Liberation Committee

Munich, March 2, 1953.

München-Waldperlach,
Putzbrunnerstrasse.

His Excellency
Mr. James B. Conant,
United States High Commissioner,
Bad Godesberg-Mehlen,
Mehlemer Aue.

Dear Sir,

I take the liberty to send you enclosed the copy of a letter directed to Mr. Griffith, Political Advisor of the Radio Free Europe, concerning the transmissions of the broadcasting station of the "National Committee for a Free Europe" in Munich.

There is no doubt over that the Resistance in Slovakia against the Communism and Soviet Imperialism would be strengthened, if the Slovak people would see that there is in the West an understanding for the natural right of the Slovak people and to the assertion of their rights on an independent life. The present political tendency convinces the Slovaks only thereof that in contradiction of the principles of Democracy the present tyranny of the Communist-Czechs by a domination of the Noncommunist-Czechs shall be replaced.

Please, Excellency, accept the assurance of my respect.

Sincerely yours,

(signed F. Durcansky)

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Page _____ of _____
Desp. No. _____
From _____

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(Classification)

No. _____
Desp. No. 2723
From _____

Ferdinand Durcansky
President of the Executive Council
of the Slovak Liberation Committee
Munchen-Waldperlach, Putzbrunnerstr.

Munich, February 18, 1953.

Mr. Griffith,
Political Advisor of the Radio Free Europe,
München-Neu Grünwald,
Herrenwiesstrasse 1.

Dear Mr. Griffith,

After several years of stay in South America, I have now resettled to Europe. Here I receive almost every day new evidence that in Slovakia, except a few people, the entire population opposes Soviet imperialism and international Communism, and rejects with the same resoluteness the idea of living together with the Czechs in one State, whatever form it might have. One of the never reasons of the Slovak resistance against the Czechs is the fact that they have imposed Communism upon Slovakia, and it is with Czech help that Communism is being kept in power. The violence, of which the Slovak people are the victim, is the work of various formations composed mostly of Czechs. This all has strengthened the Slovak nation's decision which manifested itself in the unanimous vote of the Diet of the Slovak Republic on March 14, 1939.

The realization of the principles of Freedom and Democracy in Slovakia is inconceivable without the realization of a Slovak Republic which, as an equal partner of other European nations, would become part of a United Europe and co-operate closely with the nations of Central Europe respectively. A re-establishment of Czecho-Slovakia, in whatever form, would mean for Slovakia that the present tyranny would be replaced by a new form of despotism incompatible with the principles of Democracy.

I believe that the Government and the people of the United States strive for extending Democracy and the rule of Law in the World and that the creation of the National Committee for a Free Europe has been a manifestation of these noble endeavours. It is therefore my duty to draw your kind attention to the above facts. The more so, because the broadcasts of the radio station organized in Munich by the National Committee for a Free Europe and personally supervised by you, propagate, and want to impose upon the Slovaks, the Czechoslovak conception which is being regarded by the Slovak people as one of the causes of its present plight and which, according to absolutely reliable information from Slovakia, conflicts with the will of the Slovak people.

Because it is generally in the interest of every follower of the principles of Freedom and Democracy that resistance against Communism and Moscow's imperialism be strengthened, and because the realization of these principles behind the Iron Curtain is a pre-condition for peace, may I be allowed to remind you that a successful achievement of these aims requires to organize a special Slovak section-desk-in the radio station of the

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Page _____ of
Desp. No. _____
From _____

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

2 of
E. No. 2
Desp. No. 2748
From _____

National Committee for a Free Europe in Munich, which would in no way be dependent on the Czechs but would have the same working capacity as the Czech desk.

The Slovak Liberation Committee, which the enslaved Slovak people at home regard as the interpreter of their political ideals and which has 80 percent of refugees from Slovakia as its avowed followers, is prepared to co-operate with every institution which has the aim to remove Communist tyranny and to establish in Slovakia a rule of Law and the principles of Democracy.

The Slovak Liberation Committee would gladly co-operate with the National Committee for a Free Europe if we would be given the democratic opportunity of broadcasting those ideals of which the Independence of the United States was born and which alone can form the basis of progress, happiness and peace in the World.

Being guided by the ideals of humanity and their realization in the World, I take the liberty of addressing to you these few lines with the firm conviction that in doing this I am serving the aims which are common to all those who strive for Law, Democracy and Progress.

Yours sincerely,

/Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky /
President of the Executive Council
of the Slovak Liberation Committee.

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~~FBI~~ COORDINATION WITH State

OFFICE OF OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

DST 2617

In reply refer to
SY/RMU

March 5, 1953

SECRET - SECURITY INFORMATION

To: Mr. Frank G. Wisner,
Deputy Director, Plans,
Central Intelligence Agency.

From: Mr. J. W. Ford. *JWF*
Director,
Office of Security.

Subject: DURCANSKY, Ferdinand

Reference is made to your memorandum of October 31, 1952,
SO DB-59415 with regard to the subject.

As stated in the above, Durcansky was listed as a war
criminal in 1946. This was done by the United Nations War
Crimes Commission in London at the request of the Czechoslovak
Government. After a trial in absentia, he was condemned to death
by the Slovak People's Court in Bratislava, April 1947.

For your information, the Swiss inquiries as to whether
the United States still considers Durcansky a war criminal and
if he would now be permitted entry into this country, may partially
be based on the fact that in 1944 the United States and United
Kingdom requested the Swiss government not to grant asylum to
war criminals. The question of whether the United States now
regards the alien as a war criminal should only be discussed through
diplomatic channels and a direct response is therefore to be avoided.

No request for a visa has been submitted to the Department
since 1950, and therefore no evidence presented through official
channels to refute adverse allegations concerning Durcansky.
Accordingly, the Department perceives no basis for a reversal of
its previous unfavorable opinion. There is no objection to the
Swiss government being informed to this effect.

SECRET - SECURITY INFORMATION

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2006

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FOR COORDINATION WITH State

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

VIA: AIR
SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH

DISPATCH NO. ESB-W-574

~~SECRET~~
SECURITY INFORMATION
CLASSIFICATION

APR 1 1953

TO: []
FROM: Chief, EE

DATE: _____

SUBJECT: GENERAL - Operational
SPECIFIC - Ferdinand DURCANSKY

REFERENCE: ESB-W-359, ESB-A-451

In answer to our query as to whether Subject was still considered by the United States to be a war criminal, State Department gave the following reply on 5 March 1953:

"For your information, the Swiss inquiries as to whether the United States still considers Durcansky a war criminal and if he would not be permitted entry into this country, may partially be based on the fact that in 1944 the United States and United Kingdom requested the Swiss government not to grant asylum to war criminals. The question of whether the United States now regards the alien as a war criminal should only be discussed through diplomatic channels and a direct response is therefore to be avoided."

"No request for a visa has been submitted to the Department since 1950, and therefore no evidence presented through official channels to refute adverse allegations concerning Durcansky. Accordingly, the Department perceives no basis for a reversal of its previous unfavorable opinion. There is no objection to the Swiss government being informed to this effect."

Hqs. Dist:
2 - Swiss Desk
1 - Zipper Desk
1 - Czech Desk

EE/FI
RELEASING []

EE/Swiss:EMP
6 April 1953

EE/Czech
EE/FI/Z
COORDINATING OFFICER

~~SECRET~~
SECURITY INFORMATION
CLASSIFICATION

RESTRICT

DATE 23 Apr. 53.

GPO 83-38073

FORM NO. 51-28
JUN 1949

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2E
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2006

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2008

28 May 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Discussion re Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

1. A discussion was held on the 22nd of May, 1953, concerning the Subject, with the following persons present: Mr. Critchfield (Chief, POB)

EE
EE
EE
J (EE/PI/Z)
J (EE/T/C)
J (EE/C)
J (EE/C).

2. The representatives of EE/C questioned Mr. Critchfield to determine the position of POB regarding the presence of Durcansky in Germany. Mr. Critchfield answered by outlining the position of the Pullach staff vis-a-vis German intelligence. Mr. Critchfield stated that the Pullach staff is attempting to develop a long-term liaison relationship with the German IS capable of providing CIA, specifically, and any interested Governmental agencies, generally, with German IS policy, intentions, operations and intelligence take. Accordingly, the Pullach staff does not attempt to control specific GIS operations; it merely attempts to monitor them with a view to making available to American officials at policy and negotiating levels the information necessary for concrete action vis-a-vis the Germans.

3. Mr. Critchfield pointed out, with regard to the matter of Durcansky, that the function of the POB staff was limited solely to informing EE/C and other interested branches within the Agency and Government of German activities in connection with Durcansky. While the POB staff reserved the right to give its evaluation of specific proposals for handling the Durcansky problem, it wished to lay no claim to expertise in operational or political matters apart from questions of the continued security of POB's relationship with the GIS and anticipable GIS reactions to specific U. S. or U. S. sponsored actions. Thus, the POB position with respect to U. S. sponsored action in emigre circles to counteract the growing strength of Durcansky is a subject beyond the ken of expert POB commentary and may be so regarded by EE/C in Washington and the Field. The POB position with respect to German interest and intentions in present and future utilization of Durcansky is within the competence of expert POB staff commentary.

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ABSTRACT	INDEX	Following
DATE - 3 JUN 1953		J

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SECRET
SECURITY INFORMATION

4. Following Mr. Critchfield's presentation, the EE/C representatives proposed that EE/C should properly assume responsibility for initiating action against Durcansky. It was agreed that POB should be informed, but that POB views of EE/C actions would henceforth be evaluated in light of Mr. Critchfield's delineation of the POB areas of competence and interest.

[EE/PP/C]

Distributions:
EE/PI/Z - 1
EE/CP - 1
EE/C - 2
RT - 1

EE/C/LO'D/ELA

- 2 -

SECRET

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TO : 25.50 6.6.1953
FROM : 50 166/53
SUBJECT : PROFESSOR
REF : a) 25.50, Nr. 6668 v. 17.3.53
b) 50, Nr. 96/53 v. 30.3.53.

Nach einer neu hier eingegangenen Mitteilung hat PROFESSOR erneut seine Absicht, slowakische Rundfunksendungen von Westdeutschland durchzuführen, aufgegriffen. Nachdem die Zusammenarbeit in dieser Frage mit der "Sudetendeutschen Landsmannschaft" gescheitert ist, versucht er es jetzt ohne diese. 50/Cs hat PROFESSOR darauf hingewiesen, dass ganz sicher Schwierigkeiten von amerikanischer Seite eintreten würden. Da PROFESSOR diese Absicht ohne Mithilfe unserer Organisation verfolgt, besteht von unserer Seite ~~noch~~ keine Möglichkeit, die Durchführung zu verhindern. Die Verantwortung für etwaige politische Folgen muss PROFESSOR ~~noch~~ selbst tragen.

2550C
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C
Süddeutsche

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STRENG VERTRAULICH I

6.8.1953

Betr.: Monarchistentreffen in Oberbayern.

Bezug:

Personen:

Prof. Dr. D u r c a n s k y Ferdinand, München 5,
Kapuzinerstr. 41 wh..

Dr. T o m i c i c Stefan, Salzburg, Raphael Donnerstr.
14 wh., stellvertretender Chefredakteur bei den "Salzburger
Nachrichten".

Sachverhalt:

Anfang Juni 1953 fand in Bad Reichenhall oder Berchtesgaden eine Zusammenkunft monarchistischer Kreise der ehemaligen Donaumonarchie statt. Von slowakischer Seite war der Chef des SOV Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky anwesend. Von österreichischer Seite war der stellvertretende Chefredakteur der "Salzburger Nachrichten" Dr. Tomicic Stefan anwesend. Bei dieser Zusammenkunft wurde ein "Klub der Nationen der ehemaligen k.u.k. Monarchie" gegründet. Der Chefredakteur der "SN" Dr. Canaval ließ sich wegen Krankheit entschuldigen.

Über sonstige Teilnehmer und dem Zweck und das Ziel des Klubs konnte nicht erfahren werden.

Stellungnahme und Absicht:

Meldeweg: B a d e n .

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15.2.1954 k/k
257/54

An

124/3 für befr. Seite

Betr.: V-FERDINAND

Bezug: Besprechung mit befr. Seite am 26.1.1954

Unter Bezugnahme auf o.a. Besprechung wird im Nachfolgenden wunschgemäß ein kurzes Exposé über die ND-liche Bedeutung der Zusammenarbeit mit V-FERDINAND vorgelegt.

Das Wesen und die Vorteile einer Zusammenarbeit der Org. mit dem SOV (Slovensko Oslobovaci Vybor - slowakisches Befreiungskomitee) kann als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden.

Die praktische Auswertung der über SOV gegebenen ND-Möglichkeiten in Richtung ČSR hat auf Grund der inneren Geschlossenheit dieser Emigrationsgruppe, der frühzeitigen Bindung ihrer Vertreter für Deutschland und Österreich an die Org. und der vollen Bereitschaft des V-FERDINANDs zur Mitarbeit im Interesse der Org., bereits ihren Niederschlag in einer Reihe positiver ND-Unternehmungen gefunden.

Im einzelnen:

- a) V-FERDINAND stellt eine wertvolle Informationsquelle auf dem Sektor der Emigration dar. (Besonders wertvoll sind die durch V-FERDINAND gebotenen III-Hinweise)
- b) V-FERDINAND bietet durch den SOV wertvollste Abdeckung für operat. Unternehmungen, besonders im Pannenfall in der ČSR und auf österreichischem Boden, indem die Org. unerkannt bleiben kann. Bemerkenswert ist, dass V-FERDINAND bereit ist, auch ND-Angelegenheiten abzudecken, die nicht unbedingt innerhalb seines Interessengebietes liegen.
- c) V-FERDINAND stellt aus dem Reservoir des SOV laufend Einsatz-V-Leute zur Verfügung. Diese V-Leute haben sich bisher, aufgrund ihrer ideolog.-polit. Überzeugung noch immer als brauchbare V-Leute erwiesen.

(V-21617-Op. PATKA, V-21643-LINZE, Vernehmer, V-21660-GRENZE, Schleusvorhaben PORTUS, V-22070-RÄUN und V-22085-SALZ in der geplanten Op. GRÖNNU)

- d) V-FERDINAND hat eine Reihe sehr interessanter Tips in der ČSR eingebracht, die sich noch in Reserve befinden und erst nach Gewährleistung spezieller Voraussetzungen im Rahmen operationeller Vorhaben realisiert werden können.
Einige Beispiele werden unter Hinweis auf die Überprüfungsanträge Nr. 191 bis 197 genannt.
- e) V-FERDINAND stellt seinen Namen als Empfehlung für qualifizierte Quellen in der ČSR zur Verfügung, die ohne eine solche nicht oder nur schwer ansprechbar wären (siehe Op. FATMA bezgl. V-GREGOR).
- f) V-FERDINAND gibt bereitwilligst Hilfestellung zur Herstellung notwendiger Verbindungen im operat. Interesse. (Siehe Op. FATMA, Verbindung zu den im westl. Ausland lebenden Söhnen des V-GREGOR).
- g) V-FERDINAND gewährleistet Mithilfe bei III-mässigen Überprüfungen von V-Leuten und operat. interessanten Personen in der ČSR und den Kreisen der Emigration durch Auskunftserteilung.
- h) V-FERDINAND hat bei der Werbung des hochqualifizierten Forschers V-22033-TURK wertvolle Hilfestellung geleistet. Seine Werbung wäre ohne Mitwirkung V-FERDINANDS kaum möglich gewesen.

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Slovak Separatist Group

Karel SIDOR

Until his death last year, SIDOR was the chairman of the Slovak National Council Abroad. Ever since 1935, he was a factor in Czechoslovak politics in general and Slovak politics in particular. As a keen follower of Father HLINKA and his rightist ~~and~~ Nazi-collaborationist party during World War II, he was among the most volatile enemies of the Czechs. His militant nationalism pressed for a complete separation of the Slovaks from the Czechs and the establishment of the former into an independent state. When this came to pass under the Nazi aegis, he played along, and represented the Nazi puppet Slovak state in the Vatican. After the war he remained in Vatican City and was on the list of war-time Nazi criminals, and was allegedly tried in absentia by the Czech government as a war criminal. SIDOR emigrated to Canada in 1950 and eventually came to the United States, although the Department of State had previously refused a visa to him in 1947 as a "person whose entry would be prejudicial to the interests of the United States."

In 1950 SIDOR was violently attacked by Walter Winchell in an article in the Washington Post which gave a complete description of SIDOR's pro-Nazi and fascist past, and demanded that he be expelled from the United States. He was criticized for having made no attempt at expressing a pro-allied feeling at the time when he was in Rome, and for having made a public declaration as late as 1945 that the Slovak government was "whole-heartedly at the side of the great German ally and protector"; and this at a time when American planes from Italian bases were flying supplies to the Slovak revolutionary anti-Nazi forces.

Following SIDOR's arrival in the United States, he delivered a number of political speeches violently attacking the representatives of the Czechoslovak members of the Council for Free Czechoslovakia.

Philip A. HROBAK

Chairman of the Slovak League in America and editor of the weekly publication JEDNOTA, published in Middletown, Pennsylvania. He also publishes an English language bulletin, Slovak News Letter, which has backed SIDOR's group and the Czech National Council of PRCHALA. HROBAK has been a close adherent of the SIDOR group in the United States and has made attacks on Radio Free Europe in his press. It is in JEDNOTA that Kurt GLASER has been publishing attacks against the Czech Exile Movement, and Radio Free Europe, making various insinuations and demanding that all the present Czech collaborators be purged and replaced. A translation of one of the items "How Free is Radio Free Europe" is attached.

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2006

SECRET

Ferdinand DURCANSKY

Founder of the Slovak Liberation Committee. Like SIDOR, he is considered a collaborator of the Nazi Slovak puppet government during the war, and was in fact the first foreign minister appointed. He was, however, dismissed from his post in 1941, (and fled to Vienna), where he continued to attack the Czechoslovak Republic. In April 1947, when DURCANSKY was abroad, the Czechoslovak government of President BENES requested the extradition of DURCANSKY for trial in Czechoslovakia as a war criminal, but the request was refused since the applicable treaty (Talic-Czech of 1921) was not applicable to political criminals. DURCANSKY has always favored the concept of an independent Slovakia, and although he has frequently been spoken of as a rival of SIDOR, the two groups have, in fact, ~~have~~ had identical goals. One of DURCANSKY's affiliates in the United States is Vojtech KRAJCOVIC, chairman of the National Committee for Liberation of Slovakia.

PRCHALA MOVEMENT

Lev PRCHALA

In December 1940, Czech Army General Lev PRCHALA founded the Czechoslovak National Council (CSNR) in London. The purpose of this organization was to gather into one group all Czechoslovak non-Communist elements who were opposed to the policy of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile of Dr. Edward BENES. The CSNR did not have any concrete political program except the negative one of hatred for BENES and the policy which he represented. The small active membership was recruited largely from members of former rightist Czech and Slovak parties. Since 1950 the PRCHALA movement has been closely linked with Sudenten German interests. In Germany, the movement is known as the Czech National Group (CNS) and most of the existing membership is located in DP Camps in the American Zone. The chief aim of the group is to attain autonomy for all national minorities in Czechoslovakia—Germans, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Poles. PRCHALA's group as well as its Slovak counterparts, the Slovak Liberation Committee of DURCANSKY and the Slovak National Council Abroad, formerly headed by SIDOR, are in direct conflict with the Council for Free Czechoslovakia.

Milos VOBORIL

VOBORIL, who until his recent arrival in the United States was living in Brussels, Belgium, is reported to have been working for the Intelligence Group of PRCHALA since 1949. In this capacity he is

alleged to

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447

SECRET

Alleged to have maintained relations with one Adolf SACHER, a political refugee living in Paris. In 1949 an investigation was conducted regarding SACHER because of suspicion of collaboration with Communist organs, but was discontinued because of insufficient evidence. At that time, SACHER was the official purchasing agent of the Czechoslovak State Tobacco Monopoly and maintained contact with official business agencies in Czechoslovakia, as has been shown from his files.

It has also been reliably reported that VOBORIL was also in touch with one Josef KUBAL, who is at present under indictment of military espionage on behalf of Czechoslovakia before the Paris Military Tribunal, and who appears to have belonged to two Communist espionage networks, "Helge" and "Sebastian". The purpose of the contacts between KUBAL and VOBORIL was, according to source, the shipment of strategic goods to Iron Curtain countries, especially to the CSR. VOBORIL has also been reportedly been in close contact with one Engineer NOVY who was convicted by the Belgians in a clear cut case of espionage on behalf of the Czechs.

It may be significant to point out the following excerpt from a letter written by Ferdinand MIKSCHE in German to a friend in London: (Nov. 10, 1953)

(translation: "I have been invited by the agency for conducting psychological warfare to come to Washington. I learned the purpose of my invitation only after my arrival here. I must return to France by the 18th of November in order to report the outcome of my discussions to General GRUNTER in person.

"McCARTHY will be dealing with "personalities" of the Czechoslovak exiled politicians in the USA in the next few days. In that manner they will be morally annihilated ("Moralisch vernichtet")"

"I cannot understand how BESSEMEY could debase himself to make an agreement with Czech politicians."

It is recalled that MIKSCHE has been suspected of being a Communist "fellow-traveller", and that he has also had a very close tie to the German elements, such as the Kurt GLASER forces.

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Slovak Liberation Committee

The Slovak Liberation Committee is composed of the most extreme rightist Slovaks in exile led by Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, former Minister of the Interior, and Foreign Secretary of the Tiso regime in Slovakia. After the war, Dr. Durcansky, whose name headed the list of Allied-wanted war criminals, escaped to Argentina.

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232 ✓

under the name of the Hlinka Guard. During his regime, 3,000 democratic Slovaks have been jailed; 3,995 were sentenced; 30,000 persons were dragged off to German concentration camps; 109,000 Jews were deported to Germany and Poland, of which 68,000 perished. Germany was provided with 120,000 Slovak workers. During all this time, Durcansky provoked hatred and aspersion against the Jews in press and radio and supported racial theory. A lawyer by profession, Durcansky and his office profited from arisation of Jewish property. He was the recipient of bribes, running into hundreds of thousands, from terrified Jews.

Later, Durcansky became Foreign Secretary of the Slovak state. With others, he is responsible for Slovakia having declared war on America and England. He led the radio campaign against Western democracies, defaming their institutions. When in 1944 an uprising against the Germans and the Durcansky-Tiso regime broke, owing to Slovak sympathies with the Allies, Durcansky took part in the merciless suppression of that rebellion. Thousands of persons were liquidated without having been accorded whatever trial, by either the German or Durcansky's Hlinka Guard.

In 1945, Durcansky fled from Slovakia together with the Germans. He took with him a large amount of medicaments and also opium. He lives on the proceeds of this lot and finances his present political activity from these funds. His name may be found on the list of war criminals, issued by the Allies after the war. As a registered war criminal he has been sen-

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tenced to death in Czechoslovakia, in contumaciam. The documents of the International Court of Justice in Nuremberg offer all necessary material as to his activities.

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332.2

Feb 54

DR FERDINAND DURCANSKY - President, Slovak Liberation Committee

Since the summer of 1938, Durcansky conspired - in personal contact with Hitler, Goering, Ribbentrop and Seyss-Inquart - against the existence of the Czechoslovak state and against Western democratic powers. In 1938, Durcansky, having reached direct understanding with the Nazis and acting on their suggestion, attempted to create such radical situation in Czechoslovakia, as to lead to the disintegration of the state. He asked Nazi leaders to use their influence in severing Slovakia from Czechoslovakia. In return he promised, independent Slovakia would maintain close cooperation with Germany in military, political and economic matters. He accepted weapons and explosives from agents of Nazi Germany, to provoke chaos by terroristic action on the state's territory.

On March 13, 1938, Durcansky accompanied Dr. Tiso to Berlin where, together with Hitler, Goering and Ribbentrop, he arranged for Slovakia's secession from the Republic. This, as is known, gave Hitler the pretext for declaring the Czechoslovak state as non-existent and for occupying the Bohemian lands.

Following the proclamation of an independent Slovak state in March 1939, Durcansky became its Minister of Interior. In this function he did everything to mould the Slovak state after the Nazi model. He abolished the democratic system in Slovakia, prohibited all parties except one, and introduced dictatorship. He created an analogy of the Nazi SS formations

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2008

FOR COORDINATION WITH ARMY

To Critchfield SDU

APO 403
23 March 1954

SUBJECT: Notification of Dr. Durcansky

TO: Commanding Officer
Southern Area Command
A. O. 407, US Army
ATTN: Lt. Col William H. Smith, Jr, SC

1. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee, wrote a letter, with an attached plan, to the Honorable John Slezak, Undersecretary of the Army, concerning the liberation of peoples behind the Iron Curtain. This plan was received by the Honorable John Slezak and was read with interest.

2. It is considered to be undesirable to furnish Dr. Durcansky with a formal response from Mr. Slezak, from this office, or from your office inasmuch as such acknowledgement might be construed as indicating indorsement of Dr. Durcansky's group.

3. It is requested that you take the following actions relative to this case:

a. Personally inform Dr. Durcansky verbally that the letter and plan were received by the Honorable John Slezak, Undersecretary of the Army, and that Mr. Slezak read the plan with interest.

b. Dr. Durcansky's address is as follows:

Professor Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky
Munich-Waldperlesch
Leutholdstr. 5
Germany

c. Inform this office at such time as the above action has been accomplished, together with any comment made by Dr. Durcansky.

~~4. This document may not be downgraded without permission of this office.~~

~~Approved for Release by NSA on 05-08-2014 pursuant to E.O. 13526~~

~~LIVINGSTON H. GARDNER, JR.
Colonel
US Army
Special Intelligence Branch~~

CONFIDENTIAL

201-009361

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DATE 2003 2006

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VIA: Courier
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH)

DISPATCH NO. EGHA-1479

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

TO : Chief of Base, Pullach

DATE: 2 April 1954

FROM : Chief, ULS

INFO: COM

SUBJECT: GENERAL— Operational

SPECIFIC— Letter from Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY to Hon. John SLEZAK

REF: HELD-0208, PULL-7656

1. On 21 January 1954, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY wrote to Undersecretary of the Army SLEZAK a letter with an enclosed plan outlining one method of fighting Communism. Mr. SLEZAK felt that it was undesirable to furnish Dr. DURCANSKY with a formal response inasmuch as such acknowledgment might be construed as indicating endorsement of the latter's group. Mr. SLEZAK, therefore, contacted Col. Taylor of G-2 USAREUR Intelligence Branch and asked that verbal acknowledgment be made by the Army.

2. In order to do so, Col. Taylor drafted a letter to S.A.C. which explained the manner in which Mr. SLEZAK would like acknowledgment made. Upon learning, however, that Dr. DURCANSKY was of ZIPPER interest, Col. Taylor felt that POB would prefer to undertake the acknowledgment and delivered his draft letter to this office.

3. Please consider this letter, which is attached, as addressed to POB for action.

4. We would appreciate being informed by cable at such time as the contact is made. No further action upon your part will be required.

Att: 1-Ltr, DURCANSKY to SLEZAK,
translation
2-Ltr, G2 USAREUR to SAC, 1 cy

Dist: ~~2~~-POB w/atts a/s
3-COM w/o atts
2-ULS

1 April 1954

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DIST.	Action	Info
851	⊙	
829		✓
801		

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR. 1949

CARDED:
240 Durcansky

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2006

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Translation: Feb. 5, 1954
Registry No.: G-2097
Translation of or from: Czech

Munich, 21 Jan., 1954

Hon. John Slezak,

Dear Secretary, With a view to the success of war against the rulers of Moscow, I take the liberty to send you herewith for your information "Explanation of the necessity and way of the inclusion of the nations behind the Iron Curtain in the liberation fight against Moscow," which I prepared some time ago. This explanation represents the views of several organizations of unified and avowed fighters against international Communism and Soviet Imperialiam. Perhaps even with your highly varied duties you could find time to devote a little attention to this explanation.

With best regards, I remain,

Yours respectfully,

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky
Munich-Waldperlach,
Leuthöldstr. 5, Germany

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D-R-A-F-T

29 April 1954

K/R

SUBJECT: Prof. Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY
(Home Phone #479833)

1. Personal Description:

Approx. Age:	Born circa 1912	Language Ability:	English, Slovakian,
Build	: Medium heavy		Czech,
Height	: 5' 11"		German,
Weight	: 185-190 lbs.		Italian,
Eyes	: Brown (?)		Spanish,
Hair	: Solid black, receding slightly		French & Latin.
Prominent features:	Black mustache, worn since Foreign Minister of Czecho-slovakia.		

Wife:	Approx. Age:	Born circa 1912	Language Ability:	
	Build	: Medium, plump		
	Height	: 5' 10"		
	Weight	: 150 lbs.	Same as husband,	short of English.
	Hair	: Dishwater Blond		

Children:	1 Son born circa 1940.	Children speak some English, German,
	1 Daughter born circa 1943.	Spanish, Slovakian, and presumably Czech.

Resided in Bratislava prior to 1945.

well-guarded by numerous dogs

2. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Presently live in Munich in duplex apartment type house, roughly 5 rooms, with one serving as one of his offices. ~~Office contains~~ He has another office on Dachauerstrasse. ~~■~~ The files in his home contain: newspaper clippings from his activities as Foreign Minister showing trials, and headline activity; a geographical file of newspaper clippings (political ?); dossiers on contacts in ~~Czechoslovakia~~; personality files on contacts of the Slovakian emigre; SIS (Slovakian Information Service), published by Subject in Dachauerstrasse and distributed according to a restricted list; files of various overt intelligence summaries - England, Canada, France, etc. (de'Chauncey appears on English summaries published in London.); books on political scene from his time as Foreign Minister - Czechoslovakia, Austria and surrounding countries; publications he presented at Paris Peace Conference in 1949. (He went to the Peace Conference from Italy in uniform (?); miscellaneous files.

3. In general he substantiated known information regarding break with Nazi regime. In 1945: He left Slovakia for Rome, Italy via Austria, where he set up a 600-watt transmitter site supported by Slovakian Emigres in Italy. Left Italy for Argentina; returned to Italy; flew to Canada; returned to Argentina via the Azores. This was followed by his most recent visit to Munich.

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240 DURCANSKY (Dossier)

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4. Present Activities:

- a. Publishes SIS.
- b. Maintains contact with ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Nations), presumably on Dachauerstrasse, in Europe.
- c. Leader of SOV.
- d. Publishes newspaper articles for Slovakian newspapers (Munich ?) which are infiltrated into the CSR accompanied by stamps dated 1939 for further forwarding within CSR (CPC type operation).
- e. Travels extensively in Germany, i.e., scheduled visit to Heidelberg on 27 April.
- f. No indication he presently running black radio but gave extensive dissertation on inadequacies of RFE and Radio Liberation. Annoyed that these two have not accepted his contributions. Discussed at great length his ability to set up a 600-1000 watt station to "do the job properly".

5. Contacts inside CSR:

Subject discussed at length. He did display briefly dossiers including photos of apparent assets in the CSR and indicated there were "methods of contacting these people".

6. Financial Support:

Journalistic activities, contributions within ABN, no indication direct U.S. support. Subject lives modestly, was very hospitable, no indication of anti-American sentiments, in fact, every indication they "his last hope."

7. Emigration Plans:

Unidentified family in Los Angeles sponsoring his emigration to the United States. Has had quota number from Argentina since circa 1947. Fears he in U.S. disfavor because of "pro-Communist leanings". Wife and family anxious to emigrate to U.S. He resigned to "fighting the cause in Europe if need be."

8. Contact with Slezak:

Contact originated when Subject sent Slezak congratulatory letter on his appointment as Under-secretary of Army. Slezak acknowledged same (apparently in writing), announced future plans of visiting Germany at which time he hoped to talk with Subject. Subsequent to this exchange of correspondence, Subject forwarded his anti-Communist plan to Slezak which led to our involvement in this case. () (who represented himself as coming from Heidelberg) was queried as to knowledge of date of arrival of Slezak in Germany. () claimed no knowledge.

NOTE: It might be wise to inform USAREUR or the Department of Army that if Slezak does contemplate visiting West Germany he may be confronted with an attempt on Subject's part to arrange contact and subsequent meeting.

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9. Anti-Communist Plan:

This plan was discussed at great length. It included change of current U.S. policy toward Czechoslovakia, (i.e., probably independent Slovakia), that U.S. take aggressive action to include such activities as air drops of pamphlets, supplies, commo equipment, etc., to include preparations for early ~~warning~~ warning type operations and that Subject be made coordinator of this effort. (HA, HA, HA, HA, HA, HA, HA, HA, HA!)

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Alleged informant

Information from Biographic Intelligence Division Files, Department of State, as of September 1954

Name: Durčanský, Ferdinand, Professor, Dr. of Law - Slovak

Born: 18 December 1906 in Rajec, then Rajecz, Hungary, near Zilina, as the son of Juraj D., a follower of Father Andrej Hlinka and active in regional bodies, finally member of the Czechoslovak Senate. According to local gossip in his home town, his real father was a gypsy (German Foreign Office Documents). His younger brother Jan D., born 1902, former notary public in Bratislava, accompanied him to Argentina.

Marital Status: Married, two children.

Religion: Catholic

Languages: Slovak, Czech, Polish, German, French, English

Last Position Held in Native Country: Attorney-at-law in Bratislava, Professor of International Law at the University of Bratislava, owner of the Chemical Factory "Slovenke Alkaloid" in Hlohovec near Bratislava.

Present Residence: Anif Castle near Groedig, Land Salzburg, Austria, (as of 20 June 1953) or Bavaria.

Biographic Resumes: OSS, Who is Who in Occupied and Satellite Europe, May 1944, Secret.

Great Britain Foreign Office Research Dept., The Czechoslovak Emigration, CZE 71/49, 4 Nov 49 and 12 Jan 50, Secret.

State, London, D-1691, 10 Oct 50, with enclosures, Conf.

CIA, SO-DB 38403, 7 June 51, with enclosures, Secret.

Chronology:

March 1954: Split reported in Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations (ABN), an international association of rightist politicians, of which Subject is board member.

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- Oct 53: Reported in Vienna.
- June 53: Lecturer on Public Law with the "Slovak-Academy Abroad", which is sponsored by the OSV (Slovak Liberation Committee.)
- 14 Mar 53: Participated in SOV meeting in ~~Munich~~ Munich, Germany.
- Dec 52: Visited Camp Valka near Nurnberg, where he has 30 followers.
- Nov 52: Meeting with General Lev Prchala, leader of a Czech group in London.
- June/
Jul 52: Reported in Linz, Austria. Denied reports that he was expelled from Argentina, possesses Argentine travel document. Took residence in the historic Anif Castle, near Groedig, Land Salzburg.
- 28 May
52: Published article in Slovak v Amerike "Slovak's Who Helped Enslave Slovakia" attacking not only Slovak Democrats, but also Karł Sidor.
- Spring
1952: Wrote open letter to German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, promising the return of the Slovak Germans and prosecution of all responsible for their expulsion.
- May 52: An attempt undertaken among US Slovak ~~xxx~~ separatists, to reconcile Sidor and Durčansky groups, failed.
- 5 Jan
51: Sent a memorandum to US High Commissioner in Frankfurt, suggesting support of revolutionary movements of Soviet minority races.
- 15 Dec
50: Reported in Montreal, Canada.
- 5 Dec 50: ~~R~~ Called at US London Embassy.
- 26 Oct 50: Called at Hicog, Frankfurt.
- 13 Oct 50: Applied for US visa.
- 9 Oct 50: Reported in Geneva, Switzerland, using alias.

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- 14 Sept 50: In London. Previously traveled in Italy, France, Germany and Belgium.
- 13 Jul 50: Member of Executive Committee of the Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations, ABN.
- Aug 1949: Offered to US Embassy in Buenos Aires to turn over information. Probably responsible for the picketing of Nikolas Ferencil at his arrival in New York, 14 Aug 49.
- Jul 1949: Sent memorandum to US Embassy, London and to British Foreign Office, concerning establishment of SOV. Also, later, concerning the Committee of Central and Eastern Europe, a union of fascist emigre groups, established July 11 in Argentina and subsequently suppressed by the Argentinian Government.
- 12 Mar 49: The Slovak Akcny Vybor, SAV (Slovak Action Committee) was transformed into the Slovak Osvobodenny Vybor, SOV (Slovak Liberation Committee), which allegedly includes four Slovak parties, with headquarters in Buenos Aires and branches in US, France, Spain, Italy, Great Britain, Germany and Austria. . . . Subject President of its Executive Committee.
- 2 Dec 48: Made report to Argentinian police concerning Slovak Communists in Buenos Aires, allegedly based on his successful penetrating local Slovak groups.
- Dec 48: Karol Sidor, Slovak separatist in Canada, founded his organization Slovak National Council Abroad (Slovenska Narodna Rada v Zahranlci, SNRvZ). Subject named as its representative in Argentina. But Subject requested more representation within the organization, which Sidor denied. Subject did not recognize Sidor's precedence over his own organization.
- 23 Mar 48: Czechoslovakia requested Subjects' extradition from Argentina.
- Feb 48: US authorities established that Subject's mailing address in Bridgeport, Connecticut, was fictitious and that he never entered US.
- 22 Dec 47: US State sent circular to all representatives abroad, to suspend any action concerning US visa.

*member?
probably both
leaders*

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- Late 1947: Arrived in Argentina under the name of Vlcek allegedly on invitation of Evita Peron. Invested in a firm "Alcaloides Argentinas," producing morphine.
- Oct/Nov 47: Left Rome and absconded in the monasteries of Frascati and Grottaferrata. Embarked ship in Naples, disguised as nun, near Rome.
- Oct 47: In preparation for the so-called little Coup in Slovakia, Slovak Communists had fictitious pamphlets over the signature of Subject printed in Vienna and had them mailed from Vienna as a frameup to the members of the Slovak Democratic Party. (CIA, SO-8912, 24 Oct 47, Secret)
- Sept 47: Subject broadcast to Slovakia allegedly from Barcelona, in truth from Upper Austria or Bavaria.
- June/July 47: Czechoslovak secret police tried to kidnap Subject on direct order of Gottwald and Clementis, but Subject avoided trap. (MT May 18, 1953, B-12077, 1 Nov 48, B-3, Secret)
- 31 May 47: Subject presented memorandum in the name of SAV to US Embassy in Rome, demanding plebiscite in Slovakia.
- May 47: Subject reported in Salzburg, Austria.
- 15 Apr 47: Czechoslovak Court sentenced in absentia Subject to death by hanging.
- March 47: Subject reportedly living in Vatican City at the home of a Vatican post office employee of Slovak nationality. Subject active in "Intermare" movement, a group of East European rightist exiles. ^{INTERMARIUM}
- 13 Jan 47: Applied for US visa with Consul in Naples, Italy.
- 4 Jan 47: Reported in Ancona, Italy.
- 2 Dec 46: Trial against Josef Tiso and Subject began in Prague, Czechoslovakia requested extradition from Italy, which finally refused extradition, because case not covered by Italian-Czechoslovak Treaty of 1921. Subject sent letter of protest to Court with a New York date line.

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- 18 Sept 47: Subject included in the list of war criminals, drawn up in London, and put on Combined Travel Board stop list.
- Aug 46: Subject presented memorandum to Paris Peace Conference on Slovakia.
- June 46: According to Czechoslovak Communists, Subject sent emissary to Slovakia to appoint representatives for Slovak Action Committee (SAV). He claimed to be appointed Slovak Prime Minister by Josef Tiso, then in jail.
- 27 Sep 45: Subject reported living in or near Steyr, Upper Austria. Subject declared that the Slovak State was still legally in existence, broadcasting to Slovakia.
- Spring 45: Traveled to Udine and Rome, contacted Karol Sidor, then still acting as Slovak Ambassador to the Vatican, and requested share of the funds collected from Slovak nationals abroad. Sidor declined. Subject founded own organization, Slovak Akcny Vybor (SAV), Slovak Actions Committee.
- 29 May 45: Subject struck from faculty register of Bratislava University.
- 2 Apr 45: Subject fled Slovakia with Tiso Government group to Kremsmuenster, Upper Austria. Germans impounded 150 kg of morphine brought by Subject. Later Subject reported on the seizure to the Central Opium Board in Geneva, which in turn informed the US Military Government.
- Sept/Nov 44: Subject reassumed political activities. Made speeches calling upon Slovaks to fight for German victory and denouncing the men of the 1944 Slovak uprising as traitors, bandits and gangsters.
- 29 Jun 44: Published article in Slovenska Pravda (Slovak Truth), protesting against Swiss acceptance of a representative of the Czechoslovak Government in Exile, because Czechoslovakia had ceased to exist.
- 29 Jul 40: Relieved from his cabinet post over German demand, returned to law practice in Bratislava. Operated chemical factory "Slovenske Alkaloidi." Reasons for his dismissal, as given by his adherents an "emotional" conference with Hitler in Obersalzberg, false denunciations with the Germans that he had connections with the Allies and his actual connections with US Slovaks" which had never ceased. (CIA, SO-DB-38403, 7 Jun 51, Secret)

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Reasons given by Dr. Martin Kvetko: Contacts with Soviet Embassy in Budapest. (State, London, D-1691, 10 Oct 50, Secret). The German Foreign Office Documents show that he was considered by the Germans an opportunist who would adapt his position to the course of the war and that his own bosses, Josef Tiso and Voitech Tuka, had described him as a vain, ambitious gold digger. (German Foreign Office Documents 16 Jan 47).

Tuka

- 7 Jun 40: Received together with Tiso and ~~Tuka~~ by Hitler in Obersalzberg.
- Spring 40: Ordered widening of roads in preparation for the German attack against Yugoslavia.
- 1940: Signed agreement with Germany to send forced laborers to Germany. Their wages were credited to the State of Slovakia.
- 27 Oct 39: Minister of Foreign Affairs, ^{and} of the Interior and Deputy Prime Minister of the "Independent" State of Slovakia.
- Aug 1939: Agreement concluded with Germany, establishing military zone in preparation of the invasion of Poland.
- 14 Mar 39: Establishment of the "Independent" State of Slovakia. Subject appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, Conclusion of German Slovak trade agreement. Disarmament of Czechoslovak troops and surrender of military factories to Germany.
- 13 Mar 39: Tiso, Tuka and Subject received by Hitler in Berlin.
- 7-10 Mar 39: Subject in Vienna, placed himself at disposal of Hitler, negotiated with Seyss-Inquart and Buerckel, broadcast to Slovakia over "Radio Danube" (Special interrogation of Wilhelm Keppler, then Hitler's special representative for Slovakia. MIS Center in Oberursel, Sept/Oct 45, Secret).
- 12 Feb 39: Tiso and Subject traveled to Berlin behind the back of ^{the} Czechoslovakian Government and were received by Hermann Goering.
- 16 Dec 38: Elected deputy of Hlinka Party in one ticket election.
- 1 Dec 38: Minister of Transportation and Public Works of Slovak Autonomous (regional) Government.

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- 2 Nov 38: Negotiated in Komarom with Tiso and Hungarian Foreign Minister Kanya on agreement on the cession of Southern Slovakia to Hungary.
- 28 Oct 38: Meeting with Goering and Arthur Seyss-Inquart.
- 7 Oct 38: Under German pressure, an Autonomous Slovak Government was established, appointed by the Central Government headed by General Syrový, in Prague, Subject made Minister of Justice, Social Insurance and Health of the Autonomous Government.
- 19 Sept 38: Sent memorandum to Czechoslovak Prime Minister Milan Hodza with extreme claims for Slovak independence.
- Summer 38: Organization of the Hlinka Guards, a paramilitary blackshirt formation following the pattern of the Nazi stormtroopers and absorbing the remnants of the ~~existing~~ illegal Rodobrana (Home Guards) of Vojtech Tuka. Subject was in charge of transport affairs. Staged mass meeting of Hlinka Party in June 38, sent memo to British Mediator Lord Runciman, with Slovak demands.
- 15 Mar 38: After the invasion of Austria, Subject went to Vienna with Sano Mach for contact with Nazi leaders.
- 7 Feb 38: ^{probably personally involved} [Agreement between Hlinka Party, Sudetendeutsche (Henlein) and Hungarian minority parties on cooperation.] Subject Vice-chairman and founder-member of the Slovak-German Society.
- 1936--38: Subject, leader of most radical wing of the Hlinka Party (Hlinko-Slovenska Ludova Strana, HSLs), Founder and editor of the monthly "Nastup, ~~the~~ "Der Angriff" (The Attack), financially supported by Nazi, on anti-West, fascist, anti-semitic lines. Refused permission to teach for political reasons at Bratislava University,
- About 1934: Law practice in Bratislava. Carried on investment speculation in England.
- 1927: Member of the Hlinka Party. Allegedly also member of the illegal Rodobrana, as a student, member of the Slovak-Hungarian Union. Drafted to serve with Czechoslovak Army, Officer of the Reserve.

Political
Position:

Subject took an active part in the establishing of the Hitler sponsored "Independent" Slovak State, in which he held a cabinet post for eight months. After the war he has led an extreme right wing group of Slovak separatists, the Slovak Liberation Committee (SOV). Subject is "one of the most extreme protagonists of the idea of a Slovak State, as well as the most faithful collaborator and imitator of Hitlerite fascism. That means that he is also the most radical opponent of Czecho--Slovak cooperation and a Czecho-slovak State. At the time when the Czechoslovak Republic was passing through its most critical period, he was busier than ever in that direction. During the Munich crisis, Dr. D. presented himself as the most radical of radicals" (Enclosure to State, London, D-169I, 10 Oct 40, Secret). "Very pro--German and pro-Hitler, even at the same time he had good relations with the Catholic Church" (A Czech refugee in Switzerland, reported by State, Berne, 17 Jun 52, Secret). A friend of Subject characterizes him as a "great realist in politics, possessed of a great elasticity which permitted him to yield in superficial matters," but his elasticity had its limits, as proved by his falling in disgrace with the Germans." "He is a Slovakian above all else." (Quoted in CIA, SO-DB 38403, 10 Oct 51, Secret). He identified himself with the policy of the Tiso Government, even after his exit from the cabinet, he denounced vehemently the Slovak uprising of 1944 and follow-
-ed Tiso to Kremsmuenster. He maintained in public statements and broadcasts the continuous legal existence of the Slovak State and organized his adherents first in the Slovak Action Committee and later in the Slovak Liberation Committee (SOV), with headquarters in Buenos Aires and subsequently in Austria ~~of~~ Germany. He failed to win the adherence of the majority of Slovak separatists in the United States and of the "First Slovak League of America" which followed Karol Sidor and his successors. Its press organs are: Slovenska Informacna Sluzba (Slovak Information Service) and Slovenska Respublica (The Slovak Republic). He kept contact with other more or less fascist anti-Communist groups, as "Inter-mare," "Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations, ABN, and the Committee of Central and Eastern European Affairs. In America his followers form the "American Friends of Slovak Freedom" their press organs ~~head~~ ^{lead} the Slovak v Amrike and the Slovenska Republika in Chicago. Subject attacked Sidor as not an uncompromising enough advocate of Slovak independence, because Sidor had wavered in certain

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moments and favored a Slovak-Polish federation. He accused him of secret overtures to the Czechoslovaks. His hatred of the Czechs is even greater as his enmity of the Soviets. "We should see to it, that the Czechs who are Moscow's puppets in Slovakia are discriminated in the same way as the Soviets" (His "General Directions for Liberation Activities At Home"). He accused the Council of Free Czechoslovakia of acting in secret understanding with the Prague Government. (Notes from the Foreign Language Press, AV-321, 3 May 1952). Subject's activities are described in various reports emanating from State, Vienna (D-838, 4 Nov 52, D-8154, 26 Jun 53, about internal quarrels in the SOV; D-1598, 1 Apr 52, about relations to Sudetendeutsche expellees, and D-538, 7 Oct 53 with attached translation of "General Directions for Liberation Activities at Home by Subject, all Secret). In Germany and Austria the SOV works hand in glove with the Sudeten-German expellees and has won the support of the ~~Austrian~~ ^{Austrian} daily Salzburger Nachrichten and its editor Gustav Canaval. A slovak defector from the Kysuca district reported, that the Durcansky extremist were in the minority in that district, while Sidor was more popular. (State, Vienna, 9 Jun 52, Confid). According to a report of unknown reliability of 14 Jan 49, Subject has lost considerable prestige to Sidor. One of the causes is Durcansky's outward attachments toward Nazis elements and Peron followers (CIA, DB-28668, 7 Sept 51, Secret). Another source reports that Subject has following only among the radical fascists from war time (War Dept Gen. Staff R-PL 34-51, 2 Aug 51, Secret).

Personal
Characteristics:

Subject is ²very active and energetic personality. "Durcansky is a controversial figure previously identified with pro-Nazi and extreme elements in Slovakia and elsewhere" (State, BI undated, Confidential). "Considered a highly accomplished international lawyer" (State, Berne, 17 June 52 from a Czech refugee source in Switzerland, Conf). "Had a bad reputation even in pre-war days as a lawyer, being more interested in business profit than in justice" (State, Frankfurt, 26 Jun 52, source Slovak defector, Secret.) "A rather slippery customer" (Opinion of Brit. For. Off. official, State, London, A-1190, ~~xx~~ 24 Jun 49, Confid). "The Embassy rates Durcansky as a scoundrel of the highest order" (State, Prague, D-317, 3 Apr 47, Restricted.) "He is probably not a dangerous person,

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but he is sure to be troublesome in a sense that he will certainly not contribute to the unity of the emigre camps" (State, London, No. 1691, 10 Oct 40, Conf). "Described as very opportunistic and no good in this country". (State, Public Liaison/BI, Memo, quoting opinion of a Church group in Washington, D. C., Confid). The German Foreign Office Documents (16 Jan 47) record unfavorable characterization within Subject's own camp: "Tiso and Tuka characterized Durcansky as a vain, ambitious gold digger, ~~is~~ always aligning himself with the strongest party."

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FOR COORDINATION WITH State

DURCANSKY

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SUMMARY OF AVAILABLE PERSONALITY INFORMATION

2 November 1954

Name: DURCANSKY, Ferdinand, (Dr.) (State/BID, Sep 54)
DURKAOUSKI (RI/201, 29 Aug 43)
DURCANSKI, (RI/201, 14 Sep 44)
DURCHANSKY, (RI/201, 15 Jan 46)
DURCIANSKY, (RI/201, 13 Jan 48)

Aka: VILCEK, Mador (RI/201, 20 May 48)

Address: (As of 20 Jun 53) Anif Castle near Groedig, Land Salzburg, Austria (State/BID, Sep 54)

FEC Relationship: Subject as a leading Slovak separatist, has frequently criticized the programs and personnel of RFE and the Council of Free Czechoslovakia (CFC) (see Allegations)

Birthdate: 18 Dec 06

Birthplace: Rajec, near Zilina, Hungary, later Czechoslovakia (State/BID, Sep 54)

Family:

Father (deceased) - JuraJ DURCANSKY, a follower of Father HLINKA (see Associates) and a member of the Czechoslovakian Senate (State/BID, Sep 54). Said to have been held in high esteem by the Vatican because he defended Catholic Church interests in Slovakia (RI/201, 21 Mar 51, attachment). Local gossip had it that Subject's father was a gypsy (State/BID).

Brother - Jan DURCANSKY (aka: Jan DUBRAVKA), born 16 Feb 02. Doctor of Law, Bratislava, 1926. Practiced law, 1931-1939; notary public and president of the Bratislava section of the Hlinka Party, 1939-1945. Fled to Austria (1945), to Italy (1946) and to Argentina (1947). Presently an Argentine citizen working as a clerk in the Direccion Nacional de Migraciones, living at Avenue 17 de Octubre #2182, Buenos Aires. Member of the Executive Committee of the Slovak Liberation Committee. Sub-source of a CIA informant; presently being considered for operational clearance (STC/SPB, file #32006). See Possible Operational Use.

Wife - Elisabeth, born in Bratislava, 23 Mar 11 (RI/201, 13 Jan 48). While working for the CIC in Austria she was involved in an incident in which an unnamed person (possibly an American agent) was "blown sky-high" to Czech intelligence (RI/201, 21 Aug 53).

Children - George, born in Bratislava, 7 Nov 39; Zuzs, born in Bratislava, 3 Sep 41 (RI/201, 13 Jan 48).

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Religion: Roman Catholic (State/BID, Sep 54)
 National Group: Extreme Slovak separatist leader, pro-German. (State/BID, Sep 54). See Political Attitudes.
 Education: Graduated from gymnasium and from the Law School of Komen-skeho University in Bratislava. Studied at the Sorbonne (Paris), The Hague, and Berlin. Doctorate in law from the University of Bratis-lava (RI/201, 20 Sep 56; 21 Mar 51, Encl; 22 Aug 52).
 Languages: Slovak, Czech, German, French, English, Polish, Italian, Hungarian (IO, State/BID, Sep 54; RI/201, 13 Jan 48)
 Occupation: Lawyer, law instructor, chemical manufacturer, politician
 Citizenship: Formerly Czechoslovakian. Now believed to be a citizen of Argentina (RI/201, 27 Jan 53).
 Travel: (Reference, except where otherwise noted, is to State/BID, Sep 54)
 1925-1939 - as a student, to Paris, the Hague, and Berlin (RI/201 20 Sep 50; 21 Mar 51, Encl; 22 Aug 52)
 March 1938 - Vienna
 12 Feb 39 - Berlin
 7-10 Mar 39 - Vienna
 13 Mar 39 - Berlin
 7 Jun 39 - Obersalzburg, Austria
 2 Apr 45 - Austria
 Spring 1945 - Udine, Rome
 27 Sep 45 - reported living near Steyr, Upper Austria
 1945-1946 - "kept changing his address from Switzerland to Italy to France" (RI/201, 21 Mar 51)
 January 1946 - Rome (RI/201, 11 Jan 46)
 1946 - Several trips to France (RI/201, 25 Nov 46)
 December 1946 - Rome to Frascati to Grotta Ferrate, Italy (RI/201, 25 Mar 47)
 March 1947 - Vatican City, Rome
 May 1947 - Salzburg
 September 1947 - reported living in the USA (doubtful) (RI/201, 9 Feb 48)
 c. October 1947 - sailed from Naples to Argentina (RI/201, 12 Feb 48)
 February 1948 - reported in Amzone, Germany (doubtful) (RI/201, 9 Feb 48)
 July 1948 - reported in America (doubtful if it means the USA) (RI/201, 19 Jul 48)
 12 Sep 50 - left Argentina by plane (RI/201, 3 Jan 51)
 14 Sep 50 - Zurich, Switzerland (RI/201, 19 Jan 53)
 " - arrived in London by plane (RI/201, 1 Mar 51)
 9 Oct 50 - Geneva, Switzerland
 Fall 1950 - Luxembourg, France, Belgium, Austria (RI/201, 3 Jan 51)
 14 Dec 50 - left England by air (RI/201, 19 Jan 53)
 15 Dec 50 - arrived Montreal

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January 1951 - Rome (doubtful) (RI/201, 13 Aug 51)
 March 1951 - reported traveling in USA (doubtful) and Canada (RI/201, 19 Apr 51)
 April 1951 - Buenos Aires, Argentina (RI/201, 19 Apr 51)
 c. 20 May 52 - arrived in Europe from Argentina (RI/201, 24 Jun 52)
 May 1952 - French Zone, Austria (RI/201, 23 May 52)
 24 Jun 52 - Paris (RI/201, 24 Jun 52)
 Jun-Jul 1952 - Linz, Austria
 September 1952 - Salzburg, Austria (RI/201, 19 Sep 52); reported attempting to enter Amzone, Germany (RI/201, 11 Sep 52)
 9 Nov 52 - entered West Germany (RI/201, 3 Dec 52)
 December 1952 - Munich (RI/201, 18 Dec 52)
 October 1953 - Vienna
 22 Oct 53 - Bonn (RI/201, 19 Jan 54)
 March 1954 - Munich (IO, FEC list of emigre organizations, 1954)

Subject began his attempts to enter the USA when he registered himself and his family with the Amconsul in Naples on the Czech quota waiting list on 14 Nov 46 (RI/201, 13 Jan 48). He followed this with a visa application on 13 Jan 47 (State/BID, Sep 54). A State Department cable noted in November 1947 that the visa had not been granted, and reported speculation that Subject would nevertheless attempt to enter the USA either overtly or clandestinely (RI/201, undated). In October 1950 Subject again applied for an American visa (State/BID, Sep 54). Meanwhile a delegation including the Reverend Rudolf DILONG and John SCIRANKA (see Associates) had called on the State Department to find out why Subject had been refused a visa when one had been issued to Karel SIDOR (see Associates). The Department replied that in its view the two cases were distinguished because Subject had been declared a war criminal by the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC) (RI/201, 6 Jul 50; see also IO, SO/SSD, 21 Jun 56). An OPC memorandum contained the statement that although Subject was understood to have had hopes of entering the USA, OPC would "advise most strongly that steps be taken to insure that he should not be granted a visitor's visa" (RI/201, 18 Oct 50). No request for a visa has been submitted by Subject since 1950 (RI/201, 5 Mar 53).

Memberships:

1927 - Hlinka Slovak Peoples' Party (State/BID, Sep 54); reported to be a co-founder of the party (RI/201, 21 Mar 51, Encl.).
 1927 - Rodobrana ("Home Guard") (State/BID, Sep 54)
 1927 - Slovak-Hungarian Union (State/BID, Sep 54)
 ? - Nastup, a Slovakian student organization. Said to be a leader of the Catholic student youth movement (RI/201, 21 Mar 51, Encl.).
 1938 - Slovak-German Society; Vice-Chairman (State/BID, Sep 54)

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- 1938 - Hlinka Guards, paramilitary organization of the right wing-Hlinka Party; head of the transport section (State/BID, Sep 54).
- 1945-1949 - Slovak Action Committee, group of Slovakian emigres working for an independent Slovakia (State/BID, Sep 54); founder and president.
- 1946 - Federal Club of Central Europe, an organization dedicated to overthrowing the satellite regimes in Eastern Europe (RI/201, 25 Nov 46).
- 1947 - Intermarium, a "European federalist organization composed of various dissident elements; . . . rightist and nationalist in character" (RI/201, 20 Sep 54), sponsored by the Vatican (RI/201, 7 Dec 46; State/BID).
- 1949 - Slovak Liberation Committee, successor to Slovak Action Committee; founder, and president of the Executive Committee (State/BID, Sep 54).
- 1949 - Committee of Central and East Europe, rightist group whose activities were suspended by the Argentine police (RI/201, 11 Jul 49; 17 Mar 49).
- 1950 - Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations; Executive Committee (State/BID, Sep 54).
- 1954 - European Association for Scientific Study of the Refugee Problem; Subject reported to be working with (fnu) KOENRUF, a German official who is Secretary-General of this organization (RI/201, 25 Mar 54).

Associates:

- CERNAK, Matus - former Slovak Minister to Berlin; Slovak National Council Abroad (SNCA) representative in Germany; CIA informant (I&R FEC Review, Section V/SIDOR).
- DILONG, P. Rudolf (Reverend) - Franciscan priest; listed as a reference by Subject (RI/201, 13 Jan 48). Said to be Subject's emissary in the USA (IO, 7 Aug 50). Vice-Chairman of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee (SLC) (IO, 13 Oct 53, Encl 2).
- FILIPPO, Virgilio (Father) - Argentine National Deputy (RI/201, 20 Sep 48). Former ecclesiastical aide to President PERON (RI/201, 14 Jul 49). Head of the "Anti-Communist and anti-Imperialist League" (RI/201, 10 Aug 49).
- KRAJCOVIC, Vojtech (Dr.) - head of the National Committee for the Liberation of Slovakia, smallest and least influential of the exile Slovak separatist organizations. He claims to be independent of both SIDOR and Subject; he was supported by John SCIRANKA, an ardent DURCANSKY man (see below). A CIA memo reported that KRAJCOVIC and his close associate Peter LUKAS were "political adventurers and opportunists who are only interested in obtaining

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money and political recognition' (RI/201, 7 Jun 51)

MALY, Anton - SLC representative in Austria (RI/201, 26 Mar 52), former manager of an electrical power plant in Bratislava. Said to be "up to his ears" in the intelligence business (RI/201, 11 Apr 51). Reported to be in charge of a transmitter, "The Voice of the Slovak Republic", broadcasting from his home or shop in Austria (RI/201, 20 Nov 51).

MECIAR, Stanislav (Professor) - former professor at the University of Bratislava; president of the Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Committee (RI/201, 7 Jun 51).

POKORNY, Ctibor (Dr.) - SLC representative in Germany; liaison between the SLC and ZIPPER (RI/201, 11 Apr 51). Said to be negotiating with the Germans for time on the Hamburg and Stuttgart radios (RI/201, 14 Apr 53). Vice-Chairman, Executive Council of the SLC (IO, 13 Oct 53, Encl 2).

SCIRANKA, John - US citizen, born in Pittsburgh, Pa., 5 Sep 1902. Reported to have served three years in Sing Sing for a stock swindle. Editor of Slovak v Amerike, Slovak separatist paper in New York which supports Subject and the SLC (IO, SO/SSD, 21 Jun 54).

SIDOR, Karel - former Slovak Minister to the Vatican (1939-1945), died 1953. In exile he and Subject were rivals for the leadership of Slovak separatist refugees. When SIDOR refused to support his program and to share certain funds with him in 1945, Subject formed his extreme right wing Slovak Liberation Committee (SLC). In 1948 SIDOR became head of the Slovak National Council Abroad (SNCA), a more moderate group advocating an autonomous Slovakia within a Danubian or East European federation. Several attempts to unite the two organizations failed and SIDOR and Subject continued to berate each other's philosophy, strategy, and tactics. When SIDOR died, the SNCA went into something of an eclipse; today at least in Germany the SLC is probably the stronger of the two (RI/201, various sources; I&R FEC Review, Section V/Karel SIDOR).

TISO, Josef (Mgr) - successor to Father HLINKA; premier of the independent Slovakian government, 1939-1945; executed after the war by the Czech government for treason.

HLINKA, Andrej (Father) - founder of the Hlinka Slovak Peoples' Party (HSLS), a right wing party advocating Slovak autonomy. Died 1939. (Also see Personality Summary on SIDOR, Section V, for elaboration of the Hlinka Party.)

Employment:

1927 - Reserve officer with the Czechoslovakian Army (State/BID, Sep 54).

About 1934 - Lawyer in Bratislava, engaged in investment speculation in the United Kingdom (State/BID, Sep 54).

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- ? - Hlinka Slovak Peoples' Party deputy in the Czech Parliament (RI/201, 12 Dec 50).
- 1936-1938 - Editor of *Nastup* (The Attack), a Slovak separatist anti-Western and anti-Semitic monthly subsidized by the Nazis (RI/201, 20 Sep 50).
- Oct-Dec 1938 - Minister of Justice, Social Insurance and Health in the autonomous Slovak government (State/BID, Sep 54).
- Dec 38-Mar 39 - Hlinka Party deputy and Minister of Transportation and Public Works in the autonomous Slovak government (State/BID, Sep 54).
- Mar 39-Jul 40 - Minister of Foreign Affairs in the independent Slovak government (State/BID, Sep 54).
- Oct 39-Jul 40 - Minister of Interior and Deputy Prime Minister in the independent Slovak government (State/BID, Sep 54).
- 1940-1945 - Lawyer, Bratislava; Professor of International law, University of Bratislava; owner of chemical factory, "Slovenke Alkaloid" (RI/201, 20 Sep 50; 2- Mar 51, Encl; State/BID, Sep 54).
- 1946 - Broadcast to Slovakia from a ship in the Bay of Naples (RI/201, 20 Nov 51).
- 1947 - Invested in Buenos Aires firm, "Alcaloides Argentinos", producing morphine (State/BID, Sep 54).
- 1950 - Occupation reported as "Director of Chemical factory" (RI/201, 1 Mar 51).

NOTE: A biographical sketch of Subject by FEC reported that since 1945 he has lived on the proceeds of a large amount of medicaments and opium that he took with him out of Slovakia in 1945 (IO, FEC, Feb 54). It is also possible that he has received funds from the sale of bonds to Slovak refugees. These bonds were to be redeemed by the liberated Slovak Republic (RI/201, undated) (see also RI/201, 19 Jul 51)

Personal History

For the political background, see I&R FEC Review, Section IV/Czechoslovakia.

Subject was born in 1906 near Zilina, Slovakia, then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. His father was a follower of Father Andrej HLINKA (see Associates) and a member of the Czechoslovakia Senate (State/BID, Sep 54). Subject was graduated from the Law School of Komenského University in Bratislava, the principal city of Slovakia. He studied

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at the Sorbonne and returned to Bratislava and completed work for a Doctor of Laws degree (RI/201, 20 Sep 50; 21 Mar 51, Encl).

In 1927 Subject was drafted to serve as a Reserve Officer with the Czech Army. For the next few years he apparently practiced law in Bratislava, and represented the Hlinka Slovak Peoples Party in Czech parliament (RI/201, 12 Dec 50; State/BID, Sep 54).

In 1936 Subject founded and edited *Nastup* (The Attack), a fascist, anti-Semitic magazine subsidized by the Nazis. In February 1938 Subject was party to an agreement between Slovak, Sudeten-German, and Hungarian nationalists on a joint plan of action against the Czech government in Prague. (RI/201, 12 Dec 50). In the summer of 1938 Subject took charge of the transport section of the Hlinka Guards, described by the State Department as a "paramilitary blackshirt formation following the pattern of the Nazi stormtroopers . . ." (State/BID, Sep 54).

Subject forwarded Slovakian demands for autonomy to Lord RUNCIMAN, whom the British appointed to mediate between the Sudeten-Germans and the Prague government. In September, at the request of German Foreign Minister Joachim von RIBBENTROP, Subject agreed to present to Czech Prime Minister Milan HODZA demands which, if granted, would have altered fundamentally the nature of the Czechoslovakian state. As a result of this and other pressures Dr. HODZA resigned, and in the Munich Agreement of 30 September 1938 Czechoslovakia ceded the Sudeten areas to Germany (RI/201, 12 Dec 50; State/BID, Sep 54; Encyclopedia Britannica, article on Czechoslovakia).

Czechoslovakia was reconstituted as a federative state with autonomous regional governments in Slovakia and Ruthenia. On 7 October 1938 Subject was appointed Minister of Justice, Social Insurance, and Health in the autonomous Slovak government presided over by Monsignor Josef TISO (see Associates) (State/BID, Sep 54). Subject petitioned Hermann GOERING and Arthur SEYSS-INQUART (Chancellor of Austria) to help Slovakia break away from Czechoslovakia, and promised that in return an independent Slovakia would ally itself closely with Germany (RI/201, 12 Dec 50). Subject became Minister of Transportation and Public Works in the regional parliament as a Hlinka Party deputy in an election in which all other parties had been dissolved or absorbed into the Hlinka Party (RI/201, 12 Dec 50; State/BID, Sep 54).

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From January to March 1939 Subject worked with the Germans to encourage Slovak opposition to the Prague government (RI/201, 27 Jun 50; 12 Dec 50). On 12 March he accompanied TISO to Berlin where they conferred with GOERING and HITLER. On 14 March German troops invaded Bohemia, and Slovakia was proclaimed an independent nation. Subject was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, and later Minister of the Interior and Deputy Prime Minister, of the Slovakia government (State/BID, Sep 54).

As Minister of Foreign Affairs Subject concluded an agreement with Germany in August 1939 which established a military zone in western Slovakia and facilitated the German invasion of Poland. He also signed an agreement to send forced labor to Germany, and permitted the German Army to occupy key Slovakian factories and to requisition and ship to Germany large quantities of war materiel (RI/201, 12 Dec 50; State/BID, Sep 54).

On 29 July 1940 Subject was dismissed from all his Cabinet posts (State/BID, Sep 54). A number of contradictory reasons have been cited for his dismissal. Fritz FIALA claimed that Subject quarreled with BERNHARD, the German Ambassador to Slovakia, over whether Slovakia was at war with the Allies, and whether she could receive Allied Ambassadors. According to FIALA, Subject believed that Slovakia was at war only with Poland, and could therefore receive Allied Ambassadors. He quoted RIBBENTROP as saying that BERNHARD had to be removed, "but from grounds of prestige DURCANSKY must also go . . ." (RI/201, 25 Sep 44). Vojtech KRAJCOVIC (see Associates) stated that Subject had been dismissed because he wanted to establish contacts with England and France (RI/201, 20 Sep 50). A source described as a personal friend asserted that Subject had been fired because "false information was supplied, charging that DURCANSKY was working on both sides of the street and constantly maintaining contacts with hostile powers" (RI/201, 21 Mar 51, Encl).

A CIA staff officer stated that Subject had accumulated around himself a group of persons who on the one hand "pledged themselves for closer collaboration with the Nazis" and on the other hand were "making plans for the unlimited ruling of Slovakia themselves." He seemed to think that TISO had purged Subject from the Cabinet in order to salvage what little freedom he could from the Nazis (RI/201, 22 Aug 52, Encl).

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Dr. Martin KVETKO, a Slovak Democrat employed by RFE/Munich, suggested that he had been dismissed by the Germans because of his contacts with the Soviet Embassy in Budapest (State/BID, Sep 54; see Personality Summary, Section V, KVETKO), and another source reported that he "tried to play an independent policy from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (RI/201, 3 Mar 43).

From 1940 to 1944 Subject apparently abstained from political activity, practiced law and managed his chemical factory in Bratislava (RI/201, 22 Aug 52, Encl). In April 1945, as the Russian armies moved westward, he fled to Austria with other members and ex-members of the puppet Slovakian government. There the Germans impounded 150 kilograms of morphine which he had carried out of Slovakia, a fact which he reported to the Central Opium Board in Geneva (State/BID, Sep 54). Another source, a friend of Subject, reported that the morphine had been impounded by the Americans, who returned part of it (RI/201, 21 Mar 51, Encl).

In the spring of 1945 Subject escaped to Rome. When Karel SIDOR (see Associates) and the Slovak League of America (SLA) declined to share with him funds collected from Slovak nationals abroad, Subject organized the Slovak Action Committee (SAC) to work for an independent Slovakia (RI/201, 21 Mar 51; State/BID, Sep 54). Between 1945 and June 1947 he was reported broadcasting to Slovakia from radio "Barcelona", located at various times in Austria, in Udine, Italy, and on a ship in the Bay of Naples (RI/201, 20 Nov 51; I&R files, SO/SSD, 28 Oct 54).

An OSS cable stated in December 1945 that Vladimir CLEMENTIS, State Secretary in the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs had been "perturbed" that the US had permitted Subject to seek refuge in Rome (RI/201, 4 Dec 45). In 1946 the United Nations War Crimes Commission listed Subject as a war criminal (RI/201, 5 Mar 53), and request for extradition by the Czech government was refused by Italy on the grounds that the Treaty of 1921 between the two countries did not apply to war criminals (RI/201, 20 Sep 50).

The Czech Ministry of Information accused Subject of aiding a Slovakian revolt against the government (RI/201, 30 Mar 46). In December 1946 the trial against him opened in Prague, and on 15 April 1947 he was sentenced to death in absentia as a war criminal. In 1948 the Czech government requested his extradition from Argentina, where he was then living, but the request was apparently refused (State/BID, Sep 54).

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In the summer of 1947 Czech intelligence (CIS) allegedly made an unsuccessful attempt to kidnap Subject on orders from the Czech Communist leaders Klement GOTTWALD and Vladimír CLEMENTIS (RI/201, 29 Sep 48; State/BID, Sep 54). In June 1947 Subject was reported broadcasting to Slovakia from either Austria or Italy, although a Prague newspaper stated on 18 June 1947 that his station had recently gone off the air. In September he was reported broadcasting again, this time from either Austria or Bavaria (State/NID, Sep 54).

In October 1947 the Czech Communist Party tried to frame Jan URSINY, deputy chairman of the Czech Slovak Democratic Party, by connecting him with Subject; one (fnu) KOMANDERA, an alleged DURCANSKY (double) agent, was arrested and provided evidence to implicate URSINY and several others in a plot against the Czech state (RI/201, 22 Aug 52, Encl).

In the autumn of 1947 Subject sailed from Naples to Buenos Aires under the pseudonym Nandor VILCEK (RI/201, 12 Feb 48; 20 May 48). The following year he invested in a firm, "Alcaloides Argentinos", formed by Nicholas ENTNER to exploit a new method of extracting morphine directly from the poppy (RI/201, 20 May 48).

Subject's Slovak Action Committee (SAC) became the Slovak Liberation Committee (SLC) in March 1949. Four Slovakian political parties-- Peasant, National, Recovery, and Labor--were represented, and Subject took the post of president of the Executive Council in the new organization. (RI/201, 21 Jun 49).

Subject flew to Europe in September 1950. He visited the offices of HICOG and the American Embassy in London attempting to clear himself of the "war criminal" charge, probably in order to facilitate travel to the USA and greater political activity. [The State Department replying to a query from the Swiss government, reported that they still considered him a war criminal in 1953. (RI/201, 27 Jan 53)]. At the ^{same} time he was busy visiting refugee centers and organizing his followers in Europe. (RI/201, 26 Dec 50; 3 Jan 51; 1 Mar 51; State/BID, Sep 54).

In December 1950 Subject flew to Montreal for the purpose of trying to work out some kind of an agreement with Karel SIDOR (see Associates) and his Slovak National Council Abroad (SNCA) (RI/201, 19 Jan 53; State/BID, Sep 54). Apparently the two rival emigre leaders were unable to agree on the terms of unification and Subject returned to Argentina in April 1951 (RI/201, 19 Apr 51).

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Subject returned to Europe from Argentina in May 1952. The Combined Travel Board refused to grant him a visa to the German Federal Republic on the grounds that he had been declared a war criminal by the UNWCC. Eventually he was able to enter Germany on a visa obtained through the German Consulate in Rome, apparently as a result of ZIPPER intervention on his behalf (see Possible Relationships with Foreign Intelligence Services) (RI/201, 24 Jun 52; 3 Dec 52). He was reported proselytizing among Slovak separatists in refugee camps, and conferring with Sudeten and Czech separatist leaders (RI/201, 18 Mar 53). Early in 1953 he was said to be on the point of installing a transmitter near Augsburg for broadcasts to Slovakia; he is presently living in Munich, according to the latest report (IO, FEC list of emigre organizations, mid-1954).

Political Attitudes

The key to Subject's political program lies in his devotion to the idea of an independent Slovakia and his hatred of a national combined Czechoslovakian state. Before World War II he was known as a leader of the radical wing of the Hlinka Slovak Peoples' Party (HSLP), which favored close ties with Germany and Slovakian autonomy (State/BID, Sep 54; see also I&R FEC Review, Section IV/Czechoslovakia). In 1938 and 1939 he worked with the Germans to hasten the collapse of the Czechoslovakian state, and from 1939 to 1940 he served as a Cabinet Minister in the puppet Slovak government (see Personal History). He maintains that the Slovak State of 1939-1945 has had a continuous legal existence, and demands a plebiscite among its former inhabitants to ascertain their desire for Slovakian independence (RI/201, 21 Mar 51, Encl; 26 Nov 51; State/BID, Sep 54). He is said to have opposed Karel SIDOR's Pan-Slavic idea, "although he was also convinced of the necessity for cooperation among all peoples in Middle Europe" (RI/201, 21 Mar 51, Encl).

The SLC was said by the State Department to be "as anti-Czech as it is anti-Soviet" (IO, 13 Oct 53, Encl). Subject maintains that the Czechs voluntarily subjected themselves to the Soviet rule. He therefore "rejects all attempts of the Czechs to re-establish Czechoslovakia", and stated that after the liberation of these territories from the Communists: "We should see to it that the Czechs who are Moscow's puppets in Slovakia are discriminated (sic) in the same way as the Soviets" (RI/201, 26 Mar 52, Encl 2; State/BID, Sep 54).

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Consistent with his opposition to "Czechoslovakianism", Subject supports the aspirations of the various separatist groups--Czech, Sudeten, and Ruthenian, as well as Slovakian--within the Czechoslovakian emigration. He was reported conferring and cooperating with General Lev PRCHALA and the Czech (Bohemian) separatists (RI/201, 19 Mar 51; 11 Apr 51; 18 Mar 53). His relations with the Sudeten-German expellees have been even closer and a State Department despatch described the "close cooperation" between Subject's SLC and the Sudeten Volksdeutsche people in Germany and Austria (RI/201, 1 Apr 52, Encl 1; State/BID, Sep 54). The Volksdeutsche newspaper Wegwarte described Subject as "the most popular and most able politician abroad" (RI/201, 1 Apr 52, Encl).

In a letter to German Federal Republic Chancellor Konrad ADENAUER, Subject set forth his views on the Sudeten question as follows:

"The expulsion of the German citizens with whom we lived for centuries on terms of mutual respect and friendship, corresponded neither to the desire of the Slovak people, nor was it an action of Slovak politics. It was solely the result of Czech chauvinism, intolerance, and Czech-Communist brutality . . .

"We demand legal proceedings against those politicians who are responsible for these atrocities . . . (After the liberation of Czechoslovakia) all those citizens who fled or were expelled should return to the Slovak Republic as citizens with full rights. They will be treated with full equality regardless of their mother language." (RI/201, 26 Mar 52, Encl 2; see also 26 Jun 52).

On another occasion Subject stated that not only should the Sudeten-Germans be permitted to resettle the former Sudeten areas, but these areas should then be allowed to re-annex themselves to Germany. (IO, 13 Oct 53, Encl 1).

According to the State Department recent ties between the SLC and the Sudeten-Germans have become so close as to raise the question whether "in seeking cooperation with the stronger and better organized Volksdeutsche groups in Austria, the SLC may be in danger of becoming dominated by ethnic German rather than Slovak interests" (IO, 13 Oct 53, Encl 1).

Subject is, of course, strongly anti-communist and anti-Russian. (But a CIA cable from Germany noted that Subject and his associates had "con-

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concentrated primarily not on the struggle against international communism but on internecine strife within the Slovakian emigrant movement: RI/201, 17 May 1951). He has announced that his goal is "to see the world finish the war they have only begun, by declaring war immediately on the Soviet Union" (RI/201, 25 Nov 46). He sent a memorandum to the State Department with an elaborate plan for subverting the USSR and liberating Eastern Europe by appealing to the sentiment for national freedom among peoples in the satellites and the non-Russian areas of the USSR (RI/201, 5 Mar 51, Encl).

Subject does not appear to have been at any time an enthusiastic supporter of democratic institutions. He was pictured by two different Czech refugees as "very pro-German and pro-Hitler" and "an enthusiastic Nazi" (State/BID, Sep 54; RI/201, 18-25 Aug 44), and an OPC report on the Czechoslovakian exile movement described him as having "closely collaborated with the Germans" (RI/201, undated). He is also said to have made speeches in 1944 calling upon Slovaks to fight for German victory and denouncing those who took part in the anti-German Slovak uprising of August 1944 (State/BID, Sep 54). More recently, describing conditions in Slovakia after a hypothetical liberation from the communists, Subject stated that "a successful liberation activity requires that party activity be kept to the minimum" and that "there is no doubt . . . that it is in the interest of Slovakia to reduce the number of political parties in the future" (IO, 13 Oct 53, Encl).

Personality

Captured German Foreign Office documents revealed that the Germans considered Subject an opportunist, while Josef TISO and Vojtech TUKA, his colleagues in the Slovak government, characterized him as a "vain, ambitious gold digger". He was described by a British Foreign Office official as "a rather slippery customer", and by the American Embassy in Prague as "a scoundrel of the highest order" (State/BID, Sep 54). A CIA official wrote:

"He was known as a person whose driving force was not hindered by anything . . . 'To reach the goal at any price and at any sacrifice' was DURCANSKY's motto". (RI/201, 22 Aug 52, Encl)

On the other hand a friend pictured him as "a great realist in politics, possessed of a great elasticity which permitted him to yield in superficial matters" (State/BID, Sep 54).

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Allegations Against Subject (also see Congressional Interest)

1. A. VOLTERAKIS, a Greek Intelligence officer, said Subject was one of a number of foreign quislings "who before the war collaborated with the Nazis in order to subjugate their countries and their compatriots" (RI/201, 29 Aug 43).

2. Subject was included on a list of war criminals drawn up by the United Nations War Crimes Commission in 1945 or 1947 (RI/201, 13 Jan 53; State/BID, Sep 54).

3. A CIA report alleged that Subject was criticized by the Slovak community in Buenos Aires for being selfish and ambitious, a proponent of totalitarian ideology and violently anti-Semitic and anti-American, and a friend of Ante PAVELICH, Father Virgilio FILIPPO (see Associates) and many other Nazi and Fascist collaborators. (RI/201, 14 Jul 49)

4. Ladislav SEGEC, a Slovak in the Valka refugee camp, wrote a long, detailed and highly unfavorable account of Subject's career up to 1945. He declared that Subject "praised Adolf HITLER and the German Reich, and uttered slander against the western powers and their government institutions"; that Subject "in the press and radio . . . provoked hatred and antagonism against the Jews"; and that he took part, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the Slovak declaration of war against the United States and in the repression of the Slovak uprising of August 1944 (RI/201, 12 Dec 50).

NOTE: The (unconfirmed) declaration of war and the Slovak uprising took place after Subject had been dismissed from the Slovakian cabinet, when he was a private citizen practicing law in Bratislava. (See Personal History)

5. A CIA informant who leaned toward the SIDOR camp alleged that the supporters of Subject's Slovak Liberation Committee consisted mainly of persons who during World War II willingly cooperated with the Germans. (RI/201, 21 Nov 51).

6. A CIA employee, in a biographical statement of Subject, made the following remarks:

"In the spring of 1939 he (Subject) supported the movement for independence of Slovakia with the help of German Nazi leaders . . . DURCANSKY was the man who in the critical time of March 1939 left Slovakia for Vienna and looked for help to anyone who could support his personal aims. He

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established contact with top Nazi leaders (e.g., Baldur von SCHIRACH) and prepared the way of his own political benefits at the expense of the Slovak nation's fate. He made the first step for the visit of Slovak politicians at the Fuhrer's headquarters and joined Dr. Josef TISO in his flight to HITLER's Headquarters. There, on 13 March 1939, they decided about the future of Slovakia and the next day proclaimed in Bratislava the Slovak Republic under the support and auspices of Germany and HITLER himself . . . "

He also described Subject as a " political gambler, materialist and totalitarian who is using the Slovak nation as an instrument of his desires " (RI/201, 22 Aug 52, Encl).

7. The unnamed author of a memorandum from FEC made the following accusations against Subject:

"He asked Nazi leaders to use their influence in severing Slovakia from Czechoslovakia. In return he promised independent Slovakia would maintain close cooperation with Germany in military, political, and economic matters. He accepted weapons and explosives from agents of Nazi Germany, to provoke chaos by terroristic action . . .

"(As Minister of the Interior, Subject) did everything to mould the Slovak state after the Nazi model . . . He created an analogy of the Nazi SS formations under the name of the Hlinka Guard. During his regime, 3,000 democratic Slovaks have been jailed; 3,995 were sentenced; 30,000 persons were dragged off to German concentration camps; 109,000 Jews were deported to Germany and Poland, of which 68,000 perished. Germany was provided with 120,000 Slovak workers. During all this time DURCANSKY provoked hatred and aspersion against the Jews in press and radio . . . A lawyer by profession, DURCANSKY and his office profited from (aryanization) arisation (sic) of Jewish property. He was the recipient of bribes, running into hundreds of thousands, from terrified Jews.

" . . . When in 1944 an uprising against the Germans and the DURCANSKY-TISO regime broke, owing to Slovak

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sympathies with the Allies, DURCANSKY took part in the merciless suppression of that rebellion. Thousands of persons were liquidated . . .

" . . . In 1945 DURCANSKY fled from Slovakia together with the Germans. He took with him a large amount of medications and also opium. He lives on the proceeds of this loot . . ." (IO, FEC, Feb 54)

8. An unnamed Slovak refugee charged that Subject "had a bad reputation even in pre-war days as a lawyer, being more interested in business profit than in justice" (State/BID, Sep 54).

Allegations by Subject against Radio Free Europe and the Council of Free Czechoslovakia

1. Subject wrote a letter in 1948 to General Lucius CLAY denouncing Mikulas FERJENCIK and other members of the CFC (I&R [] files, SO/SSD, 28 Oct 54).

2. Documents published by Subject's Slovak Liberation Committee in Munich and London accused the NCFE of pointing its radio programs toward subjugating the interests of the Slovak people, and of employing Czechs who formerly collaborated with the Communists (RI/201, 20 Mar 52).

3. A State Department despatch reported that the stimulus behind criticisms of the personnel and programs of the Czech Desk of RFE seemed to be coming from the SLC (RI/201, 1 Apr 52).

4. An FEC memorandum stated:

"Our continuing study of the various attacks on PER-OUTKA (head of the Czech Desk of RFE) indicates that they are inspired by agents of two political adventurers and agitators, namely General PRCHALA and Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY . . . His (Subject's) fulminations and vilifications of many prominent Czechs regularly appear in obscure newspapers published in the Czech or Slovak language in various centers of Czech emigration . . ." (RI/201, 15 May 52).

5. Subject is alleged to have accused the Council of Free Czechoslovakia (CFC) of acting in secret understanding with the Prague government

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(i. e., with the present Communist government of Czechoslovakia) (State/BID, Sep 54).

6. Subject and Matus CERNAK, the SNCA representative in Germany, were joint authors of a statement criticizing RFE/Munich for suppressing the majority (i. e., Slovaks), recruiting personnel among communists, betraying routes of escape from Czechoslovakia, demoralizing their listeners with American jazz, and so on (IO, undated).

7. In a letter to Mr. GRIFFITH (probably William GRIFFITH, Policy Advisor, RFE/Munich) Subject stated that the broadcasts of RFE "propagate . . . the Czechoslovak conception which is being regarded by the Slovak people as one of the causes of its present plight and which, according to absolutely reliable information from Slovakia, conflicts with the will of the Slovak people" (IO, file #345, 18 Feb 53).

Possible Operational Use

Peter PRIDAVOK, head of the SNCA in London, reported to the FEI that in 1944 Subject and Vojtech KRAJCOVIC (see Associates) decided that it would be expeditious to establish contact with US Military authorities (RI/201, 19 Feb 52). There is nothing in the files to indicate that such contact was in fact established.

In 1950 Subject, then living in Argentina, offered to turn over certain information to the US Embassy in Buenos Aires (RI/201, 20 Sep 50; State/BID, Sep 54).

ZIPPER informed CIA in 1950 that it was considering Subject for operational use. Dr. Ctibor POKORNY (see Associates) met with a CIA official and offered to make available the Slovak Liberation Committee's alleged intelligence assets (including 800 armed men in Slovakia: RI/201, 20 Nov 51) in return for financial support and a new transmitter for Slovakia (RI/201, 23 Apr 51). ZIPPER's request touched off a long CIA debate about Subject's intelligence assets and the dangers involved in using him. A CIA cable from Washington warned that proposals to use Subject were "in conflict with Washington intentions and past instructions" and might imperil current operations (RI/201, 28 Apr 51). But in May 1952 Washington cabled Pullach:

CLEARANCE GRANTED ZIPPER CONTACT DURCANSKY
ON CONDITION THAT INITIAL CONTACT FOR PURPOSE OB-

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TAINING COMPLETE SURVEY DURCANSKY ASSETS AND THAT NO SUPPORT AGREEMENTS TO BE MADE UNTIL ASSESSMENT HIS CAPABILITIES MADE (RI/201, 23 May 52).

The following month Frankfurt advised Washington against any commitment to Subject, since they believed he had no present tangible assets of any substance (RI/201, 24 Jun 52; see also RI/201, 18 Dec 52). Finally a Washington meeting called to determine the advisability of support for Subject through ZIPPER agreed that no support--financial or otherwise--should be given Subject, nor should he be helped to get a German visa (RI/201, 22 Jul 52), although Pullach warned Washington that ZIPPER would continue to play with Subject "with or without our approval" (RI/201, 18 Aug 52).

Pullach's fears in this respect were borne out in November 1952 when Subject entered West Germany on a visa obtained (probably through ZIPPER influence) from the German consulate in Rome (RI/201, 3 Dec 52; 14 Mar 53). His presence in Germany was thought to be inimical to American interests (RI/201, 18 Dec 52; 4 Feb 53), and various ways of getting him out were suggested. It was finally decided to encourage Matus CERNAK, the SNCA representative in Germany, to attack Subject and discredit him in the eyes of Slovak emigres, pending the expiration of his visa, when the US would intercede with Bonn in order not to have the visa renewed (RI/201, 18 Dec 52; 4 Feb 53, 6 Feb 53; 20 Feb 53; 24 Feb 53; 2 Mar 53; 14 Mar 53).

In June 1953 Subject indicated (probably through an agent) an interest in [redacted]. A cable from Frankfurt to Washington described him as a "highly undesirable Slovak extremist" and warned [redacted] to stay away from him (RI/201, 19 Jun 53; 24 Jun 53).

The EE/Czech Desk reported Subject had not been used operationally (IO, verbally, 19 Aug 54).

Subject's brother, Jan DURCANSKY, was reported to be the sub-source of a CIA informant in Argentina and is presently being considered for operational clearance. Subject's wife also had some unelaborated connection with CIC (see Family) (STC/SPB, file #32006).

Possible Relationship with Foreign Intelligence Services

Russian - Dr. Martin KVETKO, a Slovak employee of RFE/Munich, asserted that Subject had been dismissed from the Slovakian cabinet in 1940

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because he had contacts with the Russian Embassy in Budapest (State/BID, Sep 54). William HOETTL, described as an intelligence peddler who was suspected as a Soviet agent, was reported to have wanted to enlist Subject in some sort of an intelligence operation (RI/201, 1 Jul 52).

French - A CIC dispatch from Vienna in July 1948 reported that Stefan MACEK, a Slovak, was gathering intelligence information on the CSR for Subject and submitting the information to a Colonel PARCAN (PARCAM), a Slovak affiliated with French intelligence (RI/201, 19 Jul 48).

Argentine - Subject was invited to the Argentine by Evita PERON, wife of Argentine President Juan PERON (State/BID, Sep 54; I&R [] files, SO/SSD, 28 Oct 54). He gave information to the Argentine police about Slovak communist activity in Buenos Aires (RI/201, 20 Dec 48). Under a pseudonym, Nandor VILCEK, he invested in "Alkaloides Argentinos", a company formed to exploit a new process for producing morphine. A former Minister of Agriculture was also an investor in the firm whose initial operations were partly subsidized by the Argentine government (RI, 4-3-15-3y).

Czechoslovakian - General Mikulas FERJENCIK, former Slovak Minister of the Interior, reported that the CIS in Italy paid a good deal of attention to the activities of Subject and his associates (RI/201, 30 Jul 48). CIA and CIC reports stated that Slovak communists whose party had been absorbed in 1948 by the Czech CP, and who favored a Titoist policy, had sent a courier out of Czechoslovakia to contact Subject in order to map a common plan of action (RI/201, 28 Sep 49; I&R [] files, SO/SSD, 28 Oct 54; RI/201, Jun 50). A pamphlet, "Summary of Soviet and Satellite Espionage and Communist Activity in the U.S.", was noted by the Security Office to have claimed that Subject and Josef LETTRICH (Slovak Democratic leader in exile) were of interest to CIS operators in the USA (IO, 21 Jun 54).

NOTE: Available information indicates Subject was never legally in the USA (see Personal History and Travel).

Major Alexander MATUS, who was reported by a Czech refugee to have maintained contact with resistance leaders in Czechoslovakia for Subject and SIDOR, warned in March 1947 that his courier, KOMANDERA, was probably a double agent. In August 1947 KOMANDERA was "apprehended" by the Czech police in possession of directives supposedly issued by Subject to various resistance leaders; these documents became the basis for prosecutions against other persons who were arrested at the same time (RI/201, 28 May 51).

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Slovakian - A number of sources have alleged a connection between Subject and the anti-communist Slovakian underground (RI/201, undated; 1 Aug 50; 29 Jan 51; 14 Apr 53). Subject and his associates have made similar claims; for example, Anton MALY (see Associates) asserted that the SLC could supply one brigade for the liberation of Slovakia, and that their underground movement in Slovakia included another battalion (RI/201, 26 Mar 52, Encl 1). Several reports indicated, however, that Subject's networks had been weakened or destroyed (RI/201, 4 May 51; 5 May 51; 28 May 51), and CIA field people were reported to have agreed in 1952 that Subject's "present intelligence potential is virtually nil . . ." (RI/201, 18 Dec 52).

German - Since 1951 Subject has been closely connected with German intelligence efforts through ZIPPER. The Chief of the Czech Desk of ZIPPER is alleged to have interceded with Bonn officials to get him a visa (RI/201, 3 Dec 52) and ZIPPER was reported to be paying Subject's rent in December 1952 (RI/201, 1 Dec 52). A CIA memorandum noted that since Subject's intelligence assets were almost non-existent the German interest in him appeared to be political and was connected with German attempts to take over the leadership of the Slovak emigration (RI/201, 18 Dec 52).

Pullach reported that even after CIA indicated it had no intention of using Subject (see Operational Use), ZIPPER would probably keep him "as (a) special connection for possible future political/psychological fields . . ." (RI/201, 6 Feb 53). In March 1953 ZIPPER denied that Subject was operating a black radio in Augsburg under German sponsorship (RI/201, 14 Mar 53), but in June they reiterated the fact that they would continue to work with him (RI/201, 5 Jun 53).

Name Checks and Investigations

Staff D reported considerable information is maintained on Subject, some of which may be considered derogatory. There appeared to be no specific reference to any ties with the Communists. (IO, Staff D, 27 Jul 54).

STC/SPB reported no record on Subject, while the Security Office advised that very little information was available and that he had not been considered for clearance (STC/SPB; IO, SO/SSD, 21 Jun 54).

A full field investigation of Subject was conducted in 1954 (for results, see I&R [] files, SO/SSD, 28 Oct 54). Concurrent checks of INS, FBI, CSC, HCUA, ONI, G-2 files revealed no additional information.

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SECRETCongressional Interest

1. At a hearing before the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization on 27 July 1949, Andrew J. VALUCHEK, President of the Slovak National Alliance (an exile group supporting the Council of Free Czechoslovakia) named Subject as one of the henchmen of TISO who "tried hard during World War II to influence American Slovaks to fight for the so-called Slovak state, even though this artificial state on HITLER's orders declared war against the United States" (RI/201, 28 May 51).

2. Congressman Arthur KLEIN (D-NY) in a speech on the floor of the House of Representatives and in letters to the Secretary of State and the Attorney-General protested the granting of a visa to Subject, whom he described as a "Nazi war criminal" (IO, Congressional Record, 19 Jul 50).

NOTE: There is no indication in the files that a visa was ever issued to Subject.

3. Anton MALY (see Associates) claimed Subject had gained entry to Germany in 1952 through the intervention of an (unnamed) U.S. Senator (I&R, C J files, SO/SSD, 28 Oct 54).

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VIA: _____
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH)

DISPATCH NO. EGLA 11 782

52

CLASSIFICATION

- 9 DEC 1954

TO : Chief, EE
FROM : Chief of Base, Pullach
SUBJECT: GENERAL— Operational

DATE: _____
INFO: COM

DOCUMENT MICROFILM SERV

SPECIFIC— DURCANSKY Statement Regarding a Colonel (Fnu) SLEZAK

9 AUG 1960

1. DURCANSKY, the Slovak Nationalist emigrant, recently made a statement to the local OSI office in Munich which, if true, may shed some light on DURCANSKY's efforts to establish contact with the Hon John SLEZAK, Under Secretary of the Army, in early 1954. The Pullach Operations Base, it will be remembered, acted as a channel between the U.S. Army and DURCANSKY in verbally acknowledging receipt of a letter from DURCANSKY by the Under Secretary of the Army. According to an OSI report to POB, DURCANSKY recently stated that he was a personal acquaintance of a man named SLEZAK who still lives in Slovakia and a colonel of the gendarmerie during the Independent Slovak regime.

2. Although OSI has made this a matter of record with USAFE, we are making this a matter of KUBARK record in view of the ZIPPER/DURCANSKY relationship. Neither ZIPPER nor DURCANSKY has ever mentioned this matter to a KUBARK staff member.

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPT ON 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
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att to
EGLA 12847
28 FEB 55

THE
INTERNATIONAL
ASPECTS OF THE SLOVAK
QUESTION

8

by FERDINAND ĐURČANSKÝ
President of the Executive Council
of the Slovak Liberation Committee
former Slovak Foreign Minister

Slovak Liberation Committee
1379 York Avenue, Room 18, New York 21, N. Y., U.S.A.
1954

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DATE 2003 2008

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FOREWORD

UP TO THE YEAR 1918 SLOVAKIA was part of Hungary. Czecho-Slovakia had never existed before. Only after the First World War, Slovakia has been brought together into a common state with the Czechs. By setting up the new state — Czecho-Slovakia — it was intended to meet the justified yearnings of two small nations for their independence.

When the First World War was still going on, the Slovak emigrants in the United States of America already started to claim application of the right of self-determination for the case of Slovakia, and the creation of an independent Slovak state. This tendency was met with opposition. It was argued that it would lead to the creation of many independent national states in place of desintegrated Austro-Hungary. To avoid that, the Great Powers-victors gave preference to political formation composed of several nations. Facing this situation the Slovaks started to consider maintaining their right of self-determination through political union with some other nation on a federative basis. The political union with Hungary has been rejected on the ground of suppressions, practised by the Hungarians during the period of their domination. Federation with Russia was rejected because of the Oriental-Bysantic peculiarities of Russian culture. Federative union with Poland was equally rejected on the ground of the numerical incomparability between the Slovak nation on the one side and the Polish nation on the other side. There were comparatively few objections against federation with the Czechs.

Consequently, the favorable attitude for setting up Czecho-Slovakia was taken not because of the fact that they constituted one and the same racial unit or formed the same nation but as a solution that could meet the strivings of two nations to satisfy their anguish for self-determination. This is an answer why it came to the conclusion of an agreement between the Slovaks and the Czechs in Cleveland (1915) about the prospected state, which according to the designers had to be a federation of two independent states. In the year 1918, on 30 May, in Pitts-

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burgh (U.S.A.), Thomas G. Masaryk had formulated an agreement, signed by him subsequently after being elected President on November 14, 1918, which guaranteed an autonomy for the Slovaks.

There was not possible any extensive political activity on the part of national conscious Slovaks on the territory of Austro-Hungary during the time when the First World War lasted. First on October 14, 1918 Ferdis Juriga, then Deputy to the Hungarian Parliament in Budapest, claimed openly the right of self-determination for the Slovak nation, with Slovak representation at the Peace Conference which was to decide about their fate as well. On October 30th a group of Slovak nationalists in Turčiansky Sv. Martin declared themselves the Slovak National Council and expressed their support for the collaboration with the Czechs, demanding at the same time the right to appoint Slovak representatives to the Peace Conference. The ultimate decision about the establishment of the political status quo between the Czechs and the Slovaks had to be taken by the elected deputies of the Slovak nation at least within ten years afterwards.

"Les Slovaques sont des Tchèques" — was stated in the memorandum presented by the Czecho-Slovakian delegation to the Peace Conference.

Without any foundation Edward Beneš asserted that the Slovaks are Czechs. Thus, using the right of self-determination as a guise, Edward Beneš contrived to swindle out the consent of the Peace Conference for the setting up of Czecho-Slovakia.

There was no representation for the Slovak people at the Peace Conference in Paris. Neither was mentioned in the Peace Treaties anything about Slovak autonomy.

When Andrew Hlinka, who was the head of the most influential political party in Slovakia and representative of the Slovakian resistance movement against Hungary in 1919 came to Paris with the intention to demand from the Peace Conference a plebiscite, he was declared an agent of an inimical power and expelled from France.

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It happened so that Slovakia was incorporated into Czecho-Slovakia without the Slovaks being permitted to express their opinion about an act which determined their fate for the future.

In Czecho-Slovakia the Czech attitude with respect to the Slovaks was as stated in the Otto's Commercial Dictionary (II. p. 1217): "Slovakia will be our colony". In reality the Czechs exploited Slovakia economically, ruined it socially and systematically implanted Czech ideology. Although Czecho-Slovakia was considered a democracy, Slovakia, numbering less people than the Czech countries, was under predomination of the Czechs and thus deprived of any possibility to decide upon their own destiny. As this is the case in any country, in Slovakia, too, one could meet individuals, who lent themselves to the Czech political ideas, expecting perhaps particular advantages from such attitude. But, however strong the misuse, the violation and the injury of the ruling power in Slovakia might have been, almost 70% of the Slovak representatives during the whole period (1920-1938) found themselves in opposition except in the years 1927/28, when Slovak patriots undertook a fruitless attempt to find a way for peaceful co-existence with the Czechs. It proved that the Slovaks would never achieve the rights, which were promised them at Cleveland and Pittsburgh, that they would never have the possibility to determine their own destiny in the frame of Czecho-Slovakia. And so they could but wait for the first favorable international occasion to carry out their right of self-determination.

There was no understanding for the Slovak rights in the West. That was clear when Lord Runciman came to Prague in summer 1938 to help the Government to settle the problem of the national minorities.

In the agreement of Munich, the Slovaks were not even mentioned. As diplomatical documents of this period reveal, there were negotiations on the subject of incorporation of Slovakia into Hungary.

The Slovaks used the international occurrences in 1938/39 to set up their own state. The Slovak Republic was proclaimed by unanimous decision of the Parliament of Slovakia on March

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14, 1939. The great enthusiasm of the population that gave their very best to establish their state, to develop the country in cultural and social respect and to contribute to its economical progress, all this is a proof of the material as well as the spiritual prerequisites for the Slovaks to be independent.

The Slovak Republic was not a creation of A. Hitler, as the propaganda, hostile to the Slovaks, tried to assert to the Western world.

The fact that the Slovaks knew to establish their state and to maintain it in spite of the opposition and intrigues shows the strong vitality of this nation. The whole diplomatic situation was not favorable for the Slovaks at the moment when the Slovak Republic was created. The Slovak Republic was not in state of war with any of the Western Powers, and the only power, against which Slovakia waged war, was the USSR. Here, however, the moment of self-defence was decisive.

The Slovaks have a right to independence, according to the principles of self-determination of the nations. They have a right to do it as a separate racial unit, independent from any other nation and also from the Czechs. This right was acknowledged by the allied and friendly powers after the First World War, in the spirit of the points of President W. Wilson. The Slovaks were deprived of this right by the fraudulent Czech policy. And when they, until 1918, lived under Hungarian supremacy, they lived now, after 1918, under Czech predominance.

The Slovaks have a right to independence according to the principles of democracy. They have the will to live independently. It is undemocratic to refuse this right to them. The Slovaks have manifested their will to independence many times.

There is no nation in the World that would not strive for self-government, has it once become conscious of its individuality. Since this state of affairs is recognized with respect to the nations of Asia and Africa, there is no reason why the same attitude should not be applied with respect to Slovakia in Middle Europe.

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THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE SLOVAK QUESTION.

Imperialists dominating or trying to dominate another nation like to have a free hand in this respect and in view of this they maintain that the fate of the dominated nation is an internal question. This principle was followed by the Czech politicians during the Second World War when they endeavored to secure a free hand over the Slovaks. Even today, the Czech imperialists make strong attempts — contradictory to the principles of democracy — to secure rights which are not theirs. They maintain that they alone have the right to decide the fate of Slovakia.

1. The Slovak question became an international one during the First World War and since then did not cease to be so.

"All well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new, or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism." According to this principle, one of the four proclaimed by President Woodrow Wilson on the 11th of February 1918, the Slovaks had the same right of independence as any other nation in Central Europe and not less than the Czechs.

The principle of self-determination has not ceased to be recognized by the United States of America. James C. H. Bonbright writes: "Self-determination has been a fundamental principle of American policy in Europe since the administration of President Woodrow Wilson; and this Government has not departed from it in the case of the Slovaks."¹

In the above quotation of President Woodrow Wilson is implied the principle generally recognised by free nations. In accordance with it, the fate of any nation dominated by others, but endeavouring to obtain independence, cannot be considered an internal problem of the dominating power but is one of an international nature and its settlement is of interest to all nations.

"The desires of a people should become the basis for the settlement of the political relations of the future. The sovereignty over a

¹ James C. H. Bonbright, Acting Assistant Secretary of the State Department, Washington, in his letter of 16 August 1951 to Rev. Florian C. Billy.

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territory should not be acquired by conquest or annexation. It should not be imposed in the interest of any nation but should be left to be decided by the nation concerned."

"After the First World War a plebiscite was to be applied before a decision on the fate of any region was to be taken so that the decision of the Peace Conference had not to be based on force and arbitrary, and in order to avoid an false conclusion. A plebiscite had to be employed everywhere where there were any doubts as to the wishes of the population. And so it happened in the cases of Eupen, Malmedy, Schleswig, Allenstein and Marienwerder, Upper Silesia, Oldenburg, Klagenfurt and in the case of the Saar. In regard to the Colonies the plebiscite was not applied because as D. Lloyd George observed on the 5 th of January 1918, none of these colonies was a social, political or even a real administrative unit".

"The renunciation of a plebiscite leads to arbitrary actions which deprive the acquisition of a territory of any legal basis."² This rule was applied in the case of Alsace-Lorraine and there was no reason why it should not have been applied in the case of Slovakia.

Bearing in mind the generally recognized principle of a plebiscite, V.L. Orlando when writing to David Lloyd George (June 3, 1919) wonders why it is not applied in practice: "We see... that most of the annexations, which the Conference has so far sanctioned, have not been based on a plebiscite, which is provided for only in exceptional circumstances and restricted cases."

A. After the First World War Slovakia was incorporated in Czecho-Slovakia against the ethnic principle and against the principle of plebiscite.

As the Slovaks are an ethnical group different from the Czechs, the Czechs have no legal, political or moral title to impose their rule over Slovakia. In view of the ethnic difference between Czechs and Slovaks, Slovakia should have been incorporated in the Czecho-Slovak Republic only if it had been a clearly expressed wish of the Slovak population. The creation of Czecho-Slovakia without the consent of the Slovak nation is incomprehensible and contrary to all the principles on which the Peace Treaties, after the First World War, were to be built.

² Slovak Action Committee, "Aide-Mémoire sur la nécessité du plébiscite en Slovaquie" (Memorandum on the necessity of a plebiscite in Slovakia), Paris 1946, p. 13 et seq.

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It is hard to believe that the Allies would not have consented to the execution of a plebiscite in the case of Slovakia when they respected this principle in the case of the beaten Germans. If the plebiscite was not applied, it was only because Thomas Masaryk and Edward Beneš persuaded the Allies that the Slovaks were Czechs and that they formed one part of the "Czechoslovak" nation.

At the Peace Conference on 5th February, 1919, Edward Beneš said: "Slovakia had at one time formed part of the Czecho-Slovak State. It had been overrun by the Magyars at the beginning of the 10th century. The conquerors had attempted without success to magyarize the country. The population still felt Czech, and wished to belong to the new State. There was never any suggestion of separatism in Slovakia. The same language, the same ideas and the same religion prevailed. Slovak national enthusiasm had been bred by antagonism to the Magyars."

Following this statement of Edward Beneš, David Lloyd George expressed the opinion that no doubt existed about the claim to Slovakia proper³ and so the fate of Slovakia was decided and later on, only the Southern frontier was discussed.

It is not often that so many false statements are included in so few sentences as in the case of the above remarks of Edward Beneš. And it appears it was due mainly to the immense quantity of false statements that the fate of Slovakia was decided in the way it was.

The Slovak opposition to the Czech domineering tendencies was not unknown to those present at the Conference. Stephen Bonsal points this out: "Tardieu admitted that he had heard of the schism between the Czechs and the Slovaks which was increasingly apparent but had consoled himself with the thought that it was due merely to a misunderstanding which could and should be cleared up... He admitted that he had been startled and impressed by the plea of the Slovaks."⁴

The Slovaks were not given an opportunity to decide their future by a plebiscite although the Slovak delegation led by Andrew Hlinka, the President of the Slovak Peoples Party, the strongest political party in Slovakia, presented to the Peace Conference on Sept. 20, 1919 a memorandum, in which a plebiscite was requested.⁵

³ David H. Miller, My Diary, vol. 16, p. 220.

⁴ Stephen Bonsal, Suits and Suppliers, p. 164.

⁵ Memorandum was signed by A. Hlinka, Dr. F. Jehlička, Dr. J. Rudinský, J. Kubala and S. Mnohel.

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On account of false statements made at the Peace Conference of 1919, imperialistic ideas obtained approval although the War was fought against them and imperialism in Central Europe was to be liquidated through the partition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Because of the misrepresentations of Edward Beneš it was possible to create Czecho-Slovakia but the persistence of his followers in the same methods will not prevent Slovaks from attaining their independence.

Robert Lansing foresaw the consequences of the inconsistencies of the Peace Treaties: "Examine the Treaty and you will find peoples delivered against their wills into the hands of those whom they hate, while their economic resources are torn from them and given to others. Resentment and bitterness, if not desperation, are bound to be the consequences of such provisions. It may be years before these oppressed peoples are able to throw off the yoke, but as sure as day follows night the time will come when they will make the effort. This war was fought by the United States to destroy forever the conditions which produced it. Those conditions have not been destroyed. They have been supplanted by other conditions equally productive of hatred, jealousy, and suspicion."⁶

At the Peace Conference, the fraud against the Slovaks was committed due to the fact that the representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers were not well enough informed about the Slovak question. Today throughout the world, it is quite clear that Slovaks are not Czechs. That the two are different nations. This was even recognized by the Czech politicians in the Košice Program of 4th April 1945 and this was incorporated into the Constitution of 9th May 1948. The Slovak desire for independence is too well known. And it is now up to the powers who after the First World War unknowingly helped to oppress Slovaks to remedy this old injustice.

B. After the Second World War with a Free Plebiscite Slovakia would have chosen to be an Independent State.

It is very clear that if Slovaks had an opportunity after the Second World War to express their wishes in a Plebiscite, there would have been no Czecho-Slovakia. There was no doubt about this in the diplomatic world. And the Czech imperialists were only too aware of this. One of the most important reasons why Edward Beneš

⁶ Robert Lansing, The Peace negotiations, p. 244 et seq.

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directed all his efforts towards bringing Czecho-Slovakia into the Soviet sphere of influence was his endeavour to give the Red Army an opportunity to break the Slovak resistance against the re-establishment of Czecho-Slovakia.

When during the crisis which preceded Munich, the mention of a plebiscite was made by Adolf Hitler, the Government of Prague became very alarmed. Edward Benes and Milan Hodza explained to the French Ambassador in Prague, M. de Lacroix: "If we allow a plebiscite in the Sudeten lands, we will have to allow it throughout the whole of Czechoslovakia, particularly in Slovakia and Ruthenia. Then Czechoslovakia will disintegrate. Her fate shall be decided."⁷ In the same way the Czecho-Slovak Minister in Paris, Stephen Osuský, informed the French Foreign Minister. And thus the text of the Joint Communication by the British and French Governments to the President of Czechoslovakia as agreed at the Anglo-French consultations of September 18, 1938 states: "This could be done either by direct transfer or as the result of a plebiscite. We realize the difficulties involved in a plebiscite and we are aware of your objections already expressed to this course. For this reason we anticipate you may prefer to deal with the Sudeten German problem by the method of direct transfer."⁸

Georges Bonnet points out: "In September 1938 we were afraid of a demand for a plebiscite expressed by the Slovaks and other minorities. To avoid this danger, Mr. Benes preferred surrender of territories rather than a plebiscite." And Georges Bonnet does not hesitate to stress: "This opposition (i. e. of the Slovaks against the Czechs) continued even after the victory."⁹

The wishes of the Slovak nation to be independent after the Second World War were well-known. However, in view of the tendencies to include them in Czecho-Slovakia, the Slovaks should have been given an opportunity to demonstrate publicly their will. But the free expression of public opinion could only have been made under a form of international plebiscite organized and controlled by the United Nations. If the Slovak population had been asked to express their wishes under such conditions, no doubt an absolute majority would have chosen an Independent Slovak Republic which was the only guarantee for the enjoyment of a truly free existence and an assurance of material and intellectual progress.

⁷ Georges Bonnet, *Défense de la paix* (In Defense of Peace), p. 237.
⁸ Documents on German Foreign Policy, D, vol. 2, No. 523.
⁹ Georges Bonnet, *Fin d'une Europe* (The End of a Europe), p. 149.

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2. By non-compliance of the Pittsburgh Agreement the Slovak Question did not become an internal Czecho-Slovak Question.

During the First World War after some hesitation, the Slovak emigrants throughout the world accepted the idea of creating one State with the Czechs. In order that the Slovaks would not become an object of a Czech hegemony and in order that their rights would be preserved, certain conditions were laid down. The main one was the insistence that the future Czecho-Slovak State would be organized on a federal basis. The Slovaks in their own land were to have a completely free hand.

A. The Pittsburgh Agreement was a consequence of Czech Obligations to the United States of America.

T. G. Masaryk, trying to secure the support of the President of the United States of America for the formation of Czecho-Slovakia had to promise a special position to Slovakia. According to the authors of the „Documents on German Foreign Policy“ was „the treaty or convention between the Czechs and Slovaks of America sponsored by the United States Government under President Wilson and signed at Pittsburgh (U. S. A.)“¹⁰ F. O. Miksche points out that T. G. Masaryk „needed this agreement in order to prove to President Wilson that the Slovaks were resolved to lead a common existence with the Czechs. In reality this pact was concluded only with the Slovakian emigrants who lived in the United States and could not therefore be regarded as the expression of the will of the Slovak people as a whole.“¹¹

During the Peace Conference when President Woodrow Wilson asked about the relations between Czechs and Slovaks, Edward Beneš assured him that they had been formulated to the mutual satisfaction of Czechs and Slovaks by the Pittsburgh Agreement. Woodrow Wilson was satisfied on account of this statement.¹² According to the Documents on German Foreign Policy, Edward Beneš stated in 1937, during his discussion with the Austrian Minister in Prague, Mr. Marek: „The Treaty concluded at Pittsburgh by his predecessor, Masaryk, had obviously been a mistake. (Masaryk had then entered

¹⁰ Documents on German Foreign Policy, D, vol. 2, footnote 4 to No. 25, p. 63.

¹¹ F. O. Miksche, Unconditional Surrender, p. 196.

¹² „Slovak“ (Daily), Bratislava, 13 July 1937, article: The Pittsburgh Agreement and the Washington Declaration.

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into an agreement after a discussion with Wilson, that, in the establishment of the new State, Slovakia should enjoy a special cultural position).¹³

However, neither Thomas G. Masaryk nor Edward Benč intended to respect the obligation urged by President Wilson. They tried to declare the Pittsburgh Agreement worthless. Thomas G. Masaryk on some occasions declared it a false document and on one occasion he writes "The second important negotiation between Czechs and Slovaks was in Pittsburgh: On the 30th of May I signed the Agreement (Czechoslovak Agreement) not a Treaty between the American Slovaks and Czechs. It was concluded in order to appease small Slovak faction which was dreaming of God knows what of independence for Slovakia. Ideas of some Russian Slavophiles and of Stúr and Vajanský became popular also amongst the American Slovaks. Against this our Czechs and Slovaks agreed upon the Convention which demanded for Slovakia an autonomous administration, a Diet and Courts of Law. I signed the Agreement without hesitation because it was only a local Agreement between American Czechs and Slovaks. It is signed by the American citizens and by two non Americans (some signatures were added additionally in an illicit manner)."¹⁴

The fact is that the Pittsburgh agreement was drafted by T.G. Masaryk and not by any third parties. T. G. Masaryk did not do this to satisfy the Slovaks only but rather to satisfy W. Wilson too. The calligraphic copy was signed by him on the 14th November 1918, i. e. after he was elected President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The constitution of the Czecho-Slovak Republic was voted for by the so-called Revolutionary National Assembly which was not elected but was formed of men arbitrarily chosen by the Czechs. The Slovaks formed only an unimportant minority in it (45 from a total of 270 representatives). Even Czechs acted in it as representatives of Slovakia: Edward Benč, Ivan Hálek, Alojz Kolísek, Alica Masaryk, Rudolf Pilš, Josef Rotnág, Jaroslav Vlček, Zaruha Pfeiffermann etc. Ivan Déřer states: "At the end of 1919 when the principles of the Constitution were discussed in the Revolutionary National Assembly and later on, during the discussions in the Constitutional Committee and during other debates, the followers of the People's Party clearly stood for the demand of political autonomy of Slovakia."¹⁵

¹³ Documents on German Foreign Policy, D, vol. 2, No. 25.

¹⁴ Thomas Masaryk, Světová revoluce (The World Revolution), p. 261 et seq.
¹⁵ Dr. Ivan Déřer, Slovenský vývoj a čudická zrada (The Slovak Evolution and the Treason of the People's Party), p. 112.

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On the 30th October 1918, Slovak patriots met in Turčiansky Sv. Martin and approved the establishment of Czecho-Slovakia. However, they took it for granted that Slovakia would be accorded a status similar to that which Croatia had in relation to Hungary. They insisted that in ten years at the latest, an opportunity should be given to the freely-elected Slovak representatives to decide about the position of Slovakia. However, the Czech politicians knowing that the majority of the Slovak parliamentary representatives formed an opposition were never willing to permit this.

The Pittsburgh Agreement instead of becoming a guarantee of a better future position for Slovakia became only a pretence through which the Slovaks were induced to become part of Czecho-Slovakia, however, contrary to the conditions stated therein they never became equal partners but rather a suppressed nation.

The obligations undertaken in the Pittsburgh Agreement were not binding only towards the Slovaks but also towards the United States of America, represented by Woodrow Wilson. Thus the United States had not only a right but also a moral duty to ensure that the Czechs would respect the Pittsburgh Agreement. This is one of the reasons why Slovak question cannot be considered an internal Czecho-Slovak problem but rather an international one.

B. The Pittsburgh Agreement did not bind Slovaks.

The representatives of the Slovak League of America who signed the Pittsburgh Agreement and thus consented to the incorporation of Slovakia in Czecho-Slovakia, had not the right to do so. They had the right to secure all benefits for Slovakia, however, they had no right for the Slovak nation to abandon her basic right to independence. The Slovak Nation was not bound in this respect to the Agreement. The right of self-determination of a nation cannot be given up and especially not by delegates who were not legally appointed to do so.

This would not mean that the Slovak League of America could not have insisted on the application of the right of self-determination for the Slovak Nation and therefore for the Independence of Slovakia. No special powers are necessary for an action which is directed towards the fulfilment of the natural rights of an individual or of a nation as here the principles involved are universally respected. However, natural rights cannot be given up. The Articles of the Pittsburgh Agreement were binding on the Czechs as it was on this

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basis that Czecho-Slovakia was built but they did not bind the Slovak Nation as the Slovak League in America was not entitled to bind the Slovak Nation in this respect.

C. After the Czechs had failed to fulfil their obligations the Slovaks were free to make new decisions.

The Pittsburgh Agreement is to be considered the foundation-stone of Czecho-Slovakia. H. N. Howard speaks about it as an agreement entered "in order to create a new state."¹⁶ "Czecho-Slovakia in truth was actually born in America on May 30, 1918, at Pittsburgh and announced to the world by the "Pittsburgh Post", signed by T. G. Masaryk and others."¹⁷ This Agreement was not respected by the Czechs and in view of this point of view proclaimed by J. J. Rousseau is applicable: "Le pacte social étant violé, chacun rentre alors dans ses premiers droits, et reprenne sa liberté naturelle, en perdant la liberté conventionnelle pour laquelle il y renonça."¹⁸ ("When the social contract is violated, and when contractual freedom is lost, everyone regains one's original rights, one regains one's natural freedom given up through the contract".)

In view of the breach of the Agreement by the Czechs, the Slovaks have no obligations towards Czecho-Slovakia, but have full rights on the question of self-determination to decide their destiny, just as if they never had formed part of Czecho-Slovakia. On no account can the Slovak question be considered an internal Czecho-Slovak problem, but is rather of an international character.

3. The League of Nations should have remedied the injustice brought upon the Slovaks by the Peace Conference.

According to the principles prevailing at the Peace Conference, Central Europe after the First World War was to be organized on an ethnic basis and one could expect that each nation's own representatives should have been allowed to take an active part in the settlement of the political problems of this part of Europe. It was natural to assume that this would also be applied in the case of Slovakia.

¹⁶ H. N. Howard, *Czechoslovakia, A Chronology*, p. 459 (R. J. Kerner, *Czechoslovakia*).

¹⁷ George Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, *The Czech Conspiracy*, p. 37.

¹⁸ Jean J. Rousseau, *Du Contrat social* (The Social Contract), Book 1, Chap. 4.

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A. After the First World War the Peace Conference passed a decision on Slovakia without lending an ear to the Slovak people.

Ferdif Juriga, the only Slovak Deputy in the Budapest Parliament at that time, in his speech of the 19th October 1918, requested the admission of Slovak representatives to the future Peace Conference. In accordance with the Turčiansky Sv. Martin Declaration, in which the Slovak patriots on 30th October 1918 expressed their desire to join Czecho-Slovakia, Slovakia was to be represented at the Peace Conference. The original of this Declaration does not exist as it was forged later.

When Andrej Hlinka, President of the Slovak People's Party, the largest political party in Slovakia, came to Paris in the September of 1919 after three months of travel in order to present the Slovak wishes and to request that the principles of self-determination should be applied to Slovakia, the Slovak case was already decided. However, this did not hinder Edward Beneš from denouncing Andrej Hlinka in front of the French authorities as an agent of the defeated powers. On this basis he was expelled from Paris and upon his return to Slovakia, imprisoned.

The Peace Conference decided about Slovakia without hearing Slovak views. Those Slovaks who were in Paris as members of the Czech delegation did not represent Slovak opinion but were a mere instrument of Czech imperialism. And thus the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye (September 10, 1919) between the Allied and the Associated Powers on the one side and Czecho-Slovakia on the other, did not mention Slovak rights but only those of the other national groups of Czecho-Slovakia.

All this happened in contradiction to the principles proclaimed by the President of the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson. One of his principles (of 11 February, 1919) is: "Peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game." Another: "Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival States." Against these principles Thomas G. Masaryk and Edward Beneš did not hesitate to use false representations to extend their powers over Slovakia. Ironically, the representatives of the Czech Nation used these methods when after three hundred years of oppression, their own nation regained freedom.

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B. The representatives of the United States of America promised correction of injustices.

When the members of the United States of America delegation at the Paris Peace Conference were informed about the injustices committed against the Slovaks, they declared that the arrangements as to the position of Slovakia in Czecho-Slovakia were only temporary and promised correction of the injustices. Stephen Bonsal, a member of the United States of America delegation writes: "General Štefánik, in representation of the Slovak organizations, appeared before that American delegation at the Peace Conference early in 1919 to discuss the arrangements that had been made in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia under the guidance of Thomas Masaryk. The General was far from confident that the arrangement was workable but after listening to the arguments of President Wilson and Colonel House against what was called "the Balkanization of Eastern Europe into small states that could not stand alone", he accepted the arrangements in the following terms: "We shall do our best to get along with Czechs but owing to our past unhappy experiences with Prague, we must regard the arrangement as a 'trial marriage', nothing permanent".

"Six weeks later on his return from Italy, General Štefánik told us of the American delegation that his worst fears had been realized "that Benes was treating the Slovaks as an inferior people and Slovakia as a client state, not an equal of Bohemia."

"This statement presented President Wilson with quite a dilemma. He recognized that Štefánik had not made a permanent commitment but only a tentative one and that he had the right to review it. On the other hand recognized that owing to the opposition of some of the powers in Paris and the discord in Washington, the acceptance of the Covenant was in danger. He then had the following memorandum drawn up and gave it to Štefánik and also to the Ukrainian and the Lithuanian delegation. It reads:

"You must place your trust in the League of Nations which is being fashioned now by the forward looking peoples. Its purpose is collective security and freedom for all. It will be vigilant and always ready to smash the landgrabbers. It is equipped to curb any movement that threatens the peace of the world but unless we secure the Covenant anarchic conditions will continue."

"President Wilson then formally assured General Štefánik that he would personally bring the arrangement between the Slovaks and

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the Czechs before the Council of the League for such readjustment as would be found advisable. No one then, least of all President Wilson, thought that when the Council of the League assembled by a vote of the U.S. Senate, the United States would not be a member or even present in an advisory capacity."¹⁹

"Of course the President made this statement and gave this promise in perfect good faith. At the time, he had not the remotest idea that the Senate would reject both the Treaty and the Covenant or that when the League assembled, the United States would not be a member."

"In conclusion I would say that the 'trial marriage' was only entered upon at the insistence of the American Delegation and that the Slovaks received the promise that the manner in which a 'federated' Czechoslovakia was being organized, would be carefully examined and all inequalities of treatment corrected at the first meeting of the League of Nations."

The Hon. Daniel J. Flood concludes from the above: "In this respect I have to stress and clarify: First, that General Stefánik, the leader of the Slovaks during the First World War, worked for the establishment of a federated state of Slovaks with the Czechs, but as soon as he realized what the real intentions of the Czechs are, he wished to withdraw from the arrangement with the Czechs; second, General Stefánik considered the union with the Czechs only as a cohabitation in need and for a trial marriage; and third, General Stefánik after his conversation with President Woodrow Wilson agreed to stay in the union with the Czechs, only when he received the assurances from the American President that the American Delegation will bring the grievances of the Slovaks to the League of Nations, in order not to further complicate the situation, which already was quite difficult for the President in view of the unfavorable attitude of the United States Senate."

"I note with great apprehension these facts, particularly the 'trial marriage' of the Slovaks with the Czechs, which was entered upon only at the insistence of the American Delegation, but with the promise of our own President to remedy that situation at the earliest opportunity."²⁰

¹⁹ Stephen Bonsal in his Memorandum of 24 October 1949, written on the basis of his Diary.

²⁰ Daniel J. Flood, House of Representatives, Washington, 3rd July 1952. See Congressional Record.

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Stephen Bonsal writes further: "Owing to the way in which the Czechs had delayed the arrival of the Slovak mission and due to the fact that Monsignor Hlinka had accepted at their face value the false promises of the Prague agents, it was felt that nothing could be done at this late moment. However, Father Hlinka was assured of a hearing before the League of Nations Council, then only a few weeks off, and of the warm support of President Wilson and of the American people. Then, unfortunately, the U. S. Senate declined membership in the League and that body unfortunately degenerated into a debating society from which no action could be expected."²¹

Stephen Bonsal emphasizes that during the sojourn of A. Hlinka in Paris he gave him "a copy of the Covenant in Slovak, with the article indicated through which, upon the assembling of the League, he would be entitled to ask for a review of the decision and, indeed, of the treaty."²²

"Today, the lovers of Truth and Justice are promised another chance through the United Nations and I cherish the hope that what I wrote at the time may be helpful in presenting the problem and the situation resulting from the failure of the Peace Conference in its true light. If, in this task my further testimony would seem to be of value, you can count upon my devotion to the limit. The failure to do justice to the Slovaks at the Conference was the piece of Unfinished Business at the Conference which I most regretted."²³

Stephen Bonsal makes it very clear that the Slovak question was decided only temporarily and that it is necessary to consider it as an international one. It appears that Mr. James C. H. Bonbright did not take into account the above facts and the consequent obligations for the United States of America. Otherwise he would not have said: "It (i. e. the United States Government) has endeavored since the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 to avoid any act which might be construed as intervention in matters affecting the Czechs and Slovaks or which might serve to support one against the other."²⁴

We would rather expect that the United States of America should have supported the just Slovak claims and insisted on their fulfilment

²¹ Stephen Bonsal in his letter to Mr. John Sciranka.

²² Stephen Bonsal, *Suitors and Supplicants*, p. 161.

²³ Stephen Bonsal in his letter to Mr. John Sciranka.

²⁴ James C. H. Bonbright, Acting Assistant Secretary of the State Department, Washington, in his letter of 16 August 1951 to Rev. Florian C. Billy.

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by the Czechs as they had promised to do, since they were sufficiently informed of the unfair and unlawful conduct of the Czechs.

4. The continuous resistance of the Slovaks against Czecho-Slovakia.

The Slovaks never gave up their right of self-determination and since 1918 by their attitude to Czecho-Slovakia, made it quite clear that they will not miss any opportunity to enforce its application.

A: Since the existence of Czecho-Slovakia the majority of the Slovak population formed an opposition.

During the Twenty Year's Period of Czecho-Slovakia between 1918 and 1939, the Government did not obtain the support of the majority of Slovak representatives except in 1927-8 which was a trial period when the Slovak People's Party, unsuccessfully attempted to solve the Slovak question by the participation in the Government. Outside this period the majority of the Slovak representatives found themselves in opposition to the political system of Prague.²⁵

Thus in 1925, out of 57 Deputies elected in Slovakia only 17 supported the Government and accepted the political system imposed on Slovakia. In other words, 29, 81% were for the Government, and 40 Deputies or 70. 19% were in opposition.

A similar situation prevailed in Slovakia during the entire period of the existence of Czecho-Slovakia. Out of 1,645,803 voters in Slovakia during the 1935 election only 660, 640, i. e. 40% voted for the pro-government parties.²⁶

C.A. Macartney states: "The fact remains that the Government has been obliged more often than not to rule Slovakia against the wishes of most of its inhabitants, maintaining itself only by the expedients of restricting the powers of the self-governing bodies to within the narrowest possible limits, of filling the seats designated

²⁵ Aide-Mémoire sur l'existence de la République slovaque et sur la nécessité de conclure le traité de paix avec elle (Memorandum concerning the existence of the Slovak Republic and the necessity of a Peace Treaty with her), Paris 1946, p.22.

²⁶ The State's Statistical Bureau (Czechoslovakia), Parliamentary Elections in May 1935, p. 13. Regarding the above, see also a statement of John Urdny of March 31, 1938 in the Chamber of Deputies admitting indirectly the same facts. See also Paper Slovenský Denník, Bratislava, 1 April 1938.

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for "experts" with its own nominees and utilizing freely weapons of censorship and police supervision."²⁷ Also Hugh Seton-Watson came to the conclusion that it is impossible to state that the majority of the Slovaks would have supported Centralistic Czecho-Slovakia.²⁸

The ways of Prague forced the Slovaks to proceed to the separation from the Czechs because they had not given them the democratic and legal means to reorganize this untenable state. The Slovaks formed a minority in Parliament and thus they found no possibility to assert the just claims of the majority of the Slovak people.

No wonder that the Slovaks were resolved to take the first opportunity created through an international crisis to apply their right of self-determination, of which after the First World War they had been deprived through intrigues.

Emil Hácha, President of Czecho-Slovakia, did not hesitate to say: "For long it has been my conviction that the different nations (meaning the Czechs and the Slovaks) could not live together in this state."²⁹

Through the decision of the Slovak Parliament on 14 th March 1939, Slovakia became independent. Due to this fact, the Slovak question became clearly an international one in every respect.

B. The Slovaks are resolved to regain their Independence.

It is clear that it is the persistent endeavour of the Czech imperialists to present the Slovak question as an internal Czech problem and as if it had no international aspect whatsoever. However, these tendencies cannot succeed as in spite of all the aggressiveness, intrigues or recklessness of Czech politicians, the Slovak aspirations for independence were not destroyed and it appears that the task of Czech politicians in this respect becomes harder every day. The Slovaks, both those at present enslaved at home, and those dispersed throughout the Free World in their majority continue to fight the regime introduced in Slovakia, having as their aim an independent Slovak Republic.

The Czecho-Communist authorities admitted at various instances the existence of an underground movement in Slovakia striving for an independent Slovak Republic. Fedor Hodža, on October 16, 1947,

²⁷ C.A. Macartney, Hungary and her Successors, p. 145.

²⁸ Hugh Seton-Watson, Eastern Europe between the Wars 1918-1941, p. 176.

²⁹ Emil Hácha, on 15 March 1939 in his discussion with A. Hitler. See: The Trial of the Major War Criminals, vol. 31, Doc. PS-2798.

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stated: "There were and still are in Slovakia individuals and groups who work against the state, its ideals and against the peoples regime. This is the fact which was anticipated by everyone who knows the political development of Slovakia already at the time when the foundations were being laid for the struggle for the restoration of Czechoslovakia."³⁰

The Czech periodical "Obzory" writes: "We cannot close our eyes to the fact that anti-state activities are taking place in Slovakia. They are being directed by two groups; the aim of the first is an Independent Slovakia with a pro-West orientation; the second is striving for a wide autonomy with a pro-East orientation."³¹

Martin Kvetko has to admit that 80% of the Slovak population is for independence and only a constantly diminishing part of the intelligentsia is for the preservation of Czecho-Slovakia. As justification for his sympathies and work for the reconstruction of Czecho-Slovakia he offers the statement, that the Slovaks will anyway be forced by the big Powers to join Czecho-Slovakia and therefore it is unreasonable to do anything about independence.³²

The Communist speakers often attacked Slovaks because of their opposition to Czecho-Slovakia and their longing for independence. "In Slovakia there are people who believe that it is their main duty to agitate against the Czech nation, against the People's Democracy, against the Two-Year Plan, against the Soviet Union and the collaboration of Slavs." Clement Gottwald urges the taking of steps against those "who disrupt the Czecho-Slovak National Unity, undermine the authority of the State" and also against those "who today would like to return Slovakia to the past."³³

The foreign observers also confirm that the majority of the Slovak population insists on Independence. F. A. Voigt states "When Europe will at last have been liberated, the Slovaks will surely proclaim their independence."³⁴ Without hesitation, the Slovaks are resolved to do everything to obtain independence to which they are entitled under the principles of democracy and international ethics.

³⁰ In the Constitutional National Assembly, 16 October 1937.

³¹ Obzory, Prague, November 22, 1947.

³² In his lecture of 30 May 1949 in London, Cannon Hall.

³³ Clement Gottwald in his speech in Devin, 5 July 1947. See: Clement Gottwald, *Za večné bratstvo Čechov a Slovákov* (For the Eternal Brotherhood of Czechs and Slovaks), p. 136 et seq.

³⁴ F. A. Voigt, *Be ye strong, The Nineteenth Century and After*, London, May 1946, p. 195.

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It is evident that the Slovak question since the First World War did not cease to be an international problem, appearing as such with different degrees of intensity at different times.

5. The Slovak Republic did not cease to exist legally.

A. International recognition of the Slovak Republic.

The Slovak Republic was established in peace time and without the violation of peace. The international crisis which developed in March 1939 did not lead to war. Since the first days of its existence the Slovak Republic proved to be built on a sound basis. And thus there were neither real nor factual objections towards immediate international recognition.

The Slovak Republic was recognized de jure by Hungary (15 March 1939), Poland (16 March 1939), Germany (16 March 1939), Italy (11 April 1939), Switzerland (19 April 1939), Spain (25 April 1939), Liberia (12 May 1939), Ecuador (17 May 1939), Costa Rica (24 May 1939), the Vatican (25 May 1939), Japan (1 June 1939), Manchuria (1 June 1939), Yugoslavia (8 June 1939), Sweden (26 July 1939), Rumania (18 August 1939), Lithuania (11 September 1939), Bulgaria (16 September 1939), U.S.S.R. (16 September 1939), Estonia (11 April 1940), Latvia (13 April 1940), the Netherlands (15 April 1940), China-Nanking (1 July 1940), Croatia (1 July 1940), Finland (25 July 1940), Denmark (8 August 1940), France-Vichy (25 April 1942), Siam (8 May 1943), Burma (3 August 1943).

Also the Slovak Republic was recognized de facto by Great Britain (4 May 1939), France (14 July 1939), Belgium (14 July 1939).

On the basis of the above recognitions, diplomatical relations were established between the Slovak Republic and Bulgaria, Croatia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Switzerland, U.S.S.R., Vatican. Consular relations were established with Belgium, Denmark, France, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Not half a year after the establishment of the Slovak Republic, the Second World War broke out. It is plain, that under war conditions it was not possible for the Slovak Republic to diplomatically strengthen her position, which would have been the case in the normal years when recognition by further states and the deepening of existing relations would have followed.

From the above, we see that besides the recognition by the Berlin-Rome Axes and the neutral countries, recognition was also granted by the powers opposed to the Axes, i. e. the powers that became

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the founders of the United Nations. However, this did not prevent Edward Beneš from making statements to the contrary. On March 13, 1943 in his broadcast from London he said: "Slovakia, after her separation from the Czech Lands, was not recognized by any powers except those of the Axes."³⁵

B. The consequences of the recognition.

Accepting the fact that the Slovak Republic was recognized by all her neighbors, which could have had some interest in the rejection of recognition, and also accepting the fact that she was not recognized only by the Axis States but also by the neutral and some United Nations states, we have also to accept the fact that the Slovak Republic became a member of the international community and a subject of international law. N. Politis, writes: „Nobody ever thought that a new state should be recognized by all countries in order to make the effects of recognition universal and nobody maintains that a state recognized by some of them is non-existent for others.”³⁶

Taking into consideration that the international community until now has no central body, the recognition accorded by the majority is of general importance and extends its effects even over those by whom recognition was not granted.

No country refused to recognize Slovakia on the basis of denying the right of self-determination to the Slovaks. The United States of America did not recognize the Slovak Republic stating that Slovakia was occupied and ruled by Germany. Today, it is clear that this argument was based on wrong information and after the German capitulation in May 1945, it became absolutely invalid.

C. The Stimson Doctrine is not applicable in the case of the Slovak Republic.

The efforts for the stabilization of legal order put into effect by the Peace Treaties after the First World War were apparent mainly in the endeavor to eliminate war, which is irreconcilable with an international legal order. Out of this stems also the tendency not to recognize the facts which are opposed to legality. These ideas became

³⁵ Dr. E. Beneš, *Šest let exilu a druhé světové války* (Six Years of Exile and of Second World War), p. 197.

³⁶ N. Politis, *La Théorie de la reconnaissance* (Theory of Recognition), p. 191.

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wide-spread due to the point of view of the United States of America (Stimson). They were accepted by the League of Nations and by the Latin-American States.

In applying the above principles, the non-recognition of the Protectorate Bohemia-Moravia is quite understandable. Through it the Czech people were deprived of freedom and one can call it a camouflaged annexation. But the case of the Slovak Republic is completely different. Here the above principles are not applicable whether we want to justify through them the non-recognition of the Slovak Republic or the continuity of Czecho-Slovakia. Their application would favor the continuity of injustice once committed against Slovakia and would be completely contradictory to the principles of political freedom. However, Cordell Hull maintains that "the non-recognition policy was still a moral force".⁷⁸

The tenth Article of the Covenant of the League of Nations guaranteed the political independence and territorial integrity of its members. No doubt this rule had to protect the member states against an attack from outside only but not against the interests of the population demanding freedom. The idea of a stable order should not restrict the free expression of the wishes of the population. A different point of view, would endanger freedom, would make illegal any change and would take us one and a half century backwards into conditions when legitimacy of absolute rulers dominated international relations.

No one can maintain that the political order of the world is ideal to the degree that it does not require improvements. No one can assert that the wishes of the population are everywhere respected. No one can expect that the advancement of human society can stop at the point which we have so far reached. No one can demand that a nation give up its right of freedom because of legalistic formulas. If we apply the theory of non-recognition to all new states, then no United States of America or any other state could have been born as the formation of any new state is inevitably in opposition to the existing legal order.

The Covenant of the League of Nations was not violated by the formation of the Slovak Republic, neither was the Briand-Kellogg Pact or any other international treaties. And consequently there is no reason for application of the Stimson doctrine in the case of the Slovak Republic.

⁷⁸ The Memoirs of Cordell Hull, p. 580.

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The events of March 1939 are satisfactory proof that Czechoslovakia ceased to exist due to internal reasons. The formation of the Slovak Republic as well as the formations of her first Government satisfy all valid principles of international law to the effect that the first government was not only a government de facto but also de jure.

It is clear that the Stimson doctrine of non-recognition cannot be applied to the case of the international disintegration of a state, especially if this disintegration came about as a result of the free actions and desires of the population; otherwise we would have to consider it reactionary and oppressive which could not coincide with the intentions of the United States of America, the League of Nations or other states of the American Continent.²⁴

D. The recognition of the Slovak Republic cannot be revoked.

Once recognition has been given, its revocation cannot have any effect upon the international legal order. A change of view cannot be of any consequence as long as the conditions which lead to recognition exist. This is valid as much in the case of recognition de facto as in the case of recognition de jure.

A de facto breaking-off of relations only means that the involved state does not wish to continue relations and not that the recognized state ceased to exist as a subject of international law. Thus the effects of the recognition are not cancelled.

In as much as the Slovak Republic was formed in peace time, and was recognized by many countries, it can legally cease to exist only through a treaty in which its liquidation is established. Until such time the Slovak Republic should be considered as a territory occupied by the Soviets and the Czechs.

This is valid, especially as the Slovaks are not willing to give up their independence. This was the point stressed by Dr. J. Tiso, President of the Slovak Republic, in his speech to the Slovaks in April 1945: "The Slovaks at home and abroad know that their legal representatives today are abroad and those who at present act as rulers at home are only usurpers of power aided by the Bolsheviks.

The Slovaks are loyal to their own Slovak state and its six year's existence remains a living memory in their hearts and will help them

²⁴ Aide-Mémoire sur l'existence de la République slovaque et sur la nécessité de conclure le traité de paix avec elle, p. 40 et seq.

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to get through all the struggles in regaining their independence. We will continue to work, you at home and we abroad, until the Slovak aspirations will be generally accepted and recognized."³⁹

Sir John Fischer Williams can be quoted on the attitude of those who wish to act as if the Slovak Republic had never existed: "The master of knowledge, Aristotle, taught his school that a Greek poet had reason to believe that the only thing which surpassed Divine Power was to make the existent things as if they had never existed."⁴⁰ That is why all those who do not wish to take account of the existence of the Slovak Republic and to deduce the necessary consequences out of this reality ought to be careful not to attribute to themselves a power greater than that of the Divinity.

E. The enslavement of Slovakia cannot be justified.

A modern conception of a state does not tolerate oppression of one nation by another. "As far as the right of conquest is concerned, it has no other foundation except the law of the strongest. War does not give to the conqueror a right to massacre the conquered, and cannot serve as a foundation for their enslavement."⁴¹ Even if the Czechs or the Slovaks would hold different attitudes in a war, it should not be forgotten that the freedom of people is not negotiable merchandise. "The day will come", said the historian Huizinga, "when we will realize that we cannot barter countries and nations or engulf them because they were conquered by force of arms or because they were temporarily ruined."

It should be stressed that men and nations cannot be treated as inanimate objects. Not even the states which are held responsible for the war and which lost the war are liquidated. The victory over Napoleon did not mean the end of France and after the First World War, Germany, Austria and Hungary did not cease to exist. There is no reason why Slovakia should be treated worse than Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Finland, Austria, Italy, Japan and Germany. And there is no reason, why "unconditional surrender" should have worse consequences for the Slovaks than for other nations.

Even if there were military reasons for a favorable treatment of the Czechs and for the punitive action against the Slovaks, such pro-

³⁹ President Joseph Tiso in his broadcast from Kremsmünster, Austria, April 1945.

⁴⁰ Sir John Fischer Williams, *La Doctrine de la reconnaissance en droit international et ses développements récents*, p 210.

⁴¹ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, Book 1, Chap. 4

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cedure could only result in economic concessions to one and material charges against the other but not in complete subjugation of one nation by the other.

The exploitation of Slovakia during the first Czecho-Slovak Republic (1918—1938) proves that no economic charge imposed upon the Slovak Republic under the form of reparation could be more detrimental to the standard of living in Slovakia than the incorporation in Czecho-Slovakia.

According to the declarations of the representatives of the United Nations during the Second World War, the war was waged for the ideal of liberty and for the principles of democracy. The Secretary of State, Cordell Hull proclaimed in his speech of July 23, 1942: "The pledge of the Atlantic Charter is of a system which will give every nation, large or small, a greater assurance of stable peace, greater opportunity for the realization of its aspirations to freedom and greater facilities for material advancement."

President F. D. Roosevelt in his message to Congress on August 25, 1943 states: "The goal of the United Nations is to permit liberated peoples to create a free political life of their own choosing and to attain economic security."⁴²

The victorious powers made solemn pledges to fulfil and protect the rights of nations and not to hinder their realization. Not even unconditional surrender gave title to victorious nations to do wrong and to ignore natural rights. Not even lost war could destroy the right of the Slovaks to Independence. Vattel points out: "Natural law does not agree with an oppression."⁴³

The Slovak Republic, defeated in war, in contradiction to international law, is considered as part of a victorious power, so that through this paradox she can be made an object of imperialistic tendencies. In the name of Freedom and Democracy, Slovakia was forced into subjugation. In contradiction to all valid and generally recognized rights and principles.

Slovakia obtained the worst treatment one can imagine. Not even the hardest conditions of a peace treaty could be so detrimental to Slovakia as the unlawful position of today. It is a position which was not forced on any defeated nation and it is absurd to expect that the Slovaks will consider it a favour.

⁴² Documents on American Foreign Relations, vol. 5, p. 199.

⁴³ E. Vattel, *Le droit des gens* (International Law), IV, paras. 36-38.

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No solution of political problems, after a revolution of such an extent as the Second World War, can be achieved by the reinstatement of an old injustice. Only the application of the principles of justice can guarantee the stability and peace. It cannot be achieved by imposing conditions abhorred by nations.

F. The Slovaks should be heard.

The administration of justice is incomprehensible without ascertaining the wishes and views of the population according to the rule "audiatur et altera pars". Why should we be satisfied with a lesser degree of objectivity in international relations than in judicial procedures, where this rule is stressed with all its consequences. This principle is applied in criminal procedure, capital offences not excepted, and there is no reason why it should be omitted in the case of a nation even of a small nation like the Slovaks.⁴⁴

The injustice against Slovakia is not only due to the neglect of the generally recognized principles but more to the fact that there was no one who would raise his voice against the system which opposed and veiled the truth. Kaecckenbeek's words can be applied to the case of the Slovak Republic: "There is something more dangerous to peace than injustice; it is the spread of the belief that the interests of people were damaged without their being able to expect a remedy and without their being given an opportunity to discuss the imposed injustice."⁴⁵ It is a tragic characteristic of the international order that those who proclaimed themselves defenders of democracy did not allow the Slovaks to express their views, did not allow them to say "No".

It was the representatives of foreign interests, the men of Moscow and Prague, forced upon Slovakia by the Red Army, who interpreted Slovak desires. The real representatives of Slovakia were not heard. However, no one in this world has sufficient powers to silence truth, to ignore law or to maintain inequity forever. It is possible to enslave people but it is impossible to stop their resistance against the oppressor in their desire for freedom, independence and a higher standard of living. Thus the resistance of the Slovaks against the reinstatement and preservation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic has not ended.

⁴⁴ Aide-Mémoire sur l'existence de la République slovaque et sur la nécessité de conclure le traité de paix avec elle, p. 45 et seq.

⁴⁵ G. Kaecckenbeek, De la guerre à la paix (From War to Peace), p. 38.

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Dr. Juraj Šujan made the following statement in the People's Court on March 17, 1947: "They (the representatives of the Slovak Republic) left Slovakia with the intention of working abroad for the restoration and recognition of the Slovak Republic. The accused, Dr. Durrčanský continues to work abroad for this cause and if Dr. Tiso had been successful to get abroad safely, he would still consider himself President and would continue to work with Dr. Durrčanský."⁴⁸ His statement was supported by a proclamation of Dr. Tiso during his trial in the People's Court on December 18, 1946: "I maintain the idea of the Slovak State."

On the above basis, a Memorandum on the existence of the Slovak Republic and the necessity of a Peace Treaty with her was presented to all the members of the United Nations and to all those present at the Paris Conference (1946), held for the purpose of concluding the Peace Treaties with Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland. In it the Slovak request for the conclusion of a Peace Treaty, with the Slovak Republic, was formulated.

In 1951 the Slovak Liberation Committee approached the General Assembly of the United Nations with a request that the future of the Slovak Republic be decided by a Peace Treaty which would put an end to the state of war existing between her and the U.S.S.R. This request was made by the Slovak Liberation Committee, the body authorized by the Parliament Presidency of the Slovak Republic under Article 37, paragraph 2 of the Slovak Constitution.⁴⁹ The state of war did not cease to exist between the Slovak Republic and the U.S.S.R. and Slovakia is today to be considered as a temporarily occupied territory.

The Slovak Republic did not cease to exist, as even persecution of an extent to which it is hard to find a comparison in history, could not destroy the Slovak longing for freedom and their deter-

⁴⁸ The Slovak Information Agency on the procedures in the People's Court in Bratislava against President Joseph Tiso, Ferdinand Durrčanský and Alexander Mach.
⁴⁹ Article 37, para. 2 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic provides: "If the Government resigns when the President's Office is vacant, upon the resignation of the Government and on the temporary conduct of Governmental Affairs decides the Presidency of the Parliament." In summer 1945, the President Joseph Tiso, Premier Stephen Tiso and almost all ministers were detained by the United States Military Authorities and extradited to the Occupation Authorities in Slovakia, where they were tried by the People's Courts and were either murdered or are still imprisoned. In view of this, it is right to maintain that conditions arose which in accordance with the above article of the Constitution gave powers to the Presidency of the Parliament to decide upon the conduct of Governmental Affairs.

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mination to secure their rights. The Slovak Republic did not cease to exist, because it could only so happen in contradiction to the principles of international law and natural rights whose validity no one can question. She did not cease to exist because nine years after the Second World War, the political problems which caused it are not solved, the Peace Treaties are not concluded, but instead, new conflicts arose which are a reminder that a generally acceptable and just system should be established in order to avoid a new catastrophe in a third World War.

6. The Slovak question cannot be an internal question of a non-existent State.

A. Czecho-Slovakia ceased to exist as an independent State.

If one is to make an unbiased and realistic statement, one has to admit that today Czecho-Slovakia does not exist as an independent State. Czecho-Slovakia was fictitiously restored through many diplomatic intrigues during the Second World War and mainly through the intervention of the Red Army, by which the population of Slovakia was ravished in 1945. In reality, Czecho-Slovakia was not a fully independent state. Its independence was being gradually more and more restricted both internally and internationally and finally in February 1948, its independence was completely liquidated.

Today we know a territory called Czecho-Slovakia. It has no Government which could make free decisions. The Government which figures as the government of Czecho-Slovakia has no powers to act or decide freely. This applies to international, internal, political, economic as well as cultural matters. All decisions including those on any Slovak question, are made in Moscow. Prague is only a tool for the fulfilment of Moscow's orders. Without question every order of the Kremlin has to be carried out.

The powers of those acting as members of the Czecho-Slovak Government do not originate from the population. They obtained their posts by the grace of the U.S.S.R. to whom they are responsible and who reserves the right to dismiss them when her interests require her to do so. They do not protect the interests of the population and the population does not trust them.

If we still hear the name "Czechoslovakia", this name does not denote a state but only a territory over which the U.S.S.R. exerts its sovereignty. The name is kept at least temporarily, as it helps the interest of the Soviets in camouflaging their aims and deceiving the public. As Czecho-Slovakia ceased to exist as an independent state

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it appears absurd to talk about the Slovak question being an internal affair of a non-existent Czecho-Slovakia. If one approved of Slovakia being under the domination of the Kremlin, then perhaps one could talk about the Slovak question as being an internal matter for the U.S.S.R. but not for a Czecho-Slovakia.

B. The independence of Czecho-Slovakia was abolished with the consent of her competent representatives.

Far-reaching restrictions of the independence of Czecho-Slovakia were effected in 1945, still prior to its restoration, at the time when the intervention of the Red Armies to help her restoration was made dependent on the formation of a Government with a program plausible to Moscow. This interference of Moscow was approved by all representatives at that time, including Edward Beneš and representatives of all political parties which were allowed to be formed in the future state. The independence of Czecho-Slovakia completely ceased with the decision of Edward Beneš who was considered to be her President. The program of Clement Gottwald, who was made Premier in 1946, was approved on March 11, 1948 by the Constitutional Assembly, by 230 votes out of the total number of 300. Thus the majority of competent representatives approved of the loss of independence in favor of the complete Soviet rule. Therefore Czecho-Slovakia, as an independent State ceased to exist with the approval of her official representatives.

Considering the above it appears strange to talk about the future liberation of Czecho-Slovakia. It would be more appropriate to be concerned about the new settlement of the affairs of the nations living in her territories.

C. The old injustice should not be repeated.

The strivings of the Free World are directed towards the liberation of the nations behind the Iron curtain. They are thus directed towards the reorganization of the political and territorial status quo. It would be, however, unreasonable to have an unjust status quo replaced by another injustice.

J. Smutný maintains that "the Czechoslovak union is our own internal problem" but thinks it necessary to modify this by adding "but is of no small international importance". "There are many projects and plans which anticipate a reorganization of the conditions in Central Europe. Some respect the Republic, others plan her

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partition. Slovakia is of interest to all her neighbours, whether it is Hungary, Poland, Russia or Germany."⁴⁸

The associates of Edward Beneš plan a new enslavement of Slovakia and it would suit their purpose to have the Slovak question reduced to an internal problem of a non-existent Czecho-Slovakia. This Czech approach means nothing but the claim to perpetuation of an old injustice. It means that the Czechs in future want to rule over Slovakia for no other reason except that they succeeded in deceiving the diplomats concerned in 1919 and in the devastation and subjugation of Slovakia by the Red Armies in 1945. Their attitude is a claim to recompense for a crime, and its acceptance is in contrast with international ethics, which cannot be abandoned if we want to secure peace and justice throughout the world.

There is no Czecho-Slovak question. There is only the one-sided desire of the Czech imperialists to rule Slovakia.

No legal, political or moral reasoning can justify Czech imperialism or force Slovaks to live under a Czech rule. It is in the interest of freedom, justice and peace that the Slovaks ask for support of all free nations to make valid in their case the principles of democracy and self-determination recognized by all but so far denied to the Slovaks.

7. The Czechs in their own interest should cease encroachment of Slovak Independence.

In cases where a ruling nation has sufficient moral standards to execute its duties, its dependent territories can gain independence through a mutual agreement without revolution and without provoking an international crisis. Independence was gained in this way in the case of Norway, Iraq, Iceland, the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Burma as well as in the case of Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon etc. Under such a settlement, nations if previously unfriendly, regained mutual confidence and new possibilities for cooperation were created.

The British fighting subjugated Eire and gave it freedom. The British overran the Boer Republics, added to them some of their own colonies and gave them independence without fighting and pressure on their own initiative!... And the result? In 1914 the

⁴⁸ Doklady a rozpravy (Documents and Discussions), London, Nov. 1952, p. 5.

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Boer General Smuts, who before had fought against the British, fought now on their side through his own wish, fighting against the Germans. And in 1939 the same Smuts, as Premier, declared war against Germany, being on the side of the British. It would help our future national interests to take a lesson from this."⁴⁹

The Czechs should take a lesson from the above even more, because their desires to rule over Slovakia has no historical, political or moral basis. It stems only from egoism and exaggerated chauvinism. The Czechs being a small nation negate the moral principle, which can be the only basis and justification of their own independence.

When a dominating power is not willing to give up its unjustified rule, unfriendly relations are created between nations and often a crisis or war results. The desire of the Slovaks for independence is evident and without a doubt they are determined to make it internationally carry through. Their action in 1938, 1939 and since 1945 proves this.

It is in the interest of the Czech imperialists to cover up the reality by false statements and intrigues. The reality itself cannot, however, be changed by the Czechs, as the Slovaks are determined to achieve their goal and will not miss any opportunity in this respect. From the above circumstances it appears that the relations between the two neighbors cannot be on a sound basis, which would otherwise have been in their mutual interest. No doubt, it was the shortsightedness and greed of the Czech politicians, determined to rule over Slovakia at any price, which caused the creation of the Protectorate Bohemia-Moravia of 1939 and also of the present communist Protectorate.

The Czech imperialism which would not approve even of autonomy for Slovakia led to the intervention on the 9th of March, 1939, which was used by Adolf Hitler as a pretence for his action against the Czechs and for the annexation of Bohemia and Moravia under the name of a Protectorate. During the Second World War, Edward Beneš' obsession, to rule Slovakia, made him lean more and more towards the Soviets. This was one of the reasons why, on December 12, 1943, he hastily concluded the Treaty of Friendship for mutual aid and post-war co-operation with Moscow. He admitted this in his broadcast from Moscow on December 21st, 1943, "This

⁴⁹ Mr. R. Kopecký in periodical *Národ*, London, November 30, 1948.

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agreement, with all other results of this war, will forever prevent repetition of the separation of Slovakia from the Republic.⁴⁹ During the war and after the war, Edward Benes had to pay dearly for the help of Moscow in the seizure of Slovakia and in the end Czecho-Slovakia thus created, was not an independent state but a province of the U.S.S.R. The Czechs did not prove to be worthy of freedom, as they did not respect the freedom of the Slovaks. The two catastrophes should be a sufficient lesson for the Czechs to give up their imperialistic tendencies. Otherwise the past events may repeat themselves.

There are many Czechs who recognize the international aspect of the Slovak question. For example, the Czech National Council in London, headed by General Leo Prchala, rejects the tendencies leading to the rebuilding of Czecho-Slovakia, recognizes the right of self-determination and independence for Slovakia. "Anyone who recognizes the existence of the Slovak nation has to admit that only Slovaks can express their wishes. We, Czechs, are fighting for a new Czech State. The imperialistic tendencies which were apparent in centralistic Czechoslovakia, resulted not only in the negation of the right of self-determination of other nations but also caused heavy damage to our own nation. Not only should we give up enforcing upon Slovaks the idea of a centralistic Czechoslovak Republic, but without hesitation, we should recognize their right of self-determination."⁵¹ "The Independence of the Czechoslovak Republic can only be restored against the will of the majority of the Slovak nation", admits the Czech periodical "Integral".⁵²

This trend is gaining more and more ground among the Czech refugees who admit that it is poor logic to fight for one's own freedom and at the same time to deny it to the Slovaks.

There is every reason for considering the Slovak question as an international one, with all the resulting consequences. This is more than ever the case as after the liberation of the enslaved part of Europe a new and just basis for reorganization will be required in order that permanent peace may be insured.

⁴⁹ Dr. E. Benes, *Šest let exilu a druhé světové války* (Six years of exile and of Second World War), p. 228.

⁵¹ Periodical *Český boj* (The Czech Fight), London, November 1, 1949.

⁵² Periodical *Integral*, Bad Reichenhall, September 16, 1949.

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Statements

OF THE SLOVAK LIBERATION COMMITTEE (former Slovak Action Committee)

Aide-Mémoire sur l'existence de la République Slovaque et sur la nécessité de conclure le Traité de Paix avec elle, 1946.

Aide-Mémoire sur la nécessité du plébiscite en Slovaquie, 1946.

Memorandum presented to the Peace Conference concerning the rationality of existence of Czecho-Slovakia, 1946.

Petition to the Security Council of the United Nations, 1946.

Address to the Council of Foreign Ministers, 1946.

Plea to the Senate of the United States of America concerning the ratification of Peace Treaties signed and of those to be signed by Czecho-Slovakia, 1947.

Plea concerning the Slovak Question presented to his Excellency Mr. Harry Truman, President of the United States of America, 1947.

Petition concerning the Slovak Situation and the realization of the Plebiscite in Slovakia presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, 1948.

Petition to the United Nations in the Trial of Dr. Josef Tiso, President and other Representatives of the Slovak Republic, 1947.

Appeal concerning the deportation of the Slovak population by the Soviet Authorities presented to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, 1947.

Appeal to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations concerning the deportation of the Slovak population in Sudeten by the Czechs, 1947.

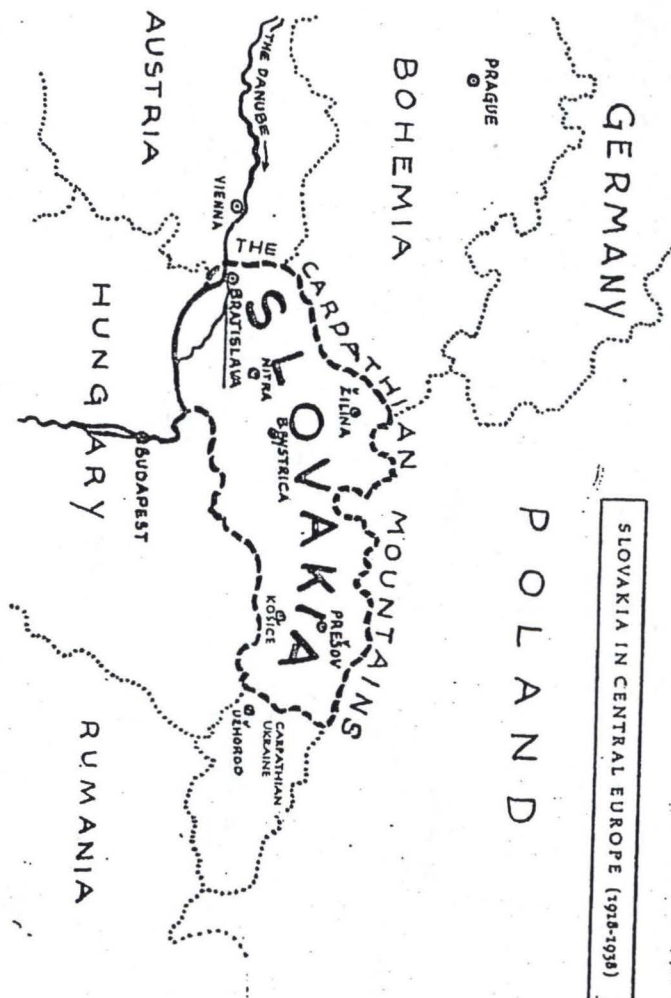
Denunciation of the Crimes committed by the Czechs and the Communists against the Slovak Children presented to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, 1948.

Open Letter to the Representatives of the Members of the United Nations, 1947.

Notification of the punishable actions against Humanity and Fundamental Rights of Man committed by the helpers of International Communism in Slovakia to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, 1948.

Appeal addressed to the General Assembly of the United Nations petitioning the creation of a Commission to investigate the Religious persecution in Slovakia and the Expulsion of Czecho-Slovakia from the United Nations, 1949.

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SLOVAKIA IN CENTRAL EUROPE (1918-1938)

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VIA: AIR
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH)

~~SECRET~~

D. ATCH NO. EGLA-14176

CLASSIFICATION

TO : Chief, EE

DATE: 20 MAY 1955

FROM : Chief of Base, Pullach

INFO: COM

SUBJECT: GENERAL— Operational/DIZTAG

SPECIFIC— Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY - Plan to Visit the U.S.

1. ZIPPER informs us that Subject has been considering a plan to visit "his many acquaintances of Slovak extraction in the U.S." ZIPPER states that since statements against Subject, particularly from the Czech side, are available at several U.S. agencies, they would like to know what chance Subject stands of obtaining a visitor's visa. They would also like to know to what extent POB might assist in this matter.

2. POB has been advised by the U.S. Consulate General in Munich that Subject's best course of action is to submit a normal application for a visitor's visa, and indicated that it would receive all due consideration. This recommendation has been forwarded to ZIPPER. (Note: Subject had done this on an earlier occasion but the Consulate stalled on its issuance of a visa until the meeting he wished to attend in the U.S. had passed.) POB also informed ZIPPER that the Department of State had the final decision in this matter (implying that POB would not intercede in his behalf).

3. The above is for your information only; no action is requested.

Approved:

[Handwritten signature]

Distribution:
3 - EE (DIRECT)
3 - COM

17 May 1955

C mac

Deadlines:		(Check room)
Hq Action Req.	by cable	
See para	by pouch	
Hq Comments Req.	by cable	
See para	by pouch	
for info and files		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

~~SECRET~~
CLASSIFICATION

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR. 1949

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2008

~~SECRET~~
CLASSIFICATION

FOR COORDINATION WITH ^{ed} State

CONFIDENTIAL

~~U/OP~~ - Mr. Mulick *G-8*

C-6
State II
SEV - Mr. Anderson

June 29, 1955

ES - Howard Trivers

Reply to Correspondence on Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

Reference is made to the attached letters of April 11 and March 22, 1955 from Mr. L. Kozar.

Durcansky is leader of an emigré political group, the Slovak Liberation Committee. He appears to make Munich his present headquarters, although he has been active politically in earlier years in Buenos Aires. Because of his identification as Minister of the Interior and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the wartime Axis satellite state of Slovakia, and his record of Nazi collaboration before and after the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, this office considers Durcansky a controversial figure whose admission into the United States would not be in the national interest.

Although Durcansky's arrest was sought in 1945 and 1946 on war crimes charges he evaded arrest by flight to Argentina. As indicated in the attached copy of a letter of October 13, 1946 from the Secretary General of the United Nations War Crimes Commission, the Commission examined evidence against Durcansky presented by the Czechoslovak Government and found there to be a prima facie case against him in respect of charges listed and placed him upon its lists of persons who ought to be brought to trial as war criminals. He was condemned to death in absentia by a Czechoslovak court in April 1947 prior to the Communist coup in that country.

Durcansky does not appear to enjoy any significant support among Slovak-Americans favoring a separate Slovak state, most of whom sympathize with a rival Slovak emigré organization, the Slovak National Council Abroad. This organization has the support of the Slovak League of America.

It is understood that in past years the Department has consistently advised consular representatives abroad to refuse a visa to Dr. Durcansky. However, it appears that he has outstanding an application for an immigrant visa at the American Consulate General in Munich, where he was registered March 25, 1953 as non-preference applicant under the Czechoslovak quota. In 1953 the Department informed inquirers as to Durcansky's visa status that further action in his case was awaiting the receipt of information and necessary clearances from the Embassies at Buenos Aires and London, within the jurisdiction of which he formerly resided. Current information on the status of his case does not appear to be available in the Department.

We do not wish to see the Department injected into the crossfire of rival Slovak and Czechoslovak attitudes toward a separate Slovak state and toward

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*

of that state as an Axis satellite. It is recommended that reply be made along the following lines, to be cleared in EE and VO (Miss Farrell) in final.

RE: UNCLASSIFIED

I have for reply your letter of April 11, 1955 and your letter of March 22, 1955 to the Secretary regarding the desire of Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky to come to this country. I trust you will excuse the delay in replying to your inquiry.

You may be assured that the United States consular officer concerned will give Dr. Durcansky's application appropriate consideration when the condition of the Czechoslovak quota, now oversubscribed, permits processing of his case. His admission into this country must be decided upon the basis of his qualification for entry under the immigration laws and regulations of the United States."

END RECLASSIFIED

Attachments:

1. Letter of April 11, 1955.
2. Letter of March 22, 1955.
3. Copy of UN War Crimes Commission Letter.

Copies to:

W/OP - Mr. Hulich
EE - Mr. Kendrick
VO - Miss Farrell.

FR:EE:RG:Johnson:afid

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COURIER

EGLA - 17 521

24 JAN 1956

Chief of Station, Germany

Chief of Base, Pullach

INFO: EF

Operational

Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY,

REF: FRAN - 6161
FULL - 3077

1. We confirm the information given in FULL-3077, namely that Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY is still a ZIPERite with whom close contact is maintained. DURCANSKY is considered by ZIPER a valuable asset on account of his close ties to the political segment of Czech refugees belonging to the SOV, which as you know, is headed by DURCANSKY.

2. Please inform [] of the above and request that they drop all interest in subject.

3. What was the exact nature of [] interest in subject?

APPROVED:

[]

Distributions

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2 - KE (DIRECT)

19 January 1956

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2006

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FOR COORDINATION WITH ^{ed} Army

SECRET

HEADQUARTERS
SOUTHERN AREA COMMAND
OFFICE OF THE G-2
AUSTRIAN LIAISON OFFICE
APO 407 55 ARMY

13 February 1956

TO: Det. C, 7982 USAREUR Liaison Group,
Box 15, APO 108, U.S. Army

SUBJECT: Dr. Ferdinand DURCANSKY

REFERENCE: Your Trace Request of 4 January 1956

1. Subject is of operational interest to the Gehlen organization. It is therefore requested that your office take no further action in regard to this individual.

2. The Gehlen organization has not, and will not, be informed of your interest in Subject, but it will be useful to this office to know how he came to your attention, as well as any other information you can provide on his more recent activities. As you may know, Subject is a questionable individual who is widely known in edge and intelligence circles for his self-aggrandizing promotion schemes. He has been involved in a number of dubious projects and operations which have shown no results. Consequently, we feel that it would be mutually beneficial to exchange information on Subject.

This written at suggestion of Program Staff - DOR

RICHARD O. LYON

HAND CARRY

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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2006

SECRET

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In den AEN-Kreisen herrscht die Überzeugung, daß noch in diesem Jahre (im Herbst) die Gründung der Internationalen Antikommunistischen Liga ~~vollendet~~ wird.

Es stehen noch folgende Fragen offen:

- a) Wo das Kongress allen antikommunistischen Organisationen während welcher die Gründung der Liga erfolgen soll, stattfindet: in Europa, oder in Asien?
- b) Wo wird der Sitz der Liga bzw. des Präsidiums der Liga sein: in Asien oder in Europa?
- c) Welche antikommunistischen Organisation aus Europa als Mitglieder der Liga aufgenommen werden sollen?
- d) Finanzielle Problemen.

In den AEN Kreisen ist man der Meinung, daß dieser Kongress in Europa stattfinden soll, denn in Asien ist man mehr über die kommunistischen Gefahr im Bilde, als hier in Europa. Die Anhaltung des Kongresses in Europa - könnte manchen Staatsmännern die Augen auf diese Gefahr eröffnen.

Andererseits muss man auch der APACL -Antikommunistische Liga der Völker Asiens- recht gehen, wenn sie behauptet, die Abhaltung eines solchen Kongresses in Asien- wird den asiatischen Völkern mehr Kraft im Kampf gegen den Kommunismus geben, denn sie werden sehen, daß nicht nur sie allein, aber auch die europäischen Völker ihren Kampf unterstützen. Wenn auch in Europa die kommunistische Gefahr sehr gross ist, droht in Asien ein Krieg mit dem kommunistischen China.

Diese und verschiedene andere Fragen werden bald geklärt.

Tatsache ist, daß die Gründung einer solchen Internationalen Antikommunistischen Liga - nur die Frage der Zeit ist.

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no. 92

200359

1150

an : 844

von: ee 1 g c- 11 468/h

betr.: pa durcansky prof. dr. ferdinand

bezug: 844 fs nr. 65 v. 18.3.1959

der angefragte (geb. 1906) studierte in pressburg, paris, den haag und wien und war rechtsanwalt und prof. des voelkerrechts in pressburg und stark in der katholischen slowakischen jugendarbeit taetig. bis 28. juli 1940 aussenminister der slowakischen republik und stellvertretender vorsitzender der slowakischen katholischen volkspartei, wurde er 1940 auf wunsch hitlers aus dem politischen leben vollstaendig entfernt. bis 1945 betrieb er weiter seine anwaltspraxis in pressburg. 1945 floh er nach rom und ging von dort weiter nach argentinien. seit 1952 lebt er in der bundesrepublik. er vertritt den gedanken slowakischer selbststaendigkeit im rahmen mitteleuropaeischer foederation. als vorsitzender des slowakischen befreiungsausschusses ist er entschlossener gegner des kommunismus und ein zuverlaessige anhaenger westlicher konzeption.

col: pa durcansky prof. dr. ferdinand 844 fs nr. 65 v. 18.3.1959

844 nr. 65 v. 18.3.1959 (geb. 1906) pressburg, paris, den

haag wien prof. pressburg 28. juli 1940 1940 1945 1945

argentinien 1952

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 (When Filled In)

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<i>Associatein Munich of DFE, employe, Samuel Malach</i>			

Special Information Section

(See EGMA-32055 dtd 11 Feb 58)

1. Professor Ferdinand DURCANSKY

DURCANSKY is presently residing in Munich, Germany. During the Slovak State set-up with the support of the Hitler German Government he served as Transport Minister and then as Foreign Minister. After World War II he went to Argentina where many Nazi collaborators fled after the war. He returned to West Germany about 1950. Shortly after DFE began broadcasting he put out a pamphlet entitled "Die Maske Weg" ("The Masks Away") which criticized DFE and its employees most violently. He is fanatic in his desires for an independent Slovak State. He receives support from Konrad Adenauer and Catholic circles. He is highly suspected of being an informant for German Intelligence.

15.	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.	➔	<i>C 2</i>
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FORM 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2003 2006

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: - 41-108 -

FORM DS-939 12-4-51		DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF SECURITY		URGENT																			
REQUEST FOR SECURITY INFORMATION																							
To: DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF PLANS (CIA)		From: VO		Date: 2/20/58																			
DO NOT WRITE ABOVE THIS LINE																							
I NAME <i>(If married woman include maiden name)</i> Ferdinand DURGAESKY		DATE OF BIRTH December 18, 1906		PLACE OF BIRTH Rajec, Czechoslovakia																			
ALIASES AND NICKNAMES K.I.		SEX M		MARTIAL STATUS Czech																			
ADDRESS Czechoslovakia, Argentina, Germany.		OCCUPATION AND NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER Journalist																					
ADDITIONAL IDENTIFYING DATA Destinations: To attend First Congress of American Friends of ABE, April 26th and 27th.																							
CONTROL: THIS REQUEST PLACED WITH THE DIVISION OF SECURITY BY:																							
DIVISION OR AGENCY VISA OFFICE - Security Branch			REASON FOR REQUEST, OR TYPE OF PROGRAM VISA - Security Case																				
DATE 2/20/58			URGENT																				
NAME OR REQUESTING OFFICER RBastianello:jmd																							
II RESULTS OF THIS REQUEST FOR SECURITY INFORMATION:																							
<input type="checkbox"/> NO RECORD <input type="checkbox"/> SECURITY INFORMATION ATTACHED <input type="checkbox"/> NO DEROGATORY INFORMATION <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (Use reverse side for reporting)																							
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III FOR USE OF DIVISION OF SECURITY:																							
<table border="1"> <tr><td colspan="2">MEMORANDUM COORDINATION</td></tr> <tr><td>DATE 27 Feb 58</td><td>INITIALS</td></tr> <tr><td>BY EE</td><td>RTH</td></tr> <tr><td>BY EE</td><td>Czech hlt</td></tr> <tr><td>BY EE</td><td>GRB</td></tr> <tr><td>BY EE</td><td>RAC</td></tr> </table>		MEMORANDUM COORDINATION		DATE 27 Feb 58	INITIALS	BY EE	RTH	BY EE	Czech hlt	BY EE	GRB	BY EE	RAC	<table border="1"> <tr><td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">VISA OFFICE SECURITY BRANCH</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">FEB 20 1958</td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">DEPT. OF STATE</td></tr> </table>				VISA OFFICE SECURITY BRANCH		FEB 20 1958		DEPT. OF STATE	
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4 MAR 1958

TO: The Secretary of State
Attention: Mr. E. Tomlin Bailey
Director, Office of Security

FROM: Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT: DURCAESKY, Ferdinand

FILE IN []

Reference is made to your name check request, dated 20 February 1958, subject as above, whose name you desired checked against the files of this office. The files do not contain any derogatory information regarding Subject in addition to that contained in SCOB 28568 dated 20 September 1950, subject as above, a copy of which is attached.

CSCI-3/748,923

Encl. 1 name check
1 attachment

RI/CE: AJL/LTG/lbc

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HEADQUARTERS
66TH COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS GROUP
UNITED STATES ARMY, EUROPE
APO 154 US FORCES

ACTION: CDS/c
IS
IS/ED

JAN 15 1959

9 January 1959

AEUC-SCIG 274/7
XE-190195

SUBJECT: DURCANSKY, Ferdinand aka DURCHANSKY aka Feodor (U)

IDENTITY REQUEST NUMBER: 66-4-59

TO: Representative (N2), Commander, US Naval Forces, Germany,
APO 757, US Forces
Chief, District Office #70, USAFE, APO 332, US Forces,
(THRU OSI Det #13)
Assistant Chief of Staff, G2, Seventh Army, APO 46, US Forces
Liaison Officer, Department of the Army Detachment,
APO 154, US Forces (All Files including BND)
Commanding Officer, 513th MI Group, APO 757, US Forces
Liaison Officer, US Army Strategic Survey Group, Europe,
APO 154, US Forces

BULKY

1. (C) SUBJECT born 18 December 1906 is of operational interest to this Group.
2. (U) It is requested that your organization indicate whether SUBJECT is known to or associated with your organization. If no information is available, a negative reply is requested. All replies should make reference to the Identity Request Number above.

FOR THE COMMANDER:

CALL RID/FILES. EXT. RECORDS
FOR ATTACHMENTS. CENTER JOB NO. 67-748
BOX NO. 10

751-46
#5 SNA

Medical Liaison
RUSSELL B. BEMIS
Major, MI (CE)
Adjutant

Telephone: Stgt Mil 8362
JHM/aew/maf

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CONFIDENTIAL

Unanswered
41363
DURCANSKY
SEE REVERSE SIDE
Ferdinand

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FOR COORDINATION WITH INS

Return to Moran SECRET *2313 R*

UNIT 1

EE

PRIORITY, URGENT

TELEPHONE REQUESTS FOR NAME CHECK. FOR USE OF RI NAME CHECK CONTROL OFFICER ONLY.

m. die
FROM: INS via Mr. Flynn

DATE 11 Feb 59

TAKEN BY: [initials] CHECKED BY: _____ REPLY _____

DURCANSKY, Ferdinand (Dr.)
NAME _____ ALIASES AND SPELLING VARIATIONS _____
DURCABSKY - ✓
DURCAH'SKY - ✓
DURCHAN'SKY - ✓
DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH _____

OTHER IDENTIFIABLE DATA

REFERENCES:

- All recent info
- Any info that he is now in U.S. and how he ~~got~~ got here.
- SODB-28568, dated 20 Sept 50
- SODB-59415 dated 21 Oct 52 *copies on my desk. mm.*

- AKA: DURCHAN'SKY - X ref
- @ VILCEK, NANDOR - X ref
- ✓ DUECANSKY, FERDIAND - X ref
- AKA: DYURCHAN'SKI, FERDIAND - X ref
- OR: DURCIANSKY - X ref
- TURCANSKY - FERDIAND - X ref

MEMORANDUM COORDINATION	
Date <u>12 Feb 59</u>	INITIALS
RI ANALYST	<u>7A</u>
DIV.	BRANCH
<u>10</u>	<u>111</u>
<u>EE/C</u>	<u>111</u>
REEDITOR	<u>111</u>
INVEST	

FILE IN

SECRET

Ref
12 Feb 59
EE

According to information dated 12 February 1959, received through a reliable source from an unknown subsource, Subject appeared at the UN in New York on 10 February 1959. Our files reflect no other information concerning Subject's entry into the United States nor any information subsequent to our previous disseminations.

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SOURCE IO/11

SECRET

12 February 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, International Organizations Division
SUBJECT: Ferdinand Durcansky

1. [redacted] called me this morning to say that the RFE/UN reporter has learned from an AP correspondent that one Ferdinand Durcansky turned up at the UN in New York on 10 February.
2. Dunning describes Durcansky as a seamy, unsavory anti-RFE character from way back, who, among other things, is a Czech separatist and during World War II was Foreign Minister of the pro-Axis Czech Government. Durcansky told the AP reporter that he had recently arrived in New York from Munich to promote a plan for the disintegration of the Soviet empire. He claims that the Soviet grip on the Satellites can be released without an international war through "peaceful resistance and eventual revolution in a common action planned from outside."
3. Durcansky claims to be the spokesman for the "Assembly of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" which has its headquarters in Munich. He says that he will attempt to get support in UN circles for his proposal and will eventually visit Washington to discuss his views with Government officials here and will also contact "other political representatives" in the United States.
4. I am checking on Durcansky who smells very much like one of the Brada/Hobensold/Fulton Lewis circle, and will keep you advised.

DC/IO/I

IO/IS [redacted] kb (12 Feb 59)

Distribution:
Orig. & 1 - Addressee
1 - IO/Sec
1 - EE/C/FP

PST

ABSTRACT	INDEX
DATE 12 Feb 59	

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11 March 1959

1951
Slovak Separatism
 The Council of Free
 Slovakia, the political
 organization of the Czechoslovak
 people in the free world, has
 informed the United States
 that Slovak separatists
 in the United States want to
 incorporate the so-called
 independence day of Slovakia
 when 20 years ago Slovakia
 declared its so-called independence
 from the Czechoslovak state so as to disrupt the
 unity of the Czechoslovak
 people and impose democratic
 reforms in Slovakia.
 These Slovak separatists
 are trying to misuse the
 name of democracy to
 gain support from the
 United States.
 A commemorative
 ceremony in New York
 and other cities
 from American political
 circles is being planned
 to celebrate the
 Slovak independence day.
 The United States
 Minister of Economic
 Affairs, who was
 in Slovakia by Hitler,
 and the democratic
 government of 1945
 have been
 instrumental and
 collaborative in
 the establishment
 of the so-called
 Slovak state.
 The United States
 Department of State
 has admitted that
 the so-called
 Slovak state was
 established by
 the United States
 and the so-called
 democratic
 government of 1945
 in order to
 disrupt the
 unity of the
 Czechoslovak
 people and
 impose
 democratic
 reforms in
 Slovakia.

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110/1
FC-776

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 warning 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 Pončan, 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, etc. 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..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. Matej 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 whenever 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 Swastika)

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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Fráno Tiso first Slovak Minister. Slovak propoganda 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 satellite states that they would go along with her military operations which were being prepared against the East and the West. Tuka, with the assistance of Černák, 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 Slovenská 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 Führer 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 Golian 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 which 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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SECRET

20 March 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Ferdinand DURCAESKY

1. On 20 March 1959 I called on Mr. Sommerlatte, Head of the Czech Desk, State Department, to ascertain how Mr. DURCAESKY had managed to gain admission into the U.S. on an Immigration Visa in spite of his somewhat cluttered background.

2. Sommerlatte informed me that DURCAESKY's visa and his admittance into the U.S. had been the subject of considerable correspondence and discussion between his office, the Consulate General in Munich, and the Office of Consular Affairs in the Department of State. The attitude of the Czech Desk was, and still is, that Mr. DURCAESKY's entry into the U.S. is not in the public interest. It was the opinion of the Visa Office and of the Consulate General that in spite of Subject's history of association with the Nazis early in the war, his affiliation with the Slovak Separatist movement, charges of smuggling narcotics, etc., etc., there was nothing substantial upon which to base a visa refusal.

3. Included in Sommerlatte's file were a few items of recent correspondence which should be consulted in the event that Subject, for any reason, becomes of active interest to us:

- a. A letter from Mr. ^{JOSKO} ~~Kecko~~ ^{Council} of the Consulate for Free Czechoslovakia dated March 1959, protesting his entry.
- b. ^a OMV from the Department to the Consulate General in Munich. This memorandum is undated but was presumably sent in late 1958 or early 1959. The date can, of course, be easily ascertained if necessary. This OMV cites OMV-245 dated May 1958 also concerning Subject. In effect, the undated memorandum reviewed the charges against Subject and stated that the Department could find no cause for his exclusion.
- c. A letter from Mr. Busek of the Czech National Council

dated 6 March 1959 protesting Subject's entry.

- d. A letter from the Department signed by John W. Hanes dated 13 March 1959, explaining the case to Congressman Celler, who had protested Subject's entry.

4. The file indicates that Subject entered the U.S. from Canada on 10 February 1959.

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The Slovak Case

Every year, in March, in connection with the commemoration of the proclamation of the Slovak Republic, those Czechs, who under the leadership of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, aim at the Czech domination of Slovakia, denounce the fight of the Slovak people for their independence and present the Slovak republic, realized on March 14, 1939, as a Hitler creation. (See "Slovak Separatism," in your March 11 letters column.)

In reality the Slovak case is only the realization of the principles of democracy and liberty. In the past, until 1919, Slovaks never have been under the Czech domination. This happened after World War I without the plebiscite to which the Slovaks were entitled. Therefore it is improper to speak about Slovak separatism; in reality it is a natural resistance of the Slovaks against the Czech rule imposed on them.

If the U. S., British, French or other political personalities and diplomats in dealing with Hitler's government in the interest of their countries did not become Nazis, why is another standard used against Slovaks, who did the same in the interest of their country?

Many intrigues are made against me by the enemies of Slovak independence, because I was and am standing in the first line of this just fight. That's why I am denounced as a war criminal. It is known that I realized the policy of neutrality of Slovakia and I was obliged to resign from all my political functions on July 29, 1940, and the U. S. entered into war in December, 1941.

Thank God, there are other Czechs (e.g., General Prehala and his organization and others) who understand that the Czechoslovakia solution did not work and brought misfortune not only to the Slovaks but to the Czechs, too. We do not work for a pulverization of Europe, but if possible, for a United Europe. If this aim would be opposed,

From Washington Post,
24 March 1959

I think there is no reason for the U. S. to be engaged against the natural rights of the Slovak people. The interest of the U. S. and the Slovaks are the same: Prague is the most reliable satellite for Moscow. The Slovaks are fighting Prague. By helping the Slovaks in their fight, the free world may weaken Prague and increase complications to Moscow in its imperialistic aims.

DR. FERDINAND DURCANSKY
Chairman of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee.
New York

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DISPATCH		CLASSIFICATION SECRET	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO. EGMA 41363
TO INFO	Chief, CLS COS/G EE	HEADQUARTERS FILE NO. 201- Field File X/DURCANSKY, Ferdinand	
FROM	Chief of Base, Munich	DATE 31 March 1959	
SUBJECT	UPSWING/DIZTAG/Operational Trace Reply - Ferdinand DURCANSKY	RE "43-3" - (CHECK "X" ONE)	
		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MARKED FOR INDEXING	
		<input type="checkbox"/> NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
ACTION REQUIRED	See paragraph 6 below	INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY	
REFERENCES			
<p>1. CIC requested traces in their unnumbered memo dated 9 January 1959, IRN 66-4-59 on</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Ferdinand *DURCANSKY (201-) Born 18 December 1906</p> <p>as being of operational interest. In view of the interest that has been expressed in the past on Subject and in view of UPSWING's previous connections with Subject, it was felt that this request should be answered by dispatch so that the trace could be brought to the attention of interested Headquarters' and German Station components.</p> <p>2. In requesting traces of UPSWING on Subject, we asked for the status of their current interest in Subject, for a brief summary of his recent activities, and for any derogatory information. UPSWING supplied the following:</p> <p>a. Subject was born in 1906 and studied in Bratislava, Paris, The Hague and Vienna. He was a lawyer and professor of international law in Bratislava and was very active in Catholic Slovak youth work. Following the establishment of the Slovak Republic in 1939, he became Foreign Minister and Deputy Director of the Slovak Catholic People's party. In 1940-41 he was ousted from all political positions and activities at Hitler's instructions. In 1945 he fled to Rome and from there went to Argentina. Since 1952 he has lived in West Germany. He has actively advocated Slovak independence within a middle-European federation. As leader of the Slovak Freedom Committee he is an outspoken opponent against Communism and a reliable member of Western ideals.</p> <p>b. UPSWING has no derogatory information on Subject. From 1952 to 1958 he acted in an advisory capacity to UPSWING, supplying them with information on Czechoslovakia. He is no longer a special connection and contact with him has been broken. (FYI: Subject was never assigned a V-number).</p> <p>3. Munich Base files contain considerable biographic information on Subject, but little in addition to that supplied by UPSWING in paragraph 2 above. DURCANSKY has at times expressed anti RFE sentiments and has been accused by various refugees as being selfish and ambitious apart from being a proponent of totalitarian ideologies. FYI: EGQW 3781 dated 30 January 1953 quotes an ODENVY report which states Subject is allegedly a close friend of Ante PAVELIC, Croat chieftain, and Father Virgilio FILIPPO, former ecclesiastical aide to President PERON, and other Nazi and Fascist collaborators. He has also been described as a man without scruples, violently anti-semitic and anti-American. (The latter comments are unevaluated).</p> <p>4. At various times Subject has become of interest to MID, G-2, OSI, and A-2 and in each case the agency concerned deferred to UPSWING's prior claim on Subject's services. Since CIC has traced all the services we see no point in detailing the interest expressed by these various services. The Munich Consulate has considerable information on DURCANSKY and CIC should be urged to forward it request for information.</p>			
FORM 53b 10-57 (40)	USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORMS 51-28, 51-28A AND 51-29 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE.	CLASSIFICATION SECRET	PAGE NO. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED 1

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5. You may wish to call CIC's attention to an article which appeared on page 2 of the 17 March 1959 issue of the Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune concerning Subject. The article notes that DURCANSKY arrived in the United States on a visa and spoke at a meeting of the Slovak League of America which was held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York on 16 March 1959. DURCANSKY stated that he is Chairman of the Council of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations which is a group located in Munich.

6. Should CIC desire any additional information on Subject either from us or from UPSWING, it would be appreciated if they would forward us specific questions.

Approved *C*

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PERTINENT INFORMATION			
<p>14.</p> <p>ZZZZZ R28</p> <p>VIENNA, AUSTRIA, OCT. 10-(REUTERS)-CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS DEMANDED THAT AUSTRIA HAND OVER DR. FERDINAND DURCANSKY, A FORMER MEMBER OF THE GERMAN-SPONSORED WARTIME CZECH GOVERNMENT WHO HAS BEEN SENTENCED TO DEATH IN HIS ABSENCE FOR ALLEGED WAR CRIMES, IT WAS ANNOUNCED HERE TODAY.</p> <p>DURCANSKY LEFT VIENNA LAST NIGHT AFTER LECTURING MONDAY ON SLOVAK HISTORY TO A SYMPOSIUM ARRANGED BY THE RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR THE DANUBE AREA. HE ORIGINALLY WAS DUE TO LEAVE LATER TODAY.</p> <p>THE DEMAND FOR HIS EXTRADITION WAS HANDED TO THE AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY BY THE CZECH LEGATION YESTERDAY, A PRESS CONFERENCE WAS TOLD.</p> <p>DURCANSKY, WHO NOW LIVES IN MUNICH, IS CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE "SLOVAK LIBERATION COUNCIL." CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS REPEATEDLY DEMANDED HIS EXTRADITION FROM WEST GERMANY.</p> <p>DURCANSKY WAS MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR AND FOREIGN MINISTER OF SLOVAKIA BETWEEN 1939 AND 1945, AND WAS IN 1946 ALLEGED TO BE PARTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR NAZI CRIMES AND MASS EXTERMINATION MEASURES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.</p> <p>AN AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN SAID IT WOULD TAKE SEVERAL DAYS AT LEAST TO ANSWER THE CZECH NOTE BECAUSE THE CASE HAD TO BE THOROUGHLY EXAMINED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE JUSTICE MINISTRY.</p> <p>CZECH OFFICIALS SAID, IF EXTRADITED, DURCANSKY WOULD BE EXECUTED IMMEDIATELY UNLESS NEW EVIDENCE WAS PRODUCED.</p> <p>GRB 7:27A</p>			
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SI SHEET

AUSTRIA SILENT ON DURCANSKY EXTRADITION

Prague CTK in English to Europe 1602 GMT 10 October 1962--L

(Text) Prague--Czechoslovakia has asked Austrian authorities for the extradition of war criminal Ferdinand Durcansky, who recently was in Austria, lecturing on 8 October at the Forschungsinstitut fuer den Donauraum in Vienna. No answer has yet been received from Austria on this matter. These facts were made known today at a press conference in Vienna, held by the Czechoslovak Embassy.

Although authorities in Austria were warned in advance by the Czechoslovak Embassy of the projected appearance of Durcansky, and requested measures to prevent him from using neutral Austria for his attacks on Czechoslovakia, he was allowed to lecture. The Austrian authorities knew that Durcansky was also a war criminal, whose name is contained on the list of war criminals--Vol. 44, page 19, No. 110--and was condemned to death in absentia for his crimes on 15 April 1947 in Czechoslovakia.

Durcansky was the wartime minister of the interior and foreign affairs in the so-called Slovak state. As one of the leaders of the Hlinka Party, he was among chief supporters of severing Slovakia from the republic, under the jurisdiction of Hitler Germany. He shares responsibility for Nazi crimes and mass murders committed against the Slovak people.

At the press conference, a Czechoslovak Embassy official expressed hope that the Austrian authorities would extradite Durcansky to Czechoslovakia in harmony with the tenets of international law of the Austrian State Treaty of 1955.

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FORM DS-753
12-1-51

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF SECURITY

REQUEST FOR SECURITY INFORMATION

TO: CIN FROM: Visa Security Division DATE: 4/12/67

DO NOT WRITE ABOVE THIS LINE

I NAME (If married use maiden name) Ferdinand DURCANSKY DATE OF BIRTH: December 18, 1906 PLACE OF BIRTH: Rajei, CSSR

ALIASES AND NICKNAMES: --- SEX: Male MARITAL STATUS: --- CITIZENSHIP: Argentine

ADDRESS: Munich OCCUPATION AND NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER: former Foreign Minister of the puppet state of Slovakia

ADDITIONAL IDENTIFICATION DATA: Visit Friends for 4 to 5 weeks
ETD - May 20, 1967

CONTROL: THIS REQUEST PLACED WITH THE OFFICE OF SECURITY BY:

DIVISION OR AGENCY: Visas Security Division REASON FOR REQUEST, OR TYPE OF PROGRAM: Security Case

DATE: April 12, 1967

NAME OR REQUESTING OFFICER: SCA:VO:JWReeves

II RESULTS OF THIS REQUEST FOR SECURITY INFORMATION:

NO RECORD SECURITY INFORMATION ATTACHED
 NO DEROGATORY INFORMATION OTHER (Use reverse side for reporting)

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R 231700Z OCT 68
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5391
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION USUN

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SUBJECT: DEMAND ON US FOR "AR CRIMINAL'S" EXTRADITION

BRIEF CTK REPORT FROM WASHINGTON STATES CSSR EMBASSY
PRESENTED DEMAND TO STATE DEPARTMENT OCTOBER 21 FOR
EXTRADITION OF FERDINAND DURCANSKY "IN CONNECTION WITH
HIS PREPARED SOJOURN IN US." DISPATCH ASSERTS
DURCANSKY RESPONSIBLE FOR CRIMES AGAINST SLOVAK PEOPLE
DURING WORLD WAR TWO AND ON LIST OF WAR CRIMINALS
ISSUED BY UN.
BEAM

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NSC 10, L 03, JUS 02, /093 R

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TO AMEMBASSY PRAGUE PRIORITY.
INFO AMCONSUL MUNICH

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SUBJECT: CZECH EMBASSY COMPLAINT ON DURCANSKY. C

1. CZECH DCM CALLED ON TOON OCTOBER 21 TO EXPRESS CONCERN AT ITEM IN SLOVAK EMIGRE NEWSPAPER REPORTING FERDINAND DURCANSKY WOULD BE IN US ON OCTOBER 26. ZANTOVSKY SAID DURCANSKY WAS FORMER MINISTER OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF PUPPET SLOVAK STATE AND PRINCIPAL AGENT IN DESTRUCTION OF SLOVAK PEOPLE, PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR EXTERMINATION MANY SLOVAK PATRIOTS AND JEWS DURING TENURE AS NAZI PUPPET. DESCRIBED HIM AS QUOTE WAR CRIMINAL IN LIST NO. 44 PAGE 19 SERIAL NO. 110 OF UN WAR CRIMES COMMISSION. UNQUOTE
2. ZANTOVSKY WISHED EXPRESS SURPRISE US GOVERNMENT WOULD PERMIT IDENTIFIED WAR CRIMINAL TRAVEL TO US AND PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AGAINST PRESENT CZECH GOVERNMENT. REQUESTED DURCANSKY BE ARRESTED ON ARRIVAL US AND EXTRADITION TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA BE PROMPTLY ARRANGED.
3. TOON TOLD ZANTOVSKY HE KNEW NOTHING OF ANY PLANS OF DURCANSKY TO VISIT US BUT PROMISED TO LOOK INTO MATTER.
4. AP REPORTS TODAY PRAGUE NEWSPAPERS SAY CZECH EMBASSY

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WASHINGTON HAS ASKED STATE DEPARTMENT TO QUOTE BLOCK PLANS
DURCANSKY SETTLE IN US. UNQUOTE SAYS PRESENT WHEREABOUTS
DURCANSKY NOT GIVEN BUT BELIEVED IN SPAIN SEEKING ADMISSION
TO US.

EXEMPT. RUSK

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