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Anti-communist Activities of the Exile White Legion and its Operation by the State Security in Slovakia

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Abstract. The article is focused on the activities of the White Legion broadcaster station and the establishment of the White Legion Organizations in Slovakia. The key role in these activities was played by the anti-communist protagonists of the White Legion broadcasting station from abroad, but some of the White Legion Organizations were designed also by the Czechoslovakian Secret Police as an act of provocation.

Keywords: The White Legion Organizations in Slovakia; anti-communist activities in Slovakia; The Czechoslovakian Secret Police.

What was the White Legion?

The White Legion constituted one of the longest-enduring manifestations of anti-communist resistance. It operated from Austria and coordinated activities in Slovakia mainly from 1950–1955; however, its influence persisted until the 1960s. It applied unorthodox methods of resistance that emphasized the psychological preparation of people, and thus it threatened the Achilles' heel of the totalitarian regime and eventually turned out to be the most effective tool in the inner disintegration of the regime. The White Legion's broadcaster was the first of its kind; broadcasters Slobodná Európa (Free Europe) and Hlas Ameriky (Voice of America) only started broadcasting one year later.

During the State Security's largest raid against the White Legion from 1951-1952, the state presented the White Legion as a mass paramilitary terrorist organization controlled by its broadcaster abroad. This is documented by the many archived records of the White Legion that contain many photocopies of the legion's organizational procedure, identification cards of its members, application forms with oaths and most important, a huge list of confiscated arms [1].

However, this is at odds with the ambitions of the founders of the White Legion broadcaster, especially their main protagonist Jozef Vicen [2] and his way of presenting it in the directives of the White Legion in December 1949. It is also at odds with the archived records of the broadcasted programs (so-called Bulletin 1 and 2). According to these sources there was no armed or terrorist resistance movement, nor were there radio programs that incited people to resistance. They speak of the White Legion as of some sort of resistance against the communist regime; however, it was an unorganized, uncontrolled and rather passive resistance against the orders of the totalitarian power. The creation of the movement was a reaction to the broadcasted programs that created a spirit of fellowship among the people and the need for mutual help as a means defence of their rights in times of communist terror. A conscious rejection of an organized resistance was explained by the fact that all forms of movements and organizations were sooner or later discovered by the State Security. The foreign broadcaster was supposed to substitute for the missing resistance movements. Its aim was to address people individually and at the same time try to organize their resistance activities.

Many years after the existence of the White Legion, in his lectures and memoirs (*Vo víre rokov/In the Swirl of Years 1938-1988*) Jozef Vicen takes the responsibility for the creation and implementation of the idea of the White Legion, however only in its obvious, less pursuable form, and presents it as only a “defamation of the republic” realized through the White Legion broadcaster. He disavows the establishment of White Legion organizations in Slovakia and explains their creation by saying that they were either provoked or instructed by the Secret Security [3], or they were formed by activists who were not aware of the orders broadcasted by the White Legion radio and thus thought that the White Legion operated in the form of partisan units as they remembered them from wartime. Based on these biased fancies they established groups and called them the White Legion. They did not know the orders and thus they left many traces behind them and were easily discovered by the State Security.

Research has however proved that in the overall concept of the White Legion anti-communist resistance was only of secondary importance. Its primary aim was to develop reporting activity for the benefit of Americans. The White Legion broadcaster was only supposed to be a tool for recruiting people in Slovakia to report activities within the framework of the spy project WACO against Czechoslovakia. The project was led by J. Vicen and J. Mikula [4] who worked for the American news service CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps) [5] from September 1948 until the end of 1949. They were paid in U.S. dollars – they started with 250 USD monthly, which later changed to 350 USD [6].

Vicen thought that what needed to be done was to affect people in Czechoslovakia psychologically and make them think that there existed a wide organization. During his visit to Austria in Autumn 1948, Vicen promised A. Tunega [7], the leader of the reporting agency in Slovakia, that they would launch the White Legion radio broadcast in the spring of 1949. He thought that after psychological preparation, people would be ready to get involved in the program of the White Legion and no other connections with other people would be needed. Each person willing to cooperate would be considered as a member of the organization – provided that they followed the directives of the White Legion. Also, these people were supposed to believe that if needed, the organization would assign them various tasks. After the White Legion had become well-known, the agents of the “project” were supposed to address various people on behalf of the Legion without lengthy explanations of their activities [8].

However, the arrest of Albert Púčik [9] (Vicen’s connection with Slovakia) on January 1, 1949 and on the basis of his testimony as well as the testimonies of 74 other persons foiled all these plans. People involved in the “project” were depressed. The implementation of Vicen’s concept of the White Legion became impossible. Not only did they lack important information that Tunega’s group was supposed to take care of, but the radio broadcaster was not ready to be launched, either. Furthermore, the lack of information threatened the existence of the WACO project and thus the position of Vicen and his co-workers in Vienna.

Examination of the available sources proves that in the atmosphere of intensive efforts to save the “project” and perhaps due to CIC pressure, Mikula’s group acceded to the establishment of the White Legion, however, only in such form as the situation allowed, i.e. without the broadcaster. There were no more plans about an unorganized self-supporting movement; the idea was to form an organized underground movement functioning on a cell principle, something like an organized Slovak Secret Defence. Creation of a new reporting network in Slovakia became the priority of this project, while its participants did not dare to continue where Tunega had finished. According to the testimony of J. Vicen, there were two other attempts to establish the White Legion in Slovakia as a reporting organization.

The first attempt (this was within the framework of the WACO project) was carried out by Ján Minárik, whom Vicen had mentored as a news agent and subsequently sent to Slovakia on August 13, 1949 to establish the organization White Legion – 8 in the village Dvorinky (Sečovce district). Another man, Janko Vrábel (codename: Bosnak) was sent to Eastern Slovakia with a transmitter with the same purpose. At the beginning the results of their work were rather poor and not usable; however, in quite a short time Minárik's White Legion – 8 grew into a large organization with 149 members, according to State Security data. In 1949 Vicen was dismissed from the American reporting services. Officially, the reason for his dismissal was the fact that he lost the Americans' trust due to the unsatisfying results of the WACO project. However, the true reason for his dismissal was the fear that if Vicen remained the leader of the WACO project, it would have been threatened. At the end of November 1949, Czechoslovakian secret services, in cooperation with the Soviets, tried to abduct Vicen to Czechoslovakia. This was supposed to happen during Vicen's meeting with his agent Janko Hurban (who was forced to cooperate with the Secret Service beforehand) in the coffeehouse Harmony in Vienna. However, Hurban had informed Vicen through his friend Štefan Buček about the plan and with the help of the Americans who occupied the coffeehouse, the plan failed. Nevertheless, the Americans understood that they needed to find a new venue of activity for Vicen.

Vicen attempted to establish a reporting organization in Slovakia for the third time in June 1951 when he sent his agent J. Vrábel to Slovakia [10]. This was an activity formally independent of the WACO project carried out by mean of the White Legion broadcaster that the Americans had finally unofficially approved after November 1949. Basically this meant the adoption of the original project of the existence of the White Legion as an assistant program enabling the spread of the WACO project's reporting results. Probably the only difference was that formally, the White Legion broadcaster was supposed to function independently of the WACO project, and thus without the financial support of the Americans. However, due to a lack of money as well as reporting material, this third attempt to establish a reporting organization also turned into a failure, and in July 1951 the broadcasting was stopped [11]. The White Legion broadcaster started its operation in April 1950 and operated under Vicen's management until July 1951. In that time the broadcaster transmitted from Ried in Innreis, Upper Austria. According to Vicen's witness from 1957, during the entire duration of the operation under Vicen's and later Šumichrasta's management until 1955, they only used one transmitter. This was allegedly the transmitter used by O. Čačko called Hlas slobodného demokratického Slovenska /Voice of Free Democratic Slovakia/. In November 1948 the transmitter was confiscated by the CIC; however, Čačko recovered it in the summer of 1949. Before his emigration to the U.S. he gave it to K. Murgaš. In the spring of 1951, Stowaser (a Prague immigrant of German origin) reconstructed it and increased its output from 300 to 500 W.

White Legion: Organizations in Slovakia and their Operation by State Security

Research has shown that the establishment of the White Legion organizations in Slovakia was stimulated by several circumstances, which we can divide into three groups – the protagonists of the White Legion broadcaster, the activities of foreign intelligent services and the growing discrepancy between the citizens and the practices of the totalitarian regime.

First and foremost we have to mention the interest of the main protagonists of the White Legion broadcaster. They initiated the establishment of at least two organizations – the already mentioned White Legion – 8 and the so-called Piešťany White Legion of Ernest Strečanský.

White Legion – 8

After his return from Vienna, Ján Minárik had to begin military service, and he was sent to the border police in the Chebsko region. He delegated the leadership of the White Legion – 8 in Dvorianky (Sečovce district) to Stanislav Hadač. Within a short time he was able to increase the number of the organization's members from 12 to 149 (41 of them took a written oath). They were divided into cells in 26 villages of the districts of Sečovce and Trebišov [12]. In spite of the number of members of this organization, its anti-state activities were of a rather Platonic character. While Minárik was still in Dvorianky, the group started with reporting. Minárik sent several coded letters to Vienna and obtained four messages. In the last message he was ordered to discontinue the activities until the launching of the White Legion radio broadcast. At the same time he was supposed to wait for the new abroad connection. However, neither Minárik nor Hadač were thereafter able to re-establish an abroad connection. In their efforts to re-establish the connection (including their plan to send Minárik to Vienna again illegally) the leaders of the organization started making mistakes that gradually led into the deconspiracy of the whole organization. Hadač took the bait of a man called Michal Miľo from the village Stankovce (Sečovce district), who declared that he had a connection with the leaders of the White Legion in Košice. He ordered Hadač to prepare lists of the members of his organization. Hadač made the list even though he was aware of the fact that this was a suicidal step absolutely at odds with the orders from the White Legion broadcaster. It turned out later that Miľo was lying; however, it was too late.

The documents show that the organization was detected more or less accidentally. J. Minárik made a mistake when he sent a letter from his military service in which he wrote something that the censor found suspicious. Subsequently State Security assigned a decoy agent who was successful in infiltrating the leadership of the organization and subsequently in disclosing the whole group. Could Miľo have been the decoy? We do not know; these are just logical conclusions with no direct evidence. One fact that challenges this theory is that Miľo was found in the list of the members of the White Legion – 8, while his name is not found in the list of agents assigned to uncover and destroy it.

The so-called Piešťany White Legion of Ernest Strečanský

The establishment of this group stems from the initiative of K. Šumichrasta, who became the manager of the White Legion broadcaster in 1951. He sent his agents Strečanský, Tihlárík and Krutý to Slovakia with the aim of creating a reporting group of the White Legion [13]. Little is known about the background of the establishment of the organization. The group was created in April 1952. 50 people were arrested, from which 17 were taken to court and 3 of them got a life sentence.

The establishment of other organizations could also have been stimulated by the activities of agents from different secret services or foreign underground groups who worked on behalf of the White Legion in Slovakia. This alternative is only supported by indirect evidence. While radio broadcasting as well as anti-communist activities were only carried out anonymously and the true protagonists of the White Legion remained unknown, there existed different interpretations of the White Legion activities by different pseudo-representatives who presented the White Legion only by its name as a militant anti-communist organization operating on Slovak territory.

Dr. Vojtech Krajčovič, who lived in the USA, had the largest share in spreading this disinformation [14]. He was known by the fact that he established and led a separatist organization, The Committee for Liberation of Slovakia, in New York, which was some sort of counterpart to the Slovak National Council Abroad. In 1950 Vicen's co-worker in the USA, O. Čačko, asked Krajčovič for some financial means for the activities of the White Legion. Krajčovič misused this appeal and pronounced himself the leader of the Slovak underground movement and the leader of the White Legion. He immediately launched

widespread propagandistic activities by means of press, radio and television, where he presented the White Legion as a partisan association involved in bloody battles with communists. He was so careless about lying that he asked Vican to make a movie about partisan battles in Slovakia, suggesting that they could film the movie in the Austrian mountains. Obviously such propagation of the White Legion could not remain unnoticed by Czechoslovakian intelligence.

A group of emigrants concentrated around F. Ďurčanský had a similarly radical notion of the activities of the White Legion. They liked the concept of battle formations; however, they were jealous of it because they were afraid that someone else would eventually win the battle with the communists, tainting their political prestige. Thus they tried to present themselves in the West as representatives of the White Legion [15]. They also tried to isolate the workers of the White Legion in order to cut them off from their financial means, forcing them to give up the activities, which could subsequently be carried out by Ďurčanský and his supporters. Through agent Mutňanský, Ďurčanský stayed in touch with partisan groups in Slovakia. This was indirectly proved by the fact that the identity cards of White Legion members that were confiscated by the State Security were signed by Ďurčanský [16]. Obviously, there is a hypothetical possibility (though no direct proof) that Ďurčanský might have misused the influence of the White Legion broadcaster for carrying out his own radical concepts of anti-communist resistance. Theoretically this would make sense, given that after his return from Argentina, Ďurčanský planned to intensify activities aiming at the “liberation” of Slovakia from communism. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that Ďurčanský changed the name of his organization from “operational” committee to “liberation” committee.

The share of State Security can also be included in the category of possible causes of the establishment of the White Legion organization. In their efforts to uncover criminal activities “ordered” by the higher authorities and acting on behalf of the White Legion, State Security sometimes provoked selected groups inhabitants to anti-state activities. We want to underline the fact that the methods of provocation were not in contradiction with the allowed practices of the operational work of the secret police [17].

There are four White Legion organizations that may be included in the category of organizations that were discovered by agencies, yet not confirmed as those that were provoked by the State Security – i.e. groups in Šafárikovo, Klenovec, Rimavská Sobota and Lučenec [18]. However, drawing on the State Security materials, it cannot be absolutely denied that they actually existed. While they carried out their activities according to the intentions of the orders from the White Legion broadcaster, they were able to hide their ambitions from the State Security authorities and thus save themselves. Also, it is very probable that there were more such groups and individuals. State Security had a problem in identifying the White Legion groups, given that their anti-state activities were unnoticeable. White Legion thus became an “invisible enemy” and a nightmare for the totalitarian regime, and no other groups were uncovered. When talking about the period when the communist authorities made decisions about everything, it is not difficult to understand why the State Security applied their methods of provocation in the earliest phases of creation of the White Legion organizations, thus attempting to reveal its members. However, because the State Security tried to conceal their share in their creation, as well as due to missing documents from the period, it is now very complicated to reconstruct the historical events.

Another suspicion in connection with the establishment and existence of the White Legion is raised in the case of archived documents from the Vranov district. The State Security records speak of a group called White Legion – 3. This was an illegal White Legion organization that was, according to the State Security, established in March 1951 by Michal Mihok, Jr. in Čaklov and subsequently in other villages of the Vranov district under the

influence of the White Legion foreign radio. The suspicion that the existence of this organization was a case of an anti-state activity provoked by State Security is backed up by several facts. The most questionable issue is the establishment of the organization. Ján Sisák, Jozef Bednár, Michal Mihok, Sr., and Michal Jantek, who were the members of the organization (and imprisoned at the time), testified in front of a Ministry of Interior committee in 1959 that the White Legion in Vranov was established and managed by the State Security office in Prešov [19]. They explained the discrepancy with their former witness from 1952 by saying that they made false statements because they were forced to do so by means of physical violence. Andrej Mihok, one of the examined men, declared that his brother, Michal Mihok, Jr., was forced to plead guilty. As main witnesses against Mihok, the investigators used members of White Legion who were bound to cooperate with them – one of them before the investigation had started (Ján Košár), and the other forced to cooperate during the investigation (Ján Sisák). During the three-month investigation, both of them had to memorize their testimonies.

In 1968, in the time of political “warming”, some affected people from the villages Čaklov, Cabov, Juskova Voľa and Banské wrote a letter to the headquarters of the Communist Party in Prague, in which they declared that the White Legion organization in the Vranov district had been established by the State Security members M. Benček, Dovina and Volčko. These men had allegedly organized secret meetings and provoked citizens to anti-state activities through their assistants. They promised that there would be an upheaval and encouraged people not to enter the co-ops [20]. This version of Mihok’s organization was also confirmed by Captain Ján Mati, who at the time of the White Legion operation worked at the IV. Department of the Regional State Security Administration in Prešov. In his letter to the police department in Prešov written on April 18, 1968, he confirmed that the stimulus for the establishment of Mihok’s organization came from the District State Security Chief in Vranov Jozef Behún and from the chief of the II. Department of the Regional State Security Administration in Prešov, Martin Benček. With the approval of the Regional State Security Administration chief in Prešov, Michal Sadloň, they informed authorities in Prague about their plan. Within the framework of the DUBEN (April) project, Vladimír Matoušek and Captain František Novák came from Prague to take further measures. Sadloň’s deputy Pupala was chosen to be the leader of the provoking action. Pupala and Žilka, who was called from Bratislava, wore English uniforms in order to fool people. Captain Mati further writes that during the operation of the White Legion there occurred a conflict between Matoušek and Sadloň which resulted in Sadloň’s dismissal [21]. Thus Matoušek became the leading figure of the operation in Prague and M. Benček in Prešov.

The new investigation of the White Legion case in the Vranov region lasted until the end of 1969, and it repeatedly implied the possibility of the White Legion’s establishment by the State Security. On January 7, 1969, during the investigation, Jozef Bednár declared that M. Mihok, Jr. had personally informed him about the fact that the organization was administered by the State Security in Prešov, from which he received instructions. V. Hanzel (the key State Security agent of the case) allegedly considered giving a broader testimony if the Ministry of Interior would exempt him from confidentiality [22].

However, there are also some other facts that question the official version. Mihok’s possibilities to act against the state would have been considerably limited if he had not received help from the State Security. From the co-workers evaluation of the White Legion activities we come to know that through its agent Homer (V. Hanzel), the State Security provided Mihok with a typewriter, which he used for rewriting the documents for the archive, for typing threatening letters, anti-state leaflets and newsletters of the White Legion. It is still questionable who enabled the distribution of the leaflets by bicycle. The argument that the State Security infiltrated the organization only after the terrorist

activities and that it was impossible to thwart their efforts is clearly not true. According to the same source, we come to know that agent Homer allegedly informed the controlling body about the fact that the White Legion member Mádej was ordered by Mihok to burn down Jablonský's lodge. This proves that he must have been a member of the organization before June 22, 1951, when the attack took place. Thus his role was not only to infiltrate the leadership of the organization; it was also to provoke anti-state activities. On page 71, in the part evaluating Homer's activities, the report states that the agent threatened Mihok that he would leave the organization and return to the Free Europe and forced Mihok to participate in anti-state activities. The immediate result of this was burning of a haystack in the agricultural co-op in the village Sol' [23].

There is another fact that implies a potential connection between M. Mihok and the State Security in Prešov. On November 25, 1951, M. Mihok and J. Baník from Čaklov had a heated argument. As Baník was leaving, Mihok fired his gun 7 times. The next day Mihok sent his mistress Mária Dzurišová to Prešov to report the shooting and to bring further instructions [24]. Whom was she supposed to inform if not the State Security? (The Community Council did not exist then.) All these facts give rise to a suspicion that the State Security played a double game: one with M. Mihok and the other one with the agents deployed in the White Legion. It needed both sides – the first one in order to initiate the establishment of the organization and thus find people to arrest, and the other one to disclose the existence and functioning of the whole organization.

The last investigation led by Major Michal Mati resulted in the same findings as the preceding one. In November 1969, Michal Mati sent a letter to Captain J. Mati in which he stated that the investigation of the complaints of people from several villages of the Vranov region had not proved his charges. It is interesting to note that Major Mati's report can be found in two copies in the archives – formally these reports are the same; however, their findings are different [25].

Another reason for establishing the White Legion organizations in Slovakia could have been the growing discrepancy between the citizens and the newly formed totalitarian regime. People negatively affected by the regime reacted to it spontaneously (i.e. with no stimuli from the White Legion protagonists nor the State Security) through an organized rebellion in the same form as during the war which was at odds with the instructions from the White Legion broadcaster. Many resistant groups were established; however, State Security identified and eliminated them easily. One of these groups was the White Legion organization in the Brezno district, which was divided into two groups – one working in Čierny Balog and the other one in Hronec. The leader of the one in Hronec was a member of National Security Corps (ZNB) Vydra, and the district leader of the whole organization was Jozef Kováčik (Blachárik).

The documents show that the establishment of this relatively extensive paramilitary organization [26] was the result of tension between the local administration and local inhabitants of the region. The tension first occurred in the post-war years when the then officials of the party and the public administration misused their positions for their personal gain (financial profit) and thus caused the people to distrust them. One historical event that was particularly sensitive was the case when the Local National Council (MNV) in Čierny Balog let the Red Army's front cross their territory and received 4 million crowns for it. The Council was supposed to use the money for awarding the local people for helping the Red Army as well as for the repair of the damage caused by fighting in Čierny Balog. However, the officials only paid a pittance to the people who later asked for an investigation and for holding the officials accountable [27].

Similar circumstances also appeared in the case of Štefan Kovalčík (Šparhet), who held the office of Vice-Director of the Local National Council in Čierny Balog. In 1949 Kovalčík became the Director, and immediately after entering office he started applying

nepotistic policies, especially in distributing contingents. Many inhabitants of Čierny Balog lived in horrible housing conditions, and their houses did not meet health code. When they asked for material to reconstruct their houses, their requests were not taken into consideration, during which time many officials built new houses [28].

Another reason for the negative attitudes of the inhabitants towards the security authorities were two murders. Towards the end of 1949, worker Klement Medveď from Čierny Balog was murdered in Bratislava. This murder was followed by another – Ján Makuš from Čierny Balog, who worked as a driver for the Regional Political School, was killed in Sliač. The cases were never resolved in that period, and some people believed that both men had been killed by the State Security authorities [29]. This situation caused growing resentment towards the Party officials, public administration, and the security bodies. This all created conditions for the creation and existence of anti-state-oriented groups of the White Legion.

The Regional Administration of State Security in Banská Bystrica started operating in Brezno as early as the end of 1950, based on economic and political stimuli. Subsequently it was found out that a huge anti-state White Legion organization was being formed in the region and it was divided into two units. There was an effort to provoke White Legion leaders in Čierny Balog to take part in some anti-state activities. Using a man who presented himself as a representative of a foreign news agency, the State Security officials tried to get the White Legion leaders under their control. However, the whole project resulted in a failure due to the leaders' precise rules on establishing contacts with the district. Thus further infiltration into the organization became rather difficult. There was a danger that the whole group would relocate to mountains. Eventually the State Security officials eliminated the whole White Legion organization on February 18, 1952 under the command of František Starý from the Ministry of National Security [30].

Spontaneous establishment of White Legion organizations is the last reason of their origin. To sum up the findings of our research, the first reason for establishing the organizations were the White Legion protagonists themselves; then it was the White Legion broadcaster that created the ideological and psychological environment needed for the creation of anti-state organizations under the name White Legion. Consequently, at odds with the content of the broadcasting, some other anti-state organizations were created by the White Legion protagonists as well as by other reporting groups, including the State Security representatives. Obviously even those groups that were organized spontaneously had an impact on the White Legion broadcaster. Considering the ambitions of the creators of the White Legion programs, one can suppose that the range of the White Legion members was much wider than the documents identify and than the State Security was able to effect. Generally speaking, all people who somehow tried to foil the activities of the Communists, who threatened basic human and civil rights, could have been associated with the White Legion.

References:

1. In the comprehensive report of Sergeant Vladimír Matoušek (the chief of the State Security investigators) which was published in Prague, Matoušek claims that the members of the White Legion in Slovakia had to take a commitment pledge to the Slovak State, were granted military ranks achieved during the existence of the Slovak State and were promoted to higher ranks. The members of the White Legion had to follow strict discipline, and they could be sentenced to death for disobeying an order. Each group had its own news reporter, operational officer and secret police reporter. Selected members of the White Legion took a 3-14-day course that either took place in a forest or was disguised as a Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement (ROH) training. Archives of the Slovak Republic Ministry of Interior (AMV SR), Nitrianska Streda, f. P 10/3, inventory unit 16.

2. Jozef Vicen was born on December 14, 1921 in Horná Streda. During his university studies in 1943-44 he also graduated from the Higher Leadership School of Hlinka's Youth. In 1943 he became a member of a community organized by Kolakovič called Rodina (Family). During the Slovak National Uprising Vicen co-organized reporting activities against the uprising within the framework of the organization "Hlásky" (Reports), which became the basis for the establishment of the Slovak Secret Defence. Vicen was allegedly the chief of the organization in Slovakia. In May 1946 he emigrated for the second time, and in cooperation with the American Secret services he developed anti-communist resistance until 1957 when he was abducted to Czechoslovakia by security officers. See: Varinský, V. Jozef Vicen a Biela légia [Jozef Vicen and White Legion]. Banská Bystrica: FHV UMB Banská Bystrica, 2003, 124 pg.

3. In connection with this, Vicen mentions the pseudo-broadcaster White Legion as occasionally used after 1952 by the State Security for provoking sabotage activities. However, our research has not proved the existence of the broadcaster. VICEN, J. Vo víre rokov 1938-1988. Bratislava: Lúč, 1999, pg. 205.

4. In the period of the First Slovak Republic Dr. Jozef Mikula served as the president of the Association of University Students. Together with other high representatives of the First Slovak Republic he emigrated to Kremsmünster, Austria in March 1945. He was captured by Americans and transported to Germany. After giving proof that he was not a member of the Slovak army, he was liberated. He returned to Austria where Karol Murín's wife, who worked as an interpreter for the CIC, introduced him to the CIC captain, Paul Lyon. Subsequently he started working for the CIC as an advisor for Central European issues, specifically for Slovakia. In September 1948 he became the formal chief of the WACO project. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-3. Minutes from the testimony of J. Vicen recorded on June 14, 1957.

5. The CIC was a military unit of the American Army; since 1947 it was the apparatus of military occupational administration mainly dealing with pursuing war criminals. The anti-spy activities against the people's republics gradually turned into active spying reaching its peak in 1950. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-3. Minutes from the testimony of J. Vicen recorded on May 30, 1957.

6. Spying against Czechoslovakia was controlled through the system of projects. Between 1948 and 1949, six projects against Czechoslovakia and probably one project against Hungary originated in Austria. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-3.

7. Anton Tunega was born on August 7, 1925 in Dolné Motešice in the Bánovce nad Bebravou district. During the period of the First Slovak Republic he studied at the Technical University. He also graduated from the Higher Leadership School of Hlinka's Youth and was the member of the illegal domestic leadership of the Slovak Secret Defence. Before the coming of the Red Army, he immigrated to Austria; however, he returned with Vicen and others to Slovakia to destroy the archives of the Higher Leadership School of Hlinka's Youth. In 1945 Tunega cooperated with Dr. Š. Chalmovský in the White Guard. After the disclosure of the group he lived illegally under the name Trnka. In 1946 he immigrated to Austria, where he stayed with Joachym Jánoš, who provided a shelter for many immigrants from Slovakia. In 1947 Tunega started working as a news agent for J. Vicen. On January 7, 1949 Tunega was arrested, and on May 21, 1949 he received a life sentence, which was changed to a death sentence in 1951. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-1, inventory unit 159. Evaluation of the archive file No. 29.

8. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-5. Minutes from the testimony of J. Vicen from August 28, 1957.

9. Albert Púčik was born on October 7, 1921 in Dolné Motešice in the Bánovce nad Bebravou district. He was a medical student and he graduated from the Higher Leadership School of Hlinka's Youth in Belušské Slatiny in 1944. After the war he joined the Slovak

Communist Party, and at the same time cooperated with the White Guard of Dr. Š. Chalmovský, and he helped to distribute the magazine *Slovák*. On December 3, 1945, Púčik was arrested and sentenced to 7 months in prison and for 6 months in a labor camp. After his release in November 1947 he left to the American zone to join J. Vicen. From that time until his arrest on January 6, 1949, he worked as Vicen's agent and his liaison with Slovakia. In 1949 Púčik was given a life sentence. In 1951 his punishment was changed, and together with other Vicen co-workers (A. Tunega, E. Tesár, L. Gálik), he was executed. AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inventory unit (inv. un.) 22. Evaluation of the investigation file No. 29.

10. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-3. Minutes of J. Vicen's testimony recorded on June 4, 1957.

11. See: VARINSKÝ, V.: *Jozef Vicen a Biela légia...*, pg. 54-61.

12. AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inv. Un. 16. The following villages were included: Sečovská Polianka, Dvorianky, Bačkov, Zbehnov, Egreš, Lastovce, Vojčice, Čerhov, Zemplínske Hradište, Slanec, Sečovce, Dargov, Čakanovce, Tušická Nová Ves, Cabov, Košice, Trebišov, Veľký and Malý Ruskov, Veľký Kazimír, Slivník, Čelovce, Michalany, Plechotice, Nižný Žipov, Stanča.

13. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-1, inv. un. I-159. Amendment to the file of Alexander Tihlárík, see also: AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-5. Minutes of Vicen's testimony recorded on September 2, 1957.

14. Dr. Krajčovič was one of the emigrants who subordinated underground activities to their personal ambitions. During the existence of the First Slovak Republic he was one of the directors of the Slovak State Bank. Towards the end of war he escaped by a rented car to Croatia, where he was arrested by Germans and taken to a concentration camp in Germany. This improved his "political image" in Americans' eyes and enabled him to emigrate during 1946-47 to America. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-5. Minutes of Vicen's testimony recorded on September 2, 1957.

15. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-6. Report on the political activities of the Slovak emigration, pg. 65. In 1951, Vicen learned from Whitehead that F. Ďurčanský declared in his request addressed to American authorities in Germany that he was the leader of White Legion and that he was the only one making decisions about White Legion activities in Czechoslovakia.

16. AMV SR Nitrianska Streda, f. P 10/3, inv. un. 16. Comprehensive Report on the Organization and Activities of the Slovak Illegal organization White Legion.

17. PEŠEK, J. *Štátna bezpečnosť na Slovensku 1948-1953* [State Security in Slovakia between 1948-1953]. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1999, pg. 58.

18. See: VARINSKÝ, V. *Jozef Vicen a Biela légia...*, pg. 76.

19. AMV SR in Levoča, f. A, inv. un. 808. Inspection of Czechoslovakian Ministry of Interior in Prague.

20. AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3. Anonymous warning about the establishment of the White Legion organization in the Vranov district.

21. According to the letter that Sadloň sent the chief of the Regional Administration in Martin in 1968, the conflict was allegedly caused by the fact that on the meeting of the chiefs of regional committees of State Security in Prague in May 1952, Sadloň attacked Minister of Interior K. Bacílek. He had accused the Ministry of bad politics and their distrust of Slovak authorities. He also attacked the methods of Czech authorities, who he thought were primarily interested in their career and honour. Subsequently Sadloň was arrested and taken to Ružyň by Matoušek. /AMV SR in Levoča, f. 10/3, inv. un. 7./ Sadloň's arrest can be also explained from a different perspective. In the process of operation of the White Legion in Čierny Balog, the investigation proved that Sadloň, as former chief of Regional Administration of State Security in Banská Bystrica, was

suspected of murdering a driver from the Regional Political School who came from Čierny Balog.

22. AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inv. un. 7. Informative record written down with J. Bednár on January 7, 1969.

23. In 1969 Ján Sisák testified that originally Hanzel ordered him, J. Mitrišin and J. Guzy from the village Banské to set the haystack on fire. Sisák refused to do this, and he learned later that Mitrišin and Kolár obeyed the order. AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inv. un. 7. Informative record written down with J. Sisák on January 16, 1969.

24. AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inv. un. 8. Evaluation of the activities of the people involved in the case of the White Legion. M. Dzurišová was the wife of Mikuláš Dzuriš, a member of White Legion. After Dzuriš found out about the relationship of Mihok and his wife, he came to the District Office of the police in Humenné on November 26, 1951 and became their co-worker under the codename Karol. His wife became an official co-worker later, on December 11, 1951 and she was directed by Šimko.

25. AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inv. un. 7. In the report sent to the Headquarters of the Communist Party, it is stated on page 431 that “the investigation had not proved” that the State Security had established and provoked the White Legion. In the same volume there is another report that states on page 482 that “the investigation proved” that the State Security established and provoked the activities of the White Legion.

26. During the investigation of people involved in the case, weapons, bullets and one broken transmitter were found. The investigation also revealed that 80 people were registered White Legion members and another 28 people knew about its existence. 39 military rifles, 30 guns, 5 machine rifles, 1 machine gun, 8 civilian rifles, 80 fuses of various kinds, 4 mines, 1 bomb, 2 compasses, 8 bayonets, 23 bags of mine powder and 1597 pieces of various bullets were found in the process of the dissolution of the organization. AMV SR in Levoča, f. A 2/1, inv. un. 50.

27. The District Council of the Communist Party in Brezno and the security authorities started the investigation; however, the case was never resolved. Local National Council leader Štulajter was also arrested during the process; however, he was released after the intervention of a member of the National Party, Gotier. In spite of the local citizens' distrust, Štulajter was installed into the function of Director of the State Forests in the Zlaté Moravce district. AMV SR in Levoča, f. A 2/1, inv. un. 50.

28. An example of this is Gotier, a member of the National Party, who sold his house in Kokava and built a new house in Brezno. According to the information of the Political Secretariat of the Headquarters of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, the house was worth 1 million Slovak crowns. Another example of the misuse of financial means is Róbert Štulajter, who was given building material for a new house in Brezno. AMV SR in Levoča, f. A 2/1, inv. un. 50.

29. In a secret report about the elimination of the anti-state White Legion organization in Čierny Balog and its surroundings from October 17, 1952 written for the needs of the Political Secretariat of the Headquarters of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party it is stated that “the driver of the Regional Political School in Banská Bystrica who came from Čierny Balog and was a good a loyal member of the Party was killed by the then regional State Security chief Sadloň.” This was what the people had actually known about. AMV SR in Levoča, f. A 2/1, inv. un. 50.

30. AMV SR in Levoča, f. b. 10/12, inv. un. 7.

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**Антикоммунистическая деятельность Белого легиона
и операции государственной безопасности Словакии**

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Аннотация. В статье рассматривается деятельность радиостанции Белый Легион и создание организаций Белого Легиона в Словакии. Главную долю в этом имели антикоммунистические деятели радиостанции Белый Легион из-за границы, но некоторые организации Белого Легиона закладывались чехословацкой Государственной Безопасностью как акт провокации.

Ключевые слова: организации Белого Легиона в Словакии; антикоммунистическая деятельность в Словакии; чехословацкая Государственная Безопасность.