VIENNA, BRATISLAVA,

AND THE QUESTION OF AUSTRIAN-SLOVAK RELATIONS



Crucial Milestones, Key Figures, and Historical Background

ZUZANA VAN DUIN POLÁČKOVÁ

ibidem

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A Foreword by Slavomír Michálek

The author is a historian and political scientist who has been researching Austrian-Slovak relations for over twenty years. In this context, she primarily analyzes minority issues, migration, and knowledge transfer between political actors, with an emphasis on social democracy and its impact on the nature and quality of these relations. Her latest publication synthesizes her previous research in this field.

The readers of this book will probably ask themselves what is actually meant by the question of Austrian-Slovak relations. Slovakia became an independent nation only in 1993, which means that these relations in terms of relations between sovereign states are as old as one third of a century. But of course the thing is that relations between people from Austria and people from the historical region of Slovakia are much older, in fact as old as many centuries. This was in particular the case on the social and economic level, with Slovak itinerant traders and agricultural labourers moving to Vienna and the province of Lower Austria, and Austrian mineworkers and mining engineers going to mining areas in central and eastern Slovakia. These socio-economically induced movements and migrations could be temporarily or seasonally, or they might have a more permanent character. Especially by the late nineteenth century the migration of working-class Slovaks to Vienna and surroundings became a massive phenomenon, even though a similar mass migratory movement to Budapest was even larger.

Slovaks who went to Vienna were in part people who intended to stay there for a limited period of time. But a growing proportion of them went there to stay for good. The jobs they could find, however modest they may have been, were

often better or better-paid then the jobs back home. In Vienna they also were familiarised with social resistance techniques, trade union struggles and the organised social democratic movement. Interestingly, in this social and political context the Vienna Slovaks came into contact again with their brothers in Pressburg/Bratislava. Not only the German social democrats in both Vienna and Pressburg, but also the Slovak social democrats and their Czech supporters were key subjects in this international movement. Thus, Austrian-Slovak relations were also happening on the level of the relationship between two cities.

In 1918 the foundation of the Czechoslovak State created yet another context for Austrian-Slovak relations. Although Slovakia was not a separate state yet, the status of the Slovak people and their homeland was enhanced in various ways. Some of them even went back to Slovakia in the expectation that there would be new golden opportunities for them. But many stayed behind in Austria and played a role in the social and political developments in the new Austrian democratic republic. Again, social democracy but also political Catholicism were the major political movements until the early 1930. The establishment of an authoritarian regime in Austria in 1934 caused many German-Austrian and other (Czech and Slovak) social democrats living in Austria to flee to democratic Czechoslovakia. The struggle for democracy became a cause that all of them subscribed to, and strengthened their mutual relations. The critical years 1938-39 were even more significant. The disappearance of the Czechoslovak State, the rise of a clerical fascist state in Slovakia, and the incorporation of Austria into Nazi-Germany also had a great impact on the lives of ordinary Slovaks and Austrians. It is hard to say whether these experiences had a negative or a positive effect

on the willingness of Austrian Slovaks, Czechs and others to assimilate to the Austro-German nation.

Needless to say that the coming of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia after World War II meant the imposition of yet another set of circumstances around Austrian-Slovak relations. These relations were bye and large cut off, and only the year of liberalisation 1968 followed by Soviet occupation had suddenly intensified them again. But at the end of the day both the Slovaks, the Czechs, the Austrians and other Central Europeans had to wait until 1989 for normal mutual relations to be restored. Some say this is already a reality, others stress that a lot of work remains to be done.

Dr. Slavomír Michálek
The Head of the Institute of History

Preface

After the fall of the Iron Curtain and the opening of the borders, we began visiting Vienna, which suddenly changed from an inaccessible metropolis into a neighboring city we could once again visit after many years: to attend cultural events, admire historical monuments, and experience the atmosphere of Vienna's boulevards and the bustle of the city, freely and without hindrance. New opportunities also opened up to study the shared history of the two Danubian cities. Although borders between Austria and Czechoslovakia emerged after the collapse of the monarchy, the ties between them—the "bridges across the Danube"—continued to endure. Their forms remain a subject of scholarly interest in the social sciences and history.

My interest in Austrian history began while I was still a university student, in engaging seminars on Nazism, fascism, and interwar European history led by Associate Professor Herta Tkadlečková. Only after 1989 was I able to devote myself fully to scholarly research on relations between Austria and Czechoslovakia, and between Vienna and Bratislava, with an emphasis on the twentieth century. It became clear that migration, rooted in shared cultural values in the broadest sense, would define the next stage in the development of these relations. Several experts from academic institutions at home and abroad supported my research. I would like to sincerely thank the Historical Commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, its members and staff, Professor Grete Walter-Klingenstein, Professor Horst Haselsteiner, Professor Arnold Suppan, and above all Dr. Hans Peter Hye, for facilitating my research in libraries and archives in Vienna and for the valuable advice they provided. My thanks for advice and assistance in writing also go to the Institute of Political

Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and its director, Dr. Miroslav Pekník; to colleagues from the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Dr. Ladislav Deák and Dr. Valerián Bystrický; to Professor Ivan Laluha; to colleagues from Slovakia and abroad, including Dr. Pieter C. van Duin from the Netherlands; and, last but not least, to my family and friends.

Minorities and Migration: Two Pillars of Slovak Austrian Relations

This publication briefly outlines the key milestones and main actors in Slovak–Austrian relations during the twentieth century. The nature and forms of these relations were largely determined by international political developments. Important milestones included the end of World War I, the emergence of successor states, and the creation of a new political order in Central Europe. Another decisive turning point was World War II and the emergence of a bipolar Europe. Slovak–Austrian relations were also shaped by the events of 1968 and the normalization period of the 1970s, as well as by contacts between dissidents in Czechoslovakia and Austrian political representatives. The transformation of the former socialist states beginning in 1989 marked a new stage in the development of these relations. From a foreign policy perspective, 1993 was an especially important turning point, as Slovak–Austrian relations took the form of bilateral relations between two independent states for the first time in history.

In this monograph, I have also attempted to address briefly the various stages and forms of Slovak–Austrian relations, which were shaped by shifts in power and by the emergence of new political systems in Europe. Because Slovakia did not have a state of its own until 1993 (except for the Slovak State from 1939 to 1945), and because the aim of this publication is to outline Slovak–Austrian relations in the twentieth century, diplomatic history and foreign policy between the two states could not be its main focus. Before 1918, these were relations between Vienna and Pressburg within Austria-Hungary; after 1918, they were relations between Austria

and Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, they provide the broader context and the necessary historical and logical framework for these relations. Similarly, the period from 1938 to 1945 is an atypical chapter in the history of both the Slovak Republic and Ostmark as parts of the Third Reich, and differs significantly from the original topic. These were authoritarian and totalitarian systems, and the subjects of my research—social democracy and minority organizations—ceased to exist. The continuity of relations was evidently interrupted and began to develop again, in a modified form, only after World War II.

The publication draws primarily on original archival research, printed materials (newspapers, leaflets, posters), and memoirs. I focus on three fundamental research questions: minority issues and relations between the Czech and Slovak minorities in Vienna and Bratislava (individuals and organizations); relations between social democracy in Austria and Czechoslovakia; and the formation of identities in relation to democracy and the level of civil society in both states.

* * *

To understand the shared foundations of Slovak–Austrian relations, we must consider the social and political trends that shaped Austrian and Slovak society after World War I. The first common element—the starting point that brought the two nations closer from the beginning—lay in the cultural and social dimensions. It was shaped by shared cultural values rooted in the religiosity of both nations, similarities in political culture, and a value system marked by feudal relics and the bureaucratization of society within the geopolitical space of Central Europe. These factors became decisive for the dynamics of development, the degree of democratic maturity, and the gradual overcoming of obstacles to civil society—or,

conversely, for the lag in civil society in both nations when compared with advanced Western democracies.

Although Austrian society, because of its distinct development—particularly after it regained independence in 1955—is a considerably more mature model of democracy, it has continued to struggle with obstacles to the consolidation of a mature civil society. The roots of these difficulties can often be traced back to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, to the contradictions of the First Republic's political system, or to the Ostmark, established as part of the Third Reich after the Anschluss of Austria in 1938.

Closely linked to the effort to build stable democracies in both Austria and Slovakia is another shared dimension in the history of the two nations: the difficult process, after 1918, of consolidating and defining their own identities and states. Following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the emergence of successor states, Austria lost its dominant position in the region after losing the war and had to cope with major losses of population and territory. For many Austrians, the vision of the Anschluss functioned as a kind of counterweight to the "unjust" postwar order. It hindered the consolidation of Austrian identity and national consciousness, destabilized the political scene, and helped create the crisis that culminated in civil war in 1934 and interrupted democratic development. Austrian national consciousness was consolidated during the occupation by the four powers from 1945 to 1955. The main cause was the population's disappointment with coexistence with the Germans in the Third Reich; in this sense, the "new" Austria understood itself, and sought to reestablish itself, as the antithesis of the Austria of the Anschluss.

The polarization of society—a legacy of interwar Austria and its civil war—was to be overcome through the

cooperation of all political parties in building a new Austria: a society based on broad consensus. Social science scholarship, particularly Austrian historiography and political science, also "contributed" to this general reconciliation by failing to address certain problematic issues related to key periods of Austrian history and the formation of identity and democracy. Only recently have both disciplines begun to reevaluate their positions and analyze issues they had previously avoided. This has created the conditions in Austrian society for the consolidation of a genuine consensus, whose democratic character defines Austrian identity.[1]

Conversely, the establishment of democratic Czechoslovakia created favorable conditions for the development of Slovak national identity. Yet the state-political doctrine of a unified Czech and Slovak nation remained in conflict, throughout the brief existence of the First Czechoslovak Republic, with efforts to assert the distinctiveness of the Slovak nation—a conflict that could not be resolved.[2] The fact remains, however, that democratic Czechoslovakia, as a common state of Czechs and Slovaks, also represents a positive

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1 Pelinka, Anton. *Zur österreichischen Identität: Zwischen deutscher Vereinigung und Mitteleuropa* (On Austrian Identity: Between German Unification and Central Europe). Vienna, 1990. Pelinka, Anton, with Hubert Sickinger and Karin Stögner. *Kreisky-Haider: Bruchlinien österreichischer Identitäten* (Kreisky-Haider: Fault Lines of Austrian Identities). Vienna: Braumüller, 2008.

2 Ferenčuhová, Bohumila, and Natália Krajčovičová. "Vznik Československa a začlenenie Slovenska do nového štátu" (The Formation of Czechoslovakia and the Integration of Slovakia into the New State). In Bohumila Ferenčuhová et al., Slovensko v 20. storočí (Slovakia in the Twentieth Century), vol. 3, V medzivojnovom Československu 1918–1939 (In Interwar Czechoslovakia, 1918–1939), 17–58. Bratislava: Veda, Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences / Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2012. Bystrický, Valerián, Dušan Kováč, Jan Pešek, Ľudovít Hallon, Roman Holec, Ivan Kamenec, Miroslav Londák, Tibor Pichler, Milan Podrimavský, Michal Schvarc, Stanislav Sikora, Dušan Škvarna, Milan Zemko, and Jozef Žatkuliak. Kľúčové problémy moderných slovenských dejín 1848–1992 (Key Issues in Modern Slovak History, 1848–1992). 1st ed. Bratislava: Veda, Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences / Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2012.

tradition of parliamentary democracy and political pluralism for Slovaks. Debate over the nature of the authoritarian Slovak state—whose existence depended on the whims of Nazi Germany, and whose legislation and constitutional officials condoned racial discrimination and the genocide of their own citizens—still divides Slovak society. Attitudes toward, and differing assessments of, the Slovak Republic from 1939 to 1945 therefore remain a problematic legacy for the further development of Slovak identity.

The manner in which the Slovak Republic came into being on January 1, 1993, also polarized Slovak society to a certain extent. This polarization, which has manifested itself in political practice as a continual reshaping of the political scene, persists to this day. It obstructs the consistent establishment of democratic institutions in society and does little to improve Slovakia's image abroad.

The year 1989 marked a major turning point in the history of Austrian–Slovak relations after World War II. Until then, Slovakia and Austria had belonged to two different parts of a bipolar Europe. The enthusiasm that prevailed on both sides of the border in 1989 soon faded, however, and mutual stereotypes—exacerbated by long years of isolation and ignorance about "the other"—became part of everyday life. From a foreign policy perspective, Austria began to develop bilateral relations with the Slovak Republic, as well as with other post-socialist states, more intensively only after joining the EU in 1995. EU accession had been a top priority of Austrian foreign policy since the late 1980s, but it was also a key prerequisite for further developing relations with neighboring states. Austrian foreign policy had already formulated its vision for the EU's potential future expansion in the early 1990s. Its authors argued that Austrian foreign policy had maintained continuity for decades and that Austria's

geopolitical position in Central Europe, historically conditioned relations, and cultural affinity with neighboring states undergoing transformation were key factors. In relation to Slovakia, this primarily meant economic cooperation: after 1989, Austria alternated between first and second place among foreign investors in Slovakia. Significant successes were also achieved in scholarly and cultural cooperation, and Slovak–Austrian relations in the first decade of the twenty-first century were not marked by significant political fluctuations or misunderstandings.[3]

The markedly asymmetrical model of Slovak–Austrian relations, in which Austria played the dominant role, began to change slowly, and Slovakia began to earn the respect of its Austrian neighbor.

[3] Although Austria's reservations regarding nuclear power plants in Slovakia remained at the forefront of Slovak–Austrian relations during the 1990s and early 2000s, neither the entry of the right-wing populist and neo-nationalist FPÖ (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, Freedom Party of Austria) into the Austrian government formed after the 1999 elections nor Jörg Haider's assumption of the chancellorship provoked a negative or critical response in Slovakia; the Slovak Republic did not impose sanctions, as most European states did.

Historians on Czech–Slovak–Austrian Relations

Twentieth-century Austrian historiography and Czechoslovak – or, more precisely, Slovak – historiography devoted only sporadic attention to Slovak–Austrian and Austrian–Slovak relations. The same is true of other social sciences, including political science, sociology, ethnography, and anthropology. Since 1989, however, individual studies published in Austria and Slovakia have examined in considerable detail certain social and foreign-policy issues of importance for Central Europe, together with related questions in Slovak–Austrian relations.[4] The leading Slovak historian Valerián Bystrický also addresses Slovak–Austrian relations in the context of collective security and domestic political

[4] A selection of scholarly works devoted to the aforementioned milestones in Slovak–Austrian relations: Pekník, Miroslav, et al. *Milan Hodža: Statesman and Politician.* Bratislava: Veda, 2002. Siptak, Ivan. "Is History a Fate? Relations and Mental Maps between Austria and Slovakia in Connection with EU Enlargement." Central European Science Review 2, no. 6 (Winter 2001): 151–158. Matzner-Holzer, Gabriele. *Im Kreuz Europas: Die unbekannte Slowakei*. Vienna, 2001. Heiss, Gernot, Kateřina Králová, Jiří Pešek, and Oliver Rathkolb, eds. Lukáč, Pavol, Ivo Samson, and Alexander Duleba. "The Visegrad Initiative, Regional Initiatives, and the Slovak Republic's Relations with Neighboring Countries (Visegrader Initiative, regionale Initiativen und die Beziehungen der SR mit den Nachbarländern)." In Slovakia 2000, 367–392. Bratislava, 2000. Bárta, Vít, and Sándor Richter. "The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union from a Western and Eastern Perspective." In Europe 1996: Consequences of EU Eastern Enlargement, 23–47. Vienna, 1995. Poláčková, Zuzana. "The Arrival of Austrian Refugees in the First Czechoslovak Republic in 1934 (Die Ankunft der Flüchtlinge aus Österreich in die I. ČSR im Jahre 1934)." *Historický časopis* 40, no. 5 (1993): 585–598. Suppan, Arnold. *The Austrian Ethnic Groups: Trends in Their Social Development in the Twentieth Century.* Munich, 1983. Valeš, Vlasta. "The Czechoslovak Refugees." In Gernot Heiss and Oliver Rathkolb, eds., Asylland wider Willen, 172–181. Vienna: Boltzmann Institute, 1995. Zöllner, Erich, ed. *Diplomacy and Foreign Policy of Austria.* Vienna, 1977. Gehler, Michael. Austria's Foreign Policy of the Second Republic: From the Allied Occupation to the Europe of the Twenty-First Century. Vol. 1. Innsbruck, Vienna, and Bolzano: Studien Verlag, 2009.

developments in Slovakia, or rather in Czechoslovakia. He has written numerous well-researched scholarly works on the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany, the Anschluss, neutrality and security policy in Central Europe, and the role of political figures in this process in Austria and Czechoslovakia.[5] Another prominent Slovak historian, Dušan Kováč, focuses on the relationship between Czechoslovakia and Austria in the Central European region; he has published several articles and two monographs on this topic: *From the Dual Alliance to the Politics of the Anschluss* and *Germany and the German Minority in Slovakia (1871–1945)*. The outstanding military historian Marián Hronský addressed the formation of Czechoslovakia's borders after World War I, in connection with military operations, in his book on Trianon.[6] In 2008, a collection of papers from the conference "Österreich-Slowakei moderne Kreuzungen einer historischen Nachbarschaft" (Austria-Slovakia: Modern Intersections of a Historical Neighborhood) was published under the title *Slowakei und Österreich im 20. Jahrhundert* (Slovakia and Austria in the

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5 Bystrický, Valerián, and Ladislav Deák. Europe at the Turning Point: Diplomatic and Political Relations in 1932–1933. Bratislava: Pravda, 1974.
Bystrický, Valerián. "Constitutional Ideas in Slovakia in the Second Half of the 1930s: From Munich to the Breakup of Czechoslovakia." In Milan Zemko and Valerián Bystrický, eds., Slovakia in Czechoslovakia (1918–1939), 165–179, 199–241. Bratislava: Veda SAV, 2004.
Bystrický, Valerián. "Foreign Policy Concepts of Political Parties in Slovakia in the Late 1930s." Historical Journal 48, no. 2 (2000): 257–281.
Bystrický, Valerián. "Nazi Germany and the Establishment of the Slovak State." Military History 5, no. 2 (2001): 41–61. Bystrický, Valerián. "La Tchécoslovaquie et l'annexion de l'Autriche." In F. Kreissler, ed., Anschluss: une affaire européenne, 167–173. Rouen, 1991. Bystrický, Valerián. "Milan Hodža and Czechoslovak Relations in the Late 1930s." In Miroslav Pekník, ed., Milan Hodža: Statesman and Politician, 2nd rev. and expanded ed., 142–148. Bratislava: Veda, 1994. Bystrický, Valerián. "The Diplomatic and Military Prerequisites for the Defense of Czechoslovakia against Nazi Aggression." In J. K. Hoensch and Dušan Kováč, eds., The Failure of Understanding: Czechs, Germans, and Slovaks in the First Republic, 1918–1938, 135–147. Essen: Klartext, 1994.

6 Hronský, Marián. Trianon: The Formation of Slovakia's Borders and Its Security Issues (1918–1920). Bratislava: VEDA, 2011.

Twentieth Century).[7] Although the volume omits several important milestones in the history of both states, it offers new and interesting perspectives on Slovak–Austrian sociopolitical relations in the twentieth century, particularly on cooperation between church and cultural figures and institutions. The most recent publication, by Czech historian Ota Konrád, Unbalanced Relations: Czechoslovakia and Austria, 1918–1933, examines the causes of the monarchy's collapse, the emergence of the independent states of Czechoslovakia and Austria, bilateral diplomatic relations, and relations between individual political leaders in the Central European context.[8]

One important milestone in the development of bilateral relations between Austria and Czechoslovakia was the emergence of successor states after World War I. Closely connected with this were the difficult questions of new borders, peace-conference negotiations, and the allocation of citizenship necessary for exercising and enforcing minority rights in Czechoslovakia and Austria after 1918, the two successor states that emerged on the territory of the former Austria-Hungary. Both states signed peace treaties containing minority clauses. In this context, my research and analysis also address terminological and conceptual questions: the meaning of nation, nationality, assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, citizenship, and civil society, and their role in the process of social modernization in the geopolitical space of Central Europe after 1918.[9]

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7 Publication: *Slowakei und Österreich im 20. Jahrhundert (Slovakia and Austria in the Twentieth Century).* New perspectives on Slovak–Austrian social relations in the twentieth century, particularly from the perspective of mutual cooperation between church and cultural figures and institutions. *Slowakei und Österreich im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine Nachbarschaft* in *Historisch-literarischer Perspektive.* Edited by Emilia Hrabovec and Beáta Katrebová Blehová. *Vienna:* LIT Verlag, 2008.

8 Konrád, Ota. *Unbalanced Relations: Czechoslovakia and Austria, 1918–1933.* Prague: MUA AV ČR, 2012.

9 Scheuermann, Martin. *Minority Protection versus Conflict Prevention? The League of Nations' Minority Policy in the 1920s.* Marburg: Verlag-Herder Institut, 2000;

During my research, another important issue and milestone in the overall concept of Slovak–Austrian relations in the twentieth century emerged: the granting of asylum to leading representatives of Austrian social democracy and intellectual elites in Bratislava and Brno following the outbreak of the civil war in Austria in February 1934. The granting of asylum to refugees from Austria in the second half of the 1930s and, conversely, to refugees from Czechoslovakia after 1968 represents two important milestones in the development of democratic traditions in Slovak–Austrian and Austrian–Slovak relations. This publication does not cover Slovak–Austrian and Austrian–Slovak relations during the existence of the Slovak State and the Ostmark following the Anschluss of Austria by the Third Reich in 1938. I address this issue only marginally, in the context of the status of the Slovak and Czech minorities in Austria and later in the analysis of neutrality and Austrian identity.[10]

Fink, Carole. *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1918–1938.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Broklová, Eva. "The Swiss Model for Czechoslovakia at the Paris Peace Conference." *Český časopis historický* 92 (1994): 259–260; text of the Czechoslovak memorandum to the League of Nations, Protection of Minorities, excerpt from the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Austria (signed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on September 10, 1919); Heer, Friedrich. *Der Kampf um die österreichische Identität*. Vienna, 1981, 321–370; Veiter, Theodor. *Ethnic Groups and Linguistic Minorities in Austria.* Vienna, 1970; Pfeifer, Heinrich. *The Rights of National Minorities in Austria. Munich, 1960;* Poláčková, Zuzana. "Austrian State Identity: Some Notes on the Formation of Austrian Identity in the Twentieth Century." In Juraj Marušiak and Michaela Ferencová, eds., *Theoretical Approaches to Identities and Their Practical Applications*, 136–151. Bratislava: VEDA SAV, 2005; Poláčková, Zuzana. "The Status of Minorities in Austria and the League of Nations." In *Study Materials of the Department for Research on Key Issues of the Period 1945–1969/1970: On the Problems of Minorities,* 20–32. Prague: USD, 2000; Poláčková, Zuzana. "Historical Background of Slovak–Austrian Relations." Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs 2, no. 1: 107–121.

10 The Austrian historian David Schriffl, in collaboration with Slovak historians, has examined this period in detail. Schriffl, David. *Österreichisch-slowakische Beziehungen* 1945 *bis* 1968*: Tote Grenze oder lebendige Nachbarschaft?* PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2009; Schriffl, David. *Die Rolle Wiens im Prozess der Staatswerdung der Slowakei* 1938/39. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Series 3: History

Because scholarly literature on these key milestones in Slovak–Austrian relations is scarce, it was necessary to conduct basic archival research in relevant archives in the former Czechoslovakia and in Austria. Important materials were found in the former archives of the Federal Assembly in Prague, in the collections of the Chamber of Deputies, the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Constitutional Committee, and the Budget Committee. These fonds made it possible to reconstruct the positions of political parties and individual political representatives on several questions. These included the arrival of left-wing political refugees from Austria; the legal conditions of their asylum in Czechoslovakia and their modification under new international political conditions; the discussion of material support for these refugees; and the possible consequences for the domestic political situation and foreign-policy position of the Czechoslovak Republic. A significant body of important information is also located in the Moravian Land Archives in Brno, which served as the center of the exile representation for Austrian socialist emigration. On the basis of these primary sources, I have gathered facts on the establishment of the foreign office in exile (Auslandsbüro der österreichischen Sozialisten) and on its activities both in Czechoslovakia and within the illegal socialist movement in Austria and Europe.[11] This material is also valuable for research into relations between Czechoslovak and Austrian left-wing parties during the period under

and Its Auxiliary Sciences 1001. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Brussels, New York, Oxford, and Vienna, 2004; Schvarc, Michal, Martin Holák, and David Schriffl, eds. "The Third Reich" and the Formation of the Slovak State*:* Documents I/Das "Dritte Reich" und die Entstehung des Slowakischen Staates*: Dokumente* I. Bratislava: Institute of National Memory, 2008; Schvarc, Michal, and David Schriffl, eds. "The Third Reich" and the Emergence of the Slovak State*:* Documents II/Das "Dritte Reich" und die Entstehung des Slowakischen Staates*: Dokumente* II. Bratislava: Institute of National Memory, 2010.

[11] I supplemented the European dimension with research in the archives of the IISG (Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis) in Amsterdam.

study. It also provides information on the social status of Austrian emigrants, their daily life in assembly camps, and the organization of transports to the USSR.

I obtained valuable materials at the Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, DÖW) in Vienna, in the Exil (ČSR [Czechoslovak Republic]) and Korrespondenz collections. The sources held there provide information on contacts between the exile leadership of the Austrian emigration and the illegal left-wing movement in Austria, as well as on the preparation of joint conferences in Czechoslovakia, in Brno and Bratislava, which significantly influenced the further development and orientation of the illegal movement in Austria. The Korrespondenz collection contains letters the from Foreign Bureau of Austrian Social Democrats (ALÖS) leaders to representatives of the underground workers' movement in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other countries of asylum, including Switzerland, Sweden, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and others.

The fonds of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Ministry of the Interior at the State Central Archives in Prague contain essential materials on the positions of Czechoslovak authorities regarding financial matters related to Austrian political emigration. These sources are supplemented by materials from the Police Directorate fond at the Slovak National Archives (SNA) in Bratislava, as well as by materials from the Vienna Representative Office and the Vienna Representative Office Administration fonds at the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, which contain documents on Czechoslovak–Austrian relations and on political developments in Austria and Vienna.

The information obtained from these primary sources, coupled with its analysis and classification, was an important prerequisite for incorporating new facts into the existing understanding of the issue discussed above, especially Austro-Czechoslovak relations in the 1920s and 1930s. A more comprehensive interpretation, however, also required attention to the position and role of social democracy on the Austrian political scene in the years 1918–1934, and thus to the causes of political emigration.

Another set of questions concerns asylum conditions in Czechoslovakia, a necessary precondition for the activities of the leadership of the Austrian left-wing emigration in exile there. Equally important is the relationship between this Austrian exile representation and the illegal left-wing movement in Austria.

The interaction and synergy among these factors shaped the structure of the chapters devoted to minorities, migration between the two states, and bilateral relations before and after 1989. The chapters are organized thematically, and it was not always possible to adhere strictly to a chronological sequence of events. The diversity of approaches to the key issues in Slovak–Austrian relations—including minorities and migration between the two states in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1960s—as well as the disparity in asylum conditions across individual countries, also complicated the coherence of the narrative. It was necessary to focus on questions concerning the status and activities of Austrian socialist political emigration in Czechoslovakia, which have not yet been addressed in greater detail or with greater comprehensiveness. A fundamental work on the history of interwar Austria is the collective volume by a team of authors led by Heinrich Benedikt, *Geschichte der Republik Österreich.* For constitutional developments, and for understanding the causes of the outbreak of