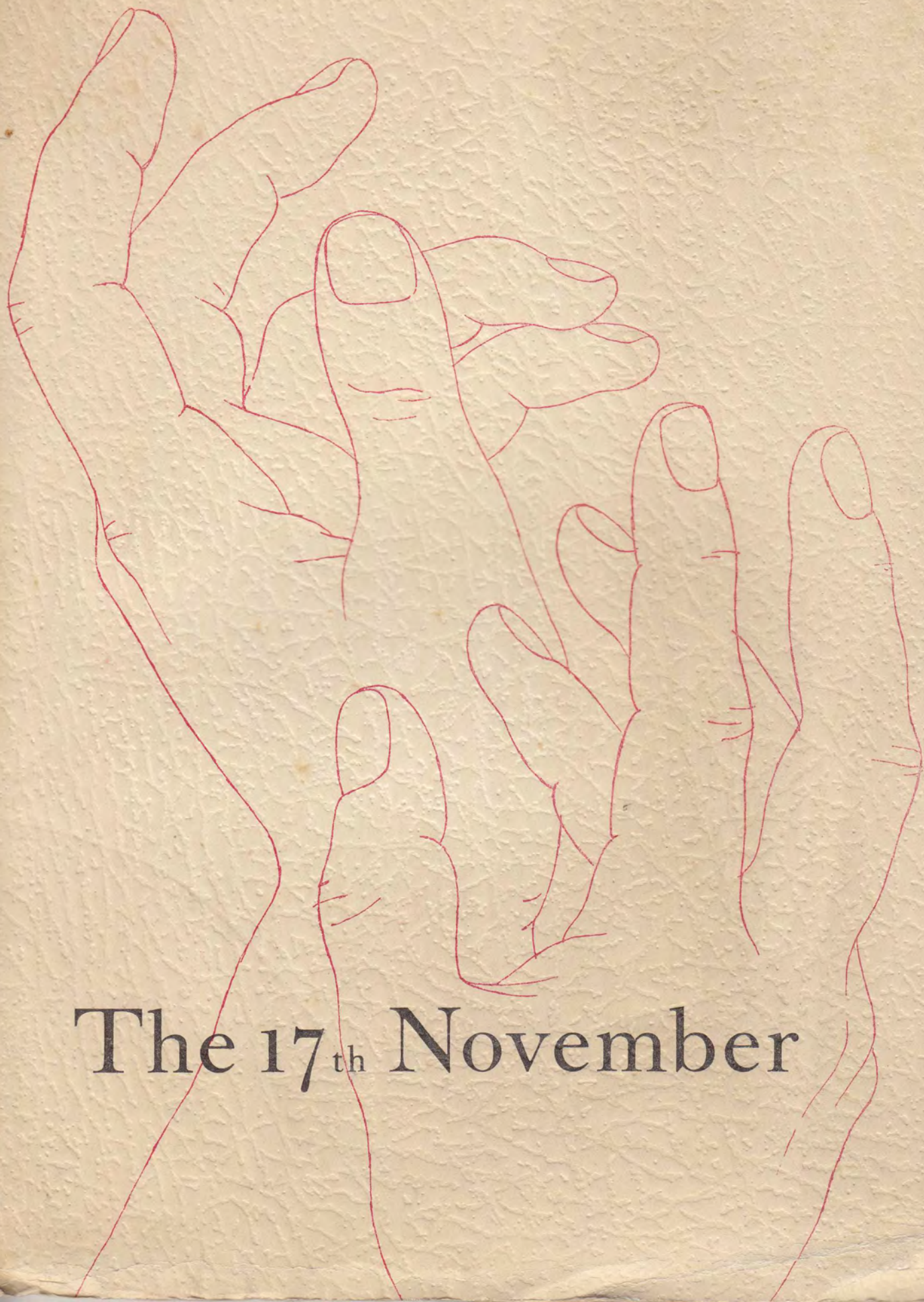




The 17th November

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The Resistance of Czechoslovak Students

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Published by the Central Union of Czechoslovak Students in Prague

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There are few days in the whole year so memorable as November 17th 1939. A memorable day, but to all contemporaries one full of horror because of the atrocities committed on that day by our oppressors, atrocities committed chiefly against those who were to be the nation's foremost bearers of spiritual values and who were destined to defend the richness of our moral heritage, in the first place with spiritual weapons, a heritage that the Germans were endeavouring to root out of our hearts and to erase from our souls. Yet this day with all its horror, which at that moment swept the nation, was to become almost august.

Innocent victims among the Czechoslovak students quickened the pulse of the suffocating nation; on that day, as if by manifesto, the bearing of our oppressors proclaimed over the whole world anew their program of inhumanity, inhumanity such as up to that time the world could hardly have imagined even in the corners least civilised.

Nevertheless, this very world immediately grasped what this massacre of the Prague students meant.

Indeed for us abroad it was the first clear and forthright sign of resistance to Nazism, a sign unmistakable enough to leave no doubts, an expression of the young generation and of our student-youth, that gave proof that our student-youth is entitled to be held not only the flower of youth but the flower of the whole nation.

And so at home the student-victims of the 17th November 1939 linked and welded with their blood the whole Czech people in the closest bond, in the determination of their brave resistance against all Nazism and so

against all things morally and spiritually corrupting, undermining and destroying human dignity. The same was true abroad. The whole world realised and knew that not only was the Czech nation being crushed under tremendous political oppression, but that the Czech nation and, above all, its youth, its student-youth, which would one day represent the nation in international affairs and influence them, whose weight would count in their direction and control, was resisting, resisting with dignity, heroism and valour.

So, grounded in these realities, the memorable 17th of November 1939 became symbolically International Students' Day.

Perhaps so far we have not really had the chance, in the hurried rush of the first months following the Revolution, fully to realise the scope and international significance of this reality. The first International Students' Congress will recall its importance to us. Not only by the recollection of certain details but by the presence of delegates from so many nations. How deep is its significance for our state and nation! Indeed, the recognition of the 17th November 1939 as International Students' Day is at the same time a recognition of all duties, binding the whole world to the Czechoslovak nation in this Great War. So even the student-victims contributed in great measure towards international recognition of our rights and claims.

At the same time, it is an obligation for us towards home and abroad. We must not swerve in the slightest from our dignified, valorous, heroic and above all highly moral stand, which gained us so much respect abroad, nor must we forget the obligation, that our student-youth, remaining the ideal of the people, nation, state, will faithfully have to fulfil.

DR EDWARD BENEŠ,

President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

THE CAROLINE UNIVERSITY AND CZECH SCIENCE IN REVOLT

Hardly any university of the world is placed on such a lively crossroad of the political world as the Caroline University in Prague. Her fate was often influenced by the political changes of our country. The exposed position of our nation, the only one of the Slav countries that has kept its original place on the west of the other Slav countries, was the reason of the suffering of Czech culture together with the whole nation, and why it suffered mainly from the Germans. However, the sufferings of these last six years 1939 to 1945 exceeded all other calamities in her history.

Cultural tension between the two different nations living next to each other would have been a welcome element in the development of science, but our science could gain little from the neighbourhood of the Germans, for the tension between the two nations was a political one. This is mostly true of the second half of the last century and of the present century. Our German University became more and more the exponent of the "Greater German" policy and the science of the Czecho-Moravian Germans was all the time more and more oriented towards German science. Czech science became disliked, and in spite of hard efforts on the Czech side made by Czech scientists as well as the Czechoslovak Government, the relations between the Caroline University and the German Prague University grew worse. They were restricted to several contacts in technical matters and most of the German professors were not even interested in those.

In 1927 I, as a professor of the Masaryk University in Brno, was sent to invite the German University in Prague to participate in the "Exhibition of Contemporary culture" which was held in 1928 among the celebrations of the first 10 years of the Republic. The way in which I was received made me doubt if it was at all possible to collaborate with

our Germans in science. The small part of our German scientific institutions present at the Exhibition, confirmed my doubts. Even then our German colleagues in Prague felt very much "greater-German".

The German University in Prague together with its sister the Prague German Technical High School remained a foreign body in the cultured organism of the Czechoslovak Republic and finally they openly showed their true colours, changing over to Hitlerism with a quick rebirth which was not much trouble to the German culture in Czechoslovakia.

If it is true that culture should unite nations and that it is one of the humanising elements of mankind, then the culture of the German minority in our country was an exception. It not only prevented a friendship between Czechs and Germans in a state that offered far more possibilities to the German minority and their culture than any minority was offered in other states, but became unfaithful to its state, an enemy that lent itself to treachery. It should be admitted, there were a few decent people to be found among the German professors who tried to live with the Czech culture on friendly terms, but unfortunately there were very few of them, not enough to convince the others of Masaryk's ideal: the united work of different nationalities in Czechoslovakia.

The differences between the Czech and German science, between the Caroline University and the German University in Prague reached their peak when, after the year 1933, Nazism started to penetrate to the German intelligentsia in Czechoslovakia. While the German University followed Hitler, and the German professors propagated racism, antislavism and antisemitism, the Czech professors and doctors in Prague and Brno armed themselves against this poison and in 1934 the Czech Academy published a book "The Equality of European Races" edited by professor Dr Karel Weigner.

In this book, published on the advice of T. G. Masaryk, the Czech culture calmly refused the racial questions in a dignified and critical way. Detailed accounts from this book were published in several magazines (among them in German ones) through the care of Czech scientists. And while the German scientists showed such great enthusiasm for Hitler's fascism, the Czech professors together with other workers for culture,

formed a group around the committee "We Shall Remain Faithful" which from 1937 protected the democratic principle by its active political work.

Several chapters of this book were written by Doctors Arthur Brožek, Jiří Horák, Karel Chotek, Jiří Malý, Jindřich Matiegka, L. Niederle, Hynek Pelc, Vlad. Růžička and Karel Weigner. During the occupation Professor Pelc was executed, Professor Horák imprisoned, Professor Malý interrogated. The others, with exception of Professor Chotek, did not survive the occupation. The family of Dr Weigner suffered very much from German persecution. During this time there was also founded "The Society for Scientific Research into the Racial Question", the leaders of which were Dr Weigner, Dr Bohumil Němec and the author. The society was a centre in the fight against racism. Only two Germans were not afraid to become members and to attend the meetings. (Professor Dr Armin Tschermak, physiologist, and the genetical professor F. Mainx, who disagreed with the German University in the year 1939.) Mr. Vančura, the head of this society, priest of the Czechoslovak Church, was imprisoned in concentration camps for the whole length of the war.

This Committee was originally started in aid of the democracy in Spain. The manifest of "We Shall Remain Faithful" reached over a million signatures in the whole republic. Out of the leaders of this society was Dr Josef Fischer of the Caroline University executed by the Nazis, the vice-president Dr Pešek was tortured in German prisons and concentration camps and died from enfeeblement soon after his return home. The chairman was the author of this article. As far as I remember some of the members were University professors, among them Dr Slavík, Rector of the Caroline University, mineralogist, and Professor Španiel of the Academy of Arts. They were both imprisoned and the wife of Dr Slavík was tortured to death by the Nazis. The real persecution of Czech science started with the agreement of Munich.

Even before the abdication of President Beneš and Munich the Prague state police, under orders from the Minister of Home Affairs, started to persecute Czech scientists who were active in progressive politics. The government of Beran wanted to get some of the professors and doctors

out of the way and to that purpose they asked for the signature of Dr Hácha on a special decree in which university autonomy was practically abolished and also the undischageability of university professors. The professor of the Lusatian Serb language and literature, Josef Páta received orders to leave his special branch and teach Bulgarian instead. In the "National Unity Party", a racial commission was formed which tried to force the Czech scientists to incline towards Germany, but without success.

Amongst the Czech doctors of anthropology, biology and anatomy, not one was to be found who was ready to defend the German race theory. When later on, after the German occupation, a similar commission was established in Hácha's party "National Liability", the leading of it had to be taken over by the professor of veterinary psychology Dr Teyrovský from Brno.

But all that was only a prelude. The real thing began after the invasion of German troops into the Republic on the 15th of March 1939. Behind the troops came the Gestapo which immediately made itself at home and started to work. I don't know if Czech scientists were already being persecuted then, but there began a secret censorship of letters and listening in to telephone calls. Under Nazi protection "The Flag" and "The Aryan Fight" spread their growing terror. In this atmosphere lectures began to lose their live contact with political happenings and lecturers had to be very careful not to give any reason for persecution.

The mood of such days is characterized by these happenings: as I lectured about the action of the large labile molecules of albumin in the life course and gave as an example the radioactive large atoms, saying that they were too large and therefore weak, from which I drew the conclusion that each whole after reaching its optimal size becomes labile, the listeners showed that they understood what I was trying to say. At a popular lecture I mentioned the action of a minimal quantity of hormones and said that biology teaches us not to look at the size; the reaction of the listeners was dangerously lively. The visitors to lectures at this time needed such hints for their own inner strength.

On the day of the outbreak of war with Poland, the 1st of September 1939, arrests were started according to the lists of names that had been

got ready by the German 5th column. The preparation of these arrests was the work of Heydrich, as Himmler later admitted in his speech at Heydrich's funeral.

Amongst the arrested were a few professors besides other well known persons from our social centre. In three or four days at least a thousand people were arrested in the whole Republic. The Pankrác prison was overfilled. After remaining there a week they were all, with the exception of a few old and ill people, taken away to concentration camps, mostly to Dachau and later to Buchenwald. Fortunately many Czech scientists managed to get out of the country before the outbreak of war. Most of them went through France and Holland, others through Poland and Yugoslavia. They nearly all took part in our fight abroad, grouped round President Dr Beneš and his Government. Their families were very severely persecuted and if there were no other grave suspicions against them they were interned in the camp of Svabotořice.

On the 28th of October 1939, street fights broke out in Prague. On that day and the one before, there stood on St. Wenceslas' Square and elsewhere people who sold badges, medals of Masaryk and tricolours, that were naturally in great demand and quickly sold. In this there could be seen a certain trick of the Gestapo. Amongst the crowds that went to demonstrate on the 28th of October, there were armed agents who provoked the people. The medical student Jan Opletal hiding unarmed in a passage was shot in the stomach by a German agent. Despite the desperate work of the doctors he died in the hospital. His funeral was on the 15th of November and a large number of students were present. The funeral procession went very quietly and piously along Albert Square and was led by the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine Dr Hájek. On the corner they sang hymns, also the Slovak national anthem—and after that order could not be maintained any more. The tension was broken and the students showed openly the sincerity of their souls and hearts. In the Voršil Street a car was overturned that was supposed to have been Frank's. He actually did ride along the streets and controlled the demonstrations.

The next day was quiet; it was the last day of our lectures. On the

17th of November all our colleges were suddenly occupied; some quietly, others with several shots, especially the Masaryk College, where the students defended themselves. The buildings of the Czech Technical High School in Dejvice were occupied early in the morning, the building on Charles Square, which was empty, was "captured" by a troop of armed soldiers hiding in a nearby park. The University buildings in Albertov and surroundings and the whole University Quarters on the east side of Albertov were occupied. In the Purkyně Institute, professors, assistants and appointees who lived there, were driven out in their underclothes together with their families early in the morning and made to wait in the entrance-hall guarded by SS-men with fixed bayonets, while a thorough search was made through the building. Other Institutes were handled in a similar way. In each building there was a guard with a strong number of SS-men and nobody was allowed to enter or to leave. At the same time large numbers of students in colleges or private dwellings were arrested. Along the streets and around the University drove police cars collecting all crowds debating in the streets.. Those arrested were taken into the barracks of the SS in Ruzyň, where nine leaders of the students were executed, one of them being the professor of history Dr Matoušek.

The upheavals and anxieties resulting from all this were greater than words can express. One heard of more executions of professors, some also from Brno, but those were all rumours. What really happened was enough to make us realise that the scientific word and University studies were to finish in Bohemia and Moravia. Some believed that the Universities would remain closed only for a few months, a term or a year, but not for three years as was officially announced. The unheard-of intervention awoke some hope and there was talk about possible diplomatic help from Russia or America. Others prophecied that the Universities would not even be opened in three years' time if the war would last longer—and that Frank wanted to destroy them altogether. It was proved in his speech in 1942 that they were right.

The closing of institutions was executed—but was not complete. We received information from the faithful proprietors living in the institu-

tions about the work of the soldiers in our laboratories—some smaller articles were smuggled through as well as some dangerous correspondence. The Protector Neurath published a notice which stated that although the schools were closed which meant no more teaching, the German Government did not mean to stop scientific work. Therefore some institutions that would serve the public interest, institutions, working for German armament and other auxiliary institutions were to be opened. This notice avoke great hope, but not for long. Frank saw to that. Institutions for doctors of law and pathological anatomy were opened, but only for public work. Clinics were allowed to function, but only as departments of hospitals. Scientific work was not allowed and the German manager of the General hospital in Prague looked to it, not in the most pleasant way, that professors did not try to do any scientific work. They were tracked down to their private homes so that they should not be able to have any relationship with the students. Every attempt at scientific work was looked upon as sabotage against the Germans.

The professor of zoology at the Caroline University Dr Štorkán was arrested because he took part in a scientific excursion outside Prague with two listeners, one of them being a relative of his. He was let out again, but executed at the next possible occasion for other reasons. In the year 1942 the "Institute of National Biology" was established, in which members of the closed Biological institution of the University were organized in aid of scientific work and with the support of the Ministry of Health. This institution was closed by the Gestapo in June, members were interrogated and their money (a quarter of a million crowns) and other property confiscated.

The equipment of the closed institutions was left to waste for a time—except for smaller things that were stolen by the soldiers at the beginning, especially photographic-apparatus. Later on an order was issued that the German institutions and clinics should borrow from the Czech ones articles which were unobtainable in the open market. Expeditions of German professors and doctors visited Czech scientific institutions and ordered the help of Czech professors. They took all valuable articles under a so called "lend-lease". Everything was done in a strictly business

manner. Everything signed. Not long afterwards, however, the institutions were occupied by German professors. The great change-over took place, libraries and faculties were interchanged and all the arrangements changed. The Germans made themselves quite at home at the Caroline University without the slightest hesitation or trouble. The books suffered mostly by the change, for the idea of all that was to destroy them. Here Frank, as a former bookseller, showed great skill in destroying books in the quickest and best way. The removals were done in furniture-lorries and books were thrown about in baskets. They were put on piles without any order or good handling. Collections of models, pictures and apparatus were handled in the same way. Fortunately, all institutions did not meet with the same fate.

The professors, doctors, and assistants were at first left to themselves. Later the professors were put into pensions, others became clerks in various offices. The scientific life was to stop altogether. But that did not happen. At the beginning some sort of compensation was made for University lectures in evening classes but it was only an attempt to avoid the regulations and it did not last long. The real scientific work was cut down to the practical branches, especially medicine, and the Magazine of the Czech doctors was one of the few where some part of Czech medical knowledge was kept alive. Other scientific branches were worse off, but in spite of everything they did not altogether cease to function. The experimental branches suffered the worst fate as it was not possible to work without laboratory equipment. The clerical branch was not so badly off in that the literature in the University and other libraries was allowed to them. The libraries were treated quite well. Especially the Prague University Library was left almost intact. The Germans counted on remaining permanently in Prague and kept the library for themselves. For fear of the air-raids they took away a number of books to be stored, so that thousands of volumes were found in Karlštejn, Havlíčkův Brod etc. The University library was opened after several months and even Czech scientists were allowed to visit it. In the reading room for the professors and doctors they daily met members of several faculties and naturally the whispered discussions that were held, were not about science

but politics and the resistance. We were informed by the assistants that there was a secret service of the Gestapo in the building.

The great loss of the Caroline University was the removal of historic and symbolical objects,—some of the ensigns of the University disappeared never to be found. The gold in them was what tempted the Germans. The Rector's book was also lost with the signatures of all Rectors since ancient times, one of them being the signature of Jan Hus or that of the founders. The greatest loss of all was the loss of lives of professors and doctors of the Caroline University.

Here is a complete list of Czech scholars who were executed and tortured to death by the Germans in the years 1939 to 1945:

THE CAROLINE UNIVERSITY:

Faculty of Arts:

1. Dr Josef Páta, Professor of Lusatian Serb Language and Literature (executed)
2. Dr Josef Fischer, Private Lecturer in Sociology (executed)
3. Dr Arnošt Kraus, Professor of the history of German literature (died in Terezín)
4. Dr Josef Matoušek, Private-Lecturer in History (executed on November 17th, 1939)
5. Dr Bedřich Mendl, Professor of Economy (committed suicide to save his family)
6. Dr Kamil Krofta, Professor of History, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic (after his return from Terezín died from the reaction of his sufferings)

Faculty of Medicine:

1. Dr Hynek Pelc, Professor of Social Medicine (executed)
2. Dr Vladimír Bergauer, Private Lecturer in General Biology (gassed with his wife in the gas-chambers at Mauthausen)
3. Dr Alexander Gjurič, Private Lecturer in Internal Medicine (executed)
4. Dr Jan Levit, Lecturer in Surgery (executed)
5. Dr Jan Jesenský, Private Lecturer in Dentistry (executed)
6. Dr Jiří Franta, Private Lecturer in Ophthalmology (died in a concentration camp, his wife executed)
7. Dr Vladimír Tůma, Private Lecturer in Histology (beaten to death in the Pankrác Prison)
8. Dr Leo Tausig, Professor of Psychiatry (executed)
9. Dr Emil Zikmund, Professor of Gynaecology (killed in an air-raid)
10. Dr Miloš Nedvěď, Assistant-Lecturer (died in the Terezín Camp)
11. Dr. František Procházka, Assistant-Lecturer (died in Terezín)
12. Dr Vladimír Vacek, Assistant-Lecturer (executed)
13. Dr Bohuslav Došlík, Assistant-Lecturer (died from infection in Terezín)

Faculty of Science:

1. Dr František Závíška, Professor of Theoretical Physics (died on his way from the concentration camp)
2. Dr Václav Dolejšek, Professor of Physical Chemistry (died in Terezín)
3. Dr Jan Auerhan, Professor of Statistics (executed)
4. Dr František Ulrich, Professor of Crystallography (mortally wounded while being arrested)
5. Dr Jaroslav Štorkán, Professor of Zoology (executed)
6. Dr Radim Nováček, Private Lecturer in Mineralogy (executed)

Altogether the Caroline University lost as the result of German occupation 25 scholars, 13 of them professors and 8 lecturers. The medical faculty was the worst off, whereas the theological and law faculties lived through the dreadful times without any loss in executed or tortured members. But even professors and lecturers of these faculties were imprisoned and put into concentration camps.

The losses directly caused by the Germans at other Institutes are these:

Czech Technical Institute in Prague:

1. Dr Ing. Viktor Felber, Professor of Mechanics (executed)
2. Dr Jaromír Šámal, Professor of Zoology (executed)
3. Dr Ing. Leopold Šrámek, Professor of General Electrical Technology (executed)
4. Dr Jindřich Svoboda, Professor of Spherical Astronomy (died from the strains of imprisonment)
5. Ing. Otakar Runa, Assistant-Lecturer in Technical Mechanics (executed)
6. Ing. Oldřich Mirtes, Assistant-Lecturer in Technical Mechanics (died in Auschwitz)
7. Ing. Karel Kašík, Assistant-Lecturer of the Institute of Hydraulics (executed)

THE MASARYK UNIVERSITY (BRNO):

Faculty of Law:

1. Dr Bohumil Baxa, Professor of the History of the Bohemian Law (executed)
2. Dr Jan Vážný, Professor of the Roman Law (died in a concentration camp)

Faculty of Arts:

1. Dr Vladimír Groh, Professor of Ancient History (executed)
2. Dr Jan Uher, Professor of Education (executed)
3. Dr Vladimír Helfert, Professor of Music (died from infection in Terezín)
4. Dr Josef Tvrdý, Professor of Philosophy (executed at Mauthausen)
5. Dr Stanislav Sahánek, Private-Lecturer in Germanic Philology (died in a concentration camp)
6. Dr Bedřich Václavěk, Private-Lecturer in Czech Literature (died in a concentration camp)

Faculty of Medicine:

1. Dr Karel Horák, Professor of Anatomy (executed)
2. Dr Jan Florian, Professor of Histology and Biology (executed)
3. Dr Miroslav Křivý, Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry (died in prison)

Faculty of Science:

1. Dr Vojtěch Rosický, Professor of Mineralogy (executed)
2. Dr František Koláček, Professor of Geography (executed)
3. Dr Antonín Šimek, Professor of Physical Chemistry (executed)
4. Dr František Schacherl, Private-Lecturer (died in a concentration camp)

The Beneš Technical Institute (Brno):

1. Ing. Adolf Zobač, Assistant-Lecturer (executed)
2. Dr Josef Sahánek, Professor of Technical Physics (died in a concentration camp)
3. Ing. Dr Vladimír Němec, Private-Lecturer in Chemistry
4. Ing. V. Beneš, Private-Lecturer
5. Dr Bohuslav Hruďka, Private-Lecturer
6. Dr Jaroslav Mrkos, Assistant-Lecturer
7. Ing. Jaroslav Potoček, Assistant-Lecturer
8. Dr Bohumil Kladio, Professor of Geodetics (died from the strains of persecution)
9. Dr Bedřich Pospíšil, Assistant-Lecturer (died from the strains of persecution)

The Veterinary Institute (Brno):

1. Dr Tomáš Vacek, Professor of Physiology (executed)
2. Dr Jan Bečka, Professor of Chemistry (executed)

The Agricultural Institute (Brno):

1. František Wenzel, Private Lecturer
2. Ing. Blahoslav Čermák, Commissioner for the Scientific Institutes (executed)
3. Dr August Bayer, Professor (died in Mauthausen)
4. Dr Vladimír Krist, Assistant-Lecturer (died in a concentration camp)

Altogether 100 members of Czech universities lost their lives through the Nazis. Out of them 90 were professors and 10 lecturers.

The reasons for which the Czech scholars were executed, tortured or imprisoned were mostly "high treason" or "assistance to the enemy". What was meant by these words was the sending of home-news to our government abroad, the underground organisations at home, help given to the victims of Nazi terror, making preparations for national committees in the new Republic. (Dr V. Maule, the head of a section of the Ministry of Schools died in Terezín for helping in laying foundations of high school life for the new Czechoslovak Republic.) But when some professors were preparing for the opening of the high schools, agreement with the killing of Heydrich was reason enough to be sentenced to death. To be a Czech professor or doctor was a good reason for the worst

verdict—of course without the law. Even the slightest unproved suspicion was dangerous.

Whereas in lower categories of scientific works quite a number survived the period they spent in prison, it was a terrible risk to the lives of the arrested professors and doctors from higher categories. Out of 15 professors and doctors of the Faculty of Medicine in Prague who were arrested only 6 remained alive. The losses of high schools were also increased by the loss of several professors, who could not be replaced at that time. By all that the number of scientific personnel on high schools in Czechoslovakia was decreased.

For instance of 32 proper professors of the Faculty of Medicine of the Caroline University only 17 remained at the time of the opening in May 1945. The result achieved by the Germans in their short time of power over the Caroline University and other schools of university rank was the great number of Czech scientists sacrificed and the attempt to destroy Czech culture. (The list of professors and doctors of Czech universities who survived their imprisonment: Prague: Faculty of Theology: Kadlec, Beran, Mereš; Faculty of Arts: Horák, Čadík, Hutter, Stloukal, Vacková, Galla, Vočadlo, Heidenreich, Krejčí, Václav Černý, Z. Vysoký; Faculty of Medicine: Bělehrádek, Charvát, Haškovec, Hněvkovský; Faculty of Science: Krajina, Slavík, Bydžovský; Faculty of Law: Matějka, Drachovský, Krčmář, Wenig, Tomsa, Bušek, Peška; Brno: Čáda, Neumann, Bouček, Podlaha, Frejka, Schacherl, Kladivo, Vejnovský, Král, Bláha.)

We cannot explain the high numbers of victims. They are not to be compared with any other class of our nation. This is in agreement with the plan of Adolf Hitler put down in "Mein Kampf".

The victims of the Nazis named above do not fully show the real picture of the participation in the resistance movement of our high schools. Many other Czech scientists took part in the resistance in one way or another, many in such a clever way (as for instance Professor Albert Pražák or Professor František Kadeřávek) that the Gestapo was not able to find out anything about them. Many members of Czech high schools took part in the work abroad, around the President of the Republic Dr Edward Beneš, and they have returned home with the army in which there are also two university professors.

The incomplete list of our Czech scientists active in the fight abroad: President of the Republic Dr Edward Beneš, Professor of the Faculty of Arts of the Caroline University; Minister of Schools Dr Zdeněk Nejedlý, Professor of Faculty of Arts of the Caroline University; Minister of Health Dr J. Procházka, Doctor of the Faculty of Law of the Masaryk University; other

scientists from Prague: Professor Josef Skládál, Dr V. Krůta, Dr J. Brumlík, all from the Faculty of Medicine, Professor Jan Kazda, Dr Štěpán Osuský, Professor Dr Odložilík, all from the Faculty of Arts. From Brno: Professor J. L. Fischer, Faculty of Arts; Professor Jan Kabelík, Faculty of Medicine.

The sacrifice of our small nation and its culture written in the history of the last 6 years would have had no sense if it was not also a lasting emphasized expression to the world, with God's help a better and more righteous world than the one that was not able to avoid fascism and nazism.

Although we are one of the smallest nations, we have one of the most ancient universities in the world. If we have not yet achieved the highest standard of culture up to the point which we should have owing to the endeavour and work of our national ability—than the guilt lies in our geographical position, our neighbourhood with the nation that for centuries has been starting trouble in Europe, has made us be on the constant look-out, wasting so our reproductive national energy. Is the new world that does not only want to be the world of the strong but also of the righteous, going to take care that we shall forever get rid of this weight that ties the wings of our national spirit?

*Professor Dr Jan Bělehrádek,
Rector of the Caroline University.*

STUDENTS AT THE BARRICADES.

The barricade—it is an expression full of revolutionary and romantic touch. In the nineteenth century especially it became a well-known and highly popular idea and during the revolutions in France, Poland, Italy, Germany and Bohemia the revolutionaries fought behind barricades against the regular armies. The student fellows of J. V. Frič in particular excelled as fighters at the barricades in 1848. For a long time their faces were radiant with the glory of revolution. They continued their revolutionary activities in Slovakia and contributed most actively to the uprising in Prague in 1848 at the Slav Congress, and being enthusiastic from the speeches, the students hurried to free the Slovaks from the Magyar yoke. They put into reality the idea spread in the forties by Palacký, Šafařík and Kollár, namely, that it was necessary to take Slovakia from the Hungarian Monarchy and join her with the Czech Crown, a new land of our Crown—and establish thus a West-Slavonic, a Bohemian dynasty.

Later on, student fighters like those of the barricades, appear again but on a more modest scale. It was only temporary that barricades were used in the fights against the police or the militia while Bohemia was a part of Austria and this during times stirred by important events or decisions. Thus in the nineties or during the campaign for universal suffrage in 1906, the students rose demonstrating in defence of our rights. When they were being dispersed by the police or militia they took to primitive barricades. That is why the spirit of the barricade remained in our minds, ready to be revived in times of emergency.

Little did we guess, on May 5th, 1945, that this spirit would break through right at the beginning of our uprising against the Germans when we decided to chase them out of the country by ourselves, before the Allied battlefront pushed deep into Bohemia. It was the

night from Saturday to Sunday, May 5—6, when the Czech Revolutionary National Council received the news that the Germans were concentrating their troupes against Prague and that Fieldmarshal Schörner intended to fight in our sector against the Russians to the last man. It became clear to us that he meant to lock himself into Prague as into a fortress, and resist from here obstinately as long as possible—as long as Prague was not destroyed and we not slaughtered. The Czech Revolutionary National Council was fully aware of all these facts when meeting at Žižkov Freight Station and therefore the sudden order was given in that night from Saturday to Sunday to build barricades and that these barricades should aid the resistance against the prepared onslaught of the Germans.

Obeying the hint of the National Council, the students and workers rose instantly. Against the Germans street battles and house-to-house-fighting were already in full swing on Saturday, May 5. Right from the beginning messages announced their first victims. Students of both sexes performed deeds of bravery and proved to be the most reliable elements, ready to do anything, not caring for life or death when in front of the enemy, only concerned with the liberation of the country and the people and the utter destruction of the German ideology. The idea of the barricades came into their minds, tempting and irresistible. Everywhere they got to work immediately still during that rainy night which saw many a person help in barricading Prague against the enemy. By the next morning 1600 barricades had been set up. At Vinohrady and in some of the streets we watched the proceedings, and were amazed by the high grade of technical skill with which these barricades were constructed. On Saturday in the afternoon I took a walk in the sector of Vinohrady, where, at that time the headquarters of the Czech Revolutionary National Council was situated, and was surprised to see how the number of barricades had increased since the morning and how well they were fortified. In some places they were unsurmountable and indestructable. Wherever I went, there were barricades and young people, weapons in hand, ordering me to stop. Everywhere I had to show my papers and to account for my presence. The students were very strict, and would

not let me enter a street or a house without detaining and questioning me. I was very glad about all that realising that the students had grasped the full meaning of the barricades, that they proved to be soldiers, although they could only improvise their military activities. Students and workers were standing at front doors, in windows, on rooftops, did patrol and reconnaissance duties, and were the most reliable factor in the Revolution.

Naturally many of them were wounded or died. But they suffered and died with smiles on their lips, for the liberation of their country, in whose serfdom they could not live any longer. They were fighting for a better and juster future, for a life that would be altogether richer and more beautiful. With melancholy I looked into these graves where often our best hopes were buried. But their relatives grew stronger at the thought that those who had fallen brought glory to their families and had proved that we were able to brave the enemy and settle accounts with him. In the hospitals the casualties did not even as much as complain and looked only forward to the time when they themselves would be able to participate in life and studies again.

Very often the students were of valuable service in illegally helping in the preparations for the underground movement, many times acting as partisans. They were the first underground fighters at the barricades in the shadow of conspiracy as they had been the first martyrs and first victims of foreign despotism. Hundreds and thousands of students from Universities and High schools were thrown into prisons and concentration camps by the Germans, probably the greatest number on November 17th, 1939.

Out of their sufferings, martyrdom and deaths grew that irreconcilable hatred which filled each of their comrades, the desire to avenge, to make the Germans pay. Everybody therefore helped to prepare the uprising and doubled his efforts in the underground movement to replace the friend in order that every student should be ready when the hour of retribution would come. Statistics will show one day the names and data of all the students participating in the uprising and in the revolution at home. The public will then be surprised to find that the majority of all

students took part in it, and that the students contributed a great deal to our liberation.

The students offered their help in the reconstruction of their own country. There were crowds of them at the headquarters of the Czech Revolutionary National Council. They were doing all kinds of work and considered it an honour to be present wherever something was happening. The fighters of the barricades changed into "Who-ever-was-wanted" for any kind of work, their parole being a willing and self-devotive cooperation.

Our students of both sexes have never failed or disappointed us in spite of enormous hardship and many restrictions of personal liberty which they had to suffer during the occupation.

They have been an invaluable asset in the fight against the enemy for our liberation and for a favourable development of our post-war position.

Words are too poor to thank them for all they have done.

Dr Albert Pražák,
Professor of the Caroline University,
Prague.

SLOVAKS AND THE CZECH UNIVERSITIES

As I commemorate with you the tragic events of the 17th of November 1939, when the Nazis, headed by K. H. Frank, shot representatives of the Czech University students, dragged away professors and students to concentration camps, and closed the Universities in order to obstruct the sources of Czech cultural life, I feel it my duty to mention what the Czech Universities were to the Slovaks, and how they contributed towards the liberation of the Slovak nation.

Before the first great war, the Magyars, with Count Tiszo at their head, hindered school education for Slovaks with all the State means at their disposal. Those Slovaks who wished to give their children a higher education at secondary schools and Universities were compelled to send them to Magyar or German schools in Budapest, Bratislava or Vienna. When Czech secondary schools were built in southern Moravia (in the beginning usually at the expense of Czech patriots themselves) Slovak patriots sent their boys to these schools. So, for example, at the technical school at Hodonín, built in 1893 and directed by the outstanding Czech historian and remarkable pedagogue, Augustine Slavík, many Slovak boys graduated. Similarly, many graduated at the school at Uherské Hradiště. (Our ambassador in Washington, Vladimír Hurban, is a graduate of the Hodonín school.) All these young Slovaks, and also those who graduated in Budapest, in Vienna, and from other German or Magyar schools, were attracted, one could say, magically by Slavonic Prague—that fairy-tale of stone above the Vltava—and its renowned University and high schools, which were the nucleus of the highly cultural milieu of Prague. And no wonder. At the head of this cultural life then stood scientific and artistic personalities of world-wide repute, philosophers, lawyers, physicians, chemists, linguists, musicians, engineers, painters and sculptors such as: T. G. Masaryk, Čada, Goll, Jakubec, Vlček, Randa,

Brauner, Zenger, Rayman, Gebauer, Antonín Dvořák, Mařák, Vrchlický, and many others. Every name belongs to a scholar or artist whose fame penetrated far beyond the boundaries of Bohemia or of the former monarchy.

In this splendid Prague the Slovak students received a hearty welcome. They came into contact with Czech scholars, politicians, engineers, and artists. Prof. Masaryk had a permanent and penetrating influence on the Slovak generation at the end of the nineties, and this generation prepared the first liberation of Slovaks from the Magyar yoke.

Slovak students were welcomed into families, so that they felt at home in Prague. They became acquainted with the broad current of the highly mature Czech national life, cultural as well as economical. In these surroundings grew up Milan Rastislav Štefánik, pupil of the Czech astronomer and physicist Zenger; also our poets Ivan Krasko (Botto), Kukučín, Nádaši, Tajovský, and many other Slovaks who were co-creators of the new Czechoslovak State, and without whom the Slovakia of today simply would not exist.

What this co-operation of the Czech and Slovak intelligentsia meant, is clear. It led to the founding of the First Republic. It is, therefore, not surprising that Hitler, wishing to destroy forever the Czechoslovak Republic, separated Bohemia and Moravia from Slovakia by a hermetically closed boundary; the Tiso guard attempted to extirpate from the young Slovak culture and from Slovak art all that was only slightly influenced by Czech culture. In Prague Hitler placed K. H. Frank, who, at the first available opportunity given him by the events of November 17th 1939, threw himself like a beast of prey on the Czech Universities, thinking that he would thus get rid of the revolutionary forces that he feared so much. But this executioner's act, was not, praise God, successful, neither in Slovakia nor in the Czech lands. This was shown at the Banská Bystrica revolt in Slovakia, and at the revolt in Prague on the 5th of May, 1945. And when I, an old man, look back, I see how everything that began to germinate and grow fifty or sixty years ago at the Universities, in the very centre of famous Slavonic Prague, and that during the First Republic fully blossomed, was torn asunder only temporarily.

A great work of renewal is beginning at the Universities, and I do not doubt that very soon also a brotherly, noble, cultural rivalry between Czech and Slovak Universities will begin, to the benefit of both nations and the whole Republic.

Dr Vavro Šrobár,

Minister of Finance,

First President of the Slovak National Council.

THE 17th NOVEMBER IN THE UNITED STATES

To acquaint the reader with the mood of the United States in autumn 1939 I shall start with a personal reminiscence.

When the Germans closed the Caroline University and its sister institutions I was staying at Madison, Wisconsin, following an invitation to give two lectures on Czechoslovak History. The afternoon of Sunday, November 19th, I bought the "New York Times" and found the news about the German outrages in Prague, of which our Alma Mater was the chief victim. It was easy enough to disentangle from a muddled report the name of Joseph Matoušek, a younger colleague of mine in the history branch. My lectures on Monday and Tuesday obviously bore the stamp of the news from Prague, which was most irritating and depressing, since it told only part of the story, leaving out all the details from which one could find what really had happened and who had come under the German blow. It would be an exaggeration—and many of my American friends would no doubt put me right—if today, after 6 years, I stated that the plight of the Czech Universities brought forth spirited protests from the American public. What was then happening in Prague, Brno and elsewhere, was, of course, at once grasped by those who had either taken a course of studies in Czechoslovakia or who had—from their studies and personal experiences—gained a solid picture of the far reaching aims inherent in the policy of the Third Reich. The Slavonic Section of the Modern Languages Association, at its anniversary congress, held in New Orleans at Christmas, boldly unveiled the nature of the German measures against Czech cultural life and firmly condemned the German assault on the University of Cracow. Moreover, expressions of sympathy from friends, the sincere interest in the fate of the students and academic masters banned from the lecture rooms, laboratories and libraries, and the many questions during discussions after my lectures, gave solid proof

that the American scientific world and the students were fully aware of what was at stake. But the public in general was not roused by the news from Prague to the extent which, in our view, would have been adequate to the importance of the event. And yet one thing must be said to do justice all round: throughout the twenty years of independence we could not find time to lay before the world's reading public a good book on the status of the Caroline University in the past and the present and on the place assigned to schools of university rank in our national life. From what sources was the uninitiated reader to know the importance of the bastions of free research and learning against which the Germans were aiming their deliberate attack?

November 17th, 1940, and 1941, did not go unmentioned and unremembered even in the USA. In the Western hemisphere there was a mere handful of us, students and academic teachers. What we could not do ourselves was accomplished by American citizens of Czechoslovak origin, American pedagogues and all those people who understood the implications and the momentous importance of the battle against dictatorships and semi-dictatorships. The addresses on the first anniversary, which fell during most difficult days, were somewhat damped, but in November 1941, on the very eve of America's entry into the war, American universities and colleges staged a number of remembrance meetings and the press gave more space to the event. At a great meeting at the Metropolitan Opera House on November 16th, 1941, Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk remembered the dead and scattered students at the beginning and the end of his impressive speech, which was given a grand response by the public.

But it was the murder of Lidice which finally broke the ice with the great American community. In the United States, in Canada and in the Latin Republics of Central and South America the extirpation of Lidice and the murder of its inhabitants made even stagnant waters move. At once it became clear to old and young alike what the Germans were doing, not only in the Czech lands but in any country which had, for the time, come under their boot. Even those nations who were not immediately threatened by German invasion came to see that the only

hope of Salvation lay in a firm alliance of the free world and in a full-scale assault on the Axis.

In this mood the stage was being set for the third anniversary, November 17th, 1942. It was a great step forward when the International Students Rally on September 5th in Washington declared November 17th International Students Day and called for world-wide meetings to demonstrate the free students' unity. The Washington Rally has come to be regarded as one of the most important student enterprises of World War II. Students from all over the world attended: a large delegation was sent from the Soviet Union, students arrived from the farthest corners of Asia and Africa, and countries under German occupation were represented by students from American colleges and Universities. The Rally's programme included a broadcast address by President F. D. Roosevelt, transmitted from the White House to all parts of the world. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt took part in the Rally discussions and made a point of contacting every section. The setting was very favourable for a proposal, seconded by the Czechoslovak group, to declare the 17th of November International Students Day, which motion was carried by a unanimous vote.

Before me at this moment lies a book entitled "The Way of Light. The Glory and Martyrdom of Czechoslovak Schools," published by the Czechoslovak National Council in Chicago as its contribution to the International Students Day. Together with Professor J. L. Hromádka and the Chairman of the Czechoslovak Students' Union, Ing. V. Andic, we contributed a review of Czechoslovak school education during the free era and its fate under the German occupation. Prof. S. H. Thomson, who took a degree at the Charles University, wrote several reminiscences of his Prague studies and about the atmosphere of the Prague lecture halls and libraries. Cartoonist Antonín Peel-Pelc designed an effective cover for the publication, which soon travelled all over the United States and found its way to all English-speaking countries. The Masaryk Institute of New York saw to its timely distribution in order that it might serve as the basis for the 17th of November addresses.

The notes I made during those days are still out of my reach and I

cannot recollect all the speeches and meetings which took place on and before that 17th of November. Out of the few I can remember, very vivid is a memorial meeting of the New York area, held at Hunter College. Another mass-meeting took place in Washington. The Prague students were remembered at Princeton, Chicago and Vassar College, I shall stop calling the places by name, otherwise I might give the impression that only some Universities and Colleges answered the appeal while elsewhere the Students Day went by unnoticed and without a worthy expression of student solidarity. The war was at its height and it was particularly the young who came face to face with its rough and stark realities. Scaffolds, jails and concentration camps were smeared with their blood, and their resourcefulness and energy were being wasted in the unequal fight against the mailed Prussian fist. Anyone who would stand apart from the battle, would only be in league with the dark powers, who were waging war against civilization itself, against the freedom of the individual and the security of national entities. The 17th of November was now not merely a tiny memento with a sentimental background, but a battlecry which lined up students and academic teachers in a solid front.

I started with a reminiscence and I would like to end with another. On October 23rd, 1943, an impressive celebration took place at Geneva, in the northern part of New York State. It was the graduation parade of the first group of naval cadets. Dr. John M. Potter, the president of Hobart and William Smith College decided that the graduation should become the occasion for a tribute to the Caroline University of Prague and all its lecturers and students. The huge cathedral was filled to the last square inch with students, professors and guests of honour, both American and Czechoslovak, and with the students' relatives and friends. All speeches were broadcast throughout the world. Representatives of the Caroline University presented President Potter with a message and were in turn handed a reply to commemorate this meeting which was to seal the friendship not only of both institutions, but of the students and intellectuals of the two democracies, the United States and Czechoslovakia.

The tribute paid by the Hobart and William Smith College to the University was addressed to all closed and suppressed Czech schools, and it was also a tribute to Czechoslovakia itself. Furthermore it gave ample proof that the idea of commemorating the 17th of November as International Students Day had struck firm roots. A few weeks later, when the day again appeared in the Calendar, there was no need to rouse anyone from the daydreams of Isolationism. It was left to Mrs. Roosevelt once again to sum up the meaning of the fighting cause, when the C. B. S. invited her to speak on November 17th, 1943. That year the hundreds of Universities and Colleges of the United States spoke not merely words of reverence and sympathy, but asserted vehemently their unbending resolve to stay on the battlefields until Prague and the other humiliated cities would hoist their national colours again, and until the common enemy would be beaten to the ground.

*Otakar Odložilik, PhDr, Litt. D.,
Professor of the Caroline University.*

BRITISH MESSAGE

When I say that the British students pay tribute to the Czechoslovak students it is no empty phrase. I was present at the manifestations held in London during the war on November 17th, and saw the feeling of the crowds. The names of the nine first students fallen at the hands of the Germans, headed by that of Jan Opletal, were written in black letters, and we knew them by heart—strange names though they were to us—and felt them as our comrades. We mourned them and were inspired by their spirit. All of us knew the story of their resistance and the unspeakable brutality which it evoked. They were young students like ourselves, we felt, and we must be men and women like them.

Their spirit helped us to endure the hardships of war, which though different from yours in this country, we suffered in England. Now, when the war is over, the Germans beaten, it will help us to work together and to collaborate in building a world where students can learn for the sake of knowledge, and will not be called upon to sacrifice young lives and brains and hearts for their freedom. We must learn to know one another more and better. We have fought together—now we can work together, can spend our holidays in one another's countries and exchange students.

The Caroline University was adopted by Oxford University during the war—now it is again open in Prague, and the eagerness of the students is a grand sign for the future. Their determination in face of all difficulties is again an echo from the voices of those brave students who were murdered in November 1939.

We in England shall remember every year those students who died, and I hope we may count among our friends those students who live. Honour to the memory of those who died. Peace to those who live.

Norah C. Robinson

AMERICAN MESSAGE

The murder of Czechoslovak students by the Nazi oppressors six years ago shocked the whole western world. In America it was an important element in crystallizing public opinion against German barbarism at a time when there were still elements in our free country who tended to regard much of what was told us as propaganda. In the intervening years since the first world war, it had become known that some atrocity stories told the American people during the war years 1914—1918 were either grossly exaggerated or false. But here was concrete evidence, whose veracity none could doubt. It is safe, therefore, to say that this wretched act was a turning point in the course of American public opinion. As such it has a positive historical significance.

But there is a deeper spiritual significance both to the original barbarism and to this anniversary. The student throughout western European history has, more clearly and accurately than any other group, represented the idealism of any given society. His thirst for highest knowledge and understanding, his sensitivity to the currents of the spirit, his deep loyalty to truth and his conviction that the truth must win, regardless of immediate consequences and the pains of the moment, his willingness to sacrifice the only things that really belong to man born into this world, his spirit and his life in the pursuit of these idealisms, these all have always put the student in the forefront of any movement for the betterment of mankind. The fact that the Germans tried to crush the Czechoslovak students sums up, as well as any other single act, their aims in Europe. Science, truth, idealism, spiritual values, freedom—these things the Germans could not endure. And for these things the students of the land of Hus, Komenský and Masaryk were willing in 1939 to live and die.

It is most fitting, therefore, that in a reborn Czechoslovakia, freed from the shackles of German tyranny, these students should be honored. In so

honoring them the Czechoslovak students of 1945 declare their unswearing loyalty to the same ideals, proclaim their determination to follow the same traditions, and take their place in the ranks of those by whom truth and honor, spiritual realities and broad visions weigh more than the things of the moment.

Dr. S. Harrison Thomson

A MESSAGE FROM FRANCE

During the years 1939—1945 the nations of the world underwent a fiery trial. Some divined the nature of the ordeal and endured it first; others, unaware, avoided it for a time. But in the end the ordeal was imposed on all of us, for the evil genius of Hitler knew no bounds. He annihilated all that he devoured; and the more insatiable grew his appetite.

Perhaps it was for students to be among the first to undergo the Nazi wrath, for their special task to understand and to penetrate to the essence of beings and things, would sooner or later lead them to condemn such annihilation which Hitler was achieving by devious means, under the guise of force and even of joy.

You, at the University of Prague, were the first to suffer, and suffered so grievously that with deep respect I am coming to bring you a message from French students who are not forgetful of our deserting you at Munich. I am deeply grateful that you thought to-day of inviting us to share in this solemn anniversary, and thank you from the bottom of my heart.

We knew a little of your wretchedness, and when French students demonstrated in Paris on 11th November 1940, they cried out: „We do not forget our comrades in Prague, in Warsaw— —”

Since then, our common experience of distress, of anger, of resistance and of joy have forged between us strong links that will one day manifest themselves, I am sure, in the international assemblies of the future.

As students, we shall have to put on their feet again those whom Hitler understood how to humiliate and to drain. We should certainly be wrong if we went to the extreme of despising any sort of human creature, as the Nazi did the Jews.

But how to put such men back on their feet? One of our poets has written these anguished lines:

On est l'homme, l'homme, l'homme,
Floué, roué, troué, meurtri
Avec le mépris pour patrie
Marqué comme un bétail, comme
Un bétail à la boucherie.

(I am a man, but what kind of a man,
I am utterly ruined,
I scorn my country,
I wear a number like a beast
For which the butcher sharpens now his knife.)

Each of us must go to meet such a lost creature; with his own inner conviction: Socialist, Marxist, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish; each must tell him what he believes, and how faith directs and changes his life. It is good that the war and the awful emptiness of Hitlerism thus compel us to discover a meaning for our existence.

André Dumas,
General Secretary of the Federation of Students'
Christian Associations, Paris.

SOVIET STUDENTS IN THE NATIONAL FIGHT

On the 22nd of June 1941, the angry enemy Germany, the fascist imperial beast, after planting gallows and fires about all Europe and flooding it with blood, traitorously attacked the Soviet Union. If we do not consider that feeling of anger, we shall not be able to understand the outbreak of indignation that swept through the whole Soviet people at the news of this traitorous attack by the German fascists.

Everybody tried to get into the Red Army and to take part of the fight against the German fascists as soon as possible. University students attended the meetings organised and demanded immediate transportation to the fighting lines. The Faculty of Arts, of which I was then a member, declared itself to be all mobilised and left before long for the frontier together with all the professors and doctors. The girl-students of the faculty hurriedly finished their nurse's-training, which they already had been attending for two years, continuing their studies at the same time.

Five thousand listeners of the Moscow State University fought at the frontiers of their country.

The Soviet nation gave arms to these students and they in their turn did not want to disappoint the nation's confidence. In the Red Army, partisan divisions,—soviet students defending the honour and independence of our country, revenged the pain and suffering of our people, the deaths of our brothers abroad.

The Soviet students knew about the fate of their fellow-colleagues in Prague and about the fate of the students in the parts of Europe, occupied by the Nazis. The bloody action of the 17th of November 1939 raised uncontrollable anger and hate against the enemy of mankind, German fascism. Several times they showed their indignation at meetings and manifestations.

But the Soviet students knew that it was not enough to hate the enemy.

There was need to destroy him. Putting all their hate and passion into their fight, Soviet young people were destroying the enemy on all frontiers of this national war. It was really a "svatá tryzna" for the victims of the fascist bandits, for those tortured to death on the 17th of November. May be that amongst those 309 fascists, killed by that famous girl-gunner Ludmila Pavličenko, was the very same SS-man, who murdered Jan Opletal, and amongst the dead bodies in front of Stalingrad—the execution-squad of the 17th of November.

In course of the fights, a great many of the students became real soldiers, dusty from fights, and taking part in the celebrations of the Red Army, the victorious army. Most of them were decorated with medals and signs of honour, many became heroes of the Soviet nation. From the students of the Moscow university eight are national heroes, five being girls. The whole country knows the names of these hero students: partisan Naděžda Trojan, pilot Kateřina Rabová, Jevdokii Pasko, Rufina Čaševá, Natalie Meklinová, gunner Jeřina Dyskina, Gavřila Pantělejeva, Jiří Timuše, Jiří Anusaitis, gunner Ludmila Pavličenko and others.

We often meet Soviet students, who worked themselves up from private to experienced officers or to higher ranks of the Red Army.

Students that remained in the country helped in every way to victory. In the hard years of war, many high-school students helped workers, in spite of their studies, to produce bullets for the victory over the enemy.

The Soviet students are proud to have taken part in the fights on the frontiers, to have worked in factories, to have fought for the victory of freedom over fascism.

On the 17th of September the new term on the University, the first one after the great victory, began. The new term is attended by 560,000 University students and 3,000 Soviet aspirants.

Soviet students, who survived the hard battles of war years, take again up the study of culture and knowledge and are cared for by the Soviet Government and the whole nation, fighting for the progress of science.

Jurij Karpov.

THE 17th OF NOVEMBER AND THE BELGRADE UNIVERSITY

The Belgrade University was always the faithful mirror of the cultural and political efforts of the Yougoslav nationalities for the attainment of common democratic liberties. Every political and cultural event in the state, as in the world, found its most powerful reflection just in this mirror, the brightest focus of liberty and truth. At the Belgrade University were heard the first voices against the threatening danger of Fascism and the first calls for mobilization of all anti-Fascist forces of the state and the whole world against the terrible and penetrating enemy. The nation of the Czechoslovak Republic, which is one of the most progressive countries of Central Europe, were among the first victims of the Fascist attack. We feel a hearty and sincere mutual love of such near and liberty-loving nations,—that is why we estimated correctly and penetratingly the far-reaching and dangerous consequences of this Fascist step. The tragical and bitter fate of a brotherly nation called forth mass political movements in Yougoslavia and especially and mostly just among the students. At the same time with the military mobilization carried on in the Czechoslovak Republic before Munich, volunteers reported even in Yougoslavia to help the people of the Czechoslovak Republic. About 40,000 volunteers reported, although our former Government organs with well-known methods set themselves against these methods. Most of the students who reported as volunteers were arrested, illtreated and martyred by our reactionary police. And then came Munich, which embittered us and also taught us much. Still more clearly, imperatively, and decisively was manifested the need and the demand for the formation of an international, anti-Fascist bloc with the USSR at its head, which would fight against bloodthirsty Fascism, the destroyer of the liberties and lives of small nations. And when, after Munich, March the 15th followed—the entry of the German army into the capital of Prague—the students together with

other progressive elements came out into the Belgrade streets. In gigantic demonstrations they protested publicly, before the whole world, against the violence and savagery perpetrated against brotherly nations and summoned the whole anti-Fascist world to fight against the hideous Fascism. Not even did this action end in a better way for the students. Even then, they were arrested, brought to the rack, and sentenced. But all that could not prevent or stifle the sincere and lively interest with which even further on the fate of the people of the Czechoslovak Republic was closely followed. We well knew beforehand, and were convinced, that this nation which was deceived and deserted by a part of the Great Powers, would lift up its voices and take its stand against the shameful usurper. We expected it: and it came true. First of all, the students arose, to express with their courageous behaviour their disagreement with irregularity and the occupier, who was already in the country, and to give the first signal for the whole nation to arise and fight. The demonstration of October 28th arrived, and ended in the bloody 17th of November, when finally all faculties were closed, and some of the students were murdered and arrested. What effect did these most barbaric and most disgusting events have on us at that time? They had truly a powerful and painful effect and enriched us with great experiences. They showed us that Fascism does not respect anything, not even scientific or artistic values, or the scientific institutions of a nation. Not only that it doesn't stop before destruction, but its aim is indeed to stifle, before all, the cultural and spiritual life of the intellectual youth of the nation, in order to force that nation to a spiritual death. It was manifested, and we after all, always confirmed that Fascism endangers not only the national freedom but even the science and culture of the occupied nation. But these events taught us something still more significant and important. Your students first showed that it is necessary to wage open war against Fascism. It was evident that the conflict would be difficult and bloody, but it was, after all, the only way. They showed that under Fascism there is not and cannot be any real scientific and cultural work, that the time had come for all students, men of science, workers, and women—to join in the conflict against the savage occupants. Your students first took a

stand with bare hands against the hordes of Fascist usurpers who swept the whole earth; they manifested the irreconcilable liberty-loving spirit of your nation. At numerous meetings that were held at our faculties at that time, the heroic attitude of your students, which became the fighting example of a decisive stand against slavery and non-progressive-ness, and the first impulse for the fighters of our glorious national struggle for liberation, became clearer. We remember it very well, and we shall never forget the brave Prague students, who first began the great and fateful conflict that was waged in this historical era. Out of this glorious resistance of the students and of progressive elements of the whole world were born liberty and victory. Even now, after the attainment of military victory over Fascism, it is your duty to continue in the ways of your glorious traditions, and even further consistently wage war against Fascism in all its manifestations: military, ideological and economical. The Yugoslav students will always stand by your side.

N. Č., a student of medicine

THE REACTION OF THE WORLD TO NOVEMBER 17th.

When on November 17th 1939, by order of Karl Hermann Frank, all Czech Universities and technical institutes were closed and thousands of Czech students were sent to concentration camps in Germany, neither he nor the SS-men executing his order realised that this blow against the Czech nation would be felt in all its force by Germany herself. Frank wanted to create a break between the workers and the young intellectuals, thus weakening the inner life of the nation and with it the ability of planned resistance against the foreign invader. The nation was to be robbed of its thinking youth and further development made impossible by the closing of the universities and by the restriction of national schools. The Germans had a similar plan for each of the other occupied countries. A year and a day after the massacres of Prague, on November 18th 1940, they provoked students' demonstrations in Paris which happened in a peculiar way. The students shouted "Vive" and raised two sticks (deux gaules) into the air which, if pronounced, sounds very much like "Vive de Gaulle". And then, like the Czech students, so were the students of Norway sent to concentration camps and their ancient university of Oslo closed. The same thing happened in Belgium, Holland, Greece, and Yugoslavia. Only the reactions in those countries were different. The students of Belgrade became the nucleus of the partisan units created by Marshal Tito. After the experiences of their fellow students in other countries they did not wait to be sent to concentration camps.

In the English-speaking world the news was accepted with a certain reservation, and perhaps even more in the United States than in Great Britain. People refused to believe that in the heart of Europe lived a nation, a great majority of which preferred the barbarity of the stone-age to the presumed culture of the XXth century.

By and by, proofs of the actual behaviour of the Germans in the occupied countries began to filter through. Single refugees who succeeded in escaping from occupied Europe arrived abroad and with them news about the growing resistance movement.

The British and Americans then not only believed the news regarding the German atrocities but they recognised that the danger of German fascism was directly threatening them and their own universities and that in order to resist successfully the growing danger they would have to create a new strong military unity.

After the attack on the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1941 a big association of all antifascist parties in Great Britain developed. The political emigration from Europe played a big part in that development and in the growing political awakening.

In London the International Student's Council was founded and November 17th proclaimed International Student's Day. Since 1941 International Student's Day has been celebrated all over the free world. The International Student's Council always issues a slogan according to the immediate political and strategical situation which shows the determination of the fight against fascism.

The 17th of November was not meant to commemorate only the massacres of Prague; it was not the sole enterprise of Czechoslovakia nor was it to be regarded as concerning Czechoslovakia only. The anniversary of Prague was a symbol for International Student's Day, for it was on that day that the Germans first conducted themselves in a way which they were to repeat in Oslo, Cracow, Belgrade and other towns. International Student's Day was meant to be and really is a day of solidarity of the students and youth of all freedom-loving nations.

The part played by Czechoslovaks in its organisation was nevertheless a considerable one. It is noteworthy that it was the initiative of Czechs that created International Student's Day, that a Czechoslovak was elected three times deputy-chairman of the International Student's Council and that on the anniversary of International Student's Day the name of our Republic echoes throughout the whole world.

The story of the manifestations is too great to be described properly

in one article. Just for illustration I would mention the celebration of International Student's Day in 1942. The Secretariat of the International Student's Council received news about the celebrations of International Student's Day from all parts of the world. In the South American republic of Haiti President Lescot sent a special message to the students. The Government of Mexico declared November 17th an official holiday and a number of high-ranking officials partook in the student's manifestations. In San José in Costa Rica the minister of Education himself led the procession of students. Many Argentinian papers dealt with the International Student's Day in their leading articles. One paper wrote: "The closing of the Czech universities evoked the protest of the whole world." The students of Argentina proclaimed in big demonstrations their solidarity with their colleagues from the famous homeland of Masaryk. "Helio de Meida" expressed the thanks of all students of Argentina to all those who sacrificed their lives in the fight for freedom in Czechoslovakia and to the fighting youth all over the world. The message sent from the manifestation of the students of Uruguay says: "Over the blood-covered bodies of the martyrs of Prague do we raise our banners of faith and call to the world: Where one fell, thousands will arise to defend freedom and human rights in his place. The students of Uruguay swear never to fail in the fight against reaction."—Similar news arrived from Venezuela, Chile, Ecuador and Cuba. In India students manifestations were prohibited but the Indian press dedicated much of its space to that occasion. The rector of the university of Baghdad expressed his conviction that after the victory of arms the United Nations would guarantee freedom to all peoples of the world. A telegram from Syria announced that the St. Joseph University, the American University and all secondary schools in Syria celebrated International Student's Day with the participation of allied youth in uniforms. Special manifestations took place at the Arab universities of Damascus and Aleppo together with Arab secondary schools. Similar news arrived from Wellington (New Zealand) and Melbourne (Australia). International Student's Day was celebrated in China, Canada and the most bombed island of Malta, in

the North African harbour of Tobruk, once besieged by Germans and Italians.

We were particularly happy at the greetings received from Yugoslav students, members of Tito's partisan units. It says towards the end of the message: "The university of Prague, where not only Czechoslovak students were studying but sons of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovene nations as well, has been closed and changed into Gestapo barracks by the Berlin criminals. We have been fighting German and Italian military forces stubbornly for 19 months. We are fighting in Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia. Only by fight and final victory can we clear our country of the fascist plague and ensure a further free development for our and your national culture."

But International Student's Day was not only celebrated in allied countries. We were surprised to hear about manifestations at the Swedish university of Upsala; about the pamphlet edited by the socialist students of Sweden; the silent celebration in an internment camp in Switzerland and a special edition of an illegal paper of the students' underground movement in France.

The manifestations of Soviet youth are not mentioned on purpose. Their extent and importance deserve special consideration.

In the U. S. A. and in Great Britain International Student's Day outgrew its character of a mere student's manifestation. President Roosevelt himself issued a proclamation to American students. There were manifestations in 200 colleges and leading people such as La Guardia, Mayor of New York, and Dr. Howard Brooks of the Free World Association made speeches.

In London International Student's Day was a continuation of the just ending first World Congress of Youth. President Beneš addressing a vast meeting in London's biggest hall, the Albert Hall, concluded with the words: "The war will be won by sacrifices of youth. To you and to those who are going to be after you, peace will be ensured and a better future secured if you, as the new, governing generation are going to lead the politics of your countries in such a way as to avoid the spreading of a new world conflagration. I am convinced that your generation

learned its lesson from recent happenings. You owe that to your dead and tortured comrades. You owe that to the well-being of your countries and to the flourishing of mankind."—In addition to President Beneš and the British Minister of Education a delegate of the French underground movement and the representative of Soviet youth Vladimír Pčelincev, Hero of the Soviet Union, spoke at the London manifestation. The manifestation was broadcast by the B. B. C. and at the opening British students sent a message to Moscow. From Moscow, after the addition of Soviet greetings it was sent on to Chungking, from there with a proclamation from Chinese youth to the United States. After a message from American youth had been added it was broadcast back to the Albert Hall where it concluded the London manifestation.

The response to International Student's Day in Great Britain was immense. The speeches of President Beneš in London and at the university of Durham as well as those of the British Minister of Education, of Minister Masaryk at Oxford University and of Cardinal Hinsley in Westminster Abbey received prominent attention in the daily press. The students of 17 British universities expressed their solidarity with the fighting anti-fascist youth in collections for the Red Army and for the funds for the youth of occupied countries. International Student's Day was a unique occasion to make youth familiar with the ideology and deeds of Fascism, with the results of the fight for liberation and the necessity of unity among all anti-fascist organisations. The latter was especially important with regard to the organisation of British students and youth.

Where lies the importance of the International Student's Day for Czechoslovakia and where for the rest of the world? Though the 17th of November ceased to be a mere commemoration of the happenings in Czechoslovakia, it was Czechoslovakia and the tragic events in the streets of Prague that were recalled in the speeches all over the world. Lidice and the consequences of the uprising of the students of Prague, two of the greatest crimes the Germans ever committed against us, helped to unite all freedom-loving nations in the fight against German Fascism. International Student's Day helped more than anything else

to awaken political consciousness in the students and youth of Britain. It helped to unite otherwise divergent groups of all sizes into one single anti-fascist front.

Whilst last and not least did the 17th of November give us considerable assistance in our propaganda. When the Germans closed our Universities and technical institutes on November 17th and when the execution squads shot our students at Ruzyň and SS-men brought the rest to the Oranienburg concentration camp, they did not know that this deed helped to unite their enemies and that it raised the morale of the allied soldier by the hate and the longing to avenge the outrages in Prague. They brought to arms a great number of young men, fervent fighters against Fascism, ready to fight, to create and to secure freedom and equality of nations in a new and better world no longer menaced by Hitler's SS-men and their destruction of all culture. As long as such a system is not ensured the students and youth of freedom-loving nations will have to be prepared to support each other in their common effort. For that reason solidarity, so often proclaimed on International Student's Days! during the war, will have to prove its good intentions during the period of the establishing of peace and the progressive reconstruction of the world.

Pavel Kavan

OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER DEMONSTRATIONS

The storm was not to be eased down. Waves that seemed to be getting stiller were all the time threatening with a hidden strength, up to a boiling-point tension. That's how it was in the days after the 28th of October 1939. In spite of German successes in Poland, Prague keeps its faith and the inner opposition of its people is stronger than ever before. Here and there Frank's agents spread news that Universities will immediately be closed should there be even the slightest provocation. The German authorities threatened even before October 28th to take brutal measures against Czech cultural life. Colleges become students barracks. The collective of young people that have had little experience on political questions so far quickly begins realising its situation. The Germans send their spies into almost every college. They are those Czech-speaking Germans who came from the Sudetenland to study in Prague. Luckily, their Prussian appearance attracts sufficient attention to keep the others on guard.

Very few students knew that at that time Jan Opletal fought a desperate struggle with death in a Prague hospital. Only several of his fellow countrymen and his closest friends watched with anxiety the progress of this tragedy. I think it was on the 13th of November. Returning from a lecture I see a crowd of students taking up the challenge brought to them by the sad news of the death of our first one.

In the afternoon, colleague Martischnig rings to ask whether we are going to take part in the funeral ceremony as a college. Common sense might have advised us not to go but our feelings, feelings of young men, made it our moral duty to go whatever the consequences might be. I am surprised that the Germans allow a funeral manifestation like this in the centre of Prague. Colleague Martischnig answers with his life for the quiet proceeding of the funeral. How all the students wanted to shake

hands with you for this, colleague Martischnig! I get into touch with other colleges which all promise to be present. Notices are written—but there was no need of them. The obituary notice itself calls and attracts everybody. “For the world’s justice he went and fought,” could not have been written on a purer shield and carried by a more honest fighter than Jan Opletal was. Honour be done to this brave student, who had this truth printed at the heading of his obituary notice and wrote on it in red as if in his own blood: “Victim of October 28, 1939.”

We went out to procure wreaths in spite of its being already late in the evening and after working-hours, I never saw a more obliging man than the gardener somewhere at Slupy after having been told who the wreaths were for.

All Prague knew already about the latest victim of Nazi bestiality. Lips pressed tightly upon each other, clenched fists and a row of thousands of students following and gazing in the stifled rhythm of steps of the funeral procession. Silence changes the street into a church where everybody wants to shout out, but lips are mute.

Do you still hesitate, student? A whirl-pool of thoughts, decisions and plans flashes through the brain. It’s not an automatic which you squeeze in your fist to reassure yourself, it’s only your shabby hat. Do you see there, behind the coffin covered by flowers, the father who accompanies his youngest son. How much love, how much hope and pride is being washed away in the tears of the old fainting man. The mother broke down under the burden of horror. Eight children did she bring up, loved them all alike and yet, the youngest was somehow nearer to her. What did you, father, loose by that one single shot of the Nazi murderer!

Tears fall on the streets of Prague and flow like a boiling wave through the crowds of students. The dumb circle is broken. You feel your colleague standing next to you, you see your conscience mirrored in his eyes. Look! You are not alone, not only two of you, but thousands breathing one and the same breath. The tall preacher gives the last offering—what will happen?

Slowly and with devotion they start singing: “Oh homeland mine . . .” then silence follows, suddenly broken by the outburst of everybody’s

"Over the Tatra it lightens . . .". The Slovak students, who stayed faithful to Prague first raised their voices. In spite of thorns and poison that was meant to divide us, we always will meet in the common truth.

Meanwhile, the inner strength of the crowd gives power to their arms, opens their mouths and clears their eyes.

Did you make up your mind, student?

Yes, we have, we march together keeping step. Thousands of us with unvincible faith in our hearts. We walk through your streets, Prague, we go to your people in order to tell to the whole democratic world:

We are the bugle-call calling your conscience! Fight, all of you, for mankind's sake. It is at stake to its very roots! We have started our way and we shall never retreat!

Nothing happened for 24 hours. They wanted us to calm down, they did not want us to go to our homes. It looked as if they took our challenge as a child's sudden outburst, this challenge of ours, which for the first time has turned against them in their "New Europe"! The Prague police arrested several students already during the demonstrations. It should be admitted, however, that most of the police-men were on the side of the students and refused to obey the German order to disperse the crowd. I remember one of them furiously waving his truncheon and bidding us: "Get at them, boys!" We accepted the fact, that the number of those imprisoned by the Czech police upon German order was far below the expectations of the Gestapo. The arrested were all set at liberty a few hours afterwards only to find out before long, together with the rest of us, what German methods are like. It also must be mentioned, that on that day, the 16th of November, some personalities of the students movement tried to intervene for the arrested students at that ill-famed scientist, Dr Kliment, who was secretary to Dr Hácha at the time. They were roughly refused, and also told that the President did not wish to have anything to do with Czech students any more. News of the students demonstrations spread all over the world, made K. H. Frank immediately leave for Berlin to work out the devilish plan for stamping out Czech culture and for the deportation of Czech university students.

It all started in Prague II, Hopfenstok street, 12, where the club-rooms

of the Union of Czech Students were at that time. This association, living up to the old policy of conflicts and fights, consisted mostly of reactionaries, whom only the practise of National Socialism brought back to the right path. All the same it has to be admitted that there were decent people as well as ambitious ones, some who accidentally got in, some who were transferred there by the Germans directly from their fascist organisations, to play amongst the Czech students the part of Judas. Speaking quite plainly there were traitors amongst us who covered their identity by the name of Czech students, bowed to the Germans in Berlin and worked for them in Prague. Those, who remained faithful to their nation at the beginning of the war, tried to establish contact with the underground movement at home and with our people abroad.

At the funeral of Jan Opletal, the Union of Czech Students took officially part. At a night-meeting it was decided to intervene with Dr Hácha for the mitigation of the threat pending in the deathly silence after Frank's departure to Berlin. Dr Hácha, represented by Dr Kliment, refused any help to the students. Only later, November the 17th, he agreed to receive a deputation of Czech and Moravian students. Did he, who asked these representatives of the student movement to come to the Castle, know that most of them would be executed that very day?

In the evening of November the 16th, there was a meeting of the Union's committee. Economic and financial questions were on the program. The meeting took place in a long, narrow room. Naturally, those present spoke also about the latest news, the funeral, the demonstrations and possible consequences. We tried to convince one another that just now, at the beginning of the war the Germans would not take any drastic measures and confirm thus foreign broadcastings about the strength and significance of these demonstrations. This opinion was mostly shared and probably spread by the Germans themselves. At this meeting five leading members were present. At about 9 o'clock the telephone rang. Some "leader" of the German students federation called and wanted to speak to our secretary. We are having a meeting, says the secretary, and when asked who is present he gives the names. He finally promised to meet the caller at 11 o'clock at the café Imperial. They spoke in Czech. Who

could know that at this very moment K. H. Frank, who had just returned from Berlin, began together with Nazi students and a bunch of SS troopers from the headquarters of the Gestapo his work of hate and brutality against the Czech students. The mask fell from the so-called „*Kulturträger*“ face and the whole world could see now what their real countenance was like.

Brutality and sadism, destruction of spiritual and material values, those are the products of a civilised nation in the grip of fascism.

The meeting continued and cigarettes helped to calm down the tension which was left. At 9.30 there came a rap at the front-entrance. The secretary went to answer the door. Everyone stops talking, the tension within us changes into a spell that does not allow us to move. A few seconds of silence, then some dull blows, noise in the hall, „Police!“ somebody shrieks. I don't remember what the others did, I am not quite sure whether I knew or did not know that I slid my hand into the back-pocket of my trousers to destroy in the last moment a couple of leaflets dealing with the demonstration and meant for the students and young people of Moravia. I managed somehow to throw one of them between the wooden panels and the wall. At that moment some eight or ten Gestapomen and SS-troopers rushed into the room and in a nick of time we were standing against the wall, hands up, while they were turning over tables, opening cupboards, going through our filing-list and searching everywhere for weapons. They did not find anything, except one old gun with a funnel-shaped barrel, a piece good only for a museum. Meanwhile they had arrested Dr Klíma, chairman of the Union at that time, who had arrived a few minutes before the Gestapo. That was what our first encounter with the Gestapo and SS-troopers was like: shouting, swearing, threats and guns. Then we were numbered like cattle, and brought in a police car to the former banking house of Peček, now the headquarters of the Gestapo in Prague. In the large hall we stood until two o'clock in the morning with our hands up, listening to the most dreadful sound for the ears of liberty-loving young men: the sound of tack-soled SS-troopers marching to and fro. Meanwhile other students and members of the Union were being rounded up according to lists they found in our club

and maybe even according to hints given by traitors. Time stopped on the dark drops of stale blood, splashed on the smooth marble walls.

At last they began to call us. Everyone hoped to be allowed to move again for our arms long ago had changed into stumps without any feeling, our legs into wooden columns and nobody was far from fainting. I desperately tried to get an idea how to get rid of the leaflets in my pocket or what to say should they find them while searching me. How many trifles flash through one's mind in those first moments of arrest, how precious seems every hour, which one has to spend without the blessing of liberty. Then, later you count days, weeks, months After two years you usually stop counting.

Only three of us were left in the hall and suddenly I hear my name called and instead of going to the left like all the others I am led to the right. We stop in front of a door opening into a medium-sized room with beautiful polished furniture. A thick carpet drowns the sound of footsteps. The radio is tuned in to some foreign station, I think it was London. On a dark base a glass globe slowly turns round and round. Nobody is in the room except a tall man in uniform who is leaning against the corner of the desk and is looking through some documents. I remain in the doorway while the policeman who brought me speaks to the man in uniform. From the respect with which the policeman approached him I gather that this must be a high-ranking SS-official. "Come on!" words spoken with the most horrible German accent cut the air and go right through my bones. I am standing in front of K. H. Frank. The leaflet in my pocket becomes a magnet to my thoughts, the centre of a whirlwind going through my brain.

Frank slowly comes to stand right in front of me. I can safely confess to-day, that although I have seen Himmler and others of his gang of murderers, I have never seen a more horrible being than this SS-Obergruppenführer K. H. Frank in his beast-like magnificence, in the terror of his power and in the brilliancy of his uniform. I shall never forget those eyes. When still a small boy I visited with my father a circus in Prague and I saw there a tamer with a group of tigers. I don't quite remember how it happened, but all of a sudden one of the beasts tried to

attack the man. We were sitting near the arena and I saw the look in the beast's eyes as it was getting ready for the jump. Frank's eyes were of the very same kind. Certainly, this villain was aware of the horror which he inflicted upon his victims and with sadistic pleasure he watched the effect. There he stood in front of me, playing with his riding whip and working himself up to more burning fury with every spoken word.

"So you are one of this Czech gang of pseudointelligents.—Mind you, you were trying to organize a putsch against the Protector of Bohemia and Moravia. You tried to kill me and the law in Bohemia and Moravia, established by the Führer. You tried to take advantage of the absence of German police in Prague and started a demonstration, you were in touch with that 'Jew' Beneš and his traitorous Government. Well, demonstrations are stopped, Czech pseudointelligents will be destroyed and you will be shot at dawn."

Those were the words of K. H. Frank, uttered at the beginning in that sarcastic tone of his, later developing into a flow of words and abuses. I can't recall any more the full amount of hatred that was in his words, but I am sure I did not even then get the full meaning of what he said as I had little experience with Gestapo terminology at that time. I remember him saying that having lived in a college I must surely know about weapons hidden there. He went on that the college would be taken good care of now and my colleagues will be put into prison. Only now I realised why I was brought here. He asked me again where our weapons were kept. I answered that his question was absurd and that I knew nothing whatsoever about weapons in the college. He then ordered me to go and open the college to let the Gestapo and SS-troopers in. I refused and he lashed me furiously across my cheeks. He made me sit down, put his revolver to one of my temples, while the policeman stood close by holding a piece of paper and a fountain-pen in his hand. "Now I want you to draw for me the plan of the college! Better make it correct, or . . ." And I felt how he stressed his words by pushing the gun still closer to my head. I tried to draw. In spite of that moment's horror it seemed funny to me thinking about Frank's strategic plans to conquer our college. Frank could not understand that we went into fight with bare hands,

only with invincible faith in our hearts. And that could never be conquered by Frank.

He also wanted to know all the entrances and "secret" exits from the building and did not show much satisfaction with my drawings. Having uttered some abusive words he threw me out. That was my meeting with K. H. Frank, the hangman of Czech people, that unhuman beast of National-socialist Germany.

I returned to the waiting room only to wait with the others till three o'clock in the morning, when we were led off to the dungeons. From time to time laments of tortured people reached our ears. A powerful grating with a lock and chain is the entrance to the Nazi underworld. A long corridor led us to a square hall on one side of which there are telephone-booths. Without further comment we were put each into one of those booths from which the telephones had, naturally, been removed. The insufferable heat and the lack of space in them made the situation of the arrested still more unbearable.

The man from the neighbouring cell was ordered to wash the floor which was bloodstained. Who were those upon whom these villains have quenched their bloodthirst? Were they those who were arrested with us? We don't know anything about them. Later in the morning, at about 6 o'clock we hear their names being called in the next room. Blows and shouting, again. Eight of them were led away, "the ones to be shot" as Frank had cynically put it. And all this time we stood in our tight prison-cells and waited, waited for hours. Our lives spread before our eyes and we thought back—as far back as our childhood, when the sun was shining, the sand was warm and people loved one another. Death is not coming and you fall asleep leaning against the wall of your tight prison. Every ten minutes a policeman comes by and wakes you with a blow of his bayonet.

The leaflet, God what am I to do with it? Well, anyhow, it is all the same to be executed with it or without it. But if they find it, it could be of harm to others. Even at a time like this I knew what to do. I tried to eat it, quietly, so that the policeman should not hear the noise. It did not work, however, for the paper was too hard, my mouth too dry, I

heard the guard approach and made up my mind. I asked permission to go to the W. C. and was lucky as nobody followed me. Thus the leaflet disappeared in the drain.

At about ten o'clock we were led away. There were again four of us. The secretary of the Union who was in the room next door was added to us. The guard said we were to be brought to the New Technical College. A small open police car took us down St. Wenceslas' square, where we were stopped for some time by the armoured Adolf Hitler division, which was assisting in the liquidation of the Czech university students and frightening the people with their dreadful force. Silent, grave people passed by, the tension of the entire situation visible in their faces. Next to each of us sat an SS-trooper in this horrible black uniform of theirs, one hand on his revolver.

At last we resumed our journey to Pankrác-prison. It was very lively there, already. Long rows of students, arrested in their private homes and in the streets were being put in prison-cells. German university students, "colleagues" in a sense—wrote down your personal data.

The questions they ask you! We had to hand over all our personal belongings, and then we were driven into prison-cells. On our way, everywhere there is shouting and bustle, behind every corner an SS-lout is waiting to knock you of your feet, and in addition to kick you brutally.

At last we arrived at the cell Nr. 156. The cell was meant for one person only, but we were three. Our secretary is with us while colleague Schubert is next door. With anxiety we inspect our surroundings. For it is the first time we are in a prison. Many a time since we thought about the words engraved by some former prisoner into the wall: "Salt is more precious than gold, but freedom is most precious of all."

We spoke about our experiences.—Our secretary was called to the court and cross-examined by Frank. We thought about the development of our situation, looking at it still from the view-point of democracy, thinking in terms of law even now when the blood of mankind was being shed, the blood of those, who did not want to howl with the wolves.

The Germans, by bringing us soap and linen for a whole month, wanted simultaneously to show off their thoroughness and discipline as well

as kill our hopes for a speedy release and so to break our spirit. It is interesting that this German organization, admired by so many, and which may be even to-day praised by some, was a thoughtless, mechanical, official apparatus, blindly obeying orders and regulations. With astounding persistence directions were issued, which were completely illogical. This persistence of uncriticised discipline, brought about by the education and by the innate Prussian way of thinking, was one of the main reasons of the catastrophe of the German nation.

It could have been about 5 o'clock in the afternoon when the heavy door opened and our secretary was led away to court again. That meant death. A new wave of excitement and anxiety. We expected with certainty that it would be our turn next. Dusk had fallen and day gave way to a night, that was not to be peaceful. No sooner had we fallen asleep when they roughly woke us and gave us back our things which they had previously taken away from us, and told us to get out. On this occasion an SS "officer" could not resist the temptation and knocked out two of my teeth, injuring my jaw. Then we were crowded into trucks and off we went. Hopes arose within us that we should be set free. After a long journey through Prague we stopped in front of Ruzyň riding school. There, lying in the mud and dung on the ground of the riding school I felt for the first time that I was not an individual so-and-so, but one of those 1200 Czech students, who were lying around me, forming a unity of those condemned to death by Frank of which I, too, was a part. Seeing all those well-known faces I realised that my two colleagues and myself had lived actually longer than we were supposed to, and that we owed our lives to some unknown chance. In spite of severe pain and the sweet taste of my own blood in my mouth I fell asleep for the second time during that horrible night from the 17th to the 18th of November.

At daybreak we were driven like a herd of cattle to the Ruzyň railway station to be transported to a concentration camp. That morning, as we stopped for a short while on our march, our eyes caught a beautiful sight, which I even now, after many years, often recall. To the east, against the sky slightly reddened by the dawn we saw Prague in all her sublime beauty and on the right the dark mass of the White Mountain with the

summerpalace "Hvězda". So we stood there with bare heads bespattered with mud, ragged and around us our hang-men. This moment belongs to history and it is a living reproduction of Brožík's picture: "Jan Amos Comenius takes leave of his homeland." To history belongs the everlasting faith in the fight of Czech students for the freedom of democratic thought.

Kuneš Sontág

THE 17th OF NOVEMBER AND THE SLOVAK STUDENTS

*Motto: ... And as long as the sun is not torn from heaven
We on the battlefield with the first breeze of spring
Like stamped-on grass will rise again.*

J. V. Sládek: Czech Sonnets.

When the news came to Slovakia of the barbarous act of the occupying Nazis—the closing of the glorious and renowned Caroline University in Prague and all other Czech schools of University rank—the whole Slovak cultural public was immediately aroused.

It was not possible to respond publicly and protest against this German act at that time, but the opposition against it was apparent everywhere, most of all in the ranks of students.

From the Czech nation its natural right for higher education was to be taken away, so as to extirpate intentionally the Czech intelligentsia. The nation was to be deprived of its leadership so that it could more easily be dominated and eradicated from the surface of the earth.

We in Slovakia, having learned to know the German ways, became immediately aware that the occupying Nazis would never allow the universities in Bohemia to re-open, and that the term of three years for which these schools were to be closed would never be kept. We also knew that the Germans would not stop in their mad advance against the freedom of spirit by the extirpation of the Czech intelligentsia and the Czech nation, but that afterwards other nations who are not willing to accept unconditionally Hitler's idea of the "New Europe" under the supremacy of the Germans as obedient slaves of the "Herrenvolk" would meet the same fate.

In these critical days of November we were united in spirit with our Czech colleagues; and we felt all these events as they did. I remember that at this time the first illegal pamphlet was published by the Bratislava students.

For us, the Slovak students, it was the real entry into illegal actions and

since that time the illegal actions of the students did not cease and grew in dimensions.

It would take us too long—although it would be interesting—if I wished to describe in detail all the illegal actions attempted by Slovak students from that time to the day of our liberation. I shall mention only in short a few facts known to me.

Court proceedings and expulsions from schools in Bratislava, Ružomberok, Sv. Mikuláš, Prešov and elsewhere were unmistakable proofs of the opinion of the Slovak students. The legal action taken against our colleagues Hrušovský, Novák, Houdeková, the Gallayovec brothers, Albíni and others are still in vivid memory. We remember well all those pamphlet actions against the Minister of Schools Sivák, against the closing of the University in Oslo, etc. We remember the activity of the student underground organisation (e. g. the All Slav Revolutionary Organization) and we remember the centres that organized by propaganda the armed revolt, being in touch with the partisan units in eastern and central Slovakia. All possible aid was given to people from Slovakia, Bohemia and Moravia who were leaving to join the Czechoslovak armies abroad and false documents were provided for them. Arms and munitions were provided for the partisan units, etc.

Well-known is the sabotage done while supervising the threshings, to which University students were forced, too. And one might remember many more facts which all could be proved.

All this activity led to the Slovak national revolt; students co-operated fully in the revolt, either in the army, in the partisan units, or in the civil administration.

And so on October 18th, 1944, in the rebellious Banská Bystrica the first reunion of students on liberated soil of the Czechoslovak Republic was held. The students manifested then their positive standpoint in regard to the ideals of freedom, democracy, law and progress; their wish to co-operate in the building-up of the new socially righteous people's democratic Czechoslovak Republic; their uncompromising Slavonic conviction; and their desire to co-operate with fellow-students from the whole world, especially, with the Czech colleagues. All fascist and pro-fascist ten-

dencies from the time of the German dictatorship were definitely and unmistakably refused.

At first glance it might perhaps seem that this manifest came rather late. It is necessary, however, to understand that this seeming belatedness was simply caused by the full co-operation of students in the revolt who had at first no time to stop in the fight and in their work even for a little while in order to express in words what they were proving by deeds.

We are commemorating the events of November 17th, 1939. Don't let us forget the results which were caused in Slovakia by German pride.

Nowadays, when November 17th, 1939, is indemnified, we are convinced that the events of this day will always be remembered by the whole world, and that free science will again successfully assist in the building of a better and more beautiful tomorrow,—both for the Czechoslovak Republic and the whole world.

*JUC Dušan Slávik, delegate,
Vicepresident of the Association of Slovak Youth.*

THE HEROES OF THE INNER FRONT

You young men from the West, you who soon will be the motive forces of your respective countries, you who knew Germany as a terrible enemy standing before you, and see today the horrors that came along with the rude German warriors, hear the voice of those who looked for a moment into the boiling cauldron of the dictator in order to understand the chain of events that led the country of Goethe into the darkness of barbarism! You are a sober people, but you cannot remain unmoved by the accusation of martyred Europe. As loyal defenders of the liberties of democracy, look straight in the face of national socialism and the nation that was its carrier. Look everywhere and ask in Europe who were the SS. Ask the cool Norwegians and the liberated Yugoslavs. Perhaps you will still see traces of horror in their eyes, caused by the mere pronouncing of the name of these knights of death and members of enslaved nations. Millions of the martyred and executed, of widows and orphans; burnt-out villages and towns, are the monuments of their work. And don't forget, too, to look closely at the lives of these best sons of the German nation, the carriers of pure Teutonism, the members of the SS, or the so-called Totenkopfverbände. Then you, who were not acquainted with the Gestapo will see what kept up the fighting capacity of the German soldier. An arsenal of police and a lying heroic propaganda tried to create an atmosphere of Spartan straightforwardness and severity in the third Reich, the State supposed to be as firm as steel. And instead of this illusion, to which the fanaticised nation shouted heil, it covered the filthiest corruption, the thirst for power of the capital, and for a carefree life and enjoyment for the black soldiers of Adolph Hitler, the defence corps of Nazism, the SS.

It was just in the concentration camps that we became acquainted closely with their monstrous lives, from those of the lowest barbaric primitives to those of the dreadful rulers around Himmler. In one thing

they were all alike: they killed and stole, from the lowest of them up to the general; they killed others, but fought also one another; they plundered others, but they stole from each other, too. A pack of howling wolves, furiously biting in the struggle for the maintenance of their bestial power, and from fear of having actually to fight at the front.

Their whole "miraculous" organization was built up with a view to their principles; yes, it rested on them, directly. It did not suffice for them that they illtreated thousands behind barbed wires. They discovered that this cheap mass of working power could be wrung out and plundered before it was sent to crematoriums. And so there grew inside and outside of the camps factories and work-shops, quarters of villas and barracks. The fifteen marks of prisoners' money, paid from the money brought along or sent every month from home, were sucked up by the canteen for prisoners. That was an enterprise that did not fall directly under the administration of the camp, but under a certain association of the SS, working at exorbitant profits. These gains were to cover the deficits, the orgies of drunkards and the luxurious way of life of the bosses of other canteens for men and officers of the SS. This society from its centre at Dachau administrated SS canteens in all Europe. It sold stolen goods or bought what nobody wanted any more even in hungry Germany, only to offer it to the prisoners at outrageous prices. I do not know if you students from America or England can get the right idea of what meant the abominable gray fishbone-pie, called Westvallbeton, sold at an exorbitant price, and which we ate because of hunger. The canteen was an enormously prosperous business. In spring of 1940, bread appeared in the canteen: they said it was baked from musty flour that the USSR sent to Germany. However it was, never did any bread taste better to us, and it became truly a gift of God, saving the lives of thousands grown thin to the bone after a terrible winter. At first there was enough of it, and it was rather cheap, 1 1/2 kg for 60 pfennigs. This was naturally a small gain for the canteen, a sole crown at each piece. That was why the ingenious business-man, the head of the canteen SS-Oberscharf. Röfer introduced forced bound sales. With the bread, potato-salad was sold, a paper dish containing 10 decagrams for 2,40 marks.

That was already good business, and the prisoners paid in order to live. This was only one case of the long list of blood-sucking on the prisoners. Even though we were subhuman beings in their eyes, they rapaciously grabbed all our money to support with them ill-named women and to spend it in bars and on drinks. In this, their racial theory concerning only life and property, did not matter. Every SS-man stole; in the camp they called it "organizing". Of course, on principle, this "organizing" should not be judged from the same point of view as that one of the prisoners who stole to save their lives and ease their hard lot. Everything suited the members of the SS, and their magnanimity grew according to their rank.

While the small blockführers were in general satisfied with shoes, with a new uniform sewed for the store-houses in camp-workshops, with small objects of art, here and there even with the golden teeth of the dead or a radio set; later, when even they were in need, they had to be content with cigarettes, food, and whiskey from the canteens for the men—their chiefs, superior to small thefts, were powerful defrauders, impostors and criminals who formed their own order. The culminating phenomenon of the lower caste of thieves was in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp up to 1942 the second commander, SS-Obersturmf. Andres, called in general "Onkel Otto". Walking like an old man, this prematurely aged being strode through every work-shop and place, where there was anything to "organize". And only a sharp eye could perceive his shaky hand, dizzily swift at the moment when quickly sliding a bottle of rum or a box of finest cigars into the deep pocket of his leather coat.

The second group culminates with the person of commander SS-Oberführer Loritz, a man who founded his career on murder and robbery. He stood by Hitler and Himmler, at the liquidation of the Röhm affair, and he himself took part in the shooting. He wore a ring, granted him for his loyalty by the Führer. In this way he had laid the foundations for his climb to absolute power of a commander of Sachsenhausen. Soon he was out to harness for his gigantic business all capable forces in the camp. About a hundred hogs, a stable of riding horses, work-shops where

furniture, pictures, statues, and art objects of metal, wood, and leather were made. All served the Oberführer Loritz. An army of prisoners worked for this murderer, and provided him with plans for his villas, leaf-tin lamps and candle-sticks. The other objects he sold or gave to influential persons to prop up his own might. Besides that, he had a hunting castle and a park somewhere in Pomerania, where he went to distract his mind by hunting when overworked by murdering. The height of his insolence was reached when he had prisoners whom he transported for that purpose, build him a luxurious villa above the Wolfgang Lake in the Alps using material meant for the construction of soldiers'-quarters and administrative buildings for the SS, a villa into the glass verandah of which one sailed directly from the lake in a motorboat.

And that is what the rulers of Germany who in their bright uniforms hid their dark crimes were like. Cowards, courageous with the unarmed, who jealously guarded each other and plotted intrigues in order to maintain themselves in the ruling clique. And who were those who seized hold of power in order to dispose of human lives freely? No SS-man boasted about his civilian employment nor about what he did before the year 1933. Once, when by accident their work-reports came into our hands, we saw the extent of the tragedy of a nation once cultured. Unskilled butchers, barbers, and bricklayers, but chiefly the unemployed, who had lived from support for years; people who had shunned work, about whom one may say, in spite of the big wave of unemployment that swept over Germany before the beginning of armament, that they never wanted to work. Among the members of the SS whose names we read, one single had before 1933 a regular employment and that agreed with the kind of work granted him by the new Germany: he was a lagerführer now, and a sexton as civilian. "No Hein, never again do I wish to work as meanly with my hands as when I was a labourer; now we are rich, and we shall win the war because we must win it, otherwise what would be left of us?" That is how two subalterns of the SS, when in a better mood, discussed the situation on the eastern front. They had a panic fear of work. That is, then, what the heroes of the inner front fought for.

Kuneš Sonntág

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The 17th November

ALMANAC ABOUT THE RESISTANCE OF
CZECHOSLOVAK STUDENTS IN THE YEARS 1939-1945

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