THE ĽUDÁK SLOVAK REPUBLIC OF 1939–1945 AND THE HOLOCAUST IN THE COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF SLOVAK SOCIETY

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Comparative Research Report 2023 – 2013

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Karolína Holmanová

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This project was carried out by:

Inatituta of Lliate

Institute of History at the Slovak
 Academy of Sciences, Bratislava
 and the Holocaust Documentation
 Centre, Bratislava

Monika Vrzgulová – Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava

The research summary was prepared by Oľga Gyarfášová.

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- SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

A public opinion survey concerning the period between 1939–1945, the Holocaust, and various aspects of remembrance of the events that took place in the observed period was carried out in February 2023. The attitudes and opinions held by the public about the aforementioned period, as well as key information sources on the given period were the subject of this research.

The data was collected by FOCUS Agency on a representative sample of 1,060 inhabitants aged fifteen years and older.

This research replicates the same project that was carried out in January 2013.

Both the methodology and majority of the questions were identical in both projects, offering a unique opportunity to compare the shifts in public opinion on the relevant topics over a ten-year period. Contrary to the 2013 research, the research in question examines for the first time the phenomenon of Holocaust denial and measures its occurrence in Slovak society.

The interpretation of the results takes into account also the data from various similarly designed sociological research projects, historical studies, and archival sources. The explanatory text is an extended and updated version of the original publication *The Slovak State During WWII and the Holocaust in the Slovak Collective Memory*.

The term "the Ľudák Slovak Republic of 1939–1945" has been used throughout the text to identify the historic state occupying the territory of present-day Slovakia. The far-right paramilitary regime of the Ľudák Slovak Republic is – in compliance with academic discourse on Slovak history during the 20th century – often labelled in Slovak historiography as "ľudácky", a term derived from the name of the ruling party, the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (*Slovak*: Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana).

KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS AS THE BASIS OF HISTORICAL MEMORY

The first group of open-ended questions (i.e. questions to which the response is spontaneous and which do not come with a list of suggested answers) was focused on examining public knowledge regarding three historical aspects of the 1939–1945 period and the Holocaust in Slovakia.

The research attempts to find answers to the following open-ended questions:

- 1. 1. Which political representatives of the 1939–1945 period can the public recognize and is the public able to provide their names?
- 2. What is the meaning of the word "Aryanization" in the historical context of the 1939–1945 period in Slovakia?
- 3. 3. How many Jewish people were deported to concentration and extermination camps from the territory of the Ľudák Slovak Republic?



Jozef Tiso delivers a speech at a harvest celebration in Holič on 15 August 1942

JOZEF TISO AS A SYMBOL OF THEIR TIME

In the historical awareness of the Slovak public, the Ľudák Slovak Republic of 1939–1945 is linked particularly (and for the majority of respondents almost exclusively) to the person of President Jozef Tiso. Their name was mentioned by nearly 65 per cent of the respondents. It can be concluded that the majority of the Slovak public associates the Ľudák Slovak Republic exclusively with Jozef Tiso and is not able to spontaneously provide any other names of Ľudák politicians.

The second most common response was "I do not know" (i.e. "I do not know any", "I know no history", "No one in particular"). The rate of the "I do not know" answers makes up a quarter of all answers of the public aged 15 years and older and decreases as the age of the respondents increases: in the age group of 15–17 year olds it amounts to 45 per cent of all answers, while in the age group of 18–24 year olds it is 44 per cent of all answers. The most significant decrease can be noted in the age groups of 25 years and older.

TABLE NO. 1:

Can you name the key political representatives of the Ľudák Slovak Republic between the years of 1939 and 1945? (Open-ended question, the total exceeds 100 per cent since the respondents were permitted to provide a maximum of four answers.)

Jozef Tiso	65,1
Andrej Hlinka	8,2
Vojtech Tuka	5,2
Alexander Mach	4,7
T. G. Masaryk	2,6
Edvard Beneš	2,1
Adolf Hitler	1,4
Gustáv Husák	1,3
Ferdinand Ďurčanský	1,1
Alexander Dubček	1,1
J. V. Stalin	0,9
Klement Gottwald	0,8
Emil Hácha	0,8
M. R. Štefánik	0,6
Ferdinand Čatloš	0,4
Ján Golian	0,4
Pavol Čarnogurský	0,4
János Eszterházy	0,4
Karol Sidor	0,3
Ludvík Svoboda	0,2
Ján Vojtaššák	0,2
Antonín Zápotocký	0,1
Jozef Gabčík	0,1
I do not know	24,8

POOR MEMORY FOR NAMES

Only a marginal part of the Slovak population is able to link historic figures other than President Jozef Tiso to the historical period in question, though only a few are historically relevant. The second most mentioned political representative was Andrej Hlinka, a politician and priest who was mentioned by eight per cent of the respondents. Although Andrej Hlinka died in 1938, their name has left a firm mark in the collective memory of the wartime period due to the name of the main political party of the given era, the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Slovak: Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana), and its paramilitary organization, the Hlinka Guard (Slovak: Hlinkova garda).

More than five per cent of the respondents mentioned the name of Vojtech Tuka, the Prime Minister (1939–1944) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs (1940–1944) of the L'udák Slovak Republic. Tuka, a key figure of the radical pro-Nazi wing of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, was sentenced to death for war crimes after the end of WWII. A similar rate of the respondents recalled the name of Alexander Mach who was the Chief Commander of the Hlinka Guard as well as the Minister of Interior (1940–1945).

Ferdinand Ďurčanský, another leading representative of the Ľudák regime – whose name was recently discussed in the media in connection with the unveiling of their bust in their hometown of Rajec – was mentioned by more than one per cent of the respondents. Only 0.2 per cent of the respondents recalled Bishop Ján Vojtaššák whose name occasionally appears in the public discourse in connection with the effort of the Slovak Roman Catholic Church to beatify them. Vojtaššák, as the Vice-Charmain of the State Council (1940–1945), held important political and clerical posts in the Ľudák state.

The respondents mentioned approximately twenty names in total. They, nevertheless, often included those politicians who are not linked to the period in any way, or the ones who were part of the resistance or who represented completely different historical periods and regimes. The high percentage of incorrect responses indicates that the respondents made an effort to mention at least one name, more precisely, any name related to the 20th-century history of Slovakia. The Comparison of the 2023 results with those of 2013 (See Table No. 2) indicates a positive shift in awareness, including awareness among the youngest respondents. The rate of the "I do not know" answers decreased from a third of all answers provided in 2013 to a quarter of all answers provided in 2023. The rate of these answers among the youngest respondents dropped even more significantly – from 63 percent in 2013 to 45 percent in 2023.

In 2023, the name of Jozef Tiso was mentioned by five per cent more respondents than in 2013. It can be easily concluded that Tiso's name is rooted even more deeply in Slovak public memory of 2023, whereas the memory for the names of other representatives of the Ľudák Slovak Republic fades as the answers featuring these names are even more scarce than those from ten years ago.

TABLE NO. 2:

Can you name the key political representatives of the Ľudák Slovak Republic between 1939 and 1945? (%)

	2023	2013
Jozef TISO	65,1	59,9
Andrej HLINKA	8,1	13
Vojtech TUKA	5,2	7,6
Alexander MACH	4,7	7,4
Edvard BENEŠ	2,1	3,7
T. G. MASARYK	2,6	3
l do not know	24,8	33,8

Note: Numbers provided show the percentage of answers. The total exceeds 100% since the respondents were permitted to provide a maximum of four answers.

JOZEF TISO IN THE HISTORICAL MEMORY OF SLOVAK SOCIETY

This subchapter aims to explore the perception of Jozef Tiso by Slovak society over the past 30 years. The data for the comparison in time are drawn from earlier research by the Centre for Social Analysis, FOCUS Agency, and the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO).

The first study of the historical awareness of the inhabitants of the former Czechoslovakia after 1989 was carried out in the autumn of 1990 by the Centre for the Research of Social Issues. The study pointed out extensive "blank spaces in historical awareness". While almost half (46 per cent) of the respondents in the Czech Republic agreed about the historical contribution of the first Czechoslovak President Tomáš Garrique Masaryk, the general agreement among the Slovak respondents was substantially lower: general, politician, and diplomat Milan Rastislav Štefánik was spontaneously mentioned by 28 per cent of the respondents, the leader of the Slovak national revival Ludovít Štúr came to mind of 20 per cent of the respondents, and 11 per cent of the respondents named Catholic priest and politician Andrej Hlinka. As many as 37 per cent of the Slovak respondents – while only 19 per cent of the Czech respondents – stated that they did not know a historical figure of whom they could be proud, or more precisely, they responded that such a figure did not exist.

The respondents were then particularly embarrassed about the representatives of the two totalitarian regimes of the 20th century: Communist President of Czechoslovakia Gustáv Husák (16 per cent of the respondents), Communist politician Vasil Biľak (14 per cent of the respondents), and the president of the Ľudák Slovak Republic Jozef Tiso (12 per cent of the respondents). Jozef Tiso, however, had an unusual status: while some respondents found them disgraceful, others were proud of them. Nonetheless, it must be added that the percentage of Tiso's admirers was not high in total – they mostly consisted of the voters of the Slovak National Party and the Christian Democratic Movement who considered them a more positive than a negative figure.

Since undertaking the above-mentioned study, the evaluation and attitudes of the public considering Jozef Tiso have shifted significantly. The rate of the respondents who deem them in a "positive" manner has dropped from 25 per cent in 1993 to 9 per cent in 2018. The 14 per cent drop in support has been distributed evenly among those respondents who deem Jozef Tiso as "negative" (an increase from 42 per cent in 1993 to 49 per cent in 2018) and those for whom Tiso

represents an "ambivalent" figure (an increase from 18 per cent in 1993 to 25 per cent in 2018). In 2018, 17 per cent of the respondents gave the researchers an "I do not know" answer. It can be concluded that the admiration and positive perception of Jozef Tiso has, over the course of three decades, diminished considerably and, as of today, is limited to a narrow group of people.

TABLE NO. 3:

The development Concerning the Evaluation of Jozef Tiso (%)

	Unambiguously positive + more likely positiv		Both positive and negative		Unambiguously negative + more likely negative		
1993	25		18			42	
1999	21		19			32	
2007	18		29			45	
2011	14		28			41	
2018	9		25			49	

Note: The numbers provided show the percentage of answers. The "I do not know" and "I cannot assess" bring the total count to 100 per cent.

Sources: Centre for Social Analysis 1993; Institute of Public Affairs, 1999, 2007; International Visegrad Fund, 2011; Institute for Sociology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Public Affairs, 2018.

KHOW MANY PEOPLE KNOW THE EXACT MEANING OF THE WORD "ARYANIZATION"?

The second open-ended question targeted knowledge of the concept of "Aryanization" which is closely linked to the given period. Its use was widespread in the Ludák Slovak Republic to describe the process of the appropriation and forced transfer of Jewish property into the hands of non-Jews who were then labelled as "Aryans". The correct answer was given by almost 28 per cent of the respondents in 2023 which represents a 5 per cent increase in comparison with 2013. The rate of the "I do not know" answers dropped from 54 per cent of the respondents in 2013 to 44 per cent of the respondents in 2023 who were unable to provide any, even a remote or approximate meaning.

TABLE NO. 4:

The development of the Awareness of the Term "Aryanization" between 2013 and 2023 $\,(\%)$

	2023	2013		
Correct response	27,5	22,3		
A response related to the Holocaust, mass killings of Jews	16,1	11,4		
Identification of some concepts but in an incorrect or only partially correct context	5,1	9		
A different context, primarily in connec- tion with "Aryanism", superior race, Ger- manisation, etc. or an incorrect response	perior race, Ger- 7,1			
I do not know; I have never heard of it	44,1	53,6		

Aryanization, together with the deportations, comprised the core of the domestic anti-Jewish policies of the Ľudák Slovak Republic as well as the most elaborate part of these policies. By Aryanising, the Ľudák regime aimed not only to confiscate the Jewish property but also to completely exclude the Jewish people from the society. Without grasping the meaning of the now archaic term "Aryanization", it is impossible to understand the historical context of the given period.

Despite a certain improvement, compared to 2013, public awareness of the term "Aryanization" still remains very low as 44 per cent of the respondents were unaware of the terminology related to the abovementioned historical context.

A closer look at the responses on the basis of age reveals a positive trend, primarily in younger age groups. The rate of the "I do not know" answers has, in the age group of 15–17 year olds, decreased from 78 per cent in 2013 to 66 per cent in 2023. A similar decrease can be identified also in the age group of 18–24 year olds: from 67 per cent in 2023 to 54 percent in 2023 (See Table No. 7). This trend can be explained by the inclusion of an additional History class to the curriculum during the last year of the elementary education.

In spite of the positive trends in awareness of Aryanization, the rate of the "I do not know" responses still remains high. An absolute majority of the "I do not know" responses in the youngest age groups indicates that school education is insufficient. These findings should be implemented by expanding the methodological support for the teachers.

SEMANTIC MAP OF MEMORY

The responses given by the respondents to the aforementioned question offer a compelling material for further research of the semantic and contextual grounding of the concept of "Aryanization" in Slovak public awareness, particularly on two levels: WHAT was Aryanization and WHO were its perpetrators?

The semantic map of responses can be divided into three categories:

- 1. Responses that deem Aryanization as a neutral process of property forfeiture to the state. This category also includes responses describing Aryanization as *nationalization*, *redistribution*, *expropriation*, *property/proprietary right handover or repurchase*.
- 2. The second group of responses includes more precise key words such as confiscation, seizure of property, expropriation, as well as expressive descriptions such as forced removal, plundering, forced transfer, forced expropriation. One respondent answered: The members of the Hlinka Guard seized Jewish property.
- 3. The third group consists of <u>impersonal responses</u> making use of the passive voice as well as various designations: *state*, government, Germans removed property from the Jewish people, Jewish property was forfeited to the state and the Slovak people or Jewish property was confiscated and allocated to a Slovak administrator.

TABLE NO. 5:

Can you define what the term "Aryanization" means?

ARYANIZATION AS A LESSER KNOWN PART OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS

The majority of the respondents deliberately concealed the direct contribution of the inhabitants of the then Slovak Republic to Aryanization. In addition, this conclusion points out the fact that also those people who were able to define the term correctly did not perceive Aryanization as a clear-cut process that had not only victims but also perpetrators who bear responsibility for their crimes. Without grasping the true meaning of the Aryanization process, the political context of the given period as well as the actions of Slovakia's inhabitants during the Holocaust can hardly be comprehended. Therefore, it is impossible to come to terms with this chapter of Slovakia's history.

As the authors of the international qualitative research project *Oral History Documentation Project Crimes against Civilian Populations during WW2*, which was carried out in Slovakia between 2011 and 2016, highlighted, <u>memories of Aryanization</u> were predominantly expressed using <u>vague and passive language</u>, e.g. and then Aryanization took place, other people Aryanised (not those from our village), members of the Hlinka Guard Aryanised, etc. In case the interview revealed that a relative of the respondent had acquired a Jewish store, the respondents explained this as saying that they "had bought the Jewish stores" or referred to an agreement that had been made with the original Jewish resident.

Historical research reaffirmed again the well-known fact that some Aryanizations of business property were undertaken at the request of the original Jewish owners and in agreement with them. The post-war documents concerning the so-called retributive justice or restitution proceedings often defined such cases as "fake Aryanizations". To date, the total number of such Aryanizations remains unknown.

The existence of the so-called "fake Aryanizations" insinuates that when assessing the process of Aryanization, it is not so straightforward to label all the actors of Aryanization as "wrongdoers" as each case of Aryanization unveils a broad range of characters and behaviour patterns among actors. At the same time, it must be emphasized that research has demonstrated several cases of highly aggressive Aryanizations. The well-known example (and not a unique one) of such Aryanizations concerns the writer Ludovít Mistrík-Ondrejov who Aryanised the Steiner antiquarian bookshop in Bratislava. At the time of the mass deportations of Jews, Mistrík-Ondrejov wrote an official letter stating that the original owners were no longer needed in the store and that detaining and deporting them would harm neither the business nor the Slovak economy. Jewish property was also offered at public auctions after the original owner had been deported. Contemporary witnesses recall that such auctions took place in public, on the streets in front of the deportees' houses. Therefore, everybody could tell who came to the auction and what they bought. The respondents of the qualitative research project provided their answers as follows: we didn't buy anything at the auctions, but our neighbours in need did, people from the other village/ town came to buy, the sealed houses were plundered by the members of the Hlinka Guard for they knew the "treasure" the houses hid, etc.

After the end of WWII, the Holocaust survivors testified that they were unable to retrieve their property, personal belongings or real estate.



THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE ARYANIZATION PROCESS

The discussions and drafting of the legal regulations that would enable the expropriation and transfer of the Jewish property as well as restrictions on property rights of the Jews took place among the politicians of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party as early as the Autonomy Period (6 October 1938 – 14 March 1939), i.e. before the establishment of the L'udák Slovak Republic.

Systematic measures directed toward the proprietary rights of Jews on the territory of the L'udák Slovak Republic commenced after 14 March 1939. The process of Aryanization which, apart from the forced expropriation and property transfer, also included, in broad terms, the exclusion of the Jewish citizens from Slovakia's economic life, evolved gradually and its main stages took place between 1940–1942. The Aryanization process was most intense in the latter half of 1941. In general, Aryanization can be described as a set of anti-Jewish measures that were continuously revised. Its development reflected the then fight for power between the two wings of the ruling party, the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party: Jozef Tiso's conservative wing versus Vojtech Tuka's radical wing.

Nevertheless, when it comes to Jews as the victims of the persecution, a general conclusion can be drawn that, at every stage of the process, they were thoroughly maintained in an almost powerless position against the decisions of the state and authorities in power.

Aryanization is – thanks to the impression created by the Academy Award-winning film The Shop on Main Street (Slovak: Obchod na korze) – for the majority of people connected with businesses (shops, craft workshops, etc.), but in fact, Aryanization itself comprised a much broader process which impacted all types of property.

At that time, Jewish property was divided into:

- business property,
- home property,
- bank deposits and valuables,
- agricultural property,
- other property.



ARYANIZATION CREATES SPACE FOR PERSECUTION AND CORRUPTION

The research into the Aryanization of businesses has advanced considerably since 2013. It has demonstrated that the selection mechanism for Aryanisers favoured only those natural persons or legal persons who obtained a recommendation from of the authorities in power in the Ludák Slovak Republic (i.e. the General Secretariat of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, district headquarters of the Hlinka Guard, responsible authorities of the Deutsche Partei). However, at the same time, ad hoc interventions by regime representatives and, to a large extent, conflict of interests conduct and typical forms of corruption (nepotism, clientelism, bribes) became part of the selection mechanism for Aryanisers.

Jewish business properties, that is to say companies (commercial as well as industrial), were Aryanised by both natural persons and legal persons. In total, approximately 2,200 companies of various specialization and economic importance (ranging from small businesses with an annual turnover of less than Ks [Slovak Crowns] 50,000 to large businesses with an annual turnover higher than Ks 10 million) were Aryanised. An additional 10,000 business were liquidated in the Aryanization process. By selling out the companies' moveable assets and produced goods and withdrawing the original owner's business licence, the enterprise ceased to exist.

Research has also revealed that when it comes to ethnicity, the majority of the business Aryanisers were Slovaks, followed by the members of the German minority. Only a small number of Aryanisers were of Rusyn origin and only one was a member of the Hungarian minority, an act resulting from a political agreement on the highest level.

The home property of the Jews was expropriated by the state as a whole in the autumn of 1941. Awareness of the home property Aryanization has increased since 2013. Research has shown that since 1942 the state conducted an assessment of the expropriated real estate and made efforts to sell the assessed real estate, or more precisely houses, land parcels and gardens with an area of up to 1,000 square fathoms, to natural persons and legal persons beginning in January 1944. Political criteria were used in the selection process of the buyers, as was the case with the business property selling. To date, the value of home property sold by the Ľudák Slovak Republic is unknown. In the autumn of 1940, the state also blocked the Jewish bank deposits. Afterwards, significant financial resources were drawn from their accounts in the form of various levies and fees.

As far as the valuables, including jewellery and objects made of precious metals, were concerned, these, as was the case with the bank deposits, were taken over by the state. From the autumn of 1940, Jews were obliged to hand in all of their jewellery and objects made of precious metals for safekeeping in financial institutions. The state subsequently imposed Jews under an obligation to pay a special levy amounting to 20 per cent of their property. The jewellery previously handed in was supposed to be the collateral for the special levy which was to be paid by 31 July 1942.



The catastrophic social situation of the Jewish population together with the deportations, which began on 25 March 1942, resulted in a special levy on the Jewish property designated as having been unpaid as of July 1942. The state hence seized all the deposited valuables. After the end of WWII, only 4,000 of the original number of 17,000 deposit items were restituted by 1949.

The remainder was transported to Prague in 1953 and under the supervision of the National Bank of Czechoslovakia it was sorted, precious stones were extracted, and jewellery melted, totalling <u>137.9</u> kilograms of gold, 828 grams of silver, and 148.5 grams of platinum with an estimated value of CZK [Czechoslovak Crowns] 11,743,000.

The moveable assets of the Jews who had been deported or had fled from Slovakia were expropriated by the state in 1942 and consequently sold at public auctions by the authorities. These auctions, announced publicly and in advance, were organized by the employees of the tax offices who could be assisted by other state officials, mostly local notaries. The so-called agricultural property was not left out of the Aryanization process. The then data state that more than 100,000 hectares of land and the equipment of many farms were Aryanised.

As a result of the Aryanization of all forms of property, the Jewish community was left completely pauperized by the end of 1941. Out of the total number of 90,000 Jews in Slovakia, some 64,000 Jews were unable to provide for themselves using the revenue from their own property. Therefore, the Jewish community became a serious social problem for the Ludák Slovak Republic. The regime was not willing to provide social security benefits for the inhabitants whom the state itself had deprived of their property and the ability to provide for themselves.

In the beginning of 1942, L'udák politicians found a solution for this situation by deporting Jews to the territory of present-day Poland which was occupied by the Germans at the time. It is widely recognized that the L'udák Slovak Republic paid the Nazi Third Reich 500 Reichsmarks for each Jew deported.

(ESTIMATED) VALUE OF THE ARYANISED PROPERTY

As for the total value of the Aryanised property, only the data provided by the main organizers of Aryanizations in the spring of 1942 are available. Their summary indicates that the total value of the Aryanised property (including liabilities) was at that time worth about Ks 4.3 billion. In spite of a certain shift in critical analysis since 2013, to date, historians have not been able to calculate the exact value. Some of the indicators were, as it turned out, higher than originally presented and, for example, the turnover of the Aryanised enterprises was approximately Ks 100 million higher than the total value of the Aryanised property as presented in 1942. An assumption can be drawn that the total value of the Aryanised property will be thanks to further research more accurately determined in the future.

The 2013 research project attempted to express the value of the Aryanised property in current Slovak currency [euro]. The goal of the research was to convert the aforementioned total value of the Aryanised property as presented by the Aryanization organisers in 1942 into the then financial value. The starting point for these calculations was the estimate that Ks 1 had a value of €0.25. A rough mechanical calculation resulted in the total value of Aryanised property of €1 billion in 2013. Using the same method, the total value of the Aryanised property (if the amount stated in 1942 is considered authentic) would amount to €1.2 billion in 2023.

A more precise notion of the then value of the Aryanised property can be provided by comparing the value with the selected basket of consumer goods or, alternatively, by a recalculation based on a wages comparison. The average gross wage of a civil servant (e.g. a junior minister officer or a teacher) was approximately Ks 800–1,000 in 1939–1945 which correlated one-to-one with the wages of the same employees in 2013.

HOW MANY JEWISH PEOPLE WERE DEPORTED FROM THE TERRITORY OF SLOVAKIA TO CONCENTRATION AND EXTERMINATION CAMPS?

The last question in the set of questions regarding public awareness attempts to find out whether the respondents knew, at least approximately, how many Jewish people were deported from the territory of the Ludák Slovak Republic to concentration and extermination camps during WWII.

The answer within the range of 50,000 to 80,000 Jews which was qualified as correct was given by 22 per cent of respondents, while 19 per cent of the respondents underestimated the number, and 24 per cent of the respondents stated a higher number. Some 30 per cent of the respondents were unable to provide an answer.

A closer look at the responses on the basis of age reveals a positive trend, primarily in younger age groups. It is possible that the additional History class in the curriculum during the last year of the elementary education was most evident in the field of encyclopaedic knowledge as more respondents were able to state a specific number. The rate of the "I do not know answers" in the age group of 15–17 year olds decreased almost by half: from 65 per cent of all answers in 2013 to 35 per cent in 2023. A similar decrease can be noted as well in the age group of 18–24 year olds from 56 per cent of all answers in 2013 to 31 per cent of all answers in 2013 to 31 per cent of all answers in 2023 (See Table No. 7).

TABLE NO. 6:

Can you tell – at least approximately – how many Jews were transported during WWII from the territory of the Ľudák Slovak Republic to concentration and extermination camps? (2013 and 2023 Comparison)

	2023	2013
Correct answer (50,000–80,000)	22,2	15,3
Incorrect answer (less than 50,000)	19,2	17,5
Incorrect answer (more than 80,000)	24,3	14,9
Indeterminate answer (lots of, thousands, millions, etc.)	5	3,5
No one	0,1	0
l do not know; I have never heard of it	29,2	48,9

note: The numbers provided show the percentage of answers.

The level of public awareness about some aspects of the Ľudák Slovak Republic and the Holocaust has increased over the past ten years, however, it still cannot be considered satisfactory.

The rate of the "I do not know" answers is high and is mostly related to age: the younger the respondents are, the less they know. Albeit the exact opposite could be expected as the 8th and 9th grade pupils in elementary schools as well as the high school students should know the most about Slovak modern history since it is the part of their curriculum. A positive trend in the level of awareness since 2013 can be observed in the youngest age groups. Another important and anticipated factor that affects the knowledge level is the degree of education.



TABLE NO 7:

The Rate of the "I do not know" Answers to Open-Ended Questions (Based on Age)

Key political representatives of the Ľudák Slovak Republic (1939–1945)

2023	44,7	43,7	27,9	24,6	19,9	25,1	15,2	24,8
2013	62,5	55,3	45,8	29,8	20,3	22,8	22,4	33,8

What does the term "Aryanization" mean?

2023	66,7	53,8	43,3	40	46	39,4	42,7	44,1
2013	78,3	66,7	56,9	55,9	44,8	47,6	45,7	53,6

How many Jews were deported from the territory of the Ľudák Slovak Republic into concentration camps?

2023	35,1	31,2	29,4	27	26,1	32,9	28,9	29,2
2013	65,2	56,5	59,7	48,9	40,1	41,2	41,2	48,9



SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ĽUDÁK SLOVAK REPUBLIC AND THE HOLOCAUST

In order to broaden the public's knowledge as well as to sensitise the society regarding the topic of the Holocaust, it is crucial to know which information sources the public relies on, or more precisely, which information sources it declares to rely on. The respondents were able to choose two sources from a comprehensive list of (assumed) sources.

Similar to 2013, the most frequently mentioned source was school, but its importance has decreased. Whereas ten years ago it represented the most preferred information source for 44 per cent of the respondents, in 2023 it was chosen by 35 per cent of the respondents (See Table No. 8). The dominance of school as the main source of information among 15-17 year olds (70 per cent of the respondents -See Table No. 9) cannot be considered a surprise.

The second most relevant source of information are Slovak public media (28 per cent of the respondents) followed by family, meetings with the survivors, and academic or non-fiction literature which received 14 per cent of the answers respectively. Even though Internet and social networks have increased from 6 per cent of the respondents in 2013 to 12 per cent of the respondents in 2023, it is also obvious that despite the significantly more intense use of the Internet as a source of information, it is still not mentioned as frequently as a source of information about the Ľudák Slovak Republic and the Holocaust.

The comparison of the sources of information over the past decade indicates a few important shifts: a decline of family as a source of such information (and possibly as a space for communication in general) and an increase in the use of the Internet and social networks that are more relevant sources of information regarding the topics in guestion for the age group of 18-24 year olds.

The decrease of the "I am not interested" answers from 12 per cent in 2013 to 4 per cent in 2023 can only be considered positive.

TABLE NO. 8:

What was your source of information and knowledge about the persecutions and mass killings of Jews during the Ludák Slovak Republic and about the Holocaust? (Please choose two sources from the given list that have contributed the most to your knowledge and awareness. Comparison of 2013 and 2023)

	2023	2013
School	35	44
Slovak public media (STV, SRo, or more precisely RTVS)	28	28
Family	14	21
Meetings with the survivors	14	11
Academic and non-fiction literature	14	9
Internet, social networks, blogs	12	6
Friends and acquaintances	11	13
Private TV channels (Markíza, JOJ, TA3)	10	10
Museums	8	Х
Magazines and newspapers	6	12
Art: fiction, films, exhibitions, theatre	6	7
Czech public media	2	3
Other foreign TV channels	2	2
Activities of civic associations, NGOs, etc.	1	1
Other sources	1	1
I am not interested; No source	4	12

note: The numbers provided show the percentage of answers. The total exceeds 100 per cent since the respondents were permitted to provide two answers.X %E2%80%93 was not on the list in 2013

Since the young generation is especially important from the point of view of teaching and education, this paper will look more closely at the shifts in the portfolio of information sources for this age group. Although the research does not analyse the learning curriculum, it is deemed positive that the importance of school has increased for the age group of 15–17 year olds over the past decade.

This increase most probably reflects the additional History class added to the 9th grade curriculum for the elementary school students (2017 amendment), but at the same time, it also reflects the overall greater attention that schools are paying to the topics of right-wing extremism. This phenomenon emerged after the 2016 elections in which the far-right neo-Nazi political party People's Party Our Slovakia (Slovak: Ludová strana Naše Slovensko, LSNS) entered the Slovak Parliament for the first time mostly thanks to young voters. On the other hand, the data show a literal collapse of the family as a space for communication about historical topics and as a means for transmitting intergenerational experience.

A significant decrease in the importance of the family as a source of information and knowledge (from 21 per cent in 2013 to 14 per cent in 2023) can be, on the one hand, the result of natural causes: the gradual absence of the oldest generation, the so-called "generation of experience", who lived during the observed historical period affects the intergenerational transmission of their direct experience.

The international qualitative research project Oral History Documentation Project Crimes against Civilian Populations during WW2, which was carried out in Slovakia between 2011–2016 and which focused on the memories of non-Jewish Holocaust survivors, has, on the other hand, come to an interesting conclusion. Non-Jewish eyewitnesses of the Holocaust stated that they rarely talk to their children and grandchildren about their experience of the given period.

A more general reason for the decreased importance of the family can be the overall lack of communication between family members, a phenomenon that psychologists in particular have been pointing out recently.

TABLE NO 9:

What was your source of information and knowledge about the persecution and mass killings of Jews during the L'udák Slovak Republic and about the Holocaust? (Please choose two sources from the given list that have contributed the most to your knowledge and awareness.)

	Family	School	Internet, social networks	Academic literature	Public media
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Age group

15 – 17	5,4	70,3	10,8	8,3	8,1
18 – 24	7,7	51,6	20,9	13,2	12,1
25 – 34	9,6	44,6	18,6	11,9	21,5
35 – 44	13,7	36,3	17,2	12,7	27
45 – 54	13,6	31,3	10,2	15,9	34,1
55 – 64	15,2	26,2	6,7	18,3	32,9
65+	20,5	19,9	2,4	11,9	36,2

Comparison of 2013 and 2023 – the Youngest Age Groups

	School		Internet, social net	works	Family	
Age	2023	2013	2023	2013	2023	2013
2023	70,3	55,4	10,8	16,5	5,4	16,6
2013	51,6	60,5	20,9	10,6	7,7	17



PUBLIC ATTITUDES ON THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OF THE L'UDÁK SLOVAK REPUBLIC FOR THE HOLOCAUST AND ON REMEMBRANCE Ш.

The key issue in relation to the L'udák Slovak Republic is how the responsibility of its political representatives for the deportations and mass killings of Jews is perceived by the public.

In the research results, 70 per cent of the respondents agreed (completely and somewhat) that these representatives bear responsibility. Those who disagreed amounted to 17 per cent of the respondents and 13 per cent of the respondents were not able to give an answer which represents a decrease in comparison with the research from 2013 (19 per cent of the answers).

TABLE NO 10:

The political representatives of the wartime Slovak Republic of 1939–1945 share the responsibility for the deportations and mass killings of the Jews.

I completely agree	33,9	70
I somewhat agree	35,7	10
l somewhat disagree	14,3	17
I completely disagree	2,6	17
l do not know	13,3	13

TABLE NO 11:

Porovnanie 2023 - 2013 (v %)

	2023	2013	
I completely agree + I somewhat agree	70	67	
I somewhat disagree + I completely disagree	17	14	
l do not know	13	19	

The moderately increasing trend in the question of the responsibility of regime representatives for the deportations and mass killings of Jews can be considered good news. At the same time – based on the responses about the specific names of the representatives – it is obvious that the responsibility is not personalized in any way and is somewhat more linked to a "nameless group" of unknown regime representatives than to specific persons.

Only President Jozef Tiso is directly identified, although their role and responsibility is "diluted" in the following questions concerning them (e.g. the question about saving the Jews). The positive opinion is fairly evenly distributed among all age groups.



THE MYTH OF JOZEF TISO AS A "RESCUER" OF THE JEWS

Defenders of President Tiso claim in Tiso's defence that he saved the lives of many Jewish people.

Thirty-three per cent of the respondents agreed with this statement which indicates a 4 per cent increase in comparison with 2013. On the other hand, the number of those who disagree with this statement has also increased from 40 per cent in 2013 to 47 per cent of the respondents in 2023. Twenty per cent of the respondents are unable to adopt an attitude regarding this statement. A relatively high level of uncertainty concerning this question can be ascertained from the research, even though the number of the "I don't know" answers has fallen by 11 per cent over ten years. This implies a question of how to convey knowledge and interest in national history to young people in particular.

The myth of Jozef Tiso as a "rescuer" of the Jews from the impacts of the policies of the state of which he was a chief representative is relatively persistent and prosperous.

As the chief representative of the Ľudák Slovak Republic of 1939–1945, Tiso is still perceived ambiguously. This perception is as well affected by the fact that Tiso was a Catholic priest. The ambiguous interpretation of Tiso's political legacy is also influenced by the persisting incapability of the Catholic Church in Slovakia to articulate and critically re-evaluate their political responsibility for the Holocaust in Slovakia.

TABLE NO. 12:

President Tiso saved the lives of many Jews

I completely agree	7,8	- 33	
I somewhat agree	25,1	33	
l somewhat disagree	23,2	47	
I completely disagree	23,6	47	
l do not know	20,2	20	

TABLE NO. 13:

Comparison of 2013 and 2023

	2023	2013	
I completely agree + I somewhat agree	33	29	
I somewhat disagree + I completely disagree	47	40	
l do not know	20	31	

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SCHOOL REALITY

The authors of this research have noticed a certain dynamic and qualitative shift emerging from their practical experience and direct contact with teachers at various informal educational activities.

In the 1990s, teachers openly and publicly objected, for example, to the criticism of Jozef Tiso. They were disturbed by the notion that a shared responsibility for the Holocaust in Slovakia could possibly be attributed to the Slovak nation as a whole. Gradually, the frequency of open manifestations of the teachers' disagreement with the criticism of the regime of 1939–1945 and its representatives has decreased.

At the same time, since the beginning of the new millennium, the teachers' interest in new ways of teaching about this historical period as well as in new methodological and didactical procedures has increased. Today, lots of new resources, didactic texts, and methodological handbooks are available.

The issues of the L'udák Slovak Republic of 1939–1945, the Holocaust in Slovakia, and the fates of the Jewish community are, however, not specifically rooted in the curriculum. These topics can be taught within several subjects (History, Civics, Ethics, Religious Education); the quality of such teaching, nevertheless, depends primarily on the attitude and engagement of the individual teachers, but, at the same time, it also depends on the support of the school management and local prerequisites: availability of the objects connected to the life of the Jewish community, museums or other institutions offering quality educational programs.

There are schools that purposely include the aforementioned topics in their curriculum and create student projects targeted at local Jewish communities and their fates in the 20th century or even actively participate in the upkeep of the Jewish cultural heritage sights, e.g. the preservation of Jewish cemeteries at the school site or in its surroundings. Nonetheless, it must be noted that <u>if a teacher</u>, for whatever reason, is not willing to deal with these difficult topics <u>or discuss the role of the Slovak majority in the Holocaust</u>, they can easily sidestep them.



SLOVAKS BENEFITED FROM THE HOLOCAUST

As many as 82 per cent of the respondents think that the Slovak people benefited from the Holocaust. Only 6 per cent of the respondents adopted a disapproving attitude and an additional 12 per cent were unable to give an answer. The responses to this question indicate a broad general agreement which is, however, not backed by deeper knowledge of historical facts and relations as manifested also by the other results of this research. A relatively significant increase seen in the approval of this question regarding attitudes can be without a doubt considered a positive trend that is affected chiefly by the information communicated by the media and the official appearances of political and state representatives, or more precisely the appearances of the opinion-forming authorities in public discourse. When interpreting such statements, it is crucial to consider to what extent the statement is uttered on a declarative level which may or may not be based on a specific notion or a piece of knowledge.



TABLE NO 14:

Some inhabitants of the Ľudák Slovak Republic financially or materially benefited from the persecution and discrimination of the Jews in Slovakia (by Aryanising, by buying the property of the deported Jews at public auctions, etc.)

I completely agree 40,5		82	
I somewhat agree	41,3	02	
I somewhat disagree	5,4	6	
I completely agree	0,8		
l do not know	12	12	

TABLE NO 15:

Comparison of 2023 and 2013

	2023	2013	
I completely + somewhat agree	82	73	
l somewhat + completely disagree	6	7	
l do not know	12	20	

ATTITUDES TO REMEMBRANCE

The majority of the Slovak citizens (71 per cent) recognize that the memories of the Holocaust have to be kept alive systematically. People with a university education are more likely to speak in favour of remembrance. Compared to 2013, also this question has seen a positive shift, since 61 per cent of the respondents expressed their support for remembrance in 2023, making it a more significant shift than the one noted between 1999 (AJC research) and 2013. On the other hand, 25 per cent of the respondents are of an exactly opposite opinion, agreeing with the statement that nearly 80 years after the end of WWII, it is time to stop commemorating the deportations and mass killings of Jews. Although remembrance is supported by an overwhelming majority, a quarter of the population cannot be deemed as a negligible minority.

TABLE NO. 16:

For each pair of statements, please decide whether you completely agree with Statement A, somewhat agree with Statement A, somewhat agree with Statement B or completely agree with Statement B.

- A. Nearly 80 years after the end of WWII, it is high time to stop commemorating the deportations and mass killings of Jews.
- B. The abovementioned memories should be systematically preserved.

I completely agree with Statement A	10,1	25
I somewhat agree with Statement A	15,3	23
I somewhat agree with Statement B	29,4	71
I completely agree with Statement B	41,5	71
l do not know	3,7	4

TABLE NO. 17:

Comparison of 2013 and 2023

	2023	2013
I completely + somewhat agree with Statement A	25	29
l completely + somewhat agree with Statement B	71	61
l do not know	4	10

The final question regarding attitudes aimed to examine the perceptions of the necessity of one's learning from the past. The respondents were given two statements to choose from. Sixty-nine per cent of the respondents agreed with the necessity of "discuss[ing] more the ways that totalitarian regimes, using propaganda, are able to manipulate 'common people' into participating in human rights abuse and mass killings."

On the contrary, 26 per cent of the respondents completely agree with the opposite, meaning that they are persuaded that "remembrance is of no use, nothing similar to persecutions and mass killings of a part of the population could ever happen again in [the] society". Nonetheless, a moderate positive shift compared to 2013 can be observed in connection with this statement.



TABLE NO. 18:

For each pair of statements, please decide whether you completely agree with Statement A, somewhat agree with Statement A, somewhat agree with Statement B.

- A. We should discuss more the ways that totalitarian regimes, using propaganda, are able to manipulate "common people" into participating in human rights abuse and mass killings.
- B. Remembrance is of no use, nothing similar to persecutions or mass killing of a part of the population could ever happen again in our society.

I completely agree with Statement A	37	69	
I somewhat agree with Statement A	32,3	09	
I somewhat agree with Statement B	17,1	26	
I completely agree with Statement B	8,4	20	
I do not know	5,1	5	
	-		

TABUĽKA 19:

Comparison of 2013 and 2023

	2023	2013
I completely + somewhat agree with Statement A	69	60
I completely + somewhat agree with Statement B	26	28
l do not know	5	12

The increased support for the notion of remembering the Ludák Slovak Republic and the Holocaust can be perceived as a result of the memorial events and initiatives that have become part of the official state commemorative acts (e.g. observing the International Day in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust at the Holocaust Victims' Memorial on Rybné Square in Bratislava, commemorating the first transport at the Poprad train station). At local level, memorial initiatives are also organized and attended by local politicians, or more precisely by civic activists, and are interwoven with the local history of the Jewish communities (e.g. the initiative of the Bratislava self-governing region in Patrónka). Civic activities, often organized in cooperation with Jewish religious communities, or rather the Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Slovakia, and non-governmental organizations (e.g. The Holocaust Documentation Centre, the Milan Šimečka Foundation, Post Bellum, the Vrba-Wetzler Memorial March, etc.), occupy the public space regularly and on a long-term basis. The activities of the Museum of the Holocaust in Sered, founded in 2016, are an important part of commemorating the Holocaust.

The reading of the names of the Holocaust victims in the Pavol Ország Hviezdoslav theatre in Bratislava (since 2009), but also in other places, e.g. at Jewish cemeteries (e.g. in Zvolen), by local memorials and plaques with the names of the local Jewish residents, has gained importance recently. Local historians and activists are more eager to determine the correct name lists of the Holocaust victims (such memorial sites were established in several Slovak cities including Košice, Bardejov, Námestovo, Ružomberok, Piešťany, Bánovce nad Bebravou, and many more). Not only Jewish victims of the Holocaust are being commemorated, recently more and more non-Jewish helpers, or rather rescuers, are coming into the spotlight: primarily stories of the rescuers of Jews are becoming an integral part of the Slovak memorial narrative.

Retelling the stories of the rescuers of Jews retains major media coverage. The public television RTVS regularly broadcasts the Righteous Among the Nations ceremony, where Israeli state decorations are awarded to non-Jews who helped to save Jews. The editor of the public Slovak Radio service Dagmar Mozolová also systematically covers the topic of rescuers in their programme Encyclopaedia of the Righteous (Slovak: Encyklopédia spravodlivých). Since 2014 more than 100 episodes have been broadcast. Since 2018, Mozolová has also administered The Stories of the Righteous (Slovak: Príbehy spravodlivých) website which shares stories about "courageous Slovaks who saved lives". Mozolová is the author of the 2015 film The Righteous (Slovak: Spravodliví). This trend of the recent years resembles the onset of the "era of rescuers". Such a trend is not unique to Slovakia; similar tendencies can be discerned also in Poland and Hungary. The stories of the rescuers of Jews are a suitable means of talking about the Holocaust in Slovakia and addressing the non-Jewish majority with a positive message. The ever-shrinking group of the Holocaust survivors responds quite positively to these efforts. The majority of the survivors owe their lives to the people from the non-Jewish majority for their help and sacrifice.

Rescued Jews, however, represent only a tiny fraction of the original Jewish community and the awarded rescuers are only a small part of the story of the Holocaust in Slovakia. Yet, the number of the rescuers is considerably smaller than that of the silent, observing, benefiting, and collaborating majority in the Ľudák Slovak Republic.

By emphasizing positive and humane examples, role models worth following are created, but, at the same time, the attention of the public is distracted from the participation of the non-Jewish population in the Holocaust in Slovakia. The proverbial silent majority was at best inactive and at worst made use of the situation of the Jews to their own benefit by Aryanising, purchasing Jewish property at public auctions or by taking over the vacant posts after the deported Jews. It is important to note that unlike the rescuers who behaved in good conscience, the conduct of the silent majority was in accordance with the then effective laws. These facts are not frequently discussed in public, even more scarcely they are a part of the statements of politicians who would rather pose for photographs with rescuers.

TO WHAT EXTENT IS HOLOCAUST DENIAL OBSERVABLE IN PUBLIC?

Holocaust denial in Slovakia is, just as in the majority of the member states of the European Union, a criminal offence. Despite the legal consequences, the phenomenon of the Holocaust denial is present all over the country. Therefore, this paper aims to examine, for the first time, two questions related to this phenomenon.

The main discovery is that almost a third of the respondents have come across the opinion that the extermination of Jews by the Nazi regime never happened. Less surprisingly, nearly 40 per cent of these respondents have come across such assertions on the Internet or social networks.

Coming across such statements itself does not absolutely mean that the respondents approve of these statements; they are rather sensitive to such types of news and, in general, follow social and political events more closely.

TABLE NO. 20:

Some people claim that Jews were never exterminated by the Nazi regime. Have you ever come across such opinions?

Yes, I have come across them	32,5	
No, I have never come across them	64,4	
l do not know	3,1	

TABLE NO. 21:

If you answered yes, could you specify the sources of such information? Note: The respondents were allowed to select multiple options. Numbers provided show the percentage of answers.

ти	31,8	
Radio	7,3	
Newspapers/magazines	16,7	
The Internet	39,3	
Social networks	30,3	
Conversations with family members	3,8	
Conversations with friends, acquaintances or colleagues	18,6	
School	1,8	
Other (which one?)	3,6	
l do not know	3,6	

Outright Holocaust denial in Slovakia is not identified as a widespread problem. However, milder forms of trivialization of the Holocaust or inadequate and insensitive handling of the symbols associated with the Holocaust occur all over Slovakia. A good example to illustrate this is the attempt to use the Star of David by the anti-vaccination protesters during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Affairs concerning the memorials of the representatives of the wartime regime (e.g. Jozef Tiso's statue in Čajakovce near Nitra or Ferdinand Ďurčanský's bust in Rajec) or the street-naming activities ("Dr. Jozef Tiso Street" in Varín) are also relevant examples of an absence of sensitivity.

Similarly, some political representatives also lack sensitivity and empathy to prevent such inappropriate behaviour, observe the inappropriate comparison of the former Prime Minister Igor Matovič who called themselves a "Jew of the 21st century" in connection with the alleged media attacks against them.

This paper's findings about the extent of Holocaust denial can be complemented by the results of international research carried out by the Oxford Internet Institute in 2022. The researchers identified and analysed almost 4,000 posts regarding the Holocaust that were posted on five major online platforms: Facebook, Instagram, Telegram, TikTok, and Twitter.

The aforementioned research concluded that as many as half of the Telegram's content about the Holocaust denies or distorts the facts. Similarly, 19 per cent of the Holocaust-related content on Twitter, 8 per cent of such content on Facebook, and 3 per cent of Instagram posts about the Holocaust contained manipulative language or misinterpreted the historical facts.





APPENDIX

IV.

Results summary

QUESTIONS SORTED BY SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

The political representatives of the Ľudák Slovak Republic of 1939–1945 share the responsibility for the deportations and mass killings of Jews

I completely	I completely	
and	and	l do not
somewhat	somewhat	know
agree	disagree	

Entire population	70	17	13
Male	71	17,1	11,9
Female	68,3	17	14,7

Age

15 – 17	63,9	11,1	25
18 – 24	69,2	11	19,8
25 – 34	72,9	13	14,1
35 – 44	68,1	18,1	13,7
45 – 54	71,6	17	11,4
55 – 64	68,9	20,7	10,4
65 or more	69	19,5	11,4

I completely	I completely	
and	and	l do not
somewhat	somewhat	know
agree	disagree	
 •	•	

Elementary	63.2	14.4	22.4
Secondary (vocational)	65.2	21,7	13.0
Secondary	69.9	17.3	12.8
University	78.4	13.3	8.3

Supporters of the parliamentary parties

Education

OĽaNO	75	13,6	11,4
Smer-SD	69,9	22,3	7,8
ĽSNS	30	50	20
Sme rodina	64,2	13,2	22,6
PS	85,7	6,5	7,8
SaS	84,2	10,5	5,3
KDH	70,8	16,7	12,5
Republika	63,9	29,5	6,6
HLAS-SD	71,2	17,8	11

President Tiso saved the lives of many Jews.

	l completely and somewhat agree	l completely and somewhat disagree	l do not know
Whole population	33	47	20
Male	33,5	47,5	19,1
Female	32,4	46,3	21,4

Age

21,6	37,8	40,5
25,3	48,4	26,4
21,9	47,2	30,9
34,3	47,1	18,6
32,4	53,4	14,2
37,2	44,5	18,3
43,1	43,6	13,3
	25,3 21,9 34,3 32,4 37,2	25,3 48,4 21,9 47,2 34,3 47,1 32,4 53,4 37,2 44,5

Education	l completely and somewhat agree	l completely and somewhat disagree	l do not know
Elementary	31	40,2	28,7
Secondary (vocational)	38,7	42,7	18,6
Secondary	32,4	48,7	18,9
University	29,2	52,9	17,9

	•		
OĽaNO	22,7	56,8	20,5
Smer-SD	49,5	36,9	13,6
ĽSNS	40	30	30
Sme rodina	31,5	31,5	37
PS	13,2	77,6	9,2
SaS	28,9	55,3	15,8
KDH	37,5	45,8	16,7
Republika	42,6	42,6	14,8
HLAS-SD	37	44,5	18,5

Some inhabitants of the Ľudák Slovak Republic financially or materially benefited from the persecution and discrimination of the Jews in Slovakia (by Aryanising, by buying the property of the deported Jews at public auctions, etc.)

I completely	I completely	
and	and	l do not
somewhat	somewhat	know
agree	disagree	

Entire population	82	6	12
Male	82,5	7	10,5
Female	81,3	5,3	13,4

Age

1.51			
15 – 17	61,1	8,3	30,6
18 – 24	80,4	2,2	17,4
25 – 34	83,1	5,6	11,3
35 – 44	81,4	8,8	9,8
45 – 54	80,8	6,2	13
55 – 64	81,7	4,3	14
65 or more	86,3	6,6	7,1

I completely	I completely	
and	and	I do not
somewhat	somewhat	know
agree	disagree	

Education

Elementary	74,1	6,3	19,5
Secondary (vocational)	81	7,5	11,5
Secondary	82,7	5,4	12
University	87,1	5,8	7,1

OĽaNO	82,2	6,7	11,1
Smer-SD	87,4	5,8	6,8
ĽSNS	70	10	20
Sme rodina	65,5	5,5	29,1
PS	94,7	1,3	3,9
SaS	84,2	10,5	5,3
KDH	77,1	14,6	8,3
Republika	86,9	8,2	4,9
HLAS-SD	81,5	5,5	13

For each pair of statements, please decide whether you completely agree with Statement A, somewhat agree with Statement A, somewhat agree with Statement B or completely agree with Statement B.

- A. Nearly 80 years after the end of WWII, it is high time to stop commemorating the deportations and mass killings of Jews.
- B. The abovementioned memories should be systematically preserved.

	l agree with Statement A	l agree with Statement B	l do not know
--	--------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------

Entire population	25	71	4
Male	24,9	71,1	4,1
Female	25,9	70,8	3,3

36,8	55,3	7,9
20,7	72,8	6,5
25,4	71,8	2,8
27,8	69,3	2,9
22,6	72,9	4,5
21,3	73,8	4,9
28,6	70	1,4
	20,7 25,4 27,8 22,6 21,3	20,7 72,8 25,4 71,8 27,8 69,3 22,6 72,9 21,3 73,8

I agree with Statement A

Education

Elementary	25,3	68,4	6,3
Secondary (vocational)	26,5	70	3,6
Secondary	27,7	68,4	3,8
University	20,4	77,9	1,7

OĽaNO	22,7	77,3	
Smer-SD	23,3	74,8	1,9
ĽSNS	70	30	
Sme rodina	39,6	54,7	5,7
PS	9,1	90,9	
SaS	21,1	78,9	
KDH	29,8	68,1	2,1
Republika	38,3	60	1,7
HLAS-SD	24,7	71,2	4,1

For each pair of statements, please decide whether you completely agree with Statement A, somewhat agree with Statement A, somewhat agree with Statement B or completely agree with Statement B.

- A. Nearly 80 years after the end of WWII, it is high time to stop commemorating the deportations and mass killings of Jews.
- B. The abovementioned memories should be systematically preserved.

I agree with Statement A	l agree with Statement B	l do not know
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------

Entire population	69	26	5
Male	71,2	23,7	5,1
Female	67,6	27,3	5,1

Age

15 – 17	55,3	36,8	7,9
18 – 24	65,9	25,3	8,8
25 – 34	71,2	22	6,8
35 – 44	70,1	25	4,9
45 – 54	73,1	24	2,9
55 – 64	66,9	26,4	6,7
65 or more	70	27,1	2,9

	l agree with Statement A	l agree with Statement B	l do not know
--	--------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------

Education

Elementary	63,8	27,6	8,6
Secondary (vocational)	69,2	26,5	4,3
Secondary	71,7	23,7	4,6
University	70	25,8	4,2

OĽaNO	75,6	24,4	
Smer-SD	64,7	32,4	2,9
ĽSNS	55	45	
Sme rodina	53,7	35,2	11,1
PS	80,3	13,2	6,6
SaS	66,7	33,3	
KDH	83,3	14,6	2,1
Republika	67,2	29,5	3,3
HLAS-SD	71,2	25,3	3,4

Some people claim that Jews were never exterminated by the Nazi regime. Have you ever come across such opinions?

Yes, I have come across them

Entire population	32,5
Male	35,5
Female	29,7

Age	
15 – 17	24,3
18 – 24	32,6
25 – 34	29,8
35 – 44	34,6
45 – 54	32,4
55 – 64	36
65 or more	31,4

Education	
Elementary	22,4
Secondary (vocational)	30,8
Secondary	33,9
University	39,4

Supporters of the parliamentary parties	
OĽaNO	40
Smer-SD	25,5
ĽSNS	30
Sme rodina	27,8
PS	53,9
SaS	43,6
KDH	39,6
Republika	41
HLAS-SD	30,8

Internet use
daily
soveral times

daily	34,9
several times a week	40,1
once a week	20,8
2 – or 3-times a week	21,4
less frequently	11,5
never	19,3

Could you specify the sources of information and knowledge on the persecutions and mass killing of Jews in the Ľudák Slovak Republic and on the Holocaust?

Please choose two sources from the given list that have contributed the most to your knowledge and awareness.

	Family	School	Internet, social networks	Academic literature	Public media
Age					
15 – 17	5,4	70,3	10,8	8,3	8,1
18 – 24	7,7	51,6	20,9	13,2	12,1
25 – 34	9,6	44,6	18,6	11,9	21,5
35 – 44	13,7	36,3	17,2	12,7	27
45 – 54	13,6	31,3	10,2	15,9	34,1
55 - 64	15,2	26,2	6,7	18,3	32,9
65+	20,5	19,9	2,4	11,9	36,2

The 2013 results

Age					
15 – 17	16,6	55,4	16,5	1,7	6,3
18 – 24	17	60,5	10,6	4,6	17,4
25 – 34	15,4	46,5	9,9	11,2	26,9
35 – 44	18,9	46,3	5,3	7,5	37,2
45 – 54	17,8	50,1	4,4	8,5	33,8
55 – 64	24,5	34,3	4	12,2	29,2
65+	37,7	27,1	1	11,5	27,5

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