

## Mistrusted Strangers at Home: Czechs, Slovaks, and the Canadian "Enemy Aliens" Registration Issue, 1938-1942

Jan Raska

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Résumé de l'article

Des groupes ethniques dont le pays d'origine s'était aligné avec les puissances de l'Axe, avait été envahi, annexé ou tout simplement cessé d'exister durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale ont constaté qu'en temps de guerre, leur expérience dans leur pays de réinstallation reflétait la tournure des événements dans leur pays d'origine. L'historiographie a traité superficiellement les expériences des groupes ethniques moins connus au Canada. Ainsi, les Tchèques et les Slovaques, qui ont subi le même sort que les groupes ethniques plus importants et plus visibles (les Allemands, les Italiens, les Japonais, les Ukrainiens et autres) et considérés comme des « ennemis » de l'État au Canada, peuvent être inclus dans ce chapitre de l'histoire du Canada. Avec l'annexion des Sudètes et l'invasion ultérieure de la Bohême-Moravie en mars 1939 par l'Allemagne, les Tchèques et les Slovaques ont été déclarés comme des « sujets d'un pays ennemi » par le gouvernement canadien. Un autre obstacle a surgi lorsque la Slovaquie a proclamé son indépendance et s'est alignée sur la politique de l'Allemagne nazie. La majorité des Slovaques qui vivaient au Canada étaient des nationalistes et ont été contraints d'atténuer leur soutien pour un État slovaque indépendant. Les Tchèques et les Slovaques « participatifs » canadiens (« Tchécoslovaques ») ont oeuvré pour la libération de leur pays d'origine. Enfin de compte, ces actions ont favorisé l'allégeance que la majorité des Tchèques et des Slovaques vouaient au Canada.

***Mistrusted Strangers at Home:  
Czechs, Slovaks, and the Canadian “Enemy  
Aliens” Registration Issue, 1938–1942***

**Abstract**

*Ethnic groups whose homelands had aligned with the Axis powers, had been invaded, annexed, or simply ceased to exist during the Second World War found that their wartime experience in their country of resettlement mirrored events back home. Past historiography has dealt superficially with the experiences of lesser-known ethnic groups in Canada. Hence, Czechs and Slovaks suffered a similar fate to the larger and more visible ethnic groups (Germans, Italians, Japanese, Ukrainians, et al.) deemed to be “enemies” of the state in Canada and can be placed within this scope of Canadian history. With the German annexation of the Sudetenland, and the subsequent invasion of Bohemia-Moravia in March 1939, Czechs and Slovaks were deemed as “enemy aliens” by the Canadian government. A further impediment arose when Slovakia proclaimed its independence and aligned itself with Nazi Germany. The majority of Slovaks in Canada were nationalists and had to mitigate their support for an independent Slovak state. Canadian Czechs and participatory Slovaks (“Czechoslovaks”) sought to liberate their homeland. Ultimately, such action promoted the allegiance that the majority of Czechs and Slovaks held for Canada.*

**Résumé**

*Des groupes ethniques dont le pays d'origine s'était aligné avec les puissances de l'Axe, avait été envahi, annexé ou tout simplement cessé d'exister durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale ont constaté qu'en temps de guerre, leur expérience dans leur pays de réinstallation reflétait la tournure des événements dans leur pays d'origine. L'historiographie a traité superficiellement les expériences des groupes ethniques moins connus au Canada. Ainsi, les Tchèques et les Slovaques, qui ont subi le même sort que les groupes ethniques plus importants et plus visibles (les Allemands, les Italiens, les Japonais, les Ukrainiens et autres) et considérés comme des « ennemis » de l'État au Canada, peuvent être inclus dans ce chapitre de l'histoire du*

*Canada. Avec l'annexion des Sudètes et l'invasion ultérieure de la Bohême-Moravie en mars 1939 par l'Allemagne, les Tchèques et les Slovaques ont été déclarés comme des « sujets d'un pays ennemi » par le gouvernement canadien. Un autre obstacle a surgi lorsque la Slovaquie a proclamé son indépendance et s'est alignée sur la politique de l'Allemagne nazie. La majorité des Slovaques qui vivaient au Canada étaient des nationalistes et ont été contraints d'atténuer leur soutien pour un État slovaque indépendant. Les Tchèques et les Slovaques « participatifs » canadiens (« Tchécoslovaques ») ont œuvré pour la libération de leur pays d'origine. En fin de compte, ces actions ont favorisé l'allégeance que la majorité des Tchèques et des Slovaques vouaient au Canada.*

For an ethnic community to thrive socio-culturally and politically it must first be protected under a given country's legal rights and civil liberties. During periods of internal and external conflict, ethnic communities are often marginalized due to the ideological position of the country involved. During the late 1930s, Czechs and Slovaks in Canada found themselves to be victims of external events. Canadian Czechs observed thirty years of independence of their homeland suddenly extinguished with the German invasion of the Czech lands in March 1939. Conversely, nationalist Slovaks in Canada witnessed the birth of an independent Slovak state, which had finally assuaged their demands for Slovak independence from a centralized Czechoslovak government, which had deceitfully promised them autonomy. Although Slovakia had aligned itself with Nazi Germany, Canadian Slovaks mitigated their support for the newly independent state. As a result of events in Central Europe, Czechs and Slovaks opposed each other's political aspirations for their respective homelands. Even though Canadian Czechs and participatory Slovaks were deemed suspicious by the federal government in Ottawa, their efforts in liberating their homeland eventually demonstrated their allegiance to Canada and the Allied war effort. A vast historiography regarding the existence of various ethnic groups in Canada during the Second World War already exists. However, the wartime experience of smaller and lesser-known ethnic groups has been largely overlooked. This study seeks to enhance our understanding of some of these ethnic minorities, while broadening the scope of preceding research regarding the more prominent German, Italian, Japanese, Ukrainian, et al. populations and the classification of members of these communities as "enemy aliens" in Canada during the Second World War.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Canada's Liberal government increasingly advocated for the importance of immigration. Since the 1880s, immigration was permitted not only from the United Kingdom,

France, and Scandinavia, but also increased from Central and Eastern Europe. Individuals with "sheepskin coats" aided in vigorously settling and populating western Canada. During the 1900s, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier's Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton oversaw this massive response. Canadian immigration offices located across Europe catered not only to individuals from western Europe interested in resettling in Canada, but to thousands of Ukrainians, Doukhobors, and ethnic populations from the Austro-Hungarian Empire such as: Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Magyars (Hungarians), Poles, Carpatho-Rusyns, and Ukrainians. Many of these immigrants were unskilled workers brought in to support the construction of railroads and to work in the mining and agricultural sectors. John Herd Thompson noted that the vast majority of the approximately 120,000 "Austrians" in Canada by the beginning of the First World War were in fact ethnic Ukrainians from the provinces of Bukovyna and Galicia within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.<sup>1</sup>

In August 1914, the federal government in Ottawa passed the War Measures Act which gave Canadian authorities the power to detain, arrest, prohibit, and even deport any and all individuals who were deemed enemies of the state or simply "enemy aliens." The War Measures Act permitted police forces across the country to ignore an individual's right to *habeas corpus* when found to be suspect. The Act gave rise to approximately 80,000 individual registrations with local police detachments where persons swore to never leave the country, and surrender any "firearms if they owned them."<sup>2</sup> Individuals perceived as threats to national security were later arrested and sent to internment camps across Canada. In four years of war, Canada interned 7,762 Canadian residents of which 1,192 German Canadians while the majority 5,954 were labelled as Austro-Hungarians, and were predominantly of Ukrainian origin. With the inclusion of captured prisoners of war, Canada interned a total of 8,579 "enemy aliens."<sup>3</sup>

From 1914 to 1918, the only individuals who could legally be labelled "enemy aliens" were approximately 20,000 Germans and 60,000 Ukrainians who had not yet chosen to become naturalized as Canadian citizens. Statistics for the number of Czechs and Slovaks who registered, were interned or even deported during this period are unclear or unavailable due to official government publications citing these same groups as either "Austrians" or "Hungarians." With a view to electoral posturing and political opportunism, the Conservative government of Prime Minister Robert Borden further enacted the Elections Act of 1917, which permitted Ottawa to exclude thousands of Canadians from their right to vote. At that time, Canadian naturalization required a minimum of three years of residency. The Act allowed Ottawa to single-handedly disenfranchise any Canadian who had been born in an enemy country and who had

naturalized after March 31, 1902.<sup>4</sup> This fact denied the majority of many central and eastern European ethnic groups the fundamental democratic right to cast a ballot. Subsequently, these same affected populations were bestowed voting rights in 1920.

Consequently, Czechoslovak nationals representing ethnic minority groups from lands encompassed by the former Czechoslovak state also sought to differentiate themselves from those individuals and groups labelled as enemies of the state, while protesting their subsequent inclusion into the Czechoslovak Legion in Canada as nationals of a defunct multinational state. These protests had lingered for decades and were transplanted to countries where ethnic groups from Czechoslovakia resettled.

Many Magyars (Hungarians), Slovaks, and Germans from Czechoslovakia did not agree with how the Versailles peace conference divided ethnic nations, along the victorious states' geopolitical conceptions of historical and strategic boundaries. These newly created nation-states were to be dominated by a single ethnic nationalism. Czecho-Slovakia came into existence on October 28, 1918 and incorporated the historic Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, lower Silesia, along with Slovakia. Rusyns (Ruthenians) south of the Carpathian Mountains were integrated into the new Czecho-Slovak state in May 1919 when the Prague government deceptively assured Rusyn leaders that they would receive full political autonomy and home rule.

In February 1920, the hyphen (Czecho-Slovakia) signifying sociopolitical cooperation for a federalized state between the two largest ethnic populations – the Czechs and Slovaks – was removed. Previous negotiations for a postwar nation-state for Czechs and Slovaks at Versailles included only Czech political leaders without any Slovak representation. American president Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points which promoted "self-determination of nations" for the peoples of Central Europe, and later championed full independence for Czechs and Slovaks was ultimately subverted by the centralizing Prague government. A pro-Czechoslovakist constitution was implemented, in which the Czechs as the largest ethnic group expediently associated their sociopolitical aspirations for their ethnic nation-state with the Slovaks, creating a "Czechoslovak" identity and political majority, which ultimately stifled nationalist Slovak demands for political autonomy and a home government along with other minority groups' political objectives for a politically federalized and egalitarian state.<sup>5</sup>

Postwar Czechoslovakia was internationally regarded as a "beacon of democracy" in Central Europe. Although an ethnic nation-state dominated

by Czechs and participatory Slovaks who professed a belief in a common ethnolinguistic "Czechoslovak" identity, the state sought to fallaciously acculturate and even assimilate its remaining ethnic minorities into a secular liberal democracy. Consequently, the Czechoslovak Republic became economically unbalanced. As a result, official Czechoslovak government statistics illustrate that 82.6 percent of the economy of the Czech lands was situated in the industrial sectors, whereas only 19.1 percent of Slovakia's economy was based in industry by 1930. Conversely, Slovakia remained industrially stagnant and pastoral as 56.8 percent of the economy was based in agriculture by the 1930s.<sup>6</sup>

In 1933, the subsequent rise of fascism in Germany and Austria left Czechoslovakia as the only remaining parliamentary democracy in the region. Prague had flooded Slovakia with over 100,000 Czech police officers, teachers, bureaucrats, and soldiers in an attempt to further integrate the Slovak population to Czechoslovak ideology.<sup>7</sup> Since the nineteenth century, Slovakia remained less urbanized and industrialized than its Czech neighbour. Slovakia's perpetual economic disposition during Magyar (Hungarian rule) and later Czech rule allowed for the continual exploitation of the socioeconomic imbalance between both groups. As a result, many Slovaks were forced to seek economic opportunity and a better standard of living elsewhere.

As a consequence, prewar Czechoslovak immigration (since 1880s) to Canada had been overwhelmingly Slovak. As a result, the majority of Czechoslovakia's nationals in Canada prior to the outbreak of the Second World War were nationalist Slovaks who were predominantly Catholic, and had advocated for an autonomous Slovakia in a federalized Czechoslovakia. Preceding the outbreak of war in 1939, Czech and Slovak migration to Canada can be categorized into two distinct periods. The first period of significant migration occurred from the 1880s to 1914, and the latter from 1918 to 1939.<sup>8</sup> Both periods observed the migration of thousands of Czechs and Slovaks into Canada due to economic considerations such as employment in industry and land for farming. As such, Slovak emigration accounted for 83 percent of all "Czechoslovak" resettlement to Canada, meanwhile Czechs constituted 17 percent of Czechoslovak emigrants.<sup>9</sup> Latter periods of emigration (post-1945) have been predominantly Czech.

Prior to 1918, the majority of Czechs and Slovaks settled in rural Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, with Winnipeg as a major urban centre for both communities. By the 1920s and 1930s, immigration swayed heavily towards industry and economic expansion in the urban centres of Toronto and Montreal. As a result, Montreal's Czech and Slovak communities jointly numbered over 3,700 individuals, whereas,

more than 2,500 Czechs and Slovaks lived in Toronto.<sup>10</sup> The large influx of Slovak immigrants to Canada during the interwar period dramatically altered relations between "Czechoslovaks" and nationalist Slovak organizations, and more importantly between Prague's diplomatic legation and Slovak nationalists. Prague's diplomatic representation in Canada under the direction of the Consulate General in Montreal viewed nationalist Slovaks with suspicion since the early 1920s. The relationship between the Czech and Slovak communities in Canada was deeply influenced by social and political events in Central Europe and the Consulate General in Montreal openly sought to thwart Canadian Slovak aspirations for an independent Slovakia.

The appeasement of Adolf Hitler by France and Great Britain at the Munich conference in September 1938, in order to avoid a continental war indicated to Czechoslovakia's government that its European allies had abandoned their shared assurances for collective security in Central Europe. Refusing to order Czechoslovakia's armed forces to defend the republic against German aggression, President Edvard Beneš subsequently resigned from office in October 1938, and weeks later fled to London. A Czechoslovak National Committee was formed from the former president's staff and with exiled national politicians who had left the country. On October 6, 1938, with the consent of the Prague government and the (pro-Czechoslovak) national parties, the Catholic People's Party met with other Slovak parties and adopted the *Žilina Declaration*, which would form an autonomous Slovak home government under the leadership of Monsignor Jozef Tiso. Under immense political strain, Prague bestowed autonomy to Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia in the hopes that Czechoslovakia would remain in existence. The Ruthenian government which had been sympathetic to Hungary was replaced with an administration loyal to the Prague government led by Augustine Voloshyn. Conversely, the newly-implemented government remained fully committed to a "Ukrainian interpretation of the local national question."<sup>11</sup> As a result, a significant segment of Rusyns (Ruthenians) perceived themselves to be members of a greater Ukrainian ethnic identity, while others espoused a greater Russian identity, or advocated for a separate and distinct Rusyn ethnicity. In November 1938, the Prague government renamed the country to Czecho-Slovakia, in accordance with its federalized political position. However, the Second Czecho-Slovak Republic would cease to exist six months later due to increasing political and martial pressure from Adolf Hitler.

International outrage over the appeasement of Adolf Hitler with the Munich *Diktat* in September 1938 subsequently traumatized many Czechs and Slovaks in Canada, and throughout the world.<sup>12</sup> Henceforth, many of these same individuals came to the realization that Western

Europe had betrayed its alliance with Czechoslovakia, and it was incumbent upon them to support, and ultimately rescue their homeland from Nazi oppression. In 1939, Czechs, Slovaks, and other nationals of Czechoslovakia founded a sociopolitical organization in Toronto. The National Alliance of Slovaks, Czechs, and Subcarpathian Ruthenians (later renamed to Czechoslovak National Alliance) represented those nationals who had supported the Prague government's Czechoslovakist policies, which included recognition of a single "Czechoslovak" ethnic group and language. Equally, the Canadian Slovak League opposed the Czechoslovak National Alliance and its Czechoslovakist ideology, and fervently supported Slovak political aspirations for political autonomy in a federalized Czecho-Slovakia and later outright Slovak independence. Subcarpathian Rusyns did join the Czechoslovak National Alliance although their numbers were rather small. Interwar Rusyn immigration to Canada consisted primarily of Rusyns from Poland (also referred to as "Lemkos") who stressed the "distinctiveness of Carpatho-Rusyn traditions and/or its supposed affiliation with Russian culture." These same Rusyns avoided affiliation with Ukrainian organizations.<sup>13</sup>

Although autonomy for Slovakia had been denied by Prague, the Canadian Slovak League later defended the existence of an independent and Nazi-aligned Slovakia (1939-1945). Similarly, nationalist Slovaks in Canada were forced to mitigate their support for the Slovak state due to Canada's declaration of war against Nazi Germany and her allies.

The collapse of Czecho-Slovakia with Nazi Germany's invasion and annexation (of the Czech provinces) of Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia's declaration of independence, both on March 15, 1939, and the Hungarian occupation of Subcarpathian Ruthenia a day later (March 16) forced many Czechoslovak nationals to be viewed as the enemy within. Throughout 1939, Canadian immigration officials witnessed scores of refugees fleeing Nazi oppression. Germans and Austrians, of which the majority were social democrats, came to Canada along with many Czech and Jewish refugees. At the time, Canadian immigration policy was widely discriminatory and restrictive. In the case of Jewish refugees, their inherent problem in gaining admission was twofold; firstly, they were not viewed as agricultural, but rather as "urban dwellers," and secondly, this view allowed immigration officials to effectively impede their entrance to Canada while "racially shielding" the country from Jews.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, in countries where the Czecho-Slovak government had maintained particularly strong relations with the home government, ambassadors and consuls general rejected the German diplomatic representation's requests to have all Czechoslovak offices ceded to them. Following the lead of Colonel Vladimír Hurban, the Czechoslovak



Ambassador to the United States, Consul General Dr. František Pavlásek also opposed the German annexation and diplomatic request to cede all consular offices to the local German diplomatic envoy in Montreal. Consequently, those same diplomats would initiate the first opposition to Nazi occupation of their homeland outside of Czecho-Slovakia.<sup>15</sup> As the *de jure* representative in Canada, Consul General František Pavlásek did not recognize Czecho-Slovak President Emil Hácha's capitulation to Hitler as legitimate because Nazi Germany's occupation of Bohemia-Moravia was illegal. At the Czechoslovak Consulate General in Montreal following the German occupation, the consulate's staff began to remove the office's cultural and political images and other representative objects due to Nazi Germany's request for the consulate's documents and inventory. However, in connection with the actions of Ambassador Hurban in the United States, Consul General František Pavlásek refused to relinquish his office to the German Consul General in Ottawa, Erich Windels. Subsequently, the pictures of former Presidents Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and Edvard Beneš were remounted onto the consulate's walls.<sup>16</sup>

Incidentally, the German annexation forced many diplomatic officials at the Czechoslovak Consulate General in Montreal to seek refugee status in Canada. In one instance, Dr. Frey, a senior diplomat responsible for aiding the emigration of (predominately Social Democrat) Sudeten Germans to Canada enlisted the help of (future Canadian prime minister) Lester B. Pearson at the Department of External Affairs. Although such cases were not the norm, Dr. Frey was informed that due to his lack of agricultural training there was "no hope for his entry" into the country. Ironically, Leon Koerner, the timber controller for the Czechoslovak government during the mid-to-late 1930s and a Czech of half-Jewish ancestry fled to Canada in 1939. With Lester Pearson's assistance, Leon Koerner was permitted to resettle in Vancouver.<sup>17</sup> Incidentally, in 1944 Canadian authorities permitted 100 Czechoslovak officials and nationals from Great Britain and the Iberian Peninsula to enter the country as "temporary refugees."<sup>18</sup>

The tragic invasion of Bohemia and Moravia did surprise Canadian officials. However, Ottawa would not be hurried into a European-created conflict. The federal government traditionally supported British foreign policy. In the case of the Munich conference and the annexation of the Sudetenland, Ottawa never formally approved of either course of action. It was Prime Minister Mackenzie King's conviction that parliament should approve any future Canadian role in a war in Europe, and as a result on March 30, 1939, the Liberal Prime Minister informed Parliament that there was no reason for the country to step forward once a generation to "rescue Europe from itself."<sup>19</sup>

Government policy towards ethnic groups considered to be "enemy aliens" was expanded to encompass all groups whose homelands had been invaded, annexed, or occupied.<sup>20</sup> With Canada's (independent) declaration of war against Nazi Germany on September 10, 1939, and later implementation of the notorious Defence of Canada Regulations (DOCRs), nationals of foreign countries considered to be enemy aliens and a threat to state security were forced to comply with governmental policy.<sup>21</sup> In the case of Czechoslovak nationals, their plight was augmented due to differences in political and cultural ideology. Within this population Czechs and participatory Slovaks (normally Communists and Social Democrats) professed a belief that Czechoslovakia was the homeland of a single nation with a common language, culture, and history. Conversely, nationalist Slovaks (largely Catholic and politically moderate) sought to dispel the fallacy that had been propagated since the creation of the Czecho-Slovak state in 1918.

An indirect effect of Canada's ensuing declaration of war against Nazi Germany was the federal government's decision to classify foreign nationals residing in Canada (and those who had not yet been naturalized) based on Ottawa's national security considerations regarding these groups. By 1940, Ottawa had instituted its Defence of Canada Regulations, which further affected every Czech and Slovak's civil liberties in Canada. These restrictions sought to deny individuals their civil rights under domestic law to legal counsel, *habeas corpus*, a court date, and the overall secure parameters of the Criminal Code of Canada. The Defence of Canada Regulations in effect subverted such guarantees to the "safety of the state first."<sup>22</sup> Although immensely unpopular in ethnic communities whose homelands were portrayed as "fascist" and "communist" (such as Germany, Italy, and the USSR), the majority of Canadians supported Ottawa's wartime measures against perceived (potentially subversive) enemies within their country. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) became the state's central agent in implementing the DOCRs.

The Regulations also allowed for the creation of a Registrar General of Enemy Aliens, who was attached to the RCMP Commissioner's office.<sup>23</sup> Over 16,000 "enemy aliens" of German Canadian background (who were not British subjects by 1922) were registered by the RCMP as of March 1940.<sup>24</sup> Due to the Defence of Canada Regulations, the RCMP was in effect given a *carte blanche* to seize any property, detain, and arrest any individual in Canada. On June 4, 1940, through an Order-in-Council, RCMP officers were made "justices of the peace" in order to better combat illegal organizations and subversive individuals across Canada.<sup>25</sup> As such, RCMP officers prepared lists of individuals associated with or suspected of illegal activity. That same day, the Communist

Party of Canada (CPC) was declared illegal, along with fascist and Nazi organizations. Communists in Canada were viewed as a threat to the state due to the popular perception that they were “disturbers of industrial peace...both to the long-term success of Canadian business and to the security of the Canadian state.”<sup>26</sup>

Ottawa was aided in the propagation of this perception by the fact that the CPC was a member of the Moscow-based *Comintern* (Communist International) and worked towards the destruction of capitalism.<sup>27</sup> Conversely, political concern from the federal government and the Prime Minister’s Office (PMO) over the spread of Nazism and other forms of fascism in Canada remained unfounded as the RCMP had yet to generate any specific evidence of Nazi or fascist spies in Canada. The PMO also observed that since 1939 the highest security intelligence reports from the RCMP had only been able to produce generic details regarding socialist and fascist organizations in Canada. Hence, the PMO concluded that one’s analysis of such security reports would only (falsely) illustrate that Canada was not at war with Nazi Germany.<sup>28</sup>

When it came to the interplay between ethnicity and ideology, the RCMP was generally “sensitive” to the fact that the majority within a given ethnic community were law-abiding and patriotic Canadians. However, when it came to Communism, ideology and ethnicity were not separated.<sup>29</sup> As a result, countless members of ethnic communities such as Ukrainian Canadians were treated as having contributed to a single ideology. However, Canadian federal bureaucrats were divided in their interpretation of the social and political leanings of Canadian Ukrainians. In Europe, German “favouritism” towards Ukraine instead of Poland was perceived to bring about enthusiasm among Ukrainian nationalists in Canada in resurrecting an independent Ukraine allied with Nazi Germany, while RCMP Commissioner Stuart Taylor Wood believed in the contrary – that a *rapprochement* between Germany and Russia with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact would lead to Ukrainians in Canada favouring the Allied war effort.<sup>30</sup> Ottawa established a Ukrainian-Canadian Committee to act alongside Ukrainians in Canada during the war. However, it led to a systemically “constraining and inflexible organizational structure.”<sup>31</sup> Canadian bureaucratic anxiety involving ethnic communities deemed as suspicious and a security risk by Ottawa (due to where such ethnic groups placed their loyalty) resulted in a gross miscalculation and ultimate failure on the part of Canadian authorities to effectively:

...understand and cope with the problems, or opportunities, that presented themselves in the development of genuine solidarity in and among Canada’s ethnic groups. The process of nationbuilding

and assuring the security of the state were even somewhat jeopardized by the actions of those whose duty it was to promote both.<sup>32</sup>

In the case of Canadian Czechs and Slovaks, the RCMP was well aware of the socio-political cleavages between the communities. Those "Czechoslovaks" who supported the liberation movement and the "odboj" (defence) of Czecho-Slovakia, including the Slovak Communists who published the Czech-language *Jiskra* (Spark), were opposed by autonomist Slovak nationalists led by the Canadian Slovak League. Meanwhile, other Slovak Communists, led by the Slovak Cultural Association, also supported a federalized Czecho-Slovak state.<sup>33</sup>

Throughout rural Canada where ethnic communities were extensive, but decreasing in population due to economic migration and the recent arrival of urbanization, Howard Palmer noted in his study of wartime ethnic communities in Alberta that many Canadians came to the conclusion that within their province were potential pro-Nazi "fifth columnists."<sup>34</sup> Nazi Germany's advancing *blitzkrieg* which had enveloped Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands before resulting in the fall of France during the summer of 1940 heightened Canadian apprehension over the war.<sup>35</sup> Nazi propaganda throughout Western Europe and the rest of the world highlighted the work of "Fifth Columns" behind enemy lines, which had created widespread confusion and "broke home-front morale."<sup>36</sup> Unlike the First World War, the use of psychological warfare had become a dominant aspect of the conflict for both the Allied and Axis powers.

Subsequent Canadian public sensitivity and fear that these "subversives" would take the initiative and support the Third Reich's cause in Canada were unsubstantiated. However, Canadians from all backgrounds demonstrating understandable concern gathered together to denounce such a threat from groups which were viewed as "enemy aliens." The largely systemic condemnation of the Nazi threat and its proponents by the Canadian public was not limited to ethnic German Canadians, but also included those who had immigrated from Germany, and any and all other German-speaking immigrants from other countries such as the Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia.<sup>37</sup>

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) was the authority responsible for registering all foreigners from lands under German occupation. In areas where local RCMP officers were not stationed, police forces were present to register everyone and issue them the Parole Certificate for which the resident had to give his/her fingerprints and agree to notify the police each month of his/her whereabouts. Subsequently, local police forces also handed out the Certificate of Exemption.

Ethnic groups whose loyalty to Canada had been questioned or put into doubt by an uncertain Canadian public did not merely accept this situation and remain passive. Many attempted to address the perceived uncertainty of their status in wartime Canada. In the case of ethnic groups from the former Czechoslovakia, they proclaimed their loyalty to Canada and in some cases (if naturalized) enlisted into the Canadian forces. Such was the case in Alberta. In rural areas with large German Canadian populations such as Crow's Nest Past; Czechs, Slovaks, and Subcarpathian Ruthenians proclaimed their loyalty to the British Empire.<sup>38</sup>

Furthermore, within the Czech and Slovak communities, the decision on registration and each national's status fell under the auspices of the Consulate General in Montreal. In its advertisements in the Czech and Slovak newspapers, Consul General Dr. František Pavlásek advised "loyal" Czechoslovaks to register before the federal government in Ottawa officially classified them as "enemy aliens."<sup>39</sup> Czechoslovaks were to be registered according to their nationality. As this could lead to potential difficulties across ethno-cultural and political boundaries, the Canadian government asked all relevant diplomatic representatives across the country to translate the government's registration plans, and for these diplomatic offices to aid in the selection of "loyal" foreign nationals in Canada and those who were deemed "enemy aliens."

Registration became a divisive issue between the Czech and Slovak communities in Canada. The Consulate-funded and Czechoslovakist newspaper *Nová vlast* (New Homeland) claimed that within the ranks of Canadian Czechs and Slovaks were supporters of Sudeten German Nazi leader Konrad Henlein, and those who supported an independent Slovak state under the leadership of Dr. Jozef Tiso (as President), and Vojtech Tuka as Prime Minister (and Foreign Minister). They were labelled by the paper as "Tuko-Tisovites," to which Ottawa could not allow the benefit of being registered as "loyal." Meanwhile the Canadian Slovak League protested against their membership's registration as "enemy aliens" and disloyal by the Consul General, and would eventually be successful in lobbying the federal government in Ottawa for a change in status.<sup>40</sup> The federal government accordingly recognized Slovaks as loyal citizens in Canada. The Montreal Consulate General also advised its nationals to seek a change of registration should they have already registered and been classified as "enemy aliens" due to Nazi Germany's occupation of Bohemia-Moravia. In *Nová vlast*, Consul General František Pavlásek ended his announcement regarding registration to the community with "I can't wait to approve your status."<sup>41</sup>

The federal government in Ottawa later decided to recognize registered Czechoslovaks and permitted the exchange of documents to those regis-

tered as "enemy aliens." Due to strong lobbying from the Czechoslovak Consulate General in Montreal, those who were registered would be able to receive new documents (in exchange for their old ones) without losing any of their legal rights. They would be classified as "Liberated Enemy Aliens," receive the Certificate of Exemption, and be recognized as nationals of a friendly (and allied) nation. As a result, these individuals were "entitled to liberty, and to be immune from interference."<sup>42</sup>

Consul General Pavlásek remained proactive on the issues of loyalty and registration. The consul decided to create "*svedectvo*" (evidence) regarding the loyalty of Czechoslovak nationals in Canada. This action followed Ottawa's decision to force all nationals of lands under German occupation (from September 3, 1939 on) to be registered as German nationals or "enemy aliens."<sup>43</sup> This decision galvanized Czechs and Slovaks to prove that their past and present existence in Canada had been steadfast to the values and traditions of their new homeland. Czechoslovaks in Montreal and across Canada could not accept that a registered Czechoslovak would be classified as an "unfriendly" German national. This betrayal forced Consul General Pavlásek to present Ottawa with evidence that Canadian Czechs and Slovaks were in fact not "unfriendly," and were "leading the fight against Germany with the French and British."<sup>44</sup> Dr. Pavlásek demanded that Czechoslovaks be freed from being registered as Germans or "unfriendlies." The Consul General's arguments were recognized by the federal government, but its decision was to continue the registration of all Czechoslovak nationals in Canada since some had registered as what *Nová vlast'* fallaciously identified as "*Henleincov*" (Henlein supporters) due to their support for an independent Slovakia, which had allied with the Nazis.<sup>45</sup> These individuals were predominantly nationalist Slovaks who would be forced to moderate their support for the wartime Slovak Republic since Canada was at war with Nazi Germany. Dr. Pavlásek viewed the selection of loyal and disloyal Czechoslovaks as "an arduous task." Although it was the responsibility of the Consul General to decide who was a loyal Czechoslovak, final approval over Czechoslovaks with Canadian citizenship rested with Ottawa, and those Czechs and Slovaks not yet naturalized in Canada would be under the jurisdiction of Prague (prior to the German annexation).<sup>46</sup>

The Consulate General in Montreal did create a loyalty list. However, complications arose with the registration of naturalized citizens who had received their citizenship after Canada's naturalization agreement with Czechoslovakia on September 28, 1929. Originally, Ottawa sought to only register those of German or Italian background. *Nová vlast'* reported that the first instance of registration in Montreal occurred when a Czechoslovak came to register and was found to be of Czech ancestry and

spoke Czech. It was clear that the individual did not need to register as he was not of Italian or German origin.<sup>47</sup> However, in other cities across Canada individuals were rounded up regardless of their background if naturalized after 1929. For those Czechoslovaks who were residents of the United States and in Canada only temporarily, the American government refused to allow those same individuals entry back into the United States unless some form of approval was received from Ottawa. Consul General Pavlásek immediately took action once it became known that city governments and local police forces across the country detained Czechoslovaks without the consent of Ottawa or the RCMP. Dr. Pavlásek asserted that it was in the hands of the recently created Czechoslovak National Alliance and its branches to convince the cities they resided in to cease holding Czechs and Slovaks.<sup>48</sup>

Similarly, the Consulate General could not aid those individuals who had demonstrated some form of disloyalty in their past experiences or were believed to be supporters of an independent Slovakia or simply Communists.<sup>49</sup> According to the *Nová vlast*, the Czechoslovak National Alliance (CNA) should have internally purged disloyal Czechs and nationalist Slovaks from their organization as the newspaper believed many had joined in the hopes of masking their past loyalties, and used the organization's "Czechoslovak" ideology as a means of integrating within its ranks, and remaining undetected to the Consulate General and the Canadian authorities.<sup>50</sup>

In December 1940, the registration of Czechoslovak nationals began to produce results. This followed the detention of CNA members by police in Sarnia, Ontario. Working in conjunction with the RCMP, the CNA willingly registered many of its members who were also Canadian citizens. This action served two purposes; first, it allowed for the Czech and Slovak communities in Canada to demonstrate their loyalty to Canada by actively participating in the registration process, and secondly, it permitted many Czechs and Slovaks across the country to receive Certificates of Exemption as a result of their registration and a background check by the RCMP. The exemptions provided a precedent for local police forces across Canada to follow.<sup>51</sup> The Consul General's intercession on behalf of Czechs and Slovaks with the RCMP not only had a major impact on both Czechoslovak and nationalist Slovak communities located in Canada's biggest cities, but also in areas where CNA branches had smaller memberships, and as a result less political influence. The proactive registration of Czechs and Slovaks would eventually lead to the RCMP issuing what the *Nová vlast* described as "*spomenuté vyhody*" (recall benefits) which were valid for one year.<sup>52</sup>

In the early months of 1941, the federal Department of Public Information in Ottawa released a series of multilingual publications to other allied countries as well as ethnic communities across Canada entitled "We are not alone." Consul General František Pavlásek was invited to translate the text on February 3, 1941, and (at 7:45pm) to broadcast it on radio station CBM across Canada and Europe.<sup>53</sup> One hundred thousand copies of the "We are not Alone" publication were sent across the country in English and French, illustrating the Czechoslovak position on the fight for the liberation of their homeland. The publication sought to demonstrate to Canadians that the Czechoslovak struggle was identical to the British fight against fascism.<sup>54</sup>

Although the Canadian government had slowly altered its position on the plight of Czecho-Slovakia and the Czech and Slovak communities in Canada (post-1939), both groups fought each other's political ideologies through the ethnic press. In one example following legal action, a judge in Montreal (A.E. Greenshields) ruled on January 25, 1941 that the Slovak weekly "*Slovenské Bratstvo*" (Slovak Brotherhood), and its editor Ján Hurný, were to be fined \$199.00 for libel against the Czechoslovak National Alliance in Montreal and its organ *Nová vlast'*. Ján Hurný had written that the Czechoslovak community's building: *Národní dům* (National House) in Montreal operated by the CNA for all Czechs and Slovaks in Montreal was a "hotbed of communism and unfriendly to Christian democracy." *Slovenské Bratstvo* went on to note that "Christians should not support this association in which there are only unbelievers and communists that are working against Christian civilization."<sup>55</sup>

The establishment of multiple newspapers with varying ideological positions testifies to the complexity and divisiveness of the Czech and Slovak communities. Although two central groups (Czechoslovaks and nationalist Slovaks) fundamentally opposed one another, the Consulate General in Montreal was fixed between both groups and eventually divided Czechs and Slovaks further due to its staunch support of the minority "Czechoslovak" population. The Czechoslovak and nationalist Slovak ethnic press are a clear example of how the social and political climate of Czechoslovakia was reproduced in Canada.

"Czechoslovaks" and their Alliance and National House in Montreal were victims of frequent attacks in the nationalist Slovak press for allegedly promoting and abetting communists who supported the policy of Czechoslovakism. By the end of 1941, Canada's Defence of Canada Regulations had banned over 325 newspapers of which almost half originated from enemy countries. The rest of the prohibited publications came from various socialist, fascist, pacifist, etc. groups in the United States



and Canada which did not support the Allied war effort in some form or another.<sup>56</sup> Canadian Czechoslovaks spent much of 1939 and 1940 attempting to purge Communists from the CNA. A fear that a crisis was emerging in the Alliance gravely concerned the Consulate General in Montreal. In a letter dated March 28, 1941 from Dr. Pavlásek to the President of the Czechoslovak Government-in-exile in London, England, Edvard Beneš, indicated that the Consulate in Montreal was apprehensive over the crisis of filtering out Communists from the CNA. The expulsion of such members had not yet been completed and it was feared that many more communists were within the emigration that came to Canada prior to the outbreak of war. In his letter, the Czechoslovak Consul General claimed that he lacked the intelligence capability and central resources to fight the infiltration, and that "Tukovites and Tisovites" had also permeated the Czechoslovak Legion in Canada.<sup>57</sup>

Many of the same individuals who resented their ethnic group's position within interwar Czechoslovakia continued to protest against representative agencies of the Czechoslovak government in Canada. During the summer months of July and August, 1941, individuals residing in Canada vehemently opposed Czechoslovak attempts to absorb them into the Czechoslovak Legion or to register them with the Czechoslovak Consulate General in Montreal. Slovaks, Germans and Magyars living in the lands of the former Czechoslovakia vehemently protested their inclusion into the Czechoslovak Legion in Canada. These same unidentified individuals sent letters to President Edvard Beneš and the Czechoslovak government-in-exile claiming they were previous inhabitants of "odstupeneho" (ceded) Hungarian, Polish, Slovak, and German territory (post-1918) and they refused to be enlisted into any legion such as the Polish force commanded by General Wladyslaw Sikorski, since it was their collective belief that their inclusion and Sikorski's leadership were unlawful and would prove disastrous.<sup>58</sup>

The untitled and unsigned letter stated that the group did not wish to fight in the war and experienced conflict as to their belonging within the global clash. The group expressed its desire to remain neutral throughout the war and would defend its position against mainstream public opinion on the war. The letter illustrates the unknown author's pacifist position by claiming its members came to Canada with "no property, nerves, or a home."<sup>59</sup> The letter ended with a declaration that the fictitiously titled (and non-existent) *Svaz Slováku v Kanadě* (Slovak Association in Canada) would also correspond with Canadian prime minister Mackenzie King, American president Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Czechoslovak government-in-exile leader Edvard Beneš.

The political sensitivity and ethno-cultural divisiveness implicated by the letter (a second similar document was also sent to the authorities under another fictitious and vague name: *Slováci v Kanadě* (Slovaks in Canada)) concerned Czechoslovak and Canadian authorities. In both documents, the attempt to use Slovak antagonism against the Czechoslovak war effort and the plight of Slovaks in prewar Czechoslovakia induced immediate attention from both Canadian and Czechoslovak authorities. In correspondence with the Czechoslovak Military Mission in Montreal (along with the Polish Consulate General) and the RCMP in Ottawa, the letter was analyzed by Czechoslovak defence representatives to establish the authenticity of the letter and its claims. In a document sent to RCMP commissioner Stuart Taylor Wood by Lieutenant-Colonel K. Hron of the Czechoslovak Military Mission in Montreal, the aforementioned letter and its unidentified author were purported to be the act of a single individual of German background. According to Lieutenant-Colonel Hron, the unidentified German author used vulgar and rather unsophisticated Czech in his letter to the authorities in Montreal and the federal government in Ottawa.<sup>60</sup>

In a separate report sent to RCMP Commissioner S.T. Wood dated August 18, 1941 by Lieutenant-Colonel K. Hron, it was determined by the Czechoslovak Military Mission that the two mysterious letters originally sent to the Czechoslovak and Polish Consulates General in Montreal were from a (Sudeten?) German émigré "who writes in Czech slang and tries to create the impression that he is a Slovak." Lieutenant-Colonel Hron further noted that it was his conviction that "the affair goes deeper and falls into the sphere of total enemy activity against the war effort of Great Britain and her allies."<sup>61</sup> Although the unidentified author claimed to represent other individuals whose nationalities were either occupied or annexed by Axis forces in Europe, it is unclear as to whether the unknown author had accomplices during his letter-writing campaign, and if pacifism was their true motive.

Concurrently in Ottawa, the House of Commons committee overseeing the Defence of Canada Regulations met with a CNA delegation on April 1, 1941 led by Consul General Pavlásek (himself a Czech), CNA President Štefan Rudinský (a Slovak) and Secretary Karel Buzek (a Czech). Member of Parliament for the federal riding of Toronto-Trinity Arthur W. Roebuck, in which many of Toronto's Czechs and Slovaks resided, spoke on behalf of naturalized Canadian Czechs and Slovaks to the committee presided over by the Honourable Joseph Michaud.<sup>62</sup> The delegation advocated that the registration of "enemy aliens" with the RCMP be completely withdrawn. It demanded that Czechoslovaks be regarded as equal to other allied nations, which could finally address some of the effects the community had suffered due to its earlier classification as "unfriendly" in Canada.

The delegation claimed that citizens within the "Czechoslovak" community could not acquire employment due to their registration with the RCMP. Simultaneously, students were taken out of school, and many other Czechoslovaks were returned to the United States.<sup>63</sup>

The House of Commons committee reviewed the matter and agreed with the arguments of the delegation. The Consulate General achieved recognition from Ottawa for Canada's Czechoslovaks as originating from "friendly nations" and were considered allies in the war effort on October 12, 1940. Simultaneously, Canada was the last Dominion government to recognize the Czechoslovak Government-in-exile in London. Ottawa's formal diplomatic recognition took place on October 23, 1940. Furthermore, the delegation was successful in amending section 26A of the Defence of Canada Regulations, which dealt with domestic "enemy aliens," so as to not include Czechs and Slovaks.<sup>64</sup> The official newspaper of the federal government, the *Canada Gazette*, published an article in which it observed that the amended regulations' provisions stated that section 26A shall not apply to "persons who are nationals and were born in Czechoslovakia which for further purposes of these regulations means Czechoslovakia as it existed on the first day of January 1938." The Government of Canada also amended section 26B in which Canadians of Czech or Slovak descent would no longer be subject to restrictions, and 37A in which Czechs and Slovaks could request a permit to use firearms.<sup>65</sup> Subsequently, the RCMP demanded that all Czechs and Slovaks who had previously registered return their exemption cards to their local RCMP office.

The emergence of political antagonism by ethnic minority populations such as Slovaks, Germans, and Magyars against representatives of a Czechoslovak government-in-exile and military mission was limited largely to more sizeable organizations such as the Canadian Slovak League. Members of leading Czech and Slovak organizations such as the Czechoslovak National Alliance that adhered to Czechoslovakist ideology were intent on furthering their promotion of the Second Czechoslovak Liberation Movement in England over calls for a sustained postwar Slovak republic or a resurrected Czechoslovakia. As a result, Czechoslovaks across Canada were resolute in demonstrating their loyalty to their new homeland and the Allied war effort. Incidentally, the 1941 Canadian Census misidentified Czechs and Slovaks by listing them inclusively as a group ("Czechs and Slovaks") of racial origin. As previously illustrated, the overwhelming majority of Czechs and Slovaks in (pre-1945) Canada were of Slovak origin. The 1941 Census revealed that 42,912 individuals of Czech and Slovak origin resided in Canada. Canadian Czechs and Slovaks grouped together became the fourth largest group of Slavic-origin in the country behind the Ukrainians, Poles, and Russians.<sup>66</sup>

In 1942, the Liberal government of Prime Minister Mackenzie King aspired to increase Canada's total war effort. Ottawa sought to augment its legislative capability within the National Resources Mobilization Act (passed in June 1940) in order to conscript Canadians. The NRMA served as a registry for Canada's wartime material and human resources. It required individuals sixteen and over to register with the federal government and carry an identification card. A national plebiscite to determine whether Ottawa had the constitutional right to conscript Canadian citizens was held on April 27, 1942. The plebiscite question read as follows: "Are you in favour of releasing the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service? Yes/No."<sup>67</sup>

The Czechoslovak Consulate General in Montreal and the Czechoslovak National Alliance actively endorsed the "Yes" campaign and attempted to rally all Czechs and Slovaks who were Canadian citizens regardless of their political persuasion (whether communist, social democrat, conservative, labour, or simply apolitical). Through the Consulate General's organ *Nová vlast'*, Czech and Slovak readers were reminded that Canada and Great Britain had joined in fighting and eliminating Nazism in Europe and its allies in Canada. *Nová vlast'* later also urged its readers to vote "Yes" as the enemies of all Czechoslovaks – Germany and Japan were closely studying the plebiscite and the country's ability to defend itself, while examining Czech and Slovak participation in the process.<sup>68</sup>

The results of the national plebiscite on conscription illustrated some of Canada's historical divisions. Sixty-four percent of Canadians voted for the measure, whereas thirty-seven percent were opposed. The majority of those individuals who voted against conscription resided in the province of Quebec. Of the province's 65 ridings; 56 significantly Francophone ridings voted "No" and nine primarily Anglophone ridings voted "Yes." All nine ridings were located in greater Montreal which had in its entirety voted against the measure – 50.6 percent to 49.4 percent for those in support of conscription. Czechoslovaks across Canada voted largely with Anglophones and other ethnic groups in favour of conscription and the war effort to support the liberation of their homelands from tyranny, and to demonstrate their allegiance to their country of resettlement. However, not all individuals from central or eastern European nationalities were for conscription. The federal ridings of Vegreville (Alberta) and Provencher (Manitoba) which contained sizeable Francophone, German and Ukrainian populations voted "No." The Czechoslovak community used the federal plebiscite as an opportunity to further strengthen its demonstration of loyalty to Ottawa and the Allied war effort. However, many of the community's members also found

themselves surrounded by opposition as was the case of the Czechoslovaks in Montreal, where a slim majority voted "No."

## **Conclusion**

The wartime experience for nationals of states deemed as enemies aligned with the Axis powers, or which simply ceased to legally exist due to invasion, occupation, or annexation was diverse and complex. The Canadian context ranged from internment for members of ethnic groups such as the Germans, Italians, Ukrainians, and Japanese, to identity cards for many other lesser-known ethnic groups in Canada. However, individuals from those same affected groups each shared a commonality: Their reality was a direct outcome of events back in their ancestral homeland and their ideological allegiances to fascism, communism, or liberal democracy. Although supporters of Czechoslovak identity were perceived as mistrusted strangers, they demonstrated no hesitancy in proving their loyalty to their adoptive country. The Czech and Slovak experiences prior to and during the Second World War mirrored socio-cultural and political cleavages back in Central Europe. Although pre-1938 immigration to Canada had been overwhelmingly Slovak, the Prague government's diplomatic representation in Canada (since the 1920s) remained devoted to promoting Czechoslovakist policies such as a single ethnolinguistic "Czechoslovak" community in Canada, while perpetually subordinating nationalist Slovak attempts at socio-cultural and political equality within a federalized Czechoslovak state or outright independence for Slovakia.

Nationalist Canadian Slovaks had to moderate their support for the wartime independent Slovak state due to its alignment with Nazi Germany. Subsequently, Canadian Slovaks sought to illustrate their loyalty to the federal government in Ottawa. The Czechoslovak Consul General František Pavlásek thwarted the political aspirations of Canadian Slovaks for their homeland. However the Consulate General was also responsible for preventing nationalist Canadian Slovaks being portrayed as disloyal Canadians. The Consulate General's political lobbying rescued nationalist Slovaks from certain internment while it attempted to incorporate Slovaks into the Second Czechoslovak Liberation Movement and a greater "Czechoslovak" community in Canada.

Following the betrayal at the Munich Conference and Nazi Germany's invasion and annexation of the Czech lands in 1939, Canadian Czechs and participatory Slovaks were successful in socio-political organization, raising funds and awareness for the Second Czechoslovak Liberation Movement based in London, England. Although Canada was the last of the British Dominions to recognize the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in October 1940, Canadian "Czechoslovaks" were ulti-

mately able to demonstrate their loyalty to Ottawa and be reclassified as members of an allied nation in the war effort against the Axis Powers. Subsequently, Canada's "Czechoslovaks" liberated their homeland from Nazi oppression, and in 1945, reconstituted a unitary Czechoslovak Republic against the political aspirations of nationalist Slovaks who sought political equality (through federalism) after witnessing the extinction of an independent Slovakia during the Second World War.

Canadian Czech and Slovaks were incorporated into postwar Canada as loyal citizens, but remained divided over the establishment of a postwar Czechoslovak Republic. More importantly, tensions beleaguered the Slovak community in Canada as it had continued to be fragmented between nationalist Slovaks and "Czechoslovaks." Czech and Slovak Canadians remained communities divided over the political evolution of their respective homelands in postwar Czechoslovakia. In 1993, these unchanged divisions were alleviated with the dissolution of Czechoslovakia into the independent Czech Republic and Slovak Republic.

## Notes

1. John Herd Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities during Two World Wars (Canada's Ethnic Groups: Booklet 19)* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), p. 4-5.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
5. Marek J. Jovanovic, "Czechs," In *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 398; Stanislav J. Kirschbaum, *A History of Slovakia: The Struggle for Survival* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 158-159. Stanislav Kirschbaum's statistics are based on Czechoslovakia's state census of 1921. Within the postwar borders of Czechoslovakia resided approximately 6.8 million Czechs, 3.1 million Sudeten Germans, 1.9 million Slovaks, 745,000 Magyars, and 461,000 Carpathian Rusyns. Consequently, the Czechs became the dominant ethnic group in the multinational state, but would integrate the Slovaks into their statistics, and promote a single "Czechoslovak" majority (63.1 percent) within the state's overall population.
6. Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), p. 91.
7. Constantine Čulen, *Slovaks in Slovakia and Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Slovak League, 1955), p. 28-29; Joseph M. Kirschbaum, *Slovakia's Struggle for Independence* (Hamilton: Z.M.S. and 1st Assembly of the Canadian Slovak League, 1979), p. 12; Joseph M. Kirschbaum, *The Slovaks in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Ethnic Press Association of Ontario, 1967), p. 35; Stanislav J. Kirschbaum, *A History of Slovakia: The Struggle for Survival*, p. 175. By 1938, this statistic had reached well over 200,000.

8. Marek J. Jovanovic, "Czechs," p. 399.
9. Elena Jakešová, "Slovak Emigrants in Canada as Reflected in Diplomatic Documents (1920-1938)," *Slovakia* 35:64-65, p. 9; Elena Jakešová, and M. Mark Stolarik, "Slovaks," In *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 1170. Figures also illustrate that 35,358 Slovaks came to Canada during the 1920s and a further 4,294 up until 1937.
10. Marek J. Jovanovic, "Czechs," p. 400.
11. Thomas Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988), pp. 26-27.
12. Since they had not been invited to the Munich conference, Czechs view the conference and its agreement as a dictation of terms, which were imposed on them.
13. Paul Robert Magocsi, "Carpatho-Rusyns," In *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 340-343. Magocsi notes that postwar immigration was largely dominated by Rusyns from Carpathian Rus' who identified themselves as Ukrainians. In the last several decades, Rusyns from the Vojvodina region of northern Serbia have immigrated to Canada and have summarily established Rusyn institutions promoting a distinct Rusyn ethnic identity.
14. John English, *Shadow of Heaven: Life of Lester B. Pearson, Volume 1, 1897-1948* (London: Vintage UK, 1990), p. 205-206. One such prominent proponent of disallowing Jewish immigration to Canada was F.C. Blair, the deputy minister of immigration during the war.
15. Richard B. Lewandowski, "The Phantom Government: The United States and the Recognition of the Czechoslovak Republic," p. 372-375.
16. "ČS generální konzulat nezmenený," *Nová vlast'*, Vol. 6:12, March 23, 1939, p. 1; "Dr. F. Pavlásek odmietol vydat'úrad," *Nová vlast'*, Vol. 6:13, March 30, 1939, p. 1. Dr. Pavlásek declared that his post and ownership of the Consulate would not be given up. Citing the Hurban case, Dr. Pavlásek declared that the Czechoslovak government had given him his post and as a result he was the only one responsible for it: "Jestliže Československá vláda bola násilne potlačená a čl. rezemie zabrané, vtedy aspoň v zahraničí sa udržuje na týchto úradoch symbol nasej republiky." Czechoslovaks in Canada publicly supported Dr. Pavlásek's action wholeheartedly and viewed his leadership on the matter as representative of the Czechoslovak Republic in Canada.
17. John English, *Shadow of Heaven: Life of Lester B. Pearson, Volume 1, 1897-1948*, p. 205-206.
18. Donald Avery, "Canada's Response to European Refugees, 1939-1945: The Security Dimension," In *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945*, eds. Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan, and Lubomyr Luciuk (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988), p. 198.
19. Jack L. Granatstein, *Canada's Foreign Policy since 1945: Middle Power or Satellite?* (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1973), p. 7.

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20. Japanese Canadians were only included in this list following the Pearl Harbour attack and Canada's official declaration of war on Japan on December 7, 1941.
21. John Herd Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities during Two World Wars*, p. 11.
22. Reg Whitaker, and Gregory S. Kealey, "A War on Ethnicity? The RCMP and Internment," In *Enemies Within: Italian and other Internees in Canada and Abroad*, eds. Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p.128.
23. *Ibid.*, p.129.
24. *Ibid.*, p.129.
25. *Ibid.*, p.129.
26. Ian Radforth, "Political Prisoners: The Communist Internees," In *Enemies Within: Italian and other Internees in Canada and Abroad*, eds. Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p.196.
27. *Ibid.*, p.196. The Communist Party of Canada was founded in 1921 in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution.
28. Robert H. Keyserlingk, "The Canadian Government's Attitude toward Germans and German Canadians in World War II," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 16:1 (1984), p. 17.
29. Reg Whitaker, and Gregory S. Kealey, "A War on Ethnicity? The RCMP and Internment," p.130.
30. Bohdan S. Kordan, and Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, "A Prescription for Nationbuilding: Ukrainian Canadians and the Canadian State, 1939-1945," In *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945*, p. 86-87.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
33. Gregory S. Kealey, and Reginald Whitaker, eds, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series (Vol. 1), 1939-1941*, pp. 327-331; *Ibid.*, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series (Vol. 2), 1942-1945* (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1989), pp. 380-382.
34. Nazi progress towards total European domination subsequently led to further apprehension over the status of individuals from certain ethnic backgrounds such as German and Italian (which joined the war on June 10, 1940). Russian and Ukrainian minorities in Canada (along with other ethnic groups whose homelands were within Soviet territory) were also a cause for concern due to the USSR's signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (non-aggression treaty) with Nazi Germany on August 23, 1939.
35. Robert H. Keyserlingk, "The Canadian Government's Attitude toward Germans and German Canadians in World War II," p. 17.
36. Howard Palmer, "Ethnic Relations in Wartime: Nationalism and European Minorities in Alberta during the Second World War," In *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s*, ed. Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 457.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 456. Ruthenians are known as 'Rusins' in the Czech and Slovak languages and are referred to as 'Rusyns' in English. Ruthenia is the Latin designation for the 'Rus' homeland.



38. František Pavlásek, "Poučenie o registrácii Českoslovákov u Kanadských úradov," *Nová vlast*, Vol. 6:43, October 26, 1939, p. 1. Ottawa was to begin registering foreign nationals within ten days of the printing of the General Consulate's warning in *Nová vlast*.
39. Anthony X. Sutherland, *The Canadian Slovak League* (Toronto: Canadian Slovak League, 1984), p. 38.
40. František Pavlásek, "Poučenie o registrácii Českoslovákov u Kanadských úradov," p. 1; Horace Hume Van Wart, "Registrácia," *Nová vlast*, Vol. 6:43, October 26, 1939, p. 3. Consequently, the Honourary Czechoslovak Consul in Toronto, Horace Hume Van Wart demanded that those with a Czechoslovak passport, papers, and those registered as a national of the protectorate in Ontario register with the consulate before Nov. 8, 1939.
41. "Kanadská vláda oznamuje registrovanie Českoslovákov," *Nová vlast*, Vol. 6:44, November 2, 1939, p. 1; "Registrácia Českoslovákov ako priateľský národ." *Nová vlast*. Vol. 6:45, November 9, 1939, p. 1. The Consulate General in Montreal would issue certificates of loyalty so as to ascertain who could receive the certificate of exemption (if they already registered as enemy aliens due to nationality). *Nová vlast* asserted: "you can see that the Consul General in Montreal...has warned us all of our rights as nationals so that we could be certified as friendly and an ally".
42. František Pavlásek, "Čechoslováci a ich práva v Kanade," *Nová vlast*, Vol. 6:47, November 23, 1939, p. 1.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 1. Among the Slovaks who supported the Vojtech Tuka-led regime in Slovakia were members of the First Catholic Slovak Union and its newspaper *Jednota* (Union) which were temporarily banned in Canada.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
46. "Registrácia Českoslovákov v Kanade," *Nová vlast*, Vol. 7:29, July 18, 1940, p. 3.
47. *Nová vlast*, Vol. 7:32, August 8, 1940, p. 1. The RCMP began to pursue individuals from ethnic communities that were being registered once they had turned sixteen years of age. This policy shift was due to many adolescents ignoring or having been misinformed about the age requirement for their registration with police. As a result, this left a significant numbers of individuals to be registered.
48. "Registrácia Českoslovákov v Kanade," *Nová vlast*, Vol. 7:29, July 18, 1940, p. 3.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
50. "Registrácia," *Nová vlast*, Vol. 7:50, December 12, 1940, p. 4. Dr. Pavlásek received a signed letter from RCMP Commissioner S.T. Wood indicating that Canadian nationals of Czech and Slovak heritage would receive a certificate of exemption following an examination of their file by the authorities.
51. "Krajania v Sarnii d'akujii generálny konzulovi Dr. Pavláskovi," *Nová vlast*, Vol. 8:2, January 9, 1941, p. 5.
52. "ČSL prejav v rozhlase po celej Kanade," *Nová vlast*. Vol. 8:5, January 30, 1941, p. 1.
53. "Máme spoločný osud," *Nová vlast*, Vol. 8:6, February 6, 1941, p. 2.

54. ""Slovenské Bratstvo" odsúdené hlavným Montrealským sudcom," *Nová vlasť*, Vol. 8:5, January 30, 1941, p. 5.
55. Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War*, p. 16.
56. František Pavlásek, Letter from František Pavlásek to Edvard Beneš číslo 526/41 dated March 28, 1941," *Fond Edvard Beneš*, Kanada – ČS národní sdružení v Kanadě dary a sbírky, 1941-1945, 109 V87/2, Karton 114, Archiv Ústav T.G. Masaryk – Akademie věd České republiky, Prague. In his letter to Beneš, the Czechoslovak Consul General writes: "...také dosud neproniklo vědomí o sháze způsobené na Tiso režimem do řad ligistů v Kanadě."
57. Svaz Slovaku v Kanadě, "Untitled Letter to Edvard Beneš, číslo 2386 taj.I/2.odd., July-August, 1941," *Fond Edvard Beneš*, Kanada – ČS národní sdružení v Kanadě dary a sbírky, 1941-1945, 109 V87/2, Karton 114, Archiv Ústav T.G. Masaryk – Akademie věd České republiky, Prague.
58. *Ibid.*
59. Lt.-Col. K. Hron, "Ministry of National Defence document číslo 2386 I/2.odd.taj.41," *Fond Edvard Beneš*, Kanada – ČS národní sdružení v Kanadě dary a sbírky, 1941-1945, 109 V87/2, Karton 114, Archiv Ústav T.G. Masaryk – Akademie věd České republiky, Prague.
60. *Ibid.*, "Letter to S.T. Wood, Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police from the Czechoslovak Military Mission in Canada (Montreal) – August 18, 1941," *Fond Edvard Beneš*, Kanada – ČS národní sdružení v Kanadě dary a sbírky, 1941-1945, 109 V87/2, Karton 114, Archiv Ústav T.G. Masaryk – Akademie věd České republiky, Prague.
61. "D'alšie veľké víťazstvo Československej veci v Kanade," *Nová vlasť*, Vol. 8:14, April 3, 1941, p. 1.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
63. "Zmena Kanadského zákona o Čechoslovákoch," *Nová vlasť*, Vol. 8:15, April 10, 1941, p. 1.
64. "Zákon o Čechoslovákoch úradne vyhlásený," *Nová vlasť*, Vol. 8:16, April 17, 1941, p. 1; "Registracia." *Nová vlasť*. Vol. 8:18, May 1, 1941, p. 1. The *Canada Gazette* article may be found in issue 103(74). Subsequently, the RCMP requested that all Czechoslovaks who had previously registered return their exemption cards to the RCMP office in which they registered.
65. Norman Hillmer, "The Second World War as an (Un) National Experience," In *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945*, p. xiii.
66. "Plebiscite Question," *Nová vlasť*, Vol. 9:17, April 23, 1942, p. 2.
67. "Budeme hlasovať "Ano" – "Yes,"" *Nová vlasť*, Vol. 9:17, April 23, 1942, p. 2.
68. In total, seven ridings outside of Quebec voted 'No' in the 1942 plebiscite; those ridings not mentioned include three Acadian ridings in northern New Brunswick (Gloucester, Kent, and Restigouche), and two Franco-Ontarian ridings in eastern Ontario (Russell and Prescott).

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