

Habsburg H-Net Discussion Network
Tomas Masaryk, Independent Bohemia, 1915

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Masaryk: Independent Bohemia (1915)

This memorandum, written by Tomas G. Masaryk for British friends and members of the British government in April 1915, is from R. W. Seton-Watson, *Masaryk in England*. (Cambridge: The University Press and Macmillian Company, New York, 1943.) The page numbers refer to the pagination in that book.

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Independent Bohemia

(PROFESSOR MASARYK'S Confidential Memorandum of April 1915)

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PREFATORY NOTICE

This Memorandum gives the programme for the reorganisation of Bohemia as an independent State. It is the programme of all Bohemian political parties except the Catholic Clericals. All details and minor problems are omitted. The plan of reconstructing the independent Bohemian State in the very heart of Europe naturally leads to the fundamental political problems of the present war. The interdependence of all these problems explains why they are touched upon here, in so far as the Bohemian and Slav questions seem to require it.

These views are of course presented from the Bohemian standpoint; this will, it is hoped, facilitate an understanding of the Bohemian Question.

THE AIM OF THE PRESENT WAR: EUROPE REGENERATED

British statesmen and politicians have frequently proclaimed as the idea and aim of this war the liberation and freedom of the small states and nations. The same principle has been proclaimed in France. In Russia the Tsar and the Generalissimo publicly spoke of the liberation of their Slav brethren, while in Britain and France the integrity of Belgium was specially emphasised.

In these solemn proclamations of the Allies the Regeneration of Europe was accentuated as an aim of the war.

THE MODERN PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALITY

Till recently mankind was divided and organised into states and churches, without regard to Nationality. The modern era is characterised by the development of various nationalities, as strong political and state-forming forces.

In practice, language, as the medium of common cultural life and effort, is the main test of Nationality. Besides Nationality,

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in modern times economic development, as well as provident care for the masses--not merely for aristocratic minorities--has become a great political and racial force.

Nationality is not the only organism force in society, but it is a very powerful force, the more so as it is very often opposed to the State. The watchword 'National States' sums up the tendency of modern political development.

For the purposes of this Memorandum it is not necessary to estimate the degree to which Nationality works as a political power. The future may bring a decided victory of the organisms power of Nationality; to-day it is at least well to recognise its force to the extent of avoiding the evils which have led to the war and have been revealed in its course.

WEST AND EAST: THE SMALL NATIONS

There is a striking difference between the west and east of Europe in regard to the composition of states and the number of small nations. The west has four (five) great nations and only five small ones, whereas the east has only one great nation and a great number of small ones. In the west the states are formed by one dominant race, in the east they are nationally mixed.

West

1. England
2. France
3. Germany
4. Italy
5. Spain

1. Portugal
2. Holland (and Flemings of Belgium)
3. Denmark
4. Norway
5. Sweden

East

Russia, who herself includes many small nations, while Austria-Hungary is composed of nine nations, and the Balkans of seven nations.

In fact there are only three great nations in Europe: Russia (170 millions), England (45 millions), Germany (65 millions).

These three are at least the greatest nations, measured by the number and the constant growth of population. France was the greatest nation at the Congress of Vienna when Europe was shaped; Germany had in 1816 on the territory which she now possesses 27.8 millions; France more than 30. To-day France is much smaller than Germany and smaller than Britain.

Italy is the smallest of the greater nations; Spain will hardly be acknowledged as a great nation at all. The difference in the growth of the population, the constant increase of it, the approximate determination of the period of doubling, the growing difference in the number of soldiers and workers, begin to instigate statesmen and politicians to regulate the migration of the population (emigration-immigration), and to pursue a far-sighted colonial policy.

The colonial effort of Germany and of France is to be looked at from this populationistic view; this view enables us to understand the antagonism of France and Germany, the alliance of France with Russia (170 millions), and the whole political situation of Europe.

THE WORLD POSITION OF ENGLAND AND RUSSIA: SEA POWER AND LAND POWER

The geographical position of England is unique; England is the Colonial and Sea Power par excellence; so far the only Sea Power, whereas Russia is the Continental Power par excellence. The modern means of communication at sea enable England to gather her colonial forces and even face the great army of continental Germany.

This difference and natural antithesis of England and Russia

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regulate the foreign policy and the military and naval character of the two States.

Both nations have a vital interest in Asia--hence the difference, but also the coincidence, of political interest displayed in the policy regarding Turkey, Persia, China, Japan, etc., and above all regarding Germany.

GERMANY: A CONTINENTAL POWER

The central position in Europe, the outgrowth and defeat of France in 1870, and the colonial endeavour bring Germany, with her large and dense population, into competition with Russia and England. Her military forces are directed against Russia, her navy against England.

Germany is essentially a continental Power. She is a military, not a naval, State.

Her central position induces Germany to arrogate the supremacy over Europe.

Heeren, the great German historian and philosophic geographer, apprehended the future effect of uniting Germany at the Congress of Vienna: 'La constitution d'un Etat central de l'Europe ne saurait etre indifferente aux puissances etrangeres. Si c'etait une grande monarchie quelle possibilite d'assurer la paix pour elle? Une telle puissance pourraitelle resister longtemps a la tentation de s'arroger sur le reste de l'Europe la preponderance a laquelle sa situation et sa puissance sembleraient l'autoriser? L'etablissement d'une monarchie unique en Allemagne serait bientot le tombeau de la liberte en Europe.'

BISMARCK'S POLICY TOWARDS AUSTRIA: PAN-GERMANISM

As a Continental, overpopulated, Power Germany presses constantly on Austria and uses her. Bismarck's policy towards Austria is the diplomatic and political formulation of the constant pressure

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of the Prussian North on the Austrian South. Lagarde, the father of modern Pan-Germanism, formulated the German programme: 'Colonisation of Austria by Germany.'

By colonising Austria Germany aspires to colonise the Balkans and thus to reach Constantinople and Bagdad.

BERLIN-BAGDAD

This 'Drang nach Osten' explains the policy of Berlin towards the Magyars, towards Roumania, towards Bulgaria, and towards Turkey.

The watchword Berlin-Bagdad denotes the real aim of Germany, the direction of the 'Drang nach Osten'. The alliance with Turkey in the war is the final result of the German invasion in Constantinople and in Asia Minor (financial policy, railways, schools and hospitals, etc.).

Known German politicians and publicists emphasise all the time during the war the plan to occupy Asia as far as Bagdad; for instance: Lamprecht, von Liszt, Dirr, the director of the Ethnological Museum, Munich, etc.

THE DREIBUND AS 'DRANG NACH OSTEN': TRIESTE, THE ADRIATIC

The Triple Alliance is the diplomatic and military weapon of the Berlin-Bagdad plan: Austria-Hungary is absolutely at Germany's disposition; Italy is checked in her national endeavour, for it is obvious that Germany tries to preserve Trieste and the Adriatic for herself--the way to Asia Minor and East Africa. The Pan-German politicians since Lagarde claim Trieste very strongly for Germany.

At bottom it is the German aspiration for Asia which reveals one of the most effective causes of the war and which explains the antagonism of Germany against England and against Russia.

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AUSTRIA, AN ARTIFICIAL STATE: HER PROGRESSIVE DISMEMBERMENT

Austria, being an aggregate of nine small nations, is quite an artificial State, as she was called by an Austrian politician (Plener, the younger); no nation in Austria is so populous that it would have the ruling majority. The dynasty, therefore, tries to maintain its absolutistic position by the principle of divide et impera, by little concessions now to one nation, now to another; the Germans (the dynasty is German) and Magyars are the favourites.

Austria owes her origin to the invasions of the Turks, and previously of the Huns (Magyars); Austria means the Eastern Empire, the German provinces, Bohemia and Hungary joined in a federation against Turkey. With the fall of the Turks Austria falls also; Austria lost her ruling idea, and is unable to find a positive idea. So Austria falls from step to step. The Austrian-Spanish Empire was dissolved. Austria lost the greater part of Silesia and was driven by Prussia to abandon Germany; in 1848, saved by Russia, she lost in 1859 the Italian provinces; in 1866 she was beaten by Prussia. Since then she exists only as the vassal of Berlin, being divided into Austria and Hungary; it is to Berlin that both the Germans and Magyars owe their dominating position in Austria.

The other nations, especially the Bohemians and South Slavs, are in everlasting opposition against the two Prussified vassals, the Germans and Magyars. Austria was unable to unite all nations in a strong federation and to pursue her own aim to work for the growth and development of the single national components. Germany--and that is Bismarck's plan with Austria--uses the seeming Great Power for her own ends. The war of 1914 has uncovered the weakness of the Dual Monarchy. Austria, though she initiated the war by her brutal and dishonest anti-Serbian policy, was not prepared for the war, was beaten by the Russians, lost the greater part of Galicia, and

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only the help of Germany and her strategical leading retards the final collapse. Austria is degenerated, she is the Catholic Turkey, she has lost her *raison d'etre*.

BOHEMIA AS PART OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Bohemia was formerly associated with German-Austria and with Hungary as an independent kingdom; the King was in common for all three States; each possessed its own administration. The revolution of 1618, leading to the battle at the White Mountain and causing the Thirty Years' War, did not deprive Bohemia of her independence; it was the absolutism of the eighteenth century, strengthened by the reaction against the French Revolution, which endeavoured to shape the three federated States into a centralised State. The revolution of 1848 in Hungary and in Bohemia restored the rights of Bohemia for a while; the reinforced absolutistic centralism was checked in 1859, and 1866. Vienna made peace with Hungary in 1867 (Dualism), but Bohemia had to continue to assert her rights and liberty. Since Vienna had to concede the Constitution, Bohemia and her legal representatives have been persistently fighting for independence against the German and Magyar supremacy.

In this fight she is supported by the non-German and non-Magyar nations, especially by the Southern Slavs.

BOHEMIA FORCED TO ABANDON AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The war of 1914 revealed, as did the two wars of 1859 and 1866, that Austria-Hungary is unable to protect and to administer Bohemia and the other nations. Vienna has utterly failed in this war, and failed the more, in view of the recent military preparations, since the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; indeed, it was boastfully proclaimed that Austria-Hungary alone would defeat the Russians, the Germans directing their main forces against France and her Allies in the West.

Bohemia must now take care of herself.

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BOHEMIA FOR RUSSIA, SERBIA AND THE ALLIES: BOHEMIA'S SHARE IN THE WAR

The Bohemians are since the awakening of the national feeling strongly Slavophil. The political meaning of Bohemian Slavophilism was revealed in 1849 by the summons of the Slav Congress at Prague, and later in the so-called Moscow Pilgrimage in 1876--Palacky himself, the 'Father of the Nation', manifested Russophil tendencies against Dualistic Austria.

In the last war of the Serbians and Bulgarians against Turkey the Bohemians, as is generally known, strongly helped the Slav Allies by sending physicians, sanitary materials, money, etc. Previously to that war the Bohemian representatives in the Delegation and in Parliament openly supported the Southern Slav cause against Vienna and Budapest.

Since the beginning of the war last August and its antecedents the Bohemian nation has manifested its sympathy for Russia, Serbia and the Allies.

Bohemia, as the majority of the belligerent nations, was surprised by the sudden, unexpected outbreak of the war; she was therefore not prepared to manifest her opposition to Vienna by a regular revolution; but she manifested her feelings and thoughts strongly enough.

Whereas representatives of the Germans, Magyars and Poles proclaimed their support of the war and their allegiance to the dynasty, the representatives of the Bohemians did not join in these proclamations; the Bohemians did not favour the War Loan, and it is known that Bohemian public opinion is constantly in conflict with the authorities, expressing sympathy with the Allies. It is further known that many Bohemian regiments only went to the front under compulsion, and that they showed their antipathy to the war by frequent demonstrations--reported in the papers--by declining to fight, and by repeated surrenders. There is documentary evidence that the Austrian Generalissimo fears this attitude of the Bohemian troops and civil population as a serious weakening of the Austro-Hungarian army.

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BOHEMIA CLAIMS HER INDEPENDENCE

All the Bohemian colonies abroad, especially those in Russia, England, France, Switzerland and the United States of America, not being under the pressure of Austria, have repeatedly manifested the true feeling of the nation, proclaiming the necessity of restoring the political independence of Bohemia. The official organ of political Bohemia abroad is La Nation Tcheque, appearing in Paris under the direction of Mr Ernest Denis, professor at the Sorbonne, the well-known historian of Bohemia.

To attain independence is the alleged aim of all Bohemia and of all political parties; there are only some few individual adherents of Austria. No politician of any repute is among them.

THE INDEPENDENT BOHEMIAN STATE: AREA AND POPULATION

The Bohemian State would be composed of the so-called Bohemian countries, namely of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia; to these would be added the Slovak districts of North Hungary, from Ungvar through Kaschau along the ethnographical boundaries down the river Ipoly (Eipel) to the Danube, including Pressburg and the whole Slovak north to the frontier line of Hungary. The Slovaks are Bohemians, in spite of their using their dialect as their literary language. The Slovaks strive also for independence and accept the programme of union with Bohemia.

The Bohemian State would have a population of over 12 millions. The extent of the new state would be about 50,000 English square miles (Belgium has 11,373).

POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS TO THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT BOHEMIA:
REFUTATION OF THESE OBJECTIONS

Against the reconstruction of an independent Bohemia some objections will be made, perhaps not only by its adversaries. The principal objections may therefore be formulated and discussed.

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1. At the root, perhaps, of all objections is the fear of new political formations in general. This fear is commonly expressed in the saying, 'It is difficult'.

Yes, it is difficult. Every new political creation is difficult--difficult will be the restriction of German militarism and the political consequences of such restriction, if logically carried out. In politics habits, and not only good ones, but bad ones just as well, rule humanity.

2. Very often the saying is repeated, that a small State is impossible, small nations cannot protect and support themselves.

The far-reaching problem of small nations has often been discussed. Here it must be emphasised that independent Bohemia would not be so very small. Regarding her population, she would hold in Europe the eighth place, only seven States being greater: fourteen would be smaller.*

Greater than Bohemia

England
Poland
Italy
Russia
Germany
France
Spain

Smaller than Bohemia

Portugal
Belgium
Holland
Denmark
Norway

Sweden
Switzerland
Serbia
Montenegro
Bulgaria
Greece (Albania)
Turkey (European)

Bohemia has no sea (unfortunately, only in one of Shakespeare's plays), and that is a great drawback, no doubt (compare small Denmark and the rest of the sea-bordered countries).

In that respect Bohemia is not alone (Serbia, the Magyars, Switzerland), but the example of Switzerland shows that not only can political independence be preserved, but that modern means of communication enable even a landlocked country to have a flourishing industry.

If, therefore, it is urged that Austria is necessary for her nations,

*Austria and Hungary bring the number from twelve to fourteen.

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that Austria, if it did not exist, would have to be created, one must say with Palacky that Bohemia was before Austria, and that she will be after Austria.

Austria was created as a confederation of smaller States in the Middle Ages, against the fierce Turks and Huns, and against the oppressive spirit of the age in general. Since the military spirit and oppressive propensities of nations have grown relatively weaker, and as there is some good hope that the war will bring about a longer time of peace (1870 was followed by a 45 years= peace), Bohemia can, during that time, relatively easily be consolidated.

The necessary protection against hostile neighbours free Bohemia can get from alliances with equally threatened neighbours or with friendly neighbours. Bohemia will be contiguous with Poland and Russia, and perhaps with Serbia.

3. Economically and financially Bohemia is acknowledged to be the 'pearl of Austria'-- she will be as rich as she is now; she will be richer, because she will not have to support the economically 'passive' provinces of Austria.

Be it noted that the part of Austria which really pays its way consists of Bohemia (with Moravia, Silesia), Lower Austria with Vienna, North Styria, part of West Galicia (this latter only in recent years).

Bohemia, of course, would take a part of the Austrian public debt, and as the war will augment this debt very greatly, Independent Bohemia would have to begin her own administration with a considerable burden: the leading political men of Bohemia are aware of this serious task, and of the necessity for a solid, thoroughly balanced financial administration.

4. In this outline it is impossible to discuss all problems of Bohemia.

But it is of general interest to point to the peculiar position of the Bohemian landed proprietors (aristocracy). These proprietors, for the most part, are Austrian in sentiment, and perhaps they would form a dangerous element. In their case Bohemia could follow the English example in Ireland (land purchase).

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5. As it is not in our intention to hide the difficulties of Free Bohemia, we must mention the question of national minorities.

First, though we advocate the principle of nationality, we wish to retain our German minority. It seems to be a paradox, but it is on the principle of nationality that we retain the German minority. Bohemia is a quite unique example of a mixed country; in no country are two nationalities so intermixed and interwoven, so to say, as in Bohemia. Between the Germans and Italians, for instance, the ethnographical frontier is simple, sharply cut; it is not so in Bohemia--in a great many places, and in almost all the cities, we have Bohemian (or German) minorities. The Germans object that the Bohemian minorities in North Bohemia, etc. are 'only' working men, people who live on German bread; this anti-social argument is obviously false; it misrepresents the process of industrialization of Bohemia, which of course needs factory 'hands'.

In Bohemian Silesia the majority is Polish and German, in the Slovak districts there would be a Magyar minority.

6. In a more detailed programme the Bohemian minority of Vienna (about half a million!) would have to be discussed.

Here it must suffice to hint at the possibility of repatriating a great part of the Bohemian emigrants in a free, and therefore richer, Bohemia.

BOHEMIA NOT THE ONLY NATION TO BE FREED

The difficulties of reconstructing Independent Bohemia will be smaller if we take the problem in its connection with the other difficulties, i.e. with the construction and reconstruction of Poland and Serbo-Croatia, and of course with the liberation of the French and Danes in Germany, with the solution of the Balkan and Turkish question, and with all questions agitating the world in this war. The attempt to solve these questions is

the very aim of regenerating Europe. All these questions together form the European problem.

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FREE BOHEMIA AND SERBO-CROATIA, AS NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

The maximum of Bohemian and Serbo-Croatian wishes would be the connection of Bohemia and Serbo-Croatia.

This can be effected by giving the strip of land at the Hungarian frontier in the west either to Serbia or the half of it (north) to Bohemia, the other (south) to Serbia.

This corridor would be formed of parts of the counties of Pozsony (Pressburg), Sopron (Oedenburg), Moson (Wieselburg), and Vas (Eisenburg).

The population is German, containing considerable Croatian minorities; the south is Slovene.

As there are considerable Slovak and Serbo-Croatian minorities, which may be left to Hungary, it is not unjust to claim this district, the more so as the Magyars treated, and now treat, the Serbs and Croats in a way worthy of the Huns of the Middle Ages. Whole districts are depopulated, the inhabitants of Bosnia driven away to Montenegro, while those of Syrmia have been sent to Hungary, where they, not being cared for, die in masses. And the Slovaks were for centuries the victims of the most brutal Magyarisation.

The Serbo-Bohemian corridor would facilitate the economic interchange of both countries--industrial Bohemia and agricultural Serbo-Croatia--and it would lead from Bohemia to the Serbo-Croatian ports. The corridor would, of course, have a great military significance.

It must be added that many Serbo-Croatian politicians accept this plan of a corridor, just as the Bohemian politicians.

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THE SLAVIC BARRIER AGAINST GERMANY'S MARCH TO CONSTANTINOPLE--BAGDAD

By forming this Serbo-Bohemian corridor the Allies would prevent Germany from colonising the Balkans and Asia Minor, and they would prevent the Magyars from being the obedient advanced guard of Berlin.

THIS SLAVIC BARRIER COINCIDENT WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIES
IN ASIA

England as well as France once protected Turkey; that was unconsciously an anti-German policy, though it was directed against Russia, who protected the Balkan Slavs and nations. Now England and France have accepted the policy of Russia, while Germany has taken up the abandoned policy of the two Allies.

By protecting the Balkan Slavs and nations the Allies attain as much, and even more, than they attained by protecting Turkey, and they serve the cause of liberty and civilisation.

Logically the expulsion of Germany from Asia involves taking East Africa from her also. That is the direct consequence of the fall of Kiau-chau.

ITALY AND THE SLAV QUESTION: THE DALMATIAN PROBLEM

Only a few words must in this connection be said about Italy, and her exaggerated claims to Serbo-Croatian territory.

Italy overrates the possession of the Croatian coast (Fiume) and of Dalmatia. The command of the Adriatic will be secured by a numerous and good fleet, not by a poor and bare coast. Italy wishes the liberation of the Italians from the Austrian yoke, but at the same time she accepts the repudiated Austrian policy of national repression. Italy has to answer this question: Either she wishes to see in the Adriatic a strong Austrian and Turkish fleet and a German naval base at Trieste, Pola, or some place further

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south, or she must be at peace with Serbia, who until now has not had a single ship. Trieste, as an Italian porto franco, Pola, Valona, the islands in the Aegean, are more than sufficient for Italy's aspirations in Asia and Africa.

Of course Italy must consent to Russia having Constantinople and the Straits--if England and France have come to terms with Russia. Why should Italy pursue a Mediterranean policy based on a false idea regarding the Dalmatian coast?

This Adriatic policy is quite false, viewed from the present significance of the Mediterranean. This sea is now something different from what it was to the old Greeks and Romans: the free intercommunication of the countries bordering on this sea is not disputed, but to-day the Mediterranean leads these countries to Asia, Africa, Australia, America. England is a strong Mediterranean power, though only possessing two or three small places and one short coast line (Egypt). Does Italy, who has a very long coast of her own, and a number of islands (one of them is large), need the long coast of Dalmatia as well, if she gets Trieste, Pola and Valona?

Italy should remember that the old German Empire occupied Italian territory; the new German Empire will not hesitate to do the same, having already acquired a good deal of

the industry in Northern Italy. The way to Bagdad goes from Berlin not only through Constantinople, but through Trieste and Venetia.

Italy is the natural ally of the Southern and Northern Slavs against the 'Drang nach Osten'.

BOHEMIA AND THE BALKANS: ENGLAND, RUSSIA AND GERMANY

Bohemia must wish that the Serbo-Croatian nation should be united and that Serbia should come to a satisfactory agreement with Bulgaria.

The Bohemian politicians hope that the final reconstruction of the Balkans will be solved in accordance with Russia and her

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Allies. For Bohemia and the Balkan Slavs the friendship and help of Russia is essential.

The Bohemian politicians think that Constantinople, and therefore the Straits, can only belong to Russia. This is a long-cherished plan of the whole Russian nation; this plan has the religious sanction (Hagia Sofia!) of the Russian people, and it is the natural solution of the political and economic endeavour of Russia to secure the Black Sea and the free way to the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

The Bohemian politicians rejoiced in the fact that Russia and England found each other and that the Persian question--(Persian Gulf!)--was solved. Russia, having Constantinople and the Straits, has no vital interest in the Persian Gulf and will be able to devote herself to the final incorporation of Constantinople.

Constantinople and the Straits mean a heavy administrative and financial burden, which only a Great Power will be able to support; Greece, Bulgaria, even in joining their efforts, would not be able to stand the task. It is to be hoped that both these nations will acknowledge this fact and accept its bearing on the final distribution of Asia Minor.

The Bohemian politicians hope and wish that Turkey will be wiped off the map. England is a greater Mohammedan power than Turkey. Russia nearly so: their agreement guarantees the future solution of the religious and political problems of the Mohammedan world. The Slavs are interested in this solution, for there are a good many Serbian and Bulgarian Mohammedans.

The Bohemian politicians set great value on the agreement of Russia and England, as they must fear that Bismarck's old policy of conciliating Russia will be revived by the war. It is not difficult to detect in many utterances of prominent German publicists and statesmen (among others of Hindenburg himself) a hidden appeal to Russia. The German designs in Asia at once suggest the immense significance of Russia as an Asiatic

Continental Power. If the Germans also appeal to English Parliamentarism and Liberalism, the Bohemian politicians know that the Germans are blind

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adherents of the Prussian constitutional theory, which Treitschke formulated in the abstract, Bismarck practically, and to which the Kaiser lent sacrilegious expression, proclaiming the tool of Bismarck, his grandfather, as God's newest revelation.

INDEPENDENT BOHEMIA: CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

Bohemia is projected as a monarchical State; a Bohemian Republic is only advocated by a few Radical politicians.

The dynasty could be established in one of two ways. Either the Allies could give one of their princes, or there could be a personal union between Serbia and Bohemia, if the Serbo-Bohemian corridor could be formed.

The Bohemian people, that must be emphasised once more, are thoroughly Russophile. A Russian dynasty, in whatever form, would be most popular. At any rate, the Bohemian politicians wish the establishment of the kingdom of Bohemia in full accordance with Russia. Russia's wishes and plans will be of determinating influence.

The Bohemian politicians, knowing the difficult task of reconstituting Bohemia, do not shrink from the responsibility of the work to be done. If they wish complete independence, it is because they wish to use all the political forces of the nation to build a strong State. Not only Russia, but her Allies also, will be best served by strong Slav states and nations, and this aim will best be attained if these nations will bear the full responsibility of their policy.

Bohemia will, of course, be constitutional and democratic--as befits the nation of Hus, Chelcicky and Comenius, the nation which was the first to break the mediaeval theocracy, and which by its reformation and fight for spiritual liberty prepared the modern development of Europe. It is this great service Bohemia has rendered to Europe and to mankind which gives her the

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right to claim her independence, and to have her seat and vote in the areopagus of free nations. The regeneration of Europe will be attained not only by foreign policy, it must be chiefly attained by the active furtherance of liberty and progress in the inner life of the European nations. For this task the Allies can fully rely on the Bohemian nation.

A 'SINE QUA NON'

The presupposition of the Bohemian programme is the restriction of Germany and her defeat in this war. This defeat must be twofold. First, it is the direct victory of the Allies over Germany; second, the lasting defeat of Germany will be the defeat of Austria-Hungary and the dismemberment of this artificial State. Every weakening of Austria is a weakening of Germany; Bismarck's plan of squeezing the Austrian lemon will be at an end.

To-day Germany disposes of the 50 millions of Austria's population; but after the non-German and non-Magyar nations have been freed, only 10 millions of these will be left--always assuming that German Austria remained on good terms with Germany, or even became incorporated.

Liberated Bohemia certainly will act in accordance with the Entente, and will always be a loyal ally to them; now Bohemia wishes and hopes that her Russian brethren will soon succeed in occupying the Bohemian and Slovak districts. This would be the best solution not merely of the Bohemian, but also of the Austrian, German, and other questions at issue.

END

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