a small part of the population, and almost not at all to the broader strata of the Slovak people. As a professor of Prague University, Masaryk looked after the Slovak students and won them over to his ideas. The bourgeois-radical transformation of Slovak politics in the years 1890—1914 — a socially oriented opposition to the Hungarian state in the interest of Czechoslovak unity — goes back to this circle around Masaryk. Out of it also emerged the Slovaks who realized Czechoslovak state unity in 1918 — e.g. Milan Hodža, Ivan Dérer and Vavro Srobár. The Czechoslovak idea was not the idea of the whole Czech and Slovak people, but solely the affair of a small minority of no more than twenty men who aspired to power. From this fact clearly indicates the pseudo-democratic character of the Czechoslovak national idea.

The fiction of Czechoslovak unity, which generalized the Czechs as the principle of all that was progressive, and represented the Slovaks on the other hand, as backward, after 1918 engendered an anti-Czechoslovak Slovak opposition. The latter harked back to the ideas of Hurban-Vajanský and regarded the Western-radical bourgeois position which Masaryk advocated not only as an alien, Czech phenomenon, but also as an atheistic ideology destroying the specific Slovak character.

IN THE PARLIAMENT OF THE FIRST CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

Felix von Luschka

The First World War ended with the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. On 28 October 1918, the Czech National Committee — which up to then had been secret — proclaimed in Prague the Czechoslovak Republic, containing the lands of the former Bohemian crown and the upper Hungarian counties. The German delegates of the former Austrian Reichsrat resisted the incorporation of the Sudeten-German areas, and attempted to recover for the newly established Republic of Austria, German Bohemia under Dr. Lodgman, the Moravian-Silesian Sudetenland under Dr. Freissler, and the district of Znaim under Count Oldofredi. This attempt collapsed after a few weeks, when Czech military occupied the German areas, and then, the Treaty of St. Germain incorporated them into Czechoslovakia, thus bringing the Sudeten-Germans under Czech rule.

In the meantime, the Czech National Committee had been expanded into the National (Constituent) Assembly, with 268 members — with the exception a few Slovaks exclusively Czechs — which adopted the Constitution of 29 February 1920 and all of the fundamental laws of the new state, such as the Language Law, which was so disadvantageous for the German minority, the Land Reform, the currency reform, and the capital levy. Not before these laws had been approved elections for the National Assembly were called. The
first elections for the Chamber of Deputies (300 members) were held on 18 April 1920, and those for the Senate (150 members) on 25 April of the same year. After that, the structure of the National Assembly of the First CSR was changed three times through new elections, in autumn of 1925, in October 1929 and in May 1935. The German minority received each time, corresponding to its share of the population, about one-fourth of all the seats. This minority status of the Germans in the Czechoslovak National Assembly made it impossible for them to prevail in their attempt for self-preservation against the nationalistic policy of the Czech government. As a result, the German minority was forced to fight within and outside the government against its Czechization. At first the gaining of the right of self-determination was in the foreground, and later the aim of achieving the self-administration that had been promised but not realized. Though in outward form a parliamentary democracy, the First Czechoslovak Republic was in its inner essence a nationalistic dictatorship of the Czech National Committees, organized throughout the area of the state. The latter strove systematically, using all the means at their disposal, to de-nationalize the other ethnic groups, in order to create the uniform „Czechoslovak“ people, which had been asserted in the Constitution. For this reason, even the provisions imposed upon the state in the Minority Treaty of 10 September 1919 were so guarded by clauses within the constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic, that their implementation became illusory. Every attempt at a national settlement was nipped in the bud by the pre dominating Czech nationalistic power, until, through the Munich Agreement of 29 September 1938, it had become too late for a settlement within the framework of Czechoslovakia.

THE THEORY OF CZECHOSLOVAK CONTINUITY

Friedrich Korkisch

In contradiction to the principles, recognized in international law, regarding the continuance of a state in spite of loss of territory, or a change of the form of government, the „theory of Czechoslovak continuity“ insinuates that Czechoslovakia continued to exist after 1938 within the boundaries of 1918—1938. This theory was developed by the Czechoslovak government -in-exile, and was supported by extremely questionable arguments, and even fictions. The far-reaching consequences of this doctrine only became fully clear when the „provisional Czechoslovak government“ began, after the occupation of the former state territory of the CSR by Allied troops, and as the latter’s executive organ, to draw not only in its legislation but also in general all the consequences of this doctrine which it deemed proper. From the theory of Czechoslovak continuity were derived all those measures which deprived the members of the German and Magyar ethnic groups of the basis of their economic and cultural life and also threatened their physical existence. It