

THE MAKING
OF A STATE

T. G. MASARYK

THE MAKING OF A STATE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA

STUDIES IN HISTORY, LITERATURE
AND PHILOSOPHY

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V. G. Masaryk.

THE MAKING OF A STATE

MEMORIES AND OBSERVATIONS
1914-1918

BY

DR. THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK

President of the Czechoslovak Republic

AN ENGLISH VERSION, ARRANGED AND PREPARED
WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

HENRY WICKHAM STEED

Author of "The Hapsburg Monarchy" and "Through Thirty Years"

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PREFACE

WRITTEN by President Masaryk as an authoritative record of the efforts by which the freedom of Czechoslovakia had been won, this book was originally published at Prague in 1925 under the title "The World Revolution." It is a discerning historical interpretation both of the process of Czechoslovak redemption from Hapsburg servitude, and of the war as a whole. Wider in range than any "war book" yet written, it is a comprehensive examination of the philosophy of national, international and social life by a philosopher-statesman whose principles experience has vindicated. It deserves not only to be read but to be studied throughout the English-speaking world.

In the preparation and arrangement of this English version some changes of sequence have been made in parts of the narrative, and a few minor details have been omitted. Otherwise it is an accurate and faithful rendering of the original. I wish gratefully to acknowledge the help given by President Masaryk himself in revising the greater part of the manuscript. My acknowledgments are also due to M. Camille Hoffmann, of the Czechoslovak Legation in Berlin, who prepared the German edition, as well as to Messrs. Lawrence Hyde and J. C. C. Johnstone, and to M. Paul Selver and Dr. Jaroslav Cisař, of the Czechoslovak Legation in London, for the assistance I have received from their painstaking work.

No attempt has been made to transliterate Czech names. They have been printed with the original accents and spelling of which the following English equivalents may, however be given:—

- c = ts.
- č = tch.
- ch = the Scottish guttural "ch" as in "loch."
- ě = ye.
- ř = rzh.
- š = sh.
- ž = zh or the French "j."

The stress usually falls on the first syllable. The acute accent " ' " (as in "Palacký," which is pronounced "Palatskee") denotes the length of a vowel, not the accentuation of the word.

H. W. S.

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APPENDIX.—TABLE

DATE.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.
August-September, 1914.		
October 2, 1914.	The French Minister of the Interior grants to trustworthy Czechs the same privileges as to citizens of Allied States.	
October 19, 1915.		The British Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, agrees to take the chair at Professor Masaryk's inaugural lecture at King's College, London, and makes a written declaration. The Czechs in Great Britain are exempted from the disabilities of enemy aliens.

RECOGNITIONS

ITALY.	AMERICA.	RUSSIA AND OTHER STATES
		<p>The Russian Commander-in-Chief, Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolayevitch, issues a proclamation to the Austro-Hungarian peoples; the Tsar receives a first Czechoslovak deputation; the creation of a Czech Družina in the Russian army is sanctioned; the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonof, receives a Czechoslovak deputation and declares that the restoration of the Bohemian Kingdom corresponds to the intentions of the Russian Government; the Tsar receives a second deputation and expresses the hope that Czechoslovak wishes will be fulfilled.</p>

TABLE OF

DATE.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.
1915 and 1916.	In Western Europe the Czechoslovak National liberation. A branch of the Council is established.	
January 13, 1916.		
February 3, 1916.	The French Prime Minister, M. Briand, receives Professor Masaryk and agrees with his policy of liberating the subject Hapsburg peoples.	
April 17, 1916, to January 4, 1917.		
January 10, 1917.	In the Allied reply to President Wilson's Note of the Czechs and Slovaks from alien rule.	
March 24, 1917.		
June 13, 1917.	Conclusion of an agreement between Professor Masaryk and the French Minister, M. Albert Thomas, upon the sending of 30,000 Czecho-	

RECOGNITIONS—*continued*

ITALY.	AMERICA.	RUSSIA AND OTHER STATES.
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council is set up and becomes the central organ of the movement for Russia.

		The Druzina is transformed into a regiment of Czechoslovak Rifles in the Russian Army.
		The formation of a Czechoslovak Brigade in the Russian army is sanctioned; the Tsar agrees to the liberation of the Slav prisoners of war but presently withdraws his assent; the formation of a Czechoslovak division in Russia is sanctioned.

of December 21, 1916, asking for a definition of Allied war aims, the liberation declared to be a main condition of peace.

		Milyukoff, the Foreign Minister of the Russian Provisional Government, confirms the regulations for the formation of a Czechoslovak army.

TABLE O

DATE.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.
	slovak prisoners of war from Russia to France—the first Treaty of State concluded by the Czechoslovak National Council; a further agreement between the National Council and the French Government upon the formation of the Czechoslovak army being made on August 17, 1917.	
August 18, 1917.		
October 4, 1917.		
April 9, 1917, to February 16, 1918.		

RECOGNITIONS—*continued*

ITALY.	AMERICA.	RUSSIA AND OTHER STATES.
		<p>The Branch of the Czechoslovak National Council in Russia issues a loan of 20,000,000 francs for its army.</p>
<p>The Italian Government sanctions a formation of Labour contingents of Czechoslovak prisoners of war.</p>		
		<p>General Dukhonin sanctions the formation of the first independent Czechoslovak Corps in Russia; agreement between the Czechoslovak National Council and the Ukrainian Government; agreement with the Bolshevik Commander Muravyeff upon the armed neutrality of the Czechoslovak forces, which are declared to form part of the French army, Muravyeff guaranteeing it safe conduct to France.</p>

TABLE C.

DATE.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.
March 1918.		
March 21, 1918, to April 24, 1918.		
May 22, 1918.		<p>On behalf of the Foreign Office, Lord Robert Cecil recognizes the right of the Czechoslovak nation to complete independence; and (June 3rd) the British Government declares its readiness to recognize the National Council as the supreme authority of the Czechoslovak movement, and the Czechoslovak Legions as a belligerent Allied army.</p>
May 29, 1918.		

RECOGNITIONS—*continued*

ITALY.	AMERICA.	RUSSIA AND OTHER STATES.
	Congress amends the Immigration Law so as to allow Czechoslovak Legionaries recruited in the United States to return thither after the war in the same way as the American volunteers in the Allied armies.	
Signature of Treaty between the National Council and the Italian Government upon the creation of a Czechoslovak Legion in Italy; and solemn presentation of colours to Legion in Rome.		
	The Government approves of the resolutions of the Rome Congress of Oppressed Hapsburg peoples and (June 28th) supplements its approval by declaring that all the Slavs must be freed from German and Austrian rule.	

TABLE OF

DATE.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.
June 3, 1918.	In the Allied War Council held at Versailles the American declarations, and declare their sincere	
June 29, 1918.	The Government recognizes the Czechoslovak right to independence and the National Council as the first basis of the future Czechoslovak Government; the President of the Republic presents colours (June 30th) to the Czechoslovak Legion in France.	
August 2 and 3, 1918.	American-Japanese Agreement upon military representatives at Washington promise military	
August 9 to November 11, 1918.		The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. A. J. Balfour, issues a declaration recognising the Czechoslovaks as an Allied nation; their Legions in France, Italy, and Siberia as a united Allied and belligerent army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany; and the National Council as the trustee for the future Czechoslovak Government. The British Government recognises the National Council on this basis and concludes a diplomatic convention with it. The British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, thanks the National Council for the achievements of the Czechoslovak Legion in Siberia.

APPENDIX

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RECOGNITIONS—*continued*

ITALY.	AMERICA.	RUSSIA AND OTHER STATES.
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French, British and Italian Prime Ministers associate themselves with the sympathy with the Czechoslovak and Southern Slav struggle for freedom.

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tervention in support of the Czechoslovak Legion in Siberia; the Allied and material assistance to the Legion.

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TABLE OF

DATE.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.
August 23, 1918.		
September 9 to October 7, 1918.		
October 14-18, 1918.	<p>Dr. Beneš informs the Allied Governments that he has formed a provisional government and accredits Czechoslovak representatives to them. On October 18th Masaryk, on behalf of the provisional government, arrives in Washington. President Wilson informs the Allied Governments of the formation of the provisional government, which Italy also recognizes. In the Allied armistice negotiations in Paris; and Masaryk is appointed to Prague. Greece and Belgium recognize the provisional government. On December 4th the Allies recognize the Czechoslovak administration in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.</p>	

RECOGNITIONS—*continued*

ITALY.	AMERICA.	RUSSIA AND OTHER STATES.
	<p>The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate declares Czechoslovak independence to be one of the most important conditions of peace; and the American Government (September 3rd) recognizes the existence of a state of war between the Czechoslovaks and the Central Empires, and the National Council as the <i>de facto</i> Czechoslovak Government.</p>	
		<p>The Japanese Government recognizes the Czechoslovak army as a regular belligerent force and the National Council as its supreme organ. The Chinese Government recognizes (October 3rd) the Czechoslovak army in Siberia in the same way. The Russian Soviet Government recognizes (October 7th) the National Council as the <i>de jure</i> Government of the Czechoslovak State.</p>

the National Council has constituted itself in Paris as a Provisional Government to them. Next day (October 15th) France recognizes the Provisional Government of the Provisional Government, proclaims Czechoslovak independence at Hungary that the United States has recognized the Czechoslovak Provisional Government on October 24th. On November 4th Dr. Beneš is invited to take part on November 15th the first French and British Military Missions are authorized to recognize the Czechoslovak Government on November 22nd and 28th. On November 28th the French Government authorizes its troops to occupy Slovakia and to supervise the Monarchy.

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