

SHOULD GREAT BRITAIN GO TO WAR— FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

*An Appeal to British common sense
—for the sake of World Peace—*

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by
THE SLOVAK COUNCIL

LONDON, 1937

GENEVA
10, RUE DE LA CROIX D'OR



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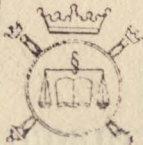
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PREFACE

*Should Great Britain go to war—for
Czechoslovakia?*

*" . . . Nothing on earth will induce the
British people to mobilize . . . in that
cause. We say with certainty, nothing on
earth" (J. L. Garvin, "The Observer,"
22 November 1936).*

A HOST of Czech political agents have recently overrun England, complaining everywhere that their State is threatened with a great danger, and that she is to be divided by her neighbours.

The Czechs have never trusted their own strength, nor do they believe in the support of the Little Entente. Indeed, they even begin to be sceptical of the help of their powerful allies, France and Soviet Russia, who are too busy thinking of their own troubles at home: so now they have thrown themselves on England, asking her to come to their aid in case of war. Furthermore, they intend to persuade the British Government to undertake further obligations in Central Europe, and to pledge itself, by official declaration, to help Czechoslovakia in the event of war.

At the beginning of March this year, the Czecho-

slovak Government brought together in London a political group consisting of members of various women's organizations and of some of the women members of the British Parliament. They invited them to Prague, where they gave them a very cordial reception and won them over for their proposed scheme. Returning to London, these ladies, together with some men Members of Parliament, made an open appeal in *The Times* to the British Government to declare that in case of war the Government would stand by Czechoslovakia by all possible means.

Mr. O. Vojtisek, of the Foreign Office at Prague, gave a lecture at Oxford, in a series of Easter lectures on current political problems. In his lecture Mr. Vojtisek attacked Germany and declared that Czechoslovakia, herself a "democratic" country, hated Fascism, and that she would be prepared to go to war against it, if only she knew whether in her war on Fascism she could rely on the armed assistance of democratic England.

Mr. F. Peroutka, a prominent Czech journalist, an intimate friend of Dr. Benesh, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and interpreter of his political views, published a long article in *Pritomnost* (17 February 1937). In this article Mr. Peroutka explains that a conflict between Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Soviet Russia is in-

evitable. It is necessary that diplomatic preparation for this war should be undertaken in the meantime, and that Czechoslovakia should make sure of those countries which are willing to stand by her.

"We must attempt to manage our affairs in such a way as to cause the war to break out in the situation and at the time most convenient for ourselves."

With these words Mr. Peroutka admits that *it is the Bolshevik bloc that means to start the war!*

It would be a direct encouragement for them if they could make England declare officially that the British Army would step in on the Bolshevik side.

It was with such plans and hopes that Dr. Milan Hodža, the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, had come to London to attend the Coronation. As he could not persuade the British Government to make such a declaration, he asked them—so it was reported by *The Morning Post*—to declare at least that Czechoslovakia was "a factor for peace and worthy of England's help."

This pamphlet seeks to prove the sagacity of British diplomacy in refusing to grant even this request of the Czechoslovak Government.

Nevertheless, the Czechs still hope to influence the British Government through public opinion in

England, and for this reason they have initiated a powerful propaganda in England. Mr. Bohus Benesh, cousin of President Benesh and head of the Czech Propaganda Bureau, has been transferred from Geneva to London. Mr. Jan Stransky, an intimate friend of both President Benesh and President Masaryk, proprietor of the *Lidove Noviny* and a member of the Czechoslovak National Assembly, has also been sent to London with several other agents. At the same time, the Czechoslovak Legation in London is giving political entertainments, as it has recently done in honour of Mr. Churchill. Similar propaganda is being carried on in the United States.

The following questions inevitably arise :

Is Czechoslovakia worthy of the sympathy of the English-speaking world ?

Would it be advisable for England to give assurances to Czechoslovakia, and thus to strengthen the diplomatic position of the Soviets in Europe ?

Would it be advisable for England to encourage the Czecho-Soviet *bloc* and thus to promote the formation of another *bloc* and to strengthen the Berlin-Rome axis ?

Should London, for the sake of the Czechs, expose itself to the danger of aerial attack ?

Should the British Army fight on the Czech side in Europe, and allow the Colonies to be exposed to danger? Should England give further concessions to the Dominions? Should she offer new possibilities to revolutionary movements in India, Africa, Iraq, and Mesopotamia? To participate in a new war would mean too much risk for England. Besides, it might shake the whole Commonwealth. This is why even the Prime Ministers of the Dominions are now warning the British Government against undertaking any further obligations in Europe.

Can Czechoslovakia reasonably expect the British nation to make such an enormous sacrifice? What right has Prague to expect British parents to send their sons to fight for Czechoslovakia and for the victory of Bolshevism?

In order to judge wisely, Englishmen must bear in mind that the Czechs are not the only people living in the Czechoslovak Republic: there are other peoples living there besides, which, as a matter of fact, preponderate over the Czechs. The wisest course would therefore be to consult these other peoples too.

The Slovak Council has already appealed to the British nation in the form of a memorandum (*The Unsolved Slovak Problem: An Appeal by the Slovak Council*. Vienna, 1933). It now raises its voice

once again, confident that it is interpreting the feelings not only of the Slovaks but also of the Germans, Hungarians, Poles, and Ruthenians living in Czechoslovakia ; for these peoples all share the plight of the Slovaks.

We do not mean to make propaganda or counter-propaganda ; we merely wish to enumerate a series of facts which the public opinion of England must know in its own interest.

Then : *audiatur et altera pars !*

PROFESSOR FRANCIS JEHLICKA,
President of the Slovak Council.

VICTOR DVORCHAK,
Chairman of the Slovak Council.

10, RUE DE LA CROIX D'OR,
GENEVA.

June 1937.

I

Why is Czechoslovakia not Worthy of being Helped ?

- I. THE VERY NAME OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS REPELLENT TO THE ENGLISH, says Jan Stransky, the Czech Statesman.

After spending some months in England recently to study conditions there, Mr. Jan Stransky gave an account of his experiences in the Czech magazine *Pritomnost*. He says the English "swallow" their words. For this reason they like only short words, and find the word "Czechoslovakia," consisting of six syllables, distasteful.

Lord Rothermere, on the other hand, dislikes the word for quite different reasons. "The very name of Czechoslovakia has no sense. It was a counterfeit label without historic or ethnographic significance. One might as well talk of 'Anglo-Holland'!" (*The Daily Mail*, 12 February 1937).

No doubt Mr. Stransky tells the truth, but he does not tell the *whole* truth. If it is remembered that this State is inhabited not only by Czechs and

Slovaks but also by Germans (3,500,000), Hungarians (1,000,000), Poles, and Ruthenians, then it obviously ought to be called "Czecho-Germano-Slovak-Magyar-Polono-Ruthenia."

"A very cocktail of nationalities," they say in England. It was therefore proposed from the Czech side to let Czechoslovakia pass in England simply as "Bohemia"; but Mr. Stransky objected because, he said, the term "Bohemian" had already caused considerable embarrassment to the Czechs, since many English people confused it with the alternative epithet of the gypsies, or—thinking of the other application of the term—took the Czechs for "untidy, depraved persons who sleep with their chamber-maids, cannot put on their ties in the right way, and are utterly unable to eat or behave properly." In Puritan England, he says, this is simply shocking.

2. MANY ENGLISH PEOPLE DO NOT LIKE CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BECAUSE THEY CONSIDER THE BIRTH OF THIS STATE ILLEGITIMATE, Mr. Jan Stransky goes on to say.

And why do they consider it illegitimate? Because this State, says Mr. Stransky, had been formed of a part of the late Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which the Czechs had helped to destroy.

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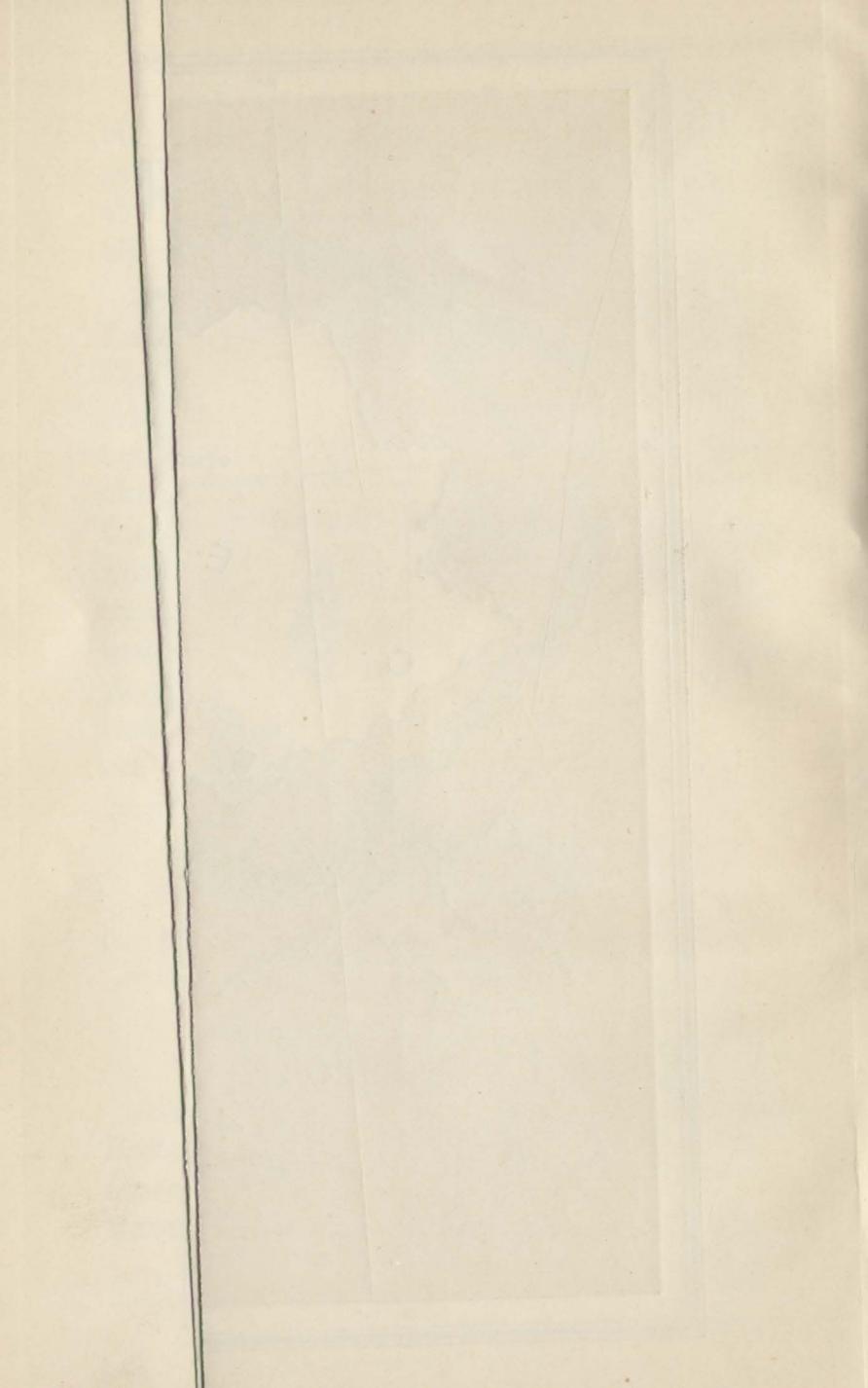
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND ITS NATIONALITIES





“*Détruisez l’Autriche-Hongrie !*” demanded Dr. Benesh in his ill-famed pamphlet.

Another reason why the English consider the birth of Czechoslovakia illegitimate, Mr. Stransky goes on to explain, is that the English are filled with sincere devotion and respect towards their Sovereign. “You, on the other hand,” they say to the Czechs, “have broken your oath of allegiance to the old Emperor !”

On the whole, the old Monarchy, Mr. Stransky observes, made a stronger appeal to the English people. While it existed, there was only one currency in Central Europe ; there was no economic crisis ; there were not so many customs barriers, nor so many restrictions upon foreign trade. All these things are now making it not only hard for English people to travel about as they wish, but almost impossible for them to place their goods on the old markets.

All this is true, no doubt ; but it is not the whole truth. There is something more to be added to it.

The creation of Czechoslovakia was decided on at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the decision being based on one-sided information and false statistics supplied by President Masaryk, Dr. Benesh, M. Pasich, and others. Recourse was

had also to forged maps, curtailed documents, and other discreditable devices.

“ The documents which some of our Allies have submitted to us during the peace negotiations were false and untrue ; our decision was based on forgeries,” wrote Mr. Lloyd George in 1928 (Henri Pozzi, *La Guerre revient*. Paris, 1933).

And this is how Lord Rothermere describes the origin of Czechoslovakia :

“ ‘ The agreements and bargains were made behind closed doors,’ the American delegate, Mr. Lansing, writes in his history of the Peace Conference. ‘ One British journalist who was prominent in the hole-and-corner dealings to which Czechoslovakia owes her baneful and fraudulent existence boasted in a speech that “ a few experts, knowing their own minds and concentrating all their efforts on a given end, can sometimes achieve ends unattainable by the leaders of uninformed opinion and uninformed statesmanship.” ’

“ The Peace Conference was bluffed into making Czechoslovakia. This Central European sham, which is a perpetual danger to the peace of that part of the Continent, was contrived in the interests of the Czechs, a crafty race, who managed to keep a foot in both camps throughout the war and at its

end claimed an extravagant reward from the victors for their duplicity" (*The Daily Mail*, 12 February 1937).

When the Czech diplomatists were busy preparing the foundations of this new State, they themselves realized that it would be very hard to achieve anything in an honest way ; so they called themselves "Maffia," after the organization of Sicilian gangsters (Maffia—Black Hand) (Dr. Paulova, *Dejiny Maffie (History of Maffia)*. Prague, 1937).

The Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles, and Ruthenians were forced into the Czech State without having been previously consulted ; for it was obvious that a plebiscite would have afforded them the opportunity to record their opposition to Czech rule. Accordingly, M. Tardieu declares in his work, *La Paix* : " We had to choose between the referendum and the creation of Czechoslovakia." In other words : if we had ordered a plebiscite, the creation of Czechoslovakia would have been impossible.

" These peoples were handed over to the Czechs with no more consultation than if they had been cattle," Lord Rothermere writes.

It is in vain that the Czechs declare that they obtained these territories under the " treaties "

of Trianon and St.-Germain ; for everyone knows that they were not “ treaties,” properly so called, but simple *dictates*.

3. TO AN ENGLISHMAN EVERYTHING UNNATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL IS WRONG ; THEREFORE HE IS UNABLE TO SYMPATHIZE WITH AN ARTIFICIAL STATE LIKE CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Even Mr. Seton-Watson, Masaryk Professor in the University of London, describes the geographical structure of Czechoslovakia as being “ awkward ” : “ the awkward geographical structure of the new republic ” (Seton-Watson, *Slovakia Then and Now*, Introduction).

He also declares that, if Czechoslovakia turns out to be an artificial structure, “ the time will be ripe for a fundamental revision of the frontiers ; above all, in favour of Hungary ” (*ibid.*).

Now, it is widely known that Czechoslovakia is a State that lacks all criterions of unity, whether geographical, economic, historical, or ethnographical. “ La Tchécoslovaquie est un état sans unité physique, nationale et religieuse ” (*Encyclopédie Larousse Universelle*).

It lacks geographical unity ; for both Bohemia and Slovakia belong to two different geographical systems.

It lacks economic unity; for the economic structure largely depends on geography.

It lacks historical unity; for its eastern part, Slovakia, has never belonged to Bohemia, having formed for more than a thousand years—until the Treaty of Trianon—an organic part of the Kingdom of Hungary. References are made in history to the Kingdom of Bohemia, but no such State as “Czechoslovakia” ever existed before 1918. It is a new State, without a history or tradition.

Finally, as we have seen, it is also without an ethnographic unity; it may fairly be described as an ethnographic mosaic rather than a national State.

In fact, Czechoslovakia is not only artificial, but—as M. Henri Pozzi puts it—“the most artificial, least uniform, and least firm of all European States” (*La Guerre revient*, p. 332).

Mr. J. L. Garvin is of the same opinion: “Stretching, sausage-shaped, for nearly six hundred miles from the heart of Europe to the confines of Russia, it is the *most artificial* both in form and mixture of all the new European structures—a curious mosaic; of its population of 15,000,000 *the Czechs proper are less than half*” (*The Observer*, 22 November 1936).

It is against all laws of Nature that the Czechs, who with the Moravians form a minority in their

own State, keep the non-Czech majority under their sway and, as we shall see, even tyrannize them.

In speaking of the artificial structure of this State, we must emphasize that we are not dealing here with mere theory but with a thoroughly practical matter. Before a State of this kind could be formed, it was necessary to destroy certain natural structures favourable to economic unity. Thus the Hungarian Highlands (Slovakia, or Northern Hungary) had to be separated from the Great Plain, with which they had from time immemorial formed a perfect economic unit. The Hungarian Plain used to send its surplus of wheat to the Highlands (Slovakia), which in their turn supplied it with the wood it needed. Now the Slovaks are doomed to starvation because they have no wheat, and the Hungarians are made to suffer from the cold, as the Great Plain, where there are no forests, cannot supply them with fuel.

Economically, too, Czechoslovakia is an impossible structure; it is therefore unable to provide the necessary food supplies for its entire population and must give everything to the Czechs. It appears from the official statistics of Czechoslovakia that, while in Slovakia most people die of starvation, in the death-roll of the Czechs the

cause is often given as "surfeit" (cf. the semi-official *Slovenski Denik*, 1 August 1935).

When after the factories of Slovakia those of the Sudeta-German province were closed down, the German population also began to suffer from hunger. In 1936 a Swedish commission came to study conditions in Czechoslovakia, and found that the Sudeta-German population was starving; when the commission upbraided the Czech authorities for this, the Director of the Czech Red Cross, Dr. Schultze, gave the following reply to Dr. Linder, a Swedish lady doctor: "Since our State is unable to maintain the entire population, it must at least endeavour to provide for one portion of it, even though the rest must starve" (cf. *Mitteleuropäische Korrespondenz*, No. 280, 1936).

Nature, as Demosthenes pointed out in ancient times, provides for the maintenance of the child even before its birth: she prepares the milk in the mother's system to enable even the poorest mother to nourish her child. If, then, Czechoslovakia is unable to nourish her population, is it not obvious that she is an *unnatural structure*?

Again, as Demosthenes pointed out, the *lowest* part of a house or a boat must be the safest. In the same way, the foundations of a State must be absolutely firm: it must be built on *justice* and

righteousness. Czechoslovakia was built up on the principle that “ the Slovaks too are Czechs,” which is not true. Thus, the very basis of the Czechoslovak State is false : it is built up on broken oaths of allegiance, and on those false promises which the Czechs made to the Slovaks at Pittsburg, but did not care to keep.

No wonder such an artificial State is regarded with intense disfavour by the English.

4. CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS NOT ONLY AN ARTIFICIAL CREATION, BUT ALSO AN INJUSTICE AND A PROVOCATION, BECAUSE SHE IS MADE UP OF TERRITORIES WRESTED FROM HER NEIGHBOURS.

The Czechs are those who protest most violently against the claim of the great German nation to be given at least ethnographic frontiers. The Czechs, on the other hand, have no ethnographic frontiers ; but they have accumulated so much foreign territory that they form a minority in Czechoslovakia.

And by what right do the Czechs hold these foreign territories in their possession ?

Let us begin with the smallest territory : Teschen. When in 1920 the Polish army defended not only Poland but the whole of Europe against the Bolshevik danger threatening from the East,

the Czechs invaded Polish Teschen with an army and succeeded in persuading the Council of Ambassadors to consent to the annexation of two-thirds of Teschen-Silesia, with a population of 160,000, to Czechoslovakia. At the same time the Council consented that the beautiful city of Teschen should be divided into two parts to satisfy the Czechs.

The Full Council of the Duchy of Teschen at once protested, stigmatizing this act as *infamous*. In its resolution it declares : " As that memorable deed of infamy which has led to the division of Poland has met with its rightful atonement, so that heinous crime which has been perpetrated upon the living body of Silesia is poisoning the political and social life of Central Europe and will continue to do so until Poland has obtained full satisfaction."

The late Marshal Pilsudski of Poland made a similar statement : " Teschen-Silesia is Polish, and must be returned to Poland. I declare this in my own name as well as in that of the Polish Government and the entire Polish nation."

Let us turn to the Sudeta-German territory, with its population of 3,500,000. By what right do the Czechs possess this territory? By historical right, they say. Yet the Czechs themselves have no respect for historical rights, since

Slovakia was in the uninterrupted possession of Hungary for more than a thousand years. Though she never formed a part of Bohemia, yet she has been separated from the Kingdom of Hungary.

As for Slovakia, the Czechs invoke the ethnographic principle, arguing that the Slovaks and the Czechs are the same people, and that Slovakia is therefore Czech territory. Professor Masaryk, on 15 August 1915, sent, through Mr. Seton-Watson, to the British Foreign Office a memorandum in which he asserted that "Slovaks are Czechs"; and on this basis he demanded that Slovakia should be separated from Hungary and annexed to Bohemia.

Even if this assertion were true, it would not entitle the Czechs to the possession of Slovakia; for they themselves declare the ethnographic principle as invalid for Austria and the Sudeta-German territory. Both the Sudeta-Germans and the Austrians are actually homogeneous with the German people of the Reich; yet the Czechs are always protesting against the Austrian *Anschluss* as well as the reunion of the Sudeta-German territory with Austria or Germany.

The assertion of the Czechs concerning the Slovak people is entirely false. The Slovaks never were Czechs; nor have they the slightest disposition ever to become Czechs.

Even Mr. Seton-Watson declared, in his first book, *Racial Problems of Hungary*, that the Slovaks had a strong national feeling, and that they should be regarded as a sovereign nation and a race of their own. But the Slovaks themselves vehemently protested against being deprived of their nationality by the Czechs. In the great national assemblies—at Pistany, Nitra, Zvolen—they have repeatedly declared: “We have been a Slovak nation from time immemorial, and such we intend to remain in the future. The theory according to which the Slovaks are Czechs is absolutely fictitious. The Slovaks never were Czechs, just as the Czechs never were Slovaks. This is proved also by the difference in our past, our language, and our character. We consider ourselves to be a sovereign Slovak nation, with our own ideals and our independent character.”

But Slovakia is not the only part the Czechs have taken from Hungary. On the left bank of the Danube they have taken a wide stretch of land with a purely Hungarian population of about 1,000,000. By what right? Here it was impossible to refer either to the historical or to the ethnographic principle. So they referred to strategic considerations, which, they contended, made it necessary that their State should be guarded on the south by the Danube.

When, however, the Hungarians claimed the Carpathians for the same strategic reasons, the Czechs rejected their claim as invalid. It would be of greater advantage to Europe for the Hungarian forces to be stationed in the Carpathians than for the Czech forces to be stationed on the Danube ; for, whereas the Hungarians, as long as they were in the Carpathians, always guarded Europe against the barbarians from the East, the Czechs, having come down as far as the Danube, are even now, in time of peace, letting the Bolshevik forces of Soviet Russia into Slovakia.

Lastly, there is that unhappy land, Ruthenia. The Czechs could not possibly refer to any principle to justify their seizing possession of Ruthenia. President Masaryk himself declared that Ruthenia should be considered a "deposit of Russia," which the Czechs would hand over to the Russians at the earliest opportunity.

It is obvious, therefore, that *the Czechs have absolutely no right whatsoever to the possession of those territories which have been annexed to Bohemia proper.*

Bohemia resembles that particular crow in fairy tales which is priding itself with the feathers of other birds.

These peoples are anxious to return to their

respective countries : the Sudeta-Germans to Germany ; the Poles to Poland ; the Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Hungarians to Hungary, which was their home for a thousand years. But the Czechs hold them imprisoned, as Lord Rothermere described it in his article entitled *The Prisoners of Czechoslovakia*, where he says :

“ As captives of a race notorious for petty meanness they have been subjected to cold-blooded expropriation and oppression. . . . *The Pharaoh who hardened his heart was engulfed by the Red Sea. The prisoners of Czechoslovakia may see their captors overtaken by the fate of that old Egyptian tyrant who would not let the people go* ” (*The Daily Mail*, 12 February 1937).

Czechoslovakia, as we may all see, is therefore *a sick country*, and its illness is a danger to the whole of Europe in the heart of which it is situated. Therefore the Poles call it the *infected appendix of Europe*, which must be removed from its body before it is allowed to destroy the whole organism. The core of this illness lies not in the fact that the Czechs have subjected these peoples under their sway and are giving them a brutal treatment, but that they would not let them go home. And these peoples *do* wish to go home, and the mother-countries are reclaiming them too.

The Hungarians say : “ No, no, never ! ” That

is to say, they will never acquiesce in the present situation.

As for the Slovaks, two Czech writers, M. Brezina and M. Deml, who have travelled through Slovakia, sent the following report to Prague : “ The Slovaks hate the Czechs, and at the earliest opportunity will not merely drive them out but hang them too.”

The Poles claim Teschen back and say : “ We shall never give up the soil which was the cradle of our race.”

The Sudeta-Germans say : “ *Es kommt der Tag !* ” The day will come !

For the sake of European peace it is therefore imperative that order should be restored in this State.

It will be of no avail for the Czechs to say that England too is ruling over peoples of different races ; for England's Colonies are *not in the heart of Europe*, and England has introduced civilization, order, and freedom into her Colonies, unlike the Czechs, who exploit and hold their “ colony ” in captivity.

5. HE WHO DOES NOT KNOW MERCY HIMSELF
MUST NOT EXPECT OTHERS TO SHOW
MERCY TO HIM : THIS IS THE CASE NOW
WITH THE CZECHS.

The Czechs complain of those who, they aver, are bent on the division of their State.

And what have they done ? The first proposal put forward by Dr. Benesh and M. Kuffner at the Peace Conference of Paris is known to all (H. Kuffner, *Nas stat a svetovy mir*. Prague, 1918). They proposed that Germany should be divided into a number of separate parts, while the great German nation, like the Indians of America in days gone by, should be given only a small "reservation." But they failed.

Then Benesh passed the word : "Détruisez l'Autriche-Hongrie !" President Masaryk, too, admits : "The refrain of my propaganda was : Break up Austria !" (T. Masaryk, *The Making of a State*, p. 135). And the destruction, as we all know, was successful. Both Austria and Hungary are horribly mutilated, their wounds are still bleeding, and they are in a state of perpetual crisis.

But it would be a mistake to believe that the Czechs wished to devour the Germanic races only. In his book, *Czech Legions in Siberia* (*Die Tschech-*

ischen Legionen in Siberien. Berlin, 1937), the Russian General Sakharoff describes how the Czechs seized the coffers of the Russian State to found the Legion Bank at Prague with the money they had found there; how they handed over Admiral Kolchak to be put to death by the Bolsheviks, merely to get permission to take the stolen treasures of Russia with them to Prague; and how they helped Bolshevism to victory in Russia.

The Poles, too, speak a Slavonic language: yet, how do the Czechs behave towards them? When in 1920 the Bolshevik forces were marching towards Warsaw, those Powers that were responsible for the creation of the Czechoslovak State called upon Prague to help the Poles. The Czech Government, however, declared that it would not do anything against the Russians: that it would, in fact, rather preserve its neutrality in the war between Poland and Russia.

But even so far the Czechs did not keep their promise. The Czech railway authorities have repeatedly confiscated the ammunition sent to Marshal Pilsudski by France and Hungary. In addition to this, the Czech forces invaded Polish Teschen. In his memoirs Lord D'Abernon writes that President Masaryk endeavoured to influence the French General Weygand and the English

military commission against helping the Poles in their distress, since Warsaw, he asserted, would be taken by the Russians under any circumstances. In this hope the Czech towns were brilliantly illuminated and huge crowds marched through the streets of Prague demonstrating against the Poles and reverberating with malignant joy: "*Finis Poloniae!*" Detailed information on these events may be read in a well-known pamphlet by the French Professor Louis Villat (*Le Rôle de la Hongrie dans la guerre polono-bolchévick de 1920*. Paris, 1930).

All Poland is indignant at a book written by Jan Seba, a Czech diplomatist, and prefaced by Dr. Krofta, the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs (*Rusko a malá dohoda*. Prague, 1936). In this book it is suggested that East Galicia should be separated from Poland so as to give Czechoslovakia a common frontier of 200 kilometres with Russia. By this means not only the Russian air force, but also the infantry, artillery, etc., could rush to the help of Czechoslovakia in the event of war. This shows that even now the Czechs are contemplating the division of Poland.

The Slovaks, too, are a Slav people, and the Czechs have deprived us of our nationality, asserting that we had no national character of our own

in order to devour and digest their enormous prey in peace. After the rearmament of Germany, however, the Little Entente no longer afforded them sufficient security: so in May 1935 they concluded a military agreement between Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia.

But the friendly relations between the Czechs and the Bolsheviks are of a much earlier date. As early as 1920, when the Soviet forces were standing outside Warsaw, the Czechs co-operated with the Bolsheviks and offered to let them into Central Europe through Slovakia, in the hope that they would defeat the Poles. Warsaw had been surrounded, and at that critical moment, as we may read in Henri Pozzi's latest book, *Les Coupables* (Paris, 1937), the Prague Government informed the Soviet Russian Staff that it was prepared to open the frontiers of Slovakia after the Soviet forces had defeated the Poles. Thus, as far back as 1920, the Czechs intended to let the hordes of Communist barbarians loose on Europe.

They now intend to retrieve the failure of those times; for, by virtue of the Czecho-Soviet military agreement, they not only permit the Bolshevik military delegations to enter Slovakia, but place the whole of Czechoslovakia at the entire disposal of Soviet aviation. Moreover, not being satisfied with the assistance the Soviet air force could give

them, they have now launched a campaign, as we have seen, demanding the detachment of East Galicia from Poland. Their aim is to secure a common frontier with Russia, through which the infantry, artillery, tanks, etc., of the Soviet army may have free access to Czechoslovakia in the event of war.

Mr. J. L. Garvin is therefore fully justified in warning British public opinion against this danger :

“ The Czecho-Soviet Pact is the very plague-carrier of European politics. The new Franco-Russian alliance, however lamentably mistaken and miscalculated, could not have worked by itself. The frontiers of the Reich and the Soviet Union would have remained widely divided by intervening countries. The Teutonic Titan and the apparent Slav Colossus could not get at each other.

“ The suicidal statecraft of Dr. Benesh changed all that. Prague became the door-opener for Moscow. Czechoslovakia, whose sausage-shaped extension we have described, became a corridor nearly six hundred miles long, through which Russian air power in case of war is expected to strike straight into the Reich.”

It is a well-known fact that Moscow is preparing a world revolution. We never know when it may give orders for the Czechs to attack their neigh-

and that we too were Czechs. In the documents of the Paris Peace Conference the name of the new state is spelt with a hyphen—Czecho-Slovakia—but in the first official translation of these documents the Czechs dropped the hyphen. They now spell the name of their State as “Ceskoslovensko,” where we Slovaks are written with a small s and figure as the appendage of the Czech people. In the meantime we are simply put down as “Czechoslovaks,” in order to conceal the shameful fact that the Czechs form a minority in their own State; but their ultimate aim is to turn us into Czechs altogether. That is why the Slovak people complain: “The Czech Cain kills the Slovak Abel.”

In the same way, they endeavour to exploit and turn into Czechs the Poles of Teschen and the Ruthenians, who are also Slav races.

The Czechs feel no compunction at dividing and wiping out other nations and States in their own interests. How can the Czechs expect others to show mercy to them, if they themselves show no mercy to others?

6. CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS CONSPIRED WITH SOVIET RUSSIA. SHE IS THEREFORE A MENACE TO WORLD PEACE AND HAS NO RIGHT TO ASK ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES FOR HELP.

Even at the time of the Paris Peace Conference the Czech diplomatists knew that they would be unable to hold, by their own strength, the many lands and races which were subjected to their rule. Thus, they intended to rely upon the power of Russia in the first place, since they had always been the outpost of Panslavism and the Western exponents of Russia. For this purpose they wished to have a common frontier with Russia and they were willing to hand over Ruthenia to her at once. At the same time they also demanded a Czecho-Serb corridor through Western Hungary, not only to secure the Czech forces a free road into Yugoslavia, but also to enable the Cossacks to march into the Balkans, if necessary. This Czecho-Serb corridor presented a danger to the Poles in the north and to Italy in the south. The Italian Government therefore protested against the scheme, and it was, luckily, able to prevent its realization.

Being unable to place full reliance on Russia, the Czechs called the Little Entente into existence,

hours and for the Soviet army to advance. Nor do we know whether the threatened neighbours will remain aloof till the Czecho-Russian forces invade them. However this conflict may break out, the Czechs will lose, because Great Britain will take no effectual measures to save them from destruction.

The same opinion is expressed in the following passage from an article written by Mr. Garvin :

“ Now before that could occur, if matters came nearer the pinch, *there would be no Czechoslovakia*. Whatever else happened, it would be wiped out by internal as well as external forces. . . . *And nothing on earth will induce the British people to mobilize against Germany in that cause. We say with certainty, nothing on earth !* ” (*The Observer*, 22 November 1936).

7. CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS CONSPIRING WITH MOSCOW, WHICH ENDEAVOURS TO TEAR HER COLONIES AWAY FROM ENGLAND AND IS BOLSHEVIZING THEM SYSTEMATICALLY ; ENGLAND MUST THEREFORE SAY TO THE CZECHS : “ MY ENEMY’S FRIEND IS MY ENEMY.”

After accomplishing the subjugation of the Russian people, Lenin set out to prepare the world

revolution. He openly declared that it was important for this purpose to *revolutionize the colonies*.

Since England has the largest number of colonies, it was decided by the Communist International (*Komintern*) to concentrate their attacks upon the British Empire. The best way of breaking Britain's power, they hold, is to strip her of her Colonies. The best and most experienced agents of the *Komintern* have therefore been dispatched to the British Colonies.

A special Communist University has been established at Moscow for the training of these agents, who, besides receiving a theoretical instruction, are chiefly being taught to acquire a thorough knowledge of the "art of civil war and street fights." The School for Oriental Studies at Vladivostok serves the same purpose. A third centre of this kind may be found at Taschkend, which has been established with the definite aim of undermining England's power and influence in India and Afghanistan.

The greatest attention is being paid to India, since Moscow is convinced that the loss of India would cause the ruin of England. For this reason their first and foremost aim is *to take India out of the sovereignty of the King of England*. This is one of the main items in the programme worked out by

the League against Imperialism, whose "British Section" was established in 1927.

In *Canada* Communism has made remarkable progress since the Great War. In 1935 Mr. Bennett, the Canadian Prime Minister, declared that the Government was faced by a well-organized revolutionary movement whose primary aim was to help the Communist doctrines to victory.

In *Australia* and *New Zealand* the Communist movement has grown very powerful in the last sixteen years, and is preparing the natives for a great revolutionary action, mainly by means of strikes.

In *South Africa*, as elsewhere, the Communists employ Nationalist phrases and provoke the negroes against England by saying: "Africa belongs to the Africans!" In 1928 the *Izvestia*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, emphasized the necessity of a more effective action for the revolutionizing of the negroes.

Within a short time their propaganda proved so successful that in 1929 the negroes, under Communist leadership, attempted the establishment of a "negro republic" by means of a revolution. Mr. Pirow, the Minister of Justice for the Union of South Africa, reported to London that this dangerous movement had been initiated by a number of organizations which all joined the

Communist Party and received their instructions direct from the Communist International. Such organizations were the African National Congress, the Natal Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, the League of African Rights, and the League against Imperialism and for National Independence.

In *Palestine* the Communists are recommending the Jews to make peace with the Arabs and fight together against British Imperialism.

All over the British Empire the paid agents of the Communist International are working incessantly and with indefatigable perseverance for its destruction. They organize the population with a view to mobilizing them against England in case of war.

It is obvious, therefore, that Bolshevism is a sworn enemy of the British Empire, and the Czechs are the allies of England's sworn enemy. Yet they have the effrontery to look to England for help and sympathy.

In this connection it is necessary to make a brief mention of *America*, which is on friendly terms with England and which is likewise being threatened with ruin by Bolshevism.

After Spain and France, the United States follow next on the list of countries where the *Komintern* intends to carry its programme of

world revolution into effect. Here, as elsewhere, the secret activities of the Communists are adapted to local conditions. In the States to-day hundreds of organizations may be found which proclaim various programmes and aims, all of them, however, serving the one purpose of making converts to Communism. If we examine the list of the leaders of these organizations, we at once realize the power of the Bolshevik influence. Thus, for instance, under the slogan of "Americanism" the Communists make a very successful propaganda for their doctrines, such as class war, war against religion, State capitalism, etc.

The Communists have now gone so far as to find their way into the religious organizations, the universities, etc. ; but they are most eager to win the workers over to their side. So far they have failed to lay hands on the American Federation ; they have therefore organized a left wing within it—the Committee for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.)—directed by Mr. Lewis. This organization is closely related to other organizations, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Trade Union Unity League (T.U.U.L.), which is the American branch of the Soviet Profintern, *i.e.* the Red Trade Union International. Mr. Lewis enjoys the open protection of the Communist Party and its General Secretary, Mr. Earl Browder.

By taking advantage of the poor harvest in recent years the Communists have found their way to the hearts of the farmers, and have already organized a number of strikes among them.

After twenty years' unremitting labour the Communists have secured a powerful influence in America. The fact that they voted for Mr. Roosevelt at the presidential elections should not mislead anyone ; for they declared quite openly that they did not mean to gain victory by means of voting-papers.

To-day the American Communists are so powerful that, with the aid of their fellow organizations, they are able to finance their programme.

Under these circumstances it would be strange if America were prepared to help Czechoslovakia, the faithful collaborator of Moscow.

8. GOD HIMSELF WILL NOT HELP, OR TAKE PITY ON, THE CZECHS, BECAUSE THEY DENY THE EXISTENCE OF GOD AND ARE CONSPIRING WITH THE ENEMIES OF GOD.

In 1919 the following question was raised in an open session of the Prague Parliament : " Does God exist ? " The majority voted in the negative,

and it was "decided": "There is no God" (*Narodnie Noviny*, No. 64. 1930).

Mr. Joseph Holecek, a friend of President Benesh, describes (*Prve Trileti Ceskoslovenski republiky*) how, at the time of the occupation of Slovakia by the Czechs, the Czech soldiers used the crucifix as a target and shot their bullets into the crucified figure of Christ.

At the time when the Czechs proclaimed their national independence, they pulled down the finest statue of the Virgin Mary in Prague, shattered it to pieces, and spat on it.

And now they have formed an alliance with Bolshevism, the bitterest enemy of God and all religion. The authorities of the Christian Churches are unanimous in condemning the atheism of the Bolsheviks.

The Archbishop of Canterbury declared, in December 1936:

"I warn you against the danger of atheism. It is known to all that a huge human society in Soviet Russia is being infected with the anti-Christian doctrine of aggressive atheism and class feud. We must be on our guard lest this poison should find its way into the English people too."

In his official statements the Pope declared that Bolshevism was the principal sworn enemy of the

individual, of family, nation, humanity, and even of God Himself.

Cardinal Pacelli, Under-Secretary of the Vatican State, says : “ Communism is a poisonous ulcer on the body of the world and prepares the ruin of all humanity and civilization.”

In most countries the Bishops have expressed their opinion on this subject and described Bolshevism as “ the work of Satan.”

Having thus formed an alliance with Satan, how can the Czechs ask God to help them ?

II

False Slogans of the Czech Propaganda in England

I. CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS NOT A DEMOCRACY, BUT A CZECHOCRACY.

The agents of Czech propaganda in England and America exploit the slogan of "democracy" and say that, their republic being a democratic country, the great Anglo-Saxon democracies are bound to help Czechoslovakia.

Mr. J. Stransky, the Czech diplomatist whose article has already been discussed in the first half of this pamphlet, tells us that, when the Czech lecturers in England eulogize Czechoslovakia as the "isle of democracy," the following questions are put to them by the audience: "Well, if you are an island, what are you afraid of?" "Tell us something about the strength of your war fleet."

So little do the English know about geography, says Mr. Stransky. They take the term "island" in the literal sense of the word (*Pritomnost*, 24 March 1937).

Again, when Dr. Hodža described in London the

democracy of the Czech State in terms of high praise, many people asked him : “ Well, then, why are you so afraid ? After all, if the Sudeta-Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks, Poles, and Ruthenians do really derive so much benefit from your democracy, they will no doubt help to defend you against the neighbouring dictatorship.”

We, however, assure the British public that Czechoslovakia is no more a democracy than she is an island.

President Masaryk used to say : “ Democracy nothing is but discussion.” If so, there can be no word of democracy in Czechoslovakia ; for there is no room for discussion in that country. Czech censorship subdues any free utterance of non-Czech origin. The minority papers are being repeatedly confiscated and the most important articles suppressed without any consideration.

When on one occasion the Czechs did not confiscate the gazette (*Nastup*) of the Slovak Home Rule Party, the Slovaks described this event as a miracle (*Slovenska pravda*, No. 95, 1937). In a country where the pen and voice are not free, there can be no liberty.

The Czech State is no “ democracy ” but a “ Czechocracy,” because the Czechs exercise an autocratic rule over it.

At the Paris Peace Conference the Czechs made

a promise that their State would be built up on the basis of dualism. For this reason the peace documents spell the name of the new State with a hyphen : Czecho-Slovakia. But, as soon as the new State had been formed, the Czech Government dropped the hyphen and simply turned " Czecho-Slovakia " into " Czechoslovakia " : all power was concentrated in their hands and the rule of the Czechs—" Czechocracy "—came to be introduced in the country.

Masaryk, the first President of the Republic, at Pittsburg pledged himself on behalf of the new State to secure home rule for Slovakia ; later, however, he declared that the covenant containing this promise was, for ridiculous reasons, invalid. And when Professor Tuka, the Slovak politician, demanded the fulfilment of the Pittsburg promise with unusual energy, the Czech courts sentenced him in 1929 to fifteen years' penal servitude.

The Czechs have also pledged themselves in the Paris Treaties to grant Ruthenia home rule, which the Ruthenians have not received even to this day. These unhappy people are being governed by Czech officials in such a way that an international commission conducted by Mr. Hamilton, which visited Ruthenia in the year 1932, found that the Ruthenian people were suffering from hunger much more

acute than that which prevails at certain periods in China and India. The poor Ruthenes, men and women with their heads bandaged, knelt down before the commissioners and implored them to use their influence to prevent the Czech *Gendarmes* at least from hitting their heads if they must beat them at all. We should know that the poor Ruthenian people, who have been cut off from the source of their food—the Great Hungarian Plain—are continually suffering from hunger ; and, as often as they seek help by means of hunger demonstrations, the Czech *Gendarmes* use force against them. In the same way, and even more cruelly, do the Czech *Gendarmes* treat the Slovak hunger demonstrators ; in many cases they have opened fire on our people and arranged massacres (at Kosuty, Polomka, Telgart, Holic, Kopcany, and other places).

The Sudeta-Germans also have recently begun to become more active and are demanding home rule for themselves ; and this claim is all the more justified because they form the most significant minority in this State and they have the strongest of all parties (the Henlein Party). Nevertheless, Dr. Benesh has frequently declared that the home rule of the Sudeta-German territory is quite out of the question.

Where, then, do we find democracy here ?

Democracy means the rule of the people. Here, on the other hand, we find a number of national groups clamouring for their right to manage their own affairs ; but the Czech Government will not even hear of it.

Prague is more willing to negotiate with the deserters of these nationalities and the smaller groups of traitors among them—the so-called “activists”—than with the entire national groups represented by the majority. By this method it deludes the world outside the frontiers and demoralizes the population within them.

The non-Czech areas are not equal components of the Czechoslovak State but real colonies ; and this is a fact that even the Czechs have never denied.

The *Czech Commercial Encyclopædia* of Otto contains the following statement : “ *Slovakia is going to be our colony. It does not matter that it is situated close to us. Siberia too is the neighbour of Russia and is nevertheless its colony.* ”

According to the figures of Rev. Hlinka, up to now no less than 260,000 Czechs were settled in this colony. Not only were the highest offices bestowed upon them—in the administration, at the law courts, in the railways, the post office, the *Gendarmerie*, the police, the schools, etc.—but practically all the minor positions were filled by

Czechs. Consequently the Slovak professional classes are starving for want of employment.

Our country having become a Czech colony, it could not escape the general fate of colonies. Our Czech rulers squeeze this land to the last drop. They cut down woods, put the most crushing taxes upon the shoulders of our people, granting them but morsels of the State orders, investments, ameliorations, etc. The taxes, as well as the rates of interest to be paid in Slovakia, are higher than those in Bohemia proper—as if our country were not even a part of the Czechoslovak Republic, but just its colony.

The poor Slovak people, in speaking of the plundering done by the Czechs, used to apply the following simile: “Czechoslovakia is like a big cow that grazes in Slovakia but is milked in Bohemia.”

It seems that the Czechs are rather in a hurry to plunder Slovakia: just as if they were convinced of being unable to keep for long this colony of theirs. After having dispatched to Bohemia the most expensive and valuable machines from our closed-down factories, they have lately laid their hands on our museums, taking home with them under various pretexts our most precious archæological, historical, and ethnographic monuments, the fruit of our people's intellectual work for many

centuries. This plundering has now achieved such drastic proportions that the Slovak People's Party recently (12 May 1937) lodged with Parliament a protest against it (*Slovak*, 16 May 1937).

This, then, is the true face of Czech "democracy," which is being so loudly proclaimed all over the world.

2. THE CZECHS ARE NOT PACIFISTS.

During his visit to London in 1933 the present writer was addressed by Members of the British Parliament in the following manner: When President Masaryk and his friends were doing their propaganda in this country during the War, they assured us that they were firmly resolved to create a democratic and peaceful State. And what do we see now? It is impossible to speak of democracy, the rule of the people, in Czecho-Slovakia; but she certainly has the largest ammunition factories in the world, and we find these "pacifists" supplying the whole world with armaments; *they even supply India with armaments against England!*

And now they are asking the same England to help them. Only a short while ago they started providing Ibn. Saud with arms, and the Skoda works have recently opened a branch in Afghanistan.

Mr. Peroutka, in the meantime, tells us—as we have seen—that the next war will break out at the most convenient time for Prague and Moscow.

A fine bunch of pacifists, no doubt !

3. IT IS NOT A GOOD BARGAIN TO INVEST MONEY
IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THE CZECH ARMY
WILL SUFFER DEFEAT.

Prague knows it would be a difficult task to arouse sympathy towards Czechoslovakia. For this reason she has lately begun to harp on opportunist strings. She has actually succeeded in persuading certain financial circles in England to invest money in Czech undertakings, and especially in ammunition factories.

We warn these investors to be on their guard lest their undertakings should prove failures. Czechoslovakia, as we have shown, is a State suffering from a serious illness ; it is like the Arab who prayed in church : “ O Allah, I am a miserable, sick man. My head is aching, my ears are sore, my teeth are bad, my throat is aching, my lungs are not worth a straw, my stomach cannot digest, my kidneys are loaded with stones, my legs suffer from the gout. O Allah, help me and restore my health to me.”

Thereupon another Arab stepped up to him,

tapped him on the shoulder, and said : " My dear friend, it would be easier for Allah to make an entirely new man than to repair you."

And, if this sick man is involved in a war, he is sure to be defeated.

The Czech soldiers have never borne a good name. In the eleventh century, Gallus, a Polish chronicler, gave the following description of the Czechs : " Bohemi sunt magni et subtiles fures, naturaliter rapaces, sed non sunt bellicosi." " The Czechs are great and subtle thieves, by nature addicted to robbery, but they are by no means a warlike people (Gallus, *Chronica*).

The New York Times described the Czechs as inferior soldiers (quoted in the *Narodni Listy*, No. 30, 1937). The Polish General Latinik says that one Polish division would be enough to meet five Czech divisions.

In 1919 Béla Kun's Communist troops attacked the Czech army ; and, although they were mostly made up of shop assistants, waiters, shoemakers, and bakers, they beat the Czechs and would certainly have driven them right back to Prague had they not been ordered from Paris to stop.

At least half the Czech army consists of Communists. In other respects this army is just as much a mosaic as the whole State. A large majority of the soldiers serving in the Czech

army will turn their weapons against the Czechs as soon as it comes to a war. The Sudeta-Germans will go over to the Germans; nor will the Poles and Hungarians shed their blood for their tyrants. And the Slovaks? Well, even the Czechs themselves treat them as unreliable elements; for this reason the responsible posts in the army, the *Gendarmes*, the post office, and the railways, are never filled with Slovaks. The Slovak soldiers, themselves good Christians, hate the Czechs and declare they will not fight for the Czecho-Bolshevik Antichrist.

General Jouhard, who spent six years in Prague as French military *attaché*, goes even further and says that the non-Czech elements will cause serious troubles at the very outset of mobilization. They will rise against the Czech Headquarters, and the Czech part of the Czech army will not be able to keep them at bay; for the proportion of the Czech and non-Czech elements in the army is 40 per cent. to 60 per cent.

And how far may the Czechs rely on the assistance of their Allies? This is what the French General A. Niessel has to say on this point: Yugoslavia has no common frontiers with Czechoslovakia. The Rumanians may be held up by the Hungarians. The French have no way to march into Czechoslovakia because their fortifications on

the Rhine will not let them go. And the Russians ? The assistance afforded by their aircraft would be insufficient, while the rest of the Russian army may not be able to rush to their help at all, or it may arrive too late. For this reason the French General advises the Czechs to establish friendly relations with the Poles.

President Benesh himself is sure of a defeat. In view of this possibility he opened negotiations in September 1936 with the Rumanian Staff at Bucharest, to the effect that "after the first honest but unsuccessful attempt at resistance the Czech army should be allowed to retreat to Rumanian territory"; this agreement, as Mr. Sauerwein had immediately reported to the Paris *Soir*, was actually concluded between Prague and Bucharest.

Remember, therefore, that it is not a good bargain to form an alliance with the Czechs.

CONCLUSION

Anyone who has read this short pamphlet will, no doubt, conclude that it is not the Czechs who deserve England's sympathy, but the many other nationalities under Czech domination: the Slovaks, Sudeta-Germans, Ruthenes, Hungarians, and Poles. These are the peoples that should be commiserated, these are the peoples that are most in need of help.

Even if they had joined the Czechs of their own free will, they would deserve to be pitied; for to err is human. But here the case is the very contrary: they were thrown into the Czech prisons against their will. Those statesmen who were responsible for drawing the new map of Europe never cared to consult these peoples; no plebiscite or referendum has ever been held in this part of the world.

These peoples would have been even less eager to join the Czech State, had they known that it would make friends and conclude a military agreement with Soviet Russia. All these peoples are faithful believers in God: they are all true Chris-

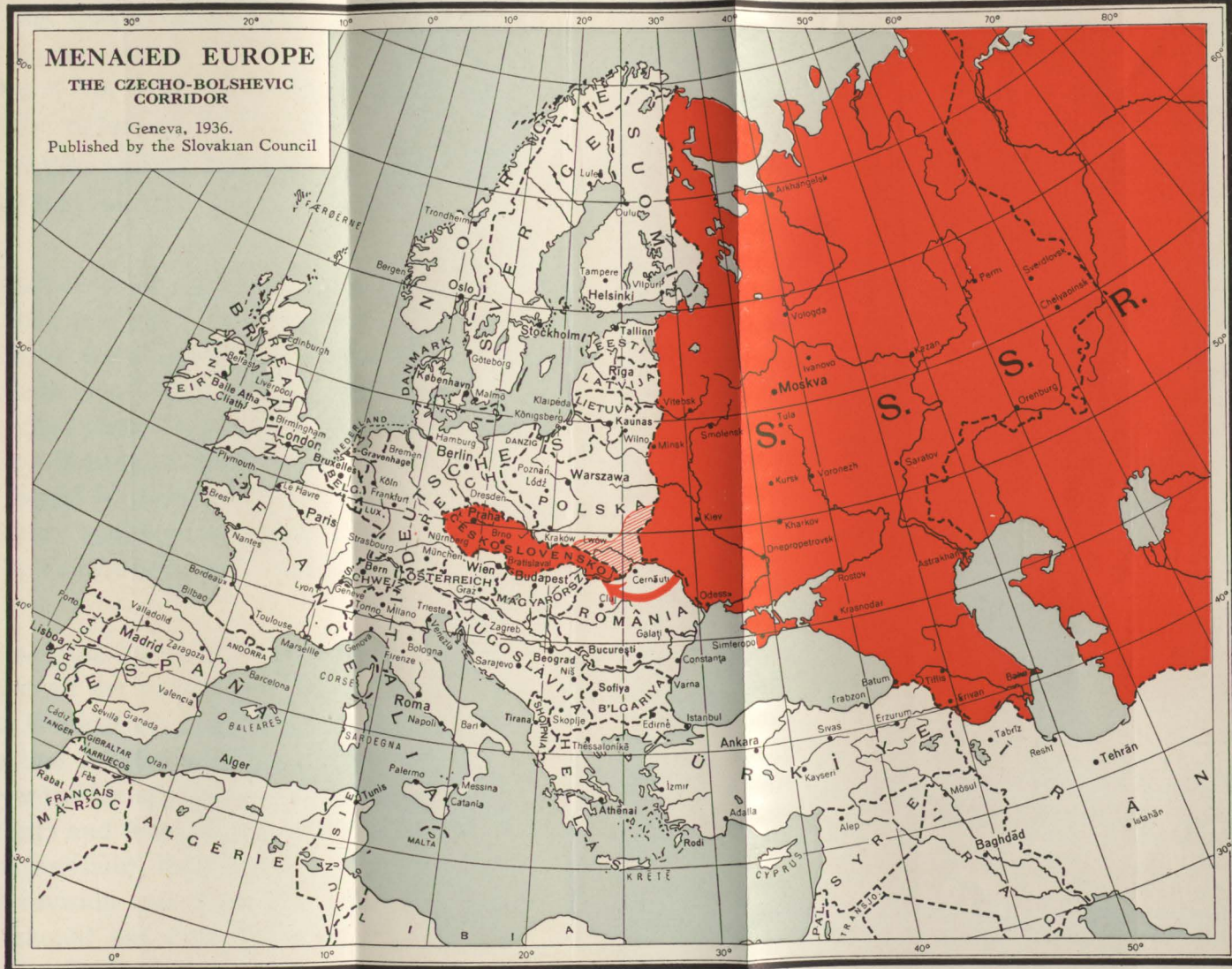


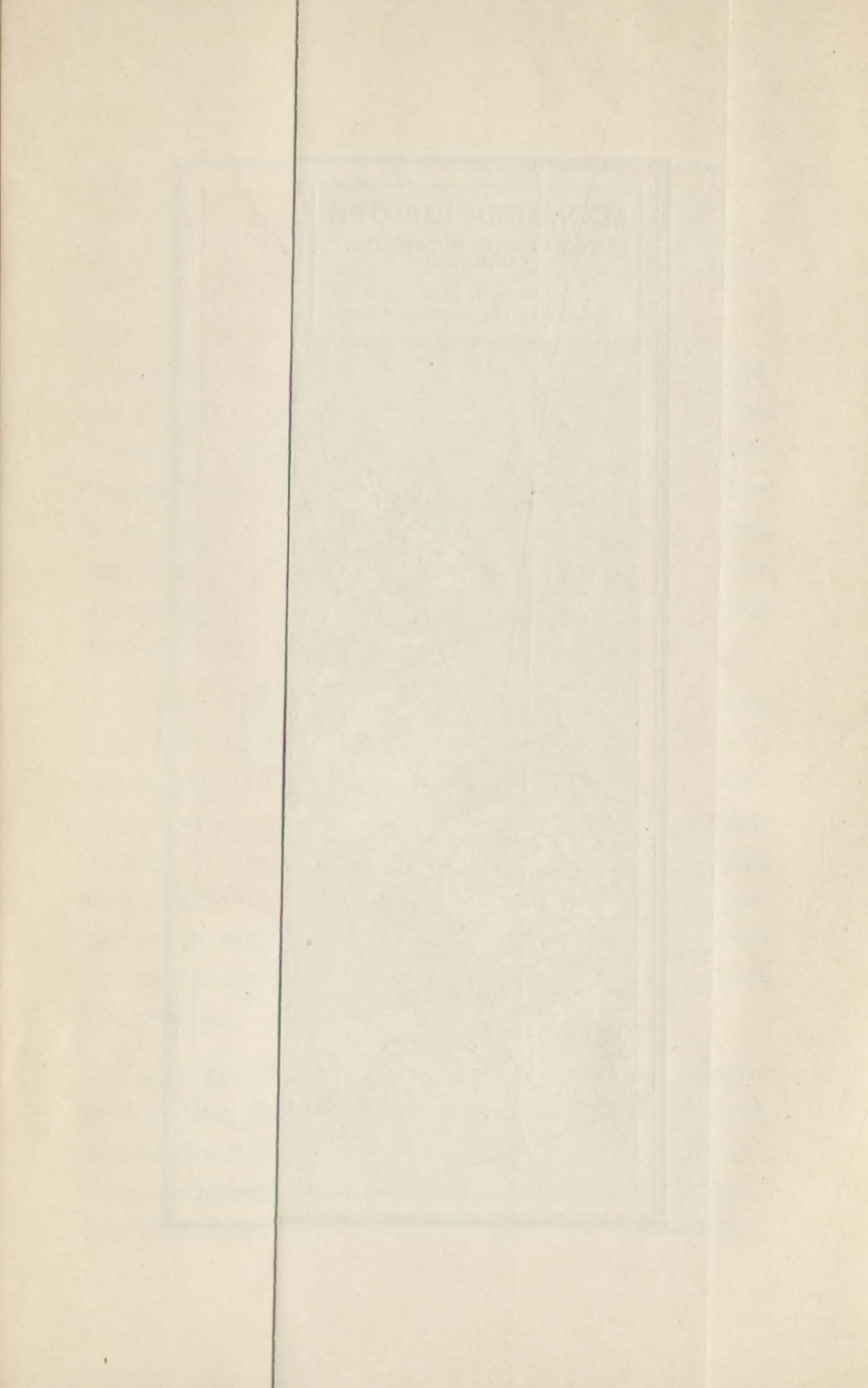
MENACED EUROPE

THE CZECHO-BOLSHEVIC CORRIDOR

Geneva, 1936.

Published by the Slovakian Council





tians who can hardly bear the thought that together with the Czechs they have also been subjected to the influence of "Bolshevia," and that in the event of war they will be made to shed their blood for the victory of Bolshevism.

And if we claim justice for these peoples, nobody can say that we are unjust towards the Czechs.

Such an accusation would only be justified if it could be said that we meant to inflict a loss on the Czechs, taking away from them something that is really their own. Yet nothing really belongs to the Czechs except the land they inhabited before the War—Bohemia. We do not suggest that Bohemia should be mutilated. Let each one have his own share : that is the principle of justice. Therefore let the Czechs have that, and *only* that, which is their own.

Czech statesmanship has so mutilated Hungary that she has lost all her natural frontiers. More than 3,000,000 Hungarians have been separated from Hungary and handed over to their neighbours. Whenever the Hungarians complain against this state of affairs and demand the readjustment of the frontiers (revision), the Czechs vehemently protest against revision and think it a just thing that Hungary should not even have her ethnographic frontiers. It is therefore all the more

SHOULD GREAT BRITAIN GO TO WAR—FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA?
justifiable to demand that the Czechs should be
confined within their ethnographic boundaries.

The possibility of a peaceful revision is given
in Article XIX of the League Covenant. But the
Czechs will not even hear of revision, contending
that revision means war. Moreover, they are
considering the possibilities of a preventive war,
as we have seen.

The public opinion of Great Britain must be
made to understand that our Slovak soldiers will
not fight for the Czechs and the Soviet Russians.
Nor will the Sudeta-Germans, the Hungarians, the
Poles, or the Ruthenes fight for them.

English fathers and mothers, do not allow your
sons to sacrifice their lives for a bad cause like the
Czecho-Bolshevik cause.



