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IDEOLOGICAL AND LEGAL BASIS OF THE NATIONAL ISSUE IN THE FIRST CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC (1918-1938)

Abstract: *The article examines the political doctrine and legal basis for the settlement of the national question in the First Czechoslovak Republic in the period from 1918 to 1938. Analyzes the political doctrines that were created during the liberation struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was found that the unification of the Czech and Slovak political programs was significantly complicated by the differences between the Czech and Slovak national liberation movements. It has been proven that Czechoslovak legislation provided national minorities with ample opportunities for comprehensive cultural development.*

Key words: *Czechoslovakia, political parties, national question, political doctrine.*

The First World War led to the collapse of multinational empires and the emergence of new states on the map of Europe. One such state was the First Czechoslovak Republic (Czechoslovakia), created on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Czechoslovakia inherited from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy not only part of its territory, but also one of the biggest political problems of this state - an unresolved national issue, which arose from the first days of the republic. The idea of a "single Czechoslovak nation" - Czechoslovakism - was proclaimed a political doctrine which, according to the founders of the new state, would strengthen the nation-building nations of the Czechs and Slovaks, as well as help weaken German separatism. The creation of the concept of Czechoslovakism, as well as the process of formation of Czechoslovakia, was preceded by many years of national liberation struggle of Czechs and Slovaks, in the process of which the views of the Czech and Slovak elites evolved.

Czech and Slovak scholars Richlík J. were the first to study this historically and politically difficult

issue. Tsabada L. [2], Kvachek R. [3], Jogn Y [4], Durchansky F. [5]. Some aspects of the creation of ideological and legal foundations of interwar Czechoslovakia are covered in the works of Russian researcher O. Serapionova [6] and Ukrainian scientist Yu. Bisaga [7].

The aim of the article is to determine the ideological and legal foundations of the First Czechoslovakia and their influence on the national question in the republic on the basis of the political doctrine proclaimed by the leaders of the state and its enshrinement in the constitution and laws of interwar Czechoslovakia.

The concept of Czechoslovakism is one of the options for resolving the Czech and Slovak national question in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. For the first time, the idea of uniting the Czech Republic and Slovakia was expressed in the concept of Czechoslovakism. Its authors K. Havlicek-Borowski and J. Kollar called the Czechs and Slovaks part of a single Czechoslovak tribe [9, p.720].

Based on this idea, the famous Czech politician F. Palacký in October 1848 announced a program of federalization of Austria-Hungary on an ethnic basis. According to her, the Czech ethnic lands were to be united with Slovakia. This program was the first attempt to combine Czech and Slovak political programs [1, p.26].

It should be noted that the unification of the Czech and Slovak political programs was significantly complicated by the differences between the Czech and Slovak national liberation movements. If Czech politicians relied on Czech historical law in their demands, arguing that the Czechs had their own state in the past, the Slovak political program could not proceed from this principle, as Slovaks never had their own statehood. Therefore, Slovak politicians justified their claims by natural law [1, p.28].

Slovaks in Hungary were influenced by the idea of creating a single Hungarian political nation, the implementation of which required the complete denationalization of other peoples. The rights of the Slovak population in Hungary were considerably limited, which cannot be said of the rights of the Czechs in the Austrian part of the empire. The stratum of the Slovak intelligentsia was small, largely moderated [7 s.17]. All this significantly limited the state-building ambitions of Slovak politicians. Their demands at this stage were limited to demands to improve the situation of Slovaks in Hungary [6, p.721].

Given the plight of the Slovak population in Hungary, both Slovak and Czech politicians argued that there was no future for Slovaks in Hungary. This contributed to the spread among Slovak political forces of the idea of creating a common state with the Czechs. [9, p.721]

In this regard, the Slovak politician F. Durchansky wrote in 1943: "Czechoslovakism is nothing but a consequence of Slovak weakness: some intellectuals agreed to become Czechoslovakists because they saw the plight of the Slovak people and did not believe in their own strength. They saw the way out of the situation in unification with the Czechs" [5, p.142].

The First World War became a new page in the national liberation movement of the Czechs and Slovaks. It greatly contributed to the final formation of the idea of creating a joint independent state of the Czechs and Slovaks. This idea was first voiced by the future president of the First Czechoslovak Socialist Republic TG Masaryk in a conversation with the English historian R. Seton-Watson. TG Masaryk noted that after the defeat of Germany in the war, the formation of an independent Czech kingdom within Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia within their historical borders and Slovakia is possible [8, p.18].

In 1915, in Paris, TG Masaryk formed the Czech National Committee, which aimed to develop a concept for the future postwar system of Austria-Hungary, as well as to determine the future status of the Czech and Slovak lands. In the same year, the Czech National Committee was established in Prague, headed by K. Kramarž, who acted as the coordination center of the Czech political forces [7, p.65].

In general, contacts between Czech and Slovak politicians in exile were much more intense than at home. It was the Czech and Slovak political emigrant circles that played a significant role in the development of the idea of political unification of the two peoples.

The leaders of the Czechoslovak Foreign Affairs Committee in Paris, TG Masaryk and E. Benes, held active talks with the Slovak League in the United States, and also established close cooperation with the Slovak politician MR Stefanek.

As a result of these negotiations, on October 22, 1915, representatives of the Czech and Slovak emigrants signed the Cleveland Agreement. According to it, the Czech Republic and Slovakia were to be united into a federal state after the war. At the same time, Slovakia was guaranteed broad national autonomy, with its own Sejm, state administration, cultural and financial policy [2, p.142].

It is worth noting that in the programs of Czech and Slovak political parties, the thesis of unification with the Slovaks appears a few years later. Thus, Czech agrarians were the first to include a clause on the future status of Czech lands in their political program after negotiations with the Slovak politician M. Godzha, which took place on July 21, 1917. Later, at a regular meeting of Czech and Slovak agrarians on September 12, 1917, a social representative was present. - Democrats E. Legovsky. After that, the idea of creating a common state of Czechs and Slovaks gained popularity among other political parties [5, p.51].

The spread of the idea of Czechoslovakism in Austria-Hungary resulted in the adoption of the so-called "Three-King Declaration" convened on January 6, 1918 in Prague by the General Sejm of the Czech Sejm of the Reichsrat and Zemstvo Sejm of the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia and Silesia. She called for the realization of the right of nations to self-determination through the formation of an independent Czechoslovak state [4, p.103].

The declaration stated the following: "Our nation stands for its independence, based on its historical state law, full of ardent desire to compete freely with other free nations and in its sovereign state, full, democratic, socially just and for the equality of the whole population, within the borders of historical lands and living of its own and its Slovak branch, could contribute to a new broad development of mankind, based on freedom and brotherhood, recognizing in this state national minorities full, equal, national rights" [4, p.105].

In April 1918, the National Oath of Independence was taken at a meeting of Czech public and cultural figures in Prague. The May celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Czech National Theater turned into a grand political demonstration, which took place in Prague under nationalist slogans [8, p.81].

Confirmation of the desire of Slovak politicians to create a common state with the Czechs took place at a meeting in Liptovský Mikuláš on May 1, 1918. The main political demand was the granting of the right to self-determination to the "Hungarian branch of the Czechoslovak tribe." The leading Slovak political force of this period - the Slovak National Party (SNP) called

for the participation of Slovaks in the formation of an independent state consisting of Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Moravia and Silesia [4, p.107].

Unification processes also took place in the foreign national liberation movement. On May 30, 1918 in Pittsburgh, representatives of Slovak and Czech organizations (Slovak League, Czech National Union and the Union of Czech Catholics) signed an agreement approving a political program aimed at uniting Czechs and Slovaks into an independent state [10, p.82]. The Pittsburgh Accords stated that Slovakia would have its own administration, seimas, and courts, and that the Slovak language would receive state status. At the same time, the agreement contained a clause stating that the problem of the organization of the Czechoslovak state should be finally solved "by free Czechs and Slovaks and their authorized representatives" [5, p.60].

It is worth noting that Slovak politicians imagined the future status of Slovakia as an equal member of the federal union and only if this requirement was met agreed to enter into an alliance with the Czechs.

At the beginning of October 1918, a deep economic and political crisis intensified in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which contributed to the implementation of the political programs of Czech and Slovak politicians. On the night of October 28, 1918, the Czech politician A. Rashin, receiving news of the impending military capitulation of the empire, drafted the first law of the Czechoslovak state [10, p.82].

October 28, 1918 In response to Wilson's note, Austria-Hungary agreed to separate peace talks and recognized the right of Czechs and Slovaks to independence. Under the influence of reports of these events in Prague, mass demonstrations began. The National Committee in Prague issued an official statement declaring Czechoslovakia's independence. The appeal of the National Committee noted "Czechoslovak people! Your age-old dream has come true. Today, the Czechoslovak state has joined the ranks of independent states of the world" [11, p.86].

This appeal was signed by five politicians who went down in history as "men on October 28" - A. Shveglá, A. Rashin, F. Soukup, I. Strzybrny, as well as the Slovak politician V. Shrobar. The same politicians signed the Law "On the Establishment of an Independent Czechoslovak State", which legally established the independence of Czechoslovakia [8, p.20].

According to this law, the future state form of Czechoslovakia must be determined by the National Assembly in agreement with the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris. In addition, in order to avoid mass riots, the vast majority of imperial laws remained in force, and state institutions and self-government bodies continued their activities.

On October 30, 1918, unaware of the events in Prague, Slovak politicians at a meeting in Turčianski St. Martins formed the Slovak National Council, which proclaimed the "Declaration of the Slovak Nation" [8, p.22].

Named Martynska (after the meeting place), this declaration became the main document announcing the

severance of the alliance with Hungary and sanctioning a new alliance with the Czech people. The Slovak National Council was given the right to represent the Slovak people in Slovakia, declaring that the Slovak people are part of a single Czechoslovak people and have the right to self-determination on the basis of full independence [8, p.23].

At the same time, at the end of October, a delegation of the National Committee headed by K. Kramarz (representative of the Czech resistance movement) and E. Beneš (representative of the foreign resistance movement) held talks in Geneva. The main results of this meeting were the decision that the Czechoslovak state will be a republic in the form of government. In addition, it was agreed that T. Masaryk would become president and K. Kramarz would become prime minister. Finally, these agreements were confirmed at the first meeting of the Provisional National Assembly on November 14, 1918, which was convened on the basis of the 1911 elections. and expanded by Slovak representatives [7, p.98].

The declaration of independence of Czechoslovakia was only the first step on the difficult path of state formation. The main tasks of the newly formed government were the establishment of the final borders of the state, the integration of its individual parts, and the strengthening of both the domestic and international position of the republic.

Already in the first days of the republic's existence, the German question became especially acute. The situation in the German border areas was extremely difficult. The declaration of independence of Czechoslovakia was unanimously described by all Sudeten German deputies in the Austrian parliament as the establishment of foreign rule [33, p.29]. Under the slogan of the right to self-determination in the Czech Republic in late October 1918, four German provinces emerged. Deutschbämann, Sudetenland, Deutschüdmeren, Bemerwaldgau, who did not recognize the Czechoslovak Republic and declared themselves part of German Austria [63, p.55].

The center of the movement for self-determination of the Germans was Deichbeman. An independent parliament was convened in this province and a coalition government was formed, headed first by R. Pacher and then by R. Lodgman. In all these provinces, a new constitution was adopted, a zemstvo sejm and an independent zemstvo government were convened. Representatives of the provinces met in the Austrian National Assembly [63, p.57].

In matters concerning the future of the Austro-Hungarian Germans, there was no unity among the provincial leadership. Two main concepts prevailed: the Anschluss of all territories of Cisleitania with the German population and the creation of the so-called Danube Federation on the basis of Austria-Hungary [66, p.29].

The Czechoslovak authorities, seeking to establish cooperation with German politicians, offered them representation in the National Committee at meetings on October 30 and November 4, 1918. However, the representatives of the German provinces R. Londgmann

and J. Zeliger demanded the recognition of the independence of Deutschben, so no agreement was reached.

The Czechoslovak leadership sought to prevent the separation of industrialized German districts. At the end of 1918, the territory of four German provinces was occupied by Czechoslovak troops. The governments formed there emigrated. At the Paris Peace Conference, the Western Allies supported the position of Czechoslovakia, as they did not seek to strengthen Germany [29, p.96].

The issue of joining the state of Slovakia also proved to be difficult. The Hungarian government of M. Karai claimed the territory of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia. Hungarian units were sent to the territory of Slovakia. The situation was complicated by attempts by pro-Hungarian political forces to declare Slovakia's independence. At the end of October 1918, the East Slavic National Council was established in Preshov, headed by the Preshov Archivist V. Dvorchak, which on November 16, 1918 attempted to declare the independence of the so-called Slovak People's Republic [153, p.156].

The Slovak National Council had no real power, so it was forced to turn to the Prague government for military assistance. The Czechoslovak government, trying to take control of the Slovak territories, acted not only militarily but also diplomatically. Thanks to the active diplomatic activity of E. Benesh, the Hungarian government of M. Karai received an instruction from Paris to liberate the territories of Slovakia. The Hungarian administration was dissolved [6, p.21].

December 10, 1918 The National Assembly adopted the Law "On Emergency Transitional Measures in Slovakia", which provided for the abolition of all legal acts of the Hungarian government, as well as gave broad powers to the Minister with full power to govern Slovakia V. Shrobar [12, p.88].

In the spring of 1919, a communist coup took place in Budapest. On April 27, the Czechoslovak military conflict with the Hungarian Soviet Republic began. In May 1919, the Hungarian army captured a large part of the territory of eastern Slovakia. On June 19, 1919, the Slovak Soviet Republic was proclaimed in Prešov, but it lasted only three weeks. After the Entente's ultimatum, the Hungarian units were withdrawn to the demarcation line. Slovak territories and Transcarpathia were occupied by Czechoslovak troops. Finally, the process of conquest of Slovakia ended on January 20, 1920 [29, p.99].

The establishment of the northern border of Slovakia caused a conflict between Czechoslovakia and Poland. Part of the territory of northern Slovakia (Orava and Spiš) in the Tatras and Teszyn Silesia became the subject of dispute. In January 1919, Czechoslovakia occupied the Polish part of the Teszyn region, which led to an armed conflict with Polish troops and a protest by the Western Allies.

Several attempts to resolve the issue through bilateral talks have failed. The problem of the Polish-Czechoslovak border was transferred to the Paris Peace Conference, at which it was decided to hold a plebiscite in Teszyn Silesia. Subsequently, the plebiscite, due to changes in the political situation, was not held. The

Teszyn conflict was finally resolved in July 1920: the important Košice-Bohumín railway remained part of the Czechoslovak Republic [29, p.102].

Another territorial issue was the incorporation of Transcarpathia into Czechoslovakia, which had long been part of Hungary under the name of Hungarian Russia. Among the local political parties there were three directions of political orientation: Russophile (Rusyn National Council headed by A. Beskid, in Presov), Pro-Hungarian (National Council in Uzhgorod), Pro-Ukrainian (National Council in Khust). TG Masaryk in May 1918, arriving in the United States, established contacts with some members of the Ruthenian diaspora, first with M. Pachuta, and then with G. Zhatkovich [50, p.45].

On October 26, 1918, G. Zhatkovych, on behalf of the American National Council of Ugric Ruthenians, signed the Philadelphia Agreement with TG Masaryk. According to the agreement, in case of accession to the Czechoslovak Republic, Transcarpathia was to be granted autonomy. On November 19, the Second Congress of American Ruthenians voted by a majority to join Transcarpathia to Czechoslovakia on a federal basis with full self-government. In the homeland, the Philadelphia Agreement was supported only by the Presov National Council. A. Beskid went to Paris, where he met with G. Zhatkovich, and together they advocated the inclusion of Transcarpathia into Czechoslovakia. The Council of Five States at a peace conference on March 3, 1919 decided to include Transcarpathia in the Czechoslovak Republic on the rights of autonomy, with its own Sejm and language [88, p.57].

The area of the Czechoslovak Republic after the demarcation of the borders was more than 140 thousand square kilometers. In 1921 there was a census according to which 13,613,172 people lived in the Czechoslovak Republic, of whom 65.51% were Czechs and Slovaks, 23.36% Germans, 5.75% Hungarians, and 3.45% Ruthenians. Jews - 1.35%, Poles - 0.57%, Romanians - 0.10%, Gypsies - 0.06% [69, p.8].

Czechoslovakism, the concept of the unity of the Czechoslovak nation and the single Czechoslovak language, was proclaimed the official doctrine of the Czechoslovak state. The proclamation of Czechoslovakia as a state of Czechs and Slovaks - "Czechoslovaks", according to this concept, was based on the fact that other nationalities in Czechoslovakia had their own nation-states, which helped them to carry out national self-identification [3, p.132].

Of course, in a state where, in addition to the Czechs and Slovaks, numerous representatives of other nationalities were to live, the Czechoslovak idea was of great political importance. Together, Czechs and Slovaks made up almost 66% of the population, which was the majority in Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak idea, according to the political leaders of the state, was to strengthen the nation-building nations - the Czechs and Slovaks, as well as to promote the fight against German and Hungarian irredentism. [4, p.58].

It should be emphasized that the Czech and Slovak peoples joined the new state at different stages of socio-economic development and each had their own vision of the future development of the state.

Among the Czech political forces there were two concepts of further development of Czechoslovak relations in Czechoslovakia. The first concept was nationalist, the active leader of which was K. Kramarzh. According to her, the Czechs gradually assimilate the Slovaks and become a single ethnic entity [1, p.61].

The second concept was created by T.G. Masaryk and described in detail in the work "New Europe". It provided for the formation of a single political nation, which would have two languages, two cultural and ethnic traditions, but would be united by common political institutions. T.G. Masaryk used both the term "Czechoslovaks" and the term "Czechs and Slovaks", noting the instability of the concept of "nation", "people". He interpreted the first concept in the political sense as a set of citizens of one state, the second - "people" - "the masses of the people in a democratic sense" [14, p.293].

The ideas of the Slovak Czechoslovaks were also not homogeneous. Some Slovak politicians believed that Slovaks were or would become Czechs. MR Shtefanek was an active supporter of the idea of uniting the Czechs and Slovaks, claiming that the Czechs and Slovaks have always been and will be a single ethnic entity. He considered the similarity of the Czech and Slovak languages to be the main proof of this: "A number of researchers claim that there are fewer differences between the Czech and Slovak languages than between the East Slovak and West Slovak dialects" [4, p.59].

Slovak socialist I. Hrushovsky in a letter to T.G. Masaryk said that the merger of the Czech and Slovak nations would take place through the absorption of the Slovak nation into Czech: "The Czech element is culturally, economically and politically dominant, so the realization of the great idea of creating a single political nation requires certain sacrifices. One of them is the loss of Slovak identity" [1, p.128].

It is worth noting that there were few supporters of such views, which coincided with the ideas of the vast majority of the Czech population of this period, among Slovak politicians. More popular were the views of the so-called "centralists", ie supporters of the concept of Taras Masaryk, who believed that the Slovaks would gradually become part of the Czechoslovak political nation. Among the supporters of this concept were I. Derer, I. Markovich, P. Blago, M. Ivanko, M. Godzha. The Centralists, led by I. Derer, rejected the idea of building an independent Slovak political nation because they saw it as the first step towards the future secession of the Slovak lands and their return to Hungary. I. Derer formulated this idea as follows: "If we accept the concept that the Slovaks are an independent nation with its own needs of national self-determination, then over time we will mature to the right to create their own state and separation from Czechoslovakia" [13, p.91]. His vision of Czechoslovakism also existed among the autonomists, represented primarily by the SNP. They hoped that the Czechoslovak Republic would implement a program of federalization, which had not been implemented in Hungary at the time and which the Slovak League had actively promoted in exile during the war. Slovakia, in their opinion, should become part of the dualistic Czechoslovak state with broad autonomous rights [1, p.129].

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The mainstay of the idea of Czechoslovak national unity among political parties was the Social Democrats and the agrarians. Slovak ministers in the Prague government were representatives of these political forces. The Communist Party, which emerged in 1921 after a split in the ranks of the Social Democrats, went through several stages in its attitude toward Czechoslovakism. If at the initial stage the Communists welcomed the idea of Czechoslovak unity, then after the V Congress of the Comintern (1924) they sharply changed their attitude and proclaimed the need to give the Slovak nation the right to create an independent state. This HRC policy was not very successful. In 1935 in view of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty, the HRC proclaimed the slogan of supporting Czechoslovakia in defense against fascism [3, p.133].

The Social Democrats, who lost the favor of some voters after the split, remained loyal to the program of Czechoslovak national unity. The representative of the Slovak Social Democrats, I. Derer, submitted several memoranda to the Prague authorities on the further development of the Czechoslovak idea in the state. In them, he stressed the need to strengthen the ideology of Czechoslovakism, as well as to take all necessary measures to reduce the influence of Glinka's party. In the mid-1930s, when the influence of the Glinka Slovak People's Party (GSLP) increased significantly, the Social Democrats came to the conclusion that the current political situation needed to change.

I. Derer saw the possibility of solving the Slovak problem in the expansion of regional self-government and strengthening the competence of the Zemstvo authorities. This plan in October 1938. was agreed with President E. Benes. However, it never became the basis for strengthening the political union of the Czechs and Slovaks [3, p.144-149].

The Agrarian (Republican) party was the main competitor of the GSLP for the votes. Agrarians were in the position of Slovak national unity, but they did not make a significant contribution to the theoretical development of this issue. Over time, the party was forced to respond to existing realities and became an active supporter of autonomy, which was to be realized by expanding the powers of county and district committees and creating a county union, expanding the powers of the Slovak Foreign Minister.

In the 1930's, an autonomist movement was formed within the Slovak faction of the Republican Party, and its supporters were called "landowners" (from the name of the magazine Zemlya, which they published). May 1, 1933 Proponents of autonomy convened a congress in Zvolen at which they rejected the idea of a single Czechoslovak nation. Despite the fact that the participants of the congress protested against

the official ideology of the party, they were not expelled from its membership, as they were under the patronage of M. Goji. This was a clear indication of the loss of popularity of the idea of Czechoslovakism among Slovak politicians [1, p.130].

Among the young generation of Slovak politicians, ideas were spreading about the need to create a concept that would be an alternative to Czechoslovakism.

June 25, 1932 A congress of Slovak politicians united around the magazine *Politika*, who did not support the autonomist movement, took place in Trenčianski Teplice. The congress delegates rejected the idea of Czechoslovakism and proposed so-called regionalism. According to him, the main condition for state building is the development of local self-government. The congress had a wide resonance, and the prestige of the magazine "*Politika*", which was interviewed by TG Masaryk, increased significantly [1, s131].

None of Slovakia's autonomy projects had hoped to gain significant support among Czech politicians. According to Czech politicians, the projects of Slovak autonomy would significantly complicate the exercise of state power in Slovakia and would be the first step towards its separation from the Czechoslovak Republic. Beginning in the 1930s, it was clear that the idea of Czechoslovak national unity, on which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was based, would not be realized. This was due to a number of reasons. Among the most important are the lack of a clear formulation of the concept of the Czechoslovak political nation, the unresolved problem of Slovakia's autonomy, and the difficult economic situation.

In general, the period of existence of the First Czechoslovak Republic was too short, and the political and economic conditions too unfavorable for the idea of a Czechoslovak political nation to be successfully realized.

An important aspect of the national question in the Czechoslovak Republic was its legal regulation, which included a large number of different regulations. The vast majority of them concerned the rights and responsibilities of national minorities in the state. Mandatory norms were determined by the Constitution of Czechoslovakia, which was adopted on February 29, 1920. The constitution proclaimed Czechoslovakia a democratic republic. In matters of state system, the constitution was based on the principle of a single state. Accordingly, § 3 of the Constitution determined that the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic formed a single and indivisible whole, the boundaries of which could be changed only by constitutional law. The only Czechoslovak citizenship was established by § 4. That is, Czechoslovakia was a unitary state [8, p. 247].

The Basic Law legally enshrined the political community of the Czechs and Slovaks. Accordingly, the Constitution and laws of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic used such concepts as "Czechoslovak nation" and "Czechoslovak language". Actually, the Preamble of the Constitution began with the words: "We, the Czechoslovak nation..." In this context, the term "Czechoslovak nation" meant a political nation, that is the totality of all citizens of the state [10 s.115].

On the same day as the Constitution, in accordance with § 129, the Law on Languages was adopted. "Czechoslovak language" was proclaimed the state, official language of the republic. The following rules applied to national and linguistic minorities: courts, institutions, bodies of the republic, whose activities covered the judicial district, where, according to the latest census, lived at least 20% of Czechoslovak citizens who did not speak Czechoslovakia, had to accept complaints and statements from such persons in their native language and give an answer not only in Czechoslovak, but, above all, in the language of presentation [10, p.160].

§5-6 of the Law referred to the use of minority languages in Subcarpathian Russia. According to the Law, in all schools and cultural institutions founded by national minorities, communication took place in the languages of national minorities [10, p.269].

Paragraph 3 of the Basic Law contained provisions regarding the status of Subcarpathian Russia. According to him, Subcarpathian Russia formed an integral part of the territory of Czechoslovakia "on the basis of voluntary accession in accordance with the agreement between the main allied and united states in Saint-Germain", which should be "endowed with the widest autonomy compatible with the unity of Czechoslovakia" [16, p.257].

Within the framework of autonomy, Subcarpathian Russia was given the right to convene its own Sejm. The Seimas had the right to exercise legislative power in matters of language, education, religion and local government. Laws passed by the Seimas were to be approved by the President of the Republic, as well as the Governor and the relevant Minister.

The head of the region was to be the governor, who was appointed by the president on the proposal of the government. The governor was responsible "also before the Diet of Subcarpathian Russia." This provision provided that in addition to the actual Sejm of the region, the governor must be accountable to the President and Government of the Czechoslovak Republic [16, p.258].

Subcarpathian Rus must be represented in the parliament of Czechoslovakia by a certain number of deputies, which was determined in accordance with the relevant Czechoslovak election regulations. This meant that the Sejm of Subcarpathian Rus could not determine the number and method of electing deputies and senators to the National Assembly.

Despite the fact that according to the constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic the activity of the autonomous bodies of Subcarpathian Russia was under the control of the Prague authorities, some of the restrictive provisions of the Treaty of Saint-Germain were not applied to Transcarpathia. In particular, this concerned the provision stipulating that deputies (senators) from Subcarpathian Russia would not have the right to vote in matters within the competence of the Sejm of Subcarpathian Russia, as well as the provision according to which the Sejm of Subcarpathian Russia had no right to elect its presidium [6, c.247].

Chapter VI of the Basic Law was devoted to national minorities and guaranteed to all citizens of

Czechoslovakia "equality before the law, regardless of race, language or religion."

It should be emphasized that during the adoption of the Constitution, the provisions of this section provoked heated discussions. Representatives of the National Democrats believed that it was not necessary to go beyond the provisions of Austrian law in the field of ensuring the rights of minorities. The Social Democrat-backed opposition advocated a loyal national policy. In order to emphasize the state's counter-attitude towards national minorities, the section was entitled "Protection of National, Religious and Racial Minorities". The use of the concept of "national" was to reflect the equal rights of all peoples living in the Czechoslovak Republic [16, p.28].

The Constitutional Committee's commentary on the provisions of the Constitution stated: "since the notion of "people", "nationality" is not defined, the expression of equality" regardless of race, language or religion "leaves everyone the opportunity to choose their nationality depending on what he will find signs of his nationality." It was emphasized that nationality had to be established "in good faith and truthfully." At the same time, the Austrian practice was rejected, according to which the criterion for establishing national affiliation was the native language or the language of communication [16, p.30].

An important issue that required legal regulation was the provision of minorities with the opportunity to receive education in their mother tongue in accordance with national traditions.

§§130-132 of the Constitution stated: "General laws give citizens of the republic the right to create and manage at their own expense charitable, religious, social institutions, schools and other educational institutions, all citizens of the state, regardless of nationality, language, religion or race and have the right to freely use their language and practice their religion in these institutions" [16, p.262].

The Law "On National Schools and Private Educational Institutions", adopted on April 3, 1919, established the possibility, and in some cases the duty of the head of the Zemstvo school council to establish a public national school in each settlement where at least 40 students lived. other than the Czechoslovak language. The establishment of such a school was mandatory if there was no public school in the locality with the native language of instruction for these children [16, p.232].

If the national minority numbered at least 400 people, then libraries or branches in libraries with literature in the minority language should be established in the district of its residence. For minorities that did not meet this criterion, but accounted for 10% of the population of the district, a common library was created for several settlements [16, p.237].

Legal regulation of the problem of education for members of national minorities was extremely important, as there was a fairly high percentage of illiteracy among them. During the 1921 census, 2.38% of illiterate "Czechoslovaks" and 2.52% of illiterate Germans were found in the Czech lands, and in Slovakia, 15.72% of illiterate Czechoslovaks and 43.55% of Ruthenians. In total, 15.03% of Slovaks were illiterate. In

Subcarpathian Russia, 16.29% of illiterate Czechoslovaks, 65.67% of Ruthenians were found, the general level of illiteracy was 50.16% [8, p.43].

To this end, the Czechoslovak authorities promoted the education of national minorities at all levels. There were several higher education institutions in the Czechoslovak Republic, the language of instruction of which was the language of national minorities. In total, in Czech and Slovak universities, according to the 1921 census, there were about 19570 students, in German - 8124 students, and in Hungarian - 461 students [8, p.43].

Thus, Czechoslovak legislation provided national minorities with ample opportunities for comprehensive cultural development. The universally binding norms of the legal regulation of the national question in the Czechoslovak Republic were enshrined in the Constitution of 1920, which in matters of national minorities was based on the provisions of international treaties. The constitution enshrined the political unity of the Czechs and Slovaks, while preserving the right of Slovaks to their own national identity. Czechoslovakia was proclaimed a unitary state and only Transcarpathia was given the right to territorial autonomy. Quite broad rights were granted to national minorities in the field of education, which was important for combating illiteracy.

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