

rated by the performance of excellent musicians, dancers, and actors. The audience was given a selection of gipsy music and folk songs, and an exhibition of national costumes. The recital of the works of Dohnányi, Bartók, Liszt, and Hubay was received with loud applause. After this followed a talking film of the finest parts and beauties of Hungary. Finally, Dr. Géza Takaró, a Reformed Minister, leader of the

Hungarian class in Columbia University, thanked all those who had helped to arrange the Hungarian evening.

In this connection we are pleased to report that Prof. Herman A. Heydt, of Columbia University, New York, has received from the Regent of Hungary the Commander's Cross of Hungarian Order of Merit.

B O O K S

„Hungary” by C. A. Macartney. With a foreward by H. A. Z. Fisher P. C. D. C. L. London. Ernest Benn Limited 1934.

Mr. C. A. Macartney, the eminent British *savant*, has written a book on Hungary.

Macartney is quite right in establishing the fact that *Hungary's position in the centre of Europe is that of a keystone*, the consequence being that, while that country is of vital importance to its surroundings, Europe generally cannot be indifferent to the fate of a country situated in its very heart. Macartney is quite right also when he establishes the fact that for a thousand years the political frontiers of the Hungarian State almost exactly coincided with the natural boundaries of the Middle Danube Valley. It is this valley that was split into five parts by Trianon, the result being that the Hungary of today is merely a limbless trunk in the centre of the valley of the Danube. Now, pre-War Hungary was not only a historical unit, but also an economic and geographical unit of unequalled perfection. Mountain districts and plains were superbly inter-complementary, the hilly regions supplying with raw materials the lowlands engaged in industrial production, and the plains providing the food required by the mountainous districts. The dismemberment of the country has proved injurious to all classes of the population alike. And Macartney is only voicing a truth when he shows that the present-day map of the Middle Danube Valley is — both geographically and economically — a monstrosity.

One of the explanation given by the writer for this treatment of Hungary is that the statesmen of the Allied Powers were both plaintiffs and judges. They listened only to the arguments of their friends and allies and were not concerned to bring into being a just peace, but merely to strengthen their friends.

So far Mr. Macartney is entirely right. But he is not unprejudiced when he goes on to say that the aristocratic régime in Hungary before 1918 gave the nationalities the chance to clothe their own cause in the guise of liberty, democracy and enlightenment. According to the author it did much harm to Hungary that after the Bolshevism a régime was restored which made little or no allowances for the spirit of the times. To this Mr. Macartney attributes the fact that much bitterness was felt towards Hungary, as a result of which the nationality principle was applied only where it was detrimental to Hungary; where it would have been to her advantage, other principles, of strategy, communication, security, etc. were applied, and of those, such as were unfavourable for Hungary. To Mr. Macartney's opinion as outlined above we must reply that it may have been that the pre-war Hungarian régime was to a certain extent anti-démocratic, but if

this was true, it was the spirit of the age, and the régime was as anti-démocratic towards all classes of Hungarians as towards the nationalities. It is, however, an entirely erroneous statement to say that the system in force in Hungary previous to the war was so anti-démocratic that it was well-calculated (even without the misrepresentations of the Czech, Serb, and Rumanian departments) to stir up the nationalities. And it is a greater mistake still to make it appear as though the national régime which was restored after the collapse of Bolshevism was so much at variance with the spirit of the post-war days that the victors were justified in punishing so sorely a country entirely innocent of any responsibility for the war. The fact that on re-gaining the upper hand the national régime, for a time, replied to the Bolshevist terror with a counter-terror, was so natural a reaction to the Bolshevist atrocities that it must be regarded as something so human as to be inevitable.

In the historical part of his work Mr. Macartney gives a faithful picture of the Hungarian Constitution and the evolution of Hungarian political life. He says that the Hungarian Constitution, like the British, is not a codified Constitution, but one drawn from life, and that the Hungarians jealously preserve their ancient Constitution, mould and modify it, but never take away from it.

In the territory now forming their home the Hungarians (Magyars) on their entry did not find any consolidated State; merely a country thinly populated by Slavs, Avars and Bulgarians. The latter they absorbed. The Slavs whom the Magyars found there were the ancestors of the Slovaks living today in the Highlands. The Rumanians claim that when the Romans withdrew their legions from Dacia, there was left behind in Transylvania a certain latinised rustic population which was the source of the Rumanian people of today. This is denied by the Hungarians, who show scientifically that it was only from the twelfth century that the Rumanians began to filter into Transylvania.

In this connection we cannot help remarking — as against what Macartney has to say — that the question as to whether the Rumanians of Transylvania are autochthonous or not is no longer a moot point. It was solved long ago — negatively — by science. In Roman days there was not the slightest trace of Rumanians (Wallachs) in Transylvania. And even if during their stay in that province the Roman legionaries did actually intermarry with the Dacians, the result being the coming into being of latinised Dacian families, in no case did the Rumanians derive from the Romans (nor indeed did they even indirectly, by the intermingling of races acquire any Roman blood), seeing that the Wallachs (Rumanians) did not begin to filter into Transylvania until about the twelfth century, some eight hundred years after the departure

of the Roman legions from Dacia; and at that time there were no more traces of any Dacians or latinised Dacians either.

As Macartney tells us at length, right down to the sixteenth century the population of Hungary consisted predominantly of Magyars. Four-fifths of the inhabitants were Magyars. But the originally pure Magyar population (or at least the bulk of that population) was destroyed by the Mongol invasion and later by the Turkish wars and the civil and religious conflicts. The shortage of inhabitants was made up for by the importation of settlers of Germanic, Jewish, Czech, Slovak, Croatian, Italian, Serbian, Rumanian, Greek, French and Turkish nationality or race respectively. The policy of the Habsburgs greatly encouraged the immigration of foreigners, the object of that policy being to weaken the position of the liberty-loving Hungarians. The Habsburgs took a particular delight in encouraging the immigration of Germans and Serbs. In the meantime Rumanians too were continually swarming into the country and increased in number without let or hindrance. According to Macartney the Hungarian People has not changed in character since the days of Árpád's warriors. The elements absorbed by the Magyars have also acquired the Hungarian character and attitude of that people — in other words have become Magyars. The national character is so completely conservative that the elements absorbed by the ruling classes have always taken over unchanged the ideals and spirit of their forbears. Centuries of history have made no change in the political and social structure of Hungary. Today the Hungarians (Magyars) are what they have always been. — a nation of chivalrous, romantic, vehement and oligarchically-inclined soldiers, their virtues and their troubles making them alike a problem to Europe. Today the Hungarian problem is still the problem of the whole Danube Valley.

Here we are impelled once more to offer an objection. Macartney is still subconsciously under the influence of the partial statements of Czech and Rumanian works, which insist in attempting to prove that Hungary is still an oligarchy. And also that Hungary is ultra-conservative. The latter adjective must be softened to "conservative"; while the term "oligarchy" is not at all applicable to the Hungary of today. Since we liberated our feudal vassals in 1848, the term "oligarchy" is not at all applicable to the Hungary of today; when the principle of civil equality was introduced into our Constitution, there has never been any question here of an "oligarchy" in the genuine sense of the term. At that period the prerogatives of the nobility were abolished, a mere remnant of the same surviving today in the right reserved to the feudal aristocracy to delegate a certain limited number of Members to sit in the Upper House. And the feudal institution of "entail" is just about to be very considerably curtailed.

Now, as concerns the question of national minorities, Macartney very sagely points out that the Hungarian Nationality Act of 1868 was far more liberal in its treatment of the non-Magyar nationalities than the Minority Treaties concluded after the end of the Great War. However, according to Macartney the trouble about pre-War Hungary was that the Hungarian Nationality Act remained a dead letter. It is certainly true that the Hungarians made full use of the non-Magyar elements which became assimilated and never threw their origin in their teeth, so that the less hardly non-Magyar nationalities were absorbed without any resistance by the Hungarians, though those with more backbone offered a resistance merely

accentuated by the pressure brought to bear upon them by the Hungarians.

Here we must pause for a moment. In the first place, to be quite exact, the fact must be established that the treatment meted out to the non-Magyar nationalities in Greater (Pre-War) Hungary was nothing when compared with the oppression ruthlessly applied in the Succession States against the Hungarian minorities. And even if in the Hungary of pre-War days the non-Magyar nationalities had been oppressed as ruthlessly as the minorities in the Succession States today, that would be no excuse whatsoever for the treatment now shown by those States.

But the behaviour of the Succession States towards the Hungarian minorities is particularly reprehensible, if for no other reason than that the Hungarian are the autochthonous inhabitants of the wrested territories, and would therefore be entitled to expect added consideration and not the opposite. Ethically speaking, it is most revolting to see the stranger who has enjoyed the hospitality of his host driving the latter out of house and home.

Mr. Macartney describes the Hungarians as even today an isolated race surrounded by alien, hostile races of much greater numerical strength. For this very reason, he says, Hungary cannot expect to appeal with any results against the oppression to which the millions of Hungarians in the Succession States are being subjected unless her own treatment of the minorities in Hungary is approachable. This is requisite also from the point of view of revision. The restoration to Hungary of a part of her lost territories cannot be effected without a certain number of non-Magyars being restored with the Hungarians. The possibility of such a change depends to a great extent on the way Hungary treats her present minorities.

In this our opinion entirely agrees with that of Mr. Macartney. Proof thereof is the policy pursued by Hungary where the Germans, the only important nationality in the dismembered country, are concerned; viz. the last educational decree issued by the Government, which has been highly commended by those in authority in Germany.

Even if there is much to be said in criticism of Mr. Macartney's book, we must be ready to admit that it is the result of scrupulously careful research, and the closing pages are balm to our souls. For if he is not prejudiced in our favour — and that indeed he is not! — still he has faith in us, in our energy, and he believes that now, as so often in the course of history, we shall be victorious. Victorious through the power of our civilization.

George Lukács.

*"Crisis in Europe" by George Slocombe,
London, Selwyn Blount Ltd. 10s 6d net*

This book deals with the economic and political problems of the Europe of to-day. It acquaints us with events beginning with the peace conferences of the World War, giving us a survey of the different treaties also. It says of the Treaty of Trianon that, instead of purifying the atmosphere, it really created worse conditions in Central Europe. It writes, „The claims

of race and nationality have merely been enhanced in this region by the Peace Treaties. The unstable Austro-Hungarian monarchy itself did not harbour so many problems of suppressed minorities as were created by the diplomatists and statesmen in Paris in 1919." Then it goes on to acquaint us with the plans and conferences with which the Great Powers tried to improve what they spoiled at the time of the Peace Treaties. They had to admit, says Slocombe, that the political as well as the economic effects of the Peace Treaties were directly catastrophic, for, instead of eliminating the damaging effects of the Great War, they stabilized the troubles which arose from it. He makes known the systems of alliance which developed in the new Europe. He does not consider the Little Entente to be an enduring and solid formation, for the interests of its members cross each other. The opinion of the author is that in case of serious trouble the members of the Little Entente will desert each other, because the whole formation was created by the impending danger of the Anschluss, the Hungarian revision endeavours and the Habsburg restoration.

The author then gives us a thorough insight into the interests both common and contrary which decisively influence the reciprocal relations of Powers as well as into the problems which await solution for the promotion of peace and development. Among these he devotes a separate chapter to the Hungarian question. He considers the partition of Hungary to be a most grievous fault for it "created one of the gravest of the economic problems which have afflicted Europe, since the peace and the present condition of these minorities, as has been seen from the previous chapter, threatens to destroy even the political reasons for detaching them from Hungary." "He finds it entirely incomprehensible why three and a half million Hungarians should have been detached from their mother-country. Nothing can justify this except „cynical expediency". This, as well as the ex-

cessive bestowing of territory at Hungary's expense from purely strategic points-of-view, created "a vast new irredentist problem" in the heart of Europe. This is only natural, for "three and a half million members of a proud, sensitive and warlike race were handed over to the tender mercies of nations (in the case of Rumania and Yugoslavia) still only in the Balkan stage of national development, culturally and politically their inferiors". The author considers the Treaty of Trianon injurious, not only from a political, but also from an economic standpoint. "Pre-war Hungary was a more than selfsupporting economic unit — one of the few existing in Europe... The economic disturbance caused by the Trianon Treaty has not, however, affected Hungary alone. It has spread to all the States in the valley of the Danube, the spoliators suffering almost equally with the despoiled. The peace conference did not take into consideration the ethnographic boundaries, because" for strategic, as well as for economic, reasons, the boundary of Czecho-Slovakia was drawn by the Trianon Treaty to pass by Szob on the Danube, although both banks of the Danube at that point are inhabited by Magyars. In Slocombe's opinion — who as an English man, views the events impartially — the Magyars have always availed themselves of peaceful means when they called the attention of the friendly States to the unjust decrees of the Trianon Treaty. He comes to the conclusion that a „revision of the treaties is inevitable if war is to be avoided... Sooner or later, and sooner if the war is to be avoided, a European Conference to revise the Treaties of Peace must be convened... This, according to the author, is vitally important.

Though a few of its events are in the shade of the past already, this book is extremely up-to-date and instructive, because it contains thoughts, suggestions and solutions which are the only means of insuring the peace of Europe and the creating of a pacific collaboration.

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P O L I T I C A L E C O N O M Y

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

RENEWED ADVANCE IN NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED

According to the preliminary report of the Labour Exchanges the number of registered unemployed at the end of February was 860,390 — an increase as compared with the number 850,010 recorded in the statement form the previous month. This means that in the course of a month the number of unemployed increased by 10,380.

The increase in the number of unemployed in evidence during the past month fell almost entirely to Slovakia, where statistics show 131,864 workless at the end of January and 141,300 by the end of February. The organ of Hlinka's Autonomist Slovak People's Party, the "Slovak", makes the following comment on the latest unemployment statistics: "Poverty is on the increase in Slovakia. We must keep these figures in mind when we read of negotiations in the course of which leading Czecho-Slovak statesmen urge a speedy solution of the Danube Valley problem.

If there exists a State in the Danube Valley whose economic conditions make the cessation of the conditions at present prevailing therein imperative, that State is Czecho-Slovakia, whose responsible statesmen seventeen years ago so unscrupulously broke up the economic unity of the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy, thereby causing great material losses to their own country."

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TRADE BALANCE: 34¹/₂ MILLION CROWNS LOSS

Official reports give the total of Czechoslovakia's imports in January as 530.6 million Crowns, against the total of her export amounting to the value of 495.9 million Crowns. In the same period of last year Czechoslovakia had a total import to the value of 414.9 million Crowns, against 476.3 million Crowns of export. The trade balance of Czecho-Slovakia in January shows a loss of 34.65 million Crowns. In January 1935 it showed a profit of 61.3 million Crowns.