These statements call for certain corrections and comments. If this 45% result took seventeen and a half years to achieve and even then has been brought about only by the settlement of dobrovoliaci and chetniks (or komitachis), the departure of optants and refugees, the importation from Serbia and Montenegro of officials, employees and soldiers, and the influx of masses of immigrants, numbering over 100.000 — then we may take it as a fresh proof of the irrefutable fact that the Voivodina was attached to Serbia against the will of the majority of the inhabitants by a woefully misled Peace Conference.

As regards the allegation that the war volunteers are not doing well on the land they got for nothing, all that can be said is that their failure is not due to a want of "adequate financial resources", but to their inefficiency, lack of industry, and carelessness. The war volunteers, settled mainly on land belonging to the Hungarian villages, and the other Southern Slav settlers, not content with enjoying a maximum of financial and moral support from the State and corporations, fail even to pay the interest on and sinking fund instalments of the loans received from the State for building purposes; so that recently the State was forced to waive the greater part of their debts and to prolong the term of amortization. Besides this they persistently refuse to pay communal sur-taxes, their contributions to draining and dyking charges and other dues, and are allowed to do so without incurring the displeasure of the law. What the effects of their illegal behaviour are, especially on the Hungarian villages in the neighbourhood of their settlements, may be seen at Temerin, an almost purely Hungarian village, which has hitherto been compelled under various pretexts to invest 2.000.000 dinars in the adjacent dobrovoliaci settlement, while the settlement owes the village over 2.500.000 dinars for arrears of sur-taxes. Because of these conditions, which would be inconceivable anywhere else, some of the Hungarian villages have been brought to the brink of financial ruin.

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### PROMISES AND REALITY

In one of its April issues the "Samouprava", the mouthpiece of the Radical Party (Government Party), invited the minorities to join the Government Party; in return for this they may hope that... their grievances will be redressed and their claims complied with "within the limits of the law". It is not the first time that the Government, or its Party, has approached the minorities in such a flattering manner, but so far such promises have never been followed by actions. Nor is it likely that the situation will change now. The following cases seem to confirm our opinion. At the end of last year the municipal council of Zenta, a city with a considerable Hungarian majority, submitted a memorandum to the Ministry of Education, asking it to allow the city to re-open at its own expense the four upper classes of the grammar school, which the Ministry had some years ago degreed to a lower-grade school (with only four lower classes). The petition was refused by the Ministry (on April 23rd), that meaning that the 30.000 Hungarians living near the river Tisza (in Yugoslavia) are not allowed to have a Hungarian secondary school even at their own expense. The new municipal council of the city of Ujvidek (Novisad) which was appointed on April 14th, has only five Hungarian members, though the minority, forming one third of the population, would be entitled to hold at least 18 seats on the Council.

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## BOOKS

## V. M. Goblet's "The Twilight of Treaties" Translated form the French by Warre Bradley Wells. (London, G. Bell and Sons Ltd.)

M. Goblet is a famous French geographer. In this work of his he proves that without an accurate knowledge of natural circumstances, geographical conditions and cohesions, it is impossible to settle successfully the political conflicts that arise among the nations. Statesmen, on the whole, are inclined to treat international intercourse and the clashes that disturb it from a political point of view, and solely as legal questions. And yet the problems which set the nations against one another cannot be solved satisfactorily unless facts and the given circumstances are taken into account, and the actual needs of the living communities of the human race supplied. The nature of a region, its geographical situation, its natural resources, the way of life of its inhabitants, their possibilities of livelihood and wage-earning, are all factors closely linked together. Political attempts to eliminate coherence and interdependence, and to distribute the component parts among other kinds of circumstances,

are costly, dangerous and usually futile experiments. The spirit of modern times will not brook such artificial and forced adjustments. It is high time to allow the points of view of geography, natural history and economics free scope.

In connection with the decisive influence of the geographical factors the author treats separately of the Saar, Schleswig, Danzig, Austria, Mandsukuo, Abyssinia and the Chaco - all of them problems towards which the attention of public opinion has been directed during the past few years. M. Coblet considers Mandsukuo, for instance, a sort of extraneous, separate province of the Chinese Empire, which never was an integral part of China proper, and the development of which has naturally led to its separation from the latter. Two possibilities existed. Either Mandsukuo would belong to China, or a new political formation would arise and link Korea with Mandsukuo and Inner Mongolia. Geographical factors were against the first solution. But they could never have accomplished what they did without Japan's political intervention. Japan, on the other hand, would have had no chance of success without the support of the geographical factors.

We of the Danube Valley are most particularly interested by what the author states as his opinion of Austria's problems. In his eyes the great trouble with the present little Austria created by the peace treaties has been that she could not think except in the ideology of the past. The Holy Roman Empire had passed away; the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy had followed it; and little Austria was born. But for a time she continued to live in the old ideology, and wanted to join the republicanized German Empire. That, however, was not her place. She must become the centre of the Danube Valley.

New Austria as a homogeneous national State was ideal; for her inhabitants were all Germans. Her most burning problem was Vienna, which houses one third of the entire population. Prior to the great war Vienna had been the centre of the banking and trade organizations of Central Europe, and as such an international city. In the great past of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Vienna had not merely become an Imperial city, but also an international centre. It cannot prosper except as a center of trade and communication. Present Austria's greatest trouble is that the roads leading to her traditional markets are blocked by customs barriers. In the time of the Monarchy Vienna was the channel of commerce towards the Balkans and the Levant. It was more of an international clearing-house than a market of local production and consumption.

If Austria proved strong enough to cope with the Nazi peril she should be called upon to play a very important role, small though she is. The Austrian Republic — i. e. Vienna — might become the clearing-house of continental trade and the centre and channel of communications, commerce and banking. But the sine qua non of Austria's regeneration is that she and the other States of the Danube Valley shall restore free intercourse and free trade among themselves and develop on a larger scale the throbbing economic life that in the past existed in the uniform, great customs area of the old Monarchy.

In many respects the author's views on Austria are our own; but we regret that he did not make a separate study of the Hungarian question. For if there ever was an area in the world that formed a perfect geographical unit, the inhabitants of which were, so to say, compelled by the forces of nature to live in a common economic frame, it was pre-war Hungary encircled by the belt of the Carpathians. And the restoration of her integrity is a sine qua non of economic prosperity. If anywhere, it is in Hungary that the arbitrary and artificial international treaties -- the Treaty of Trianon which refused to take into account natural circumstances and the dictates of geography and economics - have created such an intolerable situation that a renaissance in these areas, which would be a blessing to the whole of mankind, is only conceivable if the twilight of the Treaty of Trianon comes very rapidly.

George Lukacs.

# POLITICAL ECONOMY

#### BULGARIA

#### EXPORT TRADE IN FIRST QUARTER

The total value of Bulgaria's exports in the first three months of this year amounted to 858 million leva, while her imports represented a value of 704 million leva. The quarterly balance shows an excess of exports of 154 million leva as against an excess of imports of 85 million leva last year. The bulk of both import and export transactions were negotiated with Germany.

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

According to the reports of the Public Employment Offices the number of unemployed at the end of April amounted to 797.770.

#### 60% OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS UNDERFED

A conference was recently held by the Czecho-Slovak Institute of Public Welfare and the Commission delegated to study the Czecho-Slovak economic plan, to lay down the principles of consumption and nourishment; on this occasion it was stated that, if we base our calculations on the economic and social situation of a working family of five, not more than 40% of the industrial workers are in a position to secure normal nourishment, while the other 60% are underfed.

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#### 1.4% MORE WHEAT-LAND

Discussing the current problems of agriculture, the "Prager Presse", the Czecho-Slovak semi-official organ, declares that it is exceedingly important to provide for the regulation of arable land as soon as possible. The Ministry of Agriculture must insist on the enfrocement of its orders referring to the regulation of arable land. The statistical reports show that farmers have not obeyed these orders, so that — in defiance of the regulations — the total amount of wheat-land has been increased by 1.4%.

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