Sudeten-German controllers and their working personnel deteriorated not only on political grounds, but also as a result of great economic difficulties, since they had to look for new markets. In this they were only partly successful. Thus already then began a decline of the importance of German industry in the C.S.R. The share of textiles in the export of the C.S.R., for instance, dropped from 14% in 1927 to 8% in 1937. Through the expulsion of the Germans, who despite all these difficulties managed to produce 41% of the industrial output of the C.S.R., whole branches of industries lost their workers; according to official Czech information the number of Germans in the C.S.R. dropped from 3.3 million in 1930 to 163,000 in 1958.

The expulsion of the Germans meant a complete change in the economic build-up of the C.S.R., which for political reasons is still being promoted. The share of Group A (machine-producing industry) in the total output increased from 40% to 57%. Through the proposed extensions of the steel and machinery industry it will increase still further. As a result the C.S.R. will depend in its imports of raw materials, and in its exports, still more on the Soviet Union and the countries where there is Soviet control.

### THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE SLOVAKIANS

*Ludwig von Gogolák*

The author takes as premise the cultural and social independance of the Slovakian people since the middle ages, thereby differing with the popular Czech and Hungarian view that the Slovakians did not produce indigenous political leaders, and, being a primitive peasant people, were political raw material and a passive object for the current centralistic and nationalistic conceptions of the Hungarians and the Czechs.

Against this traditional “Herrenvolk” view of the Hungarians and Czechs (typified by the Czechs V. Chalupecký and A. Pražák) the author presents an independent view of the line of development of the Slovakians. This can be traced back to the 13th century, when the Slovakian landed-gentry of Northern Hungary played a decisive part in the development of the Slovakian nation. With the inclusion of Slovakia in the Hungarian System of Counties (Komitat), under the last of the Arpad Kings and the Anjous, this Slovakian aristocracy was Hungarianized. However, Baron Valentin Balassa, the noble Humanist and man of the Renaissance, of Slovakian origin, one of the greatest figures of Hungarian literature of his time, shows distinct features of Slovakian nationality and at the same time the close connection between the North Hungarian class-system and the Slovakian heritage. Before the forming of the Slovakian nation the Slovakians were eclipsed by the Hungarian State, but remained ethnologically pure.
Since the 12/13 Century, German Culture was significant, and the author even calls Slovakia a German „Kulturlandschaft“, pointing out the prominent position of the German cities, the influence of which started the Lutheran Reformation of Northern Hungary. In this connection it is remarkable that the so-called “Tatra-Idea” the symbol of later national Slovakian literature comes originally from the world of ideas of the Carpathian Germans, and through their education system it found its way to the Slovakian educated classes. Socially these were modelled on the North Hungarian System, but culturally and confessionally influenced by Wittenberg. They gave the “Tatra-Idea” Slovakian shape, and the 19th Century charged it with Slovakian nationalism. Further the author illustrates the importance of the Slovakian leading-classes in the Hungarian State by the examples of Count Georg Thurzo, who founded the Slovakian Protestant Church in 1611, Prince Franz Rákóczi II, Count Nicolaus Berčényi, Superintendent Daniel Krman a man of Old-Wittenberg conformance, Daniel Horčička-Sinapius, Mathias Bél and Count Peter Révay. The development of the Slovakian nation has very old roots and is no phenomenon of the 19th century Romantic Panslavism. Until 1790 the Czechs knew very little of the Slovakians, and Josef Dobrovský, their greatest Slavist, was the first to show any interest in them.

The author shows the progress of the Slovakian nation in the 18th and 19th century, and the special political conditions of its awakening (Conservatism), which differentiates it from the Czech national revival; and he criticises the attitude of T. G. Masaryk towards the Slovakians. For Masaryk, with western and democratic ideas, himself of Slovakian stock from East Moravia, the Slovakians were „just raw material“; he saw as the only way a re-education along the lines of Czech western-radical, antireligious nationalism. Milan Hodža was of the same opinion. As a counter-movement, a national and tradition-minded group of intellectuals grew out of this situation in the First Republic, and already in 1920 Andrej Hlinka was their leader.

**SUDETEN GERMANS IN THE AUSTRIAN REPUBLICS 1918—1959**

_Nikolaus von Preradovich_

As a continuation of his work on the Sudeten Germans in Austria, 1848—1918, (compare vol. I „Bohemia“) the author offers a short instructive survey of the still important role played by Sudetenland-born Germans in the two Austrian Republics (1918—38 and 1945 till the present). Among the leaders of the Government after St. Germain were six Sudeten