

On the Results of the Parliamentary Election in Czechoslovakia in 1935 with Regard to the Hungarian Opposition and Negativistic Political Parties – Land Christian-Socialist Party (OKSzP) and Hungarian National Party (MNP)

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On 19 May 1935, the fourth parliamentary election for both chambers of the parliament of that time was held in the First Czechoslovak Republic – for the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic. The voters could choose out of 16 lists of candidates in the election for the Chamber of Deputies and out of 15 lists of candidates in the election for the Senate. The number of the individual political parties participating in the election was of course higher as some parties joined, creating common lists of candidates. In the election for the Chamber of Deputies, there were 9 Czech and Slovak lists of candidates, 4 German, 2 united and 1 so called international list of candidates, represented by the list of candidates of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The situation of the election for the Senate was similar; there were, however, one Czech and Slovak lists of candidates less. The joint lists of candidates included the united list of candidates of both crucial Hungarian political parties, the Land Christian-Socialist Party (*Országos Keresztény Szocialista Párt; OKSzP*), the Hungarian National Party (*Magyar Nemzeti Párt; MNP*), further the Union of Germans

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Settled in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia (*Einheit des Bodenständigen Deutschtums in Slovensko und Podkarpatská Rus*) and the Sudeten German Election Bloc (*Sudetendeutscher Wahlblock; SdW*), as well as the joint list of candidates of the Economic Party of Debtors of all Classes, united with the independent socialist party in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia. Two of the lists of candidates failed in the election for the Chamber of Deputies, while three of the lists of candidates failed in the election for the Senate. The number of eligible voters was 8,957,572 in 1935. Let's add for the sake of completeness that, according to the census results of 1930, the Czechoslovak Republic of that time had 14,479,565 inhabitants in total, with very rich national composition of the state: The Czechs and Slovaks had a 66.9% share (9,688,770) in the total number of inhabitants of Czechoslovakia, the Germans a 22.3% share (3,231,688), the Hungarians 4.8% (691,923), the Ruthenians 3.8% (549,169) and the Poles, 0.6% (81,737). The number of valid votes cast in the election for the Chamber of deputies amounted to 8,231,412, and that of valid votes cast in the election for the Senate, to 7,277,053.¹

Let's also remind that the elections for both chambers of the legislative body of that time was held on the base of general equal, direct and secret voting right according to the principle of proportional representation. The Chamber of Deputies had 300 and the Senate, 150 members. The term of office of the Chamber of Deputies was defined by law for 6 years and that of the Senate, for 8 years. But during the existence of the First Republic, the election for both chambers was always held simultaneously.² The active voting right for

¹Cf. *Poslanecká sněmovna ve IV. volebním období* (hereinafter PS IV. VO), Praha 1935, pp. 9–10; *Senát ve IV. volebním období* (hereinafter S IV. VO), Praha 1935, p. 5; *Československá statistika* (hereinafter ČSS) – *Volume 134. Series I, Volby (Election), Book 5, Volby do poslanecké sněmovny v květnu 1935* (hereinafter Volby 1935), Praha 1936, pp. 7*, 9* (here, see Tab. No. 1) and 12*; ČSS – *Volume 98. Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Part I*, Praha 1934, Tab. No. 6, *Národnost československých státních příslušníků podle volebních krajů a zemí*, p. 47*.

²As the parties feared the potential emergence of different chamber majorities, if the elections for both chambers of the National Assembly were held on different dates, both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate were always dissolved simultaneously. That could be very easily done, as according to § 68 of the Constitutional Deed of the First Czechoslovak Republic, the President

the election for the Chamber of Deputies was awarded to all state citizens, without gender difference, above 21 years of age, and for the Senate, above 26 years. The passive voting right for the election for the Chamber of Deputies was awarded to every citizen, without gender difference, above 30 years of age, and for the Senate, above 45 years. The election was compulsory for all citizens who had achieved the specified minimal age limit for acquisition of voting right. The election duty was excused only in five cases: age above 70 years, health indisposition, urgent working duties, distance from municipality of more than 100 km, and traffic obstacles.³

The results of the parliamentary election of 1935 brought considerable surprise. The opposition and, above all, negativistic Sudeten German Party (*Sudetendeutsche Partei; SdP*) became the winner of the parliamentary election at national level, both in the election for the Chamber of Deputies and in the election for the Senate. It obtained 15.2%⁴ of votes in the election for the Chamber of Deputies and 15% of votes in the election for the senate. The Sudeten German Party, led by Konrad Henlein, was elected by 1,249,530 voters in total in the election for the Chamber of Deputies, i.e. it was elected by about 73,000 voters more than the strongest governmental party, the agrarian party, i.e. the Republican Party of Farmers and Peasants, that obtained 14.3% votes in total in the election of 1935 (the party was elected by 1,176,593 voters in total), and the social democrats who acquired 12.6% of the cast valid votes (the party

needed countersigning of the Prime Minister to dissolve the Chambers. So the dissolution of the Chambers depended, in fact, on the will of the government, or on mutual agreement of the respective political parties with regard to the impossibility of further cooperation and the need of calling new election. J. BULÍŘ, *Politické strany v prvorepublikovém parlamentarismu*, in: M. ANTOŠ – J. WINTR (eds.), *Parlamentarismus. Sborník z výjezdního semináře Právnické fakulty UK*, Praha 2008, p. 100.

³ For the basic parameters of the National Assembly and the voting right cf. *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého*, Vol. 1920, Part XXVI, Issued on 6 March, 1920. Ústavní listina Československé republiky. Hlava druhá. Moc zákonodárná. Složení a působnost Národního shromáždění a jeho obou sněmoven, §§ 6, 8 and 13, 9 and 14, 10 and 15, p. 257; ibidem, Part XXVII, Issued on 6 March, 1920, No. 123. Zákon ze dne 29. února 1920, kterým se vydává řád volení do poslanecké sněmovny, pp. 271–284, see § 6.

⁴ The percentage election results are rounded to one decimal place.

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was elected by 1,034,774 voters in total). Nevertheless, thanks to the electoral arithmetic, the governmental agrarian party finally got the most mandates, 45 in total, while the Sudeten German Party got one mandate less, 44 in total. But both parties got the same number of mandates in the Senate, each of both parties occupying 23 mandates in total. But the SdP had obtained more votes than the agrarians in the elections for the Senate as well. In the elections for the Senate, 1,092,255, or 15% of voters gave their vote to SdP, while the agrarians were supported by 1,042,924, or 14.3% of voters in total, which means almost 50,000 voters less. But looking at the results of the parliamentary election by countries, we can see that SdP was absolutely clear winner of the parliamentary election in the historical countries (Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia), obtaining 19.4% of all valid votes cast, i.e. 1,220,439 votes in total, which was almost 400,000 votes more than the governmental agrarians obtained; the latter were supported by “only” 829,110 voters in total in the western half of the country, i.e. 13.2% share in the total number of the valid votes cast. So the agrarian party members in the historical countries fell 6.2% of votes behind the SdP. The difference between the proportional number of valid votes cast was even more noticeable between the governmental agrarian party members and the SdP in Bohemia, amounting to 8.8% in favour of Henlein’s Sudeten German Party.⁵

Let’s add that the agrarian party had been the strongest governmental party from 1925 when it won the parliamentary election for the first time, with only slight advantage against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (13.7% vs. 13.1%). To complete the concept, let’s state that the first Czechoslovak parliamentary election held in 1920 was won by the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Worker’s Party obtaining 25.7% of votes. The agrarian party members obtained only 9.7% of all valid votes cast then. The agrarians acquired the strongest position at the political scene only thanks to the disagreement between the social democrats and the communists and to the conflicts inside the social democratic party during the first half of the 1920’s.⁶

⁵ ČSS, *Volby 1935*, Tab. No. 1, p. 9*; *PS IV. VO*, p. 10.

⁶ ČSS, *Volume 31. Series I. Volby (Election), Book 2, Volby do poslanecké sněmovny*

In 1935 in Slovakia, the election was won by the Autonomist Bloc consisting of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, Slovak National Party, Autonomous Agrarian Union and the Polish minority political association called Polskije stronnictva w Czechoslovacji. The Autonomist Bloc achieved a result of 30.1% valid votes cast in the election for the Chamber of Deputies (it was supported by 489,641 voters in total); thus that electoral grouping became the overall winner of the election for the Chamber of Deputies in Slovakia. At national level, the Autonomist Bloc took seventh place in the election for the Chamber of Deputies with 6.9% of valid votes cast, and it was placed seventh also in the election for the Senate, with 6.8% of valid votes cast. The Autonomist Bloc achieved good results even in Carpathian Ruthenia. In the easternmost tip of the republic, it achieved 14.9% of votes in the election for the Chamber of Deputies thanks to 46,044 voters who gave their votes just to its list of candidates. Thanks to the election result achieved in Carpathian Ruthenia, the Autonomist Bloc took third place in the election for the Chamber of Deputies, behind the winning Communist Party of Czechoslovakia that got 25.6% (79,400) votes there and behind the second Republican Party of Farmers and Peasants that got 19.6% (60,744) votes in Carpathian Ruthenia. The Autonomist Bloc placed third also in the election for the Senate in Carpathian Ruthenia, with 15.2% (41,519) of all valid votes cast, also behind the winning communists (25.8%, 70,745 votes and the second governmental agrarians 19%; 52,063 votes).⁷

With only about one half of votes achieved, as against the election result of the autonomists, the Republican Party of Farmers and Peasants placed second in the election for the Chamber of Deputies in Slovakia. The Party obtained 17.6% votes there, which represented confidence of 286,739 voters. In Slovakia, in the election for the Chamber of Deputies, the Hungarian political

v listopadu 1925, Praha 1926, p. 9 (Tab. No. 2); ČSS, Volume 1. Series I. Volby, Book 1, Volby do Národního shromáždění v dubnu roku 1920 a všeobecné volby do obecních zastupitelstev v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku v červnu roku 1919 (hereinafter Volby 1920), Praha 1922, Tab. No. 4, p. 19*.*

⁷ ČSS, Volby 1935, Tab. No. 1, p. 9* (Tab. No. 1); PS IV. VO, p. 10; S IV. VO, p. 9.

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parties, i.e. OKSzP and MNP, running under number 11, got 1% less votes than the Sudeten German Party in Bohemia. Their election result in Slovakia amounted to 14.2% of the total number of valid votes cast, representing 230,713 voters in total and overall third place. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the one-percent better election result of SdP in proportional numbers in Bohemia represented support of about a million voters more (!). The Hungarian parties in Carpathian Ruthenia obtained a little less votes; in the election for the Chamber of Deputies, they got 11% of all votes thanks to 34,247 local voters, ranking the Hungarian parties fourth.⁸

The third place was taken by the joint Hungarian, or Hungarian-German list of candidates in Slovakia also in the election for the Senate. Similarly to the election for the Chamber of Deputies, it placed behind the winning Autonomist Bloc (428,970; 29.9%) and the second agrarian party (255,643; 17.8%) also in the election for the Senate. Such place was awarded to the list of candidates of OKSzP and MNP thanks to 14.3% of all valid votes cast there within the election for the second chamber of the National Assembly, i.e. thanks to support of 204,701 voters. The joint list of candidates number 11 took the same position as in the election for the Chamber of Deputies also in the election for the Senate in Carpathian Ruthenia. The list of candidates running in the easternmost tip of the republic placed fourth also in the election for the second chamber of the Czechoslovak legislative body. It obtained exactly 11% of all valid votes cast in Carpathian Ruthenia, which represented support of 30,242 local voters.⁹

Both main political parties of the Hungarian minority in the First Czechoslovak Republic, OKSzP and MNP, that had become the strongest political subjects of the Hungarian minority and had their representatives in both chambers of the First-Republic National Assembly in all of its four terms of office, were opposition parties, or so called negativistic parties; they disagreed with the constitutional concept of the Czechoslovak state and required

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ *SIV. VO*, p. 10.

consistent autonomization of the republic. They saw primarily larger space for more consistent provision of political-cultural rights of national minorities of the republic in territorial autonomy granted also to other territories than to Slovakia. On that base, they found themselves in the same political waters with the Slovak autonomist parties, particularly with Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (*Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana; HSĽS*). But both Slovak autonomist camps were never able to find common ground, and the joint autonomist bloc of Slovak and Hungarian autonomists remained an unfulfilled wish until the end of the First-Republic era of Czechoslovakia, a wish of both the nationally thinking political representatives of the Hungarian minority and of Budapest that supported intensively the project of a joint Slovak-Hungarian autonomist bloc.

The Hungarians constituted the second largest national minority in Czechoslovakia, as could be seen from the above stated number of the respective national groups of the First Czechoslovak Republic from the second census of the interwar period of the Czechoslovak state. In 1921, 745,431, i.e. 5.6% inhabitants of the republic claimed allegiance to Hungarian nationality within the first census performed in the Czechoslovak Republic. Similarly to the German minority in the historical countries of the Czechoslovak state, the Hungarian minority constituted the most significant national minority in Slovakia. According to the census of 1921, the Hungarians constituted almost a fourth (21.5%) of the population there. Hungarian nationality was declared by 637,183 persons in total there. But the Hungarians were numerous in Carpathian Ruthenia as well. In 1921, 102,144 of them lived there. Thus the Hungarian minority constituted exactly 17% of the total number of population of that easternmost tip of the republic.¹⁰

The parliamentary election of 1935 was at the same time the first parliamentary election allowing voting with the joint list of candidates of OKSžP and MNP also in the electoral regions in the historical countries, i.e.

¹⁰ ČSS – Volume 9. Series 6. *Sčítání lidu (Census), Book 1, Sčítání lidu v Republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921, Part I, Praha 1924, Tab. No. 50, Národnost československých státních příslušníků. I., p. 60**.

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in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. However, the list of candidates of the two Hungarian political parties collected votes there through mediation of the candidates of the local election partner of the Hungarian national parties, *Sudetendeutscher Wahlblock (SdW)*, i.e. not of the candidates of the main and strongest subjects of the list of candidates number 11, i.e. OKSžP or MNP. The Sudeten German Election Bloc associated, for the parliamentary election of 1935, insignificant political subjects of the Sudeten German minority, created mostly by breaking away from the main political streams of the German minority. Thus the voter base of the Hungarian-German list of candidates in the historical countries consisted, through SdW, of German speaking population, which could be seen also at the official name of the list of candidates in the Czech countries that was, logically, presented there primarily in German language: *Sudetendeutscher Wahlblock, Christlichsoziale Landespartei, Ungarische Nationalpartei, Einheit des bodenständigen Deutschtums in der Slowakei und Karpathorußland*. The joint list of candidates of the Land Christian-Socialist Party, the Hungarian National Party, the Union of Germans Settled in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia and the Sudeten German Election Bloc obtained votes of 14,256 voters in the election for the Chamber of Deputies in Bohemia, which constituted, however, only 0.3% of all valid votes cast there. In Moravia and Silesia, the list of candidates number 11 obtained 12,615 votes in total, constituting a proportional election result of 0.6%. Thus in total, the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates obtained 26,871 votes in the historical countries, which represented only 0.4% of all valid votes cast there. The most voters in the historical countries gave their votes to the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates in the electoral regions of Brno and Olomouc, where 4,023, and 3,934 voters, respectively, voted for that list of candidates, constituting in total 0.8% of all valid votes cast in both above stated electoral regions. In Prague, the joint list of candidates obtained 2,550 votes in total, i.e. 0.1% of all votes cast there.¹¹ The joint Hungarian-German

¹¹ In case of Prague, the Capital, both Prague electoral districts (A and B) are stated here together.

list of candidates obtained also more than two thousand votes in the electoral regions of Moravská Ostrava (2,820), Mladá Boleslav (2,301) and Česká Lípa (2,525). In other electoral regions in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, except for the electoral region of Pardubice, more than 1 thousand persons gave their votes to the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates. In 2 out of 14 electoral regions of the historical countries, it was not possible to vote for the joint list of candidates of the Hungarian parties and their minor German coalition partners. Those regions were the electoral regions of Hradec Králové and Uherské Hradiště. But that is logical because those electoral regions had overwhelming majority of Czech population.¹²

In the historical countries of the Czechoslovak Republic, the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates was more successful in the election for the Senate. Within the election for the Senate, the list of candidates number 11 obtained the most votes in the electoral region of Moravská Ostrava where 6,350 voters (0.7%) cast their votes for it. The second largest number of votes was cast for the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates in the electoral region of Brno, where it received about thousand votes less, 5,115 (0.6%) in total, but in the third vote count, it succeeded in occupying one mandate in the second chamber of the National Assembly – the only mandate obtained by that list of candidates in the election for the National Assembly in 1935 in the historical countries. The mandate was occupied by the candidate of the German Democratic Free-Thinking Party (*Deutsche Demokratische Freiheitspartei; DDFP*), the mayor of the city of Liberec, Karl Kostka who had run in the election within the Sudeten German election alliance, SdW, one of the two German election partners of the both Hungarian parliamentary parties, OKSzP and MNP. The joint Hungarian-German list of candidates obtained the same proportion of votes, 0.6%, also in the electoral region of Mladá Boleslav where it got 4,828 votes. The list of candidates number 11

¹² Cf. here, *PS IV. VO*, pp. 10–12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38 and 40; J. MALÍŘ – P. MAREK, *Politické strany. Vývoj politických stran a hnutí v českých zemích a Československu 1861–2004, Part I: period 1861–1938*, Brno 2005, p. 889.

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obtained identical proportions of 0.4% of all valid votes cast in the electoral regions of Louny and Plzeň. It got 3,438 and 2,529 votes, respectively. In the electoral region of Prague, the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates obtained 2,629 votes in the election for the Senate, which constituted 0.2% of all valid votes cast there. Electoral region Hradec Králové was the only one of the seven electoral regions for the election for the Senate in the historical countries of the Czechoslovak Republic where voters could not vote for the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates.¹³

Of course, the joint list of candidates number 11 achieved much more distinctive election results in the election for the Chamber of Deputies in the eastern half of the Republic, in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia where the main representatives of the list of candidates, the two main Hungarian political parties, OKSzP and MNP, ran for the mandates. Among the Slovak electoral regions, OKSzP and MNP obtained the least number of votes, comparable to usual results of the list of candidates number 11 in the historical countries, in the electoral regions of Turčianský Svätý Martin and Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš in the North of Slovakia. The joint Hungarian-German list of candidates won 2,631, and 2,571 voters there, respectively. Less than ten thousand voters gave their votes to the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates in the electoral regions of Trnava – 4,755 and Banská Bystrica – 6,808; less than five thousand valid votes cast in the electoral region of Trnava guaranteed one mandate to the Hungarian parties already. The Hungarian parties obtained the most votes in the electoral region of Nové Zámky where 134,362 (36.7%) voters in total cast their votes for the Hungarian parties, which constituted the absolutely best election result of the list of candidates number 11 at the level of electoral regions in the election for the Senate, guaranteeing it even the first place before the second communists (17.1%) and the third governmental agrarian party members (10.6%). By the number of the valid votes cast for the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates, the electoral region of Košice placed second. In that electoral region, 68,627 (31.4%) voters in total cast

¹³ *S IV. VO*, pp. 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22–23, 24.

their votes for the joint list of candidates number 11, guaranteeing it the first place as well. It is interesting that even in that electoral region with more distinctive number of Hungarian speaking population, the communists placed second (17.8%). The members of the agrarian party took third place there too (14.3%). The Hungarian parties had the third highest number of voters in the electoral region of Uzhhorod in Carpathian Ruthenia, obtaining the above stated 34,247 votes (11%), which guaranteed them the fourth place behind the third Autonomist Bloc, the second governmental agrarian party and the first communists. The Hungarians obtained 10,959 (5%) votes in total also in the electoral region of Prešov, but that number did not bring them any mandate for the Chamber of Deputies. So Hungarian parties obtained mandates in the Chamber of Deputies in four electoral regions in total: Trnava (1), Nové Zámky (4), Košice (3) and Uzhhorod (1), i.e. in electoral regions with considerable representation of the Hungarian minority. But it must be pointed out that, for the electoral region of Trnava, the leader of the Slovak section of OKSZP Augustin (Ágoston) Petrášek became deputy.¹⁴

Similarly to the election for the Chamber of Deputies, the electoral regions in the eastern half of the Republic, i.e. in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia were important for the joint list of candidates number 11 also in the election to the second chamber of the Czechoslovak National Assembly. The joint list of candidates of the Hungarian parties, OKSZP and MNP, obtained most votes in the electoral region of Nové Zámky in the election for the Senate, obtaining 179,454 votes in total, i.e. 34.7%, becoming also overall winner in that electoral region. In other electoral regions, the Hungarian parties obtained markedly less votes. In the electoral region of Uzhhorod, Carpathian Ruthenia, the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates obtained only 30,242 votes, constituting exactly 11% of all valid votes cast there, similarly to the election for the Chamber of Deputies. The third highest number of votes from all electoral regions of the whole eastern half of the Republic was cast for the list of candidates number 11 in the electoral region of Prešov. The joint list

¹⁴ Ibidem, pp. 42–55.

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of candidates of OKSžP and MNP obtained 10,035 (5.2%) votes there. In the Slovak electoral regions with overwhelming majority, Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš and Turčianský Svätý Martin, that list of candidates obtained only 8,497 (3.1%), and 6,715 votes (1.5%), respectively. Only the electoral regions of Nové Zámky in Slovakia (4) and the united electoral region for Carpathian Ruthenia, Uzhhorod (1), brought mandates in the Senate to the Hungarian parties. But thanks to Karl Kostka's success in the electoral region of Brno, the list of candidates number 11 got 6 mandates in total in the second chamber of the National Assembly, but the two main political parties of the Hungarian minority disposed of only 5 senators coming from the election in the East of the republic.¹⁵

In summary, in 1935, 291,831, i.e. 3.6% voters cast their votes for the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates all over Czechoslovakia in the election for the Chamber of Deputies, and 259,832, i.e. also 3.6% in the election for the Senate. But only the candidates of both main political subjects of the list of candidates number 11, OKSžP and MNP obtained mandates in the election for the Chamber of Deputies. Only the Senate constituted an exception, as the above stated mayor of the city of Liberec, Karl Kostka from the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates, occupied a place in the second chamber of the National Assembly, obtaining a mandate in the third vote count within the electoral region in the election for the Senate in Brno.¹⁶

The statewide result of 291,831 valid votes cast in the election for the Chamber of Deputies meant overall eleventh place for the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates. The same place was taken by the list of candidates number 11 also thanks to the 259,832 valid votes cast in the election for the Senate. However, such overall sums of valid votes cast of course are not identical to the number of total votes cast for the two biggest Hungarian minority political parties. In any case, about 27,000 German votes cast in the election for the Chamber of Deputies and about 13 and a half thousand

¹⁵ *S IV. VO*, pp. 26, 28, 30, 32–35.

¹⁶ *ČSS, Volby 1935*, Tab. No. 1, p. 9*; pp. 42–45, 52–53 and 56–57; MALÍŘ – MAREK, p. 887; *S IV. VO*, p. 23.

German votes cast in the election for the Senate in the historical countries must be subtracted for them, as they fell to the candidates of the Sudeten German election alliance, SdW. Thus the Hungarian parties, OKSszP and MNP, counted with about 260,000 votes in the election for the Chamber of Deputies and about 235,000 votes in the election for the Senate obtained in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia. Let's state for comparison that the electoral base of the Hungarian minority opposition parties, OKSszP and MNP, corresponded approximately to the electoral base of the pro-government German Social-Democratic Worker's Party in the Czechoslovak Republic (*Deutsche Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in der Tschechoslovakischen Republik*), voted for by 299,942 voters in total in the election for the Chamber of Deputies and by 271,097 voters in the election for the Senate. Such result placed the German social democrats on the tenth place, before the Hungarian parties. The low and, in fact, insignificant political weight of the main Hungarian political parties in Czechoslovakia, as against the parties of the German minority, is clearly illustrated by the total number of 1,854,652 votes cast for the German parties in the election for the Chamber of deputies. Four German political parties in total run for the parliamentary election in 1935. Additionally to the above stated Sudeten German Party and the German social democrats, also the German Christian-Social People's Party (*Deutsche christlichsoziale Volkspartei*) and the Farmers' Union (*Bund der Landwirte*). The two latter parties (similarly to the Czechoslovak German social democrats) were, however, in contrast to the Hungarian parties, pro-government or governmental parties which (including the German social democrats), obtained 605,122 votes in the election for the Chamber of deputies and 556,193 votes in the election for the Senate in 1935, which constituted about twice as much votes as those obtained from the total number of voters supporting the Hungarian parties in the election.¹⁷

The election results of OKSszP in the three preceding parliamentary elections were as follows: 1920 – 6 mandates (4 in the Chamber of Deputies and 2 in the Senate); at that time, the party ran under the name of Hungarian

¹⁷ ČSS, *Volby 1935*, Tab. No. 1, p. 9* and *S IV. VO*, p. 10.

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and German Christian-Socialist Party, *Magyar és Német Keresztény Szocialista Párt*); 1925 – also 6 mandates (4 in the Chamber of Deputies and 2 in the Senate); and 1929 – 7 mandates (5 in the Chamber of Deputies and 2 in the Senate). The preceding election results of MNP were as follows: 1920 – 3 mandates (2 in the Chamber of Deputies and 1 in the Senate); the Party ran in the first parliamentary election under the name of Land Hungarian Party of Smallholders and Farmers, in short Hungarian Smallholder Party (*Magyar Kisgazda Párt MKP*); one deputy mandate was occupied by MNP through the list of candidates of the Christian-Socialist Party in the electoral region of Košice (MKP ran then only in the electoral region of Nové Zámky); 1925 – 8 mandates¹⁸ (5 in the Chamber of Deputies and 3 in the Senate); and 1929 – 8 mandates¹⁹ (4 in each chamber of the National Assembly).²⁰

Thus the political force of OKSzP and MNP in the political scene of the First Republic was in essence constant in the long term. The election results of both main Hungarian minority parties in the parliamentary election in 1935 actually did not strongly differ from the electoral statistics from the preceding competitions for the deputy and senator mandates in the legislative body. The Hungarian parties entered the fourth and, unfortunately, last term of office of the National Assembly of the First Republic with one mandate less. Both Hungarian parties obtained 3% mandates in the Chamber of Deputies and 3.3% mandates in the Senate in total.

Thus the political force of OKSzP and MNP in the political scene of the First Republic was in essence constant in the long term. The election results

¹⁸ Including the representative of the Zipser German Party. The political party of Zipser Germans was organizationally affiliated with MNP. See more below.

¹⁹ Ditto.

²⁰ Cf. ČSS, *Volby 1920*, Tab. No. 4, p. 19*; ČSS – *Volume 31. Series I. Volby (Election), Book 1, Volby do poslanecké sněmovny v listopadu 1925*, Praha 1926, Tab. No. 2, p. 9*; ČSS – *Volume 70. Series I. Volby (Election), Book 4, Volby do poslanecké sněmovny v říjnu 1929* (hereinafter *Volby 1929*), Praha 1930, Tab. No. 1, p. 9*; ČSS – *Volume 134. Series I. Volby (Election), Book 5, Volby do poslanecké sněmovny v květnu 1935*, Praha 1936, Tab. No. 1, p. 9*; *Národní shromáždění republiky Československé v prvním desetiletí*, Praha 1928, pp. 1234–1237 and *Národní shromáždění republiky Československé v druhém desetiletí (1928–1938)* (hereinafter *NS RČS v druhém desetiletí*), Praha 1938, pp. 930–932.

of both main Hungarian minority parties in the parliamentary election in 1935 actually did not strongly differ from the electoral statistics from the preceding competitions for the deputy and senator mandates in the legislative body. The Hungarian parties entered the fourth and, unfortunately, last term of office of the National Assembly of the First Republic with one mandate less, but in the election, their list of candidates obtained some votes more than had been the case in 1929.²¹ Both Hungarian parties obtained 3% mandates in the Chamber of Deputies and 3.3% mandates in the Senate in total.

The election result of 1935 brought one mandate less in the National Assembly to the Hungarian political parties, as compared to the preceding term of office. Both main Hungarian political parties sent 14 legislators in total to the parliament in 1935: 9 deputies and 5 senators. Nevertheless, the whole joint Hungarian-German list of candidates occupied 15 mandates in total in the election, since – as stated above – one mandate in the Senate was obtained by the candidate of the Sudeten German electoral alliance, SdW. It is also necessary to mention the fact that, from organizational perspective, MNP had incorporated also the political party of Zipser Germans (*Zipser Deutsche Partei; ZDP*) that had always sent one representative to the Parliament in the list of candidates of the Hungarian opposition parties; since 1925, that representative had always been the president of Zipser Germans, Andor Nitsch who had run in the electoral region of Košice. The two Hungarian parties created joint parliament clubs in the Parliament, for the second time in the history of interwar Czechoslovak legislative body. They did it for the first time only at urging of Budapest after the third parliamentary election in 1929.²²

²¹ In 1929, the joint Hungarian list of candidates obtained 257,231 (3.5%) votes in the election for the Chamber of Deputies and 233,772 (3.6%) votes in the election for the Senate. Cf. ČSS, *Válby 1929*, Tab. No. 1, p. 9*.

²² Cf. Úřední list republiky československé (hereinafter ÚLRČS), Vol. 1935, Is. 124, 28 May, *Výhláška ústřední volební komise při ministerstvu vnitra o výsledku voleb do Národního shromáždění – A. Poslanecká sněmovna – Krajinská křesťansko-sociální strana a maďarská národní, Sudetendeutsche Wahlblock (kandidátní listina č. 11)*, p. 3388 and *B. Senát – Krajinská křesťansko-sociální strana a maďarská národní, Sudetendeutsche Wahlblock (kandidátní listina č. 11)* p. 3391. Or see also *NS RČS v druhém desetiletí*, pp. 928 and 932.

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In the fourth term of office of the First-Republic National Assembly, the Hungarian minority political parties were represented by the following legislators: deputy and president, Count János Esterházy, OKSZP (electoral region of Košice); deputy and mayor of Nové Zámky, János Holota, MNP (electoral region of Nové Zámky), deputy and executive president of MNP, Andor Jaross (electoral region of Nové Zámky), deputy Endre Korláth, MNP (electoral region of Uzhhorod), deputy Augustin (Ágoston) Petrášek, OKSZP (electoral region of Trnava), deputy Géza Porubszky, OKSZP (electoral region of Nové Zámky), deputy József Szent-Ivány, MNP (electoral region of Košice), deputy and president of joint deputy club of Hungarian parties, Géza Szüllő, OKSZP (electoral region of Nové Zámky), senator Kálmán Füßy, MNP (electoral region of Nové Zámky), deputy Andor Nitsch, ZDP (electoral region of Košice), senator Károly Hokky, OKSZP (electoral region of Uzhhorod), senator Miklós Pajor, OKSZP (electoral region of Nové Zámky), senator, president of MNP and president of joint club of senators of OKSZP and MNP, József Törköly (electoral region of Nové Zámky), and senator Imre Turchányi, OKSZP (electoral region of Nové Zámky).²³

The election results of the parliamentary election in 1935 presaged the turbulent development in the oncoming period that became a crisis period and, at the same time, a fatal period for the First Czechoslovak Republic. Nevertheless, the re-elected Prime Minister, Malypetr, acceding to the office, did not see any essential change to disadvantage of the governmental policy in the loss of total 25 mandates on the side of the pro-government parliamentary majority, as compared to the results of the preceding election of 1929. The Prime Minister pointed out that 17 mandates out of the above stated 25 were obtained by pro-government German parties. Based on that result, the Prime Minister stated that *“the vast majority of the Czechoslovak nation supported the existing coalition parties that had clearly declared at the election call already that they considered*

²³ Cf. ÚLRČS, *ibidem*, pp. 3388 and 3391, and V. ZÁDĚRA, *Národní shromáždění ve čtvrtém volebním období. Po parlamentních volbách z 19. května 1935*, Praha 1935, pp. 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 54, 58, 61, 62 and 63.

*it their obligation also for the future to cooperate both in legislation and in administration of the state with all those who wanted to joint such effort”.*²⁴

But it must be mentioned that the interpretation of the election results did not offer, with regard to the general mood in frontier regions, any picture that would be comforting for the Republic, particularly as compared to the results of the parliamentary election of 1929 when the pro-government German Social-Democratic Worker’s Party with 6.9 % or 21 mandates was the strongest Czechoslovak German party, out of the German parties running for the Chamber of Deputies. In 1929, the pro-government German Christian socialists, together with the German trader party and the German agrarians, i.e. the German Farmers’ Union together with their smaller coalition election partners²⁵ obtained 10.1 % votes in total in the election for the Chamber of Deputies, which brought them 30 mandates.²⁶ So the pro-government German parties had occupied 51 mandates in total in the Chamber of Deputies in 1929, i.e. 7 mandates more than the Sudeten German Party after the election of 1935. The German nationalist opposition parties had obtained only 15 mandates in the election of 1929 (!).²⁷ That means that only 22.7 % deputies sent to the

²⁴ *Těsnopisecké zprávy poslanecké sněmovny* (hereinafter TZ PS), Vol. I, IV. volební období (term of office No. IV), Schůze 1–30 (1st – 30th Session 1–30). 1.–2. Zasedání (1st – 2nd Meeting), 2. schůze (2nd session), 18. června 1935 (18 June 1935), Prohlášení předsedy vlády Malypetra o programu vlády, p. 2.

²⁵ In the parliament election of 1929, the Farmers’ Union ran together with the Party of German Working and Economic Solidarity and with the Carpathian German Party. The name of the joint list of candidates was German Election Association of Political Parties of the Union of German Farmers and Rural Traders, German Working and Economic Solidarity and Carpathian German Party, in short German Election Association (*Deutsche Wahlgemeinschaft der politischen Parteien des Bundes der Landwirte und des ländlichen Gewerbes, der deutschen Arbeits- und Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft und der Karpathendeutschen Partei*). Cf. *NS RČS v druhém desetiletí*, p. 907.

²⁶ Out of the joint list of candidates of the German Christian socialists and German traders for the election for the Chamber of Deputies, the Christian socialists obtained 11 and the German traders 3 mandates. Out of the list of candidates of the German Election Association for the Election for the Chamber of Deputies, only the Farmers’ Union with 12 mandates and the Party of German Working and Economic Solidarity with 4 deputy seats obtained mandates. Cf. *NS RČS v druhém desetiletí*, pp. 907 and 913.

²⁷ *ČSS, Volby 1929*, Tab. No. 1, p. 9*.

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Chamber of Deputies by the German parties in 1929 belonged to the German nationalist bloc, or to the German minority opposition direction. The situation in the Senate was similar. In the election to the second chamber of the National Assembly in 1929, the pro-government German Social-Democratic Worker's Party obtained also 6.9 % votes, like in the election for the Chamber of Deputies. They brought 11 senator seats to the party. The German Christian socialists and the German agrarians obtained 10.4 % votes in the election for the senate, which constituted also in that case virtually the same proportion of votes as in the election for the Chamber of Deputies. That number of votes obtained brought to the parties 17 Senate mandates in total.²⁸ The nationalists obtained only 4 mandates in the second chamber in 1929, which constituted only 12.5% of all mandates occupied by the candidates of the German political parties.²⁹

The above stated clear victory of the autonomists in Slovakia did not guarantee much peace in the beginning new term of office either. The strengthening national unity of the Czechoslovak Germans and the growing autonomist movement in Slovakia could hardly moderate the post-election parliamentary declaration of Prime Minister Milan Hodža from the agrarian party that the executive would respect only the political opposition against the majority and the government, but not the political opposition against the state.³⁰ However, the political opposition against the majority and the government in Czechoslovakia was, in fact, "opposition against the state" at that time. Based on the political attitudes of the opposition parties and on the

²⁸ Out of the joint list of candidates of the German Christian socialists and German traders for the election for the Senate, the Christian socialists obtained 6 and the German traders 2 mandates. Out of the list of candidates of the German Election Association for the Election for the Senate, also only the Farmers' Union with 8 mandates and the Party of German Working and Economic Solidarity with 1 deputy seat obtained mandates. Cf. *NS RČS v druhém desetiletí*, pp. 907 and 913.

²⁹ While two nationalistically oriented German political parties, the German National Socialist Worker's Party (*Deutsche nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei; DNSAP*) and the German National Party (*Deutsche Nationalpartei; DNP*) and the Sudeten German Agricultural Union entered the Chamber of Deputies, only DNSAP entered the Senate. *ČSS, Vólby 1929*, Tab. No. 1, p. 9*.

³⁰ TZ PS, *ibidem*, pp. 2–3.

immediate political development, it can be stated in essence that, out of the eight million votes cast in the election of 1935, about 2,100,000 voters, i.e. about a fourth of voters of Czechoslovakia of that time, including the voters supporting the joint Hungarian-German list of candidates number 11, voted for so called “opposition against the state”.

Abstract

The study maps in detail the election results of the joint election list of candidates of both opposition and negativistic Hungarian minority political parties, the Land Christian-Socialist Party (*Országos Keresztény Szocialista Párt; OKSzP*) and the Hungarian National Party (*Magyar Nemzeti Párt; MNP*) in the parliamentary election held in May of 1935. The fourth parliamentary election held in 1935 constituted the last election for the Chamber of Deputies and for the Senate of the National Assembly of the First Czechoslovak Republic. The election presaged the turbulent development in the oncoming period that became a crisis period and, at the same time, a fatal period for the First Czechoslovak Republic. The results of the parliamentary election of 1935 brought considerable surprise. The opposition and, above all, negativistic Sudeten German Party (*Sudetendeutsche Partei; SdP*) became the general winner of the parliamentary election at national level, both in the election for the Chamber of Deputies and in the election for the Senate. The election results of both opposition and negativistic Hungarian minority political parties did not markedly differ from their election results achieved in the preceding election held in 1929. Additionally, both Hungarian parties achieved one mandate less in the Parliament, with 14 mandates in total, but 15 candidates elected from their list of candidates went to the National Assembly, similarly to 1929. Both Hungarian parties had participated in the election of 1935 in coalition together with smaller political subjects of the German minority: with the Union of Germans Settled in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia (*Einheit des Bodenständigen Deutschtums in Slovensko und Podkarpatská Rus*) and with the Sudeten German Election Bloc (*Sudetendeutscher Wahlblock; SdW*).

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That was also a reason for which the election of 1935 allowed voting for the joint list of candidates of OKSzP and MNP also in the electoral regions in the historical countries, i.e. in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. One Senate mandate was achieved by a candidate of the Sudeten German Election bloc, SdW, in the electoral region of Brno. But the parliamentary representation of both political parties of the Hungarian minority, as compared to the political parties of the German minority, was virtually negligible – the Hungarian parties achieved 3% mandates in total and in the Senate, 3,3% mandates.

Keywords

History; 20th Century; Politics; Czechoslovakia; Hungarians; Parliamentary Election; Land Christian-Socialist Party; Hungarian National Party