

P O L I T I C A L M O S A I C

DURING THE COMING NEGOTIATIONS HUNGARY WILL ENDEAVOUR TO VOICE THE LEGITIMATE CLAIMS OF THE HUNGARIAN NATION

SOME PASSAGES OF THE SPEECH MADE BY ADMIRAL NICHOLAS DE HORTHY WHEN OPENING THE NEW PARLIAMENT

The new Hungarian Parliament assembled on April 28th. On the following day Parliament was opened in state by Admiral Nicholas de Horthy, Regent of Hungary, who made a long speech, from which we quote the passages of importance from the point of view of international politics: —

„The discussions of Parliament are beginning at a period of very stirring and significant events in the international situation. The political and economic conditions brought into being by the treaties of peace have not only failed to further the advance of humanity in respect of co-operation and development, but have actually resulted in widening the breaches between the peoples.

„The treaties of peace drafted one-sidedly and arbitrarily cannot rationally be called peace treaties at all.

„Spiritual tranquillity and peace, the calm and repose ensuing from prosperity and the restoration of goodwill and affection between the peoples, cannot be expected until the nations — and in particular the Great Powers — finally make up their minds to seek the solution of a peace by agreement. The power of the bloody memories of the world conflagration of a few years back will surely prevent people thinking seriously of war or desiring to provoke any fresh catastrophe of such dimensions... But in order to maintain peace and realise genuine peace the peoples must be enabled to live side by side in mutual understanding and charity as free and equal Members of a society of nations based upon justice.

„The universal economic and social crisis due to the prevalence of mistrust, unrest and dissensions, is still in evidence and unfortunately still continues to make it impossible for our country to concentrate all its energy on the work of building its future.

„Most of the exertions made by society, the nation and the Government have to be continuously concentrated on keeping the nation's ship clear of dan-

gerous rocks and saving it from being engulfed by the waves.

„This endeavour of ours — thanks to the guidance of the Providence which watches over the fate of the nation and to the pristine virtues of our people — has so far proved fully successful; and, although society has had to suffer gravely, the nation has so far preserved intact its power of resistance to the effects of the world crisis in evidence in Hungary. Our society has not only proved able to maintain its balance of mind, to ensure the prevalence of order in the country and tranquillity, while never for a moment — even in the days of the gravest hardships — losing its faith in a better future; it has proved able — even in the face of serious economic and social difficulties — to maintain the conditions essential to a peaceful and fruitful settlement.

„In the leading European States people are coming to realise more and more fully that a state of equilibrium and consolidation must be brought about in the relations between the several nations. The universal crisis in economic life is also a warning of the necessity of co-operation, at the same time allowing us to hope that perhaps the common misery may make up for the omissions so far to the debit of human progress and human goodwill.

„The Hungarian nation is ready to take its share in the great work of bringing about European peace; but that peace will not deserve the name until it is firmly established on the foundations of right and justice. That is why, while not confining our attention solely to the interests of our country and our nation, we nevertheless believe we are serving the cause of real and genuine peace by our endeavour to voice the legitimate claims of our nation during the coming negotiations to be carried on with the object of creating a European settlement. In addition to solving the daily problems of our national life — problems which are continually increasing in gravity —, we must without delay set to work to enhance the inner vital forces of the nation.”

BETWEEN VENICE AND ROME

The Peace Treaties of Paris have divided the States of Europe into two categories. The first place is held by the countries whose sovereignty is intact, the second by those which, as losers, were dismissed from the council tables at Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon with curtailed rights of self-determination. When the victorious Powers embodied this distinction in treaties, they really set up new categories, the "everlasting" validity of which, however, may be called in question.

Even the Great Powers themselves have come to recognize this. They have been forced to see the dangers inherent in this situation. They have had to

admit that the civilized countries of Europe cannot live in two mutually hostile camps; that right, justice, and self-determination are fundamental principles of international law which cannot be banished from international life for any length of time without grave consequences resulting.

Fifteen years have elapsed since the peace treaties were signed, and during this time — half a generation — the work of European diplomacy has been confined practically to attempts to establish the peace guarantees which were destroyed by the arbitrary peace treaties, or rather, to transform guarantees depending upon military hegemony into political and ethical ones. That

these endeavours have so far proved abortive, although a series of multifarious conferences have been held (to end in barren discussions), is due principally to the fact that a section of the Powers involved, misunderstanding their own real interests, stubbornly adhere to certain mistaken ideas and injustices, falsely convinced that a commonsense and sound revision of those ideas would result in the collapse of the whole edifice of peace. On the contrary, nothing but a spirit of understanding and compromise will ever be able to discover a way out of the European crisis, and create a lasting and productive peace among the distressed nations of this blood-stained Continent.

In the resolutions of the Stresa Conference, especially in point VI, appears a glimmer of hope, an encouraging promise. We think of Guglielmo Ferrero, who said that the European equilibrium can only be restored, if the laws originate with those who feel it their duty to keep them. The will to do so and the best of intentions are strongly manifest in the Stresa resolutions; and although attempts have been made, and will continue to be made, by certain parties to obscure and diminish the importance of the spirit animating the Stresa Conference, there can be no manner of doubt that ultimately a better understanding, the historical genius imbued with higher ideals which has never hindered, but always furthered, the cause of mankind, must gain the upper hand.

For indeed the problems of Europe's future which are to be discussed at the Danube Conference in Rome are charged with a tension extending to the whole community of mankind. Austria and Hungary are the States primarily affected by the Rome Conference. With the deplorable breaking-up of the Monarchy, the old community of interests, it is true, ceased formally, but in substance and reality it continues to exist unchanged and intact; for the rise or decline of both countries depends practically on the workings and prosperity of the same historical, geographical, political, and economic forces. As this is undeniably true, nothing is more natural than that they must fight with united efforts in the coming — certainly not easy — diplomatic struggles to obtain the results desired, — reparation and justice.

Austria, as well as Hungary, must at last be accorded what is hers by right — uncurtailed political sovereignty. It is absurd and out of keeping with the essence and spirit of civilization that, even today, there should be civilized nations living side by side which may not mould their own lives on the pattern of their own inner laws and in conformity with their own tastes and wills. True, there have been faint attempts of late to reconcile coercion with sovereignty; but it is patent that these attempts are doomed to failure, and that no logical conciliatory results are to be expected to result from them.

It is said that the question of the military equality of the defeated minor States will not figure among the Agenda of the Rome Conference. According to certain sources of information, that item was cancelled to please the Little Entente, in spite of the fact that in Stresa the Great Powers resolved upon discussing it, and made their standpoint public in the report issued. In point of fact it is difficult to conceive how, for instance, Austria's independence is to be discussed and guaranteed, if the military side of the question is entirely excluded, or how a reassuring settlement, signifying not only relative but also absolute guarantees, is to be arrived at. The pledge of outside support, whatsoever form it takes, is not a sufficient guarantee, if cardinal internal requirements, such as military sovereignty, are lacking. Military sovereignty is as

constituent a part of full political sovereignty as is cultural or economic sovereignty. Independent national life without military sovereignty is inconceivable; so much so that the country where it fails may be considered to lack sovereignty in every other sphere as well.

We cannot believe that the Great Powers, who, after all, hold the fate of Europe in their hands, are contemplating half-measures of this sort. We cannot believe that, for the last word on the question of how the Danubian problem is to be solved will be spoken — England and France consenting — by Signor Mussolini. And the leader of the Italian nation, who, without doubt, is the most outstanding personality of the twentieth century, has been blessed by Providence with the exceptional quality of being able to penetrate to the core of things, to put his finger on the source and root of the trouble, and to translate his will and resolutions into vigorous action. This he always does in a spirit of equity, with an eye to the great ideal of peace. Signor Mussolini's extraordinary significance in international politics arises just from the fact that he has been working long to achieve harmony between the two decisive factors in the world's history, peace and justice, and to reduce them to a common denominator. His endeavours have already been crowned with one result, one stage of the journey has been reached, namely the Consultative Agreement concluded between Italy, Austria and Hungary on March 17th 1934.

Recently, on the occasion of the national labour day and the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, Signor Mussolini delivered a speech in which he declared that the diplomatic preparations for the Danube Conference would be in keeping with the spirit of the Italian-Austro-Hungarian protocol, which prescribes consultative negotiations between the three countries. The first of these consultations took place quite recently in Venice, where at Signor Mussolini's suggestion Signor Suvich, Italian Foreign Secretary, Baron Berseer-Waldeneog, Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Coloman Kánya, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, exchanged views on the question of a Danube Agreement.

The Danube Conference will be an event of major importance closely affecting all three countries. It is but natural, therefore, that those statesmen who are primarily responsible for the idea of a Danube Agreement should be anxious to make their points of view known to one another, and to decide upon the procedure to be adopted. In this they were completely successful, for the official report of the conversations shows a complete unanimity and identity of opinion concerning the questions figuring among the Agenda. In view, therefore, of the similar policies of the three Governments, Italy, Austria, and Hungary may be expected to take joint action at the Danube Conference; and this will greatly facilitate the achievement of positive results. Much, of course, depends on the attitude of the other negotiating Parties, in particular of the Little Entente. Do the States of the Little Entente desire to create the possibilities of productive co-operation? or are they still determined to pursue the negative policy to which they have hitherto adhered, and which has been so disastrous for all the peoples of the Danube Valley? The laconic official report on the Balkan Conference held at Bucharest does not give us any particular reason to be hopeful. "y"

OPENING OF THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN CUSTOMS OFFICE IN FIUME

Another sign that political and economic relations between Italy and Hungary are becoming closer, was afforded by the formal opening on April 23rd of the Royal Hungarian Customs Office in Fiume, that Adriatic port which prior to the Great War belonged as a "*corpus separatum*" to the Crown of St. Stephen, and which Italy secured through D'Annunzio's famous *coup*. The pomp of the formal opening was enhanced by the presence of Italy's representative, Signor Thalon di Revel and of Dr. Tihamér Fabinyi, Hungarian Minister of Finance.

The Italian Minister of Finance, addressing his Hungarian colleague, said:

"The cordial friendship — by now a traditional sentiment — existing between our Governments and our nations grows stronger and firmer every day. It is not only that we have come to understand each other better: an important and active co-operation in the spheres of both politics and economics has been established. The *fête* with which we are celebrating the opening of the Hungarian Customs Office in Fiume is not merely a proof of the interest the Fascist Government takes in the inhabitants of the Quarnero, it is also the completion of the efforts made by the Italian and Hungarian Governments to add to the commercial connections between the two countries. These connections have, in the course of time, grown stronger and stronger, thanks to treaties resting on common economic interests. These treaties, the results of preliminary investigations conducted with the greatest understanding and freedom, have been brought to

completion today. Fiume, which for centuries has been Italian in spirit, belongs economically to Hungary, as her only outlet to the sea. This explains why every measure promoting the passage of Hungarian commodities through that port not only brings large profits to Fiume, but also satisfies the demands of Hungarian commerce. Primarily it is this understanding, this reconciliation and parallel progress of Hungarian and Italian interests which was realised in the Agreements of July 25th 1927 and May 14th 1934, the crowning achievement of which was the establishment of a Hungarian Customs Office, in Fiume."

In his reply Dr. Tihamér Fabinyi, Hungarian Minister of Finance, amongst other things said:

"The carrying into effect of the paragraph in the Hungarian-Italian commercial treaty relating to Fiume, is a new and decisive step forward in the friendly intercourse existing between the two countries, which we are mutually desirous to extend and consolidate. The present event is a further proof of the friendship which for centuries has existed between Hungary and Italy, and which now has discovered new possibilities of growth in the field of practical achievement, to the benefit of both countries. The reason why I wished to be present at today's ceremony was that I might have the opportunity to emphasise how important it is that Hungarian trade should be diverted to this port; for in the past, in consequence of its connection with the world-markets, Fiume played a most important role in our foreign trade."

"y"

YUGOSLAV "CALL TO ARMS" "IN DEFENCE OF THE ONLY OPEN AND WARM SEA OF SLAVDOM"

At the general meeting of the Zagreb District Group of the Yugoslav Fleet Association named *Jadranska Straža* (Guardian of the Adriatic) held on April 14th, two speeches were made which — particularly at the present juncture, when in connection with the adjustment, on the basis of mutual understanding and ready co-operation, of the inter-State relations of the Danube basin and therewith of the Central European question the *rapprochement* between Italy and Yugoslavia has become one of the leading political problems of the day — may justly expect to excite the interest of foreign public opinion.

Dr. Nikola Depolo, vice-president of the Zagreb Supreme Court, made a speech in which he emphasised that in all international questions the most important factor next to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea was *the Adriatic, now clouded over by the lowering clouds of conquest and imperialism*. For that reason the defence at all costs of the Yugoslav sea was the prime duty of all Yugoslavs, — that to be done by developing the navy on a scale enabling it to defend against the "conquerors" the whole Yugoslav seaboard, from Susak to Bojana. But the speech made by the retired Admiral Nikola Stankovitch was even more categorical. In his opinion *the future, not only of the Yugoslav people, but of the whole of Slavdom depends upon the Adriatic, seeing that the Adriatic is the Slavs' only open and warm sea. Consequently Yugoslavia must defend the longest front — that of the seaboard*

— *by building an adequate fleet, the only effective means of defending the Yugoslav seacoast*. The fleet to be built of a final strength of 100,000 tons must include all types and classes of ships from those of 8000 tons fitted with heavy guns; and for the purpose an annual amount of 500 million dinars must be included in the ordinary Budget of the country.

That Yugoslavia should desire to secure the safety of her seaboard by the development on a large scale of her fleet, and that she should not be afraid of making serious sacrifices in the interest of that programme, cannot be taken exception to except by persons who are politically preoccupied or entertain hostile intentions. It is quite a different matter, however whether it was wise or opportune to stress the alleged necessity of developing the Yugoslav fleet just on the eve of negotiations aiming at bringing about the reconciliation and mutual agreement of the peoples? we may doubt whether it was wise or opportune at such a moment to speak of the Adriatic as the sea of Slavdom and in connection therewith to charge with imperialism Italy — for in the nature of things and under the given geographical conditions the idea at the back of the minds of the speakers and of the whole *Jadranska Straža* and indeed of the Serbs generally must have been that they were thinking of Mussolini's country — the country a reconciliation with which is a vital political and economic interest of Yugoslavia.

RESULTS OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK ELECTIONS

Taking the Parties in the order of the number of votes received, the results of the parliamentary elections held on May 19th were as follows:

Sudeta German Party	1,249,497	44	204,096	—
Czech Agrarian (Republican) Party	1,176,517	45	1,105,429	46
Czecho-Slovak Social Democratic Party	1,034,804	38	963,312	39
Communist Party	849,885	30	753,444	29
Czecho-Slovak National Socialists (Beneš)	755,931	28	767,571	32
Czecho-Slovak Catholic People's Party	615,851	22	623,522	25
Hlinka's Autonomist Block	564,267	22	425,052	19
National Unity Party (Kramář—Stribrny)	456,358	17	70,857	18
Czecho-Slovak Artisan Party	448,004	17	291,238	12
German Social Democrats	299,925	11	506,750	21
General Christian Socialist Party, Magyar National Party and the Sudeta German Block	291,828	9	257,231	9
Fascists (Gajda)	167,440	6	—	—
German Christian Socialists	162,707	6	348,097	11
German Farmers Alliance (Bund der Landwirte)	142,388	5	396,383	12
National Alliance of State Officials and Employees	10,212	—	—	—
Debtors Party	5,961	—	—	—

The senatorial elections, on the whole, show the same results; for the only important difference between the parliamentary and the senatorial elections is that the active franchise age limit is 21 years for the former and 24 for the latter.

An examination of the above data enables us to draw the following political conclusions.

All the Czech Government Parties have sustained losses in the number of their seats. The Party to suffer most was that of Dr. Beneš, Foreign Minister (National Socialist Party). Special mention must be made of the fact that the *Agrarian Party*, whose star has been in the ascendant ever since 1920, also suffered losses. Among the Opposition Parties the greatest advance has been made by the *Fascists*, whose leader, the Legionary General *Gajda* (of no great or glorious fame), was deprived of his high office as Staff Commander and of his General's rank by Beneš, and who has ever since been a mortal enemy of the Czech Foreign Minister. The *Czech Artisan Party*, a moderate opposition group, has also made great forward strides! The "*National Unity*" Party, the adherents of *Kramář*, former Prime Minister, and of *Stribrny*, former Minister, — both implacable enemies of the Foreign Minister, — suffered a slight loss instead of the gain expected.

In the German camp the *Sudeta German Party*, which was not represented in Parliament during the last cycle, managed to capture almost two-thirds of the Czecho-Slovak German votes (including Czech Party votes). It has become the largest party in the country, and although it has one seat less than the Czech Agrarian Party, that is only because the election law of 1920 provided in good time that the constituencies should be rearranged so as to favour the interests of the Czechs and prejudice those of the national minorities. The German — so-called — Activist Parties, which for a shorter or longer period were represented in Government, suffered tremendous losses. This is true particularly of the *German Agrarian Party*, which has lost almost two-thirds of its seats. But the losses of the *German Social Democrats*, who were represented in the Cabinet by a Czech minister, have also been very severe, as have those of the *German Christian Socialists*, who from 1926 till 1929 were also represented in the Cabinet, but afterwards joined the Opposition.

Hlinka's Slovak Catholic Autonomist Party, which was joined by the Ruthenian Autonomists (*Kurtjak Party*), the Poles, and the Slovak National Party

(mainly Protestant in character), obtained about 33% more votes and three seats more than at the last previous elections.

The two Magyar Parties, the *General Christian Socialist* and the *Magyar National Party*, which were joined by the German Nationalist Party dissolved in 1933 and by several minor German groups closely related to the latter, not only retained the number of their seats, but also captured an increased number of votes, and did so in spite of the pressure brought to bear against them. (With the tacit approval of the police their mass meeting in Kassa was broken up by the Czech Government Parties aided by the Communists; a considerable number of their adherents were left out of the poll register, etc. etc.)

In conclusion it must be noted that the number of votes obtained by the *Communists* increased about 13%, that meaning that the increase in votes was greater than the rise in the number of electors.

Undoubtedly the most striking result of the elections was the great victory won by the *Sudeta German Party*. The organization of this Party did not gather greater impetus until the autumn of 1933, when the Czecho-Slovak Government dissolved the German National Socialist and the German National Parties. The adherents of the dissolved "Nazi" Party then joined the movement set on foot by *Conrad Henlein*, a teacher of gymnastics in Asch, and attracted to their group increasingly large masses of Czecho-Slovak Germans. Using very clever tactics *Conrad Henlein* managed to avoid the dissolution of his Party, but the impression remained that he was Hitler's deputy in Czecho-Slovakia. It is worth remembering that *Henlein's* propaganda has borne incomparably less fruit in Slovakia and Ruthenia, that is, in Magyar territories, than in the so-called "historical" provinces. The reason is obvious: the Germans of Slovakia and Ruthenia, who when these territories belonged to Hungary exhibited exemplary patriotism, are far removed from the mentality of the Sudeta Germans, and consequently from Pan-German aspirations.

Another important aspect of the election balance-sheet is that the *present Government coalition*, which consists of Czech Agrarians, Social Democrats, National Socialists, People's Party Catholics, and German Agrarians and Social Democrats, *did not manage to obtain a majority*. The result, in all probability, will be that the Czech Artisan Party, which hitherto, in any case, was only moderately Opposition, will be taken

into the Government; on the other hand the two German Ministers, or at least one of them, must be retained in the Cabinet, unless they are to be replaced by Beneš' enemies, Kramář and Štrbny, or perhaps

by the Autonomist Hlinka. So much is certain: the normal government of that typically nationality state, Czecho-Slovakia, promises to be more difficult in the new parliamentary cycle than it was before. "y"

THE YUGOSLAV ELECTIONS

The Yugoslav National Assembly (Skupstina) elections ordained by the Jeftić Government were held on May 5th. The general lists of Svetislav Hodžera's Yugoslav People's Party and of the Socialist Party, which had been reorganized on lines laid down by Zivko Topalović, were rejected by the central election committee because of formal irregularities and errors, so that only the lists of four Parties figured at the elections. 1. Jeftić, Prime Minister's general list, 2. the United Opposition Party under the leadership of Dr. Vlatko Maček, composed of the adherents of the Parties dissolved on January 6th 1929, namely the Maček-Pribičević Democratic Croatian Peasant Party, Ljuba Davidović's (former Prime Minister) Democratic Party, Joča Jovanović's (former minister and ambassador) Serb Peasant Party and Mehmed Spaho's (former minister) Bosnian Mohammadan Party, 3. Demeter Ljotić's (former minister) and 4. Božidar Maximović's (former minister) general lists.

The three months' electioneering campaign — if so it can be called — was not a free contest between parties enjoying equal rights for the confidence and support of the electors. Only the adherents of the Government Party were allowed the right of assembly, and the press was at their exclusive disposal. The opposition was forced to organize in secret, could not avail itself of the press for electioneering propaganda, and was only permitted to hold very few public meetings. The terrorist methods employed by the way the censor muzzled the press, are best characterized by the fact that news about the few preparations

the opposition could make for the elections, about the leading members of the opposition and about the measures taken all along the line by the authorities to restrict the free movements of the Opposition candidates, reached foreign countries almost solely through the agency of the special correspondents of the "Times", the "Daily Herald" and the "News Chronicle".

After these preliminaries, with a system of open ballot and the great advantages ensured every Government by the election law and procedure, the victory of the Government Party was a foregone conclusion from the outset. The struggle was practically only between the Prime Minister's Party and the Opposition united under Maček's leadership, as we can see from the results. Of the 3,829,274 electors on the polling registers 2,778,172 voted, while 1,051,102, — i. e. 27.5% — did not avail themselves of their franchise rights.

The votes registered were divided as follows:

Government list	738,390,
Maček list	983,248,
Maximović list	32,720
Ljotić list	23,814.

Taking the Banates separately we get the following figures (the first number shows the number of Government Party votes, the second those cast for Maček's list).

Drave Banate (formerly Slovenia)	125,724	—	22,489
Save Banate (the greater part of former Croatia-Slavonia	177,789	—	405,356
Vrbas Banate	119,150	—	91,979
Littoral Banate (Dalmatia, inhabitants 90% Croatian)	65,609	—	111,993
Drina Banate	204,427	—	90,890
Zeta Banate (formerly Montenegro)	154,074	—	30,633
Danube Banate (the area where the greater part of the Magyar and German minorities live)	348,485	—	121,595
Morava Banate	255,640	—	54,601
Vardar Banate	255,519	—	43,981
Belgrade-Zemun-Pancevo municipal ward	31,973	—	973

In the Save and Littoral Banates Maček's list won a decisive victory. The figures quoted above are proof enough of this, but another circumstance supports the assertion; for all the leading Government politicians in those two Banates, including Dr. Marko Kozulj, Minister of Public Architecture, Dr. Ljudevit Auer, Minister of Physical Culture, Demeter Vujić, Minister of Communications and Traffic, Karlo Kovačević, former vice-president of the Skupstina (a renegade from the Peasant Party), Dr. Grga Anđelić, former minister and ambassador, the priest Matica and Nikola Preka, former minister, suffered a humiliating defeat.

The Constitution, the law regulating the formation of societies, and the election law, do not permit the national minorities to form separate political parties. The Magyar minority, numbering half a million souls, was allowed only one candidate in the Government list, in the person of the renegade Dr. Gabriel Szántó, whom the Magyar electors were forced to accept and

elect. The Rumanians, too, who number somewhat over 1,500,000, had to be content with one seat; while only two of the four candidates who were nominated on the Government list as representatives of the 600,000 Germans in Yugoslavia managed to get a seat in the Skupstina. The Bulgarian (700,000), the Albanian (500,000) and the Turkish (150,000) minorities were not given any place at all on the Government list. This flagrant ignoring of the national minorities, the fact that national minorities 2,600,000 strong (18.5% of the total population) were "allowed" only four out of the 369 Skupstina seats, throws a glaring light upon the nature of the equal rights enjoyed by the minorities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

In the Drave Banate only 150,785 (48.9%) of the 308,213 electors exercised their franchise rights, while 157,426 (51.1%) abstained from doing so (the Korosec Slovene People's Party), and in the Belgrade municipal ward only 43,857 (54.3%) of the 80,273 electors cast their votes, while 36,686 (45.7%) abstained. This cir-

cumstance caused a great sensation and does not make things look too promising for the Cabinet and the whole system of government.

According to the provisions of the election law the Government Party on the strength of the results obtained, even though it did not secure an absolute majority, will get three-fifths (221) of the 368 seats, while the remaining 147 will be divided between the Government Party and Maček's Party in proportion to the distribution of the votes in the various constituencies. The Maximovič and the Ljotić lists will not receive seats at all, because the number of votes to their credit does not reach the required 50,000. The work of allotting the 147 mandates is being done by a central general election committee which — and this is particularly typical of the whole electioneering technique — will not be ready with the task until the end of the month.

In spite of the superior numerical strength of the Government Party, the results of the elections show that even six and a half years of dictatorship have not succeeded in crushing the national aspirations of the Croatian People's Party. If Belgrade ever thought that blandishments or starvation and violence would help to settle the Croatian question and thus solve, once and for all, the problem of a Federal State, today, on reviewing the results of the elections, the Government must realize that it was an utterly false hope. The question of the Croatian nation — indeed the problem of the new territories in general — is what it always was: a vital problem for the Yugoslav State. Unless it is solved radically, unless the problem of the two kindred Slav races and the legitimate demands of the national minorities are settled in a spirit of complete equality of rights, there will be neither lasting peace nor genuine consolidation in Yugoslavia. "y"

CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN BULGARIA

Exactly a year has elapsed since Mouchanov's parliamentary Government was superseded by Georgieff's absolute Government, which undertook to eliminate demagoguery and the rule of party interests from political life, to simplify administration, and to improve economic conditions. After Parliament was dissolved Georgieff's Cabinet did introduce many reforms by way of ordinances. The economic reforms in particular, however, were not always justified: they gave rise to uncertainty and stagnation in economic life. Although the Government in its last days issued reassuring communiqués to the effect that there would be no more economic reforms, the democratic feelings of the Bulgarian people could not get used to a régime so lavish of surprises. The Zlatev Government which succeeded was unable to inspire confidence, because its first concern was to enforce its predecessor's ordinances, without, however, giving the country a constitution in keeping with the democratic spirit of the people. Bulgaria, it is true, has had enough of the deleterious offshoots of a parliamentary system, but it is utterly out of keeping with the Bulgarian men-

tality to allow the future of the country to be decided without the people having their say in the matter. This is particularly true today, when after so many wars and a humiliating peace treaty the country is in the throes of a grave economic crisis. Within a year's time Bulgaria has had three Governments, the last of which has been formed by M. Toseff, former ambassador and famous author. The aim of the present Government is to establish peace within the country and with its neighbours. The first item of its programme is the amendment, with the consent of the people, of the Constitution and the consolidation of economic life. The economic portfolios have been given to authorities on economics. M. Riaskof, President of the National Bank, is Minister of Finance. The portfolio of Minister of Justice has also been given to an expert, M. Karagözöf, President of the Chief Court of Cassation. It is certain that under the new régime Bulgarian foreign policy will follow the paths trod by the Democratic Governments and remain loyal to the Covenant of the League of Nations. "y"

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

„NUMERUS BOHEMICUS“

The *"Mitteilungen des deutschen Hauptverbandes der Industrie"*, the official organ of the Czecho-Slovak German Manufacturers' Association, announces that a number of its members have received, from the Ministry of National Defence, an ordinance dated April 18th 1935 stating that no enterprise will receive public contracts from the Ministry unless the number of Czechs on the staff of officials is in proportion to the number of Czecho-Slovak hands employed in the works; while the number of Czech hands must correspond to the nationality distribution of the locality in question. The ordinance, at the same time, forbids the employment of hands who are members of any political party dangerous to the State. Some provisions of the ordinance are to be put in force at once, and

every provision is to be carried into effect within two years. The ordinance is obviously anti-constitutional and a grave violation of the principle of equal rights for all citizens. The aim is to throw the burden of unemployment in a greater measure than ever upon the national minorities. Even according to official statistics the volume of unemployment is twice as great in the German industrial areas as in the districts inhabited by Czechs. Particulars concerning unemployment will be found in another article in our Political Economy columns. "y"

SLOVAK AND MAGYAR NEWSPAPERS PLACED UNDER EMBARGO AND CENSORED

In our last number we reported that at the end of March the Pozsony District Court had decided that the „Slovák“, the leading organ of the Slovak