

**FROM
CARPATHO - RUTHENIA
TO
CARPATHO-UKRAINE**

**by
AUGUSTIN STEFAN
former Speaker of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Diet**

**Published by
Carpathian Star Publishing Co.
New York, U. S. A.
1954**

**FROM
CARPATHO - RUTHENIA
TO
CARPATHO-UKRAINE**

**by
AUGUSTIN STEFAN
former Speaker of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Diet**

**Published by
Carpathian Star Publishing Co.
New York, U. S. A.
1954**

.

C O N T E N T S

	Page
Foreword .	7
I. Introduction	11
II. Territory .	12
III. Boundaries	13
IV. The Carpathian Mountains .	14
V. Variation in Name	17
VI. The Feudal Heritage	18
VII. Severing Ties with Hungary .	19
VIII. Hope of Demacracy .	22
IX. The Shadows After 1935	23
X. The Standpoint of the Czech National Socialists .	24
XI. The Standpoint of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Autonomists	25
XII. A Brief Excursion Into History .	28
XIII. Home Rule at Last	30
XIV. The Language Controversy .	31
XV. Coincidence and Not Casuality .	32
XVI. The Voice of an English Expert	34
XVII. The Carpatho-Ukrainian Elections and the Diet	36
XVIII. Objections Against the Elections .	45
I n d e x	47



MSGR. DR. AUGUSTIN VOLOSHIN
First President of the Carpatho Ukrainian Republic

FOREWORD

There exists in Central Europe no land which was less known to the Western World than the southwestern strip of Ukrainian ethnic territory on the southern slopes of the central part of the Carpathian mountains — known as Carpatho-Ukraine.

To the time of the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (1918) such a land did not exist as a separate unit for the outside world. The St. Germain at L. (France) 1919, transferred the sovereignty over this land to the Czechoslovak Republic, granting it an autonomous status under the name of "Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia".

Carpatho-Ukraine was known in history by various names: — in the XII century it was called *Marchia Ruthenorum*; in the XIV century, Principality of Mukachevo and Makovitsa; after the Kossuth Revolution, 1849, the Ruthenian District, with Adolf Dobriansky as Governor; subsequently as *Verkhovina*, *Ruska Kraina*, and others, — which were given by alien governments.

In 1939 with the establishment of an autonomy, guaranteed by the Versailles Treaty (St. Germain a/L.) the inhabitants, constitutionally, named this territory *Carpatho-Ukraine*. This new name was unacceptable to the Czechoslovak and Hungarian rulers because it reminded them of the existence behind the Carpathian Mountains of the rightful owner to this land — the Ukrainian people. Therefore, they preferred the illogical name for this land — *Carpatho-Russia* despite the fact that among the scholarly world in

Europe Carpatho-Ukrainians are linguistically and culturally a part of the Ukrainian people.

After the Munich appeasement in 1938, and the downfall of the Czechoslovak Republic, the Carpatho-Ukrainian population claimed the right of self-determination and proclaimed the independent Carpatho-Ukrainian State as a nucleus of the independent Ukrainian Republic, (March 15, 1939). This occurred in defiance of Hitler's will, who, already had donated Carpatho-Ukraine to his Hungarian satellite. Few in the Western world know that in March 1939 already this small, unknown country was the first, to take up arms against the Nazi dictator, incontestable at that time. Eventually, the free democratically expressed will of these Ukrainian mountaineers was suffocated by brutal force. At present, Carpatho-Ukraine is united with the Ukrainian motherland enslaved by Red Moscow.

This modest publication by Prof. Augustine Stefan, entitled "*From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine*", is the first informative work in English on Carpatho-Ukraine and her struggle for freedom. The author is the most capable person for such an undertaking. Prof. Stefan is a true son of Carpatho-Ukraine; a professor by profession, statesman and the Speaker of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Constituanta, which, on March 15, 1939, proclaimed the independence of this country. Prof. Augustine Stefan's book, giving first hand information on Carpatho-Ukraine, will be a valuable contribution to the political literature of this strategically very important area of Central Europe.

NICHOLAS CHUBATY, *Ph. D.*



AUGUSTIN STEFAN

I. INTRODUCTION

Carpatho Ukraine, also known as Ruthenia, inspite of its central situation between the parallels 47-50° North and the meridians 20-25° East from Greenwich, has long been Europe's undiscovered land. But the period of crisis prior to the Second World War created an international Subcarpathian problem which made widely known this tiny country, a pleasant combination of East and West, of mountains and low land, of virgin forests and prairies, of cold and mild climate zones on an area not larger than that of New Hampshire, and with a population, which until now was unwilling to abandon its patriarchal peasant existence.

Miserable conditions aroused attention to that picturesque highland at the end of XIX. century. Edward Egan, a philanthropic landowner of Irish extraction in West Hungary, raised a loud voice against the unbearable living conditions of the "gens fidelissima" as the Carpatho Ruthenians were called by the Hungarian prince and patriot Ferenc Rakoczy. Simultaneously with Egan, another intercessor, Nicolas Bartha, a Hungarian editor, attacked his contemporaries' abuses and omissions in his effective book "In the Land of the Kazars." (The Khazars were a commercial minded Turkish tribe, converted to Judaism in the VIII. century. In Hungary "Kazar" was the mock-name of Jewish usurers).

The general indignation provoked a Hungarian state campaign, headed by Egan. After a short lasting relief, other circles succeeded to stop the so called "Highlands (Verkho-vina) Action" ending with the mysterious death of Egan. Traveling by coach, he alighted for a walk a few miles before reaching Uzhorod (Ungvar) and a short time after he was

found dead, shot through the head. Investigation of his death was closed without results. All that remained was a plain monument erected by Egan's grateful Highlanders on the very place of his death, a reminder of his noble efforts.

II. TERRITORY

According to the Czechoslovak conception, the territory of Carpatho-Ukraine is often restricted to the area, which is situated eastwards from the river Uzh (Ung) between the upper Tisa river and the crest of the Carpathian mountains. This area of some 5,000 square miles including the towns of Uzhorod, Mukachiv, Berehiv, Sevlush, Chust and Yasina is only the bulk of Carpatho Ukraine. From 1919 to 1939 it was autonomous part of Czechoslovakia; from 1939 to 1944 it was occupied by Hungary, and since 1945 it has been made part of the U.S.S.R. on ground of a customary "peaceful settlement" between the Soviet Union and the "independent" Czechoslovakia.

The actual Carpatho Ukraine consists of three parts, controlled by three powers. 1) The former Ruthenia belongs to the Soviet Ukraine since 1945 and is called now "Transcarpathian Region". 2). The Sharish-Zemplin region, also known as Priashiv Ukraine, of about 2,000 square miles, has been a part of Czechoslovakia since 1919. 3). The Sihit region of about 500 square miles has been held by Rumania since 1919 (from 1940 to 1944 it was occupied by Hungary).

These three parts, divided by boundaries of three states, but forming historically, geographically and economically an integral unit, constitute the minimum area of Carpatho Ukraine. The whole covers an area of about 7,500 sq. miles and has over 1,200,000 inhabitants, of which nearly 75% are Ukrainians.

However, there are further areas, which Carpatho-Ukrainian national sentiment claims on historical, religious

and racial basis. These are 1). the Spis area in Czechoslovakia, 2), the Maria Poch area of the Haydudorog Diocese in Hungary, and 3). a narrow strip around Biksad in the Satumare County in Rumania. Nevertheless, the gradual assimilation process, which began in the middle of the XIX century, changed the ancestral language of the primarily Ukrainian population and broke the connection with the Carpathian blood relatives. Until 1914, Maria Poch, a famous pilgrimage place of the Byzantine rite Catholics, exercised an important influence as a unifying and cohesive center between the mentioned territories and Carpatho Ukraine. Annually, on the feast of Assumption, some 100,000 pilgrims of almost every village of Carpatho Ukraine, and, of course, of Haydudorog Diocese, too, assembled there, walking in processions to render homage to the miraculous weeping icon of the Blessed Virgin. The new boundaries of 1919 made impossible the annual pilgrimages, and Maria Poch became a Hungarian center.

Naturally these areas lost their Ukrainian character and adopted that of their neighbors.

III. BOUNDARIES

The western boundary of Carpatho Ukraine runs down, westwards from Lubivna, — the west side of the Poprad river's valley, turning eastwards of Kezmarok until it joins the starting point of the Torisa river. There it follows the Torisa river on the west side until its junction with the Hernad river as far as the Czechoslovak-Hungarian frontier.

On the South the boundary coincides with the Czechoslovak-Hungarian frontier up to the river Tur. From here it extends along the left bank of the Tur touching Negreshti, then South of Sihit — it turns to Aknashugatag and to Maisin and runs eastward along the Visheva river reaching the old Hungarian frontiers at the base of the White Chermosh river.

The East and North boundary are identical with the old boundaries established between Hungary and Galicia in 1387, and later between Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1919.

IV. THE CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS

The surface of Carpatho Ukraine is determined by the Carpathians, which form after the Alps the largest range of mountains in Europe. From their eight hundred miles arc some three hundred miles have been known for more than a thousand years as the Carpatho-Ukrainian mountains extending from the Poprad river to the Cheremosh river.

Almost the entire Ukrainian Carpathians are covered with beautiful beech, pine and oak forests, whence their popular name: "Wooded Carpathians". They consist of a Northern outer zone through which several easy passes give a good access from Carpatho Ukraine to Galicia, and of a Southern inner zone, which is composed of a number of parallel ranges.

The Outer zone consists of four sections: the Low Beskid, the High Beskid, the Gorgani (Summits) Range and the Chornohora (Black Mountain). The main ranges of the Inner zone are: the Spish Zemplin Highland, the Vihorlat (the Burned out) Chain, the Veliki Dil (Great Ridge) and the Marmorosh Mountains.

Both zones increase in height towards the east from 2000 ft to over 6000 ft. There are some twenty peaks over 5000 ft, six over 6000 ft.

The sandstone *Low Beskids* have no great outstanding features. It is a broad, but not high mountain country with rounded peaks and gentle slopes, seldom higher than 2000 ft. The strategically important Dukla Pass (1650 ft.) was a bloody battlefield in both world wars.

To the East of the Lupkiv Pass begins the richly wooded *High Beskid Chain*. Above its forest limit (4000ft) the so-called polonini (Mountain meadows with rich grass and

herb growth) provide an excellent pasturage for cattle, sheep and horses during the summer. There is a highway to the Veretsky Pass, an important gap in the Beskid Range which gives good access South to a conqueror or an invader from the North. Allegedly Arpad, the founder of the Hungarian realm, led his tribes through this pass into the fertile valleys of the Danube and Tisa rivers, in 896 A. D., as did some three hundred years later Batu Khan, destroying with his Tatar hordes the work of Arpad's successors.

East from Veretsky Pass lies the pleasant Skotarsky Pass, and west the interesting Uzok Pass, whose uncanny landscape shrouds many unwritten records of invasions, defense and fierce fights, the latest during the First World War.

High Beskids' most remarkable peaks are the rocky Pikuy (-peak), 4608 ft, the bulky Polonina Rivna (Plane Pasture), 4961 ft, and the crisp Jewish Magura (4982 ft.).

Third in order, but first in strength, the sandstone — *Gorgani Range* has sharper edges, higher peaks and wilder scenery than the High Beskid. As far up as 5000 ft. it is covered with beautiful virgin forests, however polonini-pastures are very rare. Many spots of the Gorgani have scarcely been seen by humans and only wild deer runs freely.

Gorgani's outstanding peak are the Kuk (4477 ft) and the Strimba (5651 ft) the headquarters of the last Carpathian "Robin Hoods" Nicolas Shuhay (1918-1921) and Eliah Lepey (1934-1935); the Negrovets (5683 ft) and the Bliznitsa (Twins, 6,176 ft), the latter still bearing traces of the glacial age.

The Torunsky and Tatar (known also as Yablonetsky or Yasinsky Passes) are the most elevated gaps of Carpatho Ukraine having good access; the Panther Pass, lying between them, is of bad passage and little importance.

The most beautiful part of the Ukrainian Carpathians is the last range, the rich in mica *Chornohora Chain*. Its

dark, dense forests and above the firs, its luxurious, emerald green polonini-pastures, spotted with lovely, colorful, wild flowers, its narrow glens, seamed by glaciers in prehistoric time, and, its gently rounded peaks present the tourist with a grand view of these high mountain formations. The peaks here reach a height of 6750 ft, the Hoverla, highest in all of Carpatho Ukraine. Close to it tower northwest the Pietrosh (6626 ft) and southeast the first Pip Ivan (Priest John, 6645 ft).

The Carpathians of the Inner Zone are the continuation of the Outer Zone sections. They consist of several ranges, separated by rivers and valleys, decreasing to the south.

The *Spish-Zemplin-Highland* is the prolongation of the Low Beskid. It is mainly composed of extinct low volcanoes, and its Priashiv-Nove Misto range drops off into the great plain of Hungary, forming the outset of the famous Hegyalja (foothill)-Tokay wine region.

The *Vihorlat Range* is the projection of the High Beskid. As its name points out, it is of volcanic origin, and on its southern slopes at Seredne (between Uzhorod and Mukachevo) excellent wine is cultivated, comparable according to some connoisseurs to that of Tokay. Its highest peak is the Stih or Stay (stack, 5507 ft) at Volovci, excellent for winter sports. At Snina, in the western part of the Vihorlat, a lovely mountain lake is the goal of tourists.

The *Veliki Dil* is the southern companion of the Gorgani Chain. Although volcanic, it has very good vines at Berehiv-Muzijovo, Sevlush and Mukachiv. Its highest peak is the Buzhora (3717 ft).

The *Marmarosh Mountains*, a manifold high mountain formation, surround the Chornohora, along the Tisa and Visheva. They do not constitute a range, and tower in separate nests. Their highest peaks are the second Pip Ivan (6363 ft) and the Fiarko (6432 ft).

V. VARIATION IN NAME

Carpatho-Ukraine had different names. The people called themselves Rusins or Rusnaks and their language Rusky. The same names were used in Galicia until the end of the XIX century and in Ukraine to about 1850. The Ukrainians abandoned their original name in order to express their distinctive nationality, which differed from that of the Russians (Great Russians of Moscovits), who appropriated the old historic name of "Rus." Because in Carpatho-Ukraine there were no Great Russians the adoption of a new name was not so urgent.

In the XII century Carpatho-Ukraine in many documents was called *Marchia Ruthenorum*. In the XIV century, Fedir Koriatovich became lord of a great part of the present Carpatho-Ukraine and his dominion was called the Principality of Mukachevo and Makovitsa. After the Kosuth Revolution in 1849, the comitates (district) Zemplin, Ung (Uzhorod)) Bereg, Ugocha and Marmarosh were joined together to form a Ruthenian District, of which Adolf Dobriansky was governor. During the Egan action, the Hungarian government called this territory Verkhovina (Highland) and in 1918 *Ruska Kraina* (Ruthenian Land). Under Czechoslovakia its official name was Subcarpathian Ruthenia, but often was called Subcarpathia. In 1939 after the re-occupation, the Hungarian government named it Subcarpathian Territory and in 1945 when Czechoslovakia ceded it to the Soviet Union its name became Transcarpathian Region.

Although these names were official, they were not given by the people. There was only one name given by the Subcarpathian people — namely Carpatho-Ukraine. Under this name the voters went to the elections on February 12, 1939 and this name was adopted by the only parliament of Carpatho-Ukraine on March 15, 1939.

It is interesting to note that in some sources Carpatho-Ukraine was called Ukraine long before 1938. The Polish king, Sigismund in a letter of 1619 called it Hungarian Ukraine. The Jesuit priest in Mukachiv, S. Miley, in his letter to Fr. M. Mitkevich in Cracow on October 3, 1662 wrote of *Muncaciencis Ukraina*—Munkacher Ukraine. In the Geography by the Hungarian writer Johannes Severini published in 1777 (with a preface by Johannes Tomka Szaszky) we read of Zemplin “Krajna Wyssi, Ukraina Superior” (p. 541) and of Ung “Krajna Nyssa, Ukraina Inferior” (p. 563).

VI. THE FEUDAL HERITAGE

At the turn of this century most of the Carpatho-Ukrainian peasants lived in poverty and misery. They were underfed and overworked, badly housed and clothed, and for the most part uneducated.

The ruling Hungarian caste, feudalistic and self-conceited in its ways and means, was not very concerned even about the rights and living conditions of the lower classes of its own race, not to mention the “second and third rank minorities.” To be sure, there were theoretically fine and human provisions in the codes, but in practice the Ruthenians were predetermined to pass away gradually and without much ado. The means used were the deprivation of the plough and pasture-land, employment and even of education in their native tongue.

At that time, Carpatho-Ukraine, a “Nameless Land”, was more likened to a slave than to a Slav land. The relation between the peasants and their masters during 1890-1918 was similar to the relation between the American Negroes and the plantation owners before the Emancipation Act. (Cf.: In the Land of the Kazars, Kolozsvar, by Miklos Bartha, a leading Hungarian publicist; The Economic Position of the Ruthenian Peasants in Hungary, 1901, by Ed-

ward Egan, a Hungarian Government official of Irish descent.)

The only hope for the Carpatho-Ukrainian peasants then was the same as for those today, who are behind the Soviet Iron Curtain, namely, to *escape to America*. Hundreds and thousands left their homes and passed the Hungarian frontiers secretly and illegally just as nowadays the refugees flee from behind the Iron Curtain. Nonetheless, the emigration took on mass proportions, so that the outbreak of World War I found some three hundred thousand Ruthenians in America. Well over three hundred thousand of them remained in Hungary according to the Hungarian census statistics of 1910.

VII. SEVERING TIES WITH HUNGARY

World War I brought more sufferings. The frontiers were closed. Unbearable living conditions were not improved. Instead, the Hungarians by their court-martials set examples by hanging simple Ukrainian peasants on charge of treason. (Veliky Bychkiv, Maydany and Veretsky). It is small wonder that when the opportunity came with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the overwhelming majority of the Carpatho-Ukrainians demanded definitive separation from Hungary. The National Council in Lubovna, Svalyava, Marmarosh Sihit and in Hust declared themselves for Union with Ukraine.

On November 8, 1918 several hundred delegates representing the Ukrainian communities of Lubivna, Bardiiv, Svidnik, Stropkiv, M. Laborets, Humenne and the Spish area convened in Lubivna. Rev. Emil Nevitsky, pastor of Uyak, addressed the Congress as follows: "We firmly believe in the force of Woodrow Wilson's principle of national self-determination. . . . Our people desire freedom, democracy, peace and therefore we desire to join the country of our brethren—Ukraine". The Congress proclaimed the union

with Ukraine and created a National Council, composed of Rev. Nevitsky, Chairman; Dr. E. Toronsky, Peter Shima, I. Rybovich, I. Murtsko, J. Chanda and Dr. Zavadsky — Members. The Council issued a Manifesto calling all Carpatho Ukrainians to defend their rights and fight for their freedom.

On December 8, 1918 the delegates of Svalyava County met and created a Carpatho Ruthenian National Council (Chairman Michael Komarnitsky) and adopted resolutions which read in part:

“The Carpatho Ruthenian National Council desires to free the Ruthenian people from Hungarian slavery, which they suffered for many hundred years, and desires to unite the Carpatho Ruthenian land with the other Ukrainian—Ruthenian lands. It also desires to join the Ukrainian Councils in Lviv and Kiev, because they give the land of the lords and government to the farmers... we desire to teach in all our primary and high schools the Ukrainian-Ruthenian language.”

On December 10, 1918 a Pro-Hungarian group met in Budapest and sought to adopt a loyalty declaration in form of Hungary's. The meeting, however, adopted the motion of Dr. Julius Braschayko, Rev. Michael Medve, Stepan Klochurak, Julius Chuchka and Nicholas Dolinay, that the final decision be made by the people at home, in Carpatho Ukraine.

After this failure, the Pro-Hungarians convoked a meeting in Sihit on December 18, 1918. The chairman, Dr. Hoshchuk, could not deliver his speech because of the incessant shouts “We don't want Hungary” and “Long live Ukraine”. Dr. Hoshchuk was pulled down from the rostrum and the majority wanted to hear the popular leader Dr. Michael Braschayko. The meeting proclaimed the union with Ukraine, created the national Council of Marmorosh which took oath on the blue-yellow national flag

and promised to defend the rights of the Ukrainian people. Finally it was resolved to call an All-National Congress in Chust on January 21, 1919.

More than 400 delegates, each representing one thousand persons assembled in Chust. Dr. Michael Braschayko was elected Chairman and Vasil Yosipchuk from Bychkiv, secretary. The Hungarian government was represented by sheriff Dan. Some of the Congress were: Rev. Dr. Julian Hadzega, Rev. Viktor Zeltvay, Rev. Alex Parkany, Dr. Julius Braschayko, Osyp Bokshay, Michael Grigassy, Augustin Stefan, Peter Hayovich, Julius Chuchka, Paul Kossey Ivan Kelemen, Ivan Dzhumurat; Ivan Voloshchuk from Nankovo; Vasil Andrashko, Vasil Biro, Teodor Biro from Bilky; Peter Lyach from Veliky Rakivets; Yury Staninets from Nizhny Shard; Yury Gorzo from Imstichovo; Vasil Potushniak from Osiy; Ivan Shandor from Baraninets; Ivan Tarnay from Dubrivka at Borzhava; Ivan Halmay from Sevlush. There were many others whose names we do not recall.

The president, Dr. Michael Braschayko, put up the following questions: What should we do? Whom are we to join? Hungary? Czechoslovakia? Ukraine?

Ivan Voloshchuk the delegate from Nankovo, raised his hand, and addressing the representative of the Hungarian government, sheriff Dan, said: "Do not be angry for saying these words, tell them to the lords in Budapest. 'A many hundred of years we have lived with your nation. Sometimes we had good days, sometimes bad ones. We thank you for your care. You must, however, understand.—Mother is calling us now, and we children yearn for our Mother. We want to go with her'." A spontaneous shout rose from the throats of the 400 delegates: "With Kiev! We want to be with Kiev! We want to be with Mother Ukraine!"

The National Council in Priashiv (occupied by Czech forces) supported the plan of being joined to Czechoslovakia, and only the National Council in Uzhorod declar-

ed its loyalty to Hungary, although many of its members leaned towards union with Ukraine.

Meanwhile the Carpatho-Ruthenian emigrants in USA, who had many chances to learn and enjoy the results of a true and honest democracy, decided in favor of a federal union with Czechoslovakia at a meeting of the National Council in Scranton, Pa., on November 19, 1918. Having realized that the Ukrainian solution was not practicable at that time, they decided for the well reputed Czech democracy. However, 28% i. e. 210 delegates of the Carpatho-Ruthenian parishes of the USA voted for union with Ukraine, and only 1 per cent for Hungary.

VIII. HOPE OF DEMOCRACY

The Czechoslovak regime under the three presidential terms of the great democrat Thomas Masaryk in 1919-1935 did much to raise the standard of living in Subcarpathian Ruthenia (this was the official title during 1919-1938). The systematic work of many well-intentioned Czech social helpers and officials improved the cultural, political and social conditions in many aspects. There is no doubt that the twenty year long Czechoslovak regime was far more advantageous for Carpatho-Ukraine than the centuries long Hungarian rule. The living conditions became better than ever before, the work of education advanced rapidly, more efficient methods of agriculture were introduced, medical service was extended, the political liberty was unrestrained, — generally speaking many features of western European culture were made common for all and not only for a few privileged persons as previously. However many of the Czech officials looked upon themselves as the guardians of culture and treated the population as children. The autonomy guaranteed by the Treaty of Saint-Germain was not carried into effect and the western part of Carpatho-Ukraine was annexed to Slovakia.

IX. THE SHADOWS AFTER 1935

The first fifteen years brought forth a new, democratic, conscious and self-respecting Carpatho-Ukrainian generation. They wanted to take part in forming the life of their country in conformity with the Czechoslovak Constitutional Law of 1920 and with the Peace Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1919. These guaranteed 1) "the fullest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of Czechoslovakia" (Article 10 of the Treaty), 2) "own legislative assembly (diet) with large competences" (Art. 11), and 3) "officials in Carpatho-Ruthenia were to be chosen, as much as possible, from among the local population" — (Art. 12).

In spite of the solemn pledges of the Czechoslovak Government, these and other provisions regarding the self-government were not carried out.

Matters went from bad to worse, when under the presidency of Dr. E. Benesh, his party, the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, took over the control of the Carpatho-Ukrainian educational matters and began to influence the civil administration. Their fixed idea was that Carpatho-Ukraine, a vital area of Czechoslovakia, the connecting bridge to Rumania, must become entirely Czechoslovak, first of all in language. They took different, mostly unfair measures to build up an enormous Czech school system in Carpatho-Ukraine, where before 1919 there were no Czechs at all. In 1938 there were already 188 Czech schools and more than nine hundred Czech teachers excluding those who worked in Ukrainian schools.

They maintained and developed an oversized Czech bureaucracy of some 20,000 Czech officials, who occupied all the leading posts in all branches of the administration, and often even the subordinate ones, including those of janitors. These officials conducted all the affairs of the country in Czech language, contrary to the Peace

Treaty of St. Germain and Counstitutional Law, and with a few exceptions they refused to learn the language of the population. In many respects, however, the Czech administration was far better than the Hungarian. Many Czech officials did their utmost to be of aid to the people. Nevertheless, a far larger percentage of officials with limited knowledge of education and behavior were in Carpatho-Ukraine than in Bohemia or Moravia.

In time, however, step by step a stronger struggle for rights was the Carpatho-Ukrainian reaction.

X. THE STANDPOINT OF THE CZECH NATIONAL SOCIALISTS

To motivate its policy in Carpatho-Ukraine since 1935 the Czech National Party maintained and advocated the following thesis: "A backward and poverty stricken people like the Carpatho-Ruthenians, having no tradition and experience in political life, are unripe for self government, lest they might harm themselves." Properly speaking this thesis was put up first by the Czech Agrarian party already in 1922, but was not upheld under the leadership of Milan Hodza i. e. since 1935.

The spokesmen for that thesis argued as follows: "The backward and wretched Ruthenians would certainly break up as a national group without our help. We can rescue them, if we shall pay the costs of their rehabilitation. The Hungarians made part of them Hungarians. We, therefore, have the right to make of them Czechs, and, help them to become members of a highly developed, cultural nation."

Whether this thesis was a democratic and fair one, the reader can decide for himself. The fact is that the Czech National Socialist Party sought to denationalize the Carpatho-Ukrainians by the following means:

- 1) Language question provoking a chaos with regard to the official language. A Russian and an artificial local

language movement was supported to destroy the unity of the people and to make easier the enforcement of the Czech official language;

2) Czech schools (ten times more than were needed);

3) Religious strife to break up the religious unity;

4) The establishment of a bureaucracy of some 20,000 Czech officials, gendarmes and policemen, plus about 20,000 members of their families.

5) The annexation of about 200,000 Ukrainians by Slovakia, in defiance to the provisions of the Peace Treaty, to weaken the opposition;

6) Fostering unprincipled political activity (20-30 political parties);

7) Conniving at party and henchmen encroachments;

8) Economic pressure, the agrarian reform was not satisfactory, 70% of the sequestered sections of the land remained undistributed; business, tobacco and liquor licenses were mostly given for party services;

9) The settling of Czechs colonists in the plains;

10) The branding as irredentists or nazis, sometimes even as communist agents all those Ukrainian patriots who opposed them and sought to improve the future of Carpatho-Ukraine.

In all fairness it must be noted, however, that some of these methods have been pursued in other well-ordered states, and that the Czechoslovakian rule in Carpatho-Ukraine was of a human nature, unmarked by cruelty.

XI. THE STANDPOINT OF THE CARPATHO-UKRAINIAN AUTONOMISTS

On the other hand the Carpatho-Ukrainians invariably believed in a democracy whereby the supreme power was in the hands of the people. They admitted that they are better off under the Czechs than they were under the Hungarians,

but they insisted on the realization of their constitutional rights and argued as follows:

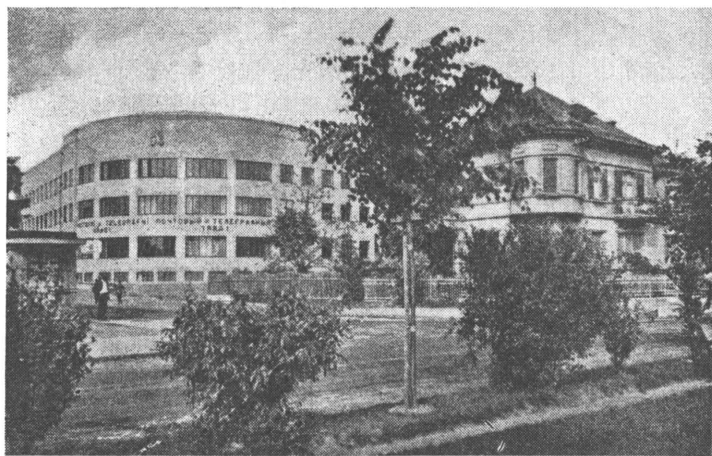
1. "Backwardness" is not a relevant reason to withhold autonomy. Before the war the German ruling circles considered the Czechs backward, and not ripe for autonomy. True, the Ukrainians were poor and needy, but not backward. They were poor because more than half of the total fertile area of land was, and still is, owned by some 150 big landowners and by the state. Of course, the Ruthenians were considered clever when the time came to join the Czechoslovak Republic, but when these same Ruthenians demanded their rights, they were called backward, illiterate and ignorant. If the Ruthenians are backward, how can one explain the fact that the Bachvan-Ukrainian emigrants of 100 years ago live in prosperous circumstances and economic organizations, though they number only 20,000. Or the same fact concerning the 500,000 Carpatho-Ruthenians residing in the United States for the past half century. The high percentage of illiteracy shown in the Hungarian statistics, was unreliable, because the Hungarian and at times the Czechoslovak census officers also, considered as illiterate those, who knew only cyrillic letters.

2. In regards to the rehabilitation of Carpatho-Ukraine, the autonomists disputed the apportioning of finances, whereby Czech purpose were given first consideration, in the form of salaries of more than 20,000 Czech officials, gendarmes and policemen, the building of Czech schools and luxurious offices for Czech officials (who were paid far better than the natives).

Further, the objection was raised that the Carpatho-Ukrainian revenues on forests and salt mines, which were under Czech control, were not duly adduced (the State salt-mines in Solotvina produced approximatively 15,000 wagons of salt yearly).



Government School on the bank of Uzh River in Uzhorod.



Post Office and Telegraph Building in Uzhorod.

3. Finally, the Ukrainians always stressed the fact that the Czech measures were not suitable to strengthen Slav solidarity, that they were more colonial than democratic in nature, and that they were inadequate to a far more numerous Slavonic people than the Czechoslovaks. The Czechs, on the other hand reminded the Carpatho-Ukrainians the sufferings under the lash of persecution and discrimination in Hungary.

XII. A BRIEF EXCURSION INTO HISTORY

It is impossible to write a systematic history within an article. It would however be useful to recall some leading events in order to have a better understanding of the events of 1938—1939.

Already 150 years ago a busy and active cultural life was developing among the “backward” Ruthenians. The governments of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, during the period of the so-called “Enlightened Absolutism”, devoted great attention to the welfare of the peasants and to their cultural progress. There were at the turn of the XVIII. century about 300 schools in Carpatho-Ukraine with Ruthenian and Latin as the languages of instruction. This number was adequate and conformed to that of a corresponding Czech area in the same time. These schools produced an active and nationally conscious intelligentsia, some of whom became well known far beyond Carpatho-Ukraine.

The more prominent were:

1). Michael Luchkai (Matyatsko-Pop), grammarian, author of the first Ruthenian grammar in Austria-Hungary: *Grammatica Slavoruthena*, and the *Historia CarpathoRuthenorum*.

2). Yura T. Venelin (Hutsa), historian, whose work “Bulgars of Former Times and Today”, (1829), and other publications on Bulgarian history inspired the movement that ultimately liberated the Bulgars. In gratitude for his

service to their nation the Bulgars erected a tomb to Venelin at Odessa with this inscription: "He recalled to memory the forgotten but once mighty Bulgarian nation."

3). Michael Baludianski, lawyer, professor of Budapest University and later professor and first rector-president of St. Petersburg University.

4). Vasil Dovhovich, philosopher, poet, member of the Academy of Sciences in Budapest.

5). Ivan Zemanchik, mathematician, professor and rector of Lviv University.

6). Ivan Orlay, doctor, historian, principal at Nizhin College, where Gogol studied.

7). Petro Lodi, philosopher, professor at Lviv and later at St. Petersburg University.

Under the influence of the above mentioned and others the most remarkable personality of this area in the XIX.



Government Building in Uzhorod — Headquarters of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Government to the time of the Vienna Arbitration.

century, Adolf Dobriansky, became the leader of an autonomy movement, and thanks to his action after the Kossuth revolution, Carpatho-Ukraine was granted a certain political and cultural autonomy (1849—1868) headed by Ruthenian officials.

Even as far back as the Arpad Dynasty 1000—1301, the Ruthenians had certain political rights. Their land was called "Marchia Populorum Ruthenorum (Commonwealth of the Ruthenians)". They had their own administration and judicature. Ste. Emery, the son of the first Hungarian king Ste. Stephen received the title of "Dux Ruthenorum (Prince of Ruthenians)."

XIII. HOME RULE AT LAST

The long fight over the realization of the Home Rule had convinced many Carpatho-Ukrainians that they would never receive a fair treatment at the hands of a Czechoslovak government without vexatious delay. And until the shadow of Hitler began to fall across Czechoslovakia, there still was no pact in sight. Even then, in July, 1938, the Czechs attempted a further delay, and told the Autonomists that having waited for the autonomy for eighteen years they should wait until the Government came to an agreement with the Germans. This time the Autonomists' answer was "no". They said: "If we do not obtain autonomy now, when all other peoples of the Republic are granted rights, which are not provided for either by any international treaty or by the Constitution, we never shall obtain it."

Then an abrupt change ensued. The Czechoslovak Government hurriedly discovered that the Carpatho-Ukrainians were "bright" enough to enjoy self-government and hastily made some room for the Carpatho-Ukrainians at the Czechoslovak governmental round table.

A Constitutional Law of Carpatho-Ruthenia was passed by the Chamber of Deputies and Senate on November

22, 1938. The vote was 114 to 13 cast by the Communists. The law was published in the Code of Laws and Ordinances of the Czechoslovak Republic (No. 328, 1938). The law granted the Carpatho-Ukrainian people to have their own legislative, executive and judicial powers in their own land with certain restrictions (defense, finances, foreign affairs, transportation) in favor of the Central Prague Government.

The agreement was not sincere. — The Carpatho-Ukrainian Government was granted only a nominal, and not actual control of the supreme power of its own land. It began its duties with a complete dependence on the Czech Army, police and gendarmerie, and also, with a noiseless but efficacious sabotage by several hundred Czech administrative officials. Moreover, the question of finances remained entirely in the hands of the Prague government.

And again, many moves of the Czech Government, the most important of them being the General Prchala case, forecast a further unbearable delay. This time the brand of the "backwardness" used against the Carpatho-Ukrainians, was changed to the more impressive "Nazi intrigue". The Czech "ruling circles" regarded the natural and democratic struggle for autonomy as a hostile movement against the interests of the Republic and branded it as favorable to the enemies of Czechoslovakia. They alleged that the different political groups of the Carpatho-Ukrainians were exponents either of Hitler or Horthy or even of the then Polish foreign minister Colonel Beck.

The Czech authorities looked with favor only upon the some 40,000 artificially resettled Czechs, and also upon some well paid Carpatho-Ukrainian renegades, plus some Hungarians and Jews.

XIV. THE LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

The well known language controversy (Ukrainian, Russian, Local Ruthenian) was artificial, supported by those

who tried to prevent the Carpatho-Ukrainian democratic evolution. During the Voloshin regime the controversy died of decrepitude even though the use of Russian was allowed in petitions, requests etc., and in schools, where at least 40 parents demanded Russian as language of instruction. Nevertheless only one community, Nyzhni Veretsky, wanted Russian as language of instruction, all the others were for Ukrainian. Many outstanding representatives of the Russian and local Ruthenian tendencies became identified with the Ukrainian ideal as for instance, poets A. Karabelesh and A. Patrus. Bishop Stoyka, who favored the Hungarian solution with the so-called local Ruthenian language and in 1938 welcomed the Hungarians in Uzhorod declared on his death-bed (1944): "Voloshin was right."

XV. COINCIDENCE AND NOT CASUALITY

Certainly, there was a conjunction, or more correctly speaking, a coincidence, between Hitler's and Stalin's drive for power together with Beck's and Horthy's ambitions for a common frontier, and the Carpatho-Ukrainian struggle for autonomy. Though there were communists among the Carpatho-Ukrainians, there was no fascist movement among them (the Czechs had one: the Gayda movement). It is true that the Carpatho-Ukrainian politicians strove to take advantage of the international situation. But all nations do this, and the Czechs, themselves, were brilliant masters in this regard. The Carpatho-Ukrainians, with the exception of the Brody—Fenczik group, were playing fair. They honestly worked for an autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine in union with Czechoslovakia and deeply regretted the unreasonable Czech refusal of self-government. This feeling was so strong that even the Carpatho-Ukrainian communist leaders were cautious enough not to stress excessively faithfulness to their "genius", Stalin, knowing that even the Carpatho-Ukrainian communists were not willing to

change the autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine in Czechoslovakia for a Carpatho-Ukraine in Soviet Russia.

The Czech point of view in 1938—1939 is presented in detail by Dr. H. Ripka, a top Benes Party politician, in his book "Munich Before and After" (London, 1939). He wrote: "Since October, 1938, German influence had become dominant even in the internal affairs of the province (i. e. Carpatho-Ukraine). ...The county was flooded with specious agitators for the foundation of a "Great Ukraine". The Ukrainian agitators came from Galicia, Vienna and Germany and had every support from the Nazis. Mr. Revay, Minister of the Interior, granted them citizen rights with extraordinary alacrity" (p. 261).

Evidently when Dr. Ripka wrote his book, he chose to be ignorant of the true situation existing. First of all, Mr. Revay never was Minister of Interior. This function was carried out at first by Senator Dr. E. Bachinsky (a Russophile), and since December 1, 1938 by Msgr. Voloshin. Moreover, it is a fact that a far greater number of Vienna Jews, escaping from Hitler, were granted by Voloshin the privilege of Carpatho-Ukrainian citizenship than Ukrainian emigrants from Galicia, Vienna or Germany.

Dr. Ripka further wrote (p. 262): "Of course, anti-Semitism flourished in a country with a Jewish population of 15 percent." A nation's attitude towards the Jews in 1918-1939 depended on the Nazi influence upon its government. But Dr. Ripka did not point out any concrete incident of anti-Semitism and he never will be able to do so, because the fact is that in the Czechoslovak Republic, Carpatho-Ukraine was the only land where the Jews were not molested, had full freedom and personal security and went on quietly with their usual profession during 1938-1939. On December 31, 1938, at a time when Dr. Ripka alleges that Carpatho-Ukraine was under Nazi influence, Prime Minister Voloshin publicly declared to a delegation of Carpatho-Ukrainian Jews, which

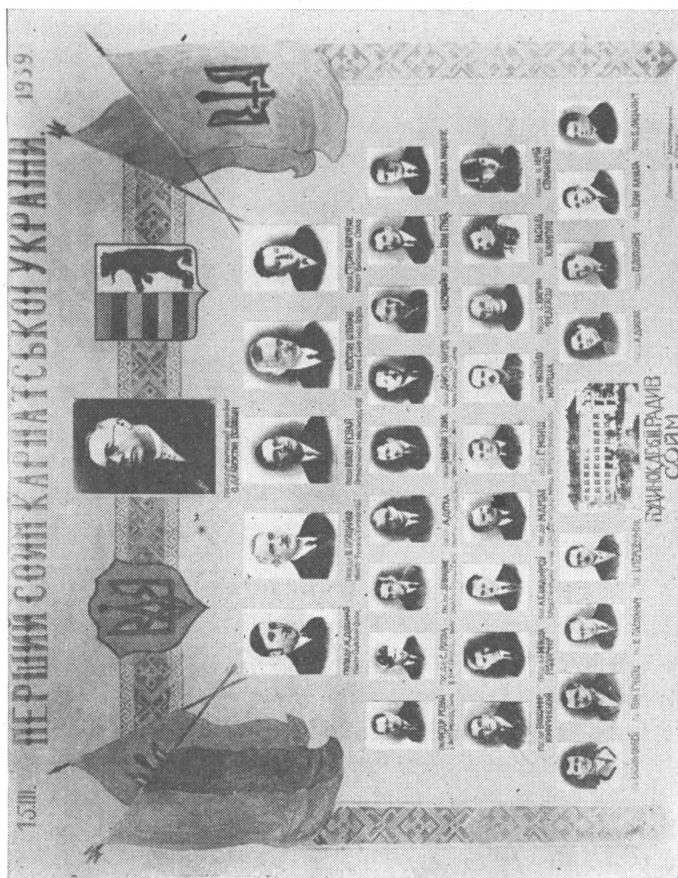
declaration was published in the semi-official Carpatho-Ukrainian journal "Nova Svoboda" (January 1, 1939) that "the Jews of Carpatho-Ukraine will have the same rights as other inhabitants. . . . We shall do our best to meet the cultural demands of Jewry." The only order the Jews were called upon by the Carpatho-Ukrainian authorities to obey was to change their store and shop signs from Czech to the Ukrainian language.

In addition, Dr. Ripka forgot to mention that the Carpatho-Ukrainians could issue neither visas nor passes that they had no border control, and that no Carpatho-Ukrainian was employed in Czechoslovak diplomatic or consular service. He seems to forget, too, that all Nazi agents, reporters, consuls, etc. were admitted or invited not by the Carpatho-Ukrainians, but by the Czechoslovak central authorities. No one thought that the Czechoslovak politicians had become Nazi collaborators just because it was necessary for them to negotiate with the Nazis. A similar situation in Carpatho-Ukraine required some Carpatho-Ukrainians to speak with the "non invited guests" whose number in Carpatho-Ukraine was by far not as high as some "unbiased" observers alleged.

Dr. Ripka left Czechoslovakia in October 1938 and his informations concerning Carpatho-Ukraine were taken from sources which were desirous to destroy Carpatho-Ukraine.

XVI. THE VOICE OF AN ENGLISH EXPERT

Dr. George W. Simpson, professor of Modern European history in the University of Saskatchewan, who has travelled extensively on the continent of Europe and specialized in East European political problems, said the following in his radio address delivered over CFQC, Saskatoon on January 3, 1939 (the address was published in a booklet by the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, Saskatoon): "The Carpathian Ukraine, with a population of roughly half a



Representatives of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Diet.

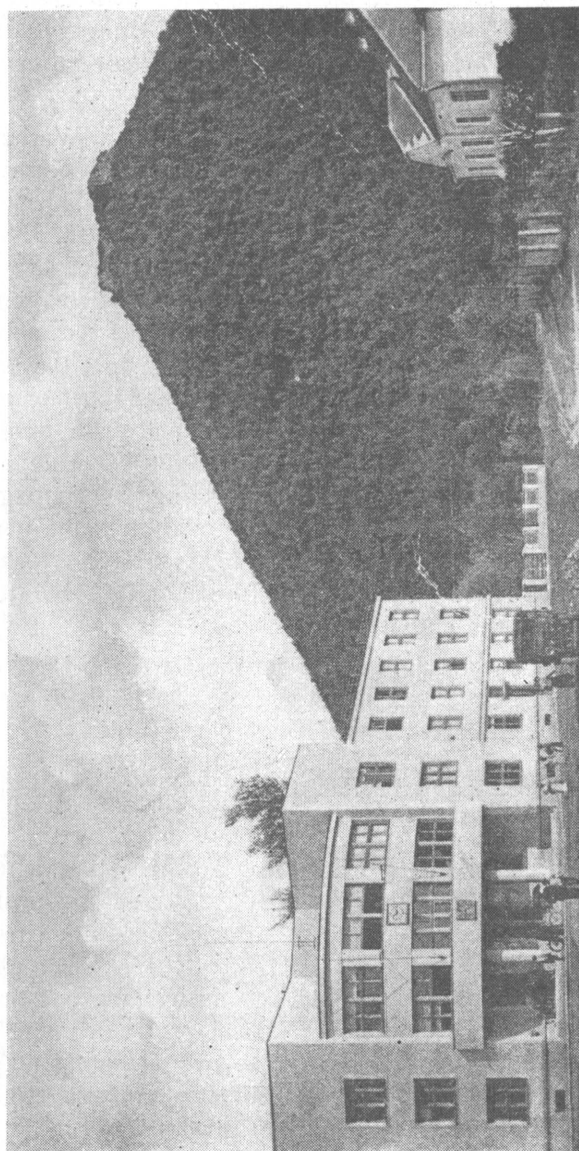
million, lies in the southern embrace of the north-east Carpathian mountains and has been called the Ukrainian Switzerland. Most unpromising of all the Ukrainian regions, it has been the first to achieve real autonomy. Its national consciousness long suspended between varying tendencies has at last crystallized around the Ukrainian ideal. Its present premier Voloshin, is a Greek - Catholic priest, wise, cultured and kind, whom no one can accuse of fanaticism or mad political ambition."

On March, 28th 1939, this same scholar said over the same station: "...Ukrainians in the Old Land have been ready to risk property and sacrifice their own lives for the national cause. No other proof of the existence of the national spirit could be more convincing. The only people so far to resist by armed fighting the system of the intimidation and force inaugurated by Hitler have been the Ukrainians in Carpatho-Ukraine. Abandoned by Hitler, who had guaranteed their borders, and hopelessly outnumbered by the invading force, the Ukrainian volunteer fighters resisted the Hungarian advance and showed that they preferred death to domination."

VXII. THE CARPATHO-UKRAINIAN ELECTIONS AND THE DIET

Paragraph 15 of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Constitution of 1938 provided that the administrative and executive powers were to be carried out by the local government, responsible to the Diet of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, and that elections for the first Diet were to be held by direct ballot on the basis of democratic rules of suffrage within 5 months after passage of the autonomy bill.

There were many elections in Carpatho-Ukraine: for the Hungarian Parliament, for the Czechoslovak Parliament and Senate, for Administrative posts; but no truly representative national elections were ever held. For the first time the



Government Building in Chust after the Vienna Arbitration.

Carpatho-Ukrainians had their fate in their own hands. This opportunity, however, was threatened by Hungary's desire to re-annex Carpatho-Ukraine and to create a common frontier with Poland.

Beginning October, in 1938, Budapest and Warsaw issued widespread propaganda that the Carpatho-Ukrainians had revolted against their own government and demanded cession to Hungary. As early as September, 1938, Hungarian and Polish terrorists (many of whom were army officers), had been conducting military maneuvers on the Carpatho-Ukrainian frontier regions. Between November 2, 1938, i. e. the day of the Vienna Decision and the end of that year, the Hungarian terrorists carried out nineteen armed raids which were officially investigated and made public by the Czechoslovak Government. In addition the Hungarians distributed gift parcels of food and clothing with propaganda leaflets calling on the inhabitants to overthrow the government and to demand union with Hungary. However even the poorest Ukrainians did not keep these "gifts", but turned them over to the authorities.

It then became imperative for the Carpatho-Ukrainians to manifest before the peoples of the world their national sentiments and aspirations through elections.

All Carpatho-Ukrainians, with the exception of a small minority, the Brody-Fenczik group, which favored Hungarian rule, all Czechs, Jews, Rumanians and Germans, and many of the Magyars living in Carpatho-Ukraine, were willing to demonstrate, that they preferred a Carpatho-Ukraine as a part of the Czechoslovak Federation instead of a „Carpathian Area” in Hungary. During elections the people of Carpatho-Ukraine had to answer the question — “Whom to join”?, and not “Nazism or Democracy?”, as Dr. Ripka alleges in his book. The overwhelming majority of the Carpatho-Ukrainians did not want dictatorship, they wanted a free and an independent government.



Centuries old Church in Carpatho-Ukraine.

The possibility of such a plebiscite was immediately opposed to not only by the Hungarian and Polish but even by the Czechoslovak government itself, which under the influence of the new Nazi policy (not to oppose the Hungarian plan to march on Carpatho-Ukraine) tried to prevent a clear and an irrefutable declaration. After the elections of the Slovak Diet on December 18, 1938, the Czechoslovak government had no further suitable subterfuge to delay the Carpatho-Ukrainian elections. On February 12, 1939, the entire population of Carpatho-Ukraine with 244,922 votes out of 265,002 cast, manifested the will to take its fate in its own hands and rejected the Hungarian and Polish aspirations.

The following representatives were elected:

1. Msgr. Dr. Voloshin, Premier of the government of Carpatho-Ukraine, Chust; — 2). Julian Revay, Minister of Carpatho-Ukraine, Chust; — 3). Dr. Mychailo Braschayko, notary public, Chust; — 4). Dr. Julius Braschayko, attorney, Chust; — 5). Ivan Griga, farmer, Vyshni Veretsky; — 6). The Rev. Adalbert Dovbak, pastor, Izky; — 7). Dr. Mikola Dolynay, physician, Chust; — 8). Dr. Milosh Drbal, attorney, Chust, for the Czech minority; — 9). Augustin Dutka, judge, Chust; — 10). Ivan Ihnatko, farmer, Bilky; — 11). Dr. Volodymyr Komarynsky, attorney, Chust; — 12). Ivan Kachala, railroad engineer, Perechyn; — 13). Vasyl Klempush, tradesman, Yasinia; — 14). Stepan Klochurak, official, Chust; — 15). Vasyl Latzanych, teacher, Velyky Berezny; — 16). Mykola Mandziuk, teacher, Sevlush; — 17). Mychailo Maruschak, farmer, Velyky Bychkiv; — 18). Leonid Romaniuk, engineer, official, Chust; — 19). Rev. Grigore Moys, pastor, Bila Tzerkov, for the Rumanian minority; — 20). Dmitro Nimchuk, director, Chust; — 21). Anton Ernest Oldofredi, Undersecretary of State, Chust, for the German minority; — 22). Yury Pazuchanich, inspector, Chust; — 23). Ivan Pervuznyk, farmer, Seredne;

24). Petro Popovych, farmer, Velyki Luchky; — 25). Fedir Revay, director of printing office; — 26). Dr. Mykola Ris-dorfer, physician, Svalava; — 27). Dr. Stepan Rosocha, official, Chust; — 28). Rev. Yury Staninec, pastor, Vonihovo; 29). Vasyl Shobey, farmer, Vulchivtzi; — 30) Augustin Stefan, head of the Ministry of Education, Chust; — 31). Rev. Kyrylo Fedelesh, professor, Bilky; — 32). Mychailo Tulyk, editor, Chust.

The Diet was to have met March 2, then March 9 was mentioned as convocation day, but President Hacha refused to sign the necessary decree. Instead, General Prchala appeared again on March 3 and informed Premier Voloshin that unless the government demobilized the Carpathian Sitch (the Carpatho-Ukrainian National Guard), he would do so himself. There was already an understanding between the Czech government and the German Ambassador in Prague to prevent the Carpatho-Ukrainian armed resistance against the Hungarian occupation. General Prchala was entrusted to disarm the Sitch or liquidate it, and he undertook that on March 13 by attacking the Sitch garrison, the Sitch Headquarters and the Sitch Hotel. After a fierce fight, in which 108 Ukrainians and 7 Czechs were killed, the Sitch Guards obeyed Premier Voloshin's order and ceased fighting. The Czech forces occupied all government institutions and disarmed the Sitch Guards in Chust. In the afternoon, however, when the proclamation of the Slovak independence became known, the Czechs cleared the government buildings and began to prepare their withdrawal from Chust.

Premier Voloshin convoked the Diet with the consent of President Hacha on March 15. (On March 13 a decree of President Hacha was published convoking the Diet on March 21, but after the proclamation of the Slovak independence, Voloshin obtained Hacha's consent for March 15). Meanwhile reports came that the Hungarian Army began an attack on the frontier villages of Pidhorianny, Kol-

chino, Pistrialovo and Makariovo, and were driven back to Hungarian territory by Sitch and Czech units. Simultaneously, Milosh Kobr, Czech Ambassador in Budapest, — telephoned Premier Voloshin that the Hungarian government demanded by ultimatum the cessation of the Anti-Hungarian propaganda, the release of the Hungarian political prisoners and the arming of the Hungarian population in Carpatho-Ukraine. The government rejected this ultimatum replying that there were no Hungarian political prisoners in Carpatho-Ukraine and no anti-Hungarian propaganda.

Consequently in view of this serious situation the government decided to proclaim the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine on the very same day. At 7 p. m. several thousand people gathered around the government building and greeted the proclamation of independence with great enthusiasm and many of them immediately enlisted in the Sitch.

The following day, Wednesday, March 15, when Prague was occupied by Hitler's forces without fight, the Diet met in the auditorium of the State Gymnasium. The platform was decorated with the Ukrainian, Czechoslovak and USA flags, the last a gift of the Carpatho-Ruthenians residing in USA. The Diet unanimously (with the votes of the Czech and Rumanian representatives, the German representative was absent) sanctioned the proclamation of the independence and proclaimed Carpatho-Ukraine a Republic. Then Rev. Dr. Augustin Voloshin was elected as the first president of the Republic. At first Session of the Diet the following two acts were passed:

ACT No. 1.

Article 1: Carpatho-Ukraine is an independent State.

Article 2: The name of the State is Carpatho-Ukraine.

Article 2: Carpatho-Ukraine is a Republic, headed by a president elected by the Diet of Carpatho-Ukraine.

- Article 4:* The official language of Carpatho-Ukraine is the Ukrainian language.
- Article 5:* The colors of the national flag of Carpatho-Ukraine are blue and yellow — blue on top, yellow on the bottom.
- Article 6:* The State Emblem of Carpatho-Ukraine is the present national emblem: a bear on a red field on the left hand, four blue and three yellow stripes on the right hand as well as the Trident of St. Volodimir the Great. This part of the act has to be resolved by a special act.
- Article 7:* The national anthem of Carpatho-Ukraine is — “Shche ne Vmerla Ukraina” (Ukraine Still Survives).
- Article 8:* This act becomes valid immediately after its passage.

ACT No. 2.

- Article 1:* The government is authorized by the Diet to issue ordinances with consent of the President of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic, which will have power of law till reconvoation. This authorization does not apply to amendments of the constitutional law.
- Article 2:* The ordinances issued by Article 1 have to be presented to the Diet at its earliest meeting. Otherwise, they become null and void.
- Article 3:* This act becomes valid immediately after its acceptance.

Then the Diet adjourned and President Voloshin left Chust for Bychkiv. The Hungarian Army invaded Carpatho-Ukraine with some 50,000 men, while the Sich numbered some 5,000 men, many unarmed and without uniforms. The heroic resistance of the Sich won world-wide recognition.

We quote only three commentaries: "It is necessary to fight against Sitch Guards, and so many Hungarian youths, brave honveds gave their lives... only with great effort was the enemy successfully pushed back from its positions." — *Official Hungarian Pamphlet*: "The Heroes of Sub-Carpathia."

The Polish "*Słowo Narodowe*" wrote: "It was assumed in Poland that the Czechs would not surrender their independence without a fight and that Sub-Carpathia would capitulate to the Magyars without opposition. But the Sitch warriors are still fighting. And in Bohemia there was not one bullet fired."

The correspondent of "*The New York Times*" Anne O'Hare McCormick said (March 16, 1939): "Of all the incredible episodes in the break-up of Czechoslovakia, what has happened during the last three days in Carpatho-Ukraine is the most fantastic. On Tuesday this smallest sector of the tripartite Czech State was fighting the Czechs. On Tuesday night it proclaimed itself an independent State. On Wednesday morning Czech flags were down, Czech troops in full flight and Ukrainian colors were flying from every window in the capital, Chust. By Wednesday afternoon the Hungarian tricolors had replaced the Ukrainian blue and yellow in a hundred villages as the Hungarian army advanced towards the capital.

"Carpatho-Ukraine was actually under three flags in twenty-seven hours. In three days it had fought two wars — the first to drive out the Czechs, the second to keep Hungarians from coming in. The biggest battle in these eventful days was fought not at Prague or at Bratislava in Slovakia, but at Chust on Tuesday between Czech troops and the Sitch, the Ukrainian National Guard, composed of Carpathian mountain boys dressed in blue-gray uniforms. — Today, Ukrainians and only Ukrainians are resisting and being swallowed up. Tomorrow or the next day Chust will

revert to the overgrown village it was before it became a symbol of a great Ukraine. In the cafe where Sitch members gathered nightly to plot and plan, there will be no more excitement. The great Ukraine will be developed somewhere else. But Chust was a capital for a day, and it goes down fighting”.

XVIII. OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE ELECTIONS

Some Hungarian, Czech and Magyar-Ruthenian publications asserted that the Carpatho-Ukrainian elections were not fair, because 1) only one list, the government list was allowed, — 2) opposition was excluded, — 3) secrecy was not observed.

1. It is true that in conclusion there was only one government list. But other lists were not excluded, and there were two other lists submitted: a Ruthenian list of Magyarophile candidates, and a Ukrainian list, under the title: “List of Ukrainian Women”. The Magyarophile list was declared invalid by the Electoral Commission because no one represented the list. The “trustee” of the list, Dr. Drbal, a Czech lawyer, was nominated trustee without his consent and he declared to the Electoral Commission that he had nothing in common with that list (he was candidate on the governmental list). In like manner 70% of the other candidates were listed without their consent. The decision of the Electoral Commission was duly published among others in the semi-official daily “Nova Svoboda” of January, 29, 1939, No. 19, p. 2.

The list of the “Ukrainian Women” was withdrawn by the trustees. Beside this group had the same policy as the governmental list, but wanted women candidates.

The government list was a coalition list consisting of a) ten candidates, who previously had belonged to the Christian-People-Party, — b) ten candidates of the former Social-Democrat Party, two of them left-wingers, c) seven

of the former Agrarian Party, — d) two of the National-Ukrainian Party, and — e) three represented the Czech, Rumanian and German minorities (one of each). The Jews — it should be known, declared before the elections that they did not wish to have Jewish candidates, but that they would vote just the same which they did. The Magyars rejected the governmental proposition to nominate a Hungarian candidate.

It is necessary to bear in mind that this election was the first of all a plebiscite which had to manifest the national character and the self-determination of the people and not to stress party policies.

2. The opposition could disclose its disagreement by negative votes (empty envelopes). In that category there were 17,752 negative votes from all parts of the country, and not only from Chust as Dr. Ripka maliciously asserts.

3. No concrete case could be pointed to whereby secrecy of elections was not observed.

As previously mentioned, the effective power lay in Czech hands, the gendarmerie, the Army were under Czech control. In almost every village there were Czech officials, who most certainly would have reported any attempt of abuse.

I N D E X

(Numbers refer to pages.)

- Andrashko, V., 21.
- Arpad, 15, 30.

- Bachinsky, E., 33.
- Baludianski, W., 29.
- Bartha, M., 11, 18.
- Batu Khan, 15.
- Beck, Colonel, 31, 32.
- Benesh, E., 23.
- Biro, T., 21.
- Biro, V., 21.
- Boksay, O., 21.
- Braschayko, W., 20, 21, 40.
- Braschayko, W., 20, 21, 40.
- Brody, 32, 38.

- Carpatho-Ukrainian Constitutional Law, 30, 42.
- Chanda, J., 20.
- Czechoslovak Constitutional Law, 23, 24.
- Chuchka, J., 20, 21.

- Dan, Sheriff, 21.
- Dobriansky, A., 17, 30.
- Dolinay, N., 20, 40.
- Dovbak, A., 40.
- Dovhovich, V., 29.
- Drbal, M., 40, 45.
- Dutka, A., 40.
- Dzumurat, I., 21.

- Egan, E., 11, 12, 17, 19.
- Emery, Ste., 30.

- Fedelesh, K., 41.
- Fenczik, 32, 38.

- Gayda, 32.
- Gorzo, Y., 21.
- Griga, I., 40.
- Grigassy, M., 21.

- Hacha, President, 41.
- Hadzega, J., 21.
- Halmay, I., 21.
- Hayovich, P., 21.
- Hitler, 31, 33, 36, 42.
- Hodza, M., 24.
- Horthy, 31, 32.
- Hoschuk, 20.

- Ihnatko, I., 40.

- Jews, 33, 34.
- Joseph II., 28.

- Kachala, I., 40.
- Karabelesh, A., 32.
- Kelemen, I., 21.
- Khazars, 11.
- Klempush, V., 40.
- Klochurak, S., 20, 40.
- Kobr, M., 41.
- Komarnitsky, M., 20.
- Komarynsky, V., 40.
- Koriatovich, F., 17.
- Kossey, P., 21.
- Kossuth, 17.

- Latzanych, V., 40.
- Lyach, P., 21.
- Lepey, E., 15.
- Lodi, P., 29.
- Luchkai, M., 28.

- Mandziuk, M., 40.
- Maria Theresa, 28.
- Maruschak, M., 40.
- Masaryk, T., 22.
- Medve, M., 20.
- Miley, S., 18.
- Mitkevich, M., 18.
- Moys, G., 40.
- Murtsko, I., 20.

National Council in Chust, 21.
National Council in Lubivna, 19
Nat'l Council in Marmorosh
Sihit, 19.
Nat'l Council in Priashiv, 21.
Nat'l Council in Scranton, 22.
Nat'l Council in Svalava, 20.
Nat'l Council in Uzhorod, 21.
Nevitsky, E., 19, 20.
Nimchuk, D., 40.

O'Hare McCormick, A., 44.
Oldofredi, E., 40.
Orlay, I., 29.

Parkany, A., 21.
Patrus, A., 32.
Pazuchanich, Y., 40.
Pervuznyk, I., 40.
Popovich, P., 41.
Potushniak, V., 21.
Prchala, 31, 41.

Rakoczy, F., 11.
Revay, F., 41.
Revay, J., 33, 40.
Ripka, H., 33, 34, 38, 46.
Risdorfer, M., 41.
Romaniuk, L., 40.
Rosocha, S., 41.
Rybovich, I., 20.

Saint-Germain, Treaty, 22, 23,
24.
Severini, J., 18.
Shandor, I., 21.
Shima, P., 20.
Shobey V., 41.
Shuhay, N., 15.
Sigismund, 18.
Simpson, G. W., 34.
Sitch Guards, 41, 42.
Stalin, 32.
Stalinets, Y., 21, 41.
Stefan, A., 21, 41.
Stephen, Ste, 30.
Stoika, A., 32.

Tarnay, L., 21.
Tomka Szaszky, Jr., 18.
Toronsky, E., 20.
Tulyk, M., 41.

Venelin (Hutsa), Y., 28.
Voloschuk, I., 21.
Voloshin, A., 32, 33, 36, 40, 41,
42, 43.

Wilson, Woodrow, 19.

Yosipchuk, V., 21.

Zavadsky, 20.
Zeltvay, V., 21.
Zemanchik, I., 29.



CARPATIAN STAR
Publishing Co.
P. O. Box 1169 Church St. Sta.
New York 7, N. Y. U.S.A.