

WILSON'S PRINCIPLES

- in -

CZECHOSLOVAK PRACTICE



*The situation of the Carpatho-Russian
People under the Czech yoke.*

BY

MICHAEL YUHASZ, SR.,

*President of the Rusin Council of National Defense in U. S. A.,
Supreme President of the Greek Catholic Union of Russian Brotherhoods.*



Homestead, Pa., 1929.

WILSON'S PRINCIPLES

- in -

CZECHOSLOVAK PRACTICE



*The situation of the Carpatho-Russian
People under the Czech yoke.*

BY

MICHAEL YUHASZ, SR.,

*President of the Rusin Council of National Defense in U. S. A.,
Supreme President of the Greek Catholic Union of Russian Brotherhoods.*



LIBRARY OF
SOUTHWEST TEXAS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
Homestead, Pa., 1929. KAS

*This Book is Respectfully Dedicated
To Those Who Abhor Seeing
People Opressed.*

CONTENTS:

	Page
Foreword	5
Introduction	7
The First Decade after the World War	16
The Situation in Carpatho-Russia	17
The Picture of Political Situation in Carpatho-Russia	22
The Church in Carpatho-Russia	25
The Schools and Industries in Carpatho-Russia	28
The Czech Tyranny	33
Memorandum	35
a) Introduction	35
b) Territorial Grievances	37
c) The Autonomy Question	39
d) The Question of Officials	47
e) Economic Grievances	49
f) Conclusion	51
An Appeal to the Czechoslovak Government	52
Our Active Protests	58
Conclusion	60

FOREWORD.

The Carpatho-Russian people — perhaps better known in America as the Ruthenians, — are suffering under the iron-heeled tyranny of Czechoslovakia. These unfortunate people are gagged and unable to carry their complaint to the world and plead their cause before the Bar of world public opinion.

The American Carpatho-Russians, — Ruthenians, — have come to the aid of their distressed sisters and brethren in Carpatho-Russia. The American-Carpatho-Russians do that which their sisters and brethren cannot do: present the facts to, and plead the cause of their kins, at the Bar of world public opinion.

God speaks to us in Proverbs 31: 8-9, as follows: "Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction. Judge righteously and minister justice to the poor and oppressed." The American Carpatho-Russians follow this divine command.

The next duty rests on the shoulders of Christian civilization. The facts are

presented and the plea is made. The world is asked to deliver the Carpatho-Russian people from the iron-heeled tyranny of Czechoslovakia. To ignore the facts herein set forth and to deny the plea herein made is tantamount to invite the white race to commit suicide. Czechoslovakia is heading toward plunging the world into a dangerous and cruel war. It might not be amiss to remind the readers of this book, that the world war was precipitated and thrown upon the world by the activities of, among others, a number of Czech political leaders. **If not prevented, Czechoslovakia will plunge the world into another world war within the next few years.** In presenting the facts and plea in this book, the American Ruthenians are performing their duty not only in behalf of their distressed kins but also to the world.



President of the Carp. Russian Council of National Defence

INTRODUCTION.

“The people guilty of oppression injures its own interests itself...”
— Masaryk: “The New Europe.”

It is the intention of this book to reveal the great grievances of the little nation, called Carpatho-Russia (*) which nestles in the Carpathian Mountains upon the territory which was formerly a part of Hungary. The people of this nation are approximately 600,000 in number and have occupied their present land for one thousand years. After the World War Carpatho-Russia (or Podkarpatska Rus,) was united to Czechoslovakia by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye upon the decision of the Carpatho-Russians who had emigrated to the United States of America and who still had the welfare of their brethren in the native land at heart.

In order that the reader may clearly understand all that we say in this book, the following explanation is deemed necessary. Prior to and during the world war, certain Czech leaders, among them Thomas Masaryk, now President of Czechoslovakia, conducted a propaganda in the United States of America among the Slavic nationalities. They told us about the splendid “Slavic soul” the Czechs possessed and painted heavenly bliss and happiness to us, if we only would desire that Carpatho-Russia should be united with the Czechs. During this campaign it appeared that God Almighty had given a special commission to the

Czechs to bring democracy, happiness and peace to the Slavic nationalities.

It was the result of this misleading Czech propaganda and the natural desire for the well being and good future of Carpatho-Russians, that the Carpatho-Russians of the United States of America took steps, through their organizations, to aid their brethren in Carpatho-Russia to unite with the Czechs, in the newly created Republic of Czechoslovakia. These steps, however, were taken in good faith and in the conscientious belief that the union of Carpatho-Russia with Czechs would insure a good and democratic future for the people of Carpatho-Russia. **)

The period of ten years has passed since Carpatho-Russia was united to Czechoslovakia. During this time, the political, religious, cultural and economic rights of the Carpatho-Russians have been ruthlessly trampled under foot by the Czechoslovak government. The cry for deliverance has reached the Carpatho-Russians of the United States of America and we feel duty-bound to come

*) Medieval Latin writers call these people Ruthenians and this name was adopted by modern foreign authors. During their political, economic and cultural union with Hungary, they called themselves Uhro-Rusin, or Rusin. Since they had united with Czechoslovakia, they call themselves Carpatho-Rusin, or Carpatho-Russians, in order to indicate their distinct individual national character, custome, culture and language, which distinguish them from other branches of the Russian race living in Galicia, Bukovina and Southern Russia.

**) In 1918, when her independence from Austria was regained, Hungary voluntarily granted autonomy to Carpatho-Russia. A Governor was appointed and the autonomy of Carpatho-Russia was put into legal operation. Carpatho-Russia, therefore was an autonomous country, when she was annexed to Czechoslovakia. The Czechs nullified this autonomy, demoralized the Carpatho-Russians in religion, and morals, deprived them of their rights and ruined them economically, in order to break their resistance, so that they may more easily be denationalized and thus their autonomy may become unnecessary. In order to accomplish all these, the Czechs corrupted the Carpatho-Russian leaders and exiled those leaders who resisted the denationalization of their people. At the same time by disseminating false information concerning the Carpatho-Russian autonomy, the Czechs succeeded in misleading the Great Powers who signed the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye and guaranteed the rights of the minorities.

to the aid of our suffering brethren in Carpatho-Russia. We make a clean breast of the situation and admit that we had played an important role in promoting this unfortunate union of Carpatho-Russia with the Republic of Czechoslovakia, so-called. But we repeat that in all our activities we had acted in good faith and in the belief that the "Slavic soul" of the Czechs was a reality and not a HUMBUG! We are coming out into the open and are ready to do everything within reason and human possibilities to deliver Carpatho-Russia from the unprecedented oppression of Czechoslovakia.

During the last ten years the Carpatho-Russians of the United States of America have approached, on several occasions the Czechoslovak government, concerning the complaints of our brethren and regarding their right to self-government, as provided in the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. The first protest, in definite terms, against the tyrannical policy of the Czechs toward the right to self-government of the Carpatho-Russians was made by Gregory I. Zatkovich, on or about March 16, 1921. Mr. Zatkovich, though an American citizen, was the first governor of Carpatho-Russia and he represented the wishes and desires of the Carpatho-Russians of the United States of America, regarding the welfare of the people of Carpatho-Russia. Convinced that no efforts of his, however strained, would obtain from the Czechoslovak government a right of self-government for the Carpatho-Russians, he resigned his position and then published an Exposé, in which he sets forth the reasons for his resignation and details the anti-autonomy policy of the Czechs towards Carpatho-Russia. The protests made in this Exposé should be considered as the protest of the Carpatho-Russians of the United States of America and of Carpatho-Russia, because Mr. Zatkovich, at that time, was the representative of the Carpatho-Russian people of America, as

well as of the natives of Carpatho-Russia.

The next protest was made by the Carpatho-Russian people's Congress held in Pittsburgh on November 28, 1922, at which Congress not less than 1500 delegates represented the Carpatho-Russian people of the United States and Canada. At this Congress the Rusin Council of National Defense was created in order that it may represent solely and exclusively the chief political authority of the American Carpatho-Russian people without regard to their religious affiliation and act in accordance to their will. The Statutes of this Council vest the highest executive power in the President and it is in this capacity and according to these Statutes that Mr. Michael Yuhasz Sr., is now acting. (During the time between October 28 and December 31, 1928 local meetings held in 160 communities of Carpatho-Russian people in America confirmed again and in expressed terms delegated Mr. Yuhasz to act as the chief representative of the Carpatho-Russians of America in the matter of the autonomy for Carpatho-Russia.) According to the decision of this Congress a detailed Memorandum was sent to the Czechoslovak government in 1923 but this Memorandum was ignored with the excuse that the autonomy for Carpatho-Russia is an internal affair of Czechoslovakia and the Carpatho-Russians of America have no right to meddle in this affair.

In 1918 Masaryk and the Czech representatives were of the opposite opinion. At that time it was profitable for them to acknowledge the right of self-determination of the American Carpatho-Russians.

The third protest was made by the Carpatho-Russian Congress, held in New York, on June 21, 1925, under the auspices of the above mentioned Council.

This Congress reiterated in its resolution that the Czechoslovak government has unmistakably proved its intention to deprive the Carpatho-Russian people of all their national rights and

privileges given them by the peace treaty. In its resolution this Congress requested the Czechoslovak government to withdraw its nefarious policy and respect the rights of the Carpatho-Russian people, which rights were assured to them in the peace treaty. This Convention further demanded that the Czechoslovak government give an answer to the requests contained in this resolution. In this resolution it was set forth that in the event there would be no prospect for the satisfactory fulfillment of the requests therein contained, the Congress empowers and delegates its Executive Committee to establish a new policy and employ the same in its effort to obtain the right of self-government for Carpatho-Russia. If the people of Carpatho-Russia see that, notwithstanding their honest and solemn efforts, their demands are ignored, then it must be concluded that nothing good can be expected of Czechoslovakia and, therefore, the Carpatho-Russian people may consider it their right to act according to their best interests.

The Czechoslovak Government did not take the pains to answer this Memorandum, either. The situation did not improve, nay, it became worse every day. The Czechoslovak Government, seeing that the Carpatho-Russian people are not willing to give up their autonomous rights without a struggle, began an active internal and external campaign against the Carpatho-Russian national claims. From this time it became evident that our interventions regarding the autonomy and the matter of adjusting the frontiers for Carpatho-Russia were in vain and we can not hope for anything in the future. This view of ours was confirmed by the political consequences. The Czechoslovak government continued a ruthless policy in order to disintegrate the Carpatho-Russian people ethnographically, culturally, economically, politically and in language. The forced Czechization became more intensive in every line. The Czech

language was introduced into the offices, the schools and public life day by day in increased proportions. The right of priority of the Carpatho-Russian language was ignored everywhere. In the executive and the more important offices of administration, as well as in some of the smaller offices, notwithstanding the provision of paragraph 12 of the Minority Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye which says, "Czecho-Slovakia engages as far as possible, to appoint inhabitants of that territory to the official posts in the Ruthenian territory," Czechs or immigrants, mostly Ukrainian and Slovaks, were employed. A period of experimentation was then begun with the purpose of substituting a quasi-autonomy in place of the real autonomy. As a result in 1926 Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia was divided into large *zupas* and one of these was Carpatho-Russia. According to this division, the position of Carpatho-Russia with regard to its granted and guaranteed self-government was not different in any respect to that of any of the other *zupas* (county, district).

After the division of the whole of Czechoslovakia into large *zupas* had been proven unsuccessful, and because of pressure of the Slovaks and Carpatho-Russians who were clamoring for their autonomy, and because the past experiments caused an unfavorable impression in the eyes of the rest of the world, the government of Czechoslovakia attempted a new experiment. According to the Year-Book of the Czechoslovak Republic published in 1929, they decided that "in place of the districts and lands in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia and in place of the *zupy* and districts in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia there will enter into existence on July 1st, 1928, in consequence of the great administration reforms provided for by law No. 125 1927, a new organization based on the principle of the combination of the State administration and self-government administration offices in single offices." The Year-Book goes

on to say, "The organs of the territorial self-government areas are the territorial president, the territorial assembly, committee and commissions. The territorial president and the officials under him are State officials. . . . The territorial assembly of Carpathian-Russia has 18 members. Two-thirds of the members are elected for a period of 6 years. One third of the members are nominated by the Government from among the experts, regard being had to the economic, cultural, national, and social conditions. The chairman of the territorial assembly is the territorial president."

"The activities of the territorial assembly are economic and administrative, norm-fixing, advisory and judicatory. In its norm-fixing activities the territorial assembly may issue detailed regulations in regard to the law passed by the National Assembly, if the law allows this and the Government authorized the territorial assembly to do so; further, the latter body may make statutes for the regulation of the territorial institutions, together with regulations for the administration of the property of the communes, districts and territories, their undertakings and institutions, and for the carrying out of supervision of this administration. Decisions of this character require to be confirmed by the Minister of the Interior in agreement with the other Ministries concerned. In its advisory function the territorial assembly acts as the advisory body for the territorial president and central authorities in matters of the public administration of the territorial self-government area, and it gives opinions and makes proposals."

All this is contrary to the provisions of the Peace Treaties.

In its final analysis this is nothing else than the renewal of the pernicious policy of pre-war Austria, which divided the Austrian possessions into ostensible self-governing provinces which, in reality, were governed from Vienna.

This so-called autonomy which is supposed to replace the county self-government by a territorial Assembly, is nothing but a political trick. Its appointed members and those who ex-officio are also members, together with those who have been elected as members by the aid of the Czechoslovak government and by terror and corruption, can easily put through anything the Czechoslovak government wants. Even if this could not be done, the Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior has the power to dissolve the Assembly, at any time he so desires. And what is even more important from the standpoint of the right to self-government, this territorial Assembly has no right to enact any law even in instances which, by treaties and laws, are included among the rights of self-government.

The latest system of administrative reform is, in fact, a further step towards the centralization of the administration and the annihilation of the rights of selfgovernment.

Our stand on the matter of any administrative reform is defined with precision in the peace treaty and in the constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic, regarding the rights of Carpatho-Russia. The Czechoslovak government, in violation of the provisions of the peace treaty and of the Czechoslovak constitution, has reduced Carpatho-Russia to the status of a County. The territorial Assembly which was given to Carpatho-Russia, has no legislative power. Instead of a Governor, a president was given to the Assembly. The president is not a Carpatho-Russian but a Czech. In doing all these, the Czechoslovak government has forgotten that:—

a) Podkarpatska Rus*) has the right to "fullest autonomy", co-equal with the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Republic. The sovereignty (unity) of the state assures a centralized head (the president of the country), a central parliament and a central administration for public

*) Carpatho-Russia.

affairs: foreign, military, financial, revenue, industrial, commercial, etc., besides the affair of the autonomy for Podkarpatska Rus (Carpatho-Russia);

b) the affairs of the autonomy are or should be: the entire internal administration in which are the agricultural affairs, culture of forests, mines, public health, commerce, courts, territorial-police administration, language, public instruction, religion, and besides these, the further matters which the laws of the Republic add to the competency of the autonomous Sojm (Diet);

c) The Assembly is, or should be, not only an "advisory" but a legislative organ of Carpatho-Russia. It was so designed and intended in the peace treaty and in the constitution. And it must be so constituted and recognized.

d) Podk. Rus has to have a Governor who is answerable to the Sojm, is the executive organ of the Sojm, administrator of the autonomy; consequently, he becomes the last resort of the internal administration of Podkarpatska Rus; he has the power to appoint all officers of the civil administration in Podk. Rus. Furthermore, the Governor ought to have the power of counter-signing and vetoing the appointment of all officers in all other departments of government service, as, for instance, the railroads, postal department, gendarmerie, financial administration, etc. — because without such right of the Governor there seems no possibility to carry out effectively the decrees of the Peace Conference, that the officers of Podkarpatska Rus in the first place should be chosen and appointed from autochthon-Rusins.

The duty of the territorial president becoming today the principal organ of administration and direct exponent of the central administration, is contrary to the idea of an autonomy and of the powers of a governor, and consequently should be abolished.

e) From the full autonomous powers of the Sojm and the Governor it

follows that the reorganization of the administrative districts and counties belongs to the competency of the Sojm and the Governor.

f) The eastern boundaries, known as the Slovak-Ruthenian boundaries, must be defined and determined in accordance with the provisions of the peace treaty and with due regard to the rights and interests and with the consent of the people of Carpatho-Russia.

g) The natives of Carpatho-Russia should, and must, have the priority to all official positions in Carpatho-Russia, in accordance with the provisions of the peace treaty. Other nationals should be appointed to these positions only in the event no suitable persons could be found for such positions among the natives of Carpatho-Russia.

h) In accordance with the provisions of the peace treaty and also in accordance with the provisions of the Czechoslovak constitution, the official language in Carpatho-Russia should, and must, be Carpatho-Russian. Every administrative official should, and must, be compelled to speak and write the Carpatho-Russian language, while engaged in his official duties.

i) For the proper financing of the self-government of Carpatho-Russia a carefully worked out system of quota should be established. The budget of Carpatho-Russia should, and must, be determined on the basis of proper proportion. The central administrative expenses in Carpatho-Russia should be allotted in the same proportion. The Carpatho-Russians should not be compelled to pay more than their due and just share. The unnecessary expenses, such as extra compensation to Czech administrative officials and Czech police officers should be abolished. In 1926 the financial administration alone cost the country thirty million Czech crowns, — one million dollars. This extravagancy, which serves only Czech interests, should be abolished.

These endless experiments during the past ten years have not brought about the establishment of an autonomy for Carpatho-Russia. Seeing that their hopes are in vain, the Carpatho-Russians of America decided to turn to international channels for the fulfillment of the provisions of the Peace Treaties of St. Germain-en-Laye and, therefore, on September 15, 1928 the President of the Rusin Council of National Defense sent a Memorandum directly to the League of Nations which was forwarded at the same time to the French, English, Japanese, Italian, Belgian and German governments as well as to the government of the United States.

In October of the same year, the Carpatho-Russians of America were invited by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs through its Consulate at Pittsburgh to take part in the celebration of the ten-year jubilee of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. After what had happened during the past ten years, this invitation was like an insult. Just as the American Slovaks, we had no reason to celebrate. The Rusin Council of National Defense, instead of calling the Carpatho-Russians of America to celebrate the jubilee, thought that here was an opportunity to call the American Carpatho-Russians to protest against the ten-year unjust activity of the Czechoslovak government and to demand the honoring of the national rights and of the autonomy of the people of Carpatho-Russia.

At the call of the President of the Rusin Council of National Defense during the time from October 28 to December 31, 1928, 160 Carpatho-Russian colonies — 94% of all the colonies — answered and unanimously accepted the resolution of the Rusin Council of National Defense to protest against the abusive and despotic policy of the Czechoslovak government and empowered the President to do everything necessary to obtain full autonomy and

just frontiers for Carpathian-Russia. Sixty-seven colonies added the point to the general resolution that should the government of Czechoslovakia postpone again the fulfillment of the provisions of the Peace Treaties, the union of Carpathian-Russia with the Czechoslovak government should be considered null and void. In this event the leaders of the Carpatho-Russian people should seek a possibility to unite Carpatho-Russia with another country under the same provisions of the same peace treaty. Czechoslovakia has violated the provisions of the peace treaty and has broken her contract and by so doing virtually nullified the peace treaty wherein Carpatho-Russia was bound to Czechoslovakia. As a matter of domestic and international law, there is no longer any contract which binds Carpatho-Russia to Czechoslovakia. Consequently, Carpatho-Russia is free to declare her independence from Czechoslovakia.

The presentation of these facts and opinion is made in good faith by the Carpatho-Russians of the United States of America. They had acted in good faith in 1918, when they aided in bringing about the union of Carpatho-Russia with Czechoslovakia. In 1918 they were misled. Today they see that they were tricked and the union of Carpatho-Russia with Czechoslovakia was a serious mistake. We emphasize the good faith of the Carpatho-Russians, because, at this time, it is the custom in Czechoslovakia to brand everyone an irredentist or something else, who dares to write and speak the truth concerning the unjustifiable behavior of Czechoslovakia toward the people of Carpatho-Russia.

Lord Chamberlain said in a session of the League of Nations held in March 1929 that the Minor peoples who come to the League of Nations for redress should do so with clean hands. Our hands and our conscience are just as clean as they were in 1918, regardless of what others impute to us. We trust

that when we turn to the League of Nations our procedure will be legal and correct because it is the only forum which can safeguard the provisions of the Peace Treaties and the rights of the Minor peoples.

We, Carpatho-Russians of America, are in a position to present the grievances of our people because of the freedom of speech guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States just as we were able to inform the world at large regarding the situation of our brethren in Carpatho-Russia ten years ago. Our brethren are gagged and cannot express their opinions as freely as we can.

Another hindrance for them is the fact that many of those who should be the natural leaders of the Carpatho-Russian people have become the pawns of corrupt politics through bribes. As a result, the people are being terrorized and demoralized. Chief among the terrorists, who terrorize the Carpatho-Russians in their own country, are Czechoslovak governmental agents who by the way, were engaged in active service of the short-lived bolshevik regime in Hungary, as, for instance, the former peoples commissar in Budapest, Dr. Augustine Stefan; the former district chief commissar Dr. Bachinsky; an active communist agitator, Balint-Blau; then another former ardent communist, Havash Handelsmann; the former communist, Ivan Ilto; etc. These men are without any political conscience and principles. A few of them are Carpatho-Russians by birth and are used, therefore, as the means to obtain the anti-autonomous ends of the government. They are presented as the leaders of the Carpatho-Russian people even though they are working against the best interests of these people. Those working for the autonomy are called by the Czechs and their political servants "magyoron—magyarophils". This is a misinterpretation of the truth in order to mislead the people in the Czechoslovak Republic. It is continued even beyond the Republic so that the whole

world may be misled and to give an instance of this we give the following data.

In its "Memoire No. 6," the Czechoslovak delegation before the Peace Conferences demanded that the Hungarian statistics should not be considered correct as to the number of Carpatho-Russians. Instead of these, they asked that the Registers of the Munkačevo and Prjašev Greek Catholic Dioceses be regarded as reliable sources. At that time, Dr. Benesh was of the opinion that all Greek Catholics in Carpatho-Russia were of Carpatho-Russian nationality, which is true. According to these registers, the number of Carpatho-Russians was 567,867. In the 1929 Year Book of the Czechoslovak Republic, however, there are only 461,894 Carpatho-Russians. They show further in this year book that there are 535,543 Greek Catholics. It is quite evident that Dr. Benesh has changed his mind and no longer considers the Greek Catholics to be Carpatho-Russians. According to these figures the number of Carpatho-Russians has decreased by more than one hundred thousand during the first decade of the Czechoslovak Republic. If we take into consideration also the 73,097 Greek Orthodox, who are also Carpatho-Russians, then we see that approximately 150,000 Carpatho-Russians have disappeared in the labyrinth of the Czechoslovak statistics. All this goes to serve the Czechization activities which have resulted in the establishment of 150 new Czech schools in Carpatho-Russia within the past two years. To bear out this statement we quote from the Rusin newspaper "Svoboda" (No. 14. Vol. XXX.) which is the organ of a government supporting party. It says, "there are already in Carpatho-Russia three hundred Czech teachers. This is done so wonderfully by our Educational Department, which should have as its duty the interest of the Carpatho-Russian schools. There are Carpatho-Russian schools where for every 400—600 students there

are 2—3 teachers, and in the Czech schools there are 10—20 students to each teacher. . . . The equipment of the Carpatho-Russian schools is much less elaborate than that had in the Czech schools. As you see from this, it is not important that there be carried on in the Carpatho-Russian schools a sincere cultural work, but it is only important that Czech schools take the place of the Carpatho-Russian schools as soon as possible. If a person were not intelligent, he would be able to say that this is not politics, but hogishness . . . Our patience is very great, but our cup is becoming too full”.

The “democratic” Czechoslovak Republic neglects the education of large masses of children of Carpatho-Russians not only in the so called Podkarpatska Rus, where there are 18,000 Carpatho-Russian children without a possibility of primary schooling, but also and chiefly in the Carpatho-Russian territories of Slovakia where there is no secondary and hardly any primary school for the children of Carpatho-Russians numbering more than 200,000!

To further illustrate the intensity of the Czechization we quote from the *Russkij Vistnik*, No. 12 of March 21, 1929. In an editorial we read as follows: “Today the whole state apparatus and the whole machinery of the Czech political parties serve only the ideals of a “Czech national state” and for the realization of these ideals the establishment of an autonomy for Carpatho-Russia is postponed, and even for the annihilation of our autonomy there was introduced a full centralization of administration.

“The supporters of this evil-intending Czechization politics appear to be the Czech governmental parties, the agrarian party, the national democrats, the so-called Shramek party. In the matter of Czechization, the autonomy of Carpatho-Russia is as a red cloth of which they are afraid just as the devil is afraid of holy water. They themselves (the

Czechs) revealed their plans when Carpatho-Russia demanded the fulfillment of the Peace Treaties and of the Constitution. In such an unfortunate situation, indeed only a blind or bribed person will not see the end towards which this policy is leading us. It leads us undoubtedly to the complete denationalization of Carpatho-Russia. . . . Alien parties disintegrated the strength of our people, and created political, religious, and language quarrels to such an extent that sons of the same parents became enemies of one another, and consequently there is no possibility for creating a general platform and a desired solidarity in matters of national importance.”

It would be an easy task for us to fill several books with like citations from the Carpatho-Russian newspapers published in Europe or America, wherein we find similar complaints in every issue of these newspapers. There are times when even the very Czech papers, in their lucid intervals of justice and wisdom, come out more forcefully against the stupid centralistic politics of the Czech government. Within the confines of such a small book as this, it is impossible to quote everything on this topic contained in these newspapers or other sources nor is it necessary. We wish only to reiterate that every reader should beware of the various official reports, books, or newspaper and magazine articles published by the Czechs about the welfare of Carpatho-Russia and the “wonderful” democracy that exists in Czechoslovakia in relation to Carpatho-Russia. The Czech government endeavors shrewdly to conceal the truth from the whole world,—the truth about the things which have been for us but a source of sorrow. It strives, on the contrary, to present things as though every national affair in Czechoslovakia was completely satisfactory to everyone concerned. These hypocrisies characterize in the best manner the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Benesh, who seems to be one of the most prominent

diplomatic deceivers of the time. He always represents things in such a way as though in Czechoslovakia all matters were in the most perfect order. In an issue of the "Slavonic Review" (Vol. VII. No. 20) under the title "Central Europe After Ten Years", Mr. Benesh, among other things, says: "The criterion of progress in Central Europe is not therefore whether there are national minorities also under new conditions, but whether these new conditions of Central Europe, — if the term may be used, — are able, in spite of the existence of national minorities, to give better proofs of contentment and stability."

We raise the question that where this stability and contentment are found? It is not among the Slovaks nor the Germans. It is not had among the Hungarians nor the Poles. Finally, with regret, we are obliged to say that it is not found among the Carpatho-Russians. It is impossible to satisfy any nationality by deceit. The history of the past ten years of our unfortunate union with the Czechs decidedly contradicts Mr. Benesh. Not only we contradict him but also do those who, like ourselves, intensely concerned themselves about the matter of national minorities, especially with that of Carpatho-Russia in Czechoslovakia. We are obliged to reiterate what Nitti wrote in his book "La Tragedia dell Europa" (1924) that, "Czechoslovakia: a second, but smaller and more complicated Austro-Hungary, which by an autocratic Centralization, wishes to govern the different Nationalities on one model. But while old Austria gave self-government to the Nationalities — the Czech's aim is not only to govern, but to make everybody Czech."

Consequently, it is not astonishing, if Dr. Flachtenberg in one of this year's issues of the German journal "Nation

and States" established in one of his articles about Carpatho-Russia that "Carpatho-Russia, under Czech rule, is a dangerous kennel for Peace in Europe and the League of Nations is obliged to turn its consideration towards this country."

It is very difficult for us to fight against the powerful propaganda of Czechoslovakia and it is possible that the present situation makes this just fight of ours for our rights and for the freedom of our much-suffering people even more difficult but in our extreme despair we cannot allow without a word the trampling of our national dignity by a more powerful people. We firmly and steadily believe in historical justice and believe also that Christian civilization will hear our voice and lessen the sufferings of the Carpatho-Russian people. With this hope we appeal continually to the world against the tearing away of 200,000 of our people from the maternal body of that Carpatho-Russia which should be autonomous as the Peace Treaties command and as our people demand but not as it pleases the Czechs—a travesty of—autonomy. The success of our battle is in the interests of all Central Europe.

However, in concluding, we reiterate that the Carpatho-Russians of America will not cease to fight until the autonomous Diet of Carpatho-Russia shall be elected and until just frontiers for this country shall be established. When the autonomous Diet of Carpatho-Russia shall convene, then our work shall be continued by our brethren in the old-country. Let them then decide whether they wish any longer to remain within the borders of the Czechoslovak Republic and, if so, under what conditions. Until that time, however our historical responsibility exists and binds us to defend that freedom for which

the Carpatho-Russian people have suffered much and shed much blood on their own land during the last one thousand years.



The First Decade After the World War.

TEN years ago the greatest and bloodiest war of History was ended with the victory of the Allied and Associated Powers. The whole civilized world was looking forward with the greatest hopes for a real, honest peace which would create a perfect understanding and brotherly spirit among the nations who participated in that horrible cataclysm of blood. We hoped the peace would give justice equally to every nation, victorious and defeated. It was said that the Great War which terminated in November 1918, would be the last one in History. It was said that the horrors of the Great War opened the eyes of the civilized nations to find the road to a real human, international brotherhood. It was said, that there will be no enslaved and subjugated nation on the globe in the future; that every nation, every people will receive its own place in the sun and will have an ample opportunity to live in harmonious liberty and happiness.

The atmosphere was full of joy and hopes created by Wilson's famous fourteen points. Especially great were the hopes of the smaller Central European nations that had been deprived of the opportunity for a real national life before the World War. We, Carpatho-Russians, or as we are frequently called, Ruthenians, living in America, were not less enthusiastic about the happy outlook of a

splendid national future of our brethren in Carpatho-Russia. Taking advantage of the situation we succeeded in obtaining an adequate recognition of our national individuality among the nations of the world and by the Peace Conference, according to the Peace Treaties of Saint Germain en Laye our native country, in other words all territories of the former Hungary, inhabited by Ruthenians, were annexed to the newly created Czechoslovak Republic under the provision that Czechoslovakia shall grant the fullest autonomy for the Ruthenian people within her borders. The great hopes and joys of millions as well as of us are withered, if not totally annihilated by the sad and cruel experiences of the past ten years.

Instead of the fulfillment of our expectations we see no international brotherhood, no harmony, no happiness among the nations of Central Europe. What we see is the utter dissatisfaction, disillusionment, ever growing hatred among the peoples of the post-war Central European States. In Jugoslavia the Croatian is engaged in a bitter fight for his national freedom endangered by the less civilized and intolerantly aggressive Serbian. In Roumania the Ruthenians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Saxons, Macedonians, even the Transylvanian Roumanians are well-nigh revolting against the tyranny of the semi-barbaric, semiasiatic, semicultured "Regat"—Roumanians, especially against the "bojar" autocracy of pre-war Roumania. In Czechoslovakia, hardly more than six million Czechs are exercising a complete absolute hegemony over nearly nine millions of other nationalities, over the Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, and alas!, Ruthenians, whose annexation to the Republic was con-

cluded upon the decision of the American Ruthenians, drugged by the promises of Masaryk and under the term of the fullest Autonomy national, social and political that was guaranteed by the great Powers of the World.

We can paint the best picture of the present hardships of the unfortunate "liberated" Ruthenian (Carpatho-Russian) people by quoting verbatim the articles of Ruthenian and other newspapers, published in Carpatho-Russia and elsewhere, — by showing the standpoint of the Czech press, — by outlining the hardships suffered by the Ruthenian people during the last ten years under Czech control, and by reproducing the cry for deliverance expressed in the various memoranda, appeals and protests issued by the Ruthenian people against the tyranny of the Czechs, which is dangerously near to the point of throwing the world into another and unprecedentedly cruel war.

The following five chapters were written by duly authorized investigators whom the Rusin Council of Defense sent to Ruthenia to observe and investigate the conditions existing there. They detail in these chapters the result of their personal observation and investigation and also paint a picture of the impressions they obtained from articles printed in Ruthenian and other newspapers and from information imparted to them in personal correspondence by natives of Ruthenia, who are familiar with the situation there.

The Rusin Council of National Defense is continuously in close touch with the natives of Ruthenia and, through its own investigators, is being informed from time to time as to the situation there.

The Situation in Carpatho-Russia.

IN THE following articles it is my intention to give a well nigh correct description of the general religious, economic, social as well as political situations of Podkarpatska Rus, which is — or if is not: should be — an **autonomous State** within the borders of the Czechoslovak Republic, according to the terms of the Peace Treaties of Saint Germain-Laye.

But the autonomy guaranteed by the respective Peace Treaties and recognized by the Czech people by adopting it into the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic is not existing even today, after 10 years having passed since the hopeful days of Peace Conference!

In the previous issues of the *Amerikansky Russky Viestnik* there was published an article under the title: "How our people are living on the hunger-stricken areas of Verchovina". The author of this article is a Czech and by publishing a picture of that horrible famine during the winter of 1926-1927, as was seen by the very eyes of one of the ruling Czech nationality, I wished to present a description by an unbiased Czech.

I have seen (1927-1928) a part of the last famine's picture over-there, with my very eyes, very often perhaps almost blinded by tears of deep bitterness. It was the most disheartening picture I ever saw in my life, though I am a man of advanced age. I am compelled to state here that in my opinion, because of the very same reasons and causes, the consequences must be the very same: **OUR PEOPLE UNDER THE CZECH YOKE ARE DYING OF HUNGER.**

How great must be the glory of the Czech "liberators" (as they call themselves), that is derived from the pains

and sufferings of our good, honest and liberty loving people — I don't know. The only thing I know is, that the Czechs — though they see the deplorable situation, however, they seem to be utterly unconcerned. They are not very anxious to do anything for the complete salvation of the situation and to stop the annual return of the famine accompanied by a number of epidemical diseases.

They appear to be blind to the misery of the Rusin people.

I should like the American Czechs to see what their own brothers have done with the Rusin people, who were annexed to Czechoslovakia upon the request of the American Rusins, under the "*conditio sine qua non*" of the fullest autonomy in conformity with the sovereignty and unity of the Czechoslovak Republic. I should like the American Czechoslovaks, who know what is the true democracy and who have tasted the sweetness of the true freedom here in America, to see the cruelty of the "political skill" of their "state-building" brothers in Czechoslovakia; to see their false "big-heartedness," their perfidy under the mask of the so-called "slavjanska ljubov" Slavonic-love, which is, in the case of Czechs, nothing else than deepest selfishness.

The love of the Czechs toward their Slavonic brothers exists only in their propaganda-pamphlets.

UZHOROD.

— The Capital City of Podk. Rus. —

A great number of people from all parts of the wide world — are going to Russia every year. They wish to see the people living in the bolshevik paradise. And very often they come back with the impression that they have seen a real paradise. At least they say that the conditions in Russia of today are far better than they were in the old Russia. Let's concede that they went there with the most rigid intention

for most accurate observation of the situation in the bolshevik "Paradise of workers." But in Russia, ever since the days of Potemkin, the art of bluffing and hiding the unpleasantly looking truth from the eyes of the world is progressing and has been developed to the highest perfection. The bolsheviks are the most magic masters of the art of "potemkining." They show the "distinguished" and "studious" visitor everything they wish him to see, but the visitor sees nothing but the surface. He can't see the depth, where everything is rotting and starving.

Usually they come back to us with the best impressions. And we must be very careful in believing their stories since the days of Potemkin.

The same is the case with the Czechs. They show you everything. Their propaganda is powerful and shrewd. The only matter is that you must not believe even your own eyes, because they show you the surface only. Any visitor not having adequate and intimate connections with the suffering and oppressed stratum of people living under the Czech yoke, can not get an inside look into the situation. He soon becomes pitifully lost in the hands of the Czech potemkins.

"Let's decorate and beautify Užhorod — the capital city of Podk. Rus, let's erect fine buildings, let's concentrate the signs of a rapid progress in case any of those foreign visitors should come they could have something to see. It pays to advertise! Most of the visitors are stupid enough to be satisfied with the surface view and they will think that the whole Podkarpatska Rus is progressed to the same extent under our brotherly rule" — say the Czechs!

I had seen this city before, but I did not see Užhorod immediately after the war. But I have been in close contact with true and noncompromising, non-bribeable Rusins always. Before my vi-

sit, I knew where I was to go and what I was to see to observe the truth. Nothing else but the plain truth. And I could not visit this rapidly developing city without seeing, without observing the tremendous increase of the number of invaders or new-comers, if you are in favor of softer words.

Užhorod is the city of the Czech adventurers.

During the 50 years between 1860 and 1910, the number of inhabitants of Užhorod increased from 10,000 to 16,000 through immigration of "Polish Jews", the exploiters of the Rusin people. Between 1920 and 1927, under the rule of the Czechs, this increase is somewhat surprising for there were only 20,000 people in Užhorod in 1920. After seven short, hectic years however this number has grown to 25,000 as a result of the rush-like immigration of the Czech officers, officials and other fortune-seekers who have come and are coming day by day from Prague as well as from other parts of the historical Czech provinces. They have one common slogan: "Get rich quick" and their general idea is that Podkarpatska Rus is a "colony inhabited by those semi-barbaric "Rusniaks"...". During this short period the Czechs became leaders in everything. This happened not by their virtues but as a consequence of force for they were the people having the power in their hand. The power was given them by the most grotesque international conjuncture, because, the Czechs have suffered the less and received the most, though they were playing a two sided game during the war: one on the side of Austria, and one on the side of the Allied Powers. In either case they could not lose anything! They were not risking anything. They were bound to gain in any case. While Masaryk, Beneš and others were agitating against Austria, abroad, other not less prominent Czechs, were doing their best for the Hapsburgs and Austria at

home. While the Allied Powers claimed them as their confederate, the Army orders, the official bulletins of Austria never ceased to characterize them as the pillars and heroes of the Monarchy. This two-sidedness of the Czech politics, this reinsurance on every side is best characterized by the example of the Beneš family. Eduard Beneš was on the side of the Allied Powers, working against Austria, while his brother Vojta Beneš, according to the words of a Czechoslovak newspaper (New Yorksky Dennik, June 1, 1928) was doing his best on the side of Austria even in 1917 and that in America! He wrote poems glorifying the Hapsburgs! Nevertheless he is a State School-Inspector in Prague and member of the Czech parliament today! But we are straying from our theme. We are to write about Užhorod. To continue our story, we have to state that the city in every respect is under the complete rule of the Czech autocracy. The Czechs have almost everything. Theirs are the factories, stores, banks, restaurants, they are sitting in the offices and they occupy every place and all soft jobs giving a decent livelihood. It cannot be unobserved that they are patronizing only the places of business having Czech character. They support only their own. Their chauvinism is intolerant and determined. They are very cautious not to spend any money so that it would help merchants, producers other than Czech.

Even their bread is daily sent from Prague. They are not spending in Podk. Rus unless they are compelled to do so, though every available place where money can be earned is theirs.

I can not get rid of the conviction based upon my careful observation that they came to Podkarpatska Rus to get rich quick without consideration of the great harm this policy can do to other nationalities who were living in Podkarpatska Rus centuries before the Czech invasion.

The Czech policy in Podkarpatska Rus is the very same as that of the first Spaniards who invaded the land of Incas and Aztecs in the XVI. century.

These new-comers fill up every place of pleasure. They can be seen in Czech saloons, in cabarets drinking the best wine or beer obtainable. They are getting fat and corpulent while the autochton Rusin people are starving and dying of hunger! They are getting rich quick while the native Rusin people, betrayed by their own political leaders at home, bribed and corrupted by the Czechs, are on the verge of the worst and most absolute economical annihilation we can imagine.

And they call themselves: "the liberators"!

They — the oppressors and corrupters! —

**

It is officially stated by the Czech Government that millions of Kč-s (Czechokrone is worth about 3 cents) are spent for repairing the streets of Užhorod. There is nothing said however about the fact that 75 per cent of the money spent on improvements and repairs of municipal character is collected in form of taxes from the house-owners who are mostly native inhabitants. The taxes are incredibly high in Užhorod.

In the so called "Galago" there was built a suburb with a fine collection of buildings for the governor, Czech commissioners, officers and officials of all sorts and hundreds of them! Court-houses, military and civil, county and military prison-buildings, and the inevitable military barracks....

We were told that the government intends to build reservoirs and aqueduct and canals etc., for Užhorod. Naturally, the city is to pay for these improvements and not the new-comers or the central government which on the other hand is appropriating for herself all the credit. In the shadows of those

fine buildings erected under the new regime, there walked worried citizen-taxpayers struggling under the immense weight of high and innumerable taxes. But their protests count for nothing. They have to pay for the Czech splendor, for that grandiose potemkiniada which is made to dazzle the visitors.

The Czechs will not tell you that the money extracted from the people of Podk. Rus and spent on improvements in a very few of the larger localities is used to keep the industry of Prague and historical Czechia moving. The materials and almost all the labor is imported to Podkarpatska Rus which is looked upon as a colony. Very little native labor is used.

Splendor in the capital city! Famine and epidemics on the peripheries!

What profit was gained by our people from these buildings might be seen from the following example. A slaughter-house was built in Užhorod. In order to make this slaughter-house profitable, the Czech authorities prohibited the practice of private slaughterers. Formerly, just like in our American rural districts, the peasants of Podk. Rus had the right of slaughtering swine, heifers and lambs for their own use. At the present time, as is stated above, the peasants living around Užhorod are compelled by local authorities to bring all their cattle, swine heifers and lambs etc., to be slaughtered at the Slaughter House of City of Užhorod, and pay well for the slaughter, to make this enterprise profitable and to make possible the easy life for a number of newer officials.

Since the very first years of the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic there were published from time to time articles, books and other publications about the grand plans of building of railroads in different parts of Podk. Rus. Especially, we read and heard much about the plans of the railroad to be built between Užhorod-Mukačevo-Ja-

sina. These plans, however, are plans even today, and we have very little hope that they will be brought into realization in the near future. The only railroad work done by the Czechs in Podk. Rus is that of repairing a short railroad built during the Hungarian regime and partly destroyed by the war.

There are other fancy plans of electrification of the larger localities. Up to this time not much was done in this direction and the completion of the electrification is the music of the furthest future....

Užhorod is overcrowded by Czech "uredniki" — (officials) of all sorts. Among the thousands of Czech "uredniki" we can find only a very few persons of Rusin origin, although, according to the Peace Treaties and the Constitution the Rusins have the preference, the right of priority, in all of those innumerable offices. But this right, just like all others guaranteed by the Peace Treaties and contained in the Czechoslovak Constitution, exist only on the paper. Those rights are killed by the Czech autocracy and infidelity.

While walking in the streets of Užhorod one hears in almost exclusively the Hungarian or Czech language. The native language of Rusins appears almost banished. You can hear a few Rusin words, when the exponents of different political parties or when the heralds of the opponent tendencies (viz., Russian versus Ukrainian) are quarreling among themselves upon the **lingual question**. It seems to us as if the Rusin language is preserved for usage only in political disputes to show the people the "patriotism" of the disputants....

The native language of the Rusin people has been preserved, cultivated during centuries by the bishops, priests and educational institutions of the Greek Catholic Dioceses. These dioceses, both that of Mukačevo and Prjašev were supported by the Hungarian Governments and kings. Were it not for these dioceses, bishops, priests and educational institu-

tions of the Greek Catholic Church: — the Rusin language and nationality would be non-existent long ago already.

Yes, we can see some progress in Užhorod, but that is not for the benefit of the Rusin people.

Yes, the Czechs are showing some progress in Užhorod with the tendency, with the definite aim to mislead, to **bluff** the visitors, who after seeing Užhorod might think that the progress all over Podkarpatska Rus is the same as that in Užhorod.

But theirs is a grave, grave mistake.

You should think that Užhorod is **our** Rusin city. But it is not **ours** in fact. — In the city council there are 12 Hungarians, 11 Czechs, 8 Jews (they are considered a separate nationality in the post-war states of the so-called Little-Entente), 9 communists and 2 — only TWO — Rusins.*)

Up to the latest times Užhorod has been governed by a Czech governmental Commissioner. After the municipal elections held in 1927, the mayorship of Užhorod has fallen into the hands of a Rusin, Constantine Hrabar. But what can he do, what can he accomplish when the real power is in the hands of the Czechs, the Council of the city being composed of greatly divergent elements. The name of a Rusin mayor is good enough to hide the autocracy of Czechs. Just like the name of a Rusin governor, who has not the slightest trace of any power either in the administration or in the politics of Podk. Rus — is a wonderful mask for the Czechoslovak tyranny.

Under such circumstances a true and honest Rusin cannot feel happy and satisfied of seeing one or two Rusins on the top, when under the top everything is foreign to him.

Such is the situation in the capital city of Podk. Rus!

After the world war, the Hungarian name of the city "Ungvar" was changed

*) This was written in 1928.

to Russian "Užhorod" and in his national enthusiasm our Rusin poet wrote to the effect that Užhorod became again our city, and even its name was changed to show this.

But, I'm sorry to say, Užhorod is ours only in name. In fact, it is a city of Czechs, who are united with the materialist and opportunist Jews to enslave our Rusin people again.

Not only the poet in his beautiful though very empty words, but all of us Rusins, I believe, are willing and ready to sacrifice their very lives for an Užhorod, which would be really ours and in which the Rusin spirit the Rusin heart, the Rusin language could live. progress and rule!



The Picture of Political Situation in Carpatho-Russia.

AFTER the great change caused by the war Podkarpatska Rus became an Eldorado for speculators in politics as well as in religion and economics.

Podkarpatska Rus has been incorporated into the Czechoslovak Republic, and was taken over by the Czech government actually in 1919-1920, nevertheless the first elections to the Prague parliament were held in 1924 on the 16-th of March, four years later than those held in other parts of the Republic. These four years that elapsed since the general elections held in other parts of Czechoslovakia were badly needed by the Czech government to dissolve the Rusin national and political unity into many smaller, consequently weaker parties, fighting among themselves over petty questions of no importance or having not much practical meaning. From the very first day of the occupation the ancient policy of Austria, "divide et impera," has been revived and introduced in Podkarpatska Rus by the Czech government. Having gained practice to a high degree in the Imperial Austrian

Offices, the Czechs were skilfull in their work and methods against the unity of Rusin people.

Thus, when the day of the first elections came, Podkarpatska Rus, every nationality of it, not excepting the Rusin, was in a state of a perfect political chaos. Broken up into many small fractions and political parties it was an easy prey for Prague. At least it was weakened to the point of being unable to give a proper representation of her national and political rights and ambitions. The Rusin people were narcotized by the Czech political dope-peddlers. Political hatred and intolerance was at the highest pitch among the Rusins. Not less than 15 parties entered the first elections! A legion of candidates were presented to the confused people, who had become half-crazed by the promises of the excited, exalted and selfish politicians, a great number of whom were paid by the government.

It is no wonder, therefore, that under such circumstances the communists and socialists became winners in the first parliamentary elections. The Czech government was very suspiciously quick to turn this result, not at all desired by Rusins, against the Rusin people, accusing them with political infancy and immaturity in order to justify the autocratic tendencies of Prague. But, in fact, the Rusins are not immature in politics. They exercised the right of vote during the previous Hungarian regime. The only time they were deprived of this right is those four and one half years, from 1919 to 1924 in Czechoslovakia. This was done to gain time for the centralist Prague government that it may dissolve the Rusin national unity before the first opportunity of parliamentary election should be given. The Prague government has been sabotaging the Autonomy from the very first minute. They planted the seeds of language, religious, school and administrative troubles and differences and "ques

tions" in Podkarpatska Rus. Prague narcotized the natural political and national leaders of the Rusin people with empty, though high titles, as "Governor", "Directorium." Meanwhile the Prague Czech Parliament without one Rusin representative drew up the Constitution and gave out the General Statute for the organization and administration of Podk. Rus.

Dr. Brejcha, the first real head of administration was sent with the definite orders to break up the national political unity of Rusins of Podk. Rus. He succeeded in fulfilling this order, he even overdid it to such an extent, that his successor in the office, Dr. Ehrenfeld said: "The worst present, that was given Podkarpatska Rus after the change, is POLITICS." Even Dr. Beneš, minister of foreign Affairs said: "I can not pass without a remark about two things in the policy practiced up to the present in Podk. Rus. I must condemn the fact of transplantation of Czech political parties into Podkarpatska Rus.... and that the dissemination of ukrainization, rossianization and religious disintegration (schism) were permitted. And these were dictated by our most prominent political parties." In other words it was dictated by the Prague Government!

It is a fact, that the Czech political parties disseminated the seeds of corruption of all sorts.

Certainly, the Czech Government did not achieve a great popularity by its policy. In the first elections the governmental parties received 80,000 votes out of 245,000. In the second elections only 50,000! But at the same time it succeeded in turning the attention of Rusin political leaders away from the essential to the non essential questions and thus obtained a proof, — though a transparent one, — of the political immaturity of Rusins.

The Rusin political leaders seem to have forgotten the Autonomy in their petty political wars about the language and other similar questions, when the

right of decision in these matters does not belong either to the Czech Government or to the political parties of Podk. Rus. It belongs solely to the Autonomous Sojm of Podk. Rus. But it does not exist. There are a few hooligans in the political life of Podkarpatska Rus, who are doing everything in accordance with the desires of Prague and against the Autonomy. They are Rusins, but in fact they are mouthpieces of Prague. They are paid by Prague and, naturally, they are those who say with Prague that Podk. Rus is immature for Autonomy. Why then are these political leaders accusing so sharply the former Hungarian regime, saying that there was no liberty for the Rusins under the Hungarian "yoke", when now, despite an internationally guaranteed autonomy they are denouncing the Rusin people and declare them immature for the liberty which we, American Rusins, obtained for our old country brothers? It is illogical to curse one and to support another guilty of the same thing.

The gravest political grievance, flagrantly offending the provisions of the Peace Treaties are the following:

There is no Sojm. — (Autonomous Diet of Podk. Rus).

The Governor is only a figurehead — without any power.

The borders between Slovakia and Autonomous Podk. Rus are not yet settled. The unjust "Line of Demarcation" now exists and there is but a little hope that under the present regime anything will be done in this matter.

In the offices, — against the provisions of Peace Treaties, — the Rusins have no rights of priority; on the contrary, every possible place is occupied by Czechs, Slovaks and for the Rusins "Neni mista" — there is no opening.

The Governor is supposed to be answerable to the autonomous Sojm. But where is the Sojm? Consequently, the Governor is a tool in the hands of Prague, unable to work, to fight or to

do anything for the national rights of the Rusin people.

Were the Sojrn existent it would be the main factor, the foundation of an active and real autonomy. The Sojrn would have real power in order to express the will of the Rusin people. The Sojrn could force to the wall any Czech government, disloyal to the rights of the Rusin people, by saying: "Our loyalty is conditioned by the loyalty of the Czechs in the matter of the Autonomy of Podk. Rus. We are united under the condition of the fullest autonomy of Podk. Rus. We are willing to be loyal to Czechoslovakia as long as she respects our rights and liberties, and our national life which was guaranteed by the same Allied and Associated Powers and by the same Treaties. But if the Czechoslovak State disrespects our rights of Autonomy, she at the same time nullifies the validity and power of Treaties giving life not only for the Autonomous Podk. Rus, but the Czechoslovak Republic also. The Czechoslovak Republic must respect the Peace Treaties in every detail. Otherwise it can not force us to respect the vital or other interests of Czechoslovakia. We can not remain loyal, when loyalty means disloyalty to ourselves and a national death. If Czechoslovakia does not fulfill her obligations to the Rusin people, the basis of annexation is nullified and the Rusin people redeemed their right of national self-determination and are compelled to tear themselves away from a disloyal union and shall look for a better union which will be loyal to them and will recognize the natural, national as well as international rights of the Rusin people and will respect the autonomy in every detail."

Because the Sojrn can alone represent the free will of the Rusin people and because it is evident, that the Rusin people, having the opportunity to exercise their free will, would not tolerate the tyranny of Czechs, and because the Czechs are not honest in their intentions:

— the Sojrn must be postponed indefinitely and the autonomous mentality must be exterminated totally and the Rusin national feeling must be killed. Such is the Credo of Prague!

But with this credo and with the system of governmental espionage Podk. Rus cannot be kept in union with Czechoslovakia. Few of the Czechs statesmen see this quite clearly.

"...The situation in Podkarpatska Rus today is that everybody is against the Republic... We did not understand the religious spirit of the people... By introducing the language question we committed a great crime. We ourselves are creators of irredentism . . . Forests representing millions of Kč. are rotting, there is no work for the people, there is famine and where there is famine it is very difficult to continue a State policy... Great mistakes are committed by the Prague central offices... I am convinced that vice-governor Ehrenfeld had good intentions but orders of Prague crossed his step. It is possible that even Rozsypal, whom I attacked so bitterly formerly, is not the real guilty one because he is a mere executor of the orders of Prague, which proves again the utter ignorance concerning the situation of Podkarpatska Rus." Quotation from the speech of Mr. V. J. Kľofach in the Czechoslovak Senate, Prague, December 14th, 1926.

Unemployment, no liberty, but there is famine and political slavery!

No wonder, therefore, that the Rusin casts his vote for the Communist party and against the Czechs!

No wonder that at the mass meetings ordered and arranged by the Czechs to protest against the action of lord Rothermere, according to the official reports, some of the orators selected from the peasants, declared openly:

"Brethren, I think it is better for us to go where the river Tisa goes, because there was at least bread for us" there. That indicates the desire to return to Hungary.

The Church In Carpatho- Russia.

WHEN our forefathers had accepted the Christian religion in Pannonia or perhaps in the Grand Principality of Kiev in the 9th and 10th century, they became members of the Christian Catholic Church and united with the Holy See in Rome.

It is true, however, that after the example and under the influence of the Greek Church, enslaved politically by earthly powers of Constantinople, the Rusins abandoned the Union with the Roman Catholic Church for a time, but it is another fact of history that one great portion of the Rusin people, living in Galicia, returned in 1595 to the union with the Holy See. The same was done by the Rusins of Hungary in 1646.

The charge, against the Union that it had been made solely for the material benefit of the priests, is groundless. The same can be said, concerning the legendary revolution of Rusins against the Union, because the Rusins never revolted against the Roman Catholic Church.

It is a fact, that the Subcarpathian Rusins have never been dissatisfied with the Union, and they at all time, since the year of the Union have been staunch, and loyal members of the one Catholic Church to such an extent that even strong and active political tendencies of Russia, in 1913, and the agitation and propaganda accomplished by Count Bobrinsky and Gerovsky, supported by millions of rubles, could not make any serious headway among the Rusins in turning them away from the Union with Rome and to attach them to the Caesaropapism of Russia.

The orthodoxy purported by the Tsars, has gained but a few members in two or three villages (Iza, Vel. Lucka) and that was all, as the result of a very intensive and expensive propaganda against the Uniat Church of Rusins.

At the time of the annexation of Podkarpatska (Subcarpathian) Rus to Czechoslovakia not less than 95% of Rusins belonged to the Greek Catholic Church, called sometimes the Uniat Church or Catholic Church of Eastern Rite, because the only difference between the Roman Catholic and the Uniat Church is the variety of rite.

But the Czechoslovak Government supporting the Hussitism and the People's Church movement in the historical Czechia, Moravia, and Silezia, was not very much pleased either way by the fact that the Rusins are of one, and what is more: of the Catholic faith. The Czech government disliked the religious, spiritual unity of the Rusins and decided to favor and support a minority of 5% against the great and compact masses of the Uniat Rusins, belonging to the Greek Catholic Church, which has been the sole and strongest defender of the Rusin language and national character during centuries.

What kind of government is it that does not like unity? What kind of government is it that does not reckon with the religious feeling and conscience of 95% of the population and is, in every possible way trying to break up a centuries-old church unity. The Czech government has put itself on the principle of pre-war Austria: 'Divide et Impera', and, therefore is supporting so ardently — almost with frivolous and insulting partiality, an adverse religious minority of 5% of the Rusin population against the Uniat Rusins representing 95% of it at the time of the beginning of the Czech-Rusin voluntary union.

We are not against any other Church or denomination. We are not against the idea of helping the insignificant and small Orthodox (pravoslav) church in Podkarpatska Rus, but we are obliged to repeat the words of a liberal Rusin politician, whose loyalty to Czechoslovakia is above all doubt, and who in 1920, expressed quite correctly the general

Rusin standpoint regarding this matter: "It is the duty of the Government to support the Churches, and it is our duty to help the State in this activity. But it is our duty to oppose the State or Government, when it is helping one denomination against another, or, when the favoring of one Church is done for illegal means, because it is very apt to bolshevizize both sides of the population. In fact, what the pravoslavs are doing now against the Uniat Church is bolshevism."

These words were said in 1920, when the shameless favoring of the schismatic church was at its very beginning.

This small religious minority of schismatic Rusins having received the full assurance of the "higher places", and exalted by the open favoring of the Government and civil administration, initiated a real war against the Uniat Church. They occupied by force the churches of the Uniats. They attacked the Uniat churches at night and in the daytime, sometimes even at the time of High Masses and drove out the faithful, even priests out of their own churches and parish buildings. They have beaten the faithful and priests to the point of bleeding — unpunished. They have set fire to buildings of the Greek Catholics. They poisoned the wells. They threw bombs upon buildings and people. They cut out the form of a three branched cross (the sign of the pravoslav church) on the skin of the living with a knife..... they used every source and means of physical as well as the mental terror against the faithful of the Uniat Church. **AND ALL THESE AND SIMILAR ATROCITIES WERE DONE OFTEN IN THE PRESENCE OF THE CZECH POLICE FORCE AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS.**

Czech soldiers kidnapped and killed at night an old Uniat priest, Father Jackovich of Domonya. The persecution was slow and negligent (or very much occupied by the political persecu-

tion of people of other nationalities,) and the perpetrators were never found.

The residence, except a few rooms, of the Uniat Bishop of Mukačevo was requisitioned and occupied by the Army. The Uniat schools and educational institutions were all occupied and teaching in them rendered impossible. There were times, when the Uniat dioceses seemed to be entirely paralyzed by the atrocities and iniquities. The citizen's right and citizenship of the Uniat priests, even of the Uniat Bishops were called into question, many of them had to endure long and painful molestation from the civil authorities. The result of this "policy of molestation", was that two Uniat bishops were compelled to abandon their dioceses.

To give an approximate idea, concerning the intelligence and cultural standard of the schismatic masses, favored by the "enlightened western Slavs" i. e. by the Czechs, we repeat here that the leaders of these medieval atrocities were swine-herders, coachmen, woodcutters, tramps, converted Jews who became preachers, — all uneducated persons, filled with fanaticism and of hatred and bigotry. Last but not least, the bishops of this religious minority were imported from abroad. The last one is from Macedonia. Very suggestive, indeed, when one wishes to form an adequate idea of that atrocious minority, to repeat that Macedonia is the land of banditti, land of the blackest spiritual darkness in Europe.

Let us see a few more facts, the results of the religious war instigated and stirred up by the Prague government and Czech political parties for breaking up the spiritual unity of the Rusin people.

The so called "pravoslavs", called also (orthodox) schismatics have occupied and taken away 50 Uniat churches by physical force and unlawfully, very often even in the presence of State Police Forces and administrative officials. These churches, with

the exception of eight, have been returned by the courts to their lawful owners. But there is no recompense for damage done materially as well spiritually.

Although the Czech Government boasts about the fact, that nearly 50,000 Kč. (about \$1,500) are given to the construction of new churches for the Greek Catholics and from the central budget a considerate sum is paid for repair on old churches damaged in the war, but little is mentioned about the fact, that even today, ten times more is given for the support of the adverse schismatic church, the membership of which under these highly favorable circumstances, and by this ardent favoring of the Government is increasing day by day.*) Nevertheless they are still a minority, and thus the appropriation for them should be in proportion to their numbers, according to the sum given for the "quasi" support of Greek Catholics.

For a longer period, the Congrué (a pecuniary contribution of the State to the salary of priests) was not paid out or apportioned either for the priests or for the Bishops. Not long ago, however, there has been some arrangement in this matter and, according to this, the priests with somewhat higher education, having the equivalent of the American High School and four years of College, were placed in the class of those civil service men, who have only eight years of public school education. The bishops of the Uniat Church are drawing a Congrué of 3,000 Kč. monthly (about \$100.00) while the bishops of other denominations (Catholic of the Latin Rite etc) are paid 15,000 Kč. monthly (about \$500.00). But even those above mentioned, meager Congrués are not paid in full, in some cases they are not paid at all to the functionaries of the Uniat church.

The very first difficulty that every Greek Catholic priest encounters, albeit his ancestors were born and raised

and were living in Podkarpatska Rus, is the question of citizenship. No matter how long the family of that priest has been living in Podk. Rus', no matter that every drop of blood of the great majority of the Uniat priests belongs to the land and history of Podk. Rus, they must produce all kinds of documents, they must undergo great and unpleasant molestations, they must pass thru a series of formalities sometimes similar to the "third degree", they are to answer a great number of questions and fill out questionnaires, they are to waste their time and spend their money before they can become qualified and declared entitled to receive their Congrué.

There is the case of the Very Rev. Basil Hadzega D. D., canon of Užhorod. His citizenship was questioned and refused, not recognized by one Czech legioner ("uradnik"). What a grotesque contrast! On one side a man, a Rusin, whose family has been living for centuries in Podk. Rus. On the other side there is the self-styled "conqueror" representing an inimical governmental tendency — if not terror — trying to deprive a citizen of his inherited, native and unquestionable citizenship!

The Czech government is doing this with the Rusins who joined Czechoslovakia voluntarily and who were not conquered, whose land was not obtained by force and "virtue" of Czech arms, but was annexed to Czechoslovakia under definite and explicit obligations imposed upon the Czechslovak Republic and under the condition of the fullest autonomy possible without contradicting the sovereignty of that State. One can imagine what the situation is of other, non-slavonic nationalities.

Another difficulty is, that a great portion of the small sum of Congrué is deducted under different titles, like taxes, insurance etc. There is a priest of a poor and small parish, who is the recipient of the colossal sum of 39 Kč., i. e. \$1.15 per month as Congrué!

* This was written in 1928.

Nothing was left undone to undermine the strength of the ancient Uniat Church and by doing so, to kill the strongest institution of the Rusin people. The institution, which preserved the national sense and character of this unfortunate and small people thru centuries, is in a deadly war for her existence. And the national existence of the Rusin people depends largely upon the Uniat Church.

The atheistic tendency of the Czechs is clear. Their obvious plan is to batter down the mightiest stronghold of the Rusin national feeling. To annihilate the morale of the people and then enslave them.

And all these happen under the very eye of the civilized world, in this age, — in the name of the sacred principle of self-determination of the people, — in the name of democracy, — and as the result of the “good will” of the Slav Czech brethren, the “liberators,” with whom, in the hope of a better future, the Ruthenians united, believing the false promises of, and misled by, Thomas Masaryk, the President of Czechoslovakia.



The Schools and Industries in Carpatho-Russia.

THE RELIGIOUS spirit is one of the most noble elements in the character of the Rusin people. Religion never ceased to be the most valuable, vital force in the life of a Rusin and this spirit has been helping him in the most critical moments of the history. The religious schools saved the Rusin from national decadency, in fact the Greek Catholic Church, to which 95% of the Rusin population belonged before the annexation of Podk. Rus to Czechoslovakia, has been the most important preservative factor of the Rusin nationality.

Despite the Magyarization expressed more definitely during the last quarter-century, the religious feeling, or the Greek Catholic Church, representing the greater portion of the Rusin population, never has been disrespected or neglected by the former Hungarian regime. On the contrary, the Church, as well as the parochial schools (main supporters of the Rusin nationality), received a substantial and constant moral and financial help from the state. The religious teaching in the schools has been maintained and developed in the lines of the traditions and spiritual sentiment of the people. In fact, the Rusin people had been enjoying the fullest religious liberty during the time they were united to Hungary.

Instead of respecting the traditional and deep-rooted religious feeling of our people, and instead of taking into account the ancient Greek Catholic Church, representing not less than 95% of the Rusin population, the Czech “conquerors” began immediately after the occupation to propagate the idea of “free thinking” among the Rusins. The old Greek Catholic Church has been made an object of derision by the Czech officials. Probably this was the first step of the Czechization, because the Czechs knew very well that this Church, having been the biggest obstacle against the Magyarization, might play the same role against the Czechization.

But the “free thinking” idea was not welcomed by the Rusin people. They did not wish it to be introduced in their schools. Then the Czechs turned around and began to propagate Hussitism among the Rusins and in their schools. Now, Hussitism is condemned by the Greek Catholic Church. Nevertheless, the “democratic and liberal” Czechs have gone so far against the traditional religious spirit and disposition of the people that they, in their papers, demanded to impose a strong penalty upon those Rusins of Greek Catholic reli-

gion, who — even not having any idea of the human or other greatness of Huss, — would not celebrate the Day of Huss and would have been found at their usual daily work.

The answer of the Rusin people was: "We have nothing to do with the godless Czechs."

After these two preliminary attempts, against the Greek Catholic Church and schools had failed, the Czechs started a new policy. They began to experiment with the schismatic church. But it did not show rapid progress, and it became evident to the Czechs that they could not exterminate the religious feeling deeply rooted in the hearts of the elder people. Therefore they turned their attention to the schools.

They employed a great number of teachers lacking in religion and placed them in schools of Podkarpatska Rus. These teachers kept on attacking the religion *ex cathedra* and in place of teaching their subject were to propagate atheism in the schools. They openly spoke against the teaching of the church. The morals of the children have become undermined and weakened. The consequences of these immoral teachings and of the activity of "free thinkers" in the schools are already visible. The editor of the semi-official Czech organ called "Podkarpatske Hlasy", Mr. Svojse, a Czech of great importance and almost unlimited influence in politics and administration of Podkarpatska Rus, had invited young school girls of adolescent age. — 8 to 14 years old, — imbibed with the doctrines of "free thinkers" and arranged in his office, also in his quarter, real "black orgies" with the girls and school boys. Whole classes of school-girls and boys were spoiled by the editor of the mouth piece of the Czechoslovak government in Podkarpatska Rus. Svojse might have been insane, as the result of the official Czech inquisition says, but 40-50 children in the same school at the same time, could not have

been insane. They could not have been used by an insane person for satisfying insane and immoral desires and practices if their correct sense of morals would not have been killed by the knights of "free moral" in the schools and if the teachings of religion would not have been oppressed or neutralized by poisonous authority of other Czech teachers. What Svojse did with school girls and boys is the logical continuation of the work of the Czech teachers.

Faithlessness, godlessness, atheism and immorality are being propagated in the schools under the Czech administration in Podkarpatska Rus.

There is a shortage of teachers of Rusin nationality, it is true. One of the causes of this is that the diplomas of the Schools of teachers in Podkarpatska Rus are not recognized as valid in other territories of the Czechoslovak Republic or in other than Rusin schools. (Before the war the diplomas of these schools were valid in all schools and territories of the State). Now, if a graduate of the Rusin teacher's training school wishes to apply for a position outside of Podkarpatska Rus, or in a non-Rusin school, he is obliged to pass an extra examination. It is selfevident, that the parents do not send their children to teachers' training schools of Podkarpatska Rus, in Užhorod or Mukačevo, or Prjašev because the future of their children thus would be uncertain; they rather prefer those schools where the diplomas awarded are of full and general value and are accepted in all schools of the Republic. The degrading of the Rusin teachers training schools resulted in depletion of their student body. On the other hand, it is not desired by the Czechs that there should be a great and adequate number of real Rusin teachers produced whose national spirit might cause a hindrance against the Czechization. Furthermore there were 2,000 unemployed Czech teachers in Czechoslovakia. Though they did not have the best qualifications,

it did not matter. Many of them were sent to Podkarpatska Rus and placed in the Rusin schools. Besides these low-grade teachers, saturated with rather extreme ideas of Czech chauvinism, a great number of Czech legioners (ex-service men) have been transferred to and employed in the Rusin schools as "teachers" in many cases without adequate qualifications.

But this is not enough. Instead of ameliorating the situation of the Rusin teachers training schools in order that they might be able to produce the necessary number of teachers, instead of placing the graduates of these schools on a level equal to that of graduates of other schools, the Czech authorities are threatening the Rusins with the closing of their teachers training schools if the censuses will not show Rusins aplenty. There is nothing easier for the Czechs than to prepare census against the Rusins. It is really an interesting fact, that the number of Rusins is rapidly decreasing since the day of their union with their "slavonic brethren."

* * *

Concerning the public elementary schools we quote the words of a Carpatho-Rusin paper of Užhorod:

"The Minister of National Education made a declaration in the parliament, that in Podkarpatska Rus 32% of the school children do not attend the schools. In Slovakia the percentage of nonattendance is 8%. The Minister promised energetic actions against this unsound situation." How and when? He did not mention it and according to our knowledge, the promise remained a mere promise.

Wherever a few Czechs congregate they falsely clamor that: "only the Czech inhabitants in Podkarpatska Rus represent the loyal and state-supporting element" and therefore they are demanding Czech schools for themselves with Czech teachers. According to the old-country papers the number of Czech

schools in Podkarpatska Rus at this time is more than 135. Before the great change there were not more than 100 Czechs in the whole Podkarpatska Rus, including also those Rusin territories occupied by Slovakia. What a tremendous increase in the Czech population requiring 135 schools! And that during ten short years!

But this tremendous increase of Czech schools is showing not only the immensity of the Czech rush to Podkarpatska Rus, but also the immensity of the tendency of denationalization of the Rusin people. The constant increase of Czech schools, over the repeated protests of the Rusin people is a clear sign of the Czechization.

For explanation of this sad situation we have to quote again the words of a Carpatho-Russia paper. The "Novoje Vremja" of Užhorod, writes in its issue of the 20th of December 1927:

"On the 17th of November 1927 there was held a conference of parents in the Real-Gymnasium of Užhorod. The public filled up the corridors and at eleven o'clock the information of parents of the students had begun. The result of this conference as to the Czech classes is sufficiently satisfactory, but it was established that the students of the Russian classes are far below the normal standard and are declining. The reason for this is that the teaching is uniformly Czech in the Czech classes, while the students of Russian classes are tortured with a great variety of languages and different dialects. One professor uses in his lectures the Ukrainian language, the second professor delivers his lectures in Russian of Moscow dialect, the third uses the local dialect of the Rusin language, the fourth speaks some mixed Slovakian when lecturing. The students are compelled to recite in the language used by the respective professor. And here lies the cause of great difficulties. The students are unable to apply themselves to the real object of their studies. They must learn the lan-

guage first in which they are to recite. There are other complications arising from this fact. The parents are unable to control the progress or knowledge of their children, are unable to explain to them anything, unable to help them in their studies, because they do not understand either the Ukrainian or Russian language. The teachers are using the language in their lectures according to their political orientation. Let's have a talk with a sixth grade student, having a good average rating. After a short conversation it becomes apparent that the student does not possess perfect knowledge of either of the languages used in lectures. He does not know the orthography of them, because, besides the schoolwork, he does not need the Ukrainian or Russian language in his daily life. It is no wonder, therefore that our "intelligentsia" remains in spiritual darkness.... Here is another example: a professor (Moscovite) uses the so called "high-Russian" language. The students did not understand him, nevertheless the professor was afraid to fail any one of them, because in that case he would have failed the greater portion of the class. This professor emigrated to Argentina and the class was taken over by another professor of this country and he discovered that the students are lacking in knowledge and he was compelled to review with them third year material, instead of teaching the material of the fourth.

"Now everything is getting into proper shape, but if the class will be taken over by an Ukrainian professor in the next year, he will give his lectures in the Ukrainian language. And it is the same trouble with all other objects. One year the teacher is Muscovite-Russian, (Velikoross,) then Ukrainian, then an autochthon Rusin etc. etc.

"Conditions are very chaotic.

"We do not wish to see these grammatical and political experiments on our children",—says the "Novoje Vremja",

—"we demand that our children should be given correct teaching and knowledge. If this situation will not be discontinued, it can be foresaid that the parents will send their children to Czech schools...."

And this is just what the Czechs desire: that the parents should send their children to Czech schools!

This is the reason for the chaos created by the Czech school policy in the schools of Podkarpatska Rus.

It is evident that until the teaching in the elementary and secondary Rusin schools will be continued in the variety of languages, the way of the Czechization of the Rusin youth is free.

There is no College for the Rusin students. They are compelled to continue their higher studies in the Czech or Slovak universities.

According to the Peace Treaties of Saint German-en Laye "Czechoslovakia binds itself to establish Rusin territory south from the Carpathians within the boundaries defined by the principal allied and associated powers, as an autonomous whole in the state of Czechoslovakia and to give to it the highest form of self government conforming to the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak state. The country of the Rusins, south of the Carpathians, will have its own separate Diet, which will be a legislative organ in all questions pertaining to language, education, religion, local administration and all other matters delegated to it by the laws of the Republic of Czechoslovakia . . ."

Even if there is no Diet, it is self-evident that the language of the education in Podkarpatska Rus, according to the terms of the Peace Treaties and according to the situation, should not be the Czech but the Russian language.

We admit that it is necessary that every professional man in Podkarpatska Rus should know the Czech language, but the official language of the autonomous Podkarpatska Rus must be the

Russian, then naturally this language should be adopted in all schools of Podkarpatska Rus.

* * *

All that happens on Ruthenian soil to degenerate, to demoralize and to Czechise the Ruthenian people, all that happens in the field of politics and religion, and all that we have mentioned above are showing only an approximate picture of the terrible realities existing on Ruthenian soil.

The upper part of Carpatho-Russia (Ruthenia) has a cold northern climate; therefore it is not suitable for agricultural purposes, though it is highly suitable for cattle-raising, fruit-growing and bee-industry purposes. Before the world-war Carpatho-Russians (Ruthenians) were given dairy establishments, operated according to the Swedish plan, and Swedish dairy experts were employed to teach the Ruthenian people the Swedish method used in dairy industry. They were given instruction and adequate aid in marketing their dairy products. A high grade forest industry was perfected, saw mills and wood-work factories were built and equipped with modern machineries and thus the Ruthenian people were given an ample opportunity to obtain employment and earn a respectable living for themselves and their families. There was in Ruthenia quite an improved tannery and glass manufacturing industry.

During the summer the Ruthenians went down to the plains of Hungary and there, on government land or on private estates, working on the tithe basis, engaged in reaping, they earned and accumulated enough wheat, rye and other grains to suffice their families throughout the following winter and till the next summer. Thus their every day necessities were assured to them and their life was tolerable.

Since they had united with the Czechs, all these advantages have been taken from them. They are not permitted to go to Hungary to earn wheat etc. Cattle-raising has been disorganized and

reduced to the minimum. The industries in dairy, fruit growing, forestry, and also commerce, that had been left in Carpatho-Russia, are not worth mentioning. What had been left of these are either in the control of the Czechs or else in control of foreign interests, beneficiaries of the Czechs. The Czechs carry away everything; they steal everything they can lay their hands on. This is done by Czech merchants, mechanics and laborers, who flock into Carpatho-Russia and deprive the natives of that country of an opportunity to obtain employment and earn a decent living. Consequently the Ruthenians have been reduced to a condition of starvation, the result of which is that the Ruthenians are gradually breaking down physically, their earning capacity is greatly reduced and the mortality of their children is increasing at an ominous rate.

And if we add that the social life of these unfortunate people have been corrupted, that many of them have been deprived of their religious faith and feeling, — they are deprived of the consolatory blessings of religious faith, — and that their leaders are silenced, then we can easily form a picture of the terrible situation of these unfortunate people. When, in their extremely pitiable condition, the unfortunate Carpatho-Russian people compare their past with their terrible present and instinctively cry to the world and in their despair appeal for deliverance, the Czechs, in their world-wide publicity campaign, cynically and with Satanic cruelty, answer and tell the world that the despairing cry and pathetic appeal of the Ruthenians for deliverance and life anew is nothing but a Hungarian propaganda!

The cruel Czechs do not realize that in and by their false and misleading campaign of lies, they are unwittingly admitting the truth, and the undeniable cause of the heartrending complaints of the unfortunate Carpatho-Russian people.

The Czech Tyranny.

IN an Ukrainian paper, called "Svoboda" (No. 266-1928) an article was published under the title: "After the Užhorod Festivals", written by a certain Avhustin Heleban, supposedly a citizen of Podkarpatska Rus. The article deals with the situation of Podkarpatska Rus in general and with the disposition of the Carpatho-Russian people subjugated by the Czechs, specifically.

"If somebody would like to characterize the present state of mind of the people of Podkarpatska Rus, he could do it in a very short way with the following words: **"general and unlimited hatred against the Czechs."**

Mr. Avhustin Heleban, evidently a well informed authority upon the subject, being an inhabitant of Podk. Rus and a contributor to the above named paper as well as to others in Podkarpatska Rus, gives the reason of this "general, unlimited hatred against the Czechs," in well-measured words as follows:

"... the hatred of Poles against the Russians can not be compared to that of the Carpatho-Russians against the Czechs" — who are "masters in creating hatred against themselves even in the most pliable people" because "they have a very special way of trampling with boots on their feet upon the soul of another people and to stir it up from its very bottom and to wound any people in all of their most sacred sentiments."

"... God forbid an enslaved people becoming master over another....." says Mr. A. Heleban dolefully in his article which gives a true picture of the deplorable position of the Carpatho-Russians. The Czechs are called by the Germans "ein Sklavenfolk" and these sklavenfolk-minded people are the lord today above the Carpatho-Russians, who voluntarily annexed themselves to Czechoslovakia under the provision of "fullest autonomy" guaranteed by the

Peace Treaties. But the Czechs are entirely ignoring the provisions of the Peace Treaties. Therefore there is a "general, unlimited hatred" against them in Podkarpatska Rus.

* * *

Let us present some data here concerning the ways and methods of the Czech imperium, when it comes to dealing with the Carpatho-Russian people. —

"On the 13th of September 1928 Dr. Joseph Gati, a deputy in the Czechoslovak Parliament, submitted an interpellation in the matter of atrocities of Czech police-forces and officials in a Carpatho-Russian village, Boroňavo, on the night of 8th of September 1928. A detachment of eighteen policemen despatched late at night to Boroňavo arranged a real pogrom there. The policemen have been beating the peasants with steelwired whips terribly and inflicting wounds, thereby causing blood to flow upon the tortured bodies of 34 Ruthenian peasants. The prey of the sadistic detachment of police were old people, youths under age, one woman and three children" (Quotation from the "Svoboda" Nov. 6th 1928).

That one woman at the time of the police attack was nursing her little baby who was beaten too.

The police, as well as the Czech authorities, for explanations of this atrocity, declared that they were looking for "communists" in that village. It is, however, very strange that they think this subterfuge is sufficient explanation of this act when those three children, one girl of 12 years, one woman nursing her baby, especially since that baby, as well as those aged and religious, simple-minded peasants did not know anything about the purpose of their being beaten so barbarously. But let us suppose, that they were "communists".

Why then does the Czechoslovak Government tolerate not less than 40 deputies, 20 senators of the Communist

Party in the Czech Parliament if the supposed members of the same party must suffer horrible atrocities of punishing expeditions for being "communists"?

But let us suppose again that those simple-minded old peasants and children were an extremely dangerous element, they were far more dangerous than the communist leaders in the Czech Parliament. Well, there must be some reason, when the peasant becomes dangerous... And that reason or those reasons can not be cured, can not be eliminated by punishing expeditions.

"The Carpatho-Russian peasants have not enough food, they are victims of famines and they are naked. The children are hungry, forsaken; there is no money to buy food and clothes, the people are eating roots. Having no money to buy with, the people do not read papers or books; believe in superstitions...in the schools the children do not learn, because the teachers and their language are foreign to them*) the peasant can not learn anything about practical agriculture, because he has no land**) and whenever the peasant tries to defend himself from these injustices, he is terrorized by the police" (Ukr. Čto-denni Visti, No. 305-1928).

The "Russkij Vistnik" (No. 43-1928) gives another picture of the deplorable political exploitations of the Carpatho-Russians in an article, describing the situation in two villages, Smerekova and Zausina, the inhabitants of which are struggling under heavy penalties imposed upon them by the Department of State Forestry for **using their own forests**, because the free use of the forests in question was granted them back in 1923 by the proper authorities. But this permit was revoked. In 1925, however, just before the parliamentary elections the free usage was given them again

and after the elections the permit was revoked again, and a criminal court procedure was put into motion against the peasantry of the two villages mentioned above. Notwithstanding the fact, the the permit of free usufruct for the peasants was, upon the frequent appeals of the interested villages, corroborated by high officials of the Government, the peasants must now pay, in Smerekova alone, not less than 70,000 Kč. as penalties for using their forests. It is a great deal of money for the famine stricken peasants, not taking into account the iniquity done to them!

Similar, nay, worse actions of responsible officials were committed in the past and are done in the present very often. It is no wonder therefore that the political faith and stability of the people is undermined, demoralized if not exterminated. But the devil is with the Czech Government and not with the people who were not long ago, (just a decade) greeting the Czechs with utmost hopes and the willingness to cooperate.

And what can be said about the individual crimes, like those, which have been committed in Dolha Polyana, where by a Czech forester a young Carpatho-Russian was most deliberately beaten to death and his body then filled with shot. The act remained unpunished just as well as the brutal murder of Rev. Jackovich in Domonya. What about the ruination of young school girls and boys by the editor of a semi-official governmental paper, by Mr. Svojsse who was for a long time an almighty factor in the Czech political circles and public life of Podkarpatska Rus? What about the innumerable extravagancies, extremities of the despotic Czech bureaucrats; about the irrationally high taxes, about the extermination of the local industry in favor of that of the Czech....

What about?... we could continue this thru hundreds of pages, but it is

*)In most cases the Czecho-Slovak language is the language of lectures.

**)The land reform gave most of the best lands not to the Ruthenian but to the Czech colonists-legioners.

unnecessary. We can not correct the situation by repeating endlessly the misdoings of the Czech regime in Podkarpatska Rus. Our only hope lies now in the justice of History, which, we believe, will save the Carpatho-Russian people from a premature national death.



MEMORANDUM.

The American Rusin (Ruthenian) Council of National Defense concerning the Autonomous Ruthene Territory South of the Carpathians.

(Memorandum of the Russian Council of Nat'l Defense to the League of Nations and Governments of Allied and Associated Powers as signatories of the Peace Treaties of St. Germain en Laye. By the President of the Rusin Council.)
(September, 1928.)

INTRODUCTION.

When the World War drew toward its close, it was from this part of America that President Wilson enunciated the well known 14 points claiming new democratic settlements for all people of Europe.

We, Carpatho Russians, living in America, welcomed enthusiastically President Wilson's declarations made on February 11th and according to which "national aspirations must be respected; people may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which Statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril." William E. Rappard: Minorities and the League. International Conciliation, Sept. 1926, No. 22, P. 330.

We were filled with joy by the President's statement regarding especially Austria-Hungary, that "the peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the Nations must be assured, should be ac-

corded the freest opportunity of autonomous development."

Owing to the example thus given by the United States, the principle of national self-determination was equally accepted by the other Allied and Associated Powers and by the interested small nations as well. Some of these later, relying on their own strength, chose to be independent, while others sought to join kindred races.

The Carpatho-Russians of America — numbering 500,000 souls — endeavoring to secure for their brethren, living South of the Carpathians, national freedom declared as the principal aim of European politics, took the obvious course of entering into negotiations with the distinguished representative of the Czecho-Slovak Republic M. Th. G. Masaryk. As a result of these negotiations the conditions of the union were established (1918) providing that the Ruthene Territory, South of the Carpathians, and the Ruthene Nation, living on it, be accorded the fullest Self-Government, in order to be able to consolidate their liberty according to their own conception and to use it for the purpose of pursuing the development of their economic and cultural resources. The Carpatho-Russians of America have been induced to take these steps by their implicit faith in the Slav solidarity of the Czech Nation — represented by Thomas Masaryk — and the democratic principles to all appearances sincerely professed by them, and by the sympathies documented by the Czechs towards the Ruthene Nation, both before and during the war.

The action taken by the Carpatho-Russians of America towards a federative union with the Czecho-Slovak Republic was finally endorsed by the National Councils of Ruthenia.

The federative union thus created was accorded international recognition by the Treaty concluded between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, on the one hand, and Czecho-Slovakia, on the

other hand, at Saint Germain en Laye, on September 10th, 1919, the preamble of which expressly states that "the peoples of Bohemia, of Moravia, and of part of Silesia, as well as the peoples of Slovakia, have decided of their own free will to unite, and have, in fact, united in a permanent union for the purpose of forming a single sovereign independent State under the title of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, "and that the Ruthene people to the South of the Carpathian have adhered themselves to the union."

This Treaty — in Articles 10 to 12 of Chapter II — intends to assure the free development of national life to the Ruthenians living South of the Carpathians, and that is why it provides for the fullest self-government with the establishment of a National Diet vested with full legislative powers in all language, education and religion matters, in all matters of local administration, and, also, in other questions which would come under the scope of a free national administration, within the realm of the Confederation of Czecho-Slovakia.

Nearly ten years have elapsed since, but notwithstanding the right of National Autonomy established by the Treaty of Saint Germain, and other solemn promises, the Czech rulers to this day did not allow the Carpatho-Russian people to exercise their rights of self-government. Moreover, the Ruthene people are being deprived by the Czechs even of the possibility of developing those national cultural resources the free exercise of which had been guaranteed to whichever National Minority by the Peace Treaties.

The Ruthenes living in America are now convinced that neither the legislative circles of Czecho-Slovakia nor their Government are likely to show any just inclination towards attending to the most imperious needs of the population of Carpatho-Russia; nor is it to be expected that they will prove their readiness to appreciate the ardent longing of our

people to enjoy the liberties assured them by the verdict of the Allies.

Experiencing this faithless refusal to comply with obligations solemnly undertaken more than 10 years ago, and burdened with the enormous responsibility of having promoted the federative adherence of their native land and its people to the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, observing that the numerous appeals and Memoranda, addressed by the various organizations of the American Ruthenes to the subsequent Government of Czecho-Slovakia have not been accorded even the slightest attention; the whole body of the Carpatho-Russian people of America consider it their moral duty to launch the strongest protest by means of their Rusin Council of National Defense — a political organ consisting of representatives of the people, elected on parliamentary lines, and of the delegates of all other national organizations — against the utter and contemptuous disregard of the rights of the Carpatho-Russian People by the Governments and ruling circles of Czecho-Slovakia.

At the same time, the American National Council of Ruthenes representing all Carpatho-Russians of America, together with the Central Russian Council of the Ruthenes of the mother country, appeal to the whole world, to all civilized nations, but above all to the Governments and States under the auspices of which the Treaty of Saint Germain was created and to the League of Nations under the guaranty of which it has been placed; imploring them to bring their mighty influence to bear upon Czecho-Slovakia in order to secure the carrying out of the rights accorded to the Ruthenes living South of the Carpathians, in Chapter II of the said Treaty.

The Minority Treaty of Saint Germain has been placed under the guaranty of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, i. e., The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, — according to the

general rules of International Law relating to international treaties. Apart from this, it is provided by Article 14 that some stipulations of the Treaty — amongst them those relating to the Autonomous Ruthene Territory — shall be placed under the protection and guaranty of the League of Nations as well. "It had for a long time been the established procedure of the public law of Europe that when a new State was created or when an existing State absorbed any considerable amount of territory, for the formal recognition of the situation by the Great Powers to be accompanied by a request on the part of these Powers to the Government thus recognized, that it should undertake to apply certain definite principles of Government, in the form of an agreement possessing an international character. The new minorities treaties, however, differ in form from previous conventions relating to similar questions. This change of form is a necessary consequence and an essential part of the new system of International relations inaugurated by the establishment of the League of Nations. Formerly the guarantee for provisions of this nature was vested in the Great Powers. Experience has shown that this arrangement has been ineffective in practice, and it was also open to the criticism that it might give to the Great Powers, either individually or in combination, a right to interfere in the internal constitution of the states affected which could be used for purely political purposes. Under the new system the guarantee is entrusted to the League of Nations. Furthermore, a clause has been inserted in all the Treaties, by virtue of which disputes which may arise in connection with the guarantees in question may be submitted to the Court of International Justice. In this way differences which may arise are removed from a political to a judicial sphere — a fact which should facilitate an impartial decision." — Helmer Rosting: Protection of Minorities by the

League of Nations. — The American Journal of International Law. Vol. XVII, No. 4. October, 1923, P. 647.

We believe and hope that the League of Nations will not fall back on views professed by politicians of the Eighteenth Century, having been thus expounded by King Frederick the Great: "All guarantees of our time are like pieces of filigrane art — destined rather to satisfy the eyes than to be of any utility." Histoire de Mon Temps, T. I. chapitre 9.

I.

Territorial Grievances.

Historical sources: Russian, Polish, German, even Czech historians prove that the original settlements of the Carpatho-Russians by far exceeded towards the West the regions at present inhabited by them. Reliable sources prove also the fact, that the Vag river, crossing the Western part of Slovakia of today, formed the Eastern boundary of the Slovakian Principality of yore. The whole region lying beyond the Vag was Ruthenian territory under the rules of the Rosti-slavices.

We shall not annoy the reader of this Memorandum by dwelling at length upon these historical data. We even acknowledge the practical necessity of taking into account the historic processes which have in the course of Centuries considerably changed the territorial distribution of the national forces. This attitude is indeed a "conditio sine qua non" of discussing political problems. But we may hardly fail in this respect and certainly do not sin against the rules of historical realism when referring to the ethnographical map elaborated by M. Thomasovski in accordance with the return of the Hungarian census of the year 1900 and published by the University of St. Petersburg — as it was then. It is on the authority of this map that the Carpatho-Russian people claim parts of the former counties of Spis; Szepes; Saris; Saros; Zemne. Zemplen and Uz;

Ung — being situated West of the present Slovako-Ruthene line of demarcation.

Regarding this temporary line of demarcation between Slovakia and Carpatho Russia, the following statement is to be found in Chapter II of the "General Statutes regulating the Organization and Administration of Carpatho-Russia," elaborated, though not officially promulgated by the Czecho-Slovak Government in 1919: "The Territorial Committee of the Paris Peace Conference has delimited the frontier as follows: a: The line of demarcation separating Slovaks and Ruthenes proceeds immediately from the town of Csap to the Northern part of Uzhorod, leaving the railway in Slovakia and the town in Ruthenia; further from this point it follows the course of the river Uz up to the Carpathians; the whole territory East of this line is to be considered autonomous Ruthene territory." Dr. Frant Weyr *Soustava Ceskoslovenskeho Prava Statniho v Praze*, 1924, 2nd edition, p. 314.

It is, however, apparent from the following passage of the said Statutes that not even the Government of Czecho-Slovakia considers this line as the definite Western frontier of Ruthenia. "Seeing that part of the Ruthene people constitute a Minority on the Slovakian Territory as established by the Peace Conference, the Czecho-Slovak Government proposed to the representatives of both Nations to agree upon the uniting of the territory continuously inhabited by Ruthenes with the Autonomous Territory of Ruthenia."

The Memorandum of the Central National Council of Uzhorod issued on February 9th, 1927, contains the following statement concerning the line of demarcation between Slovaks and Ruthenes: "The frontiers of Carpatho-Russia are not definitely established, seeing that not only the territory having been expressly designed as Ruthenian by the Slovako-Ruthene Committee of Right in

the first days of October, 1919, has not been annexed to Carpatho-Russia, but in 1922 in connection with the creation of the Grand County of Kosice, the Government even planned to cut off from the Autonomous Ruthene Territory a group of villages situated East of the Slovako-Ruthenian line of demarcation. Moreover, even now subsist the plan to sever Uzhorod, the capital of Carpatho-Russia, from this territory."

Two most important inferences may be drawn from the statements quoted above, both pointing to the conclusion that the delimitation of the Ruthene Territory towards Slovakia was by no means definite, but merely the tracing of a temporary line of demarcation. One of these proofs is given by the General Statutes for Ruthenia drawn up by the Prague Government, expressly using the term "line of demarcation" and reserving the transference of this line to the East for an agreement to be concluded between the Representatives of the Slovak and the Ruthene Nation. The other proof lies in the fact that the Czecho-Slovak Government itself planned to change the course of this line in 1922, moreover — according to Zupan Slavik's Circular No. 1851 of 1921 — they even decreed arbitrary changes on same.

In this way even the Czecho-Slovak Government admits the exclusion of part of the Carpatho-Russian people from the Ruthene Territory. We beg to add that this part is by no means inconsiderable. Foreign Minister Benesh, in his Memorandum No. 6, addressed to the Peace Conference, puts the number of Carpatho-Russians at no less than 567,867. On the other hand, the Czecho-Slovak census of the year 1921 registered 372,884 Ruthenes in Carpatho-Russia and 85,644 in Slovakia, i. e., altogether 458,528; more than 100,000 less than the figure quoted by M. Benesh at the Peace Conference. The fairness of the methods of the Czecho-Slovak census of 1921 appears in a strange light if its figures registering the numbers of the Ruthene population in

Eastern Slovakia are confronted with official pre-war statistics. So, for instance, the Czecho-Slovak census of the year 1921 puts the number of the Ruthenes on the Territory of the former county of Saris-Saros — at no more than 9,200, while the Hungarian census registered no less than 39,000 on the same territory. The Governmental pressure which was exercised in order to influence the result of the census is well demonstrated by a quotation from a Circular issued by Zupan Slavik and distributed in the territory of the former county Zemne-Zemlen — and in the Western parts of the famous country of Uz-Ung. Zupan Slavik asserts in this Circular in an authoritative manner that "There are no Ruthene men or women living in Slovakia." Nevertheless even the subsequent official Czecho-Slovak census, tendencious as it was, could not but contradict M. Slavik, registering 86,000 Ruthenes on this Territory.

At the time the Peace Conference discussed the territorial questions and, in connection with them, the position of the small nations, President Wilson outlined the purpose of these negotiations in an important speech, given on May 31st, 1919, as follows: "We are trying to make a peaceful settlement, that is to say, to eliminate those elements of disturbance, so far as possible, which may interfere with the peace of the World and we are trying to make an equitable distribution of territories according to the race, the ethnographical character of the people inhabiting these territories." Cfr. H. W. V. Temperley. — A history of the Peace Conference of Paris, Vol. V. P. 130.

It was under the influence and in conformity with the spirit of this speech that the so-called Minority Treaties were drawn up — and amongst them the Treaty concluded between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Czecho-Slovakia — on September 10th. Is it conceivable to assume that the Peace Conference acting under the influence

of and within the atmosphere created by the Wilsonian principles, should have approved of the splitting into two parts of the People with the result that 35% of them — and precisely the part living nearest to the West of Europe — be excluded from benefiting by the Ruthenian Autonomy provided for in Chapter II of the Minority Treaty? Is this compatible with the principle proclaimed by President Wilson as that of the "equitable distribution of territories?"

We do not doubt for a moment that the international instance, competent to deal with the territorial problem left unsettled by the Peace Conference, (*) considers it necessary to unite the whole of the Ruthene people living South of the Carpathians, within the same political boundaries and that in consequence of this the League of Nations will assure self-government to all the Carpatho-Russian people.

II.

The Autonomy Question.

According to Article 10 of the Treaty concluded between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Czecho-Slovakia at Saint Germain en Laye: "Czecho-Slovakia undertakes to constitute the Ruthene Territory South of the Carpathians within frontiers delimited by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as an autonomous unit within the Czecho-Slovak State, and to accord to it the fullest degree of selfgovernment compat-

*) The respective parts of Article 10, Chapter II, of the Minority Treaty reads as follows.

"Czecho-Slovakia undertakes to constitute the Ruthene Territory South of the Carpathians within frontiers delimited by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as an autonomous unit within the Czecho-Slovak State."

The present demarcation line can not be accepted as a final boundary drawn according to Article 10, since it does not include the Western group of the Ruthene people. The Ruthenia of today is in fact such an "autonomous unit" which has no autonomy and which does not even unite the whole Carpatho-Russian people. The artificial line dividing Slovakia and Ruthenia cuts into two parts the territory continuously inhabited by Ruthenes.

ible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State." Article 11 stipulates that the "Ruthene Territory south of the Carpathians shall possess a special Diet. This Diet shall have powers of legislation in all language, education and religion questions, in matters of local administration, and in other questions which the laws of the Czecho-Slovak State may assign to it. The Governor of the Ruthene Territory shall be appointed by the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic and shall be responsible to the Ruthene Diet."

These stipulations date from 1919. Let us see what has been achieved in this respect by Czecho-Slovakia during the past period of nearly a decade.

The corresponding parts of the law of the Constitution of Czecho-Slovakia seem to be in conformity with the text of the Minority Treaty. However, it would be a most superficial reader who would accept this as a final conclusion. A more conscientious student would easily observe that the Constitutional Charter itself submits the provisions of the Treaty to very substantial restrictions.

1. The President of the Republic may refuse the signing and prevent thereby the coming into force of laws enacted by the Ruthenian Diet, — which, by the way, exists these ten years only on paper. The constitution in no way restricts this veto of the President. Therefore in case the President of the Republic should not wish it, not a single one of the laws enacted by the Ruthenian Diet may come into force.

No doubt, the President of the Republic holds a pretty strong legal position against the Parliament of Prague, too, still he would be unable to hinder the activities of the Prague Legislative Assembly to such a degree and has not the power to render them illusory as is the case with regard to the Ruthenian Diet. This latter, — we cannot sufficiently emphasize it — exists to this

day on paper only. *) Regarding laws enacted by the Parliament of Prague, the President of the Republic may but exercise a limited suspensive veto. According to the Constitution, the President is empowered to send back to the Parliament within a month (47) the bills put before him in order to be signed, together with his remark: however, if the rejected bills be passed once more by a majority of the members in both houses, then the Act thus passed has to take its place in the Statute Book. CFr. Weyr. Soustava pp. 453 and 458. This provision of the Constitution does not apply to the Ruthenian Diet. Deputies elected from among the Ruthene people might only then become in reality the legislators of this Diet if and when the President of the Republic, i. e., the Government of Prague, legally responsible for his action, permitted it.

2. Another important deviation which equally means the serious infringement of the rights of self-government warranted in Article II. of the Minority Treaty, consists in the circumstances that while, according to the mentioned Treaty, the Governor of Ruthenia is responsible only to the Ruthenian Diet according to the sixth alinea of Pgh. 3 of the Constitution, he is also responsible to the Parliament of Prague. (Wyer. Soustava, P. 445). Practically and, in fact, this means at present that — when the convocation of the Ruthenian Diet is being delayed "ad Graecas Calendas" by the Prague Government — the Governor of Ruthenia may be made responsible at present only by the Parliament of Prague, that is, by a legislative assembly in which re-

*) The Statutes General regarding Ruthenia — No. 26336, 1919, — provide that the "election of the members of the Ruthenian Diet will not take place later than 90 days after the election into the General National Assembly of the Czecho-Slovak Republic." Chapter IV. 6. — This term of 3 months has expired long ago; nay, nearly 3 times 3 years, yet the Ruthenian Diet has not been summoned.

representatives of the Ruthenian people form an insignificant minority.

The Constitution has strictly incorporated the provisions of the Minority Treaty (Article 10) according to which Ruthenia ought to be constituted as an autonomous unit possible within the Czecho-Slovak State and accorded the "fullest degree of self government". Now let us see how this "fullest degree of self-government" has been conceived by the Czech legislators.

The Governmental Decree issued on April 26, 1920 **) placed at the head of Ruthenia a Governor and a Vice-Governor. However, the latter was placed above the former. It is true that according to the above quoted decree the Governor possesses the right to suspend such dispositions of the Vice-Governor's which, in his opinion, are against the Constitution, against the Law or jeopardize the interests of Carpatho-Russia, and to ask for the decision of the Prague Central Government. (Pgh. 2, sixth alinea). At the same time this very Vice-Governor, whom even the decree supposes capable of giving such orders as might jeopardize the interests of the territory he is called upon to govern, this very Vice-Governor, who is the chief confidant of the Prague Government, has to countersign every single official act of the Governor, (7 3) and in case of a difference of opinion arising between them, the disputed point has to be put up for a final decision to the Prague Government. (Pgh. 3).

The Vice Governor is the direct head of the Ruthenian civil administration. It is he who conducts the election of the ten elected members of the Governing Council while the electors are official subordinates of the Vice-Governor — the heads of the parishes. (Pgh. 5).

Above the ten "elected" members, the Governing Council consists of six

appointed members: The Governor and the Vice-Governor (appointed by the President of the Republic upon the presentation of the Prague Government), who are ex-officio members of the Governing Council, and four other members appointed by the Prague Government. The Prague Government possesses the right, however, to break up the Ruthenian Governing Council, or to deprive single members — even elected ones — of their membership if they "neglect their duties". (Pgh. 16).

In the Governing Council, for transacting business the presence of five (5) elected and of four (4) appointed members is required, — the Governor and the Vice-Governor included. In case of this number not being reached, the sitting, resumed after (8) days, may pass valid resolutions even though attended by less than nine (9) members.

The political and financial rappersents attached to the civil administration, and three more rappersents designated by the Vice-Governor from time to time (Pgh. 10) are bound to assist at the Governing Council's sittings.

Summarized:

GOVERNING COUNCIL.

Appointed Members:

1. Governor (His presence is required for transacting business).
1. Vice-Governor.
4. Appointed members, no officials.
3. Appointed officials (Rappersents.) (Their presence is obligatory).
3. Appointed officials (designated by the Vice-Governor from time to time, their presence is obligatory).

12 Total

Elected members:

10. (Elected by the heads of the parishes under the auspices of the Vice-Governor).

10 Total

**) Zbirka Zakonu s narizeni Statu Česko-slovenskeho. (Collection of the Statutes and Decrees of the Czecho-Slovak State). (No. 356, 1920.)

According to the introductory part of the decree discussed above, the Charter has been issued on the basis of the eighth alinea of Pgh. 3. We have mentioned the main provisions of Article 3. of the Constitution — in the above: alinea 8 reads as follows: "Special provisions regulate detail questions, more especially those regarding electoral franchises and eligibility for the Carpatho-Russian Diet". (Weyr, Soustava, p. 445).

It is obvious that this so-called Governing Council could hardly be considered an adequate organ of the Ruthenian Autonomy; nevertheless, not even this shadow of a real governing body has been convoked since 1922, the government of the country being entirely entrusted to irresponsible Czech bureaucrats appointed by the Prague Government.

The Act of Parliament of July 14th, 1927, regarding the formation of the administration, even formally suppresses the separate status of Ruthenia. This act completely unifies the administrative organization of the whole Czecho-Slovakia; however, by no means in the form of constituting wide autonomies (as warranted to Ruthenia by international Treaty) but endowing the provinces with a very modest degree of administrative local government which in many respects stands even behind the Hungarian county-system of old.

The Statute No. 125, 1927, divides the territory of Czecho-Slovakia into four administrative provinces, one of them being denominated "Ruthenia" (the autonomous territory of Carpatho-Russia) Pgh. 2.

A provincial office is to be created for each province, the administrative sphere and the capital of which may be

changed by an ordinary Act of Parliament.*)

That the activities of this Provincial Office are being restricted by a spirit of centralization gravitating towards Prague, is amply verified by the fact that matters, having belonged hitherto under Ruthenia's administration, may be transferred by way of a Governmental decree to some "other" department. The Law itself transfers into the sphere of action of the different Ministries of Prague, part of the powers which, on the basis of the Governmental Decree No. 113, of June 7th, 1923, hitherto belonged by rights under the Ruthenian administration. (Administrative Reform Act of 1927, Pgh. 5, alinea 3). However, logically and according to the principle of self-government and federative decentralization, it ought to be placed within the competences of the Provincial Office and the sphere of action of the local offices connected with same, respectively.

We feel we must recall here a remarkably wise statement of President Masaryk — which we believe might even more justly be applied to conditions prevailing in his own country, — according to which "America gives us a political lesson also by the fact of both

*) To justly appreciate these explanations one must be acquainted with the "rigidity" of the Czecho-Slovak Constitution (to use a term of Bryce's) making a difference between the constitutional Act and ordinary Acts of Parliament. To modify the former, three-fifths of the majority of both Houses of Parliament is necessary (Pgh. 33). No such qualified majority is required to change an ordinary act of Parliament. The Administrative Reform Act of 1927 does not say that the territorial competences of the Ruthenian Provincial Office may be modified only by a Constitutional Act of Parliament, in spite of the 9th alinea of Pgh. 3. of the Constitution leading to this conclusion, for otherwise the absurdity would arise that the territory belonging to the administrative sphere of the Ruthenian Provincial Office might be different from the "Autonomous" Ruthene Territory. A certain anxiety seems to be justified in this respect, seeing that the spheres of the Ruthenian administration have been modified according to our information, by government decree, i. e., not even by Act of Parliament, and against the wishes of the Ruthene people.

Republic and Democracy being built on federative lines. It is just the opposite of European Centralism which did not stand the test anywhere. The Swiss Republic equally points towards Autonomism and a federative character. But American federation and autonomy must defend themselves against centralism, rapidly gaining ground at the cost of self-government."

Conditions in Czecho-Slovakia, and in particular conditions in Ruthenia, are in sad contrast with this ideal.

The Ruthenian people — far from enjoying the autonomy guaranteed by International Law — have to look helplessly at the centralizing endeavours of the Prague Government. Left entirely to themselves they very nearly break down under an avalanche of Governmental decrees which are against the Constitution and International Law, and the final aim of which is the denationalization of the Ruthene people.

That, which Prague has pleased to label "Autonomy" and which is being exhibited to foreign eyes, is but hood, hiding the actual state of things. Positively it is not the legislative autonomy which has been promised to the Ruthene people on the basis of Article II. of the Minority Treaty of Saint Germaine; nothing of this legislative autonomy for Ruthenia has been realized as yet.

Regarding the legislative autonomy in Article II. of the Minority Treaty, Czecho-Slovakia has assumed up to this day the standpoint of the most complete negation.

The Ruthenian Diet has not been summoned to this day; but neither has the Ruthene Territory been accorded the fullest administrative self-government mentioned in Article 10. Nay, not even a very limited one! Perhaps some steps have been made in that direction but what was taken away with the other. The Administrative Reform Act of 1927 mentioned above may serve as an example. This Act called into life besides

the above described Provincial Office, another territorial organization — the "Provincial Council of Representatives". This body possesses indeed some likeness of the attribution of autonomy inasmuch as 2-3rd of its members, (Pgh. 13) — in Carpatho-Russia 12 out of 18 — have to be elected; 1-3rd of the members are appointed by the Government. In this way the Provincial Council of Carpatho-Russia will include six (6) appointed members.

Still the disposition regarding the sphere of action of this Provincial Council allows but very narrow limits for its activity as compared to the autonomy warranted in Article 10 of the Treaty of Saint Germain. In this respect the dispositions of the Administrative Reform Act of 1927 can by no means be considered the realization of the autonomous rights guaranteed by the just mentioned Article of the Minority Treaty.

The fourth part of the Administrative Reform Act No. 125 of 1927 regulates the sphere of action of the Provincial Council in three connections.

1. ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE COMPETENCES.

(Pgh. 30.)

"The Provincial Council of Representatives is called upon to attend to administrative and economic matters of the population. More especially it has to attend to humanitarian, hygienic and economic interests of the country and its people, to public welfare, communications and cultural needs; insofar as there be questions of such matters, which in consequence of their importance exceed the competences of particular parishes or districts, since they are connected with the interests of the greater part of the country, while possessing no universal importance. With this purpose in view the Provincial Council may expressly decide the establishment or the subsidising of such institutions, enterprises or organizations which are apt

Republic and Democracy being built on federative lines. It is just the opposite of European Centralism which did not stand the test anywhere. The Swiss Republic equally points towards Autonomism and a federative character. But American federation and autonomy must defend themselves against centralism, rapidly gaining ground at the cost of self-government."

Conditions in Czecho-Slovakia, and in particular conditions in Ruthenia, are in sad contrast with this ideal.

The Ruthenian people — far from enjoying the autonomy guaranteed by International Law — have to look helplessly at the centralizing endeavours of the Prague Government. Left entirely to themselves they very nearly break down under an avalanche of Governmental decrees which are against the Constitution and International Law, and the final aim of which is the denationalization of the Ruthene people.

That, which Prague has pleased to label "Autonomy" and which is being exhibited to foreign eyes, is but hood, hiding the actual state of things. Positively it is not the legislative autonomy which has been promised to the Ruthene people on the basis of Article II. of the Minority Treaty of Saint Germaine; nothing of this legislative autonomy for Ruthenia has been realized as yet.

Regarding the legislative autonomy in Article II. of the Minority Treaty, Czecho-Slovakia has assumed up to this day the standpoint of the most complete negation.

The Ruthenian Diet has not been summoned to this day; but neither has the Ruthene Territory been accorded the fullest administrative self-government mentioned in Article 10. Nay, not even a very limited one! Perhaps some steps have been made in that direction but what was taken away with the other. The Administrative Reform Act of 1927 mentioned above may serve as an example. This Act called into life besides

the above described Provincial Office, another territorial organization — the "Provincial Council of Representatives". This body possesses indeed some likeness of the attribution of autonomy inasmuch as 2-3rd of its members, (Pgh. 13) — in Carpatho-Russia 12 out of 18 — have to be elected; 1-3rd of the members are appointed by the Government. In this way the Provincial Council of Carpatho-Russia will include six (6) appointed members.

Still the disposition regarding the sphere of action of this Provincial Council allows but very narrow limits for its activity as compared to the autonomy warranted in Article 10 of the Treaty of Saint Germain. In this respect the dispositions of the Administrative Reform Act of 1927 can by no means be considered the realization of the autonomous rights guaranteed by the just mentioned Article of the Minority Treaty.

The fourth part of the Administrative Reform Act No. 125 of 1927 regulates the sphere of action of the Provincial Council in three connections.

1. ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE COMPETENCES.

(Pgh. 30.)

"The Provincial Council of Representatives is called upon to attend to administrative and economic matters of the population. More especially it has to attend to humanitarian, hygienic and economic interests of the country and its people, to public welfare, communications and cultural needs; insofar as there be questions of such matters, which in consequence of their importance exceed the competences of particular parishes or districts, since they are connected with the interests of the greater part of the country, while possessing no universal importance. With this purpose in view the Provincial Council may expressly decide the establishment or the subsidising of such institutions, enterprises or organizations which are apt

to uplift the population materially, morally or culturally, to better the country's communications, housing and hygienic conditions, or to furnish the cultural and economic needs of the inhabitants. The introduction of propositions regarding political matters is prohibited; neither are resolutions allowed to be brought regarding such propositions."

We can see from the text quoted above that the economic and administrative sphere of action of the Provincial Council is outlined rather dimly. We feel somehow that from the standpoint of the Prague Government merely the economic activity of this body is of some importance. Presumably — hitherto experiences entitle us to suppose so — the Prague Government will strictly see to its being carried out in the form of laying as heavy taxes as ever possible upon the shoulders of the Ruthenian people. Thus, for instance, the Act recognizes the right of the Provincial Council to establish or subsidize such institutions which are apt to promote the education of the people. Yet the Act does not say a word about the sphere of action of the Council regarding matters of cultural policy, i. e., the right to regulate and control the work of education. We see no security whatever in this Act assuring that the Carpatho-Russian Provincial Council — should it come into existence — will have to bear the material burden of cultural and educational institutions serving the interests of the development of the Ruthene tongue and of Ruthenia's own culture, and not become the legally recognized financial milking cow of the Prague cultural policy, ever and anon pursuing the course of Czechization.

2. COMPETENCE CONCERNING THE CREATION OF LOCAL STATUTES.

According to Pgh. 56 of the Administrative Reform Act, No. 125 of 1927, "the Provincial Council may, within the limits of the laws of the Czecho-Slovak

Republic, establish more detailed statutes to be valid on their own territory, in so far as they are empowered to do so by the Central Government." Further items of this paragraph make it evident that the Act mainly aims at statutes concerning the administration of property. However, it is not in this we see the essence of this paragraph, but in the rather unusual restriction of a centralistic character, with which this new act makes the right of creating local Statutes dependent on the condition of the Provincial Councils having been empowered to do so by the Prague Central Government.

We feel no inclination to eulogize the Hungarian regime of old, but we feel we owe it to truth to state that the County Administration Act of pre-war Hungary accorded a much wider sphere of action to the municipal bodies of the counties than the Czecho-Slovak Reform Act of 1927 to the Provinces, even regarding the Ruthene Territory having been guaranteed the fullest self-government by International Law. To prove the correctness of our statement, we beg to give here the exact wording of the hereto relative part of Pgh. 11 of the Hungarian County Administration Act, — No. 21 of the year 1886. "The County Corporation may create statutes within the limits of its autonomous sphere of action. These statutes may not be in opposition to the law and to government decrees actually in force; they may not encroach upon the autonomous rights of the parishes safeguarded by the Law." In this way, while Hungarian Administrative Law merely wishes to enforce the principle of administrative hierarchy in strictly marking out the competences of the various local authorities, so that the power of issuing Local Statutes is established by Acts of Parliament, the Czecho-Slovak Administrative Reform Act makes the exercise of this power dependent upon the previous consent of the Central Government.

3. The Reform Act of 1927 mentions, moreover, as a separate sphere of action of the Provincial Council the co-operation in administrative jurisdiction, with regard to the decision on questions of Public Law. However, regarding this item, the Act does not go beyond the laconical remark saying that "this will be established in a separate Act."

In conclusion, the Act, Pgh. 59, makes mention of the "competence to advise" of the Provincial Council. In connection with this the Act says that the Provincial Council is the advisory organ of the Provincial President and of the Central authorities, with regard to all questions relating to the provincial administration; and submits advisory opinions in these matters on the request of the said authorities." Indeed this is a new form of self-government which we might call the "autonomy of giving advice." *)

We equally cannot pass by the provision contained in paragraph 61 of the Act, empowering the Prague Government "to break up the Provincial Council whenever it deems fit to do so. In all such cases, the Home Ministry of Prague provides for all needs of the local administration." It is true that the Act orders the writs for the new elections to be issued at the latest within two months' time, however, it does not contain any provisions whatever as to the period of time the elections have to take place. Evidently, in this case there can be question only of an omission in the construction of the Act. We should be pleased to hope that the Prague

Government will refrain from augmenting this defect by committing other political blunders of a centralistic tendency. Experience of the past certainly justifies fears in this respect.

In summarizing what we have said regarding the question of self-government we may establish that Czecho-Slovakia to this day has failed to fulfill the obligations undertaken in Articles 10 and 11 of the Minority Treaty with regard to the Ruthene Territory South of the Carpathians. In our opinion the circumstance that the non-fulfillment of the obligations contained in this international treaty is partly due to neglect, does not alter the fact of an international treaty's having been infringed. We wish to emphasize that Czecho-Slovakia's attitude in the question of Ruthenian self-government can but partly be attributed to neglect. In the above we have put forth several concrete proofs demonstrating that positive measures taken and laws enacted by the Government of Czecho-Slovakia and by the Prague Parliament infringe upon Articles 10 and 11 of the Minority Treaty.

Delaying the conscious tactics, the realization of self-government and the convocation of the autonomous Ruthenian Diet is one of the main pillars of the policy of centralization and denationalization pursued by the Prague Government. One of the best qualified witnesses that this centralistic policy serves the purposes of Czech racial hegemony is Dr. Gregory Zatkovicz who, at present, is once more living in our midst. It was he who, in 1918, carried on negotiations with the acting President of the Republic, Prof. Masaryk. The result of these negotiations was the memorable resolution in which the National Council of the Ruthenes living in America declared on November 19th, 1918, that the Carpatho-Russians had decided to join, reserving the right of full self-gov-

* It may be of a certain interest to observe that the so-called British Crown Colonies differ from the Self-Governing Dominions in this respect that the representative institutions they eventually possess are mainly advisory organs of the Colonial Government. Therefore, seen from a British point of view, the Status enjoyed by the Ruthene Territory would correspond rather to that of the Crown Colonies than to that of Self-Governing units of the British Empire. It might hardly be supposed that this could have been the intention of the sponsors of the Ruthene Autonomy, when drawing up and signing the Treaty of St. Germain.

ernment, the Czecho-Slovak democratic State on federative lines. **)

The parleys having taken place in the month of May, 1919, at Užhorod and in the course of which the resolution of the Ruthenes living in America was accepted, are also closely linked with Dr. Zatkovicz's name. Therefore nobody could accuse Dr. Zatkovicz — later on Governor of Ruthenia — to have opposed a federative union with Czecho-Slovakia.

This same Dr. Zatkovicz was obliged, during the time of his Governorship, to fight desperately against the Prague Government for the recognition of the Ruthenian people's rights. This struggle was rendered extremely difficult by the fact that — as we have pointed out above — the Governor of Carpatho-Russia is in reality a figurehead, a representative of the Ruthenian people possessing no powers, and that it was the Vice Governor of Czech nationality who became the real dictator upon the territory which had adhered to Czecho-Slovakia on condition of obtaining the fullest self-government.

Governor Zatkovicz, seeing the hopelessness of his struggles, resigned and set forth the reasons of the step he had taken in a Memorandum presented to the Czecho-Slovak Government.

"I clearly stated before the President of the Republic and before the members of the Government that on entering my post of Governor, I had reserved for myself the right of protest in order to make it possible for Carpatho-Russia to receive the autonomy which, according to the Peace Treaty, is hers by right. After having entered my office, I turned

all my attention upon the elaboration of a scheme which would have secured for the Ruthene autonomy the respect of the Government and would have been equally apt to further the friendly relations between the Ruthenes and their Slav brethren, the Slovaks and the Czechs. After having been at work for three months, I made a report of the position of Carpatho-Russia to the President of the Republic which report was discussed and examined by a conference at which all the Ministers assisted under the Presidency of Dr. Czerny, then Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs. At this parley I personally urged the elections to be held as soon as ever possible. I declared at the time — and maintain my statement to this day — namely, that no sort of work of consolidation was possible in Ruthenia as long as it did not possess properly elected representatives, as long as there was no Diet. At this conference it had been unanimously decided to hold the elections in the course of the month of January, 1921. During my stay at Prague the Prime Minister gave me a so-called "private project" which contained the outlines of Carpatho-Russia's autonomous Constitution as conceived by the Government. I examined this elaboration in the presence of the Prime Minister and immediately told him, that this scheme, as such, did not meet with my approval. I, on my part, had elaborated another scheme regarding the Constitution of Carpatho-Russia and handed this over personally on October 24th, 1920, to the Premier, as well as to the President of the Republic, declaring at the same time that two solutions only were possible: either the acceptance of my scheme, or the putting of the whole matter for final decision before the Parliament, with the consent of the future Carpatho-Russian Diet. While writing this Memorandum (March 16th, 1921) I am expecting the fulfillment of the following promises made by the Government of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The organization of

** This second declaration of the Ruthenes is known as the so-called Scranton Resolution. Preceding this a Resolution had been brought on July 23rd, 1918, at Homestead. The Scranton Resolution declares as the condition of a union with Czecho-Slovakia that, the now partly Slovakized, but originally purely Ruthene-inhabited Hungarian counties, Szepes, Saros, Zemplen, Abauj, Gomor, Borsod, Ung, Ugoesa, Borog and Maramaros be included into the autonomous territory of Ruthenia.

the Governing Council, the holding of the elections, the suspension of the military dictatorship — promised as early as January last year — and a declaration concerning the acceptance of my scheme regarding the constitution of Carpatho-Russia. As one of those who are in a great measure responsible for the Czecho-Slovak—Ruthene union, I beg to be allowed to propose that you should — not only in the name of Honor and Justice but also in the interest of the future welfare and stability of the Republic — accord to Carpatho-Russia without further delay a complete autonomy within honest and just limits.”

After Dr. Zatkovicz's resignation the Czech Vice Governor was entrusted with the entire administration of the Ruthene Territory. The Carpatho-Russian Central National Council of Užhorod in a Memorandum of February 9th, 1927, addressed to the President of the Republic, its Ministers, Deputies and Senators, explains very thoroughly the intolerable conditions reigning in Ruthenia. This memorandum of our brethren living in the old country in all its facts covers what we have said in the above with regard to self-government. Among other things it says:

“As yet nothing has been done towards the realization of self-government. The elections for the autonomous Carpatho-Russian Diet have not been ordered to be held, either after the first or after the second General Elections, not even has preparatory work been started for the realization of this obligation of the Government.

After the resignation of the first Governing Board the entire administration was confided to the Czech Vice Governor. The administration of Carpatho-Russia is in the hands of public officials who are unacquainted with the local conditions and with the mind of our people. Thus they often act in opposition to our cultural and economic interests. The planned Administrative Reform Bill (which since has become

a Law, but has not yet come into force — see its description in Chapter II of this Memorandum) is in contrast to the Treaty of Saint Germain and with the basic principles regarding the Ruthene Autonomy, laid down in the fundamental laws of the Republic. This reform has been prepared without the collaboration and the consent of Carpatho-Russia's legitimate representatives.”

This is what our Ruthene brethren living in the old country say of the administrative reform and that it cannot be considered as the execution of Article 10 of the Minority Treaty of Saint Germain and that it is uncontestedly in direct opposition to Article 11 of the same Treaty — we have proved in this Memorandum by judicial argumentation.

III.

THE QUESTION OF OFFICIALS.

According to Article 12 of the Treaty of Saint Germain Czecho-Slovakia agrees that officials in the Ruthene Territory will be chosen as far as possible from among the natives of this Territory. The following remarks contained in the above mentioned Memorandum of February 9th, 1927, of the Central National Council of Užhorod demonstrate how far the Czecho-Slovak Government has fulfilled this obligation: “In most cases people belonging to these parts are not appointed as State Officials. The Czech language prevails, one may say exclusively — a circumstance calling forth general discontent among the population, a discontent but increased in consequence of economic conditions and unemployment.”

This statement is confirmed by the statistical data given below.

Ruthene Telegraph and Postal Service employs all in all but 109 officials of Ruthene nationality and 354 belonging to other nationalities, among them 306 so-called “Czecho-Slovaks”. Of these latter, according to our information, about 50 are

Slovaks, the rest being Czechs. The position is even worse in the financial service; against, all in all, 41 Ruthene officials and other employees, there are 1279 of another race. Among these again the Czechs are leading with a total of 1192 "Czecho-Slovak" officials of whom — to our knowledge — but 10 are Slovaks from the Ruthenian territory. In the political administration we find 328 "Czecho-Slovaks" — of these but 5 are Slovaks — and 84 officials of some other nationality as against 151 Ruthene officials.

Summarizing the above data in public services the Ruthenes and the Czecho-Slovaks are divided as follows:

Ruthenes	Czecho-Slovaks
109	306 of these 50 Slovaks
41	1192 " " 10 "
151	328 " " 5 "
<hr/>	<hr/>
301	1826 " " 65 "

As a consequence, the Memorandum is justified in stating that: "The Czech language prevails, one may say, exclusively as the official language."

Here we should recall the Statutes regarding the question of language.

Article II. of the Treaty of St. Germain says referring thereto that the Carpatho-Russian Diet "shall have powers of legislation in all language, education and religion questions, in matters of local administration . . ." Still this Diet after 9 years, has not yet come into existence, so that the language question, closely connected with the question of officials and of the administration, is being regulated but against the wishes of the Ruthene people. Even in case the Languages Act, No. 122 of February 29-th. 1920, and — even more so — the decree of February 3rd, 1926, regulating the carrying out of this Act, did not infringe upon the language rights of the Ruthene people, and even in case they were not used for the purpose of Czechization, protest ought to be raised against the Act and more espe-

cially against the decree because they regulate questions which, according to Article II. of the Minority Treaty of Saint Germain have been reserved expressly for the competence of the Carpatho-Russian Diet.

The infringement of the Minority Treaty is therefore evident with regard to the language question, too.

This Treaty places the education question also under the competence of the Ruthenian Diet. However, this latter not having been convoked the autonomous rights of the Ruthene people cannot assert themselves in this question, these rights not being assured in administrative matters of absolute import.

This renders it possible for the Czecho-Slovak cultural policy to make ever increasing efforts tending towards denationalizing the Ruthene people not only in Carpatho-Russia, but also in the parts of the Ruthene Territory having been attached to Eastern Slovakia.

In the course of the year 1926 the increase of Czech schools in Ruthenian villages became quite remarkable. The "Czech Scholastic Matica" was founded for the children of Czech families who have settled in these parts; under the auspices of the Czech Scholastic Matica, but with the money extracted from Carpatho-Russia, 50 Czech schools have been created at a time when many Ruthenian villages were in sore need of a Ruthene school.

Ever since 1925 the Czech press aggressively attacks everything that is dear to us Ruthenes. Offensive sallies against the Ruthene clergy, educational staff, officials, and our cultural associations can be detected in the columns of the papers which enjoy material help from the Government; constant humiliation and slandering of our nation have created an atmosphere barring the way for the Ruthenes to reproach the Czechs.

To show the characteristic of the Czech education policy pursued on the

Territory we give the following data referring to the school year 1925-26:

Of the schoolmasters teaching in primary schools more than half are not Ruthenes; out of the total number of 633 schoolmasters in Carpatho-Russia 359 are from other parts of Czecho-Slovakia and from abroad.

The tendency of Czechization becomes even more evident regarding the middle schools where out of 138 teachers but 55 are native Ruthenians; out of the remaining 83 — 38 come from Bohemia and Moravia.

All this is due to the fact that the Ruthene people are prevented from exercising their legitimate rights of self-government, guaranteed by the International Treaty. They cannot do so in education affairs, nor, for that matter, in any other affairs; they are unable to efficaciously defend their cultural and economic interests. The teachers and officials of different nationalities do not worry much about the educational and economic interests of the Ruthene people, being bent upon serving other purposes. Those having come from Bohemia to Carpatho-Russia naturally turn all their energies upon Czechization and do not trouble about the people's interests.

IV.

ECONOMIC GRIEVANCES.

The Prague Central Government commits a double crime in neglecting Carpatho-Russia's economic interests. This neglect is aggravated by the negative attitude taken up by the Government with regard to the realization of self-government, because in this way, it deprives the people of an opportunity to improve the intolerable economic conditions. We said the Central Government was committing a double crime because the events of 1918 were the best argument towards inducing Prague to turn increased attention

to the economic position of the Ruthene people.

The great majority of the Ruthenes living South of the Carpathians are engaged in agriculture. In consequence of the natural shortcomings of the Ruthenian soil,*) the people, especially in the Northern parts, can pursue economic production but to a small extent.

In the winter they earn their living by hewing wood in the forests; in summer — before the changes following the events of 1918 — they used to find agricultural work in the rich plains South of the present Hungarian frontiers where during the summer they — same as the Slovaks — used to earn enough corn to last them all the winter. In consequence of the establishment of new frontiers this possibility has ceased ever since 1918.

That is why the Czech Government ought to have turned with increased attention towards procuring new possibilities of a livelihood for the Ruthene people; however, nothing of the kind was done. Not a single preconceived step, inspired by a spirit of sound economic policy, was taken in order to obtain for the Ruthene people at least the most urgent necessities of life.

Unbiased foreigners visiting Ruthenia are dumbfounded at the sight of sheer misery prevailing among the po-

*) The territory of Carpatho-Russia is of 1,265,301 hectares. Of this: arable land 220,203 h.; meadows, 176,579. gardens, 9,439; vineyards 2,865; pastures 192,142; forests 619,005; marshes 3,537; territory with buildings on it and other unproductive land, 41,241.

Consequently but 17.40% of this whole territory consists of arable land. This territory is divided within the boundaries of Carpatho Russia of today in such a way that the Northern mountainous parts possess but 44,328 hectares of arable land and this of a very poor quality. 59.79% of this territory is covered by forests, that is, out of 586,969 hectares 350,921 h. consist of woods.

All these data have been quoted from official Czecho-Slovak statistics. (Cfr. Erhebungen des Statistischen Staatsamtes und Mitteilungen des statistischen Staatsamtes Jahrg. V 1924, Nr. 22-23 und 44. Statistisches Handbuch der Tschechoslovakischen Republik. II. 1925, pp. 562-63.)

pulation, especially within the arid parts of the North. Abroad where people are not duly informed, the Czecho-Slovak Government would like to make it appear that this terrible economic penury is the result of the prewar regime, endeavoring in this way to veil the carelessness, one might say the sinful indifference they assume in regard to the complete economic destituteness, the famine, the misery of the Ruthene people which, in consequence of the union with Czecho-Slovakia, had adhered to another economic unit.

We wish to give here but a short, sketchy description of what is called by the Czechs their Carpatho-Russian economic and social policy.

The transition from the old currency to the new banknotes issued by the Czecho-Slovak State was strictly connected with the new orientation of economic life. A statement of Dr. Novak one of the finance ministers of Czecho-Slovakia, serves as a proof that this transitory stage was carried out in Carpatho-Russia completely regardless of the interests of the people, in an unjust manner; the interests of the Treasury exclusively having been in view. According to this statement, the Czech State made in Carpatho-Russia a profit of 315 millions by the withdrawal of the old Austro-Hungarian bank notes. As a result of this transitory stage 60 agricultural co-operative societies of Carpatho-Russia became bankrupt.

The closing of factories, the lack in public works, the steady increase of unemployment,*¹) the slow and unjust way the land reform is being carried out, the increase of taxation, the non-payment of damages to those who have lost millions by having had deposits at banking institutes; the sad fate of the masses of dismissed officials and employees, the administration conducted without the participation of the autonomous municipalities, all this has, once for all, completely disillusioned the population as to the expediency of

Czech "economic and social policy". And we may well ask which of the items have been realized out of the rich economic and cultural program with regard to Carpatho-Russia that had been proclaimed by the Government in February, 1922? To tell the truth — almost none. The sympathies of the people towards the Czechs have vanished; nay, they wish the return of the Hungarian regime of old, when there was no famine, when our intelligentsia could enter the civil service without any difficulty.

Under the Czech regime masses of the Ruthene intelligentsia had been robbed of their daily bread, and, as a consequence of the weakness of this regime, the rights and the property of the Russian Greek Catholic Church have been infringed upon, the Ruthene clergy being thus exposed to privations. The posts in the civil service have been filled by Czech individuals who came to the country from various parts of Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Bosnia, and, regardless of their lack of qualification, were accorded, in addition to their pay, rich Ruthenian indemnities."

Young boys, students not having completed their university courses, have been appointed rapporteurs, district officers, etc.

Official Exchanges	Regist.	Placed	Per Cent
1921	2,304	1,322	57.4
1922	4,504	2,747	61.0
1923	7,248	4,434	61.2
1924	10,934	5,795	53.0
Trade Union Exchanges			
1921	96	90	93.8
1922	48	34	70.8
1923	—	—	—
1924	—	—	—
	25,134	14,422	57.3

CONCLUSION.

Our information concerning the historic, legal, cultural and economic conditions of the Ruthene Carpathians may be shortly summarized as follows:

In reality the autonomous union of the Carpatho-Russians, guaranteed in Article 10 of the Minority Treaty of St. Germain does not exist. This must be asserted because of the following reasons.

(a) A considerable portion of the Carpatho-Russian people — more than 35% — have been excluded without their consent and contrary to the wishes of the Ruthene nation, from the present territory of Ruthenia and have been allotted to what is now Slovakia;

(b) Moreover, not even the greater part of the Ruthene people living East of the Slovak Ruthenian line of demarcation are in possession of the rights of legislative and administrative self government, assured them by direct agreement with the representatives of the Czech nation and by the International Treaty of Saint Germain. The Ruthene people are prevented from exercising their autonomous powers in regard to the administration as well as in regard to language, religion, education and other matters of particular interest, because the Czecho-Slovak Government, having recourse to various subterfuges, failed to summon the Diet provided for in Article II of the Minority Treaty;

(c) Ruthenes are scarcely admitted to posts in civil service. In most branches of the Ruthenian administration the overwhelming majority of the officials are of Czech nationality. These bureaucrats, not speaking the people's language and being inexperienced as to the particular conditions, are merely foreign intruders, from the point of view of the indigent population. And all these Czech officials, appointed by the obvious infringement of the provisions contained in Article 12 of the

Saint Germain Treaty, are not prepared and perhaps even unable to cope with the lamentable conditions of economic life in Carpatho-Russia, and, therefore, nothing is done to check the awful progress of unemployment and misery.

Czech authorities have tried, we have seen, to flatly deny the existence of Ruthenes in Slovakia; they have been promptly rebuked by their own official statistics, though they succeeded in conjuring away thousands of our brethren living in Slovakia. The fact, however, that the Ruthene people have been divided into two parts by the artificial line of demarcation is established beyond the least doubt by the Czecho-Slovak official Census itself.

It is beyond doubt, too, that the Ruthene Autonomy assured by International Treaty still exists on paper only, even now, nearly ten years after the conclusion of the Treaty of St. Germain. The Ruthene people still miss that democratic autonomous body of representatives apt to serve as a faithful organ in realizing their will, in standing up for their cultural and economic interests by opposing and checking the tendencies of Czech expansion experienced now in both connections.

We are by no means prepared to accept the cheap and hollow argument or rather subterfuge brought forward now and again by the Czechs for their justification, saying that the Ruthene autonomy cannot be realized owing to the cultural backwardness and political immaturity of the Ruthene people. How is it then that the Czechs discovered this lamentable circumstance only after having concluded a formal agreement with the representatives of the Carpatho-Russian people? It was hardly fair or reasonable to carry on serious political negotiations about the establishment of a Confederation with such a miserable and retrograde people as we are supposed to be, and are being represented by the Czechs to high international instances which surely ought

to command more respect and are entitled to receive greater truthfulness.

Moreover, we do not admit the validity of this argument even "in the-si". Being the slogan of reactionary political circles, it is an absolute contradiction of the democratic principles of Self-Determination. The right to autonomous national life was never denied by any one with regard to completely developed or highly progressive nations. President Wilson's doctrine is new only in so far as it claims the right of self-determination to any people of distinct national character and living together in compact masses. We, true adopted sons of the great and free American Commonwealth, strongly maintain the equal birthright of all Christian peoples. If they be equal before God, no human being should be allowed to classify them according to some arbitrary standard of so-called cultural progressiveness. **The Ruthene people at any rate prefer that their children remain "backward" Ruthenes than become "progressive" Czechs.**

Up to this day we always adhered to the principle that the Ruthene people ought to seek and find redress of their wrongs at the hands of the Czech-Slovak Government. However, all such appeals having failed for nearly ten years, we cannot further passively endure the desperate situation of our brethren still living in the mother country. We are overwhelmed by the heavy burden of an enormous responsibility owing to the prominent part we took in determining the destinies of the Ruthene people living South of the Carpathians. In this way we feel it our stringent moral obligation to bring their case with perfect frankness before the high international instance under whose legal guarantee has been placed the International Treaty which reserves the right of Self Government for the Ruthene Territory and its people.

We have tried to trace in our letter addressed to the Honorable Presi-

dent of the Council the ways and means adequate, to our conviction, to re-establish the confidence of the Ruthene nation, as well as other small nations of the world, in the authority and inviolability of International Law and in the practical value of international agreements and guarantees. We feel strongly confident that our endeavours will not be in vain.



An Appeal to the Czechoslovak Government

BY THE

Rusin Council of National Defense

REPRESENTING ALL AMERICAN
CARPATHO-RUSSIANS (RUSINS)
EMIGRATED FROM PODKARPATSKA RUS.

Homestead, Pa.

Feb. 15, 1929.

YOUR EXCELLENCY!

In the name of the Rusin Council of National Defense, representing all the American Rusins in political affairs, I have the honor to turn to you as the visible and authoritative representative and member of the Government of Czechoslovakia with the questions given below to which I ask that you give me, i. e. through me to the American Rusins, an answer as soon as possible.

As you know, the decision of the American Rusins was one of the most important and at the same time decisive factors upon the establishment of which Podkarpatska Rus was united to Czechoslovakia. You know also that this was done with the understanding, expressed and acknowledged in the Peace Treaties, that all territory of the former Hungary where the Carpathian Rusins dwell will be united within the borders of an autonomous Podkarpatska Rus and that the autonomy of this land will be the fullest. When we speak of the fullest autonomy it is impossible for us not

to think of that federative form of governmental life which exists in the United States of America or, if the introduction of this federative form for certain reasons cannot be possible in Czechoslovakia, then the minimum fullest autonomy in our conception is that self-government as was enjoyed by the Croats-Slavonians under former Hungary.

I do not wish to dwell at length nor in detail upon a description of the above-mentioned form of self-government. What constitutes the federative form in the United States of America and what was the self-government enjoyed by the Croats-Slavonians under the former Hungary is already well-known to you. You know quite well that if you were a politician of Podkarpatska Rus you could not admit of the existence of any sort of autonomy in Podkarpatska Rus, but even less could you say that there exists any such autonomy as we received by the provisions of the Peace Treaties for our brethren who dwell within the boundaries of Czechoslovakia. Your adverse and centralistic politics, inconsiderate of a national selfconsciousness and regardless of the clear terms of the Peace Treaties and even of the Czech Constitution, not only hindered up to this time the introduction of autonomy but even forbade and for the sake of the centralization idea they have abominably offended the Carpatho-Russians in their national feelings.

If you were in my position you would not act differently from the way in which I am obliged to act and as your famous President T. G. Masaryk acted when the fate and life of your people was being considered. This I believe, just as I believe with complete conviction that the centralistic politics is most dangerous for Czechoslovakia and that such politics, if continued, will annihilate inevitably your government just as this very centralistic politics, inconsiderate of a national feeling and of the

national rights of minorities, annihilated pre-war Austria and Hungary.

Because we had the opportunity within the past ten years to see this active centralistic tendency and its ensuing forced Czechization upon Rusin territory of the present Czechoslovakia which disregards the fact that political organizations and even the people themselves have raised their voices against such a tendency and demand at the same time an unconditional and immediate introduction of the autonomy as is provided for by the relative paragraphs of the Treaties of Saint-Germain-en-Laye and also by the Czechoslovak Constitution; because all our requests, demands, memoranda, and appeals remained unanswered by the Czechoslovak Government, even bearing no impression upon your politics; because within the past ten years we were convinced repeatedly that we are waiting in vain — evidently — for a cure by the Czechoslovak Government of our national grievances while, together with the centralization and Czechization, there continue the adverse political corruption for the purpose of annihilating just political convictions, and also the official violences for the purpose of terrorizing those whom it was impossible to detract from national ideas by corrupt methods; because letters, newspapers coming to us American Rusins from the old country — frequently even from those supported by the government — and other information has confirmed the same thing, that the Czechoslovak Government has but one aim: to exterminate the Carpatho-Russians from the face of the earth for by doing so it will render the matter of autonomy aimless; because we repeatedly saw that, in all respects, the autonomy of Podkarpatska Rus exists only on paper, that the just decisions concerning the frontiers of Podkarpatska Rus seem to be impossible of being received from you, that the right of priority of Rusins of Podkarpatska Rus

and their language in public offices is a hopeless desire; because nationally as well as politically, economically, and culturally the hopes of our people up to this time remained unfulfilled:

I, as a representative of the American Rusins, was obliged, therefore, to turn (in the month of September 1928) to the League of Nations with a Memorandum and give an opportunity to make known the national opinion of the American Rusins, who, at the call of the Rusin Council of National Defense during the period from October 28 to December 31, 1928, held their local meetings against the unjust, anti-autonomy politics of the Czechoslovak Government in Podkarpatska Rus and at the same time authorized me to do whatever is necessary at all competent international forums so that the clear provisions of the Peace Treaties be put into effect. If the Government of Czechoslovakia continues to hinder the fullest autonomy and the union of all Rusin territory into an autonomous Podkarpatska Rus, upon the establishment of evident maliciousness on the part of Czechoslovakia, I am to begin activity for the freedom of the Rusins of Podkarpatska Rus from the present regime, for the people say that their present condition is merely one of slavery.

Before I repeatedly call the attention of the League of Nations and other forums to the unjust politics of Czechoslovakia with regards to the question of nationality of Podkarpatska Rus, I turn once more — and with faith — to you in this affair with the following questions and ask that you answer them reassuringly and satisfactorily. Reserving for myself the full right of further action I, in the name of American Rusins, promise you that if your answer will be real, explanatory, completely reassuring, and satisfactory, I shall cease from this further action regarding this affair at the League of Nations. But for this it is absolutely necessary that the Govern-

ment of Czechoslovakia bind itself to put the autonomy into effect immediately, to bring about elections to the Diet, to give just boundaries, to eliminate centralizing and Czechization, and the fulfillment of the spirit and terms of the Peace Treaties within a definite period. In case of the contrary, because Czechoslovakia has already had enough time during the past ten years to act in this matter, we are bound by the decision of the American Rusins to send a Protest against Czechoslovakia to the League of Nations and to all other possible forums, and seek for ourselves a method and the means for putting into effect the terms of the Peace Treaties.

1. Kindly give us the reasons and explanation why the ratification of the Peace Treaties, especially the ratification of paragraphs 10-13 of the St. Germain-Laye Treaties were not fulfilled strictly according to the terms and the spirit of the mentioned treaties and in agreement to the oral and written agreements which were made between your representative, Mr. Masaryk, and the representatives of the American Rusins. Why were the terms of the above-mentioned Peace Treaties (par. 10—13) introduced with the most significant modifications into the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic without the agreement, even without a hearing or without participation, of the representatives of Podkarpatska Rus? What is the reason for this voluntary revision of the Peace Treaties? Does the Czechoslovak Government or its parliament have the power for such a grave, significant and important revision of the Peace Treaties, when the Peace Treaties speak clearly concerning the autonomy of Podkarpatska Rus and when Czechoslovakia, by its signature, acknowledged the binding power and guaranteed an exact carrying out of the terms of the Peace Treaties? The delegates and representatives of Czechoslovakia in their "Memoire

No. 6" expressly acknowledged that Podkarpatska Rus is a "state", from which it logically follows that the Czechoslovak government and its parliament is obliged to regard it as such in all matters and as regards the self-government of this state, i. e. Podkarpatska Rus, no one can nor does have the right to do anything without the participation and agreement of the representatives and without the Diet of the people of Podkarpatska Rus.

2. What is the reason that the autonomy, according to the terms of the Peace Treaties the "fullest", is not put into existence up to this day? What is the reason that the Government of Czechoslovakia during the past ten years has put off from time to time the proclamation of the elections to the Diet of the autonomy of Podkarpatska Rus and has rather brought about in Podkarpatska Rus various, up to this time, always unsuccessful experiments which are called administrative reforms?

3. What is the reason that, in spite of the position and the need of the people of Podkarpatska Rus, and though the Peace Treaties determined that all Rusin territory south of the Carpathians should be united within the borders of Podkarpatska Rus, one important part of this territory is torn away from Podkarpatska Rus and ethnographic and politically just frontiers for Podkarpatska Rus are not established up to this day? What aim does Czechoslovakia have for the Rusin people living in the territory of the following former counties: Saris, Zemplin, Spis, Abauj, Gemer, and a part of the county of Uz? Are, perhaps, the inhabitants of this territory, given over to the Slovak administration, not qualified for the autonomy given to all the Rusin people by the Peace Treaties? For what reason are approximately 200,000 Rusins required to live outside of the borders of Podkarpatska Rus under a foreign administration? Do you think, gentlemen, that this is or can be called justice?

4. Why is the right of priority of the Rusin language as official, and why are Rusin people, fully qualified, not considered for the offices both local and federal? Why is it said that "cannot be used" or that there is "no place" when dealing with the applications of our educated people, of whom a considerable number have already been educated in the schools of the new regime but who are Rusins by birth?

5. What is the reason that in educational affairs, which is strictly autonomous, as well as in the administration, instead of Rusins there are Czechs or Slovaks who in many cases do not even know the Rusin language nor do they know the special circumstances existing in Podkarpatska Rus and, therefore, do not consider the spirit of the people?

6. Why does the Czech Government continue its political colonization—as even those Czech newspapers which are close to the government have often admitted—in Podkarpatska Rus? Why does the Czech Government people Podkarpatska Rus not only with Czech officials, police, gendarmes, revenue officers, etc. but also with workmen? Even within the confines of the so-called land reform, why does it give over to the Czech legionnaires the best part of the land instead of dividing this land among the native peasants of Podkarpatska Rus?

7. Why does the Czech Government give land to its political agents, many times to aliens, immigrants, when hundreds of thousands of landless Rusins are starving?

8. At the melioration of land according to the 1928 governmental budget of Czechoslovakia 1,009,011,330 Kč. were apportioned to the Czech-Moravian provinces. Then, for the same purpose, a sum two hundred fifty times less, i. e. only 3,792,619 Kč. was apportioned to Podkarpatska Rus regardless of the fact that land in Podkarpatska Rus is in a more dilapidated condition than the land of the above-mentioned historical provinces and requires, indeed, the meliora-

tion, and also regardless of the fact that this appears even proportionally a greater injustice because the territory of the above-mentioned historical regions is only six and one half times larger than the territory of Podkarpatska Rus. What is the reason for this inequality?

9. As we are informed, the taxes of Podkarpatska Rus are very great, — one might say unbearable — in spite of the fact that the Rusin people are in greater material misery. — Because the people are not exactly in the position to pay these high taxes, they are molested in various ways by the officials of the Finance Department. Frequently they are molested in an unjust and inhuman manner. Furthermore, the collection of delinquent taxes, on many occasions, is coupled with interests, with the propaganda of some of the governmental parties, e. g. before the election the representatives of these governmental parties give unlawful promises to the delinquent people saying that if they vote for their party the delinquent taxes will be cancelled. On the other hand, those who are of the opposite party are unmercifully persecuted. We ask: why cannot the Czechoslovak Government consider the specially miserable condition of the people of Podkarpatska Rus in the taxation, so that the taxes will not be so high? Why does not the Czechoslovak Government prohibit the misuse of power with regard to the finances of the government? Why is the question of tax collection permitted into political agitation for the benefit of the governmental parties and against the opposition?

10. What does the government intend to do about the compensation of those — for the greater part poor Rusins — who suffered more than a three hundred million Kč. loss in the exchange of their old currency?

11. From year to year we read news and receive letters from the old country, especially from Verhovina, that people are dying from starvation; that in Verhovina there is now a typhoid fever

caused by famine — and all this within the prosperous Czechoslovak Republic. What does the Czechoslovak Government intend to do, what has it done to relieve this annually occurring starvation of the people?

12. The national natural wealth of Podkarpatska Rus (forests, water power, etc.) is gradually being leased to foreign firms without and against the agreement of the people of Podkarpatska Rus who have the greatest and most indubitable right to this wealth. Such steps are against the interests and against the autonomous rights of the people of Podkarpatska Rus. What is the reason that the Czechoslovak Government in such matters does not give the leading role and the priority to the economic institutions of the Rusins of Podkarpatska Rus and does not care to insure for these people greater material benefit and profit if foreign capital is used? Why does the Czechoslovak Government use this wealth, these concessions, in Podkarpatska Rus as a compensation for the citizen-capitalists of foreign countries? Why is the wealth of Podkarpatska Rus awarded so that from them some foreign firms-capitalists only should become prosperous and not those people themselves whose property this wealth had been and should be? Why are not the same politics concerning the natural wealth of other parts of the Republic, as Slovakia, Moravia, Czechia, and Silesia, employed?

13. Some of the governmental politicians have informed us that the Czechoslovak Government is carrying on a colonization politics in Podkarpatska Rus so that all the higher administrative, economic, political, and educational positions do not fall into the hands of Rusins of Podkarpatska Rus. Do you have the intention to stop this politics?

14. In the question of language there reigns an actual chaos in Podkarpatska Rus. It is an evident and well-known fact that this chaos was caused by the Prague centralistics and political parties,

by the officials and government people. This was acknowledged by Dr. Benes and Mr. Klofach as well as other high officials of your government. The question of language is an autonomous affair. Do the interests of the centralistic politics require that there be a language chaos in Podkarpatska Rus? Does the Czechoslovak Government intend to make any steps immediately so that the Prague official and unofficial circles cease to mix either directly or indirectly into the language question of Podkarpatska Rus? Do you intend to do anything to stop the forced Ukrainization of the schools and language of the Rusins of Podkarpatska Rus?

15. In the question of faith there was never such great and universal unrest, one might even call it a war, as is unworthy of civilized peoples and which disturbed Podkarpatska Rus since the time that the territory came under your rule. According to our information, the seed and cause of this religion war is the centralistic politics of the Czechoslovak Government itself. It seems to us that the interests of centralization require the annihilation of the religious peace of the Rusins and to spread dissension, disagreement among the people and in matters of faith, in order to weaken all the more, in order to demoralize the people and make them the more incapable of resisting the centralization and denationalization. The tendency of your government is fixed against the greatest strength of nationalism of the Rusins of Podkarpatska Rus: against religion, against church. What do you intend to do in the interests of the cessation of all religious warfare, which the Prague official factors, political parties servilely supported up to this time and implanted in Podkarpatska Rus?

16. What does the continual spreading of the Czech schools on Rusin territory signify? What does it mean that, according to one of your government-supporting politicians, during the ten

years of your rule not less than 600 Rusin parochial schools ceased to exist, even though these very parochial schools were the saviors of the Rusin language in Podkarpatska Rus during the time of the Hungarian regime? What does it mean that there is always money for Czech schools, that at the request of a few Jews, you can always establish a Czech school or remodel a Rusin school into a Czech? What does it mean that the opening of every Czech school signifies the closing of a Rusin school? What does the continual immigration of the Czech teachers into Podkarpatska Rus indicate?

17. We have documents to show that all your censuses up to this time have been unjust, forced, and falsified to the detriment of the Rusin people, especially in Slovakia. What do you intend to do with regard to the fact that the number of people of Podkarpatska Rus should not decrease at each census that you take. Is it not a curious or even a shameful matter that Dr. Benesh, upon the basis of the Hungarian statistics and of the church registers which were made under the Hungarians, was able to show a greater number of Rusins before the Peace Conference than all statistics can today after ten years of "brotherly union" of the Rusins with you? Is it not a sad affair that the Rusin people are gradually dying out, are being annihilated under your regime as is readily seen from your statistics?

18. The Rusins of America with the greatest indignation see that in the old-country government newspapers there is carried on a continual calumination against the uprightness of the Rusins of America whose decisions had been the most important foundation for the union of Podkarpatska Rus with Czechoslovakia. Today the old-country government newspapers, the semi-official organs, present us in a most unworthy light only because we do not cease to remind the Czechoslovak Government of the grievances of our people and endeavor to

protect the national rights, freedom, and autonomy in Podkarpatska Rus. We never demanded anything that did not belong to the people of Podkarpatska Rus, but because we are not servile, because we demand the fulfillment of the provisions of the Peace Treaties, we are today presented as "enemies" of the Czechoslovak Republic. Furthermore, the very representatives of Czechoslovakia, consuls, etc., continue the calumny even here in America against the Rusins of America, against the leaders of this socialness of ours. In the American newspapers they present our people as of gypsy parentage. Užhorod is a county in the gypsy country. Podkarpatska Rus is the gypsy country. We are informed that such communications emanate from official sources of the foreign ministry of Czechoslovakia. Do you think that the work of such consuls who, according to the proofs in our hands, were engaged in the buying up of some of the American newspapermen, in espionage, and in such work as you carry on against us in the old-country as well as in the American newspapers, will be for your benefit? Will it be a strengthening of brotherly concord? Will it be, can it be for the preservation of the faith of the American Rusins in you? What do you intend to do in this matter?

19. It is a fact that in your American representation, in the foreign service, there is not one Rusin even though there are close to 500,000 Rusins in America. We have requested long ago already for at least two Rusins as consuls in the foreign service in America. Why cannot our request be fulfilled?

20. What is your opinion about the violent assaults upon the Rusin inhabitants as, for example, happened in Boronava, in Ardanovo, and other places?

21. You say that the American Rusins are fighting for an autonomy in Podkarpatska Rus under the influence of the Hungarian irredentists. We ask for your facts, proofs, for these statements.

22. What do you have to say about our Memorandum sent to the League of Nations in September 1928?

We ask you to please answer this interpellation of ours within the shortest time, within sixty days, and tell us whether it is possible to do anything to have an actual autonomy put into effect immediately, and that just frontiers of this country be established so that all ethnographic Rusin territory be united into one autonomous Podkarpatska Rus.

Sincerely yours,
(signed)

MICHAEL YUHASZ,

President of the Rusin Council
of National Defense.



Our Active Protests.

During the first part of the month of October, 1928, invitations were sent by the Czech consular officers, stationed in America, for the celebration in America of the jubilee of Czechoslovakia's ten-year existence. This was not a spontaneous act upon the part of the nationalities concerned but was arranged by the Czechoslovak Consulates in America upon orders from Prague. The Czechs alone participated, for the Slovaks flatly refused to have anything to do with the celebration. The Carpatho-Russians also had no reason to celebrate but, on the contrary, felt that the time was opportune for them to protest against the activities of the Czechs in Carpatho-Russia. The Rusin Council of National Defense, who had full information regarding these activities, then asked the various Carpatho-Russian colonies in the United States to vote upon the acceptance or rejection of the following resolution:

"Because the official administration of the Czechoslovak Republic has not fixed up to this day, according to the

expressed prescription and decisions of the Peace Treaties of St. Germain-en-Laye, definite and just frontiers for the Rusin Territory south of the Carpathians nor has put into effect an autonomy for this Carpatho-Russian land, but, on the contrary, has trampled and still tramples all the autonomous rights of the Carpatho-Russian people, and in spite of all these detestable injustices dares to invite us to celebrate the jubilee of its ten-year tyranny over our Carpatho-Russian people, on account of the abusive policies of the Czech Government and officials in Podkarpatska Rus, the American Carpatho-Russians hereby expressly protest against that tyranny and anti-autonomous politics of the Czechoslovak Government and delegate Mr. Michael Yuhasz, President of the Rusin Council of National Defense, an organization of American Carpatho-Russians together with the leaders of the Rusin Council of National Defense to present not only a protest in the name of the American Carpatho-Russians who feel themselves responsible for the inclusion of Podkarpatska Rus within the boundaries of the Czechoslovak Republic, to the sorrow of all of us, for whom the Czechs are now preparing a grave and denationalization, annihilation of our Carpatho-Russian people, our language, and our literature, but that, at the same time, he may do also everything that will lead to the freedom of Podkarpatska Rus and its people as soon as possible and that it may obtain frontiers and an autonomy that are just and lawfully theirs according to the Peace Treaties."

Ninety-four per cent of all the colonies voted between October 28th and Dec 31st 1928 and unanimously accepted the resolution as submitted by the Rusin Council of National Defense. No community voted to reject this resolution and, therefore, it must be considered as the unanimous opinion of the Car-

patho-Russian people of America. Enumerated below are the colonies that unanimously voted to accept the resolution.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1 Cleveland, O. | 58 Clymer, Pa. |
| 2 Homestead, Pa. | 59 Arcadia, Pa. |
| 3 Erie, Pa. | 60 Beaverdale, Pa. |
| 4 Sabraton, W. Va. | 61 Barton, O. |
| 5 Chicago, Ill. | 62 E. Akron, O. |
| 6 Scranton, Pa. | 63 Barnesboro, Pa. |
| 7 Binghamton, N. Y. | 64 Kellys Island, O. |
| 8 Perth Amboy, N. J. | 65 Lisbon Falls, Me. |
| 9 "Svoboda" | 66 Diamond, Ind. |
| An organization having approximately 5,000 members from Perth Amboy, N. J.; Passaic, N. J.; Elizabeth, N. J.; Newark, N. J.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; New York City. | |
| 10 Akron, O. | 67 New Philadelphia |
| 11 Wilkes Barre, Pa. | 68 E. Pittsburgh, Pa. |
| 12 New Britain, Conn. | 69 Dixonville, Pa. |
| 13 Minneapolis, Minn. | 70 Sheffield, Pa. |
| 14 Passaic, N. J. | 71 Ramsay, Mich. |
| 15 Lansford, Pa. | 72 Bitumen, Pa. |
| 16 Beaver Mead's, Pa. | 73 Pleasant City, O. |
| 17 Brownsville, Pa. | 74 Eynon, Pa. |
| 18 Allison, Pa. | 75 Gary, Ind. |
| 19 Hazleton, Pa. | 76 Barberton, O. |
| 20 Pittsburgh, Pa. | 77 Youngstown, O. |
| 21 Central City, Pa. | 78 De Lancey, Pa. |
| 22 Toronto, O. | 79 Port Griffith, Pa. |
| 23 Clarksburg, W. Va. | 80 Bethlehem, Pa. |
| 24 Cleveland — | 81 Charleroi, Pa. |
| Newsburg, O. | 82 Medway, O. |
| 25 McKeesport, Pa. | 83 West Clarence |
| 26 S. S. Pittsburgh, | 84 Syracuse, N. Y. |
| Penna. | 85 Digalia, Pa. |
| 27 Detroit, Mich. | 86 Versailles, Pa. |
| 28 Youngstown, O. | 87 Olean, N. Y. |
| 29 New Castle, Pa. | 88 Pottston, Pa. |
| 30 Centralia, Pa. | 89 Ansonia, Conn. |
| 31 Duquesne, Pa. | 90 Jersey City, N. J. |
| 32 Forest City, Pa. | 91 Tremley, N. J. |
| 33 Old Forge, Pa. | 92 Morrisdale, Pa. |
| 34 Lorain, O. | 93 Simpson, Pa. |
| 35 New Salem, Pa. | 94 Mingo, Pa. |
| 36 Bridgeport, Conn. | 95 Newark, N. J. |
| 37 Mahwah, N. J. | 96 Windber, Pa. |
| 38 Trenton, N. J. | 97 Ramey, Pa. |
| 39 Glassport, Pa. | 98 Witt, Ill. |
| 40 Fredericktown, Pa. | 99 Taylor, Pa. |
| 41 Bentleyville, Pa. | 100 Broad Mt. Pa. |
| 42 N. S. Pittsburgh, | 101 Warren, O. |
| Penna. | 102 Lyndora, Pa. |
| 43 Johnstown, Pa. | 103 Thompson, Pa. |
| 44 Danbury, Conn. | 104 Chester, Pa. |
| 45 Benld, Ill. | 105 Georgetown — |
| 46 Conemaugh, Pa. | Wilkes Barre, Pa. |
| 47 St. Clair, Pa. | 106 Whiting, Ind. |
| 48 Jerome, Pa. | 107 Hills, Pa. |
| 49 Uniontown, Pa. | 108 Portage, Pa. |
| 50 Flint, Mich. | 109 Bellaire, O. |
| 51 Lakewood, O. | 110 Nesquehoning, Pa. |
| 52 Weirton, W. Va. | 111 St. Michael, Pa. |
| 53 Punxutawney, Pa. | 112 Nanticoke, Pa. |
| 54 Endicott, N. Y. | 113 Mt. Carmel, Pa. |
| 55 McAdoo, Pa. | 114 Pittston-Exeter, Pa. |
| 56 Kingston, Pa. | 115 Cuddy, Pa. |
| 57 Vestaburg, Pa. | 116 Vestaburg, Pa. |
| | 117 Caldwell, O. |
| | 118 Bradenville, Pa. |
| | 119 Blaine, O. |
| | 120 Leisenring, Pa. |
| | 121 Bayonne, N. J. |
| | 122 Daisytown, Pa. |
| | 123 McKees Rocks, Pa. |
| | 124 Witsett, Pa. |
| | 125 Leechburg, Pa. |

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 126 Dunlo, Pa. | 144 Madison, Ill. |
| 127 Ashland, Pa. | 145 Williamstown, Pa. |
| 128 Campbell, O. | 146 Oliver, Pa. |
| 129 Trauger, Pa. | 147 Fairchance, Pa. |
| 130 Plymouth, Pa. | 148 Canonsburg, Pa. |
| 131 Sykesville, Pa. | 149 Aliquippa, Pa. |
| 132 Christopher, Ill. | 150 Herminie, Pa. |
| 133 Pana, Ill. | 151 Homer City, Pa. |
| 134 Phillipsburg, N. J. | 152 Monongahela City, Penna. |
| 135 Wilpen, Pa. | 153 Mont Clare, Pa. |
| 136 New Mine, Pa. | 154 Shenandoah, Pa. |
| 137 Everson, Pa. | 155 Rockvale, Col. |
| 138 Scottdale, Pa. | 156 Freeland, Pa. |
| 139 Newton Falls, O. | 157 Holyoke, Mass. |
| 140 Oneida, Pa. | 158 Ramah, Colorado |
| 141 Sheppton, Pa. | 159 Joliet, Ill. |
| 142 Northampton, Pa. | 160 Roscoe, Pa. |
| 143 Sharon, Pa. | |

Conclusion.

The facts detailed in this book clearly show that the Czech government has failed and cynically refused to carry out the terms and provisions of the treaty, under which Carpatho-Russia was united to Czechoslovakia. The Czech government has betrayed the good faith and confidence of the American Carpatho-Russians and has subjected the people of Carpatho-Russia to an almost unbelievable oppression, privation and uncallied for sufferings.

Under the Treaty of St. Germain the boundaries of Carpatho-Russia were to be justly determined; Carpatho-Russia was to have an autonomy. The period of ten years has elapsed, since the signing of this treaty, and the boundaries of Carpatho-Russia still remain undetermined and Carpatho-Russia has been denied autonomy. The Czech government has reduced Carpatho-Russia to a province, over which it rules with iron hand. Even though the treaty specifies that Carpatho-Russia shall have a right to self-determination and self-government; that the language, religion, industries and the social and political rights of the Carpatho-Russian people shall not be interfered with, the Czech government has closed great number of Carpatho-Russian parochial schools, interfered with the religion of the Carpatho-Russian and demoralized their religion and churches, corrupted their social life,

destroyed their industries and planted the seed of political corruption in Carpatho-Russia. **The Czech government has made Carpatho-Russia a breeding nest for bolshevism!**

The Czech government betrayed not only the American Carpatho-Russians but it has betrayed the whole world in general and the American people in particular. In the belief that the world war fought "to make the world safe for democracy", millions of men fought, bled and died on the battlefields of Europe. Hundreds of thousands of American young men had crossed the seas and fought and died on foreign soil, in order to help make the world safe for democracy. Hundreds of thousands of American mothers sacrificed their sons, in order that this world may be made a better place for human beings to live in. And while the world was fighting, bleeding and dying, the Czech leaders were watching for and seized every opportunity to turn to their own advantage the result of the sacrifices of the other peoples of the world. The Czechs conquered nobody, yet they worked themselves into the good graces of the treaty-making Great Powers and had themselves appointed apostles of that democracy for upon this world-belief, — and not upon which other peoples fought and died.

The world beleived the Czechs and without any particular bravery or service in the world war, — Czechoslovakia was created and based. The Czechs have betrayed this world-belief.

An international treaty is a CONTRACT, — a mutual obligation. The conditions, principles and provisions incorporated into such treaty are sacred obligations of all the parties who have signed it. It is the LAW, — international and domestic, — that if one of the parties to a treaty, — a CONTRACT, — violates the terms, spirit and provisions of the treaty, — CONTRACT, — the other party to the same may declare the same null and void and of no effect. The Czech go-

vernment has violated every term, condition and provision in the treaty of St. Germain contained, relative to the minorities in Czechoslovakia and particularly relative to the Carpatho-Russian people. Consequently, the treaty of St. Germain is no longer valid, nor does its provisions bind the Carpatho-Russian people, the minute they declare this treaty null and void and of no effect. There is neither international nor domestic law in this world, which would compel the Carpatho-Russian people further to adhere to the treaty which the Czech government has chosen to disregard and violate. The Carpatho-Russian people, therefore, are within their rights, at any time, to declare their independence from Czechoslovakia.

The same rule of international and domestic law holds as to the Great Powers who made and sanctioned the treaty of St. Germain. If they have permitted the Czech government to cast aside the treaty and violate every one of its principles, conditions and provisions relating to the Carpatho-Russian people, the treaty-making Great Powers cannot lawfully compel the Carpatho-Russian people further to recognize this treaty and submit to an unspeakable Czech tyranny.

The Czech government has betrayed the good faith and confidence of the world; hence the world owes no duty to the Czech government. **The Czech government today is an international outlaw!**

We cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that by cynically disregarding the treaty and casting aside with Satanic cruelty the sacred obligations contained in this treaty, the Czech government is rapidly and dangerously dragging the world toward the brink of another cruel world war.

The Czechs must be checked, in their nefarious plan. They have demonstrated during the last ten years that they are unfaithful to their trust; they have betrayed the confidence of mankind; they are breeding bolshevism; they are unworthy of the confidence of the world; and they are unfit to rule over other people. The oppressed minorities, now under Czech control, must be delivered from their bondage and the Czechs relegated to where they belong.

Check the Czechs! Liberate the oppressed minorities from the ironheeled tyranny of the Czechs. Or else, trust in God, keep your powder dry, and prepare for another world war which may prove to be a suicide and the extinction of the white race.

We have performed our duty. The next duty falls upon the shoulders of Christian Civilization.

Shall the world have peace or war?
Shall Czech tyranny and irresponsible outlawry plunge the world into another catastrophe?

What is the answer?