Prior to the outbreak of the Great War the public opinion of the world knew nothing at all about any "Ruthenian Question"; indeed, no question of the kind was known even in Hungary. Recently, however, this question has been figuring internationally in divers forms and variations — as Ruthenian, Carpatho-Russian, Sub-Carpathian and, finally, Ukrainian problem. For many centuries prior to the end of the Great War people in Hungary talked about Ruthenia and the Ruthenian people only; and Dr. Benes himself — in Memorandum No. 6, submitted by him to the Peace Conference — spoke of Ruthenia and the Ruthenian people only; while in Articles 10—14 of the Treaty of Sain-Germain-en-Laye dealing with the protection of minorities mention is made merely of a Ruthenian territory, the term "Carpatho-Russian" coming into vogue only after the treaties of peace had been signed, though the people inhabiting that territory itself has retained the term "Ruthenian". It was the Ukrainians who filtered into the territory during Dr. Benes's régime that first employed alternatively the terms "Ukrainian" and "Sub-Carpathian" in connection with the provinces previously known exclusively as Ruthenia. The Ruthenian people itself has always protested most energetically against the use of these terms. The new Czecho-Slovak Constitution comprising the provision of autonomy for Slovakia and Ruthenia speaks of "Carpatho-Russia", "Carpatho-Russian" Government and "Ukrainian" language. After this new Constitution had come into force, the Volosin Government published in its official gazette an Order in Council permitting in the future the use — in all places alike — of the term...
"Carpatho-Ukrainia". As things stand at present, therefore, the term figuring in the Constitution is "Carpatho-Russia"; while the Order in Council issued by the Volosin Government permits the use of the terms "Carpatho-Ukrainia". We see, therefore, that absolute chaos prevails even in respect of the name of the province. This circumstance proves better than anything else the character of the "soldier-of-fortune" policy being carried on for the possession of Ruthenia and shows strikingly that this territory has become a storm-centre of Europe and a second Macedonia.

Prior to the Great War the Ruthenian people was one of the most loyal of the nationalities of Hungary; for centuries it shared both the good and the evil fortune of the Magyar people. And the Ruthenians were Francis Rákóczi II.'s most faithful soldiers during his struggle for the vindication of the independence of Hungary.

The Ruthenians live in the north-eastern mountainous districts of Hungary. This territory is rather barren; and, prior to the Great War, when it still belonged to Hungary, the Ruthenians, who also engaged in lumbering and cattle-breeding, ensured their subsistence chiefly by going down to the Hungarian Lowlands to work as harvesters, and thereby obtaining enough corn to last them through the rest of the year. The regions inhabited by the Ruthenians and the Hungarian Lowlands are complementary economic areas; and, as shown by the map published in the January issue of our Review, all the rivers running through Ruthenia flow down in the direction of the Hungarian Lowlands, where they join the Tisza: while all the roads and railways also follow the direction of the valleys and run towards Hungary. This geopolitical interdependence and the centuries of symbiosis have brought into being as between the Magyar and Ruthenian peoples a spirit of fraternity and close ties of friendship.

The Ruthenian problem and the question of Ruthenian autonomy was not broached at all until the Great War, when it was employed by Czech propaganda in the United States of North America, where the question of the regions of Hungary inhabited by Ruthenians was raised and a certain attitude to that question expressed — unwarrantably enough — by emigrants from Galicia, Bukovina and Russia rather than
by Ruthenians who had emigrated from Hungary. After the end of the Great War the Ruthenians of Hungary were not given any opportunity to freely express their wishes. The most authoritative of the Ruthenian National Councils formed in Hungary in November, 1918, — that formed at Ungvár, the Capital of Ruthenia — decided in favour of remaining within the territory of Hungary. However, the Peace Conference was misled by Dr. Edward Beneš, who succeeded in having the Ruthenian territory annexed to Czecho-Slovakia. The Great Powers realised the delicate situation involved by the severing from Hungary of the Ruthenian territory; and for that reason, in the treaty for the protection of minorities concluded at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, they guaranteed the Ruthenian territory a far-reaching autonomy. This autonomy the Czechs for twenty years failed to grant to the Ruthenians; and it is characteristic of the methods of the Czechs that until the Munich Agreement the chief language in use in the Ruthenian territory — in which territory there were only 34,000 Czechs and Slovaks, the bulk of the population (447,000) being Ruthenians — was Czech. The Czechs exploited the Ruthenian territory economically and completely ruined it, plunging Ruthenia into a state of utter destitution and misery, a circumstance referred to more than once during the past twenty years by the international press.

It was not until the Munich Four-Power Resolution had been taken that the Czechs re-considered their previous attitude and acknowledged the autonomy due to the Ruthenian people; but the acknowledgment was not sincere. The first Ruthenian Government was formed on October 8th, 1938, under the leadership of Dr. Andrew Brody; and when this Government, yielding to the pressure of popular feeling, took the autonomy seriously and took steps to enforce the right of self-determination of the Ruthenian people, General Sirovy, Czech Prime Minister, on October 25th summoned Dr. Bródy to Prague and on October 27th had him arrested in the Czech Capital. Until quite recently Dr. Bródy was kept in prison by the Czech Government; and after his release from prison he was interned. After Dr. Bródy's arrest the Sirovy Government sent a telephone message appointing as Ruthenian Prime Minister Mgr. August Volosin, whose first business was to dis-
solve all political parties. At the outset Volosin was still anxious to serve the Czechs; and immediately after his appointment to office as Prime Minister he called upon the Czech General Svatek, whom he assured of his loyalty. At first Volosin was content to accept the mock autonomy which had been given to the Ruthenian territory and allowed the Czech soldiers and officials to remain in Ruthenia, in all he did indeed serving the interests of Prague. His first reason for doing so was that he needed the support of Prague in the struggle against popular feeling, the people still continuing to demand a plebiscite and re-incorporation in Hungary. It was in consequence of this attitude of the Ruthenian people that Minister Fencsik resigned office as Member of the Volosin Government, his example being followed later by Minister Bačinsky too. The only person to continue to support Volosin was Minister Revaj, who had always pursued a pan-Ukrainian policy and was the loudest advocate of communism in Ruthenia. With the support of Revaj Volosin defied the will of the Ruthenian people and began to pursue a pan-Ukrainian policy, proposing to make Ruthenia the Piemont of the Greater Ukraine of his dreams. The independence of his policy brought him into conflict with Slovakia and Bohemia too. The cause of his conflict with Slovakia was his demand for the annexation to Ruthenia of the Ruthenian area in the environs of Eperjes which at present belongs to Slovakia. The conflict between the Czech and Ruthenian Governments, on the other hand, arose as the consequence of the appointment by President Hácha, on January 16th, 1939, of General Prchala as Member of the Ruthenian Government. Volosin and his partner did all in their power to prevent General Prchala's appointment; they even appealed to Berlin: but in the end the will of the Czech Government prevailed; on January 30th, 1939, General Prchala assumed office at Huszt and began his activity there. As things stand at present, therefore, the Volosin Government is functioning under the supervision of General Prchala; and as a consequence there are pretty frequent clashes between Ukrainians and Czechs. The antagonism between the two parties is reflected in many circumstances. Thus, for instance, when the Volosin Government proposed to provisionally relieve the desperate material
situation by requisitioning the deposits in the custody of the Post Office Savings Bank, General Prchala, acting upon instructions from Prague, frustrated the attempt. And skirmishes between the Czech troops and the Sić Guard are everyday occurrences today in Ruthenia, — the Sić Guard being Ukrainian terrorists authorised by the Volosin Government. Volosin is leaving no stone unturned to secure the success of his pan-Ukrainian policy. He proposes to obtain the material assistance required also by collections among Ukrainians all over the world. In view of the fact that he cannot raise more than 60 million crowns to secure an estimated expenditure of 370 million crowns, Volosin has appealed to Ukrainians all over the world to advance his Government a loan of S 5,000,000. He has made Ukrainian the official language of Ruthenia and is doing his level best to ukrainianise the Ruthenian inhabitants.

Volosin's pan-Ukrainian policy is fraught with danger to Europe at large. In his policy there are two possible alternatives, — either he will fail to make Ruthenia the Piemont of Greater Ukraine — in which case too he is bound to plunge the Ruthenian people into a state of horrible misery and destitution and to reduce that territory sooner or later to the condition of a second Macedonia, — the other alternative being that the Greater Ukrainian State will really be brought into being, that in its turn resulting in Greater Ukraine being made the starting-point of a Slav Renaissance thrusting the Slav peril within the basin of the Carpathians and with that force behind it threatening with extinction, not only Hungary and Rumania, but the whole of Western Europe.

The chaotic situation prevailing in Ruthenia is due to the bad peace treaties; and today the Ruthenian problem has ceased to be a question of local interest only to the Ruthenian people, and has become fraught with danger to the whole of Europe. The solution of this problem is therefore in the interest of Europe generally. The only way to put an end to the chaotic situation prevailing is to ensure the Ruthenian people the right of self-determination, enabling that people to once more form a part of the Hungarian Kingdom of St. Stephen, in which it will be in a position to live freely a life of cultural and economic independence. That is what is postulated by the interests and the geopolitical situation of the Ruthenian people.