

CONCLUSIONS

Autonomous Subcarpathian Rus', and subsequently independent Carpathian Ukraine, existed for an extremely short period of time: from October 1938 to the second half of March, 1939. Despite this fact, there was such a rapid development of political events in the country that the attention of the whole world was drawn to Carpathian Ukraine. This also applies to the researchers who, at the end of the 1930s, began to study the history of Carpathian Ukraine.

The short-lived existence of Carpathian Ukraine coincided with the sharp exacerbation of the international situation in Central Europe and the emergence of an acute political crisis in the Czechoslovak Republic, which contained Transcarpathia as its part throughout the interwar period. The Munich Conference of September 29-30 and the Vienna Arbitration on November 2, 1938, not only signaled the beginning of the state breakup of the Czechoslovak Republic, but significantly worsened the position of Transcarpathia, to which Hungary constantly raised territorial claims, which were fully supported by Poland. The rapid disintegration of Czechoslovakia was caused not only by the annexationist policy by Germany, but also by the position of agreement of Great Britain and France, which in fact contributed to the aggressor. Romania and Yugoslavia, loyal to the Czechoslovak Republic and Transcarpathia, could not significantly influence the course of political events in Europe. The Soviet Union's proposals to protect Czechoslovakia were not accepted.

This situation was in favor of Hungary, which was openly preparing to capture the whole territory of Transcarpathia. Although Germany agreed with Budapest's demands only in March 1939, the Hungarian terrorists, with the support of the Polish terrorists, carried out constant terrorist actions on the territory of the region, thereby destabilizing its internal political situation. Having obtained the consent of Germany to occupy Carpathian Ukraine, the Horthy's soldiers crossed the border. Without meeting any resistance from the Czechoslovak troops, they occupied the entire territory of the region during March 14-18, 1939. Only the Carpathian Sich Riflemen gave them a real fight, though of course they could not stop the advance of the enemy.

Carpathian Ukraine constantly felt the moral and material support of the world community. The assistance of Ukrainians living in different countries of the world was especially significant. Voloshyn's government succeeded in establishing relations with many organizations of the Ukrainian diaspora, which organized fundraising, food and other material assistance to the population of Transcarpathia. Ukrainians who lived in Europe, Asia and the Far East also did not stay away. Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia closely followed the events in Carpathian Ukraine. The Galician press on its pages constantly placed materials in which they were in solidarity with the national liberation struggle of Transcarpathian Ukrainians. Correspondents of a number of Galician periodicals in 1938-1939 stayed in Carpathian Ukraine. Their reports, articles and messages were characterized by their emotionality and accurate presentation of informative material. Although, some materials of the Galician press were characterized by idealization, inaccuracies. Galicia's Ukrainians have been in solidarity with the Transcarpathians, taking part in a number of protests against joint action by Poland and Hungary over Carpathian Ukraine. Archival sources testify to the mass illegal crossings of the Polish-Czech border by the young people from Galicia. However, the mass crossings of the border not only testified to the solidarity of Ukrainians of Galicia with the struggle of the Transcarpathians, but at the same time, they complicated the activities of A. Voloshyn's government, as he stated ambiguously. The anti-Polish actions of individual, radical-minded Galician and Transcarpathian nationalists, including attacks on the Polish consulate in Svaliava, etc., also played a negative role.

Since the granting of autonomous rights to the region, a large number of OUN members have appeared in Carpathian Ukraine. The OUN members played a major role in the formation of the Carpathian Sich, although they failed to create a capable armed force. Historical documents show that cooperation between the OUN and the German government continued throughout the entire existence of Carpathian Ukraine. Thanks to OUN members, Transcarpathia made contacts with Ukrainian organizations of the world, which provided financial assistance to the government of Carpathian Ukraine. However, it should be noted that the OUN played an ambiguous role in the development of political events in 1938-1939 in Carpathian Ukraine.

Some of its members took part in the government coup attempt of March 13–14, 1939, and the Carpathian Sich headquarters, despairing in their forces, emigrated abroad at the time of the advance of the Hungarian troops. This fact could not but affect the further development of relations between the Leadership of Ukrainian Nationalists and A. Voloshyn's government in exile.

The declaration of independence on March 14, 1939 was explained by the desire of the Ukrainian population of the region for freedom. However, the disintegration of Czechoslovakia and the declaration of independence by Slovakia were also of great importance for this act. Despite some spontaneity and haste, this historical event in the life of not only Transcarpathian Ukrainians, but of the entire Ukrainian people was of great historical importance. After January 21, 1919, it was the second attempt to declare to the whole world that Ukrainian nation is alive and ready for state life. Although this act of declaration of independence, ratified on March 15, 1939 at the Soim of Carpathian Ukraine, was more symbolic than real politics, it played a large role in forming the self-consciousness of the entire Ukrainian nation. It was during the period of Carpathian Ukraine that a kind of transition from consciousness of Transcarpathian Ruthenians to Transcarpathian Ukrainians ended.

Archival documents show that the government of Carpathian Ukraine had to act in conditions when the attacks on its territory by Hungarian and Polish terrorists did not cease, anti-Ukrainian and anti-Czech propaganda – a real leaflet and radio war – continued. The political crisis in the region was deepened by the contradictions between the Czech government and the local population, as well as numerous conflicts in the Ukrainian camp itself. In 1938-1939 the representatives of two generations clashed with each other: young radical nationalists, who demanded decisive action from the government and older, moderate politicians who sought to preserve the autonomous status of the region through maneuvers. Conflicts in the Ukrainian camp culminated on March 13-14, 1939, when bloody fights ensued between the Carpathian Sich and the Czech army. The Carpathian Sich, having suffered considerable losses in these fights, proved unable to withstand the well-armed aggressor troops. The group of Sich Riflemen and some of the radical members of the OUN

inflicted great moral harm with the coup attempt against the government of Carpathian Ukraine.

Throughout the interwar period, there was a Hungarian irredent on the territory of the region, whose anti-Ukrainian activities culminated in 1938-1939. Transcarpathia was flooded by Hungarian agents, who collected signatures for the annexation of the region to Hungary, made lists of unreliable ones, organized sabotages, called for the overthrow of the legitimate government of the region. The Czechoslovak and Ukrainian governments have made every effort to counter hostile propaganda, and they could not ignore it. The difficult internal position of the region and the need for consolidation of all patriotic forces made the government of A. Voloshyn to move to a certain curtailment of democratic processes, which was manifested in the prohibition of political parties, the non-alternative elections to the Soim, the closure of some pro-Hungarian newspapers, societies, and creation of a concentration camp. The country could sink into anarchy and permissiveness without such decisive measures. However, despite this motivation for A. Voloshyn's departure from democracy, it is necessary to characterize A. Voloshyn's regime as authoritarian. Carpathian Ukraine originated in the center of Europe when the latter was enslaved by fascism, it originated in spite of their will. Defenders of Carpathian Ukraine rose to fight the aggressor without waiting for the order of their government. Numerous archival documents, first of all the Hungarian ones, testify to the fact that the Transcarpathians would still not have escaped the repression, that Hungary was ready for it before the invasion began. The last Sich guerrilla units continued to fight until May 1939.

In the late 1930s, Carpathian Ukraine was the only state where a small branch of the Ukrainian people proclaimed their independence and declared their desire to live a state life. The Ukrainians who were part of the USSR, as well as the Ukrainians under the control of Poland and Romania didn't have such opportunity. However, they treated Carpathian Ukraine as an area where an attempt was made to restore Ukrainian statehood. On this basis, it is necessary to consider the formation of the Carpatho-Ukrainian state as the second stage – after the liberation contest of 1918–20's – in the struggle for the creation of Ukrainian state formation on a separate Ukrainian territory.