To the civilised nations of the world.

Geneva, 1920

For all publications concerning Ukraine apply to Librairie Genevoise A. Eggimann, Geneva, rue du Marché 40.

the same time to the Peace Conference to put, with an equitable decision, an end to the bloody contest.

The Peace Conference however sided with Poland; the Ukrainians received nothing but promises which were not kept, whereas Poland obtained real help from Entente Powers: approvisation, munitions and the army of Haller, and from the Peace Conference a legal sanction of her annexionistic claims.

Here is a short review of the events:

The Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, by the telegramm of March 19 th 1919, invited both sides to conclude a truce and to proceed with negociations in view of an armistice. The Ukrainiams accepted this invitation and offered a truce, which proposal, however, was rejected by the Poles.

The Commission in view of a Polono-Ukrainian armistice, created in Paris by the Supreme Council, offered a project of the armistice to both sides on March 13th 1919. Though this project gave over the third of the territory of East Galicia, together with the capital Lemberg, to the Poles, the Ukrainians declared themselves ready to accept it, whilst the Poles rejected it.

Now the Peace Conference, instead of compelling the Poles to accept tits own project of armistice, calmy looked on how the Polish army, provided by the Entente Powers with all the necessary, pushed the Ukrainian army gradually eastwards. When the Poles occupied almost the whole of East Galicia, the Supreme Council, by the decision of June 25 th 1919, gave sanction to this Polish occupation of the Ukrainian territory.

This was followed by the decision of the Supreme Council of July Ilth 1919, by which the administration of East Galicia was promised to Poland on the basis of a special treaty between the Allies and Poland, and to the Ukrainian people

it was promised that this treaty will "guarantee at the utmost possible the autonomy of the territory as well as the political, religious and personal rights of the population and rest on the Right of the free disposition of the peoples, according to which the population of Galicia shall declare themselves in the future as to their political adherence."

In realising this decision the Supreme Council gave to Poland more than they have promised. Whereas towards the Ukrainians they have broken their promise.

The Statut for East Galicia, accepted by the Supreme Council at the sitting of Oct. 20th 1919:

- 1) diminishes the territory of the country by giving its western, purely Ukrainian parts, to Poland;
- 2) cripples the idea of autonomy by giving very important legislative rights to the Polish Diet, by giving all the executive power to the Polish Governor and by restricting the legislative power of the Galician Diet, already restricted, by giving to the same Governor a right of a »veto« relative in all questions and absolute in such important matters as public education and agrarian question.
- 3) deprives the population of Galicia of the right of self disposition by establishing that, after 25 years of Polish administration, the ultimate fate of the country is to be decided, not by the population itself but by the League of Nations.

Nevertheless Poland was not satisfied with this and declared that she did not accept the provisory settlement and claims for the final attribution.

As Mr. Clemenceau, the President of the Peace Conference, declared in his speech at the Chambre des Députés on December 23th 1919, the Supreme Council, thanks to the steps taken by himself, satisfied also this claim of the Poles and, at the sitting of December 22th, suspended their decision of the provisory character of the attribution.

Formally the Supreme Council reserved themselves the right of deciding this matter in future, but really, the decision of the Supreme Council of December 22 d 1919 implies the illimited surrender of East Galicia to the Polish domination.

That is also how the Polish Government means it.

Thus a country of 56.000 km^2 , with a population above 5 millions, a country historically and nationally an Ukrainian one, in which the Ukrainians represent 70% of the population, the Supreme Council gave over to Poland, in spite of the will of the overwhelming Ukrainian majority, the will enforced by the sacrifices of their blood. Above 4 millions of Ukrainians, as well as $\frac{1}{2}$ million of Jews, have to bow under the Polish yoke in order that a million of Poles might dominate them.

For the purpose of giving, to this act of violence, committed to Ukrainian people, a sanction, other than the decision of the Peace Conference, but also that of the consent of the Ukrainian people himself, Poland wrang from the Warsaw Mission of the Gouvernment of the Ukrainian Republic, — which in consequence of military disasters was obliged to ask for Polish aid, — the declaration of december 2d 1919, by which the said Mission gave up the right of the Ukrainian Republic to East Galicia.

We declare that no Ukrainian Government has right to renounce any part of Ukrainian territory without the previous and freely expressed consent of the local Ukrainian population and without the approval of the Ukrainian Constituante, formed by the freely elected representatives of all Ukrainian provinces. All renouncement which does not fulfil these conditions, the Ukrainian people considers illegal and not binding, and will call the authors to the responsability in due time.

In protesting before the civilised nations against the illegal

A

wrenching of East Galicia from Ukraine and its annexation to Poland we denounce at the same time the Polish rule in East Galicia as barbarity unheard of, before which all the horrors of the whole war grow pale.

After having occupied East Galicia, the Polish authorities abolished, not only all rights of human beings and citizens, as well as all national rights with regard to the Ukrainians. but undertook the physical extermination of the Ukrainian population. Sentences to be shot and hanged, sentences of long years of imprisonment, above 100,000 interned, whom the Polish authorities, having no sufficient proofs to have them tried by a court martial, gave over, without any judgment at all, to the tortures and death in their camps, where the cruel treatment of the guards, the famine and the typhus destroy daily thousands of lives — all these are only bare facts that appeal to heaven for justice. In particular must be mentioned the cruel treatment of the Ukrainian wounded and the prisoners of war by the Polish authorities, treatment which is a mokery of all international laws. We shall add to this, that all Ukrainian workmen are excluded from all Polish undertakings, communal and private, as well as from those of the State, that all the Ukrainian employees are excluded from State service, all Ukrainian peasanats are deprived of the right of buying ground. Thus, the whole people of workmen, peasants, professionals and intellectuals are doomed to a moral and physical death.

The »Committee of the Independent Ukraine« protests before the whole civilised world against the violence done by the Peace Conference to the Ukrainian people by giving over East Galicia to Poland and against the terrible system of extermination of the Ukrainian people, introduced by the Polish Government in East Galicia. We declare that Ukrainian people will never reconcile themselves to the detachment of East Galicia from Ukraine and will strive

with all their forces to the reunion of all Ukrainian territory into one independent Ukrainian Republic.

We appeal to you, to all civilised nations: do not allow a great crime to be committed on the Ukrainian population of East Galicia. Raise your voice in defense of their right on national unity and independence.

Paris January 15th 1920.

For the »Committee of the Independent Ukraine«

President M. Hrushevski.

Secretaries D. Issaievich, M. Lozinski.