THE CASE

OF THE

NEW REPUBLICS

OF

Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine

presented at

The First Congress

of

THE LEAGUE of ESTHONIANS, LETTS, LITHUANIANS and UKRAINIANS of AMERICA

PENNSYLVANIA HOTEL, NEW YORK

Sixteenth and Seventeenth days of September, 1919



WHAT THE LEAGUE IS.

The League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America is composed of the following nation-wide organizations of Americans of foreign birth or origin:

> The American-Esthonian League The Lettish National League of America The Lithuanian National Council of America The Ukrainian National Committee of the United States

These organizations, each of which has local chapters in all the centers of population of the respective nationalities in the United States, represent about three million foreign born Americans.

These four national organizations, realizing that they have many objects in common which could be furthered better by united action, formed the League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America in May, 1919. The Joint objects of the members of the League were the following: --

- 1. To aid the American people and the American government in reaching a better understanding of the political, economic and social conditions in Eastern Europe.
- 2. To induce the United States Government and the principal Allied and Associated Powers to recognize the sovereignity of the republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine, and to accord to each of them all the territory to which it is justly entitled.
- 3. To aid in protecting the four republics from the agressions and invasions of Polish and German imperialists and from Bolshevists.
- 4. To further trade and commerce between the United States and the Republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

The formation of the League followed a mass meeting of people of the four nationalities which filled Carnegie Hall on May 25, 1919. The following officers were elected to direct the League's work:

Vincent F. Jankovski, president (officer of the Lithuanian National Council of America) Hans L. Pymson, vice president (conser of the American-Esthonian League) 20 21 June

Vladimir B. Lototsky, secretary

(officer of the Ukrainian National Committee of the United States)

John J. Kalnin, treasurer

(officer of the Lettish National League of America)

The League worked steadily but quietly until August 29, 1919, when, with the assistance of Mr. Robert J. Caldwell, president of the American Mid-European Association, it procured a hearing before the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. At this hearong representatives of each of the four nationalities laid the cases of their respective countries before the Committee, and their counsel, Mr. George Gordon Battle, made a strong plea for a Senatorial recommendation to the State Department for recognition of the Republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

THE CONGRESS

To devise ways and means for better furthering the objects of the League a Congress, participated in by the delegates of the member organizations, was called by the executives of the League. This Congress, presided over by the president, Mr. Vincent F. Jankovski, sat in the Hotel Pensylvania, in New York City, on September 16 and 17, 1919. About 100 delegates from various parts of the country took part.

Mr. Jankovski, in opening the first session on the afternoon of September 16, reviewed the history of the League. He then read the following telegram received from Congressman F. H. La Guardia of New York City:

> "Regret exceedingly Congressional duties do not permit me to leave Washington this week. Plase express to meeting my best wishes. Our four sister republics should be recognized without delay. While that is not up to the House of Representatives I shall this day introduce a bill providing appropriations for the maintenance of legations in those countries, thereby expressing the sympathy of the House and readiness to act. Long live the New Republics.

"La Guardia."

The Congress then proceeded to the election of officers, and a suitable motion having been made, the existing officers of the League were reelected.

Four members were then appointed by the chairman to act as secretaries for the Congress. The appointees were:

> Mr. Hans L. Pymson, Rev. John Kweetin Mr. V. B. Lototsky, Mr. Milton Wright.

The chairman next proceeded to the appointment of committees, the following gentleman being designated as chairman, with authority to select their own committee members:

> Mr. P. S. Villmont for the Entertainment Committee; Mr. Milton Wright for the Resolutions Committee; Mr. Emil Revyuk for the Publicity Committee.

ADDRESSES

In order to present a clear picture of the conditions in each of the four republics, one speaker representing each nationality addressed the Congress on the problems of his particular country. The first of these addresses was made in behalf of Ukraine by Mr. Emil Revyuk. Touching upon the unions made by Ukraine with Lithuania, Poland and Russia, he led up to the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917. He related the acquisition of independence by Ukraine, the peace made with Germany, the overthrow of Skoropadsky, the formation of the Ukrainian National Union, and the establishment of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic.

Mr. Revyuk declared that the Ukrainian people are unalterably opposed to any Great Russian policy, whether it is supported by Kolchak, Denikin or Bolshevists. He declared that the Ukrainians are fighting desperately with the Poles in East Galicia, and that the Polish policy is one of extermination. He asserted that the American people should see to it that Poland should include only those territories where the population is indisputably Polish.

The case for Latvia was stated by Dr. Christopher Roos. He spoke strongly of the danger to civilization in permitting the German barons to continue to occupy the Baltic provinces. The Esthonians, Letts and Lithuanians, he said, have now united against the Germans. He asserted that Russia has no claim on the nationals of the Baltic provinces, and that the imposition of a union with Russia would result only in war.

The case for Latvia was further presented by Rev. Carl Podin, who asserted that freedom could be won only if the people of the four republics stand together.

The claims of Esthonia were stated by Lieutenant Commander George Beall, U. S. N. He declared that the hope of Esthonia and the other resurrected nations lies in America, and that the peoples of the republics of the former Russian Empire must fight to the end to secure complete independence. The American soldiers, he said, did not fight to turn a slice of earth over to any power. A vote of thanks was given to Mr. Robert J. Caldwell and Mr. George Gordon Battle for their assistance in the hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The Chairman stated that a Commercial Conference would be held in Atlantic City in the near future, and that the League was about to ask for an opportunity to present the advantages of trade relations with the four republics. At the suggestion of the chairman a motion was made to ask representatives of the Finnish people in America to join the League.

The following telegram was adopted at the session of the afternoon of September 16, and sont to President Wilson.

"Honorable Woodrow Wilson,

"San Francisco, California.

"Delegates of three million Americans of Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian and Ukranian origin in Congress assembled at Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City, send greetings. They respectfully request you to make some public statement on your present speaking tour advising the American people what steps you will take towards recognition of the Republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine and what guarantees are made for their independence and integrity by the Peace Treaty and by the Covenant of the League of Nations.

"Does self determination apply to the Republics of the former Russian Empire?

"League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America "70 Fifth Avenue, New York City

"By V. F. Jankovsky, President."

The following cablegram was adopted at the session of the afternoon of September 16th, and sent to Marshal Foch:

"Marshall Ferdinand Foch,

"Paris, France.

"Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America in Congress assembled thank you for efforts to expel German armies from the Baltic states. We urge you to take decisive steps to withdrawn German invaders immediately.

"League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America "70 Fifth Avenue, New York City

"Vincent Jankovsky, President."

RESOLUTIONS.

In the course of the four sessions of the Congress held on the afternoon of September 16, the evening of September 16, the morning of September 17 and the afternoon of September 17, the following resolutions expressing the aspirations of the Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America were unanimously adopted.

RESULUTION FOR RECOGNITION.

WHEREAS, the three million Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians and Americans of Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian or Ukrainian origin residing in the United States have devoted the lives of their sons and their fortunes in order that America might be victorious in the World War, and

WHEREAS, their brothers in Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine, actuated by the same ideals as were the Americans, fought valiantly on the side of the Allies against the forces of autocracy and still are fighting against the forces of anarchy and lawlessness, and

WHEREAS, the eighty million people of the countries of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine have set up their respective independent, sovereign, democratic republics, each deriving its powers only from the consent of the governed and each protecting fully the rights of every element of the population without regard to race, creed or condition in society, and

WHEREAS these four republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine, each possessing its own individual language, literature, traditions, history, racial pecularities and aspirations, are by every canon of law and justice entitled to their own separate existences as free, independent and self-governing states, and

WHEREAS, the objects for which the World War was fought, namely, protection from militant autocracy and oppression, safety for democracy and the right of all peoples to enjoy life, liberty and happiness unrestricted and unhampered by alien, inimical powers, shall not have been achieved until each of the republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine shall have been recognized and assisted on the road to freedom,

BE IT RESOLVED that it is the earnest desire of the three million Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians in America that the government of the United States accord each of the republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine full, complete and official regognition that each is an independent and sovereign state whose governments and officials are lawfully functioning and are entitled to diplomatic, commercial, financial and other relations with the United States and the other civilized nations of the World, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President, the Secretary of State, the Senate, and the House of Representations of the United States.

New York, City

September 16, 1919.

RESOLUTIONS OF SOVEREIGNITY

WHEREAS the Russian Empire no longer exists, and

WHEREAS in the territories formerly occupied by the Russian Empire the long-enslaved peoples have resurrected their independent nations and have set up popular democratic republics which are administering the laws and maintaining armies in the field, and

WHEREAS these republics, namely Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine, are based upon the American principles of liberty, equality and justice and are constituted in the interests of the peace, prosperity and progress of Eastern Europe and of the World, and

WHEREAS, the United States and the Allied and Associated powers are about to consider the recognition of the republics established by the peoples of the territories of the former Russian Empire, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that the Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America declare that the peoples who have established their independent republics on their own ethnographic territories are sovereign peoples, that they alone are possessed of the right to determine their future, and that no agreement, alliance, subjection or union can be imposed upon them without their consent, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the American people and the American Government be urged to support the rights of the independent Republics of Esthonia. Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Government and people of the United States be urged to deny any and all moral and material support to any group or organization which aims to reestablish an authocratic, centralized Russian Empire at the expense of the new republics and in opposition to the will of the people of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Government and people of the United States of America, especially the President of the United States, the Secretary of State and the Senate of the United States, be urged to recognize only such government of Russia as shall accord full. and complete recognition of the sovereignty of the democratic republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

New York, September 16, 1919.

RESOLUTION REGARDING BOUNDARIES

WHEREAS it is clearly evident that, by the terms of Article 87, Section VIII, lines 11, 12 and 13 of the Senate Public Document copy of the proposed Treaty with Germany, the boundary lines of Poland and northeastern and northern East Prussia therein laid down, transgress territory which is purely Lithuanian, and without any admixture of Polish population, and WHEREAS the obvious interpretation of the said article, if left uncorrected, provides no territory upon which to mark a boundary between Lithuania and East Prussia, thus creating an invitable and grave boundary dispute between Lithuania and Poland, and

WHEREAS information given to the Lithuanian delegates at the Peace Conference at Versailles led them to believe that by the terms of Article 99, Section X the territory north of the East Prussia boundary line would eventually be ceded to the Republic of Lithuania, the independence of which is provided for in Articles 116, 117 and 433 of the proposed Treaty with Germany, and

WHEREAS the injustice done to Lithuania by the erroneous extension of Poland's boundaries as provided in Article 87 is augmented by Article 28, Part II in internationalizing the River Niemen (Memel), which flows solely through Lithuanian territory, and

WHEREAS Poland's troops on pretense of fighting the Bolsheviki have occupied Lithuanian territories of Grodno, Vilna and parts of Kovno and Suvalki, are continually extending their lines further into Lithuania, and are destroying the civil government and military forces of Lithuania for the purpose of incorporating those parts of Lithuania into Poland, and

WHEREAS the Polish Government is setting up a civil government, supported by Polish soldiers, in the territories of West Ukraine, namely East Galicia, Kholm, Volhynia, Polissye and Podlakia, in utter disregard of the will of the population which is overwhelmingly and indisputably Ukrainian, and is making a strong effort by force of arms to polonize the population in the same manner as in Lithuania and

WHEREAS there is grave danger that the republics of Lithuania. and Ukraine may, solely as a matter of self-defense and self-preservation, be obliged to conclude peace with the Bolsheviki in order to combat successfully the aggressions of the Poles, and

WHEREAS the people of the four republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine have sacrificed lives and possessions in behalf of the Allies of the United States in the World War and even now are fighting bravely the armies of the Bolsheviki, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, and the United States Senate be urged to request the principal Allied and Associated Powers to have proper clauses or appendices provided in the Treaty with Germany and Poland which shall

- 1. Restrain Poland from extending her boundaries into Lithuania and Ukraine.
- 2. Leave the right of internationalization of the river Niemen (Memel) entirely to the discretion of the government of Lithuania.

- 3. Cede to Lithuania the portions of the territory of the former East Prussia which lie north of the River Niemen
- 4. Recognize that the Ukranian territories of East Galicia, Kholm, Volhynia, Polissye and Podlakia are integral parts of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic.
- 5. Appoint commissions for the settlement of boundary disputes between Lithuania and Poland and between Ukraine and Poland, the settlement of such disputes to be in accordance with the boundary lines as they existed for centuries prior to the formation of a political tie between Lithuania and Ukraine with Poland.
- 6. Accord recognition of the independence of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine, respectively.

New York, September 16, 1919.

PROTEST AGAINST POLISH AGGRESSIONS.

The League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America, in Congress assembled at the Hotel Pennsylvania in the City and State of New York, on the seventeenth day of September, 1919, hereby protests against the ratification of any treaty with the government of Poland at the present time or until such time as Poland shall cease her Prussian tactics of armed invasion, oppression and utter disregard of the rights, privileges and liberties of the peoples of the democratic republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

In the name of three million Americans of Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian blood, we solemnly protest against the following acts of the Polish government, to wit:

Polish armies under the pretence of waging war against the Bolsheviki have occupied by force of arms the Lithuanian territories of Grodno, Vilna and parts of Kovno and Suvalki, and the Ukrainian territories of East Galicia, Kholm, Polissye and Volhynia.

Polish soldiers, acting under instructions from their government, have arrested the administrative and other officials of Lithuania and Ukraine, have forbidden the native Lithuanian and Ukrainian languages, have killed loyal Lithuanian and Ukrainian subjects, and have issued proclamations and manifests tending to disrupt und undermine the Lithuanian and Ukrainian governments.

The Polish government officials and political leaders have declared it is the intention of Poland to occupy and hold as part of the Polish possession the territories of Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

We declare that the terms of the Polish treaty are injurious and unjust to the republic of Lithuania in that the boundaries therein laid down are not in accordance with the principle of nationality, for they take away from Lithuania territories which are indisputably Lithuanian and internationalize the River Niemen which lies almost wholly within Lithuanian territory.

We declare that Poland since the restoration of her independence has displayed as imperialistic an attitude as has the former imperial German Government and has obliged all the republics bordering on Poland to maintain large standing armies and be ever ready for defensive warfare, thereby defeating the objects for which the Allied and Associated Powers aided by the armies of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine, waged the World War.

We declare that signing and ratifying the proposed treaty between Poland and the Allied Powers without clearly defining Poland's boundaries and without obliging Poland to withdraw her invading armies from the neigboring republics would lead to continuous warfare, hamper the fight against the forces of lawlessness and anarchy and endanger the peace of the world and the security of civilization

We earnestly petition the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States; the Honorable Robert Lansing, Secretary of State; and the United States Senate, especially the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, that such provisions, definitions, corrections and reservations in the proposed treaty with Poland be made and such measures taken as shall protect without reservation or delay the international, political, territorial and economic rights of the independent republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine and as shall cause the immediate withdrawal of all Polish troops from all territories belonging to the said republics.

We also petition that the Supreme Council at Versailles be urged that the signing and ratifying of the proposed Polish treaty and the rendering of all military, economic, philanthropic, financial and other aid to Poland shall not take effect until Poland shall have complied with all terms which shall be laid down requiring her to respect the rights of the republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and other friendly nations.

New York, September 16, 1919.

DECLARATION

regarding German occupation.

The League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America hereby declares that there is no justification whatever for the presence of German troops at the present time in Latvia and Lithuania. The large German army under the command of General von der Goltz has extended its front from Mitau to Memel. This army under the false pretext of war-time necessity is indulging in plundering and profiteering without limit and is causing widespread death, misery, ruin and desolation. We urge that the United States and Associated Powers, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, take decisive and effective measures to accomplish the immediate withdrawel of the German military forces from Latvia and Lithuania, lest humanity be plunged again into a cataclysm of blood and ruin.

We further urge that the Government of the United States and the other principal Allied and Associated powers take all necessary steps to permit the peoples of the republics bordering upon the Baltic Sea to exercise unhampered their full civil, political and economic rights in accordance with their status as citizens of free, sovereign and democratic republics.

New York, September 16, 1919.

RESOLUTION

regarding Nationals in France.

WHEREAS Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian nationals of the army of the former Russian Empire, who were sent in combatant units to France to collaborate with the armies of the Allies, have recently been treated by the French authorities in an inhospitable manner and have been interned or sent to the so-called Russian Volunteer Army against their will, and

WHEREAS these Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians have been fighting bravely and making every sacrifice in defense of the freedom of France,

BE IT RESOLVED that the League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America in Congress assembled appeal to the Supreme Council, to the French people and to the French Government urging that these nationals be repatriated at once at the expense of the Allied Governments.

New York, September 17, 1919.

DECLARATION

regarding Nationals in Siberia.

Americans of Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian birth and origin, in Congress assembled, hereby declare:

- 1. On March 25, 1919, thirty-two Lettish soldiers of the Imanta division commanded by the French General, Shanen, were shot by the Japanese soldiers near the station Botschkarawa, for the sole reason that they were Letts.
- 2. In Blagoweschenska the Russian Government refused to permit the Letts to organize for self-determination.
- 3. On June 3, 1919 the Russian Government closed the Amur Lettish National Conference, the sole reason being that the Lettish language was used.

- 4. In a number of Siberian Military camps Lettish units were not permitted to recruit volunteers.
- 5. Russians are impressing the Lettish division Imanta for service in the Ural regions to fight against Russian internal disorders.
- 6. The Russian government has forbidden Lettish troops to return to Latvia to defend their republic.
- 7. The Russian Government has exiled all Letts from Omsk to Tobolsk.
- 8. The Russian Government in Omsk arrested members of the Lettish National Council in its session, without any just reason.
- 9. The Russian Czarist group in Tschita is inciting the population to kill all Letts and Jews.
- 10. Russian army officers in Krasnojarsk ordered the destruction by fire of many Lettish settlements.
- 11. The Russian Government would not permit the Lithuanians to form their own army in Vladivostock, such as the Letts have.
- 12. The Russian Government arrested the president of the Ukrainian National Council in Harbin, for his stand for Ukrainian independence.

We declare that we stand ready at any and all times to verify the above statements by documentary and other evidence.

We declare that it is the firm belief of the three million Americans of Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian origin that it is in accordance with the American principles of liberty that any and all Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians in Siberia should be unconditionally and immediately liberated and sent to their homes, and we call upon the American Government and the Supreme Council at Versailles to demand that they be so returned, and to take them under American or Allied protection until such return is effected.

New York, September 17, 1919.

RESOLUTIONS

regarding Ukrainians interned in Italy, Serbia and Roumania.

WHEREAS there are large numbers of Ukrainian soldiers, former unwilling subjects of the former Austrian Empire, now interned in the Kingdoms of Italy, Serbia and Roumania, and

WHEREAS these Ukrainians, who never were in the Austrian army of their own will, are now citizens of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, and WHEREAS the Ukrainian Democratic Republic is in complete accord with, and amicably disposed towards, the Kingdoms of Italy, Serbia and Roumania,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Americans of Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian birth and origin, in Congress assembled, appeal to the Supreme Council and to the Italian, Serbian and Roumanian governments to release the Ukrainian nationals now held as prisoners of war, and to return them to their homeland.

New York, September 17, 1919.

RESOLUTION

regarding Trade Relations.

WHEREAS Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine control the most important sea-ports on the Baltic and the Black Seas—ports which are of great commercial interest to the United States, not only directly with those named countries, but through them with the big future markets of Russia, and

WHEREAS the Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian people desire to open immediate trade relations with the business men of the United States, and

WHEREAS future American trade with Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine is of vital importance to American manufacturers and merchants directly and without the mediation or intervention of the business interests of other nations, and

WHEREAS the probabilities are that if the opening of regular trade relations by the United States with Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine is delayed, Germany and other countries will take advantage of the wonderful commercial opportunities of the four republics and monopolize the trade with those countries, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED that the League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America, in Congress assembled, this 17th day of September, 1919, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, request the Department of Commerce, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the New York Chamber of Commerce and all other similar commercial and financial institutions to co-operate with the Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian governments and the patriotic societies of their natives in this country to the end that immediate and direct trade relations be established between the United States and the four named countries.

New York, September 17, 1919.

RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING A TRADE COMMISSION.

WHEREAS the creation of a commission to promote the financial, economic, industrial and commercial development and welfare of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine is deemed to be desirable,

BE IT RESOLVED that a commission be appointed, consisting of three representatives of each nationality in the League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America to formulate and adopt ways and means to promote the financial, economical, industrial and commercial development and welfare of each of the said countries with each other and with the United States of America, vesting the three commissioners for each country and their successors with full power to increase their number, and to take such action as they deem for the best interests of the said countries.

