



THE CASE

FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF EASTERN GALICIA

LONDON 1922

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THE NECESSITY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF EASTERN GALICIA FOR PEACE IN THE EAST.

1. *Three main factors are interested* in the settlement of this question : The Ukrainian population as the overwhelming majority which, confiding in the right of self-determination, requires its own state; Poland, who would like to retain Eastern Galicia for its own economic ends and expansion towards the East; and Russia (non-Bolshevist) by virtue of the 1915 Treaty, governed by the desire of uniting all the "Russian territories" into one indivisible Russia.

2. It is beyond dispute that the claim of the Ukrainian population has the strongest foundation: *That of the right of self-determination.*

3. The Government of the Ukrainian National Council of Eastern Galicia has resolved that Galicia shall belong neither to Poland nor to Russia, but shall be organised into an Independent State of free peoples, as the only just and practical solution which is in the interests of the local population, as well as in the interests of Poland, Russia and Peace in Eastern Europe.

4. The Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish populations will have no reason to be dissatisfied, as they will enjoy absolute equality of rights, like the French, Germans and Italians in Switzerland and will find prosperity in their own country and their Common State. That Independent State, both in size and natural resources, offers to its inhabitants better advantages than Switzerland.

5. The Galician Independent State constituted within the territorial limits which it revindicates, *cannot have any cause to make war upon anyone*, and its military policy will remain naturally defensive, and once Poland renounces her imperialistic designs on Eastern Galicia then the East Galician State will become her friendly neighbour, prepared to sign not only a military defensive alliance but also the most advantageous commercial Treaties.

6. Once the right of self-determination of the Galician population has been recognised and the Independent Galician State constituted on that basis, *Russia will neither possess any longer the right of invoking the 1915 Convention in contravention to the people's will, nor of upholding*

any claim whatever to the Galician territory, whereupon the source of military conflicts between Russia and Poland will also disappear bringing about the pacification of Eastern Europe. This attitude has been already adopted by the Russian Soviet Delegation at the Riga Peace Conference (September 24th, 1920).

7. If, contrary to the wishes of the East Galician Ukrainian population, which represents an overwhelming majority (over 70%) of the country, Eastern Galicia should become attached in any form whatever to Poland, the Ukrainian population will never reconcile itself to this outrage, and moreover its discontent will undermine Poland internally, while every opportunity with its neighbors will be seized upon in order to bring an inevitable conflict between Poland and Russia, with the result that Poland will not only lose Eastern Galicia but also procure for herself an implacable enemy.

8. The organisation of the Independent Galician State represents for the above reasons one of the safeguards of Poland's future. *The Galician State situate upon the borders of Western and Eastern Europe will relieve Poland from the necessity of maintaining a considerable army and will form the free corridor for the establishment of economic intercourse with the East of Europe.*

9. The establishment of the Independent Galician State by the Principal Allied Powers will represent an important stage in the settlement of international relations in Europe, creating a model of national justice, discrediting every kind of imperialistic land-grabbing, *consolidating political conditions in the near East* and encouraging both, peace and mutual confidence amongst neighbours.

10. This solution submitted by the Ukrainian National Council of Eastern Galicia to the Principal Allied Powers, represents the *extreme limit of concession, that could be made by the Ukrainian majority of Eastern Galicia*, granting as it does to the national minorities the rights possessed by the national majority *in order to assure peace to all the peoples of the Galician territory and to promote harmony in their common efforts*. For the above reasons it seems not unreasonable to expect that the Principal Allied Powers will espouse this great and noble idea.

THE LEGAL POLITICAL BASIS OF EASTERN GALICIA AS THE GALICIAN REPUBLIC.

1. Eastern Galicia (Galicia), a territory situated between Central and Eastern Europe, comprises an area of 21,120 square miles, with a population of 5,450,000 inhabitants, of whom 74·4 % are Ukrainians, 12·1 % Poles, 12·3 % Jews and 1·2 % Germans.

2. That territory belonged to the late Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. At the time of the downfall of that monarchy in November 1918, the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia, as an overwhelming majority exercising its right of representation, *established 'upon the East Galician territory its Galician State as a Democratic Republic*, with its Parliament (The Ukrainian National Council) and its Government (The State Secretariat).

3. Against the Galician State, known as the West Ukrainian People's Republic, Poland, since November 1918, has made war, in order to satiate her imperialistic designs.

4. To defend its independence the Galician State organised an army numbering over 120,000 men and fought against Poland from November 1918 until July 1919 when *the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, by their decision of June 25th, 1919*, allowed the Polish Army to temporarily occupy Eastern Galicia, at the same time promising solemnly that the political status of that territory would be settled by them in *accordance with the wishes of the population i. e., the right of National Self-Determination*.

5. In consequence of this decision of the Supreme Council, the Galician Government as well as the Ukraino-Galician Army were compelled to withdraw temporarily beyond the frontiers of Eastern Galicia, while the country remained under Polish military occupation.

6. By virtue of the Peace Treaty concluded on September 10th, 1919, at St. Germain, the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, formally took over, instead of Austria, all the sovereign rights over Eastern Galicia, and consequently *the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference is now the only competent forum for the settlement of the political status of Eastern Galicia*.

7. The Supreme Council, tracing provisionally the Eastern boundaries of Poland traced also at its session of December 8th, 1919, *the frontier between Poland and Eastern Galicia* (known as the Curzon Line), confirming again the fact, that East Galicia lies outside of the Polish frontiers.

8. At the Supreme Council's Conference at Spa, on July 11th, 1920, a proposition was passed convening a Peace Conference at London, where the question of Eastern Galicia was to be settled with the participation of delegates from that country.

9. In the Treaty concluded on August 1st, 1920, at Sèvres, between the Principal Allied Powers of the one part and Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania of the other, the frontiers of Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania with Eastern Galicia were traced, as a distinct territory.

10. But at the same time, by virtue of the above mentioned decision of June 25th, 1919, Poland continues to hold Eastern Galicia under her military occupation and is taking advantage of that decision in order to exterminate the Ukrainian population—the indigenous inhabitants—forming the overwhelming majority of East Galicia territory. At the request of the East Galician Ukrainian National Council, *the Council of the League of Nations*, by its decision of February 23rd, 1921, taking into consideration the precarious circumstances in which the Ukrainian population under the Polish Military Occupation of Eastern Galicia is at present suffering, *has drawn the attention of the Supreme Council* to the desirability of deciding at an early date the political status of Eastern Galicia and has returned the materials collected for this purpose to the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris.

11. The Ukrainian National Council of Eastern Galicia, looking forward to an early solution of the Galician problem, has submitted to the Principal Allied Powers a *proposal known as "Principles of political organisation of the Independent Galician Republic"* which *guarantees* to the three nationalities of that territory—Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish—equal political rights of such a description, that the two national minorities (Poles and Jews) would possess constitutionally, according to their numerical force, a proportionate participation in the government and the administration. Such a just solution of the East Galician problem would eliminate national conflicts and would give to the country itself the possibility of a cultural, economic and political development.

12. But the international crisis in the matter of Upper Silesia, in August 1921, has caused a delay in the solution of the East Galician question. In the meantime *the position of the Ukrainian population in Eastern Galicia becomes daily worse and worse*. The Poles are colonising that country by immigrants brought from the interior of Poland; they are closing Ukrainian schools, cultural, charitable and economic institutions;

for the last three years young Ukrainians have been debarred from University studies; Ukrainians are illegally imprisoned; Ukrainians are excluded from the Civil Service; Eastern Galicia has been illegally divided into Polish departments (Voyevodies) which are incorporated with Poland; finally a compulsory census of the Polish State, undertaken against the wishes of the Ukrainian population is being carried out illegally with the obvious object of demonstrating falsely the alleged big percentage of the Polish population and to force the inhabitants to register themselves as Polish citizens, in order to frustrate the right of the Supreme Council to settle the political status of Eastern Galicia.

13. That is the reason why, in order to expedite the solution of the Galician question and to deliver thereby the *Ukrainian population from Polish bondage*, the Ukrainian National Council of Eastern Galicia, has addressed itself again to the League of Nations requesting it to use its good offices for the acceleration of the settlement of that question.

14. With regard to this, the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, by its resolution voted unanimously on September 27th, 1921, in the interest of Peace and national justice, expressed the wish that it was desirable to settle at an early date the political status of East Galicia.

15. And it is that settlement, that the Ukrainian people of East Galicia is eagerly looking forward to, not only in the interest of its own deliverance but in the interest of peace as well, since an independent Galician Republic will not merely cease to be the hotbed of national strife between Poland and Russia but will become an important stepping stone on the road to the peace of Eastern Europe.

Vienna, 20th October 1921.

Dr. EUGEN PETROUCHEVYTCH m. p.
President of the Ukrainian National Council
of the Galician Republic.

Dr. KOST LEWITSKY m. p.
Minister of the Foreign Affairs
of the Galician Republic.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE GALICIAN REPUBLIC.*

I. SOVEREIGNTY OF STATE.

Art. 1. The *Republic of Galicia* is an independent and sovereign State. All the rights of sovereignty in that State belong to its citizens as a whole.

II. TERRITORY OF THE STATE.

Art. 2. The territory of the Republic of Galicia is limited on the North, East and South by the frontiers of the late Austrian province of Galicia, and covering the Ukrainian ethnic territory, extends on the West as far as Peremyshl, in such a way, that its western frontier, as far as *Sanok*, is formed by the river *San* and the Lupkow Railway line together with the limitrophic Lemko region, which belongs to the territory of the Republic of Galicia.

The territory of the Republic of Galicia also includes those Ukrainian ethnic territories which will be assigned to it by the Principal Allied Powers.

III. NATIONALITIES OF STATE.

Art. 3. In Eastern Galicia the following nationalities are recognised as principal: Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish. They enjoy equal rights in the sphere of public life. Other nationalities in the State represent national minorities, which are assured of their rights and protection by the Constitution.

IV. FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

The Republic of Galicia is a legal State possessing a republican form of Government. Its object is, in general, both the moral and economic welfare of its citizens. On this basis rests the organisation of the State.

V. GENERAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

Art. 5. The Republic of Galicia assures to its citizens the following rights:

* Presented on April 30th, 1921, to the Principal Allied Powers, to the Conference of the Ambassadors and to the League of Nations.

1. The general right of citizenship in the Galician State.

Until the question of the Nationality of the Republic of Galicia is settled by way of legislation, the right of citizenship in the Republic of Galicia shall be enjoyed by those persons, who upon the territory of that State have obtained the right of citizenship by virtue of the laws in force in that territory on November 1st, 1918; further, both legitimate and natural children born after November 1st, 1918, of those citizens and alien females, who after November 1st, 1918, have entered into legal marriage with men, possessing on November 1st, 1918, the right of citizenship upon the territory of that State.

2. All citizens are equal before the State and its laws.

3. All public functions are accessible to all the citizens.

4. Every citizen of the State has the right of free choice of residence and of the disposal of his possessions.

5. Every citizen has, subject to the observance of general conditions, the right of freedom of work upon the territory of the State, as well as the right of a choice of profession and professional training.

6. Every restriction of a citizens' personal liberty is unlawful. Consequently, every form of slavery, every kind of forcible work and every kind of tribute in favor of individuals or corporations is prohibited in the State. Obligatory supply of work in favor of the State is admissible only if subject to special stipulations of its respective laws. The arrest of a citizen by public authorities can take place only in such instances as are foreseen by the law.

7. The right of inviolability of residence is guaranteed. Domiciliary searches by public authorities cannot be made except in cases foreseen by the law.

8. Privacy of letters and other correspondence is inviolable. Neither letters nor other correspondence may be seized, except by public authorities in case of lawful arrest or in case of domiciliary search in war time or under warrant of Tribunal of Justice in conformity with existing provisions of law.

9. Citizens have the right of organising meetings and forming associations. The exercise of these rights will be regulated by special legislation.

10. Every citizen has the right of expressing in public his opinions, by speech, writing, print or of representing them by pictures within the provisions of the law. The Press cannot be subject either to censure or be fettered by any system of concessions. Postal transmission cannot be refused to papers published in the country.

11. Every citizen shall enjoy full rights of liberty of conscience, and the exercise of political rights by citizens is not subject to their creed; at the same time neither the political rights nor the obligations of any citizen are curtailed in any way by his religious denomination.

No citizen shall be forced to contribute (tithe) toward the institutions and requirements of another denomination.

Citizens of the same religious denomination form a distinct and autonomous unit in the internal matters of their denomination, controlling their institutions, funds and capital devoted to denominational objects and charitable work; notwithstanding the public legal status of these denominational bodies they are subject nevertheless to the general laws of the State.

12. All instruction is free provided it does not menace the existence of the State nor interfere with the attainment of its objects.

Every citizen of the State is entitled to education in the elementary schools, secondary (also lyceums and professional) schools, as well as University and higher schools.

Elementary education is obligatory.

Every citizen has the right of establishing educational institutions, provided he establishes them in a legitimate way and proves his competence in this matter.

The supreme control of the school teaching and the supervision of all the schools and institutions belongs to the State.

Private instruction is not subject to any restriction.

VI. STATE DIET.

Art. 6. The legislative powers of the Republic of Galicia are exercised by the whole population through its representatives elected in accordance with universal, equal, direct, secret and proportional suffrage without sex distinction. The representatives form the State Diet of the Republic of Galicia and all the citizens of the country are subject to its laws.

Art. 7. The Competence of the State Diet in its capacity of the legislative Assembly, extends over all questions pertaining to the State, its territories, and its citizens; questions of Treaties with Foreign States and ratification of decisions on war and peace are equally within its competence.

Art. 8. The State Diet expresses also the wishes of the people by its declarations and exercises the right of control over the whole administration of the country.

Art. 9. Elections of Deputies to the State Diet take place every 5th year on the principle of national lists, notably each of the nationalities (Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish) vote separately for their Deputies while the national minorities vote together. The numerical assessment of the deputies' seats amongst the nationalities is regulated by the Electoral Law on the basis of the numerical force of each nationality in regard to the total population of the State.

Art. 10. The State Diet, duly elected, elects from amongst the Deputies the President of the Diet and four Vice-Presidents. The President of the State Diet shall be of Ukrainian nationality and at least one of the Vice-Presidents shall be of Polish and one of Jewish nationality.

VII. PRESIDENT OF STATE.

Art. 11. At the head of the Republic of Galicia stands the President elected by the whole population of the Galician State for a period of 6 years in accordance with the special electoral law, based on the principle of the universal, equal, direct, secret suffrage without sex distinction.

Art. 12. The President of the Republic, assuming after his election the power conferred upon him by the people, takes, at the Diet, before its President, a solemn oath, to the effect, that he will fulfil the supreme duty entrusted to him, conscientiously, devotedly and in accordance with the sovereign wishes of the nation, as laid down by the laws of the State.

Art. 13. The President of the Republic of Galicia represents the State and governs in the spirit of the existing laws.

He appoints ministers, the number of whom is fixed by the State Diet, accepts their resignation or dismisses them from their offices. He is Commander-in-Chief of the Army, appoints commanders and military chiefs as well as army officers, concludes treaties with other States with the consent of the Diet and decides with the Council of Ministers in the matter of Peace or War but is bound to submit such a decision without delay for ratification by the State Diet.

Art. 14. The President of the Republic of Galicia convenes the State Diet, prorogues or dissolves it. He sanctions the laws enacted by the State Diet.

His decision, either approbation or refusal, must take place within 30 days from the presentation of the law enacted by the State Diet for his sanction. Should the sanction be refused, the Act is without delay returned to be discussed by the State Diet and if two thirds of valid votes at the State Diet are in favour of, substantially, the same Act, then the law passed acquires validity without the sanction of the President.

Art. 15. To the President of the Republic belongs the right of appointing the high Functionaries of State. Appointment of subordinate officials belongs to respective Ministers.

Art. 16. The President of the Republic has the right of abolishing proceedings in the Criminal Court, reduce the penalty or grant total reprieve.

Art. 17. The President of the Republic signs all the Acts of State, which have to be countersigned by the responsible Minister.

VIII. MINISTRY OF STATE.

Art. 18. The President of the Republic carries out, through the intermediary of responsible Ministers and their subordinate officials, the wishes of the whole people, as manifested by the laws.

The State ministry controls all the State services, puts into operation the laws enacted by the State Diet and issues Orders-in-Council concerning the execution of the laws.

Art. 19. The Ministry of State consists of the President of the Council of Ministers and of the Ministers of the various Departments, the number of whom is fixed by the State Diet.

Art. 20. The President of the Council and the State Ministers are appointed by the President of the Republic and take an oath in his presence to carry out the provisions of the State Law conscientiously and to protect the general welfare of the citizens.

Art. 21. The President of the Council and all the State Ministers are responsible to the State Diet for all the acts appertaining to the performance of their functions; in case of failure in the discharge of their lawful duties or violation of the law they can be summoned before a special tribunal at the suggestion of the State Diet supported by two thirds of deputies, provided that more than one half of them is present.

IX. RIGHTS OF NATIONALITIES.

Art 22. Both the elementary and secondary schools have to be organised, according to the needs, separately, of each of the three principal nationalities and teaching in those schools is given in the mother tongue of the pupils.

Citizens of national minorities can follow the curriculum in all the schools, according to their own wishes. As far as possible, elementary and secondary schools for national minorities, according to needs, shall be organised.

The Statute of Universities and other institutions of High Studies, which are accessible to everybody, are subject to special legislation.

Art. 23. Ukrainian is the official language of internal service of all the authorities in the Republic of Galicia.

The official languages both for oral and written intercourse between the State Authorities and the population of the Republic of Galicia are: Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish. Citizens, corporations and institutions shall receive from the State Authorities and the Government replies to their communications written in Ukrainian, Polish or Jewish, in the same language as used by them in the communication.

The first paragraph of this article does not prejudice in any way the rights of autonomous authorities who shall be at liberty to adopt for their own internal use another official language, viz.: Polish or Jewish.

Art. 24. Official debates shall be conducted and minutes drawn up in one of the languages mentioned according to the nationality of the parties in question.

Art. 25. The laws, Orders in Council and official notices shall be promulgated in all the three languages named.

Art. 26. Within the bounds of possibility and according to actual needs, the languages of national minorities shall be respected.

Art. 27. The appointment of members of the State Ministry takes place according to proportional system i.e. shall be based upon the numerical strength of nationalities in relation to the total number of the State population.

Art. 28. Likewise, in the distribution of all the other public offices the numerical proportion of various nationalities in the State has to be taken into consideration.

Art. 29. Only citizens possessing perfect command of at least two of the languages recognised in the State can be appointed officials or employees of the Republic of Galicia.

All the officials and employees of State take an oath of allegiance to the Republic of Galicia and undertake to fulfil conscientiously the duties devolving upon them by the laws.

X. JUSTICE.

Art. 30. All justice in the State is exercised in the name of the Republic of Galicia.

Verdicts and sentences are pronounced in the name of the Republic of Galicia.

Art. 31. Judges in the exercise of their functions are sovereign and independent.

Tribunals have no right of examining the validity of laws legally promulgated, but have the right of decision concerning the validity of Orders-in-Council, in the course of instances foreseen by the law.

Art. 32. Proceedings both in civil and criminal courts are oral and public.

Art. 33. The State and its officers of justice, can be prosecuted before the tribunals in the case of any infringement of law by its functionaries in the execution of their duties.

This procedure shall be regulated by special legislation.

XI. ADMINISTRATION.

Art. 34. The Execution of the Administrative Law belongs to administrative Authorities.

These authorities are obliged to observe in their functions the

existing laws and are not subject to any order or instruction which is not consistent with the provisions of the law.

Art. 35. The organisation and competence both of the administrative Authorities of State and of the Autonomous Authorities shall be defined by special legislation.

Art. 36. The administrative functionaries of the State can be prosecuted before the Tribunals, in case of any infringement of laws by them in the performance of their functions.

This procedure shall be regulated by special legislation.

Art. 37. The final decision as to citizens' complaints in the matter of the violation of political rights, guaranteed by the State constitution, shall be pronounced in the last resort by the Administrative Tribunal, after all the other administrative stages have been passed.

XII. ARMY.

Art. 38. The Republic of Galicia maintains for the purpose of defence of State and its frontiers a regular army, reinforceable in case of necessity on the basis of compulsory military service.

In cases when public security or order in the State is menaced, various units of that army can be employed by order of the President of the Republic to restore peace and order in the country.

INTERIM PROVISIONS ON THE FORMATION OF THE INDEPENDENT GALICIAN REPUBLIC.

Art. 39. In order to put into operation the decisions of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in the matter of the formation of the Independent Galician State in accordance with the Statute drawn up as above, an Inter-Allied Commission for the State of Galicia shall be appointed, containing representatives appointed by each of the Principal Allied Powers.

Art. 40. In order to realise the object defined hereby and to give the local population a chance of co-operation, the commission, constituted as above, shall create a Council of Administration, consisting of seven representatives delegated by the Ukrainian National Council of East Galicia on behalf of the Ukrainian population, three representatives delegated by the Central Polish Political Organisation on behalf of the Polish population, and two representatives delegated by the Central Jewish political organisation on behalf of the Jewish population.

The Council of Administration remains under the protectorate of the Inter-Allied Commission for the State of Galicia.

Art. 41. The Inter-Allied Commission for the State of Galicia shall hand over to the Council of Administration all the political and military

power in the Republic of Galicia. The Council shall acquire by this fact the right to appoint its functionaries, to take over control of the State funds and to collect taxes; it will also possess the right of effecting arrests, either through local organisations of security or with the assistance of military forces organised by the population of the country.

Art. 42. The rights and duties of the Council are as follows :

- a) To provide, from the date of its accession to power, at the very latest within three months, for the election of the State Diet, foreseen by the present Statute.
- b) To provide within the period of the next six weeks following, for the election of the first President, foreseen in the same Statute.
- c) To convene at the very latest within 14 days after the election of the President of the Republic, the State Diet for its first session under the presidency of the oldest Deputy, during which time the President shall take his Oath of Office in accordance with the provisions of the present Statute.

Immediately after the oath having been taken by the President and the announcement having been made of the formation of a "State Ministry", the Council of Administration shall remit its full powers into the hands of the Inter-Allied Commission for the Galician State and shall hand over the Administration together with the funds of State, to the President, after which step its task shall be accomplished.

THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ACT OF THE GALICIAN REPUBLIC.*

Art. I.

COMPOSITION OF THE STATE PARLIAMENT.

The Parliament of the Galician Republic consists of 211 deputies, of whom 148 are of Ukrainian nationality, 33 Polish, 25 Jewish, and 5 of other national minorities (German etc.), elected by universal, equal, secret, direct and proportional suffrage without sex distinction.

Art. II.

§ 1. For the purposes of the Parliamentary elections the territory of the Galician Republic is divided into electoral districts:

- a) For the Ukrainian nationality into 11 districts;
- b) for the Polish and Jewish nationalities into 5 districts;
- c) for the other national minorities (German etc.) one district comprising the whole territory of the Galician Republic. (See Annex showing the list of the electoral districts.)

§ 2. The territories of the judicial districts and communes are traced according to their delimitation existing on November 1st, 1918.

Art. III.

RIGHT OF VOTE AND ELIGIBILITY.

§ 3. The right of vote at the Parliamentary elections belongs to all the citizens of the Galician Republic, without sex distinction, who on the year preceding the elections had attained the age of 24 years.

Every elector has the right of vote in the commune, where on the day of his electoral registration, he usually resides.

§ 4. All the citizens of the Galician Republic, without sex distinction, who before the day of the election have attained the age of thirty years, are eligible.

§ 5. Citizens undergoing their military service do not exercise their right of vote but nevertheless retain their right of eligibility (§ 4) unless they are on actual service or in gendarmerie.

* Presented on July 25th, 1921, to the Principal Allied Powers, to the Conference of the Ambassadors and to the League of Nations.

§ 6. Deprived of the right of vote and of eligibility are :

1. All persons under total or partial tutelage ;
2. Persons legally convicted of any crime whatever, or complicity in these crimes ; for divorce (§§ 460, 461, 463, 464 and 512 of the Code),—for offences against the §§ 2, 3 and 4 of the ordinance in the matter of usury of October 12th, 1914, No. 275 of Journal of State Laws ; or against the § 5 of the May 24th, 1885, Act. No. 89 of the Journal of State Laws ; for crime or offence against the ordinances § 20, 21, 22, 23 of March 1917 No. 131 Journal of State Laws, or for offences against the ordinance of January 26th, 1907, No. 18 *ibid*.

The deprivation of the right of vote and of eligibility mentioned in the last clause shall cease :

- a)* In crimes enumerated in the § 6 No. 1—10 of November 15th, 1867 Law, No. 131 Journal of State Laws, simultaneously with the term of punishment,
 - b)* in other crimes 5 years after the expiration of the term of punishment, provided the offender has been sentenced to at least 5 years of penitentiary prison, in other cases, three years,
 - c)* in the offences against the §§ 3, 5, 7, 8 and 10 of the January 26th, 1907 Act, Journal of State Laws No. 18, 6 years after the expiration of term of punishment,
 - d)* for other offences mentioned above, a year after the expiration of the term of sentence.
3. Proprietors of bawdy houses registered by police shall not have the right to vote.
 4. As regards persons deprived of right of tutelage over their own children, on the date of their children ceasing to remain under strange tutelage or in any case for three years from the date of the sentence.

Art. IV.

ELECTORAL COMMISSIONS.

§ 7. To carry out the elections the following commissions are constituted :

- a)* the Chief Electoral Commission, sitting at Lemberg, as the capital city ;
- b)* District Electoral Commissions in the seats of the district tribunals, and
- c)* the Communal Electoral Commissions, sitting in the Communes. In communes with a population exceeding 2,000 souls, the Communal Council may in case of need establish several polls, forming at the same time for each poll separate electoral commissions.

§ 8. The Chief Electoral Commission for elections consists of a

delegate of the Home Office as chief, of ten members, and their five deputies, nominated by the Council of Ministers. Four members of the said Commission ought to be judges. As to nomination of members of that commission who are not judges, the nationalities of State have to be taken into consideration.

§ 9. The District Electoral Commission consists of the District Commissary of the place where is the seat of the district Tribunal, or his deputy, as chief, and of 12 members as well as 6 deputies appointed by the Chief Electoral Commission. Three members have to be judges.

As to nomination of non-judges of that Commission, the nationalities of State have to be taken into consideration.

§ 10. The Communal Electoral Commission consists of the Mayor of the Commune (burgo-master, Communal Commissioner) or his deputy, as chief, and of four members; in localities numbering more than 10,000 inhabitants, of 8 members with 2 or 4 deputies, all elected by the Communal Council (or lateral).

In communes without Councils the Civil district Commissioner appoints the members and their deputies to the Electoral Commission. As to nomination of members of that commission the relation of nationalities has to be considered.

§ 11. The function of a member of the Electoral Commission is an honorary and public duty. To outside members of that commission, and to members who do not receive any official salary, a daily compensation has to be paid. The members of the Electoral Commission before commencing their duties take an oath undertaking to discharge their duties conscientiously and without bias.

§ 12. The Electoral Commission shall be formed within 14 days following the publication of this Act. The names of those who form part of it shall be promulgated at the same time and the composition of the Chief and the District Commissions shall be made public in the Official Gazette, while the composition of communal Commissions shall be proclaimed in schools and places of worship.

§ 13. Only persons possessing the right of vote can be members of the Electoral Commissions. In particular only those persons who possess the right to vote in their commune can be appointed members of the Electoral Commission of their respective communes,—for Districts, only persons possessing the right of vote in one of the communes of the respective district,—for the Chief Electoral Commission, any person having the right of vote in one of the Communes of the Galician Republic. No one can be at the same time a member of two commissions.

§ 14. Apart from their special functions indicated by that organisation

- a) The Chief Electoral Commission shall publish the ordinances and instructions indispensable for the lawful conduct of the elections and shall supervise all the Electoral Commissions, and
- b) The District Electoral Commissions shall supervise the lawful conduct of elections as well as the Communal Electoral Commission in their districts.

§ 15. The decisions of the Electoral Commissions shall be governed by the majority of votes and in case of equality of votes the Chief shall have a casting vote. In order to render the decisions of the Electoral Commissions valid it is necessary that all its members should have been invited to take part in it, that the majority of members of the Commission shall be present and that in case of any member being unavoidably absent the chief shall appoint a substitute.

Art. V.

ELECTORAL LISTS.

§ 16. The Mayor of a commune (Communal Commissary) registers all the electors in the Commune i. e. prepares a local list of voters in at least two copies. The same person can be included only in one electoral list. The electoral lists are arranged in alphabetical order, or according to streets, house-numbers or simply according to house-numbers.

These lists must be exhibited to public inspection for 3 days in a place accessible to everybody from 8 o'clock a. m. until 8 p. m. which fact must be made public in the commune in accordance with the § 12.

§ 17. The electoral lists upon being completed, but before their public exhibition, ought to be checked by the Electoral Commission of the Commune.

§ 18. Any person entitled to a vote in the electoral district, can within the space of 8 days counting from the first day of the exhibition of the lists, claim either verbally or in writing either enrollment or effacement of a person, by the Electoral Commission of the Commune (locality).

In case of a claim being put forward for striking out someone on the list, the Electoral Commission of the Commune (locality) shall notify the said person to this effect within 24 hours. Within 48 hours following that person is at liberty to make his or her declaration in the presence of the above said Commission.

§ 19. The Electoral Commission of the Commune (locality) gives its decision concerning the said claim within the space of 3 days. The verdict is inscribed upon the electoral list both in respect of the claimant and the subject. Any person entitled to a vote in a certain electoral district may appeal against that decision within 3 days beginning with

the day following publication of the decision made by the Electoral Commission of the Commune (locality), to the Electoral Commission of the District.

The Electoral Commissions of the District give their final verdicts within 8 days beginning with the day of deposition of the appeal and forward their verdict to the Electoral Commission of the Commune (locality) which notifies the interested parties and corrects without delay the electoral lists.

In extraordinary cases—in order to settle the cases on their merit—the Chief Electoral Commission may order an official revision of a list.

§ 20. Seven days before the poll, the Electoral Commissions of the Commune (locality) shall close the revised electoral lists. Beginning with that day it is forbidden to make any changes whatever upon the electoral list except in the case foreseen at the end of § 19.

§ 21. The electoral lists thus lawfully drawn up are forwarded by the Electoral Commissions of the Commune (locality) in one copy to their District Commission, while the other copies are retained for the purposes of the election.

§ 22. Only persons whose names appear upon the definitely revised electoral lists shall take part in the elections.

§ 23. In communes possessing more than 10,000 voters the Electoral Commissions of the Communes (localities) must issue before the polling day electoral registration cards for every voter. These registration cards must be marked with numbers corresponding with the order of the electoral lists.

Both time and place of polling should be indicated upon the registration cards.

The elector to whom the registration card has not been delivered within that time, can apply for same at the very latest on the eve of the poll, at the Electoral Commission of the Commune (locality).

Art. VI.

LIST OF CANDIDATES.

§ 24. The right of vote is exercised by polling on the list of candidates.

§ 25. Parties (groups of Electors) desirous of taking part in elections, deposit with the District Electoral Commission their lists of candidates at the very latest 10 days before the poll.

Each list of candidates must be signed by at least 200 electors by their own hands.

§ 26. On the list must be shown without fail:

- a) The Nationality.
- b) The designation of the Party (group) distinguishing that particular list from another.
- c) Whereas the number of candidates cannot exceed the number of seats allotted to the electoral district by more than three, the surplus of candidates beginning with those at the end of the list must be eliminated.
- d) The names both of the representative of the Party (group) and of his substitute, who are to be plenipotentiaries of the representation.

If the list of candidates does not state its representative plenipotentiary, then the first candidate shown on the list is recognised as such.

§ 27. A list of candidates which has not any explicit indication of the party is to be treated as designated by the name of the first candidate.

§ 28. Declarations of candidates have to be added to that list stating that they desire to be enrolled upon the list of candidates. No candidate can be included more than once upon a list of candidates of the same district.

§ 29. Each party (group) may apply to the District Electoral Commission for admission to the District Electoral Commission of one or two persons of trust authorised to attend all the meetings of the Commission without any decisive vote however.

Likewise each party (group) can demand from the District Civil Commissioner admission to the Electoral Commissions of the Communes (localities) of one or two persons of trust who are authorised to take part, without decisive vote, in the meetings of the Commission at each poll and enumeration of votes.

They shall receive from the District Civil Commissioner an admission card.

§ 30. The District Electoral Commission checks the lists of candidates. If the candidates included in the list do not possess the right of eligibility or the lists do not comply with the requirements of these regulations the District Electoral Commission returns these lists to the plenipotentiaries of the party (group) for completion within 3 days. An appeal against the District Electoral Commissions decision is admissible within three days to the Chief Electoral Commission who decides in the last instance.

§ 31. If a candidate resigns his nomination, dies, forfeits his right of eligibility or is struck off the list, then the party (group) may fill up the list of candidates by substituting another candidate, provided due notice is given to the District Electoral Commission at least 7 days before the poll.

§ 32. Two or more lists of candidates may be joined into one. The Party's representative plenipotentiaries must notify in writing the District

Electoral Commission to that effect, at least seven days before the poll, and the latter has to announce the fact immediately.

§ 33. Seven days before the poll the District Electoral Commission closes the lists of candidates and makes them public in the order they had been filed. The publication takes place by way of bills displayed upon the premises of the District Electoral Commission. All these lists of candidates and declaration as to amalgamation of lists have to be made public clearly and in full.

Art. VII.

SUFFRAGE.

§ 34. The District Civil Commissioner promulgates in the communes the term of the election in the manner indicated in the § 12 and in agreement with the Electoral Commission of the communes (localities) indicates to each of them both the place and time of the polling.

§ 35. Both on the premises of the poll and within the radius of 100 yards around the same any soliciting whatever is prohibited. Carrying of weapons is permitted only to public security officers. The Chief of the Electoral Commission is responsible for preservation of order and peace on the premises of voting and issues the necessary orders to this effect.

§ 36. In the voting room a table should be in readiness for the members of the Electoral Commission, with another table for the trustees in the immediate vicinity of the same and a ballot-box shall be placed on the table of the Commission.

§ 37. Voting is absolutely personal i. e. the elector appears before the Electoral Commission, gives his name, his first name and address, presents his registration card or any other official certificate indicating his nationality and receives a voting envelope. In cases where the voter is personally known to at least two members of the Electoral commission he may be allowed to vote without any official certificate. Following that the voter puts his vote privately into the envelope and hands it over to the chief of the Electoral commission who under the eyes of the voter puts it into the ballot-box. The first name and the family name of the elector is shown upon the electoral list and is recorded also in the consecutive order upon a separate list, whereupon the elector leaves the voting room.

§ 38. The voting card is made of paper. It is valid provided it indicates both nationality and the party or at least the party (group), when it is counted for that Party (group).

The voting card is also valid when it contains at least the name of a candidate included in the lists of candidates presented (§ 25).

The voting card is void when it indicates several lists or gives names included in different lists; when it contains a list not made public within the time limit for the lists of candidates (§ 25) or names not indicated upon any list or if the envelope contains more than one voting card upon different lists, or if there is neither any name of the Party (group) nor any legible name of a candidate. Neither erasures nor corrections upon the voting card are of any consequence and such a voting card is valid for the list of candidates indicated by the name even if only the name of candidates is stated.

If several identical voting cards are found in the envelope, one of them only is valid.

§ 39. Voting is finished whenever all the persons registered upon electoral list or at least all those who have turned up have cast their votes, in which latter case an hour has to elapse after the last vote has been cast.

§ 40. After the voting office has been closed the Electoral Commission in the presence of the trustees, opens the ballot-box, counts the envelopes and compares their number with that shown by the record of voters. Further it opens the envelopes, verifies the validity of the voting cards found therein, ascertains the number of the void voting cards, classifies the valid cards according to nationality and party, whereupon the number of votes cast upon each nationality and party is counted.

§ 41. The Electoral Commission records the proceedings in a protocol. That protocol records the members of the Commission, the beginning and end of the voting, decisions and verdicts of the Commission concerning admission or rejection of votes, declarations of the trustees and finally any extraordinary events happening during the voting.

A record shall be kept in the protocol of the number of voting cards issued to each nationality and to each list of candidates the number of the void voting cards and the reason for their cancellation. That protocol shall be signed by all the members of the Electoral Commission and the trustees. If a member of the Commission or a trustee refuses to sign, the reason of this refusal shall be recorded in the protocol.

§ 42. After the protocol, the voting cards, electoral lists and the list of voters have been sealed, they are forwarded without delay by the District Civic Commissioner, separately, viz.:

- a) the voting cards in respect of the Ukrainian lists, the protocols, the electoral lists and the voting lists to the respective District Electoral Commission;
- b) the voting cards in respect of the Polish and Jewish lists together with a copy of the protocols to the electoral Commission indicated in the schedule;

c) the voting cards in respect of the national minorities, candidates (German and others) to the respective Electoral Commission existing beside the chief Electoral Commission.

§ 43. The District Electoral Commission breaks the seals of the Electoral papers sent by the District Civic Commissioner at a public session in the presence of invited trustees of political parties, reads in public the electoral protocols and ascertains the number of the communal Electoral Commissions.

The votes cast on each list of candidates are counted next and the number obtained by each of them established.

§ 44. The number of votes cast on each list is recorded consecutively according to their strength; under the total number of votes on each list of candidates, one half, one third, one quarter, and so on, of that total, is written and the highest numbers are distributed amongst the votes obtained, according to the number of deputies to be elected in a certain District. The numbers are entered in the diminutive order. To each Party (group) list or list of candidates a number of seats is allotted equal to the strongest number of votes.

The lists of communes are considered in regard to others as a list of candidates.

Once the number of seats resulting to each respective list is ascertained, the seats are distributed amongst each list according to the provisions contained at the beginning of this chapter. Should it happen, that several electoral lists have in the last item an equal number of votes, then the seat is decided by a ballot drawn by the Chief of the District Electoral Commission.

The Candidate who fails to secure at least one thousand votes is not considered as elected, and in that case such a seat is regarded as not represented.

Art. VIII.

PROCLAMATION OF THE ELECTIONS' RESULTS.

§ 45. The District Electoral Commission proclaims as elected the number of deputies gained by each list in the same order as the candidates are entered upon the list of candidates. If the same candidate is returned in several electoral districts, he has to decide within three days from delivery of notice from the Electoral Commission for which district he retains the mandate. If he fails to make any declaration he is considered as elected in that Electoral District where he obtained the highest number of votes. All the candidates receive notification of their election (credentials of Deputy) from the Chief Electoral Commission.

§ 46. The candidates not elected are considered as substitutes. The

substitutes are placed in the same consecutive order in which they appear upon the list of candidates. If one or more of the elected ones, included in the same list of candidates, are prevented, the nearest ones on the list take their seats. The substitutes are then proclaimed by the Chief Electoral Commission.

§ 47. The District Electoral Commission, having counted the votes and proclaimed the elected deputies, draws up the protocol, signs it together with the trustees and sends the electoral papers to the chief Electoral Commission.

If within 8 days from the publication of the elections' results, objection is raised by a plenipotentiary of a Party (group) against the result of the elections then the principal Electoral Commission verifies the election with the aid of the election papers and if any irregularity is corroborated by the papers the District Electoral Commission's promulgation must be immediately corrected and the true result at the same time made public.

Art. IX.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE VALIDITY OF ELECTIONS.

§ 48. Complaints (protests) against the validity of elections are judged by the Electoral Tribunal. Such complaints must be filed by the Party (group) plenipotentiaries, within 30 days from the promulgation of the election results with the Chief Electoral Commission.

§ 49. Both the composition of the Electoral Tribunal, its duties, as well as the manner of conducting the cases shall be defined by special legislation. Until the creation of such a tribunal, complaints mentioned in the § 48 will be judged by the Parliament.

In case of annulment of elections, a new election must be ordered by the Parliament.

Art. X.

JUDICIAL DECISIONS.

§ 50. Both the freedom and the lawful conduct of elections are guaranteed by provisions to the January 26th, 1907 Act, State laws Journal No. 18.

The stipulation of the § 13 of that Act applies also to the Electoral Commissions.

Infringements of the Electoral laws will be punished by the Chief Electoral Commission with fines up to 1,000 Crowns.

LIST OF DISTRICTS OF THE GALICIAN REPUBLICAN DIET.

Numbers of the Electoral District	Name of the Electoral District	Seat of the District Electoral Commission	Containing Judicial District	Number of Ukrainian Mandates	Number of Polish Mandates	Number of Jewish Mandates	Number of National Minorities' Mandates German, etc.
1	Peremyshl	Peremyshl	District Tribunal of Peremyshl	12	.	.	.
2	Lemberg	Lemberg	" " " " " " " "	22	.	.	.
3	Zolochiw	Zolochiw	" " " " " " " "	13	.	.	.
4	Ternopil	Ternopil	" " " " " " " "	9	.	.	.
5	Berezhany	Berezhany	" " " " " " " "	12	.	.	.
6	Chortkiw	Chortkiw	" " " " " " " "	12	.	.	.
7	Kolomea	Kolomea	" " " " " " " "	14	.	.	.
8	Stanislaviw	Stanislaviw	" " " " " " " "	20	.	.	.
9	Stry	Stry	" " " " " " " "	12	.	.	.
10	Sambir	Sambir	" " " " " " " "	13	.	.	.
11	Sianik	Sianik	Judicial Districts : Balyhorod, Bircha, Busovisko, Lisko, Lutovyska, Lower Ustriky, and communes of undisputable Ukrainian majority according to 1900 Statistics, of Judicial Districts Sianik, Dyniw, Rymaniw, Dukla, Zhmyhorod, Horiytsi, Hrybiw, Novy Saneh, Krostenko	9	.	.	.
12	Ternopil--Zolochiw--Berezhany	Ternopil	Department Tribunal: Ternopil--Zolochiw--Berezhany	.	10	6	.
13	Lemberg	Lemberg	Department Tribunal: Lemberg	.	7	5	.
14	Stry--Chortkiw--Stanislaviw	Stanislaviw	Department Tribunal: Stry--Chortkiw--Stanislaviw	.	6	7	.
15	Kolomea	Kolomea	Department Tribunal: Kolomea	.	1	2	.
16	Sambir--Sianik--Peremyshl	Sambir	Department Tribunal: Sambir--Sianik--Peremyshl	.	9	5	.
17	Territory of the Republic District	Lemberg	Electoral Districts	.	.	.	5
				Total . . .	148	33	25
				TOTAL OF MANDATES OF ALL NATIONALITIES = 211.			

THE INTERNATIONAL BASIS OF THE EAST GALICIAN QUESTION.

The question of Eastern Galicia has been recognised recently by the Principal Allied Powers, and in particular by Great Britain and France, as an up-to-date and urgent one. Both the question asked by Lord Robert Cecil in the British House of Commons and the answer given by Mr. Lloyd George, prove that the decision of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference of June 25th, 1919, is recognised as the legal and international basis of the East Galician question and that the above decision shall at any rate form the starting point in the final consideration of this matter.

Consequently it appears opportune to examine in detail the attitude defined by the substance and purport of the said decision of June 25th, 1919.

Virtually the above decision embodies *three stipulations*:

1. Authorisation for the Polish Government to *occupy* by its military forces *East Galicia as far as the river Zbrucz*;

2. *Suggestion*, that the Polish Government *may* be authorised to *establish civil administration in Eastern Galicia* subject to an agreement with the Allied Powers, guaranteeing as far as possible the autonomy of that territory; and

3. *Assurance*, that the *political status* of that territory shall be *definitely* (in the *last resort*) *governed by the right of self determination on the part of the East Galician population*.

Stipulations: 1, and 3 are positive and final, while stipulation 2 is conditional ("may" and "subject").

In particular stipulation 1 has been consummated as the Polish Government occupied Eastern Galicia by its military forces as far as the river Zbrucz in July 1919 and on this ground until now Poland appears as the Military occupant of Eastern Galicia. This fact has been established by the League of Nations Council (February 23rd, 1921) and confirmed by the British Prime Minister Lloyd George (July 6th, 1921) and this statement neither has been nor could have been challenged by any other claim.

As to stipulation 2 it was calculated to create a transitional, notably temporary stage in Eastern Galicia between the military occupation and

the final decision of the East Galician political status. In November 1919 steps were taken by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference authorising Poland to establish civil administration in Eastern Galicia subject to a statute ("agreement") of an autonomous East Galician territory. *But Poland rejected this agreement*, and representatives of East Galicia's Ukrainians, as the overwhelming majority of the population, *having protested vigorously against giving Poland any authority whatever* to establish civil administration in Eastern Galicia, the said conditions of "may" and "subject" did not materialise and the Supreme Council's of the Peace Conference suggestion (2) has been abandoned. In the meantime the two years of heavy oppression of the population by the Polish Military occupation that have elapsed have elucidated the international situation making the question of Eastern Galicia mature for its final solution.

As has been already shown in our memorandum to the Ambassadors' Council, the question of Eastern Galicia became mature and urgent owing to the circumstance, that the Polish Government (which is only a military occupant) not only in the meantime usurps, arbitrarily, the rights of civil administration of Eastern Galicia, but ignoring the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference (the only authority competent to settle finally the political status of that territory, and in contravention to the provisions of article 91 of the St. Germain Treaty) is illegally treating Eastern Galicia as an integral part of Poland. The solution of the East Galician question has become mature and urgent to the indigenous Ukrainian population of that territory, because the Polish occupationary regime of three years has not only demonstrated Poland's complete incompetence for the carrying on of administration in Eastern Galicia, having brought that country to anarchy and appalling economic ruin, but has now revealed quite an open *system of inhuman extermination of the Ukrainian population*, and as the Notes of the Ukrainian National Council, filed with the representatives of the Allied Governments have explained, there is nothing that population desires more ardently than liberation from the Polish occupationary slavery and from every political connection with Poland.

For these reasons, the third stipulation, contained in the Supreme Council's of the Peace Conference in Paris decision made on June 25th, 1919, becomes applicable as a positive instruction to the effect that the political Status of Eastern Galicia should be settled in accordance with the principle of national self-determination. Therefore the British Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, in his Parliamentary reply, has indicated the wishes of the East Galician population as the political principle which is at the foundation of the Supreme Council's decision of June 25th, 1919, and is binding on the Principal Allied Powers.

Taking this governing principle as the foundation, the Supreme Council

of the Peace Conference is faced with the only solution: the realisation of the wishes of the East Galician population as the most interested factor in the spirit of national justice.

The Ukrainian inhabitants of Eastern Galicia, representing an overwhelming majority of the whole population (74%) proclaimed at the moment of Austro-Hungary's disintegration (October 16th, 1918) the constitution upon the territory of Eastern Galicia of an independent Galician State and in realisation of the right of self-determination, the Ukrainian National Council removed the Austrian Governor and took over in Lemberg and in the whole country the political power, both civic and military.

The Ukrainian Government of Galicia set up by the Ukrainian National Council carried on the political administration upon the territory of Eastern Galicia until the middle of July 1919, when owing to the Polish invasion and on the strength of the Supreme Council's of the Peace Conference decision of June 25th, 1919, they were compelled to retire together with its Galician-Ukrainian Army beyond the frontiers of the country and to leave Eastern Galicia under Polish Military occupation.

By this political act the Ukrainian population has unanimously demonstrated beyond any doubt, that it desires to have upon the territory of Eastern Galicia its own independent State, and remains unshaken in this attitude of self-determination.

The Polish population of Eastern Galicia is in a national minority (12.1%) but encouraged by the annexationist policy of the neighbouring Poland is in favour of uniting that territory with Poland. That tendency of the chauvinist Polish population contradicts the political principle of "majority" and is unjustifiable. The recognition of it would entail the violation of the Ukrainian majority's will in favour of the minority and would constitute a fatal infringement of national justice.

Whereas the Polish government now, as a provisional Military occupant under the sovereign right of the Principal Allied Powers, barbarously and illegally infringes the personal, religious, economic, social and political liberty of the East Galicia's Ukrainian population, it is certain that if that territory should be annexed to Poland, the Ukrainian majority of the population would be immediately reduced to a minority as far as the Poles are concerned, and thus, Poland, possessing sovereign rights over the Ukrainian population, *would abandon every restraint in her desire to exterminate the Ukrainians and convert Galicia into a Polish province.* This would mean turning Eastern Galicia into a new Eastern Balkan.

There is also this circumstance to be borne in mind, namely that the Polish national minority is not the only one in Eastern Galicia, as there is also the Jewish national minority (12.3%)—numerically almost equal and economically stronger than Polish. The Eastern Galician Jewish population

does not entertain the idea of the "guaranteed protection of the minority", but demands full equality in the school, as well as in office and public life. These demands of the Jewish population cannot be dismissed as unjustified, under the illusion that the Jews will be assimilated either by the Poles or by the Ukrainians.

Being desirous of harmonising the divergent aims of the three nationalities in Eastern Galicia and of reconciling them under the common principle of National justice for the sake of a brighter future attainable by the entire population of the Galician home-land,—the Ukrainian majority is prepared to recognise,—instead of mere rights of national minorities,—the full political equality of the other two indigenous nationalities, admitting them in their numerical proportion in the independent State of free peoples to their full share in the legislation and administration of Eastern Galicia. A draft of such a political organisation of Eastern Galicia as an independent Galician Republic has been delivered by the Ukrainian National Council of Eastern Galicia to the governments of the Principal Allied Powers as the only just and reasonable solution of the East Galician problem.

The Constitution of such a Galician State tallies with the vital interests of the whole population of Eastern Galicia, without distinction of nationalities, which in this way will be enabled to work together and in concord for the welfare of their State in general.

Such a solution of the question is equally just in the *reasonable interest of Poland*, as she will then be able to undertake successfully her internal consolidation within her own ethnic frontiers, finding in Eastern Galicia a friendly neighbour, instead of an implacable enemy.

Finally, such a solution of the political status of Eastern Galicia tallies with the well meant interests of the Principal Allied Powers, as by virtue of the said solution Eastern Galicia, instead of remaining an eternal source of conflict between Poland and Russia, will become an important stage towards the pacification of Eastern Europe.

EXPLANATIONS IN THE MATTER OF NATIONAL STATISTICS IN EAST GALICIA.

The ethnographic frontiers as shown upon this map between the Ukrainians and the Poles (in Galicia), the Slovaks, the Magyars and the Rumanians (in the Trans-Carpathian Ruthenia and Bukovina) are indicated according to the compared census results of 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910. As a basis, individual communes have been taken—and not the districts or departments—as their boundaries were drawn in Austria exactly in such a way as not to coincide with the ethnic frontiers.

Notwithstanding this and the statistics which have been ruthlessly falsified by the Austro-Polish functionaries, the preponderance of the Ukrainian element in East Galicia is very pronounced. The Austrian State did not prepare statistical figures by nationalities. Statistics based upon the language of conversation cannot, especially in Galicia, produce anything approaching the truth, since during the census every person who understood Polish was usually registered as habitually using Polish in conversation, particularly, all the Ukrainians of the Roman rite, Germans, and all the Jews. That is the reason why it is necessary to fall back on the statistics of the religious denominations and it ought to be remarked here that 1. every person of the Greek-Catholic rite is Ukrainian; 2. all persons of the Mosaic religion, with hardly an exception, are of Jewish nationality; 3. all the Evangelicals are German; and 4. more than 600,000 Catholics of the Roman rite are of Ukrainian nationality.

On that basis we arrive at the scientifically verified figures of the national statistics in East Galicia, thus:

Area	Population 1914	Ukrainians	Jews	Poles	Germans
22,120 sq. m.	5,450,000	4,055,000	670,000	659,000	65,000
		74·4%	12·3%	12·1%	1·2%

In their opposition to the sovereignty of East Galicia, the Poles are constantly using as an argument the allegation, that the whole western and central region of that country has a very strong percentage, almost a majority, of Poles. That false allegation is exposed by the census of 1910, although manipulated by the Polish authorities.

Statistics of the Judicial Districts of Galicia :

	Area sq. miles	Population	Ukrainians	Roman rite, Poles, Ukrainians, Germans, etc.	Jews	Germans
A. EASTERN REGION.						
Ternopil . .	1,314	364,000	53 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	35 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	11 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	—
Berezhany . .	1,735	419,000	66 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	23 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	10 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	—
Chortkiw . .	1,417	386,000	65 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	24 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	11 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	—
Kolomea . .	1,828	438,000	75 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	11 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	13 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	—
Stanislaviw . .	2,808	670,000	68 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	19 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	12 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	1 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
B. CENTRAL REGION.						
Zolochiw . .	2,167	473,000	63 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	23 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	13 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	1 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
Lemberg . .	3,220	905,000	52 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	32 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	15 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	1 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
Stry	2,283	365,000	73 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	14 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	11 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	2 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
C. WESTERN REGION.						
Peremyshl . .	1,827	524,000	55 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	34 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	11 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	—
Sambir . . .	1,985	471,000	65 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	22 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	13 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	—
Sianik	1,877	322,000	49 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	41 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	10 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	—

Thus these statistics, altho' unscrupulously falsified in favor of Poland, still demonstrate, that the Ukrainians in the western region of their national territory are in an overwhelming majority. As to the Judicial districts of Peremyshl and Sianik, once the judicial districts and communes with Polish majorities are eliminated, as shown by the boundary traced upon the map, the official percentage of Ukrainians in those two judicial districts exceeds 65⁰/₁₀₀.

THE ECONOMIC SURVEY OF EASTERN GALICIA.

The Ukrainian Galicia comprises an area of over 22,120 sq. m. and contains 5,450,000 inhabitants of whom 4,055,000 (74·4%) are Ukrainians; 670,000 (12·3%) Jews; 659,000 (12·1%) Poles and 65,000 (1·5%) Germans.

Her territory is larger than that of Switzerland, Holland, Belgium or Denmark.

Her population is bigger than that of Bulgaria, Greece or Norway.

Her forests extend over 1,450,000 hectares (26·2%)* and exceed in area those of Great Britain and Ireland, Switzerland, etc. Moreover the growth of timber is very considerable. The annual production can reach seven million cubic yards without impairing the condition of the forests. The annual production amounted to 6½ million cubic yards, including 1 million cubic yards of constructional timber exported abroad.

Fisheries consist of 20,800 hectares of ponds, at present mostly neglected, but capable of a great yield under rational cultivation.

Agriculture. The cultivated area comprises 2,605,000 hectares, viz., more than the cultivated areas of Belgium, Holland and Switzerland together (47% of the whole area of the country). The area under cultivation can easily and within a short time be extended to 3,600,000 hectares.

The average annual production (1905—1914) is as follows:

Wheat	4,656,446	metric quintals
Spelt	4,295	" "
Rye	4,627,216	" "
Barley	2,582,544	" "
Oats	4,588,932	" "
Sundry Grains	5,258	" "
Indian Corn	837,290	" "
Buck Wheat	532,444	" "
Millet	163,929	" "
Total of grains	17,998,354	metric quintals
Leguminous produce	1,089,906	" "
Potatoes	40,296,809	" "
Total	59,385,069	metric quintals

* One Hectare = 2,471 acre.

Before the war these figures were showing an increase of production due to improvements in methods of cultivation and the use of chemical manures. After the pacification of the country this production can be doubled and within ten years trebled. (The yield of wheat from one hectare in Holland amounts to 34.5 m. q., while in Galicia it stands at 11.3 m. q. only. The prospects for a milling and provisions industry—like biscuits, macaronis, etc., are very bright.)

Gardening and orchard industry has, thanks to a favorable climate and good soil, the most promising future. There are 91,000 hectares of orchards.

The industrial vegetables produced in Galicia amounted on the average before 1914 to 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ millions metric quintals. The most important is the sugar beet (900,000 m. q.), which grows very well in Galician soil, but the Polish and Austrian economic policy has hampered the growth of the sugar industry.

In order to give an idea of the prospects of that industry it is enough to remark that the Kiev Government alone, which is not very large, produced 6 millions metric quintals of sugar in 1910. There are in our country good prospects for the tobacco industry as well. The annual production of tobacco in East Galicia was on the average 33,927 m. q. The Poltava government, similar in size, climate and soil, produced 200,000 m. q. tobacco. Important and promising for the future is the production of hemp and flax, covering the needs of the country. Of great importance is the culture of rye and potatoes for the alcohol industry. The 600 distilleries of the country produced (1910) over 500,000 hectoliters of alcohol of noted quality. Galician whiskies have a well merited reputation upon the Central and East European markets.

Cattle Ranching. There was in 1910 in Galicia 4 million head of cattle (700,000 horses, 1,600,000 horned cattle, over 300,000 sheep and goats, and 1,300,000 pigs) as well as 8 million fowls. Galicia has 700,000 hectares of meadows and 500,000 hectares of pastures including the pastures of the Carpathians, which are richer than those of Switzerland or the Austrian Tyrol. Galicia produces 70 millions metric quintals of hay annually. In these circumstances there are very good prospects in Galicia for the dairy industry, cattle ranching, meat trade, meat-packing, lard and hides export.

The fowl—and eggs—export begins to flourish again in spite of the ruinous Polish economic policy.

Bee Keeping was represented in Galicia (1910) by over 285,074 bee-hives, which produced annually 25,000 m. q. of honey and wax.

Petroleum production has been declining for the last 10 years owing to the bad Polish economic policy, but has a great future. The oilfields

extend over 4,000 sq. m. They comprise two zones; the western one (Boryslaw) produces ozokerite and petroleum; the eastern zone (near Stanislaviw and Kolomea) gives benzinous oils. The production of raw oil amounted in the year:

1909	to	20.7	million	hectoliters
1910	”	17.6	”	”
1911	”	14.6	”	”
1912	”	11.9	”	”
1913	”	11.2	”	”
1920	”	5.0	”	” only.

The introduction of up-to-date methods on a large scale could re-establish within two or three years the former production of 1909.

Salt. There existed formerly 92 mines and salt-wells in the country. Now there are only 9, producing 1 million metric quintals of kitchen salt. The rock-salt seams of Stebnyk near Drohobych are more abundant than those of Wieliczka.

Potassium Salt mines near Bolechiw and Kalush are hardly tapped (83,000 m. q.). The seams are very considerable and could produce millions of metric quintals annually.

The Water power of Galicia is estimated at 500,000 H. P. and properly exploited, could supply the whole industry with power for many decades.

Navigable Rivers: Sian, Bouh, Dnister and Prut. The proposed construction of the Sian-Dnister canal would open an important road of communication with Eastern Europe.

Railways. The railway system comprises 1,200 miles of track and is not planned in accordance with the actual needs of the country, the first consideration having been given to strategic policy and to the personal interests of the rulers. It is absolutely necessary to construct new railway lines in the first place for connection with Czecho-Slovakia and for commercial intercourse between Central Europe, Ukraine and Russia. The principal railway lines, which ought to be constructed in the nearest future are:

1. *Lemberg—Drohobych—Schidnytsia*, in order to facilitate communications between the capital and the centres of oil-wells and saw-mills.

2. *Peremyshl—Sianik—Doukla—Bardiw*, in order to shorten the routes of communication with the *Kaschau—Oderberg* line, and to encourage the commercial intercourse of Czecho-Slovakia with the Eastern Europe.

3. *Dolyna—Vyshkiw—Hust*, for exploitation of the forests and communication with the Trans-Carpathian Ruthenia.

4. *Yaworiw—Yaroslaw*, to open new lines of communication with Poland.

5. *Pidhaytsi—Monasteryska—Terebowla*, to promote the exploitation of the rich territories of Podolia.

6. *Towmach—Horodenka*, to open an outlet to Podolia.

7. *Kolomea—Kouty—Zhabie—Vorochta*, to open an outlet to forests and cattle Ranches of the Hutsuls.

MONOPOLIES.

The Tobacco Culture Monopoly, Annual receipts (1905—1916) 44 millions Gold Crowns.

The Salt Monopoly, Annual receipts 12 millions Gold Crowns.

The Whisky Monopoly, Annual receipts 100 millions Gold Crowns.

The Sugar Monopoly, Approximate receipts 100 millions Gold Crowns.

The Matches Monopoly, Approximate receipts 5 millions Gold Crowns.

THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY IN EASTERN GALICIA.

That part of the late province of Galicia, which is inhabited by Ukrainians, viz.: the Central and Eastern portion of it, stands foremost as one of the most important oil-bearing countries in the world.

Between the years 1908-1910 Ukrainian Galicia occupied the third place amongst the oil-producing countries. The incompetent Austro-Polish administration, the Great war, and the subsequent Polish occupation of Eastern Galicia have caused enormous damage to the petroleum industry of that country reducing its production to the great economic detriment of the world.

The Galician Petroleum production in metric quintals, as compared with the world production was as follows:

Year	Production	% of the world output.	Year	Production	% of the world output.
1875	221,400	1.36	1907	11,759,740	3.35
1880	320,000	0.85	1908	17,540,220	4.34
1885	650,000	1.35	1909	20,770,000	5.20
1890	916,500	0.93	1910	17,620,000	4.02
1895	2,020,700	1.44	1911	12,700,000	3.05
1900	3,263,340	1.67	1912	11,490,000	2.48
1901	4,522,000	2.06	1913	11,136,682	1.83
1902	5,760,000	2.36	1914	8,359,000	1.22
1903	7,279,710	2.84	1915	8,359,000	1.24
1904	8,271,170	2.88	Average figures of the 1914-1918 output.		
1905	8,017,160	2.82			
1906	7,601,430	2.64			

Under Polish occupation the output still decreased. According to Polish official figures the 1920 production amounted to 7,648,000 m. q. (exaggerated figures) and in 1921 the output hardly reached 5,000,000 m. q.

Neither oscillation nor decrease in the Galician oil production were caused by natural circumstances. Nature has endowed Ukrainian Galicia with an immense quantity of petroleum, and her resources have been hardly tapped by human industry. Ukrainian Galicia comprises 3,846 sq. m.

of oilfields, but only a very small portion of them is under exploitation (8,000 hectares).*

The quantity of petroleum (exclusively within the limits of oilfields actually under exploitation) amounts at the lowest computation to 470,000,000 m. q. of raw oil, while the aggregate quantity of petroleum obtainable in Eastern Galicia with modern methods attains at least a milliard m. q. In 1913 there existed in Galicia 2,931 oil wells, 1,667 of them being active. According to expert geologists' opinion, 30,000 active oilwells could be bored upon the Galician oilfields. If the economic and political circumstances were as favorable as the natural conditions, the petroleum production in Eastern Galicia could easily attain 40,000,000 m. q. of steady annual output. The wide belt of the East Galician oilfields extends along the Carpathian mountains for 135 miles. Even in the low Beskid (Lemko region) the High Beskid, the Gorgan Heights (Boyko region) and Chornohora Heights (Hutsul region) one comes everywhere across really rich oilfields. Although the centre of the Ukrainian oil-production is the Boryslaw-Tustanowichi basin which has gained a world-wide reputation, and in the years 1910-1920 gave 90-97 % of the whole country's production,—there are in Ukrainian Galicia several other basins, capable of competing with Boryslaw in regard to abundance of petroleum. The resources of the Galician oilfields are naturally so rich, that the possibilities they offer to industrial and commercial enterprise are quite exceptional.

The conspicuous decline in the Galician petroleum industry noticeable in the last ten years is neither due to natural causes nor to the Great war and its aftermath. The real cause of the decline is the notorious Polish economic system, which has interfered from the very beginning with the development of the petroleum industry in Ukrainian Galicia.

Every student of Austrian pre-war conditions knows, that since 1867 Galicia belonged to Austria but only nominally and in appearance. In reality the Poles were in control of actual power in Galicia while the central Vienna Government depended upon the Polish Diet and the Polish Parliamentary Club. The Polish administration of Galicia built the petroleum industry of the country, to begin with, upon improper foundations. Reckless speculation, criminal policy of political plunder, arbitrary exploitation of the farmers (owners of the grounds, where the wells are sunk), and of workmen, took root in the petroleum industry of Galicia from the very beginning and prevented its sound development. After the downfall of Austria or rather after 9 months of war against the West Ukrainian Republic (Galicia), Poland occupied in the summer of 1919 Ukrainian Galicia. That occupation proved the doom of the petroleum industry in

* One Hectare = 2,471 acre.

Galicia. That branch of industry can only prosper under sound and stable economic conditions. The economic life of Poland during the last three years has gone from bad to worse; the Polish mark has attained infinitesimal value; the cost of living has become stupendous. The Polish financial policy of State monopoly has rendered the petroleum industry unworkable. Even the best equipped wells are unprofitable. Owing to the extremely high cost of manual labour it is absolutely impossible to repair the old material let alone procure new outfits. The Polish Government simply terrorises and exploits scandalously the owners of the ground where the wells are sunk. These landlords are mostly Ukrainians. The political and social terror, the uncertainty of political conditions, the proximity of the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet States, threaten the Galician petroleum industry, should it remain under Polish regime, with unavoidable catastrophe. The only means of salvation for the petroleum industry of Eastern Galicia is the removal of the Polish occupation and the reconstitution of an independent and neutral State of Eastern Galicia. In that way the Galician petroleum industry would get rid of the disastrous Polish financial policy, and having the assurance of peace both from the inside and outside, would enable the world once more to get access to the oil-treasury of the Eastern Carpathians. The Carpathian "Switzerland", established upon these territories would adopt in regard to petroleum—its principal mainstay,—an altogether different policy to that pursued by imperialistic Poland, in her pretentious rôle of a great Power.

ORGANISATION OF THE FINANCIAL AFFAIRS OF THE GALICIAN STATE.

The independent State of the Galician Republic, populated by nearly six million inhabitants—mostly farmers—extending over an area of 21,120 sq. m., is capable of independently organising its financial affairs on the following basis.

I. RELATION BETWEEN PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION (TRADE BALANCE).

East Galicia produces grains, timber, tobacco, petroleum, mineral wax, salt, potassium, flax, hemp, potatoes for manufacture of alcohol, beet for the manufacture of sugar; rears a considerable number of cattle producing hides, lard, meat, wool; has a great number of domestic fowl giving meat and eggs and exports a considerable portion of the above products.

On the other hand she imports spices, cotton, rubber, woollens and leather goods, glass, china, metal hardware, coal, instruments and machinery, watches and chemical goods.

A general comparison of the quantity of production with the bulk of imports, especially when it is taken into account that 90% of the East Galician population consists of farmers whose needs are simple and mainly satisfied by the home industry,—demonstrates that the trade balance is favorable.

This fact is demonstrated explicitly by the last normal commercial balance of Austria for 1913, which shows that East Galicia imported goods to the value of 32.1 million Crowns, and exported to the value of 71.4 million Crowns, i. e. had an active trade balance. That balance would become even more favorable in an independent Galician State, as then the export of the East Galician products to other countries of the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy would be taken into account and would reveal an extraordinary economic activity on the part of the native population.

II. THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE GALICIAN STATE

will be based upon free trade in the country, eliminating all the compulsory organisations of the war-time period and affording everyone a

chance for development through private initiative, competition and industry. On the other hand the foreign trade policy will protect the State interests against foreign exploitation, but will consider at the time the economic interests of the neighbouring countries and enter into most friendly commercial relations with them in order to strengthen the pacifying economic bonds of the world markets. The trade policy of the Galician State will be faced with the great problem of constructing an economic corridor between Western and Eastern Europe.

III. THE CONTRIBUTIVE POWER

of Eastern Galicia before the war consisted of: Direct Taxes with super-taxes, producing over one hundred million Crowns annually, and the indirect taxes (on consumption) producing over 120 million Crowns annually, which, before the war amounted in normal taxation together with the supertaxes, to an average of 50 Crowns per head annually.

For the purposes of a general and progressive taxation applicable to the whole population, the whole assessable power of the East Galician population could be utilised, which amounts to 500 Crowns per head and would produce approximately three milliards Crowns per annum.

IV. THE STATE MONOPOLIES.

The salt monopoly produced in Galicia before the war 17 million Crowns annually and the State would have to retain that monopoly in its administration.

The tobacco monopoly produced about 44 million Crowns of revenue annually and would have to be leased both in production and retail, under the State control.

The naphta monopoly will not be introduced out of consideration to foreign capital but on the contrary the whole petroleum production should be subject to a convenient inland revenue duty while the tax on the exports ought to be limited to an export duty.

The alcohol monopoly is a new source of revenue for the State under the form of an exclusive sale monopoly on the part of the State, leaving at the same time production to private enterprise.

The matches monopoly is suitable for leasing to private concerns.

V. DUTY TAXES

could be utilised both as a financial source and as a protective tariff. The financial duty finds application in the case of export of articles necessary to other States (for instance products of naphta and alcohol), while the protective tariffs are calculated to protect the State itself against products of another States (for instance: manufactured articles, construction of machinery).

The export duties would have to be payable in the State currency, while the export duty would be payable in gold in order to strengthen the State Finances.

The amount of the Galician State duties cannot be at present estimated, as that territory did not represent under Austrian domination any independent national area but on its recognition as such will border on Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine and Rumania, as well as indirectly with Hungary, Austria and Russia, which circumstance will assure a considerable income from duty.

VI. THE GALICIAN CURRENCY.

The Polish Mark now current in Galicia will have to be withdrawn and instead of being stamped should be substituted during the transitional period by the Galician paper Crown at the rate of two Polish Marks for one Galician Crown.

Then it would be advisable to introduce the Galician State currency, established on the basis of a guaranteed, uniform, continuous value. That new currency would be issued by the National Bank, providing thereby a secure financial foundation for the banknotes put into circulation. To this effect capital from abroad would be utilised and funds deposited both by the population and the State in metal coin or in foreign currency possessing full value. Such a Bank organised upon the pattern of the Swiss National Bank would possess the privilege of issuing paper currency.

VII. THE STATE'S DEBTS.

To assure a regular economy in civil administration the principle of *no expenditure without proportional revenue* is to be adopted viz.: the loans of the State will have to be redeemable by means of a suitable provision in the State expenditure. Taking into consideration the statement made previously in the matter of the assessable power of the population and of the monopolies and duties, there is no reason to doubt that the Galician State will be able to balance its budget.

VIII. ECONOMY IN THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

Double administration (civil, alongside with an autonomous one) ought to be eliminated in the State organisation through the introduction of a well chosen, limited in number, but capable, and efficient Civil Service.

The Army will be organised in such a way as to qualify for general military efficiency, but the effectives will be limited to an indispensable standard consistent with the maintenance of order in the country and the security of its frontiers. Should it become the duty of the Galician State to maintain an army of great proportions until the time of consolidation

in the East, the population will fulfil its duty, on the condition, that its financial burdens would be compensated.

IX. MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION.

Whereas the Galician railways, owing to the war, are in a deplorable condition and the whole railway system is insufficient, there is need for investment of the very considerable capital, which will have to come from abroad i. e. the Galician Railways will have to be leased. Of course the State will exercise its right of stipulating the fares, protecting the functionaries and carrying on the general audit of the whole enterprise.

The Posts and Telegraphs as a monopoly of public utility and of general economic interest will remain in the hands of State, likewise the *Telephone*.

X. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WAR-DEVASTED REGIONS.

It ought to be remembered in these circumstances, that an enormous devastation was caused in East Galicia by the Russian troops during their invasions and retreats in 1914/1915 and 1916/1917, as well as by the German, Hungarian, Turkish and Austrian armies.

That is the reason why war indemnities should be paid to the Galician State by way of an appropriate sum for the reconstruction of the regions devastated by the war.

That reconstruction cannot be entrusted to the heavy and costly organization of the civil administration, but should be left in the hands of the victims themselves, under State supervision and assistance. The State will be obliged to obtain credits necessary for the reconstruction, facilitate the supply of the materials, and in exceptional instances, render aid in the reconstruction itself in materials, in kind or in cash. The whole reconstruction of the Galician devastated regions should become a powerful lever for the cultural and economic development of the Galician State.

MILITARY EXPOSÉ FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE EAST GALICIAN STATE.

I.

The independence of Eastern Galicia as a State of free nations is an imprescriptible right of the Ukrainian population and the foundation of its future development. The realisation of the desire of the overwhelming majority of that country's population to possess its own independent State represents also one of the principal conditions of the internal peace of the country and of peace in Central and Eastern Europe.

The number and force of the Ukrainian population in that country, the geographical position of Eastern Galicia, and its military and strategical importance in regard to its neighbours, form a series of powerful factors, capable of rendering the most important services to the peace of Europe, which if not utilised or if abused against the will of the indigenous population, will become an eternal source of trouble and permanent menace to the preservation of peace.

II.

As proof that the East Galician State will have the force necessary to maintain its independence the following eloquent facts ought to be stated:

The population inhabiting the territory of Eastern Galicia, where Ukrainians are in an overwhelming majority, is composed approximately of 5,500,000 inhabitants. On a comparison of this number with the population of other small states before the war, it is evident, that only Belgium, Roumania and Holland had a bigger population, and other states had smaller: Serbia by one half, Denmark still less.

These 5½ millions of population, according to verified, and scientific investigation, consist:

of 4,055,000	or	74·4%	Ukrainians,
670,000	„	12·3%	Jews,
659,000	„	12·1%	Poles,
65,000	„	1·2%	Germans.

These nationalities do not live separately but are intermixed all over the country imparting to it a character of a homogeneous Ukrainian territory

with a distinct advantage in this respect over other contiguous territories, where both the distribution and percentage are different.

Eastern Galicia populated by an overwhelming majority of Ukrainians, appears likewise from the point of social classes, considering the immense majority of the agricultural class, as an equally homogeneous unit, 85% of the whole Ukrainian population being farmers and living in villages, while only 6.4% live in towns.

In view of this proportion of the social classes, any struggle between the classes destructive of the State, appears manifestly impossible. The social structure of the population differs favourably from certain neighbouring States, where the class struggle saps the very bases of vitality.

As to density of population, Eastern Galicia with its 248 inhabitants to the square mile, holds one of the front ranks. Amongst the small pre-war states, only Belgium and Holland had a greater density of population, while other small states were much more sparsely populated. Thus Switzerland had 234, Denmark 182, Serbia 156, Roumania and Portugal 130, Bulgaria 93, Greece 104, and Montenegro only 100 inhabitants to the square mile.

The military capacity of the population is very high. The male population consists of men healthy and robust even in their old age; the men both in their health, and in their endurance, became proverbial in the Austrian Army.

Thus the number of the population admits of mobilising,—provided only 10% were enlisted,—an army of 550,000 men; upon the recruiting of 15%, an army of 825,000, and on recruiting 20% of the population, an army of more than one million.

These figures of military forces are easily attainable when the experience of other small states is taken into consideration, which in regard to military service, always have managed to take better advantage of their population than the big States.

Thus in the Balkan war of 1912-1913, the Greeks sent to the front more than 10%, Serbs 15%, Bulgars—without Mahomedans, who were excluded from the military service—15%, and Montenegrins 20% of their respective populations.

After the Balkan war, the Balkan States adopted the following percentage as a basis of mobilisation: Roumania 9%, Bulgaria 11%, Servia 13%, Greece 15.5% and Montenegro 24%, of the population. Even Switzerland with her defensive system facilitated by nature and being by virtue of neutralisation positively immune from the attacks of her neighbours, has established her military plans upon an army 400,000 men strong, which corresponds to 13% of its population.

The East Galician State could benefit in case of war by a still higher percentage of the military efficiency of its population since 31 classes

(30-50 years) and probably even 38 classes (18-55 years) could easily be recruited for the army.

Even the Great Powers have attained (in 1913) 30 classes, as for instance France, and 28, like Germany.

It is evident therefore that Eastern Galicia can positively put up *an army of 800,000 and in case of great danger could put under arms one million men.*

Taking into consideration the percentage in relation to different nationalities of Eastern Galicia and their position in the country, it is evident, that in a one million Galician Army there would be $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{5}{6}$ of homogeneous Ukrainians, whereby its combative force is considerably enhanced.

The density of its population allows the formation of small area districts for filling up of cadres, whereby the preparation of troops is rendered very rapid.

The incomparable value and force of the Galician army can be gauged by applying the test of the moral backbone of the population. An overwhelming majority of the population of the country, and the Ukrainian nation in particular, is profoundly imbued with the idea of the necessity and the advantage of having its own army, and burning with the desire for the freedom and independence of its State, is gladly prepared to make the supreme sacrifice of its blood, life and property in order to attain this object.

Three quarters of the population, i. e. Ukrainians, are still undaunted in their will to reconquer their liberty and have demonstrated, by their unremitting struggle for freedom in the course of the ages, that there is no conqueror able to curb that will-power.

The future Galician Army will equal in numbers the armies of other small States and will be more than their equal in spirit and tenacity.

Not many months ago the East Galician State and its Army demonstrated the accuracy of the above statement. The heroic struggle of the Galician Army (250 thousand strong, and abandoned to its own resources) in 1918 and 1919, against a strong enemy assisted by powerful Allies and provided with all up-to-date technical means, is generally known. The Galician Army, thrown back beyond its own territory, decimated by typhoid fever, and unable to recruit, was overcome in the struggle owing to lack of munitions, principally cartridges.

That year's heroic struggle for its fundamental national rights will always be recorded upon the glorious pages of the Universal History of the fight for freedom. The Galician army had to yield before superior technical means but its force of character remained intact.

The economic forces of our country, and the well known riches of Eastern Galicia, permit of the formation of a powerful army with provision for its needs.

Eastern Galicia will be in the principal branches of economy not

only entirely independent of foreign lands, but will be, on the contrary, capable of exporting as before the war, considerable quantities of goods, consolidating thereby its financial situation and allowing the State to bear easily all the expenses connected with the maintenance of an army.

From the standpoint of geography Eastern Galicia comprises within its ethnic frontiers an area of 21,120 sq. m. In comparison with small pre-war states, it is twice as large as Belgium, larger by one half than Denmark, Holland or Switzerland and seven times as large as Montenegro.

The boundaries of Galicia are protected upon the one side by the Carpathian mountains, which are proportionately low but not impassable. There is another important barrier in the interior of the country: Dniester. Between the Carpathians and Dniester the Galician Army can defend itself for a long time.

Generally *the strategical position* of the country requires the *maintenance of a strong army*, capable of replacing by live force the lack of natural military barriers.

The lack of these barriers and the strategical position of the country situate as it is upon the highway of the West to Eastern Europe, and at the very spot, where the European territory is narrowest, is of great significance in case war should break out between some of the neighbouring States. Thus the highways of the countries neighbouring with Eastern Galicia are either direct, across big rivers, like, for instance Vistula, Buh, Dniester or Prut, or across the high and wide Carpathians, or Marshes of the Polissia. The only convenient routes lead through Eastern Galicia in such a way that the control of that country in war will decide the military position and the result of the war in favour of the Power controlling that country.

Whereas Eastern Galicia in most cases of war between its neighbours will represent the strategical key to military operations, it is imperative that it shall be placed in the strong hands of the country's own population, which has sufficient strength to maintain its own military independence, to live independently and to defend itself against the aggressive invasions of the enemies of its independence.

It is impossible to entrust anybody with the keeping of that important territory *without jeopardy to European peace* and without prejudice to the indigenous population. The defence of that country can be entrusted neither to its strongest neighbour, to whom would thereby be given an immense advantage over the others, nor to the weakest, who would be unable to protect it without the assistance of the local population, as in case of a conflict with one of the neighbours, the indigenous population, conscious of its grievance and slavery, would in continuation of its struggle for freedom and independence, favour the invading forces.

The assigning of Eastern Galicia to any of its neighbours, *would be identical with the sowing of eternal discord amongst its neighbours*, converting the country itself into a hotbed of discontent, perpetual dissension and struggle; an inextinguishable source of danger in the centre of Europe.

The only way of preventing these evils is the formation of an East Galician State, destined to be the guardian of Peace standing upon the bridge connecting the West with the East of Europe.

The strategic, geographical and military position of Eastern Galicia, its importance from the general European standpoint, the power of its population, and its ardent desire for independence, *all point to the necessity of reconstructing, upon these territories of the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy inhabited by an overwhelming Ukrainian majority, an independent State of free peoples, capable of accomplishing in the interests of European Peace, amongst other reasons, the task of maintaining by force of arms the integrity of its territory, against the possible aggression of its neighbours.*

III.

The execution of measures, calculated to assure peace and order, at the moment of the country being handed over to State control, requires a certain amount of time, which has to be considered as transitional.

The cursory examination of the circumstances in the transitional period, may arouse apprehension that this transitional interval may prove a menace to the security of the country and consequently to the security and peace of its neighbours. Therefore it is necessary to demonstrate, that Eastern Galicia upon being taken over by her Government, will appear as an independent State in a military sense stronger than it is now under Polish occupation.

The East Galician population was subject, like every other nationality of the late Danube monarchy, to military conscription. At the beginning of the great War, by virtue of the Military Service Act, 1912, the conscripts of 21 and 22 years of age, the reserves from 23 to 32, and all the territorial reserves from 19 to 20 and 33 to 42 years of age had been called into service in Eastern Galicia.

During the war the military age was extended from 43 to 50 years.

At the end of the War in 1918, all the military effectives from 20 to 54 years of age, altogether 35 contingents, as well the 19 years effectives of 1918, had completed their training.

According to statistics, the youngest contingent in Eastern Galicia numbered 24,800 men, and the oldest 14,000 men, (taking 19,500 men as the average contingent), so the effectives would amount to 722,000 completely trained, and 27,000 semi-trained soldiers, roughly 800,000 men.

Up to 1921 the following changes took place:

The completely trained 20 years effectives of 1918 reached by that time 23 years, while those who were of the 54 years class, reached the age of 57 years.

Moreover, a following deductions have to be made: the war casualties and deaths from natural causes amounting to 15%, as well as those, who in accordance with the proposed Military Act are above the 55 years limit viz.: the 56 and 57 class.

The total of effectives, trained and subject to Military service in Eastern Galicia, would amount, consequently, according to statistical estimates to the round figure of 600,000 soldiers.

The effectives of the 19, 20, 21 and 22 classes (which, are without any training as they have not enlisted), amount to about 90,000 men. The total represented by both, the trained and untrained men, amounts to approximately 700,000 men.

That difference in the relation of the military-fit class stated as 800,000 is explained by the fact that Austro-Hungary was unable to utilise the military strength of the population in the same measure as could be done by the Galician State.

There is still a balance of 100,000 effectives of the older classes, who in case of need would have to serve in the Galician Army.

The Military Service in the Galician Army, created after the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has not been taken here into account.

This circumstance does not affect however in any way the above figures, since majority of the Galician soldiers has been in the Austrian Army and is included already in the previous statistical figures; the great losses of the Galician Army are included in the above percentage of losses.

On the other hand the military training and experience gained by the Galician soldiers in the wars against Poland and in the former territories of Russia against the Bolshevists enhance the intrinsic value of a very considerable part of the men liable to Military Service, which fact is not demonstrable by figures.

Consequently Eastern Galicia controls:

*600,000 trained and
190,000 untrained soldiers,*

the latter consisting of 90,000 younger and 100,000 older effectives.

The actual Military Service of the trained class amounted to at least one year, but the majority has seen 4 years of actual war service.

The majority of men liable to military service are at present at home, with the exception of a small number who are abroad.

Of these there are :

10,000 East Galician soldiers interned in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic and reformed into working units ;

10,000 soldiers living abroad, mostly in Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, in civil employment and

about 5,000 soldiers, as war prisoners or interned living in Russia and in Roumania.

The whole apparatus necessary for the officering, replacement, and administration of the army, is handy. It consists of the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, who occupied similar positions in the Austrian Army. The same apparatus was used by the Galician Army. It functioned without a hitch.

The East Galician Army Command was thereby in position, notwithstanding extremely adverse circumstances which interfered with the organisation work, to raise an army of three Corps, consisting of 12 infantry Brigades, 50 Regiments and 50 Batteries as well as one Cavalry Brigade and other auxiliary units and parts.

That organisation could have been made still more efficient had it not been for the lack of the most indispensable military equipment, which represented a most serious handicap.

The Supreme Command rested in the hands of the war Secretariat organised in accordance with the most up-to-date models.

The High Command of the Galician Army consisted of :

5 Generals,
150 Staff Officers,
4000 Officers.

Of the above :

2 Generals,
100 Staff Officers,
and 1500 Officers,

are interned in Czecho-Slovakia or are living abroad.

Last, but not least, the East Galician Army possesses a very numerous corps of non-commissioned officers and a choice cadre of Gendarmerie.

Whereas there is no doubt as to a very considerable number of the potential conscripts being fit in a military sense, there is material available for the creation of a well organised and efficient Army.

There are two ways of creating this army without impairing the country's external security.

In the first instance: The Galician Army could be created upon its native soil under the protection of Neutral Forces.

In the second eventuality: Military Divisions containing an adequate number of organised cadres could be organised from units at present

available outside of Eastern Galicia and near her frontiers, whereupon they could enter their native land, and getting reinforced in their progress, occupy the country and its frontiers in required numbers. The systematic disposition and distribution of the Army together with all the military administrative measures could be carried out upon the occupied territory under cover of these equipped Divisions.

The success of this method of organisation is conditional, in both instances, upon an adequate supply of complete military equipment, like arms, amunitions, accoutrements and clothing. That equipment would have, of course, to take into account all the effectives and all the potential recruits.

In the second eventuality the necessary facilities would have to be provided upon the neighbouring territory for the preparation of units before they undertake the entry.

Whereas the first method of creating an army is perfectly simple, only details of the other method are given :

As soon as the independence of the East Galician State is recognised, together with the authorisation to occupy the assigned area, it will be possible to gather at the outset upon the concentration spot (for instance upon the Czecho-Slovakian territory) a contingent of about 20,000 men consisting of soldiers living at present abroad. It will be necessary to clothe them, form into units, arm and equip them. Formation will have to be made into combating units and cadres.

These numerous and consequently small units will be reinforced as they march forward, into their own country by the entrance into their ranks of the trained and subject-to-military-service combatants living in the country, until the force attains the authorised and necessary standard.

The enthusiasm of the Ukrainians for their native soil justifies the belief that they will join their army in crowds at the very first signal of the approaching Ukrainian units; men will hasten from the furthest corners and the units will grow hourly and daily, like a lavine.

Eastern Galicia will never be stronger from the military point of view than at the moment of her own army's formation.

Upon the re-occupation of the country, the Galician Army could, to begin with, amount to at least 400,000 men: the 200,000 trained and 190,000 raw recruits would remain in reserve and in readiness for actual military enlistment. The strength of that army would be later on, in turn, modified in accordance with circumstances.

Once internal peace is secured it will be possible to proceed under cover of the so called Occupationary Force with the further systematic work, viz.,

1. Organization of an active army;
2. Replacement of the Occupationary Force;
3. Training of the raw recruits and finishing of the trained ones.

For the carrying out of these measures an interval of two months will be necessary, out of which, one month will be allotted to the formation of the units abroad ready to enter the country, and the other month for the complete occupation of the country by the recruiting army.

In summing up all the preceding explanations, it is evident that Eastern Galicia will appear much stronger, from the military point of view, after re-occupation by her own military force, than before, and the succeeding organisatory measures will be proceeded with under the cover of its own promptly established Military Force without the slightest peril to the security of the country or its neighbours.

THE POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL ANALOGIES BETWEEN GALICIA AND SWITZERLAND.

The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia desire to have their country organised, on the Swiss model, into an independent commonwealth of free peoples.

The Swiss Republic, came admittedly into being within the scope of the old "Roman State of the German nation" of the middle age (beginning of the XIV century). Notwithstanding her actual independence from 1315 (the battle at Morgarten), she did not leave the frame-work of the German State until the Westphalian Peace in 1648. Again in 1815 the neutrality and permanent inviolability of Switzerland was acknowledged both by the Act of Paris and the Congress of Vienna. Switzerland, known at first as a big mart of mercenary armies, became after the XVIII century an industrial country and the commercial intermediary between her neighbours. The great geo-political importance of Switzerland begins with the consolidation of the Italian and German states. The independence and neutrality of Switzerland played a great rôle at the time of armed conflicts in 1859, 1866, 1870/71 and 1914/18, always in the positive sense towards the progressive development of the world's politics, notably in the construction and consolidation of national states. The neutrality of Switzerland in 1859 and 1866 contributed towards the creation of Italy, in 1870/71 towards the consolidation of Germany, and in 1914/18 towards the protection of Italy and France from German militarism and towards the destruction of the anti-nationalist Austro-Hungarian Empire. The value of the independence and neutrality of Switzerland has been equally demonstrated in the course of diplomatic conflicts and parleys of the XIX and XX centuries. Switzerland soon became an important centre for international negotiations and institutions. The Geneva Convention (1864); the Universal Postal Union (1878); International Telegraphic Union (1875); the Industrial Trade-Marks-(1883); and Copyright Union (1886) etc. Last but not least Switzerland became the seat of the League of Nations (1919-1920).

There are very remarkable analogies between Galicia and Switzerland tending to show that the rôle of an independent and neutral Galicia could be the same in the East as the mission of Switzerland has been in the West of Europe.

1. The geo-political situation both of Galicia and Switzerland is fully analogous. Switzerland is situated upon the boundary of the Central and Western,—Galicia on the borders of the Central and Eastern Europe. Switzerland establishes political equilibrium between France and Italy upon the one side and Germany on the other as well as between all these states. The same rôle between Poland and Roumania on the one side and Russia and Greater Ukraine upon the other, is fulfilled by Galicia.

2. The geo-strategical position of Galicia and Switzerland is also fully analogous. Switzerland is situated approximately upon the centre of the outer crescent of the Alps, Galicia on the centre of the crescent of the Carpathians. Both share the advantage of important indispensable passes across these extensive and difficult barriers.

Switzerland occupies the very portion of the Alps which possesses either the ancient or recently constructed thoroughfares across the Alpine saddles (Chamonix, St. Bernard, Simplon, Gotthardt, Splügen, Maloya). Galicia occupies the narrowest and the most easily passable portion of the Carpathian mountain system (the Low Beskid with the Dukla Pass, Lupkiw, Uzhok, Verecky, Beskid, Vyshkiw, Pantyr, Yablonytsia, etc). Both territories command in this way the important mountain passes, which if controlled by one of the adjoining great powers, would give them an immeasurable advantage over its neighbour. Equally, as possession of Switzerland would immeasurably strengthen Germany or Italy, the eventual control of Galicia would strengthen immensely Poland or Russia.

Exactly as Switzerland protects the hinterlands of France and Italy against Germany, so would Galicia protect the hinterlands of Poland, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia in case they went to war with Germany or Russia. It is not difficult to realise what would have been the lot of France in 1870 or 1914 had Switzerland been under the control of Germany. If in 1919 the West Ukrainian Republic had not prevented the junction of the Bolshevik Russian armies with the Red Hungary, and if the Ukrainian allied armies had not stopped exactly in Galicia the advance of Trotsky's armies, neither the Polish nor the Roumanian states would have been now in existence and the Red Flag would be now fluttering over the whole of Central Europe.

3. From the ethnic and political aspects the situation of Switzerland and Galicia is also remarkably analogous. Both countries are inhabited by three main peoples, although in Switzerland the Germans, French, and Italians have their own compact territories, while in Galicia the Ukrainians alone possess that advantage, the Poles and Jews being scattered amongst them. Exactly as the Swiss Germans represent from the national and cultural point a separate group of German people, so do the Galician Ukrainians occupy amongst the Ukrainian people an exceptional position. Both

Swiss Germans and Galician Ukrainians possess the common feature of a very strong local patriotism. It would be as criminal to annex Switzerland either to Germany or to France as to incorporate Galicia with Poland or Russia.

4. From the economic point of view both Switzerland and Galicia, although of moderate size and population, are: 1. Considerably productive (Switzerland industrially, Galicia in raw produce); 2. Attract customers of considerable purchasing power; 3. Natural intermediaries in the commercial life of the adjacent great powers. These features result from the position with regard to geography and transportation being similar in both countries.

5. From the social standpoint, both Switzerland and Galicia, with their mainly agricultural population, are socially sound and less susceptible to the socialist or communist agitation than the populations of any other neighbouring state.

6. From the purely military aspect, both Switzerland and Galicia, although small, are vigorous. The Galician peasant (especially Highlander, Boyko or Hutsul) is as good a shot as the Swiss, but surpasses him in endurance to hardships. Galicia is able of raising, in case of an emergency, an army of 400,000-500,000 good soldiers, perfectly able to maintain her independence and neutrality.

THE POLITICO- AND ECONOMICO-GEOGRAPHICAL IMPORTANCE OF EASTERN GALICIA IN THE SOLUTION OF THE EAST EUROPEAN PROBLEMS.

I.

The ethnic territory of the Polish nation was the basis, upon which the Polish State was built in 1918/19 by the victorious Allied Powers. In accordance with the principle of "self-determination of peoples" and the plain utterance of President Wilson, Poland was created upon the territories "inhabited by an undoubted majority of Poles".

These original intentions of the Allied Powers in regard to Poland corresponded with circumstances and conditions. The Poles are a people of 20 millions entitled to a state within the limits of Central Europe. The Polish ethnic territory is strictly limited to Central Europe, extending as it does but to 22 degree east of Greenwich. Both, the political and economic, interests of Poland naturally confine her within the bounds of Central Europe. There she is capable of fulfilling her political mission, standing, together with the Czecho-Slovak state, as the barrier against the German "Drang nach Osten".

In the meantime, both the trend of events in 1918, and the exaggerated ambitions of the Polish politicians inspired by her alleged historic rights, have upset Poland in her original rôle and induced her to expand eastwards, into non-Polish territories, which historically, geographically and culturally belong to Eastern Europe. Taking advantage of the social revolution in the East of Europe, which has enormously weakened all the East-European people, Poland seized portions of the Lithuanian, White-Ruthenian and Ukrainian territories. That area (82,800 sq. m.; 13½ million inhabitants) is as large as the whole of ethnic Poland. The number of Poles, scattered all over this non-Polish occupied territory, hardly amount to 1,300,000 or 10%. These figures, moreover, are based upon official statistics, notably and invariably doctored in favor of the Poles. Amongst the territories grabbed by Poland is Eastern Galicia.

Poland's armed encroachments resulted in

- (1) The delaying of Lithuania's consolidation, as well as the
- (2) destruction of the White-Ruthenian and the undermining of the Ukrainian commonwealth. Thus Poland facilitated the task of Bolshevik

Russia in conquering the White-Ruthenia and Ukraine, upon which territories the nominally autonomous Soviet States have been established, i. e. the White-Ruthenia and Ukraine. Nevertheless the very same territories, which previously belonged to Russia, and which now have been seized by Poland, have led to a conflict between Poland and Russia. This conflict has been suspended by the Peace Treaty of Riga. Relations between Poland and Russia have not improved but on the contrary have been aggravated and are getting daily from bad to worse. A renewal of hostilities is being delayed only by the catastrophic famine in Russia and the chronic anti-Soviet risings in Ukraine. But as soon as Russia recovers from her collapse, as soon as more or less ordered conditions succeed the present confusion, be it Russian Empire or Federation, or the Russian and Ukrainian States, it will not be tolerated that the territories east of the Polish ethnic frontier and grabbed by Poland should remain with Poland. For the new Russia these territories will be "olden of yore Russian", for Ukraine "olden of yore Ukrainian" and no East-European Government will ever renounce them in favor of Poland.

Moreover, the revolutionary exhaustion of Eastern Europe is not permanent. Its reconstruction is considerably easier and speedier than that of any other part of Europe.

II.

Amongst the East European territories grabbed by Poland there is Eastern Galicia. Its area comprises 21,120 sq. m. and contains 5,450,000 inhabitants, of whom 4,055,000 (74·4%) are Ukrainians, 670,000 (12·3%) Jews, 659,000 (12·1%) Poles, and 65,000 (1·2%) Germans. Although Eastern Galicia before 1914 never belonged to Russia, it is geographically, culturally and economically an eminently East European country. Every informed and impartial student of East European conditions is bound to be aware of the fact that Eastern Galicia, from the political and geographical standpoints, belongs to Eastern and not to Central Europe.

No matter what powerful state will arise in Eastern Europe, the reconstructed Russian State in particular will object, in the first instance on geographical grounds, to Eastern Galicia being left with Poland.

Whoever looks forward to future peace between Poland and Russia, is bound to work for the immediate separation of Eastern Galicia from Poland and the organisation of that country into an independent, neutral buffer-state between Poland and Russia. If Poland retains Eastern Galicia, she is bound to remain in permanent conflict with Russia. The very first upheaval in those parts of Europe will be identical with the sure and unavoidable downfall of the Polish State. Poland, even within her present frontiers, does not represent any considerable factor in comparison with the reconstructed Russia.

Supposing that the present East European crisis does not end with the reconstruction of a united Russia, but results for instance in a Russian Federation, then the rôle and importance of Eastern Galicia remain the same. The Federal Russia would be compelled by geographical, economic and political exigencies to strive and detach Eastern Galicia from Poland, as did the late Russian Empire. For these reasons and with the possibility of a Federal Russia being created, it is imperative that Eastern Galicia should be detached from Poland and organised into an independent, neutral state.

There is also a third possibility, that the East European chaos might resolve itself into a great Ukrainian national state. Taking into consideration the enormous growth of the Ukrainian national consciousness even amongst the masses of peasantry in recent years, and the constant anti-Bolshevist (but in reality also anti-Russian) risings in Ukraine, such a possibility is not out of the question. In that case the liberation of Eastern Galicia from Poland, and the organisation of it into a state, is imperative. East Galicia, nationally the most conscious part of all the Ukrainian territories, if left with Poland, would become for the Great Ukraine another case of Alsace-Lorraine.

III.

Any serious attempt at putting the East European chaos into order could be undertaken only by one of the two great East European nations: Russians or Ukrainians. Initiative on the part of the Russians is not likely, as

(1) the bulk of the Muscovite people, the Russian moujiks, having lived for the last 300 years in actual agricultural communism, is not familiar with the principle of individual private property in land and stands for communism;

(2) the Russian intellectual class has been exterminated by the Bolsheviks and is incapable of political reconstruction;

(3) there is no suitable portion of Russian national territory, where the action of consolidation could be started.

Ukraine presents in this respect much brighter prospects.

1. The Ukrainian peasantry (90% of the population) stands from time immemorial for private property in land. This attitude is the source of the opposition and risings of the Ukrainian peasantry against the Soviet rule. Another source of this opposition is the awakened national consciousness together with the hatred of Russians, who represent the Soviet rule in Ukraine. The Soviet regime became a synonym of Russian oppression.

2. Although the Ukrainian intellectual classes, brought up in their own time in Russian schools share many disadvantages common to Russians, they make up for these disadvantages to a great extent by their national consciousness.

3. There are several regions upon the Ukrainian territory capable of becoming a nucleus of East-European reconstruction, notably:

- a) Eastern Galicia;
- b) the Black Sea maritime area between the rivers Dniester and Dniipro (Odessa-Mykolaev-Kherson);
- c) Crimea;
- d) Kuban.

4. The principal territory suitable for the initial stages of the East-European reconstruction is Eastern Galicia.

IV.

Eastern Galicia offers the most promising initial stage for the settlement of the East-European problems for the following reasons:

1. It has all the resources required by an independent state, in order to feed itself, and to pay for her imports with the export of raw materials (salt, petroleum, etc.).

2. Contains the only branch of the East European population which is:

- a) nationally fully conscious;
- b) has political experience as has been fully demonstrated by the elections to the Austrian Parliament in 1917 and 1911 and by the establishment of the Western Ukrainian Republic;
- c) Hostile not only to Communism but even to Socialist-Democracy;
- d) Capable of the greatest national and political sacrifices (the war against Poland and the Bolsheviks in 1918 and the unconquerable spirit shewn in the face of the Polish reprisals).

3. Has a numerous, highly conscious and politically experienced intellectual class.

4. Is capable of raising a first class army of 500,000 men. Even a small (40,000) Galician army captured Kiev (August, 1919) more quickly than the Poles (300,000) in 1920.

5. Galicia commands because of her situation the most important passes across the Carpathian mountains from Eastern into Central Europe.

6. Galicia is the starting point of all the most convenient highways and railway lines leading fanlike into all the south-western parts of Eastern Europe as far as the Pripet Marshes and Black Sea. Geographically therefore Eastern Galicia is of paramount strategical importance, as demonstrated fully by the experience of the Great War of 1914-1919.

The independent Galician State:

1. Is bound to become a promising intermediary of communication and commerce between the East of Europe, abounding in raw materials, and the Central European territories (principally Czecho-Slovakia), which

suffer from lack of exports as they are blocked by Poland in her attempt to control the monopoly of trade with as they are Eastern Europe.

2. Could become immediately the centre of organisation for the now considerable number of Ukrainian emigrants, who could start a systematic economic, social and political reconstruction.

3. Could become thus the main nucleus of the preliminary reconstructive propaganda for the whole Eastern Europe (Ukrainian territories).

4. Could become the active starting point for the settlement of Eastern Europe. The East Galician Government could in a decisive moment by one stroke obtain control of the whole Ukraine west of Dniπρο and, assisted by the local Ukrainian elements, organise it politically and strategically. This would be the beginning of the reconstruction of the whole of South-Eastern Europe.

That action depends strictly upon the fate of Eastern Galicia. If that country remains any longer under Polish occupation, it is bound to prove a stumbling block in the solution of the East-European problems, let alone becoming helpful. The inhabitants of Eastern Galicia will never reconcile themselves to Polish domination. Galicia will become one constant source of Poland's conflict with Russia and Ukraine and that will not further the interests of the West-European States and Universal Peace.

ILLUSIONS OF THE ROUMANIAN CHAMPION OF EUROPEAN CIVILISATION.

The November 16, 1921, issue of "La Revue de France" brings a leading article on the Little Entente contributed by the Roumanian Ex-Prime Minister, Take Jonsescu. According to his opinion the Little Entente, whose interests are in full harmony with the interests of the Principal Allied Powers, appears exclusively as the Champion of Peace. Its objects, in case of the eventual dangers which may imperil the European peace from two points, Germany and Russia, are purely defensive.

We do not intend to dwell upon the main features of the Little Entente's policy; we are even prepared to agree with his detailed characteristics of the members composing this new Alliance. The attitude, however, of the Little Entente towards Eastern Europe;—its future relation to the great problems of the East European reconstruction; the actual state of affairs in the East and its future possibilities,—have been dealt with by Mr. Take Jonsescu with such a sovereign disregard of actual facts, and imply such striking contradictions, that the public opinion of the political world is bound to be utterly confused as to the whole issue of the East European question.

Mr. Take Jonsescu dreads the future Russo-German Alliance. He is quite right in this. Once Russia, within one or two decades, becomes politically consolidated, she may be capable of reverting to her traditional policy of expansion. Since 1918, either consciously or unconsciously, the whole policy of the world has been busy preparing the Russo-German Alliance. Such an Alliance would be, on land at any rate, unconquerable. It is enough to imagine millions of Russians under German generalship, equipped by German industry, provisioned and armed by German organisation, standing shoulder to shoulder with the German military machine. The Straits of Constantinople, Egypt with the Suez Canal, Mesopotamia and India, would be menaced by a ten times greater danger than during the war of 1914-1918.

What is it then, that Mr. Take Jonsescu intends to oppose to this rather formidable block of 8 million square miles and 200 millions of population?

Is it the Little Entente? and in the first place, Poland? He would like to see Poland as great and as powerful as possible; an important factor on the East of Europe. He appeals to the Allies, exhorting them to acknowledge the past wrongs they committed against Poland (?) and to recognise her Eastern frontiers, as stipulated by the Riga Treaty. Mr. Take Jonsescu is particularly relentless in his attack upon the plan of organising Eastern Galicia into an independent State, and detaching it from Poland. He thinks that not only the interests of Poland, but those of civilised Europe require, that Eastern Galicia, in some form or other remains with Poland, and that the Army, destined to protect Eastern Galicia should be Polish. "There couldn't be a greater act of folly than the creation of another small and weak state between Russia, Roumania, and Poland; there cannot be a greater crime than planting the present or future Russia upon the crest of the Carpathians, almost upon the plains of Central Europe. It would be such an act of political blindness, such an act of suicide of European Europe, that I refuse to believe in its becoming a reality" writes Mr. Take Jonsescu.

Nevertheless, we are prepared to demonstrate that there is a chance of committing an act of still greater "folly, crime and suicide", of perpetrating an act of still greater political blindness. These would take place if the Allies should choose to follow Mr. Take Jonsescu's advice, by recognising the frontier of Poland traced at Riga, and leaving Eastern Galicia attached, in whatever form, to Poland.

The consequences of such a policy would be disastrous, not only to Poland and the Little Entente, but to European peace and to the peace of the world generally, purchased so recently with such difficulty and with such sacrifice.

The present situation of Eastern Europe is, briefly speaking, this: In consequence of the Russian Revolution, the great Russian Empire has been disintegrated into its natural and national components; social revolution and the abstract economic policy of Communism have brought the whole huge territory of the late Russian Empire into utter ruin. Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland have severed their connection with the defunct state and have managed to maintain so far their independence. Both the Ukraine and the Caucasian States have gradually lost their independence, won in 1917 and 1918, for the Soviet Ukraine occupies in the new Federation of the East European Soviet States an especially privileged position. The defunct centralism became replaced by the Russo-Ukrainian Dualism analogous to the late Austro-Hungarian regime.

The present state of affairs in Eastern Europe is not permanent. The Communist Soviet system is quivering to its foundations; it is undergoing an evolution towards the right, while a revolution in that direction is not

an impossibility. One of the following three eventualities may result from the present chaos:

1. A new unified centralistic Russia;
2. Federal Russia; or
3. A number of independent States, amongst which Ukraine would occupy the second place as to size (a homogeneous ethnic territory of 384,000 sq. m. and 55,000,000 inhabitants).

Let us now analyse in turn scrupulously the advice given by Mr. Take Jonsescu in the light of each of the above eventualities.

Assuming the reconstruction of a new united Russia, no matter how good were the intentions of its government, they could not help beginning with the revindication of the "truly Russian territories". Public opinion, roused by the wounded national pride, and the London Treaty of 1914/15, would compel the new Russian Government to conclude an agreement with Germany, and to take immediate steps against the three members of the Little Entente: Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania.

Revindications from Poland would amount to no less than 32,000 sq. m. with 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions of population, viz.: Kholm, part of Grodno and Minsk, Volhynia and Galicia, together with the capitals of the ancient "Russian" principalities (Kholm, Berest, Lemberg, Peremyshl, Halich). Why, there are but 1,300,000 Poles in all those countries and no less than 10,000,000 "Russians". That means purely "Russian" territories, because to any Centralist Russia the White Ruthenians, and Ukrainians, appear as White "Russians" and "Little Russians" consequently as genuine Russians and their countries as purely Russian territories, like the regions of Tula and Moscow.

From Czecho-Slovakia, Russia would not demand more than the Trans-Carpathian Ruthenia (6,000 sq. m., 570,000 inhabitants, including the 441,000, 78% "Little Russians"), but would claim much more from Roumania. Since the present, anti-national, Russia claims from Roumania the return of Bessarabia as Russian territory, the new Russia is sure not to demand any less. It is a matter of 14,000 sq. m. with 2,657,000 inhabitants, including 746,000 Great Russians and "Little Russians". Moreover there is yet the "Little Russian" part of Bukovina, 2,100 sq. m. with 460,000 inhabitants, including again 305,000 "Little Russians".

Thus the Little Entente, following the advice of Mr. Take Jonsescu, would be brought into acute conflict with the consolidated Russian State. The contingency of war in such an eventuality would be considerable. Does Mr. Take Jonsescu believe that Czecho-Slovakia and Yougo-Slavia would turn against Russia? Or would Ukrainians, White-Ruthenians, Jews, Germans, and other Polish Irredentists (altogether almost half the Polish population) play any different rôle in the Polish Army than Czechs had

played in the Austrian? The eventual war campaign would result in a formidable débâcle of Poland and Rumania.

Similar conditions would arise in the second eventuality mentioned. The East-Slavonic territories occupied since 1918 by Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania, would be regarded by the Federated National States of Eastern Europe as an identically unjustified encroachment upon the parts of their national territories and national bodies politic, as they would be by Centralist Russia. The White Ruthenians would claim from Poland the Grodno, Minsk and Vilna regions; Ukrainians would reclaim Kholm, Volhynia, and Eastern Galicia. Roumania alone, would in this instance, derive a certain advantage, since the Ukrainian revindications comprise, it is true, the whole ethnic Ukrainian part of Bukovina, but on the other hand, only the northern and south-eastern portion of Bessarabia, acknowledging the Rumanian character of two-thirds of that province. Otherwise the prospects would be identical, if not even worse for Poland and Roumania. The reason is that in the Federated free Russia, public opinion would be more powerful than in a centralist State, consequently the recriminations against the occupants of the East-Slavonic National territories would be more violent. The Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia possesses a higher degree of national consciousness and political maturity than any other part of the Ukrainian nation of 40 millions. The influence of Ukrainians in the Federated Russia would be undoubtedly considerable. They would never tolerate Eastern Galicia suffering under Polish oppression.

Thus the realisation of Mr. Take Jonsescu's plans would create an immediate and decided hostility, with surfaces of violent friction, between Federated Russia and the Little Entente.

Let us consider now the third eventuality. Russia would be limited to the ethnic territory of the Great Russians in Eastern Europe, while a great Ukrainian State, comprising the whole of South-Eastern Europe will come into existence. Even in this instance, the plan of Mr. Take Jonsescu would spell disaster. The great Ukrainian State would have, it is true, but one-third of the shock-power possessed by the old Russian Empire, but would be certainly powerful enough to reclaim the parts of the contiguous Ukrainian ethnic territories occupied by Poland and Rumania, and even to retake them by force. At any rate, any amicable relations between Great Russia and Ukraine on the one side, and Roumania and Poland on the other, would be unthinkable, until the latter had evacuated the territories invaded during the revolution. This applies in the first place to Eastern Galicia, together with the Ukrainian Bukovina—those Piedmonts of the Ukrainian political idea.

Thus the advice of Mr. Take Jonescu is not acceptable in the third eventuality either.

The methods required for the successful solution of the East European peace problem are fundamentally different. In order to eliminate any future conflicts between the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, it is inadmissible that any part of the East European ethnic territory should be occupied or annexed by any one of the Central-European States. Disregard of this principle entails, sooner or later, conflicts between the East-and the Central-European States, and compels Russia to ally herself with Germany. Both Poland and Roumania—in peace and war—will be absolutely in a better position to consolidate, if they would do without any East-European (Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian, Russian) subjects. Then their eastern frontiers would be secure, particularly if they would border on Ukraine. The great Ukrainian State will separate Russia from Poland, Roumania and Caucasus, and will establish a secure barrier against the eventual expansive aspirations of Russia in near Asia.

Whatever happens in Eastern Europe, the creation of a neutral Bukovina-Galician State, contrary to Mr. Take Jonescu's opinion, represents one of the preliminary conditions indispensable for the consolidation of Central Europe. This new Carpathian Switzerland does neither appear as small nor as weak as Mr. Take Jonescu thinks. Its size would amount to 24,000 sq. m. (total area of Belgium and Denmark), and would have 6,000,000 inhabitants; it would be able to support itself in food, at the same time exporting a great deal of provisions and raw materials (petroleum in particular). The small, half-clad, East Galician Army, which had to buy from her kind Roumanian neighbour in August 1919 rifle cartridges at ten pence a piece, cleared within one month the whole Ukraine, West of Dniipro, from the Red Armies, and occupied Kiev. In 1920, the eight times as strong Polish army took three months to capture Kiev alone. It is the Ukraino-Galician, never the Polish Army, which will be able to hold the Carpathian passes. Even in the summer of 1920 it was not the Polish army, but the East Ukrainian legions of Petlura which protected Eastern Galicia. The Russian Red Army could not advance rapidly in Eastern Galicia, because the Ukrainian peasant population entertained the same kind of hostility against the Bolshevists as against the Poles, and assumed a neutral attitude. Once Eastern Galicia becomes organised into a Carpathian Switzerland, her position becomes impregnable. It was the Eastern Galician Army which prevented the junction of the Russian Reds with the Hungarians.

The East Galician State is capable of being a decisive factor in bringing about new conditions in Eastern Europe. Here can gather all the

creative elements of South-Eastern Europe, which can initiate the reconstruction of the East European political, social and economic conditions.

Even apart from these considerations, the creation of an East Galician free State is indicated by the dictates of political wisdom. It will eliminate from the sphere of political controversy another territory, important both from the geographical and political standpoint, and at the same time prevent any friction in the future between Central and Eastern Europe.

It is "up to" the principal Powers of the world to see through the hopelessly inane Polish and Roumanian schemes regarding Eastern Europe—, plans, capable if anything, only of upsetting the whole edifice of economic and political reconstruction awaited by half the European Continent. The political destiny of the East European nations, and in particular that of the Ukrainians, numbering 40 millions, does not admit of a forcible solution. On the contrary, what is required, is the support of their efforts, both in the Western and the Eastern Ukraine, as the creation of an independent and neutral Galician State will represent the very first step in European reconstruction.

NOTE FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GALICIAN
REPUBLIC

To
THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

in CANNES.

The unbearable circumstances under which the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia remains continuously under the Polish lawless occupation, make it absolutely necessary to *again draw the Supreme Council's attention to the state of affairs in Eastern Galicia and to demand both the immediate removal of the Polish occupation and the decision of the political status of that territory.*

In particular: 1. The Polish occupation in Eastern Galicia stifles every sign of social life, as, amongst other abuses, it continues now for the third year in succession, not only to debar Ukrainian students and professors from studies at the only University at Lemberg, but prohibits even the organisation of private University courses for Ukrainian students.

In consequence of this barbarous regime of the Polish occupation in Eastern Galicia, the Rector of the Ukrainian University Courses (Dr. Basil Schurat) *is dying in a Polish prison*, while Ukrainian students either spend their youthful years in Polish prisons or are driven to foreign Universities in Prague and Vienna.

2. On the other hand Poland poisons the Ukrainian community in Eastern Galicia by *sending there Communist organisers from the Warsaw Communist centre*, as had been stated in our communications of the 8th and 28th November 1921, and charging the Ukrainian population before the Principal Allied Powers with Communist tendencies, continuing thus to mislead the Supreme Council and delay the decision of the East Galician question.

3. From September 1921 up till now *all Ukrainian independent organs of the Press are suppressed*, whereby the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia is actually *devoid of its own Press*, that indispensable factor in the life of every civilised nation, and freedom of speech is abolished, since there is no chance of stating in public, one's needs, or exposing the abuses of Polish occupation.

4. When, further, in October 1921, the Ukrainian population declared, that it would not co-operate in the unlawful preparation of *the Polish political statistics and census of the East Galician population*, (which is beyond the competence of the Polish occupation) Poland launched against the innocent and defenceless Ukrainian population an avalanche of brutal reprisals: imprisoning thousands of Ukrainians, imposing arbitrary fines, and sending against the Ukrainian communes primitive expeditions and collecting huge contributions.

That is the kind of *personal freedom* under Polish occupation.

5. The kind of *personal security*, enjoyed by the Ukrainian population under the Polish occupation of Eastern Galicia, is illustrated by one of the numerous instances, published in the Social-Democratic organ "Wpered", Nr. 241 of December 22th, 1921.

In the village of Lisko, district Kaminka Strumilowa, an instance of *inhuman tortures inflicted upon innocent people* has taken place, where the Polish Police Force from *Milatyn Nowy*—(the neighbouring village) arrested, under the pretext of searching for thieves, Mrs. Paranka Ivashkiv, Vasyl Kerdash, Miss Paranka Didyk, Mr. Ilko Didyk and Stephen Kushnir, and tortured them from December 6th to 12th, 1921, by merciless flogging and burning of the body with hot iron, with the result that Miss Paranka Didyk, with her arm broken and Mr. Ilko Didyk, with both his legs dislocated, were taken, dying, to Hospital in Zolochiw.

Such brutality is being tolerated in the centre of civilised Europe.

6. But in order to accomplish the economic ruin of Eastern Galicia, the very country that suffered most in the world's war, the Polish Diet in Warsaw passed on December 16th, 1921, the Bill of "Extraordinary Contribution", which is calculated to save Polish finances, and that Bill is to operate also in Eastern Galicia, as if that territory belonged to Poland.

7. When it is considered, that the amount of this Polish contribution is, amongst other instances, calculated, on the basis of 225 times the ground rent, (and higher), it is evident, that Poland *plans to plunder the East Galician population illegally of many milliards*.

The Ukrainian National Council of Eastern Galicia makes the most determined reservation against this act of plunder, and files their emphatic protest with the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, on the ground, that Eastern Galicia does not belong to Poland, which is not justified in collecting there any state-taxes whatever for the purpose of saving its own shattered finances. Eastern Galicia represents a separate international juridic unit subject to the sovereign rights of the Principal Allied Powers.

8. These lawless and unheard of conditions in the civilised world are but the result of the circumstance, that the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, while assenting to the Polish Military occupation of Eastern Galicia

(June 25th, 1919) failed to stipulate the conditions of that occupation,— and while assuming sovereign rights over Eastern Galicia (St. Germain, September 10th, 1919, Art. 91) failed to appoint an International Commission to supervise the Military Occupation in Eastern Galicia, and moreover has not yet proceeded with the settlement of the political status of that country, although the Supreme Council is the only authority entitled and bound to make that decision. The Ukrainian National Council of Eastern Galicia has continuously reminded the Supreme Council of the necessity of deciding the question of Eastern Galicia.

The circumstances above stated prove, that such a lawless state of affairs is untenable and that the Ukrainian population, having undergone all the sufferings, tortures and sacrifices of the Polish occupation, refuses to countenance any other solution but that the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference should proceed forthwith to decide the political status of Eastern Galicia according to the principles of national justice.

For the above reasons in the name of the Ukrainian National Council of Eastern Galicia, I suggest, that the Supreme Council of Peace Conference:

I. Issues an immediate injunction prohibiting the collection of the Polish State Contribution from the East Galician population.

II. Appoints an International Commission of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to protect the East Galician population from the abuses of the Polish Military Occupation.

III. Makes an early decision in the matter of the political Status of Eastern Galicia on the basis of the proposal we have submitted outlining the features of organisation of the Independent Galician Republic of Free Peoples.

Vienna, December 28th, 1921.

Dr. EUGEN PETROUCHEVYTCH m. p.

President of the Ukrainian National Council
of the Galician Republic.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE III PROVINCIAL INTER-PARTY CONGRESS AT LEMBERG, JANUARY 28TH. 1922, ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

1. The Inter-Party Congress, consisting of accredited delegates of the Ukrainian Parties: Labour, Radical and the Christian-Socialist, as well as of deputies elected at one time to Legislative bodies,—as exponents of the East Galician population's wishes, avers, that the *Government of the West Ukrainian People's Republic, Presided over by the Chairman of the Ukrainian National Council Dr. Petrouchevytch, is the only legitimate government in Eastern Galicia authorised to represent the East Galician population, to defend its interests before foreign States and nations, to conduct on behalf of that population valid negotiations, and to conclude binding treaties.*

2. The Inter-Party Congress, raises its most vigorous protest against the barbarous regime of the Polish occupationary authorities in Eastern Galicia, consisting in depriving the citizens of Ukrainian nationality of the freedom to hold meetings, freedom of the Press, of political, social, economic and even humanitarian organization; in stagnation brought about by the general compulsory passport regulations, by unremitting raids, arrest and detentions; in arbitrary plunder and lack of every security of life and property; in wide-spread banditism; in bribery and endless chicane of the Police and gendarmerie, all directed with unmitigated fury chiefly against the defenceless rural population.

3. At the same time the Inter-Party Congress regrets to aver that the Entente Powers, vested by virtue of the Art: 91 of the St. Germain Treaty with the Sovereign rights over Eastern Galicia—notwithstanding the League of Nations intervention—have failed up till now to decide the political status of Eastern Galicia, to re-establish there lawful conditions and to put an end to the lawless, savage and barbarous occupation by the Poles. The Inter-Party Congress urges the Government to take definite steps calculated to bring about the abolition of the occupation, as its continuance will not only cause the ultimate ruin of the Ukrainian national culture and the depopulation of the country but will result in the complete devastation of that country's resources.

FOR THE "INTER-PARTY COUNCIL" OF GALICIA :

President: *Dr. Volodimir Bachynski*, late Parliamentary and Diet Deputy;
member U. N. Council.

Secretary: *Volodimir Tselevich*, member U. N. Council.

FOR THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY :

Vice-President: Rev. Prelate *Titus Woynarowski*.

Secretary: *Michael Strutynski*.

FOR THE UKRAINIAN RADICAL PARTY :

President: *Dr. Ivan Makuch* late Deputy to the Diet, Secretary of State.

Secretary: *Dr. Volodimir Lisiy*.

FOR THE CHRISTIAN-SOCIALIST PARTY :

Alexander Barwinski, late member of the Austrian House of Lords;
member U. N. Council.

MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL :

Julian Romanchuk, late Senior Chairman Ukrainian Parliamentary Club
and Vice-President Austrian Parliament.

Ivan Kiveluk, late Diet Deputy & Member Provincial Board.

Vencislas Budzynowski, late Parliamentary Deputy.

Rev. Stephen Onyshkewich, late Parliamentary Deputy.

Dr. Volodimir Zahaykewich, late Parliamentary Deputy.

Dr. Theophil Okunewsky, late Parliamentary & Diet Deputy.

Dr. Anthony Horbachewsky, late Diet Deputy.



MAP OF EASTERN GALICIA

Explanations: — Legende:

- Boundaries of Galicia and Bukovina before the war 1914—19.
Les frontières de la Galicie et Bucovine avant la guerre de 1914—19.
- - - - - Boundary between Western and Eastern Galicia (as laid for the territories of Supreme Courts of Cracov and Lemberg).
La frontière de la Galicie Occidentale et Orientale (territoires de juridiction de Cracovie et Léopol).
- oooooo Statute boundary of Eastern Galicia determined by the Peace conference of Paris (Curzon-Line).
La frontière occidentale de la Galicie Orientale déterminée par la Conférence de la Paix (Ligne de Curzon).
- + + + + + Boundaries of the ancient Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (XI—XIV century).
Les frontières de l'ancien royaume de Galicie et Lodomerie (XI^{me}—XIV^{me} siècle).
- Ethnic boundaries of the Ukrainian national territory.
Les frontières ethnographiques du territoire national ukrainien.