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INFORMATION NOTES

No. 3

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Poland

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THE EASTERN PROVINCES OF POLAND

Issued by

THE POLISH MINISTRY OF PREPARATORY WORK CONCERNING THE PEACE CONFERENCE

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The following Notes are prepared by experts and are designed to give the basic facts essential to the settlement of Polish post-war problems. They are primarily intended for the use of students and writers on international affairs. They may be obtained direct from The Polish Ministry of Preparatory Work Concerning the Peace Conference, 73, Portland Place, London, W.1.

Any opinions expressed in this publication are not necessarily those of the Polish Government.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

I. POLAND'S RIGHTS AND INTERESTS 5

(1) Historical and Legal Evidence

(2) Economic and Social Evidence

(3) National Tradition and the Predominance of Polish Culture

(4) National and Religious Relations

(5) The Strategic Importance of the Eastern Territories for Poland

II. POLAND'S EASTERN TERRITORIES ARE NOT ESSENTIAL TO RUSSIA 19

APPENDICES :

1. THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED POWERS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE EASTERN BOUNDARIES OF POLAND 21

I. The so-called Curzon Line

II. The Demarcation Lines in Galicia

Document No. 1. Declaration of the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers of December 8, 1919

Document No. 2. Agreement signed by M. Grabski on July 10, 1920, at Spa

Document No. 3. Lord Curzon's Dispatch to the Soviet Government of July 11, 1920

2. SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE EASTERN BOUNDARIES OF POLAND DURING THE YEARS 1917-1943 27

3. SOME OPINIONS ON POLAND'S EASTERN PROVINCES 33

MAPS :

1. EASTERN POLAND 4

2. WILNO AND NORTH-EASTERN POLAND 14

3. CURZON LINE AND OTHER LINES ... ... *at end*

Declassified in Part - Sanitized Copy Approved for Release 2012/09/21 : CIA-RDP08C01297R000400260005-7

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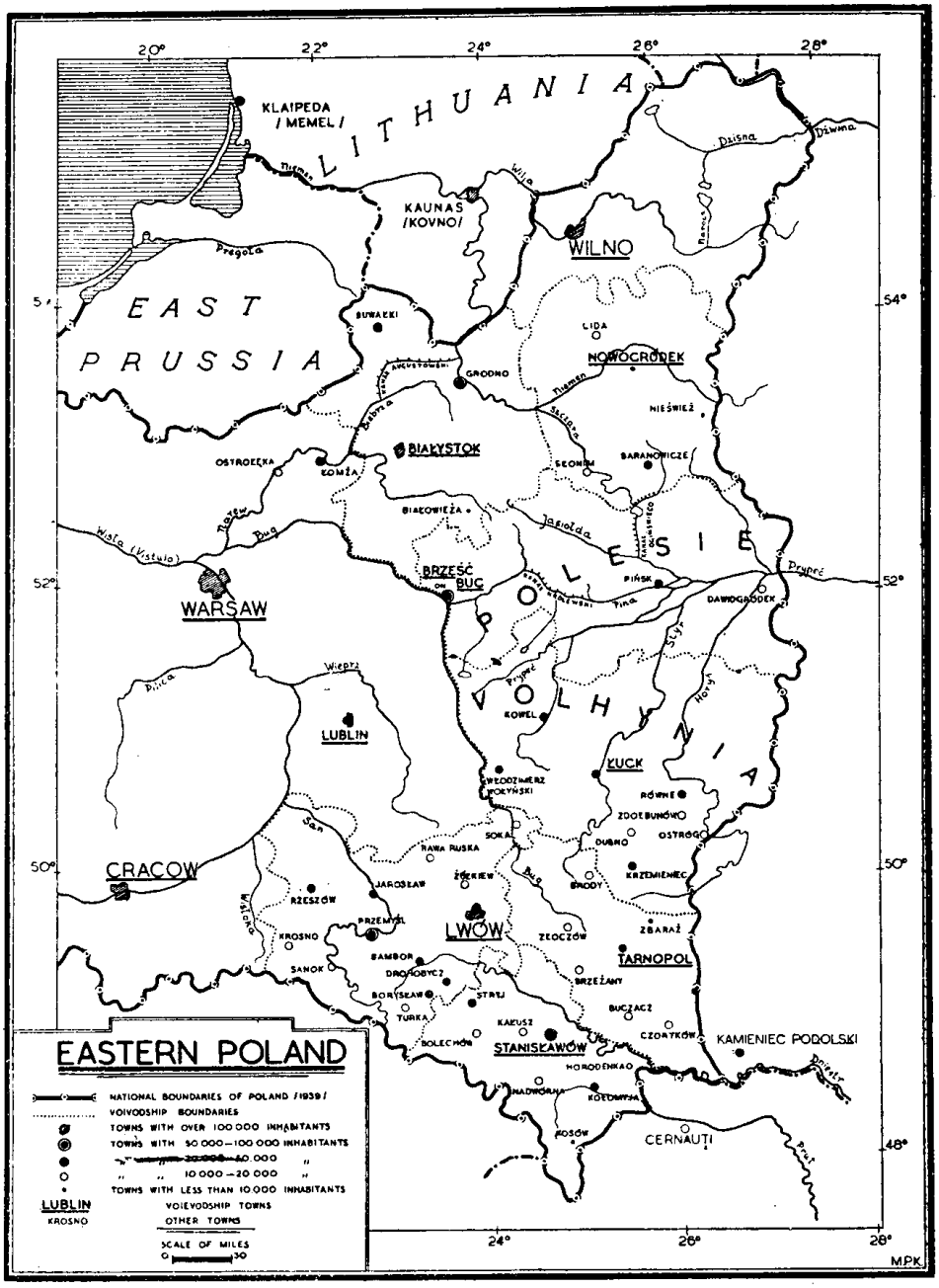

MAP No. 1.

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I

Poland's Rights and Interests

The Eastern Provinces of Poland—those east of the so-called "Curzon Line," and the latter's extension southwards through Galicia to the Carpathian Mountains—represent nearly half of the total area of Poland and one-third of her entire population.

These territories cover an area of 181,300 sq. km., or 70,000 sq. miles, i.e. 46.5 per cent. of the area of Poland, with 10,768,000* inhabitants or 33.1 per cent. of the total Polish population.**

The Curzon Line is almost identical with the western border of the Polish territories annexed by Russia in the Third Partition of Poland in 1795.

The rights of Poland to her Eastern territories as well as their union with the integral whole of Poland are based on international obligations, common history, culture, economy and—to a considerable extent—on ethnography.

1. Historical and Legal Evidence

Poland's Eastern territories have formed an integral part of the country since the earliest ages of her history, or else have belonged to her for at least 400 years prior to the Partitions in the second half of the 18th century.

Eastern Galicia with the city of Lwów belongs to the first category, in spite of some vicissitudes. Between the 12th and 14th centuries this province formed the Duchy of Włodzimierz (Vladimir) and Halicz which, however, remained in close relation with Poland. After the extinction of its ruling dynasty in 1340 it became an integral part of the Polish Commonwealth and constituted up to the First Partition in 1772 a Polish province under the historical name of Red Ruthenia. During the following period, from 1772 to 1918, Red Ruthenia belonged to Austria as part of so-called Galicia, but since about the middle of the 19th century the administration of the province remained in Polish hands. This territory has never belonged to Russia.

By voluntary agreement, not by force, or as the result of victorious wars, did the other Eastern lands become part of Poland in the second half of the 14th century. The subsequent Unions of Horodło (1413) and Lublin (1569) affirmed and strengthened the union of these territories with Poland. They came under Russian rule after the Third Partition in 1795, and remained thus for the comparatively short period of 120 years—at the time when the whole of Poland was subjugated.

* According to the census of 1931; the population was larger at the outbreak of the war.

** These territories, in comparison with the part of Poland which came under the Soviet occupation as the result of the German-Russian (Ribbentrop-Molotov) Treaty of September 28, 1939, represent barely 5.1 per cent. less of the entire area of Poland, the difference in population being only 4 per cent. less.

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On August 28, 1918, the Soviet Government, then under the premiership of Lenin, resolved on, and subsequently published a declaration which annulled all the treaties with regard to Poland's Partitions in the 18th and 19th centuries. By that act the Soviet Government recognized Poland's right to all territories which had belonged to her before the Partitions.

The Russian-Polish frontier, however, was not fixed until two-and-a-half years after that declaration. The Treaty of Riga of March 18, 1921, was not imposed on Russia; it was a settlement based on compromise. By this treaty Poland abandoned her claims to some 300,000 sq. km., or 120,000 sq. miles, which had belonged to her before the Partitions, i.e. almost one-half of her territory at that time. She relinquished to Russia the provinces of Minsk, Mogilev, Polotsk, Vitebsk, Kiev, half of Volhynia and almost the whole of Podolia. Poland retained only that part of her Eastern lands where Poles constituted the majority or where Polish culture was predominant.

Russian official quarters recognized without reservation the conciliatory character of the Riga Treaty. Before its conclusion they several times suggested to Poland a border-line which would reach even farther east than that fixed by the Treaty of Riga. This suggestion was mentioned, for instance, in the declaration of the Council of the People's Commissars on January 29, 1920.

The Treaty of Riga was not only signed by delegates of the Russian Soviet Republic who were at the same time acting in the name of the White Ruthenian Soviet Republic, but also by authorized delegates of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. After having signed the Treaty the head of the Soviet delegation, Joffe, made a speech in which he stated:

> "We have been calmly negotiating a peace here in Riga . . . . None of the peace treaties concluded by Russia and the Ukraine admits preparations for a new war, because none of them leaves any problem unsolved or solved merely on the basis of the relative strength of the contracting parties, as was formerly done at the expense of some of the nations concluding such treaties."

Significant evidence is also contained in the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, an official publication of the Soviet State Institute in Moscow. In the edition of 1940, volume 46, page 247, the frontiers of the Riga Treaty are characterized in the following way:

> "In accordance with its provisions, Poland kept Galicia and a part of White Ruthenia. However, the new Soviet-Polish frontier was far less advantageous for the White Poles than the one which was proposed to Poland by the Soviet Government in April, 1920; the frontier determined after the Polish-Soviet war runs 50 to 100 kilometres to the west of the line which was suggested at the beginning of the war. This means that Soviet Russia emerged victorious even from this struggle against the forces of counter-revolution."

The frontiers drawn by the Treaty of Riga were recognized on March 15, 1923, by the Conference of Ambassadors of the Principal Allied Powers in accordance with Article 87 of the Versailles Treaty, which authorized these Powers to fix Poland's Eastern boundaries. At

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that time Lord Curzon was still Foreign Secretary of Great Britain. The Government of the United States recognized the frontiers of the Riga Treaty three weeks later, on April 5, 1923.

These frontiers were never questioned or repudiated by the Soviet Government until the Red Army invaded Poland on September 17, 1939. On the contrary, the Soviet Government on many occasions solemnly affirmed their validity in various agreements and official pronouncements, as in the Pact of Non-Aggression between Poland and the U.S.S.R., signed in Moscow, on July 25, 1932, and subsequently prolonged on May 5, 1934, until December 31, 1945.

The Convention for the Definition of Aggression, signed by the U.S.S.R., Poland and other neighbouring countries in London on July 3, 1933, in Article 2, among other things stated that an aggressor is that State which is the first to perpetrate " invasion by its armed forces, with or without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State " ; and Article 3 stated that " no political, military, economic or other consideration may serve as an excuse or justification for the aggression referred to in Article 2." In the light of these resolutions, the arguments used as an excuse for the armed invasion of Poland, made in the statement of the Soviet Government of September 17, 1939, and later in various official declarations, cannot be considered to possess any significance as they are completely contradictory to former voluntary obligations undertaken by the U.S.S.R.

According to International Law also " elections " under military occupation as those staged in Eastern Poland by the Soviet authorities on October 22, 1939, are devoid of any significance. Apart from this, these " elections," in which the population was only allowed to vote for official Soviet candidates, were held in such an atmosphere of unquestionable compulsion that it is impossible to consider them as reflecting in any way an expression of the free will of the inhabitants. Moreover, the population was not at all informed of the actual purpose of the " elections," namely, that the " representatives " elected should decide on the incorporation of Eastern Poland into the Soviet Union.

On the basis of the Agreement concluded in London, on July 30, 1941, between Poland and the U.S.S.R., the latter repealed its previous allegation that Poland had ceased to exist as a State, and declared null and void all the treaties concluded in 1939 with Germany as to territorial changes in Poland. Thus, in view of the fact that no state of war existed between Poland and the U.S.S.R., all binding treaties and above all the Treaty of Riga, signed by the two countries, have automatically resumed their legal force.

2. Economic and Social Evidence

The Eastern provinces are indispensable to Poland as a source of raw materials and of agricultural wealth. Their area provides 50 per cent. of Poland's forests, 63 per cent. of the total Polish oil output, 90 per cent. of the natural gas production, one of Europe's richest potassium mines, Poland's unique deposit of phosphates and ozocerites, half of the output of Poland's quarries including the most important for road building. Moreover, the Eastern provinces possess 42 per cent. of

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Poland's water power ("white coal"). They are also her chief source of flax, hemp, maize and tobacco.

For centuries Poland has contributed vastly to the material and economic development of her Eastern provinces. Many public works were initiated, particularly during the reign of the last King of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus, such as the building of the Royal Canal and the Ogiński Canal, which joined the river systems of the Pripet, the Niemen and the Vistula.

The Tsarist Russian Government not only failed to give this region anything comparable, but even hampered every kind of economic and social progress. Under Russian domination this part of Eastern Poland became one of the most backward regions of Europe. The Austrian administration of Galicia was rather better; from about the middle of 19th century, however, the administration of the province was—as pointed out above—in Polish hands. Nevertheless, Galicia, too, was deliberately neglected economically by the central authorities in Vienna, because the Austrians feared the loss of markets and hence they prevented the country from attaining a higher level of industrial development.

During barely 20 years of its own administration the resurrected Polish State very considerably improved the economic and social conditions in its Eastern lands. This fact has been admitted by many foreign observers.

The two decades of Polish economy in the area which had until 1918 belonged to Russia, resulted in the first instance in a large scale intensification of agricultural production. The crops of the principal agricultural products, in hundredweights per 1 hectare, increased in comparison with those at the time of Russian domination:—

	1909-1913	1934-1938
Wheat	9.5	11.3
Barley	8.1	10.0
Rye	8.2	10.2
Oats	7.8	9.8
Potatoes	68.0	109.0

Volhynia held the first place among all the Polish provinces in the systematic expansion of the area of wheat and sugar-beet cultivation, as well as in the increased productiveness of its soil. Hop and hemp production were largely developed, and, at the outbreak of war, these crops represented 60 and 26 per cent. respectively of Poland's total production.

The North-eastern provinces—Wilno, Nowogródek and the part of the Białystok Province lying east of the Curzon Line—showed a marked development in their flax cultivation (67,200 hectares, i.e. 45.5 per cent. of the total flax-yielding area in Poland).

Galicia also underwent an intensification of agricultural production after 1918. About 22 per cent. of the arable land of the Tarnopol Province was utilized for wheat-growing, and its production amounted to nearly one-fourth (23.6 per cent.) of the total Polish production. In the provinces of Lwów and Tarnopol large areas were used for sugar-beet cultivation.

On the lands formerly under Russian rule substantial progress was made in industrialization. For example, saw mills were modernized and

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new ones built; this was also the case with the manufacturing of plywood (new large plants in Mikaszewicze and Pinsk), matches, furniture, cellulose, etc. The food-stuff industry was enlarged by many new factories processing meat, fruit and other agricultural products; a large new cold storage plant was just about to be completed in Wilno. A big factory in Wilno supplied the whole country with first rate wireless sets. Finally, Volhynia's rich quarries were considerably extended.

Under the Polish Government new roads were built. In the provinces of Wilno, Nowogródek, Polesie and Volhynia, twice as many hard-surface roads were constructed in the 20 years after Poland's restoration as the Russians built in the 120 years of their domination. Towns as well as villages were rebuilt and modernized. Extensive modernization was carried out on a particularly large scale in such cities as Wilno, Lida, Baranowicze, Brześć-on-Bug, Pińsk, Kowel, Łuck, Równe and Krzemieniec. In all towns, even small ones, electric light and modern sanitation systems were introduced, pavements laid, parks opened and flower beds set and many attractive buildings for schools, hospitals, cultural institutions, theatres, cinemas, offices, and so on erected.

In Eastern Galicia, too, the Polish administration founded and developed local industries; the expansion of the potassium mine at Kałusz and the building of two large sugar factories at Tarnopol and Horodenka are the most important examples. The general conditions in towns and villages were improved notably.

As far as social conditions were concerned, the successive Polish Governments carried out an extensive agrarian reform in Eastern Poland, by which hundreds of thousands of landless and small-holding peasants were given ownership of land, regardless of their nationality. At the same time the consolidation of farms and a general amelioration of land were carried out. As far as the consolidation is concerned, Volhynia held the second place among all the provinces of Poland, and the first place with regard to the area ameliorated.

In Eastern Poland large and middle-sized landed property (above 50 hectares, or 125 acres) amounted to about 15 per cent. of the total arable land in 1939. This fact eloquently contradicts the allegations, spread by propaganda hostile to Poland, that Polish "landlords" hold the larger part of the land. It is interesting and revealing to draw a comparison with Germany in this respect: in that country landed estates of over 50 hectares represent—according to the 1931 figures—about 30 per cent. of the total area under cultivation, in East Prussia that proportion is as high as 52 per cent, in Prussian Pomerania 52.5 per cent., and in Mecklenburg even 63 per cent.

As in other parts of Poland, a modern system of social insurance, unknown at the time of Russian rule, was also introduced in the Eastern Provinces. A considerable number of hospitals and medical establishments were built. Owing to the work done by the Polish medical services, the hygienic conditions greatly improved, and the death rate among infants decreased considerably. According to the reports of the Health Section of the League of Nations, the Eastern frontier of

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Poland was at the same time a barrier to epidemics coming from the east. They were effectively stopped by the Polish health services.*

The majority of Poland's health resorts lie in the Eastern territories; under Polish administration they were modernized and equipped with all the necessary medical installations. Neither capital nor effort was spared in order to develop such spas as Morszyn and Truskawiec, in Eastern Galicia, known for their healing waters. Druskienniki, in the northern part of Eastern Poland, played a role similar to that of Morszyn.

The period of Soviet occupation resulted in a complete disorganization of the economic life of these territories, and in a decided decline in the standard of life of the entire population.

3. National Tradition and the Predominance of Polish Culture

The Eastern provinces are bound to Poland by numberless ties of tradition and culture. They gave Poland many of her greatest citizens, such as the High Constables Stanisław Żółkiewski and Karol Chodkiewicz; King Jan Sobieski—the saviour of Vienna; Tadeusz Kościuszko—the leader of the Insurrection of 1794 and the hero of the American War of Independence; Emilia Plater—the heroine of the 1830-1831 Insurrection; Romauld Traugutt—the leader of the 1863-1864 Insurrection. The two greatest Polish poets, Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Słowacki, came from these lands, like many other distinguished writers: the playwright Alexander Fredro, the poets Bohdan Zaleski, Seweryn Goszczyński, Kornel Ujejski, the novelists Józef Korzeniowski, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Maria Rodziewiczówna. Also the two outstanding personalities of modern Poland, Ignacy Jan Paderewski and Józef Piłsudski, were natives of these provinces. All these prominent Poles belonged to old local families and were not descendants of settlers. Joseph Conrad, the well-known English author of Polish descent, was also born there.

Lwów and Wilno ranked among Polish capitals throughout the centuries and they never ceased to occupy a prominent place in the heart of every Pole. Most of the towns of South-eastern Poland, to quote only Tarnopol, Stanisławów, Zbaraż, Brzeżany, Trembowla, Żółkiew, were founded and built by Poles, and they have all played a distinguished part in Polish national history.

Many old centres of Polish culture may be found in Eastern Poland. Already in the 16th century, Wilno had 16 Polish printing houses, and their number increased to 19 in the 17th century. In the second half of the 16th century the Academy of Wilno was founded by the Polish King, Stefan Batory. This institution, under the name of the University of Wilno, attained a leading, if not a dominating position, in Polish intellectual life during the first decades of the 19th century. Mickiewicz and Słowacki studied there; prominent scientists lectured there, and many spiritual, scientific and political movements, such as the Societies of Philomats and Philarets, flourished in this city. From there Prince Adam Czartoryski conducted his extensive educational and cultural programme. Owing to a well organized network of elementary, secondary

* *Weekly Epidemiological Record.* League of Nations, 1937.

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and professional schools, its influence was felt all over Poland's Eastern territories.

The University of Wilno, closed by the Russians in 1832, was reopened by the Polish authorities after the last war ; beside it, a number of other high schools, academies and scientific societies, were busy carrying on the work of reconstruction and progress.

In the south-east, Lwów held a similar position in Polish cultural life for centuries. The Lwów University was founded in the 17th century and occupied a prominent place in the scientific world owing to the activities of many great scientists such as, for example, Professor Czekanowski, the anthropologist, and Professor Weigl, the discoverer of the anti-typhus vaccine. Apart from its University, Lwów had a Technical Academy with a very high standard of teaching, and a number of other Academies. There, too, had been founded one of the most important monuments of Polish culture, the national library called *Ossolineum*.

Volhynia had its main cultural centre in the Krzemieniec College which was closed in 1833 by the Russian authorities and reopened by the Poles as soon as Poland regained her independence. Many of the smaller towns of Volhynia, Polesie and the Wilno and Nowogródek regions, such as Ostróg, Łuck, Brześć, Pińsk and Nieśwież had their Polish printing houses as early as the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Province of Nowogródek, the native land of Mickiewicz, was used by the eminent poet as a background to Poland's greatest national epic poem, *Pan Tadeusz*.

Apart from the reopening of the Wilno University and of the Krzemieniec College, and apart from enlarging the Lwów University, the Government of the resurrected Polish State very considerably increased the number of elementary, secondary and professional schools, as well as of public libraries. Compulsory education, non-existent under Russian rule, was introduced ; at the time of Russian domination illiteracy in those areas was enormous. Under Polish administration the number of illiterates dropped, during the 20 years of independence, to as low as one-third of the previous figures.

4. National and Religious Relations

In the territory east of the Curzon Line, and the latter's extension southwards, the Poles numerically represented the strongest national group beside the Ukrainians (Ruthenians). According to the 1931 census they numbered about 4 million.

The Polish population has an absolute majority in wide areas. Such a majority may be found above all in the zone extending from Białystok (situated west of the Curzon Line) in a north-easterly direction towards the River Dvina ; this zone includes the north-eastern part of the Białystok Province (the city of Grodno and its vicinity), the larger part of the Wilno Province including the city of Wilno, as well as a large portion of the Province of Nowogródek. Thus, contrary to opinion in some quarters, Wilno is not a Polish " island " surrounded by areas with a majority of White Ruthenian or Lithuanian people. Wilno lies

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in a country which is ethnically closely bound to the main body of the Polish nation.

The proportion of the various nationalities in the provinces of Wilno and Nowogródek is illustrated by the following figures, quoted according to the census of 1931 :—

	Province of Wilno	Province of Nowogródek
Poles	59.7 per cent.	52.4 per cent.
White Ruthenians	22.7 ,,	39.1 ,,
Jews	8.5 ,,	7.3 ,,
Lithuanians	5.2 ,,	0.0 ,,
Russians	3.4 ,,	0.7 ,,
Other and undeclared nationalities ...	0.5 ,,	0.5 ,,

The western and central counties of both provinces show a particularly high percentage of Poles. The highest percentage of the Polish population is found in the following districts : Wilno-Troki (84.2 per cent. Poles, and 7.9 per cent. Lithuanians) ; Szczuczyn (83.5 per cent. Poles and no Lithuanians) ; Oszmiana (81.2 per cent. Poles and 1.5 per cent. Lithuanians) ; Lida (79.4 per cent. Poles and 1.3 per cent Lithuanians). In the city of Wilno itself the Poles represent 65.9 per cent. of the total population in 1931, while the remainder are mostly Jews, the number of Lithuanians (0.8 per cent.) and of White Ruthenians (0.9 per cent.) being quite negligible.

In that part of the Wilno Province (including the city of Wilno) which the Soviet illegally ceded to Lithuania following the agreement signed on October 10, 1939, and which subsequently was incorporated into the Soviet Union together with the whole of Lithuania, the proportion of nationalities was, according to the 1931 census :—

Total population	489,000		
Poles	337,000	i.e.	69.0 per cent.
Jews	66,000	,,	13.5 ,,
Lithuanians	55,000	,,	11.3 ,,
Russians	16,000	,,	3.2 ,,
White Ruthenians	12,000	,,	2.4 ,,
Other and undeclared nationalities	3,000	,,	0.6 ,,

In his speech at the 5th session of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., on October 31, 1939, M. Molotov, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, admitted that :

> " the Soviet Union decided to hand over the city of Wilno to the Lithuanian Republic not because it is inhabited by a Lithuanian majority. No, in fact, Wilno has a majority of non-Lithuanian population."

Statistics compiled in 1916 and 1918, by German occupation authorities unfavourable to Poland, proved beyond doubt the existence of a majority of Polish inhabitants in the whole stretch of land extending from the county of Grodno and embracing a large portion of the Wilno and Nowogródek provinces. The aim of those authorities was to create a Lithuanian vassal Kingdom with Wilno as its capital. The following are the results of the German census of 1916 (the administrative division

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of that period does not exactly correspond with the present one) :—

County	Poles per cent.	Lithuanians per cent.	Jews per cent.	Various per cent.
Grodno rural	78.1	2.4	11.7	7.8
Grodno urban	31.1	0.5	63.7	4.7
Raduń	87.4	7.9	3.9	0.8
Wasiliszki	57.8	0.9	10.2	31.1*
Wilno rural	89.8	4.3	4.3	1.6
Wilno urban	50.2	2.6	43.5	3.7
Podbrodzie	72.1	10.2	9.3	8.4†

The result of this census came as a complete surprise to the German authorities. Captain von Backerath wrote in his report to the German High Command on January 3, 1917 :—

> " The numerical, as well as political and economic importance of the Polish element was underestimated in Berlin. Russian official statistics . . . . do not comply with the requirements of modern science and certainly have been distorted to the disadvantage of the Poles, whose real strength has thus become more apparent."

According to another census carried out by the German occupying authorities in 1918, the Polish population in the city of Wilno represented 53.3 per cent. of the inhabitants ; Jews 41.9 per cent. ; Lithuanians 1.9 per cent. In the rural county of Wilno the Poles represented 91.2 per cent. and the Lithuanians only 3.7 per cent. of the total population.

The Polish character of Wilno and of the Wilno Province has been openly admitted by General Ludendorff in his memoirs of the First World War. Not without regret does he stress the fact that the Wilno territory is " very Polish in spirit," also that " Wilno, Grodno and other towns are Polish."‡ In another part of his memoirs Ludendorff quotes the opinion expressed by the German Secretary of State, von Hintze, on August 28, 1918 ; according to von Hintze's words Wilno " would always constitute a foreign element in any Lithuanian State," owing to its Polish character. For this very reason Hintze was opposed to the incorporation of Wilno in the Lithuanian State which the Germans were creating at the time, and the German G.H.Q. in an instruction dated August 30, 1918, inclined to this opinion.§

German statistics compiled during the present war give the same evidence as those compiled in 1916 and 1918. Despite deportations of the Polish population carried out by both Soviet and German authorities, the Poles, according to the census of May 26, 1942, continue to make up the absolute majority in the city of Wilno. The population statistics announced in January, 1944, and compiled by the Lithuanian Administration of Wilno, provide yet another proof that the town is Polish. These statistics relate to 1943, and give the number of inhabitants of Wilno as

* Including 26.9 per cent. of White Ruthenians.

† Including 6.8 per cent. of White Ruthenians.

‡ Ludendorff Fr. *My War Memories, 1914-1918.* London, 1919. p. 471.

§ Ibid., pp. 704-705.

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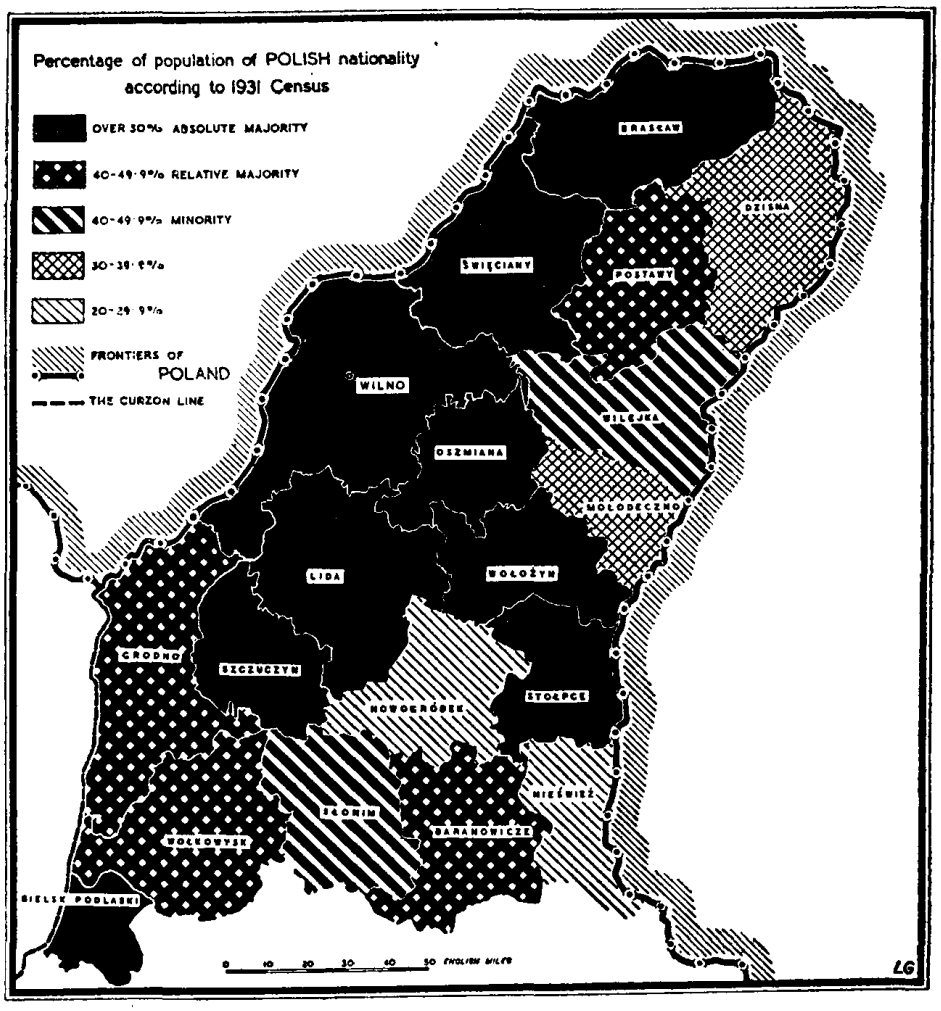
144,531 (in 1939, 209,000). The proportion of national groups is as follows :—

Poles	102,483	(70.9 per cent.)
Lithuanians	31,378	(21.7 ,,)
White Ruthenians ...	3,015	(2.1 ,,)
Russians	6,355	(4.4 ,,)
" Volksdeutsche " ...	456	(0.3 ,,)
Others	847	(0.6 ,,) *



MAP No. 2.

WILNO AND NORTH-EASTERN POLAND.

* It is characteristic that the statistics of the Lithuanian Administration of Wilno does not mention Jewish population, which in 1939 constituted 28 per cent. of all inhabitants. The number of Lithuanians in Wilno has jumped, according to the Lithuanian statistics, from 0.8 per cent. to 21.7 per cent.; this would be explained by the influx of Lithuanian officials, Lithuanian police force, and the Lithuanian army, all of whom were included in the statistics. The Polish statistics did not include the garrison of the town.

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The second large agglomeration of the Polish population is in Eastern Galicia. The Polish element in that province is autochthonous and, in fact, its first settlement may be traced back to a time prior to the settlement of Ruthenians. It was due to Tartar invasions into Kiev-Ruthenia that the local Ruthenians, fleeing from the invaders, came to settle in the territory later called Eastern Galicia ; at the same time other Polish settlers came from the west. This, naturally, led to the intermingling of Polish and Ruthenian elements. A symbiosis of these two nationalities exists in this area to this day ; counties with a Polish majority, as well as those with a Ruthenian majority, are scattered all over the country.

Out of the three provinces of Eastern Galicia the largest percentage of Poles live in the Tarnopól Province, where the Poles form 49.3 per cent, the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) 45.5 per cent., the remainder being Jews and others. In the part of the Lwów Province, east of the extension southwards of the Curzon Line, the Polish and Ukrainian (Ruthenian) elements are numerically almost equal, for they both represent about 45 per cent. of the population ; the rest, i.e. 10 per cent., being Jews and others. Only in the Stanisławów Province, bordering on the Carpathian Mountains, and therefore relatively thinly populated, the percentage of Poles is considerably smaller (22.4 per cent.).

The capital of Eastern Galicia, the city of Lwów, had 312,000 inhabitants in 1931, of whom 63.7 per cent. were Poles, 11.3 per cent. Ukrainians (Ruthenians) and about 25 per cent. Jews. Statistics compiled by German authorities in September, 1942, show that Poles formed 59.6 per cent. of the inhabitants of Lwów at that time.

According to the official German guide, *Das General-Gouvernement*, by Karl Bädeker (Leipzig, 1943), the city of Lwów, to which the Germans added some suburban districts, has now a population of 420,000, of whom 12,000 are Germans, 42,000 (10 per cent.) Ukrainians and " the rest are Poles," the rest being 366,000 (87.1 per cent.). The Jews are not mentioned, but it is known that the Jewish ghetto of Lwów was " liquidated " in 1942.

In the remaining Eastern provinces, i.e. Volhynia and Polesie, the Poles are in the minority, but everywhere Polish culture is preponderant.

The Poles in the Eastern provinces belong to all social classes ; but most of them are peasants and workers. Allegations that the bulk of the Polish population in these provinces is recruited from " landlords " and officials, are completely devoid of foundation. The mere fact that such a great number of Poles live there gives the lie to such assertions.

That proportion would have been much higher were it not for a ruthless campaign of Russification relentlessly carried out by the Russian Imperial authorities during the 120 years of Poland's subjugation. Tens of thousands of Poles, mainly from the Eastern provinces, were at that time deported to the interior of Russia, to Siberia, whence they never returned. After the Insurrection of 1830-1831 Tsar Nicholas I ordered the deportation of several tens of thousands of families of the poorer Polish gentry, whose material condition and standard of

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living did not differ from those of the peasantry. Russian authorities closed not only the University of Wilno, but also all Polish schools, thus forcing Polish children and the Polish youth to attend Russian schools. Moreover, the Tsarist Government suppressed, in the entire Eastern territory, the Uniate Church, which constitutes the Eastern branch of the Catholic Church. All Uniates were forcibly included in the Orthodox Church and subjected there to an intense process of Russification.

These measures, unscrupulously applied to the Polish population by the Tsarist régime, were subsequently condemned on many occasions by Soviet political writers, including Lenin himself. Yet, when in 1939 the Eastern half of the re-instituted Polish State found itself under Soviet occupation, the occupying authorities applied to the local Polish population the well known system which found its expression primarily in the deportation to the interior of Russia of over a million Polish citizens, most of whom were Poles by birth.

Thus the Polish element in the Eastern territories is being subjected for well over a century—with the exception of the short period of Poland's independence—to systematic extermination. But it holds fast to its Polish allegiance and to the land of its ancestors.

It should be kept in mind that members of the Polish armed forces now in Britain, the Middle East and Italy, are in a large majority recruited from Poles born and bred in Poland's Eastern provinces. Among Polish airmen who played a distinguished part in the Battle of Britain in the autumn of 1940, the majority were young men from the Eastern territories. The "Lwów" and "Wilno" squadrons rank among the best fighting units.

Beside the Poles, the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) represent the second largest national group in Eastern Poland. They inhabit chiefly Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, and number about 4 million according to the 1931 census. In the provinces of Wilno and Nowogródek, as well as in the eastern part of the Białystok Province and northern part of Polesie, the White Ruthenian population amount to over 900,000.

Neither the Ukrainians nor the White Ruthenians regard themselves as Russians; on the contrary, they consider themselves very different from the latter. And here it may be safely said that the official Soviet attitude does not deny the fact.

The Western groups of those people living in Poland are, without doubt, both ethnically and culturally more akin to the Poles than to the Russians; this is due to the common age-long relationship, the numerous mixed marriages, the influence of Polish culture and social institutions modelled on Western patterns, and lastly—with regard to a large section of the White Ruthenians and Ukrainians—it is also due to the Catholic religion common to themselves and to the Poles.

Polish policy towards the Ukrainians may be judged from different angles. Doubtlessly, the Polish administration made mistakes; nevertheless, the fact remains that the Ukrainians possessed national rights in Poland and, what is more, they enjoyed greater freedom than did their brethren in the Soviet Union.

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With the exception of a small number of Communists, there was in Poland no political group among the Ukrainians which would have tried to secure the support of Soviet Russia. During the Soviet occupation none of the Ukrainian political parties declared their pro-Russian leanings. As soon as the Germans re-occupied Eastern Galicia some Ukrainian elements went so far in demonstrating their attitude as to form several volunteer divisions to fight against the Soviet armies. The Ukrainian Front of National Unity and the OUN (Ukrainian secret terrorist organization) tried to get in touch with the Germans.

It may be said that before the outbreak of war, in spite of certain frictions and mutual grievances, the relations between the main body of Ukrainians and the Poles gradually improved and advanced towards a still closer understanding. In August, 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war, the largest and most important Ukrainian party, the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO), issued a declaration in which the Ukrainian population affirmed their allegiance to the Polish State and asserted that they would fulfil their duty as loyal citizens in the event of a German invasion of Poland. The declaration issued on September 2, 1939, by M. Mudry, chairman of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Group in the Polish Seym, reflected the same spirit.

The Ukrainians enjoyed the same rights as the Poles. In the Polish Seym and Senate they possessed a numerically strong representation composed of delegates from all Ukrainian political parties, ranging from Nationalists to Radical Socialists.

The Greek Catholic denomination, universal among the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, united them closely with Western European civilisation, and it played no negligible part in reducing the cultural difference between them and the Poles. The Greek Catholic Church enjoyed complete autonomy ; in spite of the fact that Greek Catholics were not exclusively of Ukrainian nationality, the clergy were almost entirely Ukrainian.

Moreover, the Ukrainians had great freedom with regard to their cultural life, which developed on national lines. According to statistical data of 1937, the Ukrainians had two daily papers and 123 periodicals of economic, cultural, educational or religious character. As far as Ukrainian education in Eastern Galicia was concerned, there were in 1939 : 452 Ukrainian elementary schools ; 2,485 bi-lingual elementary schools ; 38 Ukrainian high schools ; 2 bi-lingual high schools.

It must be pointed out that in all provinces with a mixed Polish and Ukrainian population the Ukrainian language was taught in all schools and was treated as a special subject, while the principle of religious teaching in the mother tongue was generally applied. In the universities of Lwów, Cracow and Warsaw the Ukrainians held a number of chairs. Moreover, there was a Greek Catholic Theological Academy in Lwów and a Ukrainian Institute of Sciences in Warsaw. There existed a number of Scientific Societies and many other cultural institutions, such as the Ukrainian National Museum in Lwów, many libraries, bookshops, theatrical companies, etc. The most important cultural and educational institutions were : " Prosvita," which, according to its

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annual report of 1936, ran 1,301 country club houses, 2,915 permanent and 118 mobile libraries; and "Ridna Shkola," which, according to its 1938 report, ran 2,049 centres providing for 110,000 members.

The Ukrainians are mostly farmers (about 90 per cent). In trade and industry they could not be described as very enterprising, but on the other hand they proved to be extremely capable in organizing the co-operative movement. In 1937 the "RSUK" ("The Revisional Union of Ukrainian Co-operative Societies") comprised as many as 3,516 co-operative societies with their 661,000 members. It must, however, be acknowledged that the really flourishing development of the Ukrainian co-operatives began after the Poles had taken over the administration of Eastern Galicia. The Poles gave their support to such enterprises, not infrequently in the form of State subsidies.

White Ruthenians, too, had their own representatives in the Polish Seym, as well as their own cultural, social and economic institutions.

The population of Polesie occupied a special position from a national point of view. The majority of people in that sparsely populated province described themselves in every census as "local people"; they consider themselves neither White Ruthenian nor Ukrainian, and their sympathies seem to be largely pro-Polish since Poland safeguarded their religion and ownership of land.

The Russians always formed a negligible fraction in Eastern Poland, their total number amounting only to 102,000 in 1931. In Eastern Galicia there are no Russians at all, an obvious fact, as this province, as already said, has never in its history been under Russian sovereignty.

The total number of Russians in Poland amounted in 1931 to 139,000. For the sake of comparison it may be said that the Treaty of Riga left within the boundaries of the Soviet Union about one and a half million Poles.

The Jews represented a fairly large national group in Eastern Poland (about 900,000 in 1931). The remainder included smaller groups among which there were 76,000 Lithuanians.

The religious aspect of the position in all Polish territories, east of the Curzon Line, and of the latter's extension into Galicia, was this :—

Catholics (of both rites)	6,110,000	i.e.	56.7	per cent.
Orthodox	3,408,000	,,	31.7	,,
Hebrews	1,065,000	,,	9.9	,,
Other denominations ...	185,000	,,	1.7	,,

According to the 1931 census, the figures illustrating the religious denominations in Eastern Galicia were :—

Catholics (of both rites)	88.7	per cent.
Hebrews	10.4	,,
Protestants	0.5	,,
Orthodox	0.2	,,
Other denominations	0.2	,,

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The Polish Eastern borderlands gave to Poland many remarkable leaders of religious life. The most famous of all Polish preachers, Piotr Skarga, was Rector of the Academy of Wilno in the 17th century. The so-called *Ostra Brama* in Wilno, with its ancient image of the Virgin, has for centuries been a shrine most ardently venerated by the Polish population, as well as by the Lithuanians and the White Ruthenians.

The Catholics are strongly opposed to the Soviet system and to the ideology it represents. The same is true of the feelings of the majority of the Orthodox and Jewish population.

5. The Strategic Importance of the Eastern Territories of Poland

In the case of a new German aggression and an invasion of Polish territory by enemy forces the Eastern provinces would provide the Polish army with the necessary territorial depth. This—together with an adequate armament—would enable the Poles to sustain the first impetus of a German attack and to organize further military operations. As for Russia, these territories are of no value in this respect, when her immensely vast area and the distances of her capitals and industrial centres from her western borders are taken into account. Furthermore, Poland serves as a shield for Russia against a German political or military *Drang nach Osten* owing to her geographical position as well as to the decidedly anti-German attitude of the Polish nation and the latter's sincere desire of maintaining friendly relations with its eastern neighbour.

II

Poland's Eastern Territories are Not Essential to Russia

The area of Poland's Eastern territories is merely 0.9 per cent. of the total area of the Soviet Union, its population is less than 7 per cent. of the total population of the U.S.S.R.

The number of Russians who live in Eastern Poland does not exceed 1 per cent. of the population. They consist mainly of the remnants of the old Tsarist bureaucracy. Poland's Eastern territories, whether on account of their historic traditions or their emotional value, are no asset to Russia.

Also economically, Eastern Poland is of no importance to Russia, because of the latter's formidable territorial possessions. Resources, enumerated above, so essential to Poland's national economy, would mean but a small and insignificant fraction of Soviet Russia's wealth under the same categories. For example, the area of Polish forests in the Eastern provinces amounts to 4.2 million hectares, whereas the U.S.S.R. has 950 million hectares; Polish oil production—500 thousand tons, the U.S.S.R.'s—28 million tons; the area under flax cultivation in Eastern Poland embraces 102,000 hectares, whereas in the U.S.S.R. it amounts to no less than 2,250,000 hectares. In the Soviet Ukraine alone the U.S.S.R. has far greater natural resources.

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The Eastern territories, which have excellent lines of communication with the remainder of Poland (among others a number of canals built by the Polish Republic before the Partitions) would lie on the outskirts of the huge Russian Empire (the distance from Wilno to Warsaw is 270 miles and to Moscow 525 miles) which, consequently, would condemn them to economic decline. The history of Soviet Russia shows that the centres of her economic potential have been steadily shifted eastwards. Soviet Ukraine, right of the Dnieper bank, and Soviet White Ruthenia have been neglected economically by the Soviet authorities, who for military reasons lay special stress on the development of industry farther east, whereas the borderlands are treated rather as a strategic belt. This fate would befall Poland's Eastern territories in the case of their incorporation into the U.S.S.R. still more than it has done Soviet Ukraine or White Ruthenia.

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Appendix No. 1

THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED POWERS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE EASTERN BOUNDARIES OF POLAND

I.—The so-called Curzon Line

On December 8, 1919, a decision of the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers adopted a declaration in which it drew a *provisional* eastern line of Poland, within which it recognized Poland's right to organize as soon as possible a *regular administration* on the territories of *the former Russian Empire.* It stated clearly that *east of this line any rights* which Poland might claim *were expressly reserved.*

The declaration begins as follows:

> " Les principales Puissances alliées et associées, ayant reconnu qu'il importe de faire cesser le plus tôt possible l'état actuel d'incertitude politique dans laquelle se trouve la nation polonaise, et sans préjuger des stipulations ultérieurs devant fixer les frontières orientales définitives de la Pologne, déclarent reconnaitre dès à présent le droit du Gouvernement polonaise de procéder, dans les termes précédemment prévus par le Traité du 28 juin 1919 avec la Pologne, à l'organisation d'une administration régulière des territoires de l'ancien Empire de Russie situés à l'ouest de la ligne ci-dessous décrite."

The detailed description of the Line (see Document No. 1) begins with the words: " From the point where the former frontier *between Russia and Austria-Hungary* meets the river Bug, etc. . . . ," thence the line runs northwards. It implies that the line of December 8, 1919 *did not encroach upon the territory of Galicia*, which, previously to the First World War, was part of Austria.

After the detailed description of the whole line the declaration ends with the observation:

> " Rights which Poland may claim to the territories situated to the east of the above-mentioned line are expressly reserved."

The document made in Paris bears the signature of G. Clemenceau, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers.

On July 10, 1920, at Spa, at the time of the victorious Bolshevik offensive, the Supreme Council exacted Poland's consent for an *armistice* with the Soviet based *on the line drawn on December* 8, 1919. The main provision of the Agreement concluded between the Supreme Council and Poland was the following:

> " The Polish Government agrees to initiate and sign an immediate armistice on the basis that the Polish army retires to and stands on the line fixed by the Peace Conference on the 8th December, 1919, as the provisional boundary of Polish administration, and that the Soviet armies halt 50 kilom. to the east of this line. Vilna however, to be handed over immediately to the Lithuanians, and to be excluded from the zone to be occupied by the Bolsheviks during the armistice. In the case of Eastern Galicia, the armies to stand

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on the line which they have reached on the date of the armistice, each army then to retire 10 kilom. so as to have a neutral zone" (see Document No. 2).

Moreover the obligation was laid on Poland to accept the decisions of the Supreme Council regarding the frontier between Poland and Lithuania, the future of Galicia, the question of Cieszyn (Teschen) and the future treaty between Danzig and Poland.

The line of December, 1919, described by Prof. Paton (Temperley, Vol. VI, p. 275) as the "*provisional minimum frontier,*" became thereby in July, 1920, merely a Polish-Soviet *armistice line,* and—as the Soviet were opposed to it—it has *never been put into practice* as such.

For, following the reception of Curzon's cable of July 11, 1920, giving communication of the Supreme Council's armistice proposal*, *the Soviet Government* answered by *a refusal* to accept the mediation of the Great Powers and by an assertion that the Soviet Government was ready to conclude a direct peace treaty with Poland granting her *a frontier more favourable than the Curzon Line.* In fact, already on January 29, 1920, Lenin, Chicherin and Trotsky proposed a Soviet-Polish armistice line, running *farther to the east than the later Riga frontier.* The offer of a frontier more favourable than the Curzon Line was repeated on the Soviet part at the Minsk negotiations on August 19, 1920, and finally the same was effectively carried out in the Riga Treaty.

The Riga Treaty being an expression of the free will of both interested parties was ratified by *the Ambassadors' Conference* on behalf of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan on March 15, 1923, by a resolution *recognizing the Eastern boundaries of Poland.* The *United States* followed suit on April 5, 1923. By this very procedure the decree annulled both the provisional frontier line of December 8, 1919, and the suggested armistice line of July 10 and 11, 1920.

II.—The Demarcation Lines in Galicia

As it appears from the above, *neither* the so-called Curzon Line of July, 1920, *nor* its prototype of December, 1919, running from the former frontier between Austria and Russia, *encroached upon the territory of Galicia.* The declaration of the Supreme Council of December, 1919—let us recall it—speaks clearly of *the territories of the former Russian Empire.* The demarcation lines proposed on the territory of *Galicia* had *no connection* whatever with the preceding problem and their character was entirely different.

The Principal Powers took primarily into consideration the following two alternatives:

(*a*) the return of entire Eastern Galicia to Poland, as a kind of League of Nations' mandate, providing for an autonomy of the local population, and this for a term of 25 years, at the end of which a final decision had to be taken; or

(*b*) the division of Eastern Galicia between Poland and a Galician-Ukrainian State.

* See Document No. 3.

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Two alternative demarcation lines stood in connection with these schemes:

Line A, running east of Przemyśl and west of Lwów, should the whole of Eastern Galicia belong to Poland, under the reservations outlined in paragraph (*a*).

Line B, running east of Lwów and Drohobycz, i.e., leaving within Poland's frontiers both Lwów and the oil-fields—in the event of a division of Galicia and of a simultaneous creation there in the eastern part of a small Galician-Ukrainian State.

The Commission on Polish Affairs in its report of April 26, 1919, and the Supreme Council in its sessions of June 18 and 25, 1919, declared themselves in favour of the first scheme. Subsequently, the resolution of the Supreme Council of June 25, 1919, authorized Poland to occupy the whole of Eastern Galicia as far as the river Zbrucz.

In the second half of 1919, the Commission on Polish Affairs elaborated a draft of an autonomous statute for Eastern Galicia which at first met the approval of the Supreme Council at its session of November 21, 1919. As this draft was based upon a merely provisional character of the Polish rights (final decision to be taken by the League of Nations 25 years later), Poland insisted on its withdrawal. This was done by decision of the Supreme Council of December 22, 1919.

The problem of Eastern Galicia was finally settled by the Conference of Ambassadors on March 15, 1923, and by the United States Government on April 5 of the same year, jointly with the ratification of the entire eastern frontier of Poland.

The disparity existing between the text of the declaration of the Supreme Council of December 8, 1919, and the text of the Agreement concluded with Poland in Spa on July 10, 1920—on one hand, and the *telegram sent* the next day by Lord Curzon *to the Soviet Government* as a proposal for an armistice with Poland—on the other hand, remains unexplained. This telegram, diverging from the afore-mentioned documents, *prolonged the Polish-Soviet demarcation* line by making it pass through Galicia—" west of Rawa Ruska, east of Przemyśl, to the Carpathians " (see Document No. 3).

It is not explained how this inexactness could have occurred in Lord Curzon's telegram. It could not, however, have any practical bearing since the final passage of the paragraph with which we are concerned—in this case in accordance with the Agreement of Spa of July 10—states that " in Eastern Galicia each army will stand on the line which they occupy at the date of the signature of the armistice." Yet, at that time, the Polish-Soviet front was beyond the River Zbrucz, that is not east of Przemyśl, but outside the territory of Eastern Galicia.

This discrepancy, however, originated a quite erroneous interpretation of the armistice conditions, thus creating an entirely false version of the Curzon Line, which in fact did never pass through the territory of Galicia.

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Document No. 1

DECLARATION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS

(Adopted in Paris, December 8, 1919)

Les principales Puissances alliées et associées, ayant reconnu qu'il importe de faire cesser le plus tôt possible l'état actuel d'incertitude politique dans laquelle se trouve la nation polonaise, et sans préjuger des stipulations ultérieurs devant fixer les frontières orientales définitives de la Pologne, déclarent reconnaître dès à présent le droit du Gouvernement polonais de procéder, dans les termes précédemment prévus par le Traité du 28 juin 1919 avec la Pologne, à l'organisation d'une administration régulière des territoires de l'ancien Empire de Russie situés à l'ouest de la ligne ci-dessous décrite (voir la carte) :

Du point où l'ancienne frontière entre la Russie at l'Autriche-Hongrie rencontre la rivière Bug, et jusqu'au point où elle est coupée par la limite administrative entre les cercles de Byelsk et de Brest-Litovsk ;

le cours de la Bug vers l'aval ;

de là, vers le nord, cette limite administrative jusqu'au point où elle forme un angle aigu à environ 9 kilom. au nord-est de Melnik ;

de là, vers le nord-est jusqu'à un point du cours de la Lesna Prawa où le cours d'eau est coupé par la route forestière en direction sud-nord, passant à environ 2 kilom. à l'ouest de Skupowo :

une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain, laissant à la Pologne les villages de Weirpole, Stolbce, Piesczatka et Wolka, et coupant la voie ferrée Byelsk à Brest-Litovsk au point où elle franchit la route de Vysoko-Litovsk à Kleshcheli ;

de là, vers le nord, jusqu'au point où la route Narev-Narevka coupe le voie ferrée Gainowka-Svisloch ;

une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain et le long de la route forestière désignée ci-dessus ;

de là, vers le nord-est, jusqu'au point situé à 4 kilom. au nord de Yalowka où la rivière Svisloch est rejointe par celle qui traverse cette ville :

une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain ;

de là, en aval le cours du Svisloch, puis en amont celui de Laszanka ; puis en amont celui du Likowka jusqu'à 1½ kilom. à l'ouest de Baranowo ;

de là, vers le nord-nord-ouest, jusqu'à un point de la voie ferrée Grodna-Kuznitsa, situé à environ 500 mètres au nord-est de la bifurcation de Kielbasin ;

une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain ;

de là, vers le nord-ouest, jusqu'à un point situé sur le cours du Lososna, à environ 2½ kilom. au sud-ouest de son confluent avec le Nyeman :

une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain ;

de là, le cours du Lososna en aval, puis celui du Nyeman en aval, puis en amont, jusqu'à sa source, celui de la rivière Igorka, qui traverse Warwischki ;

de là, vers l'ouest-sud-ouest, jusqu'à un point du cours du Chernohanja (Marycha) près de Sztudjanka :

une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain, suivant un affluent de la rive gauche ;

de là, en amont le cours du Chernohanja jusqu'à un point à environ 2.5 kilom. à l'est de Zelwa ;

de là, vers le nord jusqu'à un point de la route Berzniki-Kopciowa, situé à environ 2 kilom. au sud-est de Berzniki :

une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain ;

de là, vers le nord-ouest jusqu'au point le plus au sud du rentrant de la limite administrative septentrionale du district de Suvalki (à environ 7 kilom. au nord-ouest de Punsk) :

une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain, en direction générale parallèle à la ligne de petits lacs situés entre Berzniki et Zegary et à environ 2 kilom. à l'est de ces lacs, se dirigeant vers l'ouest jusqu'à un point situé sur le lac Galadusya à environ 2 kilom. au Nord de Zegary, franchissant le lac jusqu'à son extrémité nord-ouest et laissant Punsk à la Pologne ;

de là, vers le nord de la limite administrative de Suvalki jusqu'au point où elle recontre l'ancienne frontière entre la Russie et la Prusse orientale.

Les droits que la Pologne pourrait avoir à faire valoir sur les territoires situés à l'est de ladite ligne sont expressément réservés.

Fait à Paris, le 8 décembre, 1919.

Le Président du Conseil Suprême
des Puissances alliées et associées

G. CLEMENCEAU.

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Document No. 2

AGREEMENT SIGNED BY M. GRABSKI ON JULY 10, 1920 AT SPA

The Polish Government agrees—

(*a*) To initiate and sign an immediate armistice on the basis that the Polish army retires to and stands on the line fixed by the Peace Conference on the 8th December, 1919, as the provisional boundary of Polish administration, and that the Soviet armies halt 50 kilom. to the east of this line. Vilna, however, to be handed over immediately to the Lithuanians, and to be excluded from the zone to be occupied by the Bolsheviks during the armistice. In the case of Eastern Galicia, the armies to stand on the line which they have reached on the date of the armistice, each army then to retire 10 kilom., so as to have a neutral zone.

(*b*) To send plenipotentiaries to a conference to be held as soon as possible afterwards in London, to be attended also by delegates from Poland, Soviet Russia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, and held under the auspices of the Peace Conference, which shall endeavour to make a lasting peace between Russia and its European neighbours.

Representatives of Eastern Galicia will also be summoned to London to state their case at the conference.

(*c*) To accept the decision of the Supreme Council as to the Lithuanian boundaries, the future of Eastern Galicia, the Teschen question, and the treaty to be negotiated between Danzig and Poland.

In consideration of Poland agreeing to the above, the British Government will—

Immediately make a similar proposal to Soviet Russia ;

In the event of the Russian armies refusing the armistice, and passing the line as above, the Allies will give Poland all the assistance, especially in war material, which is possible, consistent with their own exhaustion and the heavy liabilities they are carrying elsewhere, to enable the Polish people to defend their independence and national existence.

(*Signed*) W. T. GRABSKI.

Document No. 3

LORD CURZON'S DISPATCH TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF JULY 11, 1920

"The British Government notes the acceptance by the Russian Soviet Government of the principles laid down in its memorandum of 1st July as the basis of an agreement for the resumption of trade relations and the cessation of mutual hostilities, and it therefore agrees to continue the negotiations for a definite trade agreement as soon as the Russian delegates return. The British Government has a further proposal to make ; the Soviet Government of Russia has repeatedly declared its anxiety to make peace with all its neighbours ; the British Government, which is no less anxious to restore peace throughout Europe, therefore proposes the following arrangements with this object in view :—

(*a*) That an immediate armistice be signed between Poland and Soviet Russia whereby hostilities shall be suspended. The terms of the armistice should provide on the one hand that the Polish army shall immediately withdraw to the line provisionally laid down last year by the Peace Conference as the eastern boundary within which Poland was entitled to establish a Polish administration. This line runs approximately as follows : Grodno, Vapovka, Nemirov, Brest-Litovsk, Dorodusk, Ustilug, east of Grubeshov, Krilov and thence west of Ravaruska, east of Przemysl to Carpathians. North of Grodno the line which will be held by the Lithuanians will run along the railway running from Grodno to Vilna and thence to Dvinsk. On the other hand, the armistice should provide that the armies of Soviet Russia should stand at a distance of 50 kilom. to the east of this line ; in Eastern Galicia each army will stand on the line which they occupy at the date the signature of the armistice.

(*b*) That as soon as possible therefore a conference sitting under the auspices of the Peace Conference should assemble in London to be attended by representatives

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of Soviet Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland with the object of negotiating a final peace between Russia and its neighbouring States; representatives of Eastern Galicia would also be invited to London to state their case for the purpose of this conference. Great Britain will place no restriction on the representatives which Russia may nominate, provided that they undertake while in Great Britain not to interfere in the politics or the internal affairs of the British Empire or to indulge in propaganda.

The British Government, as a separate proposal, suggests that an armistice should similarly be signed between the forces of Soviet Russia and General Wrangel on the condition that General Wrangel's forces shall immediately retire to the Crimea, and that General Wrangel should be invited to London to discuss the future of troops under his command and the refugees under his protection, but not as a member of the Conference. The British Government would be glad of an immediate reply to this telegram, for the Polish Government has asked for the intervention of the Allies, and if time is lost a situation may develop which will make the conclusion of lasting peace far more difficult in Eastern Europe. Further, while the British Government has bound itself to give no assistance to Poland for any purpose hostile to Russia, it is also bound under the Covenant of the League of Nations to defend the integrity and independence of Poland within its legitimate ethnographic frontiers. If, therefore, Soviet Russia, despite its repeated declarations accepting the independence of Poland, will not be content with the withdrawal of the Polish armies from Russian soil on the condition of a mutual armistice, but intends to take action hostile to Poland in its own territory, the British Government and its Allies would feel bound to assist the Polish nation to defend its existence with all the means at their disposal. The Polish Government has declared its willingness to make peace with Soviet Russia and to initiate negotiations for an armistice on basis of conditions set out above directly it is informed that Soviet Russia also agrees. The British Government therefore would be glad of definite reply within a week as to whether Soviet Russia is prepared to accept the aforesaid proposal for putting an end to further unnecessary bloodshed and giving peace to Europe."

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Appendix No. 2

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE EASTERN BOUNDARIES OF POLAND DURING THE YEARS 1917-1943

1. Extracts from Lenin's speech made to the All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, on May 12, 1917.

" . . . No one has oppressed the Poles as much as have the Russian people. The Russian people have served in the hands of the Tsar as the executioner of Polish freedom.

Why should we, Great Russians, who have been oppressing a greater number of nations than any other people, why should we repudiate the right of separation for Poland, the Ukraine, Finland ?

If Finland, if Poland, if the Ukraine break away from Russia, it is nothing terrible. Wherein is it bad ? Anyone who says so is a Chauvinist. One must be insane to continue the policy of Tsar Nicolas. Norway has separated from Sweden. . . . Once upon a time Alexander and Napoleon traded peoples, once upon a time the Tsar were trading portions of Poland. Are we to continue this policy of the Tsars ? That would be repudiation of international tactics, that would be Chauvinism of the worst brand.

We say that boundaries are determined by the will of the population. Russia, you must not dare to fight over Courland ! Germany, out with your armies from Courland ! This is our solution of the separation problem. The proletariat must not resort to force, for it must not interfere with the freedom of peoples.

No people can be free which oppresses another people."

Source : Lenin, *Sobranye Sochineny*, Moscow, 1927, vol. xx, pp. 275-278.

2. Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of August 29, 1918.

" Article 3.—All treaties and acts concluded by the Government of the former Russian Empire with the Governments of the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, concerning the partitions of Poland, in view of their being contrary to the principle of the self-determination of nations and the revolutionary sense of law of the Russian nation, which recognizes the Polish nation's inalienable right to independence and unity, are hereby repealed irrevocably."

Source : *Sobranye Uzakonyeny Rasporyazheny Rabochego i Krestyanskogo Pravitelstva*, Nr. 64, September 9, 1918.

3. Statement by the Council of the People's Commissars, on January 28, 1920.

" The Council of People's Commissars—

1. Declares that the policy of the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics in regard to Poland, arising not from fortuitous and temporary military or diplomatic combinations, but from the inviolate principle of the right of every nation to decide its own fate, has recognized and invariably recognizes, without conditions or reservations, the independence and sovereignty of the Polish Republic, and bases all its relations with Poland on this recognition, which dates from the first day of existence of an independent Polish State.

2. Maintaining the last peace proposal made to Poland by the Commissars for Foreign Affairs on December 22, 1919, the Council of People's Commissars, which is foreign to all aggressive policy, declares that the Red forces will not pass beyond the present lines of the front of Byelorussia, running close to the following points : Drysa, Dzisna, Polock, Parycko, the station of Ptycz, Bialokorowicze.

In regard to the Ukrainian front, the Council of People's Commissars declares in its own name and in the name of the Provisional Government of the Ukraine that the Soviet forces will not carry out military operations to the west of the occupied zones, close to the small towns of Cudnowa, Pilawa, Derazna and the town of Bar.

(*Signed*) LENIN (Chairman of the Council).
CHICHERIN (Commissar for Foreign Affairs).
TROTSKY (Commissar for War)."

Source : *Monitor Polski*, No. 30, February 7, 1920.

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4. **Treaty of Peace between Poland, Russia and the Ukraine, signed at Riga, March 18, 1921.**

ARTICLE 2.

" The two Contracting Parties, in accordance with the principle of national self-determination, recognize the independence of the Ukraine and of White Ruthenia, and agree and decide that the eastern frontier of Poland, that is to say, the frontier between Poland on the one hand, and Russia, White Ruthenia and the Ukraine on the other, shall be as follows :

(*Description of the line follows*)

ARTICLE 3.

Russia and the Ukraine abandon all rights and claims to the territories situated to the west of the frontier laid down by Article 2 of the present Treaty. Poland, on the other hand, abandons in favour of the Ukraine and of White Ruthenia all rights and claims to the territory situated to the east of this frontier. The two Contracting Parties agree that, in so far as the territory situated to the west of the frontier fixed in Article 2 of the present Treaty includes districts which form the subject of a dispute between Poland and Lithuania, the question of the attribution of these districts to one of those two States is a matter which exclusively concerns Poland and Lithuania."

5. **Speech made by M. Joffe, the President of the Russian-Ukrainian Delegation.**

" On behalf of the Russian-Ukrainian Delegation I should like, first of all, to second the thanks of the Latvian nation, its government and the hospitable city of Riga, expressed by the Honourable President of the Polish Delegation, in his capacity as chairman of the present meeting of the Peace Conference.

I have already had occasion to stress the important part played in peace negotiations by the general atmosphere and the conditions in which they are conducted. I am glad to be able to state that, although the international situation has changed several times in the course of the Russian-Ukrainian-Polish peace negotiations in Riga, the atmosphere of these conversations has remained invariably favourable and it facilitated the conclusion of a satisfactory agreement.

I have no doubt that the fact that negotiations were conducted n the capital of Latvia will contribute to the strengthening of those friendly relations of good neighbourliness which have existed between the Russian, Ukrainian and White Ruthenian nations and the Latvian nation since the moment when Russia spontaneously recognized the right of self-determination of large and small nations alike, testifying as far as possible with action her readiness to assist smaller nations whenever necessary. These bonds will be further strengthened by the fact that the peace between Russia and Ukraine on the one hand and Poland on the other, based on the Peace Preliminaries signed also in Riga on October 12 of last year, once again proves conclusively that Russia and Ukraine do not change their policy according to circumstances, to the successes or reverses of war, and that they never abuse the principle of freedom and self-determination for the domination of other nations, as others have sometimes done, but that they always and in all circumstances remain faithful to their fundamental principles.

Irrespective of the attempts made by the enemies of the Soviet Union, who—after the complete failure of armed intervention—endeavour to start a new intervention against Russia and Ukraine by discrediting them in the eyes of nations desiring a peaceful collaboration with them, the language of facts is plain. While a skilful campaign of slander and lies endeavours to convince the credulous that Soviet Russia and Ukraine are weak, the Soviet rule is being consolidated not only where it has been flourishing before, but also in parts which it had not hitherto reached. While the enemies of the Soviet Union tried to use their slander in order to intimidate the neighbours of Russia and Ukraine with rumours about ' Soviet aggressiveness ' and reports about alleged Red Army concentrations on the frontiers, we have been calmly negotiating a peace here in Riga, and we have not only not displayed any aggressiveness, but we have concluded a peace treaty giving full satisfaction to the vital, legitimate and necessary interests of the Polish nation.

Thanks to the peaceful policy of Russia and Ukraine the old maxim *si vis pacem para bellum* is becoming obsolete and is replaced by the idea which I have always professed, that peaceful relations between nations are inaugurated and not terminated by the conclusion of a Peace Treaty.

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None of the peace treaties concluded by Russia and Ukraine admits preparations for a new war, because none of these treaties leaves any problems unsolved, or solved merely on the basis of the relative strength of the contracting parties, as was formerly done at the expense of some of the nations concluding such treaties. Nations which receive all that they genuinely need will take care to see that the peace shall be permanent.

By the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with Poland we have closed the circle of peaceful relations between all the nations which belonged to the former Russian Empire, liquidating the policy of violence of the Tsars. The separated nations will now be able, without hate or ill-feeling, animated by sincere friendship, to develop on the basis of good neighbourly relations those bonds of economic community and mutual relations which are the result of belonging for some centuries to one State organisation.

I have heard with profound satisfaction the words spoken by the Honourable President of the Polish Delegation, who presented the positive programme of the Polish Government with the statesmanship which characterizes him. I have great pleasure in declaring on behalf of Russia and Ukraine that, if Poland's policy will really not be inspired by any interests alien to the Polish nation, the relations of friendship and good neighbourliness mentioned by the President of the Polish Delegation will certainly be established between the countries concluding the present Peace Treaty. Close economic relations with a free Poland, with an independent policy of her own, are the aim which the governments of Russia, Ukraine and White Ruthenia have in view. These countries are and will be willing to help economically their neighbours as far as it may be possible.

The peace negotiations lasted several months and encountered considerable difficulties, especially in the settlement of economic and financial problems. I must state, however, that both at a time when guns were firing along the front line and blood was being shed, and during calmer periods, the knowledge of affairs and tact displayed by the Polish Delegation and particularly by its President have greatly assisted both the progress of the negotiations and their final satisfactory conclusion.

In closing my address, I should like to express on behalf of the Russian-Ukrainian Peace Delegation our gratitude to the Honourable Polish Delegation and particularly to its President."

6. Pact of Non-Aggression between Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Signed at Moscow, July 25, 1932.

"The President of the Polish Republic, of the one part, and the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the other part.

Desirous of maintaining the present state of peace between their countries, and convinced that the maintenance of peace between them constitutes an important factor in the work of preserving universal peace ;

Considering that the Treaty of Peace of March 18, 1921, constitutes, now as in the past, the basis of their reciprocal relations and undertakings ;

Convinced that the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the exclusion of all that might be contrary to the normal condition of relations between States are the surest means of arriving at the goal desired ;

Declaring that none of the obligations hitherto assumed by either of the Parties stands in the way of the peaceful development of their mutual relations or is incompatible with the present Pact ;

Have decided to conclude the present Pact with the object of amplifying and completing the Pact for the renunciation of war signed at Paris on August 27, 1928, and put into force by the Protocol signed at Moscow on February 9, 1929, and for that purpose have designated as their Plenipotentiaries . . .

Who, after exchanging their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions ;

ARTICLE 1

The two Contracting Parties, recording the fact that they have renounced war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, reciprocally undertake to refrain from taking any aggressive action against or invading the territory of the other Party, either alone or in conjunction with other Powers.

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Any act of violence attacking the integrity and inviolability of the territory or the political independence of the other Contracting Party shall be regarded as contrary to the undertakings contained in the present Article, even if such acts are committed without declaration of war and avoid all possible warlike manifestations.

ARTICLE 2

Should one of the Contracting Parties be attacked by a third State or by a group of other States, the other Contracting Party undertakes not to give aid or assistance, either directly or indirectly, to the aggressor State during the whole period of the conflict.

If one of the Contracting Parties commits an act of aggression against a third State the other Contracting Party shall have the right to be released from the present Treaty without previous denunciation.

ARTICLE 3

Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes not to be a party to any agreement openly hostile to the other Party from the point of view of aggression.

ARTICLE 4

The undertakings provided for in Articles 1 and 2 of the present Pact shall in no case limit or modify the international rights and obligations of each Contracting Party under agreements concluded by it before the coming into force of the present Pact, so far as the said agreements contain no aggressive elements.

ARTICLE 5

The two Contracting Parties, desirous of settling and solving, exclusively by peaceful means, any disputes and differences, of whatever nature or origin, which may arise between them, undertake to submit questions at issue, which it has not been possible to settle within a reasonable period by diplomatic channels, to a procedure of conciliation, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention for the application of the procedure of conciliation, which constitutes an integral part of the present Pact and shall be signed separately and ratified as soon as possible simultaneously with the Pact of Non-Aggression."

7. **Convention for the Definition of Aggression, Signed at London, July 3, 1933.**

"ARTICLE 2.—Accordingly, the aggressor in an international conflict shall, subject to the agreements in force between the parties to the dispute, be considered to be that State which is the first to commit any of the following actions :—

1. Declaration of war upon another State ;
2. Invasion by its armed forces, with or without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State ;
3. Attack by its land, naval or air forces, with or without a declaration of war, on the territory, vessels or aircraft of another State ;
4. Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State ;

ARTICLE 3.—No political, military, economic or other considerations may serve as an excuse or justification for the aggression referred to in Article 2."

8. **Protocol renewing until December 31, 1945, the Pact of Non-Aggression of July 25, 1932, between Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Moscow, May 5, 1934.**

"ARTICLE 1.—In modification of the provisions of Article 7 of the Treaty of Non-Aggression concluded at Moscow on July 25, 1932, between the Republic of Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the date and manner in which that Treaty shall cease to have effect, the two Contracting Parties decide that it shall remain in force until December 31, 1945.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall be entitled to denounce the Treaty by giving notice to that effect six months before the expiry of the above-mentioned period. If the Treaty is not denounced by either of the Contracting Parties, its period of validity shall be automatically prolonged for two years ; similarly, the Treaty shall be regarded as prolonged on each occasion for a further period of two years, if it is not denounced by either of the Contracting Parties in the manner provided for in the present Article."

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9. **German-Soviet Agreement. Moscow, September 28, 1939.**

"The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government, following the collapse of the former Polish State, consider it as exclusively their own task to restore peace and order in these territories and to assure to the peoples inhabiting it a peaceful existence which will correspond to their national characteristics. With this object in view, they have concluded the following Agreement :—

ARTICLE 1

The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government establish as the frontier between their respective State interests in the territory of the former Polish State, a line which is marked on the attached map and which will be given in more detail in a supplementary Protocol.

ARTICLE 2

Both countries recognize as final the frontier between their respective State interests, as set out in Article 1, and will resist any interference with this decision on the part of other Powers.

ARTICLE 3

The German Government will carry out the necessary State reconstruction on the territory west of the line indicated in Article 1, and the Soviet Government on the territory east of this line.

ARTICLE 4

The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government regard the above-mentioned reconstruction as a reliable foundation for the future development of friendly relations between their peoples.

ARTICLE 5

This agreement is subject to ratification. The exchange of instruments of ratification is to take place as soon as possible in Berlin.

The agreement enters into force from the moment of its signature."

10. **Polish-Soviet Agreement. July 30, 1941.**

"The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Government of the Republic of Poland have reached the following Agreement :—

(1) The Government of the U.S.S.R. recognizes the Soviet-German Treaties of 1939 as to territorial changes in Poland as having lost their validity. The Polish Government declares that Poland is not bound by any agreement with any third Power which is directed against the U.S.S.R.

(2) Diplomatic relations will be restored between the two Governments upon the signing of this Agreement and an immediate exchange of Ambassadors will be arranged.

(3) The two Governments mutually agree to render one another aid and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany.

(4) The Government of the U.S.S.R. expresses its consent to the formation on the territory of the U.S.S.R. of a Polish Army under a Commander appointed by the Polish Government in agreement with the Soviet Government, the Polish Army on the territory of the U.S.S.R. being subordinated in an operational sense to the supreme command of the U.S.S.R. upon which the Polish Army will be represented. All details as to command, organization and employment of this force will be settled in a subsequent agreement.

(5) This Agreement will come into force immediately upon signature and without ratification.

PROTOCOL

(1) As from the resumption of diplomatic relations, the Government of the U.S.S.R. grants an amnesty to all Polish citizens now detained on the territory of the U.S.S.R. either as prisoners of war or on other sufficient grounds.

(2) The present Protocol comes into force simultaneously with the Agreement of July 30, 1941."

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After the signature of the Agreement Mr. Eden handed General Sikorski a Note in the following terms :—

"On the occasion of the signature of the Polish-Soviet Agreement of to-day's date I desire to take the opportunity of informing you that in conformity with the provisions of the Agreement of mutual assistance between the United Kingdom and Poland of August 25, 1939, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have entered into no undertaking towards the U.S.S.R. which affects the relations between that country and Poland. I also desire to assure you that His Majesty's Government do not recognize any territorial changes which have been effected in Poland since August, 1939."

General Sikorski handed Mr. Eden a reply in the following terms :

"The Polish Government take note of your Excellency's letter dated July 30, 1941, and desire to express sincere satisfaction at the statement that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom do not recognize any territorial changes which have been effected in Poland since August, 1939. This corresponds with the view of the Polish Government, which, as they have previously informed His Majesty's Government, have never recognized any territorial changes effected in Poland since the outbreak of the present war."

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Appendix No. 3

SOME OPINIONS ON POLAND'S EASTERN PROVINCES

I. Major Guy Lloyd, M.P., in a Foreword to Dr. J. Weyers' book, "Poland and Russia," London, 1943 :

". . . It is true that the eastern parts of the former Polish Commonwealth were not purely Polish, but neither were they Russian. It is a great mistake to assume, as many misinformed writers do, that what is not purely Polish must be Russian. There is no definite geographical frontier between the areas of the Polish and Russian languages—the dialects spoken by various national groups are closer to Polish in the western parts and they approach Russian in the eastern parts of the large belt of territories separating ethnographic Poland from ethnographic Russia. The same observation can be applied to the extent of the spheres of influence of the two cultures—western and eastern, for Poland and Russia respectively.

A definite frontier between the two States must be based on compromise. Both States were guided by such a spirit of compromise when they concluded the Treaty of Riga in 1921 to terminate all controversies. The Poles showed much practical realism when they renounced the territories which had been taken by Russia in the First and Second Partitions and which had become largely Russified. To put an end to an age-old conflict, Poland—after a short period of Pilsudski's personal eastern policy—abandoned for ever the policy of expansion to the east and the plans for the resurrection of her Commonwealth within the frontiers before the First and Second Partitions . . ."

". . . The Polish eastern provinces were formally incorporated in various Soviet Republics. Contrary to the plain principles of international law (Hague Convention, 1907) elections were organized to show the 'spontaneous' desire of all inhabitants to join the Soviet Union. Everyone knows well the value of a ballot carried out under military occupation, with a compulsory vote and only one voting list. Applying these methods we could certainly expect, for instance, Southern France or Malta, G.C., to express their eager desire to join the Italian Empire for ever ! . . ."

". . . The Polish provinces which were occupied by the Soviet Army in September, 1939, belonged to Poland either since the dawn of her thousand-years-old existence or for at least four hundred years. They were bound with the rest of Poland by innumerable ties of Western European culture, Catholic religion, democratic institutions, common law, etc. Cities like Lwów and Wilno were for many centuries centres of Polish and therefore Western European culture, no less important than Warsaw, Cracow and Poznań. It must be emphatically stated that the Polish element in many regions was composed mostly of peasants, artisans and yeoman farmers. Suggestions to the effect that the Polish element was composed chiefly of aristocracy and landlords are not based on true facts.

The entire population of these territories consisted at the outbreak of this war of about 13 million inhabitants, divided into different Slav national groups, of which the Polish group was the largest, thus holding a relative majority. The Catholics formed a group of almost 8 millions, over 1 million were Jews, and less than 4 million were Orthodox, of whom only 135,000 were Russians . . ."

II. Sir John Russell, in "Geographical Journal of the Royal Society," vol. XCVIII, Nos. 5-6 :

"Looking back over the ten years, it is clear that Poland has very faithfully dealt with these eastern provinces. Remarkable progress was made, and more seems to be coming. The difficult land problem had been well attacked, the terrible poverty of the peasants had been mitigated, and the way laid open for steady economic improvement. Education was everywhere being made available and illiteracy was fast disappearing : the educational ladder, though not complete, was nevertheless developed and peasant children were in fact stepping up to higher posts. Reconstruction was going on, natural resources were being developed, the younger generation were genuinely trying to help the peasants and to make them realize their share in the country and its government. Had Poland been vouchsafed fifty years of peace a satisfying degree of comfortable life would have been attained ; not great material riches, but something much more valuable : good standards of culture and civilization."

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III. W. J. Rose, in his book, "Poland," London, 1939 :

". . . Wilno became in time a Polish city as surely as Breslau became German, or Strassburg in later days French. We have seen how it was the chief centre of the Polish romantic movement after 1815, and the only other influence of note—apart from the Russian elements introduced in the nineteenth century, was a large Jewish population. This state of things was no doubt a great grieve to the leaders of the resurgent Lithuanian people, who fought and suffered along with the Poles under the yoke of Tsardom and in a common cause. They held the view that Wilno was their 'sacred' city, although the historic process had changed things completely. One other essential thing must be remembered. Had not the Poles defeated the Bolshevik armies in 1920 there would not have been either a free Poland or a free Lithuania. Once this was achieved it was impossible that any other claim to Wilno should compete with that of the Poles. There are less than ten per cent. of Lithuanians in the city . . ." (p. 84-85).

". . . Both in their public declarations and in their policy, the Ukrainian leaders have been loyal to Poland throughout. They were to show this when the real crisis came six months later . . . March, 1939, brought the complete wiping out of Czechoslovak independence by a single wave of the Nazi arm ; and this was a salutary lesson to the few irresponsibles in south-east Poland, who talked of welcoming a totalitarian régime in the land. Since then the solidarity of the Ukrainian leaders behind the Polish plans for defence are known to all. When the Air Defence loan was launched in the Governor's Residence in Lwów, Mudryj and his colleagues were present, and their support has the approval of the majority of their people." (pp. 176-77).

IV. Bernard Newman, in his book, "The New Europe," London, 1942 :

". . . The date 1934 seems to crop up in the discussion of all Polish problems—the date of the Ten-Year Pact with Germany. The fact is that most Polish troubles were aggravated or investigated by Germany prior to that date, presumably to weaken Poland with a view to the recovery of the Corridor. German influence could be traced in most Polish affairs. The famous 'Ukrainian Bureau,' which fomented many of the disturbances in Eastern Galicia, was claimed by the Poles as being a German creation, and it is significant that its activities diminished abruptly in 1934."

". . . Nevertheless when in April, 1939, it appeared that Poland was to be the next victim of aggression, the Ukrainians hastened to express their loyalty to Poland, offering their services in its defence : agitation for autonomy was temporarily dropped . . ."

". . . My own impression was that there was no serious demand over a large part of Galicia for union with Soviet Russia. If the nervous post-war weeks can be safely surmounted, then the character of the new Polish régime should make the position easier. A liberal grant of local autonomy, and a much fuller measure of agrarian reform, and many of the troubles of the Ukrainians in Poland would lose their force " (pp. 127-28).

V. William Henry Chamberlin, in "Harper's Magazine," April, 1944 :

" *Misinformation* : 'Perhaps with some reason they (the Poles) feared that if Soviet armies entered Poland, even for its defence, the eastern part of Poland might be lost for good. The population of the region was predominantly Russian, and Lord Curzon, acting on behalf of the Supreme Allied Council, had prudently assigned that section of the country to the Russians.'—Arthur Upham Pope, *Litvinoff*, pp. 448-49.

The Facts.—While there is no reason to question the accuracy of the first of these sentences, the second is a medley of inaccuracies. In the first place, if the term 'Russian' is used exactly, it is evident that there are very few Russians in eastern Poland, and that by any method of computation the Poles form a large proportion of the population. The latest figures for the area occupied by the Soviet Union after the German-Soviet pact are as follows : Poles, 5,250,000 ; Ukrainians, 4,500,000 ; White Russians (in the racial, not political sense), 1,100,000 ; Jews, 1,100,000 ; Russians, 130,000 ; miscellaneous groups, 500,000.

Furthermore, neither Lord Curzon nor the Supreme Council ever assigned the territory east of the so-called Curzon Line (with the drawing of which Lord Curzon had little to do) definitely to Russia. It was considered a minimum, not a maximum eastern frontier of Poland." (pp. 410-11).

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VI. H. Foster Anderson, in his book, "Borderline Russia," Cresset Press, London, 1942 :

" . . . if you had seen the population of Vilna which was preponderantly Polish you would have wondered why the Lithuanians ever imagined they had a right to the place " (p. 148).

" . . . The Spirit of Poland, proud, vital and unyielding filled the town (i.e., Vilna). The Lithuanian policemen had the uncertain air of an army of occupation " (p. 159).

VII. Ann Su Cardwell, in her book, "Poland and Russia," Sheed and Ward, New York, 1944 :

" . . . The origin and lack of significance of the so-called Curzon Line should be borne in mind, since it occurs so frequently in to-day's discussions. In reality it was not Lord Curzon's suggestion, but was proposed in a letter sent to the Peace Conference by a committee from the Russian exiles in France. The letter, dated April 9, 1919, was signed by Prince Lvov, Serge Sazonov and Makhlakoff—all well-known political figures in Tsarist Russia. Russian in origin, naturally it was drawn in favour of the Soviet Union. It was never intended by the Allies as anything but a temporary administrative expedient " (p. 13).

" . . . I spent part of the summer of 1938 in Vilno and consider it literally one of the most Polish of all Polish cities. Its population, which has throughout history been overwhelmingly Polish, has all the patriotic fervour characteristic of people living near their own frontier " (p. 158).

" . . . Poles and Ruthenians had been intermarrying for centuries. There could not possibly be a drawing of national lines. It often happened that in these mixed families one brother would choose to call himself Ukrainian, the other a Pole. . . With this bit of background in mind it is comprehensible that there were Ruthenians, and many of them, in Poland 1939, who as one of an older generation said were " gente Rutheni, natione Poloni ", Ruthenians in race, Poles in citizenship, and were not seeking citizenship in an independent Ukraine " (p. 160).

" . . . As Polish citizens all the minorities had their rights and exercised them. They had their political parties and elected their leaders to the Polish Seym or Parliament. . . As for the Ukrainian minority of whose political activities so much has been written, on September 2, 1939, the chairman of Ukrainian parliamentary group declared Ukrainians ready to fight in defence of Poland. . . I have seen many of the Ukrainian schools and I have seen the government notices in these areas posted in Ukrainian. . . The Ukrainian co-operatives were flourishing, prosperous societies, steadily growing in size and influence " (p. 163).

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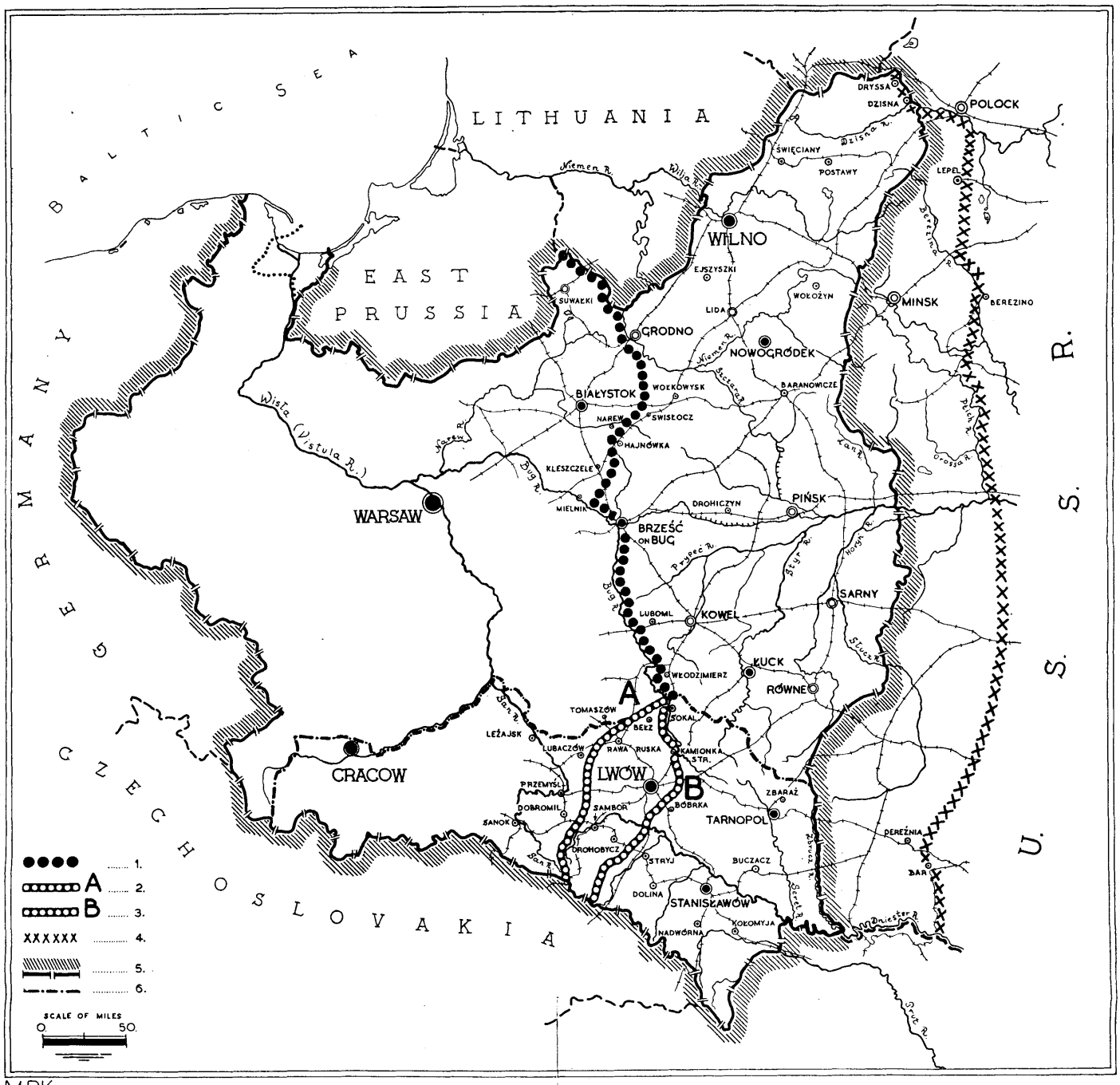

M.P.K.

Map No. 2

CURZON LINE AND OTHER LINES

1. *Provisional line of December* 8, 1919, *within which the Supreme Council authorized the Polish Government to organize immediately a regular administration. The declaration concluded that the rights which Poland may claim to territories situated east of the above-mentioned line are expressly reserved. This line was accepted by the Supreme Council in Spa on July* 10, 1920, *as a basis for decision with regard to Polish-Soviet armistice* (" *Curzon Line* ").

2. *The demarcation line* (*A*) *of the Commission on Polish Affairs in connection with the proposed status of autonomous Eastern Galicia as a kind of Polish mandate under the League of Nations for a term of twenty-five years after which the League had to take a final decision. This line was proposed in June,* 1919, *and adopted by the Supreme Council in the same month. At the same time Poland was authorized to occupy the whole Eastern Galicia as far as the River Zbrucz. In November,* 1919, *the Supreme Council adopted a draft of an autonomous statute for Eastern Galicia, elaborated by the Commission on Polish Affairs; it was withdrawn, however, a month later in December,* 1919.

3. *The demarcation line* (*B*) *of the Commission on Polish Affairs in the event of a division of Eastern Galicia between Poland and the Galician-Ukrainian State. This line was proposed as an alternative simultaneously with the line A in June,* 1919, *but not put into force.*

4. *The Polish-Russian armistice line proposed by Lenin, Chicherin and Trotsky on January* 29, 1920.

5. *The Polish Russian frontier established by the Peace Treaty of Riga, on March* 18, 1921. *This frontier was recognized by Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan in a decision of the Ambassadors' Conference in Paris, on March* 15, 1923. *It was also recognized by the United States on April* 5, 1923.

6. *Boundary line of Galicia which up to* 1919 *formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.*

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