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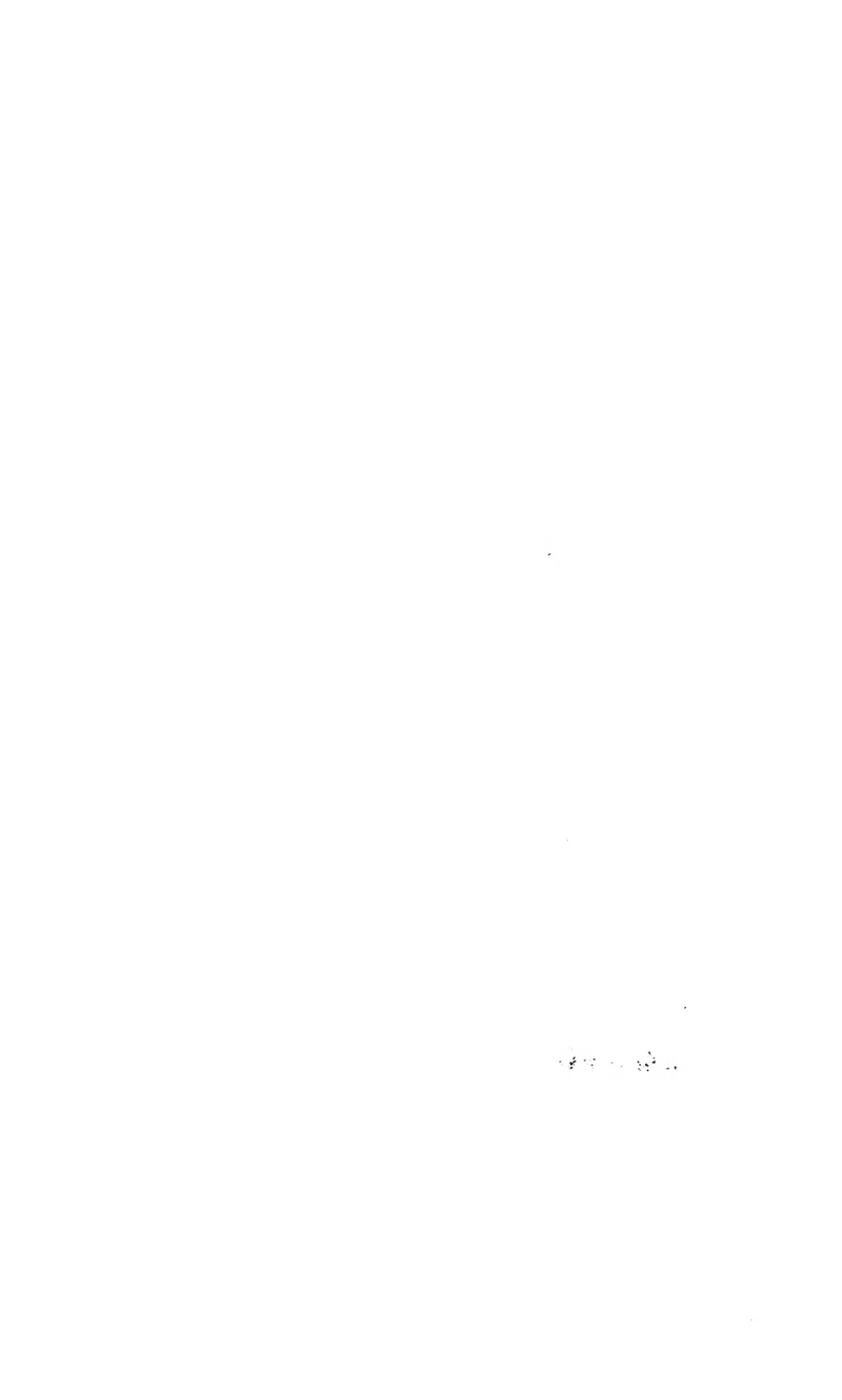
WINCENTY LUTOSŁAWSKI

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LITHUANIA  
AND  
WHITE RUTHENIA

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*Paris 1919*





WINCENTY LUTOSLAWSKI

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# LITHUANIA

AND

# WHITE RUTHENIA

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## LIMITS OF HISTORIC LITHUANIA

Lithuania is the name of an old State, which corresponds roughly to the six actual provinces of Grodno, Kowno, Wilno, Witebsk, Mińsk and Mohylów, and throughout this report the name of Lithuania is used to indicate these six provinces. Historic Lithuania, as it existed in 1772 before the partition of Poland, included besides almost the whole of the province of Suwalki (except one sixth of the district of Augustów, the district of Biała, one half of the district of Włodawa, one fourth of the district of Konstantynów in the province of Siedlee, and the town of Połaga with surroundings in the province of Kurland. But the districts of Dynaburg, Lueyn, Rzeżyca in the province of Witebsk, and the districts of Białystok Sokółka and Bielsk in the province of Grodno, did not belong to the historical Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had an area of 298.825 sq. km., while the six provinces usually identified with it cover an area of 304.356 sq. km.

## DISCOVERY OF WHITE RUTHENIANS

The name of White Ruthenia was formerly applied only to the present provinces of Witebsk and Mohylów, as inhabited chiefly by White Ruthenians. In the ethnographic atlas of Woszczyński, published in 1848, White Ruthenians are indicated only in these two provinces. In the atlas of Ekert, published in 1863, White Ruthenians are found also in the provinces of Mińsk, Grodno and Wilno, and in 1889 Mitrofan Zapolskij recognizes their existence also in the province of Smoleńsk. In Polish literature, the name of White Ruthenia (Białoruś) is usually applied to those parts of historic Lithua-

nia which are chiefly inhabited by White Ruthenians, a population which ethnographically is intermediate between the Poles and the Muscovites. The language spoken by the White Ruthenians is akin to the Ruthenian, but permeated by the influence of Polish: it is easier understood by the Poles than by the Russians, while the White Ruthenians generally understand Polish, and many of them, especially the Catholics, who are numerous, speak it.

## WHITE RUTHENIANS AND POLAND

The White Ruthenians have never formed a State of their own, as they are almost exclusively a rural population (93% are peasants). The majority of the White Ruthenians came early under Polish rule, and only a small part belonged to Muscovy. The White Ruthenians of Lithuania are nationally undevelopped, and, unlike the Lithuanians, they had until the war scarcely any political aspirations of their own. Those amongst them who are Catholics use Polish prayer books, and they consider their speech as a dialect fit only for the uneducated, whilst Polish is to them the symbol of education and higher social position. The few White Ruthenians who attained higher education became generally Poles or Muscovites. The White Ruthenians have preserved their original and traditional character chiefly within the limits of the old Polish Republic, whilst the White Ruthenians who came under the rule of the Tsar of Muscovy before the partitions of Poland, have been more or less assimilated, and have become Muscovites, or as they are called now, Russians.

## ETHNOGRAPHIC LITHUANIA

The ethnographic territory of Lithuania is much smaller than the boundaries of historic Lithuania. It comprises the province of Kowno, a narrow strip of the province of Wilno, the northern part of the province of Suwalki, and the north eastern corner of East Prussia. The Lithuanians number less than two millions and their ethnographic area does not reach even the old capital of their State, Wilno, which is now chiefly

Polish. This city has only two per cent Lithuanians among its inhabitants, and the whole country around the old capital of Lithuania is completely outside the area in which the Lithuanian language prevails.

## POLES IN LITHUANIA

It is evident that an ethnographic Lithuania would be too small a State to maintain its political and economic independence of Germany. Thus the Lithuanians insist on their historic frontiers, as they wish to form a really independent State. But within those historic frontiers of Lithuania there are more than three million Poles, and the belt which is chiefly Polish, extending from Białystok to Grodno, Wilno and beyond Dynaburg, separates Lithuania proper from the predominantly White Ruthenian part of historic Lithuania. Moreover the Poles are disseminated in the whole of historic Lithuania, and where they are numerically inferior, they occupy the most influential positions, for they form principally the educated classes, while 85 % of the Lithuanians and 93 % of the White Ruthenians are uneducated peasants. It is a great mistake to believe that the Poles in Lithuania are only the upper classes, as large numbers of the most successful small farmers are Poles also, and without them the percentage of Poles could never be as considerable as it actually is.

## UNIQUE CONDITIONS

This mixture of different ethnographic elements in the same country is a result of historic and natural conditions which are unique of their kind, and cannot be easily understood by those who are accustomed to the clearly cut ethnographic delimitations prevailing in Western Europe. It is necessary to go into many details in order to grasp the unprecedented conditions now existing in Lithuania, and to judge of the possible alternatives open for its political organization in the future.

## CONFLICTING CLAIMS

Lithuania was a part of the Polish Republic, and its history since the XIVth century is closely related to the destinies

of Poland. Without a clear conception of Poland's geographical position and historic mission in Europe, there is no possibility of judging the conflicting Polish and Lithuanian claims. It is therefore necessary here to state briefly what seems to be the explanation of the singular relation between Poland and Europe.

## POLAND, EUROPE, AND ASIA

Geographically, the continent of Europe is a large peninsula with three smaller peninsulas in the South. The chief body of the European peninsula has been in history the field of the growth of the German Empire, which is separated from the plateau of Great Russia by a very characteristic isthmus, containing the basins of seven great rivers : the Oder, the Vistula, the Niemen, the Duna, the Dniester, the Boh and the Dnieper. This isthmus between Western and Eastern Europe is one geographical whole, very different in every respect from the country farther east. There is a smaller difference in climate between Breslau and Kieff, than between Kieff and Moscow, and also in every other respect the country west of the Dnieper has belonged for centuries to Western Europe, while beyond the Dnieper began already Asia with its despotic political formations, where the subject populations have no active participation in the decisions of their rulers.

## OUTCOME OF WESTERN CIVILISATION

The peculiar development of Western civilisation, which originated in Greece, consisted in multifarious internal struggles between different classes of the population in each country, and between the neighbouring states. It led finally to the formation of such well defined national states as England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, which at last gave up aggressive warfare amongst each other, and devoted all the energies of their national life to the perfecting of mutual relations between individuals and classes within each national State. The long historic growth which led to this end, required safety from Asiatic invasions for Western Europe, in order to ensure the peaceful internal development of Western nations.

## WATCHMAN OF EUROPE

The enormous contrast between Western Europe and Asia implied inevitable conflicts if the isthmus situated between the Oder, the Carpathian mountains, and the Dniester on one side, and the Duna and Dnieper on the other side was not firmly held by a nation thoroughly impregnated with Western political ideals, and able to stop the incursions of Asiatic conquerors.

## MISSION OF THE POLES

This was the peculiar mission of the Poles. They united the other inhabitants of the Polish isthmus, the Lithuanians, Letts, White Ruthenians and Ruthenians into one commonwealth which for nearly three centuries extended from sea to sea, and ensured for its citizens a much higher degree of political liberty than was known east of the basin of the Dnieper, or between the Oder and the Rhine.

## RAPID GROWTH OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA

The actual unity of the territory situated between Germany and Eastern Europe can be seen from two historical facts. Poland under Mieszko I in 962 had an area of about 100,000 sq. km., and under his son, Boleslaw I, it had grown suddenly to 415,000 sq. km. Lithuania under Mendog (1240-63) had 80,000 sq. km. and in the next century under Olgierd (1345-77) had rapidly grown to 625,000 sq. km. Such rapid growth of the two chief States of the Polish isthmus could not have been possible if the geographical conditions had not made one natural whole of the territory thus brought under one rule. The basin of the Vistula is in such close connexion with the basins of the Oder, the Niemen, the Dnieper and the Dniester, that there is no separation whatever between these basins: canals unite all Polish rivers, while there is no such communication between the Dnieper or the Duna and the great rivers flowing further east. The Polish isthmus from the Baltic to the Black sea, with its seven great rivers, forms one natural whole which has the essential conditions for the greatest economic prosperity, if this natural unity is not split by political divisions.

## POLISH REPUBLIC ISTHMUS STATE

It was this territorial unity of the Polish isthmus which led to the union between Poland and Lithuania and to the formation of the Polish Republic. It fulfilled for four centuries its mission of defending European liberty against the Eastern despotism of Muscovites, Tartars and Turks. The destruction of this bulwark of political liberty was due chiefly to the creation of a centre of Eastern despotism in Prussia, which, in alliance with Muscovy, soon displaced the frontier of Western Europe from the Dnieper to the Rhine, and since 1871 beyond the Rhine.

## AN ISTHMUS STATE NECESSARY

Whoever investigates impartially the facts of history and geography, must admit that even if Poland had not existed, the formation of a strong and free State filling the isthmus between the Baltic and the Black Sea would remain a necessity for European politics as long as the principles of Western civilisation had not spread to the whole of Eastern Europe and to Western Asia.

## MERIT OF THE LITHUANIAN PRINCES

Towards the existence of such a State the Lithuanian princes have contributed more even than the Poles, by uniting under their rule all those Ruthenian and White Ruthenian populations which inhabited the great isthmus, without being able to form by themselves durable States. But the Lithuanian State, in the XIVth century, was a despotic eastern State, and could not be expected to defend European liberty against eastern invasions. On the contrary it might have threatened Europe, if it had extended its conquests further East and increased its military power.

## TRANSFORMATION OF LITHUANIA

The union with Poland in 1386 totally transformed Lithuania. This union was at first a dynastic union, created by



the marriage of the Lithuanian prince Jagiello with the Polish Queen Jadwiga. But already in 1401 the Lithuanian boyars took part in the deliberations and decisions which purposed establishing a closer link between the two States. As further steps towards this goal were taken, in 1413, 1432-34, 1499, 1501, the importance of the boyars increased, and one of the chief motives which linked the Lithuanians with Poland was the wish to share the greater liberties won by the Poles from their Kings.

## ORIGINAL CHARACTER OF LITHUANIA

Before the union with Poland the Lithuanians had no political rights, and their prince was as absolute a ruler, as a Khan of the Tartars, or a Tsar of Muscovy. They had no personal property in land, but received from the prince revocable grants of land as rewards for military service and under the obligation of continuing such service. They could be deprived by the prince of the land they cultivated; they had to give to him a part of their harvests, and to supply workmen to the princely estates. They could not even give their daughters in marriage without the prince's consent.

## SCHOOL OF LIBERTY

All this was rapidly changed under Polish influence, and they gradually obtained the same liberties as had been won by the Poles. Most of them became Poles in fact, and were proud of it. The Polish law "*Neminem captivabimus nisi jure victum*" was soon extended to Lithuania, and gave to Lithuanians such a personal independence and security as was totally unknown east of the Dnieper in Muscovy, Tartaria or other eastern States. The Lithuanian throne, which was originally hereditary, became elective, and the last hereditary privileges of the kings were abolished in 1564, before the definitive union of Lithuania with Poland, at the same time when in Muscovy the absolute power of the tsars was modelled on Tartarian standards.

## LITHUANIAN BOYARS AND PEASANTS

Before the union of Lithuania with Poland, there were great differences of rank between the families of boyars and various magnates. The close union with Poland abolished these differences, and introduced into Lithuania the same democratic equality of a very numerous nobility which had been the ripe fruit of a long political development in Poland. Also the condition of peasants in Lithuania has gradually improved after Polish patterns. This deep social transformation of Lithuania led to the final union of Lithuania and Poland in the act of July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1569, with one common Diet, and the common election of one king for both States. The distinction of the high offices in Lithuania and Poland was preserved, and Lithuania had a separate Treasury, as well as a separate Army, but the whole social and political structure of Lithuania became essentially Polish. All this happened quite spontaneously, without any use of force.

## LITHUANIA BECOMING A WESTERN COUNTRY

Until the middle of the XVIth century, elections were unknown in Lithuania, and the representatives of the boyars were nominated to the Diet. Since 1565 Lithuania has obtained local councils (*sejmiki*) which have elected delegates to the Central Diet, as in Poland. The Polish offices of *Wojewoda* and *Kasztelan* had already been introduced into Lithuania in the XVth century, and from 1569 all the Polish offices had their equivalents in Lithuania. Since the end of the XVIth century, in Lithuania as well as in Poland, the candidates to some offices have been elected by the local dietines, the King retaining the privilege of nomination from among the proposed candidates. Also the administration of justice was totally changed by the union with Poland. While in old Lithuania many individuals of prominent families were above the law, from 1569 the Polish conception of justice prevailed, and was introduced into Lithuania. The Lithuanian statutes of 1566 and 1589 were permeated with the Polish spirit of law. All the vestiges of oriental or byzantine influence gradually disappeared in the whole of Lithuania, and Lithuania became a really Western country.

## POLONISATION OF RUTHENIA AND LITHUANIA

The Ruthenian southern part of Lithuania, corresponding to the present provinces of Podolia, Volhynia and Kieff was finally incorporated into Poland, so that the State of Lithuania was relieved from the difficulties connected with the unruly population of the southern steppes, and had only to defend the northern and northeastern frontiers of the common Republic. The Polish language spread rapidly in Lithuania. The cities first became Polish, and then wide tracts of land were colonised by the Poles, chiefly from Masovia, so that now the old capital of Lithuania, Wilno, is one of the chief Polish towns, and is surrounded by a predominantly Polish territory, peopled to a great extent by small Polish farmers. The city of Wilno since its beginnings has never been Lithuanian.

### POLISH SCHOOLS AND TRIBUNALS

In 1568 the Jesuits founded a College in Wilno, which in 1579 became an Academy. In 1580 a college at Polock was founded. Many eminent Lithuanians went to the University of Cracow, where they received a Polish education and brought back to Lithuania the Polish conception of public life, a passionate love of political liberty and individual independence. Towards the end of the XVIIth century, the Polish language became the official language of the Lithuanian courts, and this did not happen under official pressure of any kind, but simply because the judges and parties were accustomed to speak Polish, and considered themselves as Poles. The Lithuanian statute, which had been published in 1588 in the White Ruthenian language, had many Polish editions, and since it has been translated into Polish in 1613, not a single White Ruthenian edition, while it has never been published in Lithuanian.

### NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL GROWTH OF STATES

The polonisation of Lithuania was a spontaneous process, like the extension of the British Empire over the earth, not an artificial growth, like the extension of Prussian rule over Germany. Lithuania at the time of her first union with Poland was more than three times larger than Poland, and it

is something unique in history that such a huge despotic State, with a great military past, could have been so thoroughly converted not only to Christianity, but to Western civilisation by a much smaller State which in the pursuit of civic liberty had greatly neglected military efficiency.

## GROWTH OF POLISH INFLUENCE

The best proof of this intense Polish influence is the peaceful incorporation of Ruthenia with Poland in 1569 by the will of its representatives, without any serious protest of the Lithuanians, who had conquered Ruthenia and could consider it as their own. The intensity of this Polish civilising work in Lithuania may be also seen from the fact that between the XVth and XVIIIth centuries the population of Lithuania increased by 700% and that of Poland proper only by 300%, which shows the enormous colonizing movement from Poland into Lithuania.

## VIOLENT INTERRUPTION OF A NATURAL PROCESS

This historical process, which led gradually to the creation of a powerful national State between the Baltic and the Black Sea, could not be brought to a similar natural conclusion as in the western national States for several reasons :

1. The Tsars of Muscovy, helped by England\* and Germany since the XVth century, by Prussia since the XVIIIth century, and by France since the latter part of the XIXth century, created an oriental despotic empire, incompatible with the existence on its borders of a free Polish Republic.

2. The Princes of Brandenburg, having obtained from Poland in 1618 their succession in Prussia, as vassals of the Polish King, betrayed their Sovereign on many occasions and created by treachery, with the help of the Swedes in 1657, an independent despotic State of Prussia, which has grown into another mighty Empire, equally incompatible with the free Polish Republic.

\* England since the discovery of the sea way to Archangel in the XVth century supplied Muscovy with skilled workmen, guns and munitions. In vain the Polish King warned Queen Elizabeth that such help given to barbarians would imperil European civilisation.

3. The Poles having, after the death of their king Sobieski in 1696, greatly neglected the military defence of the Republic, were unable in the XVIIIth Century to uphold their lawfully elected king, Lezeczyński, an ally of France, and tolerated the reign of two Germans, Augustus of Saxony and his son, usurpers of the Polish throne, who were elected by a minority with the assistance of Muscovy.

### GERMAN PROMISES NEVER KEPT

The natural process of the polonisation of Lithuania and Ruthenia, very similar to the unification of Spain and France, was thus arrested by the violence of an unprecedented crime, the partitioning of Poland. The partitioning powers did not deny the Polish character of the whole Polish Republic, including Lithuania and Ruthenia, and in the Congress of Vienna they promised an untrammelled national life to all the inhabitants of Lithuania and Poland. But they could not keep such promises without imperilling the existence of their own despotic States.

### RUSSIFICATION OF LITHUANIA

And then began for Lithuania a process of russification, very unlike the preceding polonisation. While the polonisation was quite voluntary and spontaneous, without any violence or betrayal, the russification proceeded by violence and treachery, by falsifications of history, misrepresentations of truth and by every imaginable kind of persecution. This russification of a country in which the Poles were the brains, paralyzed the whole economic life, subordinating the most obvious needs of the inhabitants to the absurd undertaking of changing Lithuanians and White Ruthenians into Muscovites.

### MUSCOVITE SPIRIT OF DESTRUCTION

After the partitions, the cruelty of Muscovite officials in Lithuania was even worse than in other parts of the old Republic. In 1781 began in White Ruthenia the sale of peasants as slaves, a practice unknown in Poland. From 1793 the confiscation of Polish property and the expulsion of Poles from

Lithuania began, and a succession of arbitrary measures made life very unsafe in Lithuania for the Poles. And the inhabitants of Lithuania, despite this persecution, took such an active share in the Polish revolution of 1831, that after that date 2,889 estates were confiscated in Lithuania. The Polish University at Wilno, the Polish lyceum at Krzemieniec and the Polish agricultural school at Horki (province of Mohylów) were closed. The Russian language was introduced in 1840 in the courts of justice and in the schools.

### RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

A religious persecution also began. The catholic bishops were forbidden to correspond with the Pope and most of them were exiled; the priests were forbidden to travel and to preach without submitting their sermons to the censor. Out of 291 monasteries, 202 were closed and their property confiscated. Many churches were also closed and parishes were abolished. Conversion to the Roman faith was treated as a crime, and punished with the utmost severity. Children of mixed marriages were condemned to be brought up in the orthodox faith, and often educated by the State to become enemies of their own families. Those who could be suspected of Polish feelings were mostly exiled to Russia or Siberia. The religious union between the Greek and Roman churches was abolished in 1839, and all the Uniats considered as orthodox were obliged to go to Russian churches and to confess to Russian popes under the greatest penalties.

### INCREASING LOVE OF POLAND

This system did not succeed in eliminating the Polish influence from Lithuania, and in 1863 again great numbers of Lithuanians and White Ruthenians participated in the revolution against the Tsar. Even in the province of Mohylów, which had not participated in the rising of Kosciuszko, detachments were formed which fought for Poland in 1863. The bloodthirsty governor of Wilno, Muraviev, knew it and he condemned whole villages to be exterminated, and the inhabitants to be exiled to Siberia. Thus were destroyed Ibiary in Żmudź, Użusul near Kowno, Użpól near Poniewież,

Pokierty in the district of Troki, and Jaworówka in the district of Białystok. Such vengeance prove the participation of the peasants in Lithuania in the last great national movement of the Poles.

### NEW DEVICES OF TYRANNY

The persecution increased. Great numbers of estates were again confiscated. In 1865 it was forbidden for Poles to buy land, the confiscated estates being given to faithful servants of the Tsar; it was forbidden to preach in churches other sermons than those published in censured books; the Polish language was forbidden not only in schools and offices but even in the streets, many churches were closed and catholic parishes abolished, and a special income tax, amounting to ten per cent of the estimated income was imposed upon the Poles. The total amount of this tax was fixed in 1863 and divided among the Polish landowners, without regard to their decreasing numbers. Arbitrary fines imposed on the Poles under various pretexts increased the difficulty of their economic condition, and everything has been done to make life in Lithuania intolerable to them.

Nowhere has there been such an accumulation of measures directed against the educated classes of a country by an external enemy. And this immense effort of the government of the Tsar did not attain its object, but had quite other results, not foreseen by the instigators of the whole undertaking.

### DECREASE OF EDUCATION

Lithuania, which under Polish rule had a high standard of popular education, has entirely lost this superiority, since the Poles were forbidden to teach and to speak their language in this country. In 1808 the high schools of the curatorship of Wilno had 7.422 pupils and the other parts of Russia only 5.415 pupils. In 1861 there were only 4.125 pupils of public schools and among them 3.301 Poles; in 1868 only 2.578 pupils and among them 1.453 Poles. This decrease of the number of pupils, the closing of many schools, the prohibition of books printed in the Polish, Lithuanian and White Ruthenian languages (except in Russian characters which the people could not read, being

accustomed to the Latin alphabet, reduced the population of Lithuania to a condition of great helplessness in every respect. In the six provinces of Lithuania not even one fourth of the children of school age went to elementary schools before the war. In the vast area of Lithuania there was no university, no higher school of any kind.

### COST OF PERSECUTION

This neglect of education had its repercussion on the economic life of Lithuania. The Russian State has spent regularly on this province much more than the income drawn from it, despite all extortions and special contributions. One third of the area is covered by forests, one sixth is pastures, one sixth is entirely uncultivated and only one third is under cultivation. The production of the six provinces is about 4,400,000 tons of wheat and rye, 212,000 tons of hamp and flax, 5,305,000 of potatoes, and 5,000,000 tons of hay. This production is very inferior to that obtained on a much smaller area in Congress Poland, where more than half of the total area is cultivated. One hectare produces in Lithuania 7,3 quintals of rye, while in Congress Poland the production is 10,7 quintals, in Posnania 19,3 quintals. In fact the production is insufficient to maintain the population. The State expenses in Lithuania amounted to 140 million roubles in 1913, while the State income was 100 million roubles. Every year from 1868-1890 the State had to add a considerable sum to its revenue from Lithuania in order to pay the expenses. Frequently the population suffered famines and was brought to the greatest misery.

### ANORMAL CONDITIONS

These results were inevitable, as for centuries the Poles were the chief agents of production in Lithuania, and the Russian government was totally unable to replace them. The importation of Russian officials brought no wealth to the country, as these officials could only live by the help of the State, and had for their aim the destruction of all free initiative. The Russian government did not understand that the normal life of a nation requires the cooperation of



all classes of the population, and the persecution of Poles who formed the educated classes hampered in every way the economic and educational development of the people.

## PERSISTANCE OF POLISH INFLUENCE

But the most astonishing thing is, that after more than one century of this concentration of all the forces of a large empire towards the russification of Lithuania, historic Lithuania remains a Polish country and contains more Poles than Lithuanians. When in 1897 a general census was taken in Russia, every effort was made to falsify the results. Poles were counted as White Ruthenians or Russians even against their express declarations. Thus the Poles almost disappeared on paper, but not in reality. Soon the truth came to be known, for in 1909, when the Russian prime minister Stolypin introduced his project of local autonomy in Lithuania into the Duma, he admitted the existence of a very considerable number of Poles. Thus for instance in the Lithuanian province of Kowno, the number of Polish electors from small and large property was estimated at 3,286, while the Lithuanian electors were supposed to be 3,312. Stolypin admitted 35 % of catholics in Lithuania, while the census of 1897 gave only 19 %, and after different attempts to invent such rules for the elections to the local *ziemstvos* which would exclude a majority of Poles, the western provinces of Grodno, Wilno and Kowno were excluded finally from the benefit of local autonomy, as it became evident that no system of elections could exclude the Poles. In the other provinces of Lithuania and Ruthenia the number of Poles was artificially limited by special privileges given to the Russians.

## POLISH CHARACTER OF LITHUANIA

The same method was applied to the legislative elections to the Duma. When in the first Duma of 1905 a great number of Poles from Lithuania were elected, the electoral law was modified in 1907, so that the number of Polish deputies was considerably reduced. These exceptional laws testify to the Polish character of Lithuania. This Polish character is seen also in the financial conditions of the country. The banks

are Polish, and the banking business is conducted by Poles. The short bills of exchange payable after three months prevail in Lithuania (66 % of the total of bills), as in Poland (85 %), while they are much less frequent in Russia (30-40 %). The average amount for which such bills are drawn has been from 1907 to 1909 in Lithuania 232 roubles, in Congress Poland 195 roubles, and in other provinces of Russia between 500 and 1,000 roubles, in two provinces above 1,000 roubles.

## HELPLESSNESS OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

The Russian government, after having eliminated the Poles from most offices, was often obliged to nominate Poles in Lithuania for responsible posts in the local administration of the *ziemstwo*, because Russians fit to carry out the work efficiently could not be found. Polish property, after all the confiscations, despite all methods used to ruin the landowners, remains a considerable asset in the whole of Lithuania, and the Poles remain about 50 % more numerous than the Lithuanians, even if we distinguish them from the White Ruthenians who mostly understand Polish, use Polish prayer books, and have assimilated in their dialect a great number of Polish words.

## LIBERATION OF LITHUANIA

In 1916 the Germans found in the district of Wilno not less than 75 % of Poles. In 1914 the Poles owned in the province of Wilno 60 % of the total cultivated area, in the province of Kowno 63 %, in the province of Grodno 50 % and only in the provinces of Mińsk, Mohylów and Witebsk less than 50 %. In the 6 provinces of Lithuania the number of Poles who owned properties entitling them to be electors to the local *ziemstwo* was 2,285 as against 937 Russians. After all the efforts of the Russian government to destroy Polish traditions in Lithuania, a great number of Polish schools were founded in 1917 without any assistance from the State, chiefly by the contributions of small Polish farmers and workmen. In the province of Mińsk alone in 1917-18 not less than 243 Polish schools were created, and among them high schools in Mińsk, Borysów, Humań, Bobrujsk,

Sluck, Nieśwież, Mozyrz, and Dokszyce. The number of new Polish schools in Lithuania is estimated at 1,500, and in this number there are 36 higher schools preparatory to universities.

### FRONTIER OF 1772 STILL ALIVE

The Great Russians who have settled in Lithuania at an enormous expense to the State, have left the country in great numbers, and are not likely to return. The link between the soil and its permanent inhabitants is not accidental, and arbitrary decisions of oriental despots cannot change the course of history. As soon as the people of Lithuania is free to decide on its fate, if the whole population of the six provinces will vote in full liberty, there can be no doubt as to the issue, the Poles in Lithuania being the best organized, the most widely spread, and the most educated class of the population. Lithuania was one whole when united with Poland, and has remained one whole under Muscovite oppression. The frontier of 1772 is still alive in the consciousness of the inhabitants, and those White Ruthenians whose ancestors have been for four centuries in relation with or in dependence upon Poland are different in their language, in their traditions, in their customs from the White Ruthenians of Muscovy.

### POLISH INFLANTY

North of historic Lithuania there is a small country named Polish Inflanty, inhabited by Catholic Letts who call themselves Lettgallians, and ought to be distinguished from Letts and Lithuanians. Polish Inflanty comprises three districts of the actual province of Witebsk, the districts of Dynaburg Rzeżycza, and Lueyn, which were united with Poland in 1561 by the free decision of the legitimate representatives of the population of Livonia. After 1621 Poland lost to Sweden the greatest part of Livonia except this small country of Inflanty, colonised by Poles and inhabited chiefly by Lettgallians. There are about 500,000 Lettgallians in Inflanty and the neighbouring districts, mixed with about 87,000 Poles. In the adjoining district of Ilukszta (belonging to the province of Kurland), south of the Duna, the Poles are a relative majority, being more numerous than any other nationality and number-

ing 32 ° 0 of the population, while the Lettgallians are 28 ° 0. On the east of Inflanty in the district of Dryssa, north of the Duna, there are 35 0 0 of Poles.

### POLISH REVIVAL IN INFLANTY

These districts on both sides of the Duna, together with Inflanty, form the furthest extension of Polish colonisation towards the North, and the Polish influence in these districts may be measured by the fact that during the war a Polish gymnasium was created in Dynaburg, a Polish progymnasium in Rzeżyca, over 60 Polish schools in Inflanty, besides twenty Polish organisations for social work of all kinds. Though the small province of Inflanty did not belong to historic Lithuania, it has shared all the destinies of Lithuania during the four centuries of Polish rule, when the liberty of the inhabitants was growing, and also during the century of persecution since the partitions of Poland. In recent times there is a movement among the Lettgallians for political union with the Letts, but neither of these small peoples can enjoy real freedom without a close union with Lithuania, which means also union with Poland.

### POLISH POLESIE

Lithuania is separated from Polish Ruthenia by a very strange region named Polesie, the wood country, extending over parts of the provinces of Grodno, Mińsk, Mohylów and Volhynia. If we draw a line from Brest to Mohylów in a north easterly direction, and another line south east towards Kielf, these two lines would include nearly the whole marshes of Polesie, which comprises chiefly the basin of the Pripet and some neighbouring rivers. The population of Polesie is intermediate between the White Ruthenians and the Ruthenians, and is to a great extent of Polish origin, because the Mazurs of Masovia came in great numbers into the woody marshes of Polesie as foresters, charcoal burners and pitchdistillers.

### POLES IN POLESIE

Polesie has an area of more than 100,000 sq. km., with a population of less than 4,000,000 inhabitants, among whom the Poles, though numerically

inferior, occupy the most important place in agriculture, commerce, industry and in the liberal professions. The density of the population in Polesie is extremely low, being mostly 16-25 inhabitants to a square km. and rising in a few districts above 40 inhabitants to a sq. km. The natural increase of the population is very considerable, and the excess of births over deaths oscillates in different districts between 15 and 25 % per thousand inhabitants.

### WATERWAYS IN POLESIE

Polesie is crossed by several important canals built in 1783-84 by the old Polish government, such as the Kings-canal connecting the Pripet through the Pina with the Bug and the Vistula, and the canal of Ogiński leading from the Pripet to the Niemen. These canals, connecting Polesie with Poland, are very important for the exportation of wood and cattle, the chief products of Polesie. There are no waterways from this region to Russia, and whereas Poland undertook in 1778-84 to transform the extensive swamps into cultivated land, Russia has utterly neglected this vast area which may be transformed by skilful draining, according to the competent opinions of experts, into a very fertile country. The only hope of agricultural improvement for Polesie is its reunion with Poland, because Russia has no interest in developping this swampy country, nor does she possess the skilled experts to carry out such vast improvements. Poland alone could furnish Polesie with the necessary machines and industrial products, in exchange for wood and cattle, which can be brought cheaply by water to Poland.

### ECONOMIC NEEDS OF LITHUANIA

Lithuania in general needs coal, machines, chemical products, textile materials, agricultural and forestry experts, all of which can be furnished only by her old ally Poland. The exportation of Lithuania, consisting chiefly in agricultural products, cattle, wood, and skins, goes naturally to Poland. We know that in 1911 Poland imported from Lithuania about 10,000 horses and nearly 30,000 pigs, but this trade will necessarily increase when both countries are liberated from the Russian officials, who extracted their pay from Polish taxes and one of whose chief

aims was to paralyze the economic life in Lithuania by political oppression of the Poles. An industry which is likely to grow considerably in Lithuania and especially in Polesie, and which will find its chief consumption in Poland, is the fabrication of paper from wood.

### IMPORTANCE OF WATERWAYS IN LITHUANIA

Lithuania has an exceptionally developed net of waterways, amounting to 22,320 km. or 7.3 km. to 100 sq. km. This wealth of cheap communications leads to Poland only, and nowhere to Russia. If we take into account the extreme scarcity of railways in Lithuania, which only amount to 2 km. for 100 sq. km., and are partly destroyed by the war, the importance of these waterways is so much the greater, as the chief exports are not heavy materials, but bulky wares, which are very expensive to transport by rail. And the fact that the river system of Lithuania is connected with the basin of the Vistula, but not with the rivers east of the Dnieper, explains why the chief commercial relations of Lithuania were with Poland and not with Russia, despite all the efforts of the Russian government to the contrary.

### COOPERATION OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA

This argument for a close union or alliance between Lithuania and Poland is very decisive after a war which has ruined both countries. Their mutual interdependence has increased by the destruction of forests in Poland by the Germans, and the destruction of houses and factories in Lithuania by the bolshevists. Great intensity of work is needed to restore prosperity in both countries, and Lithuania cannot afford any longer to be deprived of the active cooperation of the Poles in the development of its agriculture and forestry. Even the Russian government recognized the industrial unity of Poland and Lithuania, when it formed one industrial district of both under one general inspection.

### POLISH AND LITHUANIAN AGRICULTURE

How much Lithuania has to learn from Polish agricultural experts can be seen if we compare the area under

cultivation in both countries, and the crops on the same area. Thus in Congress Poland 17 % and in Lithuania only 10 % of the total area is under rye, but a hundred hectares produced in Poland 107 tons, and in Lithuania only 73 tons. A similar relation prevails for other products. Thus in Congress Poland 8,5 % and in Lithuania only 2,7 % of the total area produces potatoes, and the crop from 100 hectares is 970 tons in Poland, against only 644 tons in Lithuania. The difference is not due to any great difference in the fertility of the soil, but to expert knowledge which was artificially banished from Lithuania by the political persecution of the Poles. Agricultural lectures and associations were forbidden, land confiscated from Poles was given to Russians who did not stay in the country, and neglected their too easily acquired properties, and the government did nothing to encourage agriculture, while every thing was done to ruin the chief landowners who were Poles.

Before the war Lithuania had only about 66,000 industrial workers, each earning on an average 232 roubles yearly, while Congress Poland had over 316,000 workingmen, each earning on an average 303 roubles yearly. A closer political connection between a free Lithuania and a free Poland will raise the wages of the Lithuanian workingmen, just as the old union between the two countries increased the liberty and independence of Lithuanian boyars.

## LITHUANIA AND POLAND

Under a free democratic Government which would not interfere with the natural movements of the population, the stream of emigration from the densely populated and industrial Congress Poland into the much less populated and less industrially developed Lithuania, will necessarily grow, as enterprising Poles are sure to start new undertakings in Lithuania, which will require skilled workmen from Poland. Thus the same process of polonisation which went on for four centuries in Lithuania, and which was incompletely interrupted by the partitions of Poland, will go on, for reasons similar to those which made the Transvaal a British colony, with the difference that Poland never used force against Lithuania.

## OR GERMANISATION

The natural unity of historic Lithuania was not weakened, but strengthened by the persecution of Poles and Catholics during the XIXth century. There is no good reason now for a partition of Lithuania in the name of the principle of self-determination of nations, as the real Lithuanians inhabit only a small part of Lithuania, and if purely ethnographic considerations should prevail, the Lithuanian State would be deprived of its capital, the Polish city of Wilno. Such a small State could not be really independent under present conditions, and, if not allied to Poland, would inevitably come under German influence, increasing the German power which threatens the peaceful development of democratic Europe.

## LITHUANIAN SEPARATISM NOT ONLY NATIONAL

The evidence as to the existence of a Lithuanian national movement which apparently would make a continuation of the union with Poland impossible, cannot be fairly judged as long as the Lithuanians remain under a foreign influence. This separatism, as advocated abroad by certain Lithuanians, who totally misrepresent the historic relations between Poland and Lithuania, is not really a national tendency, and would certainly never be supported by a legitimate representation of the rural population, nor by the nobility and middle classes in Lithuania, which have become completely Polish. A similar thing happened in Bohemia, where the nobility became German. But in Bohemia the germanisation was backed by force, whilst in Lithuania the polonisation of the upper classes was spontaneous. The Lithuanian boyars became Polish nobles because they liked Polish liberty and disliked the traditional despotism of their princes.

## ANOTHER POLISH CORRIDOR

As things now stand, only a very small part of the Lithuanian people can judge for themselves what political independence means, how it differs from local national autonomy, and what advantages or disadvantages may result from the separate political existence of ethnographic Lithuania. The most ardent



defenders of Lithuanian independence do not claim the whole territory of historic Lithuania, in which are now settled more Poles than Lithuanians. If a national frontier between Poland and ethnographic Lithuania had to be established, we should see on the future map of Europe a Polish corridor running north to the Duna, and imitating on a wider scale the Polish corridor towards the Baltic sea at Gdańsk.

## FAIR CLAIM OF THE POLES

The historic frontier of Poland was not accidental, but was the result of long wars between Poland and Muscovy and of very considerable concessions made by the Poles. If we disregard this natural growth, and if Europe confirms again, as in 1815, the crime of the partitions of Poland, then it is at least fair to ask that the frontier of Poland should be drawn so as to include the bulk of the Polish population in Lithuania, which is not less numerous, nor less nationally developed than the Lithuanian population.

The official claim of the Poles at the Conference of Peace is based on such considerations as leave several million Polish White Ruthenians, and a great number of Poles, outside Poland. To ignore the rights of the Poles in Lithuania, where they have been settled for more than five centuries and where, according to different evaluations, their number is between three and four millions, would be very much the same as to incorporate the whole of Holland or Switzerland with Germany. This could only be done by violence, and against the will of the inhabitants, and such an injustice could not last under a democratic form of government.

## LITHUANIA NEEDS ITS POLES

Whenever there are different nations inhabiting one territory, the relative importance of each nation does not depend only on its numbers, but also on the intellectual and social level of its representatives. The Poles in historic Lithuania are not only numerically superior to the Lithuanians, but also more indispensable to the normal political life of this country, because they alone could furnish the necessary num-

ber of officials, professional men and skilled workmen, which is necessary for a modern State. Uneducated peasants may be elected to the Diet, but they cannot be set up as heads of different government departments, nor even as chiefs of the local administration in districts of mixed population, where much knowledge and tact is needed in order to conciliate many conflicting interests and claims.

### THEIR HIGHER EDUCATION

As the Poles, as well as the Lithuanians and White Ruthenians, were excluded for more than a century from any participation in the government of their country, there are no clear indications given in past experience which could allow us to judge what proportion of each of these populations is able to fulfil responsible government duties. But if we admit that a certain degree of general education is a necessary condition for the proper discharge of such obligations, it becomes evident that an independent State of Lithuania would need its Poles as very useful citizens, and that the prosperity of the country would depend on their active participation in its social life.

### FOREIGN INFLUENCES

However much the Lithuanian separatism may be a natural growth, similar to the Irish separatism in Great Britain, (though the Poles have never oppressed the Lithuanians), there have been so many active foreign influences to encourage this growth, that we cannot judge impartially what the real Lithuanians want, and what they need, as long as these foreign influences continue.

### OLD AND NEW LINKS

The union of Lithuania with Poland was a natural outcome of their history, and this union grew more and more intimate from 1386 until 1791; nor was the process entirely interrupted by the partitions of Poland, as the common persecutions endured by Poles and Lithuanians from 1793 until 1918 have consolidated in many instances old links and have created new connexions which cannot be fully known nor understood by those emigrants who speak abroad most loudly in the name of Lithuanian separatism.

## THE WILL OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE

The will of the people remains a mystery in a land which has never had any popular representation nor free public discussion of its national interests. This will remains concealed in the depths of the Lithuanian souls, which are known to be very unexpressive and reserved. After several generations of persecution amounting to slavery, it is necessary for the whole territory of the old Polish Republic to enjoy freedom at least for one generation, before a real and genuine public opinion can arise among the different populations which enjoyed their liberty under Polish rule. During the centuries of this common public life, Lithuania never complained, never revolted, and the last solemn public expression of the national will of Lithuania was the unanimous acceptance by the legitimate representatives of Lithuania and Poland of the constitution which in 1791 abolished every separation between the two countries, and united them into one State.

## ITS LATEST CONFIRMATIONS

This complete incorporation of Lithuania into the Polish Republic, has been confirmed by the participation of many Lithuanians and White Ruthenians in the Polish struggles for liberty in 1831 and 1863-65. The separatist tendencies among Lithuanians are of a very recent origin, and although they have been very much encouraged by the Germans during the war, they have not prevented a powerful movement in favour of Polish schools in Lithuania, which again confirms the old union of both countries.

## EUROPE NEEDS A POWERFUL POLAND

The historic need of one isthmus State between the Baltic and the Black sea, well understood by those Lithuanians who on many solemn occasions confirmed their union with Poland, may now appear as no longer essential, because Europe has grown strong enough to defend herself, and is no longer afraid of any yellow peril. But the bolshevist revolution, penetrating into Hungary and Germany, has thrown a new light on the historic mission of a Polish isthmus State between a free Europe and an unsettled Russia.

## TO RESIST BOLSHEVISM

This bolshevist revolution is the natural outcome of a system of oppression and despotic centralisation, which was common to the three Powers which partitioned Poland. There is no other nation between the Rhine and the Dnieper with such old traditions of liberty as the Poles. The Poles have preserved Europe in olden times from the Asiatic invasions of Tatars, Turks and Muscovites which threatened the existence of European civilisation. Now they are the bulwark against oriental bolshevism, which is a very dangerous contagion and threatens also European civilisation.

## RHINE OR DNEIPEP FRONTIER

It becomes a serious question whether the Rhine or the Dnieper will be the frontier of Western Europe. Without the Poles and Lithuanians, the Russian contagion will reach the Rhine, and destroy the work of centuries on its way. With a strong Poland, united with Lithuania, the frontier of Western Europe will again reach the Dnieper and the Duna, as was the case in past centuries. Lithuania is an indispensable part of a strong isthmus State between the two seas, and Great Russia has not been able to take the place of this old State, as the defender of Western civilisation.

## POLISH EXPERIENCE

This mission can be fulfilled only by a highly civilised nation, and true civilisation cannot be improvised. The Poles have had their important share in the building of European liberty, and they, if they are helped and trusted by the Allies, can do as much towards the conversion of Germans to the ideals of western civilisation, as any of the western nations. They are the only nation between the Rhine and the Dnieper with an old parliamentary tradition, and with a wide experience as to the means which lead many different populations to join in one free commonwealth without compulsion, without arbitrary exceptional laws, and without persecution of any kind.

## PRECEDENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The union of Poland with Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia and Kurland, was the first great political experiment of a mutual insurance between several States against external aggression. In fact it was the only successful precedent of a great league of nations. We may consider this experiment as successful despite its apparent failure, because it secured internal peace for several centuries to a vast area in Europe, and limited considerably the possibility of external wars. This great undertaking of a pacific isthmus State, has only been arrested for a century and a half by three despotic neighbours, but the partitions of Poland have not destroyed the Polish nation, nor the links existing between this nation and the Lithuanians, the Letts, the White Ruthenians and the Ruthenians.

## UNEXPECTED RESULTS

The partitions of Poland have led indirectly to the triumph of the Polish ideal of a league of nations, because they increased the power of oriental despotism in Germany, Austria and Russia to such an extent that a great European war became inevitable, in order to decide whether the Polish ideals of federation and political liberty should be left anywhere in Europe, or whether German imperialism, disguised as Pan-germanism or Panslavism should predominate everywhere.

## MEANING OF THE WORLD WAR

The world war and the great alliance of free nations were spoilt in the beginning by the participation on the right side of the autocratic government of the Tsar. It looked as if the free nations were fighting for the aggrandizement of Russia. It was forbidden by the censure in France and England to speak of the independence of Poland, or of the great historic mission of the old isthmus State. But since the place of Russia in the great alliance has been taken by the United States of America, it has become evident that the war was a war for the old Polish and Lithuanian ideals, against German despotism, and that it must lead to the reconstruction of Poland.

## MODERATION OF THE POLES

The Poles themselves did not claim all that was due to them, and to the nations with whom they had been united since the XIVth century. They were not supported even in their most legitimate claims at the Conference of Peace. They were deprived of Elbing, and threatened to remain without Gdańsk and Teschen, the mouth and sources of their national river.

## THEY DO NOT CLAIM LITHUANIA

How could they under these circumstances claim the whole of Lithuania? They were obliged to compromise, and asked for an arbitrary frontier, leaving a great part of White Ruthenia to the enemy. But the sudden growth of bolshevism on the ruins of the Russian empire, has shown that the Muscovites are not ripe for a liberal and democratic government, and while peace has come to Western Europe, the Poles are left alone in their struggle for Western civilization against a new form of oriental despotism.

## POLISH ARMY FIGHTS FOR LITHUANIA

In this struggle the Poles are helped by the Lithuanians and White Ruthenians, and the need for a peaceful isthmus State becomes more and more evident to everybody who investigates impartially the German-made Ukrainian governments, and compares them with the Polish national government. The hope for a full reconstitution of the Polish Republic is growing, and this implies also the hope for a redeemed Lithuania, for which the Polish army is fighting in the marshes and swamps of Polesie against the Bolshevist armies. The fact that this war had to cross the Polish ethnographic frontiers into Polesie, confirms once more the natural union between Poland, Lithuania and White Ruthenia.

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## CONCLUSIONS

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I. — The word Lithuania is used in several different senses :

- 1) The historic Grand Duchy of Lithuania, corresponding roughly, but not exactly, to the actual six provinces of Wilno, Grodno, Kowno, Mińsk, Witebsk, Mohylów. Until 1569 it included also Ruthenia, which actually forms the provinces of Kieff, Volhynia and Podolia.
- 2) The said six provinces, as approximatively equivalent to the historic Grand Duchy.
- 3) Ethnographic Lithuania, or the territory in which the Lithuanian language prevails, namely the province of Kowno and small neighbouring districts in the provinces of Wilno and Suwalki.
- 4) In recent times the three western provinces of Grodno, Kowno and Wilno, inhabited chiefly by Poles and Lithuanians, and deprived for that reason of local autonomy, are often called Lithuania, and distinguished from White Ruthenia, or the three eastern provinces of Mińsk, Mohylów and Witebsk, which have obtained local autonomy. This distinction was artificially created by the Russian Government, and was neither justified by history nor by ethnography.

II. — The conquest of White Ruthenia and Ruthenia by the Lithuanians in the XIVth century, as well as the extension of Poland in the XIIIth century over Ruthenian territory, was greatly favoured by geographical conditions. The basins of seven great rivers, the Oder, the Vistula, the Niemen, the Duna, the Dniester, the Boh and the Dnieper form one natural whole, making a large isthmus between Western and Eastern Europe. This country differs widely from the territories situated farther east or north, and had to become one State for the full utilization of its natural resources. The history of Poland was a succession of efforts to form this isthmus State, necessary for the protection of Europe against Asiatic invasions. This task of the Polish nation was fulfilled from the XIVth to the XVIIth century, and was only interrupted

by the partitions of Poland, which made Eastern despotism temporarily triumphant over Western civilisation.

III. -- The union of Poland with Lithuania and Ruthenia, effectuated in 1386, was confirmed by many free decisions of the legitimate representatives of these countries, in 1413, 1432, 1434, 1499 and 1501. It led to the pact of Lublin in 1569, in which both countries decided to have one common Diet, and to elect one king. Finally in 1791 every separation between Poland and Lithuania was abolished, and the unity of the Polish Republic was solemnly reasserted.

The participation of numerous Lithuanians, Ruthenians and White Ruthenians in the Polish struggles for independence in 1794, 1830-31, 1863-65 has confirmed this historic unity of Lithuania and Poland. The creation of over 1,500 Polish schools throughout historic Lithuania during the war, when the Russian Government could no longer hinder that movement, is the most recent confirmation of the Polish character of historic Lithuania.

IV. -- The union with Poland introduced western liberty into the despotic State of Lithuania. It brought an increased freedom to the Lithuanian boyars who had no political rights in the XIVth century. They received, without any effort of their own, all the privileges which the Polish nobles had obtained from their kings after long struggles. Close economic relations between these countries will increase the wages of the Lithuanian and White Ruthenian working men, favour agricultural production, and develop the industry of Lithuania which needs the help of Polish experts and the support of Polish capital.

The waterways of Lithuania lead to Poland, and nowhere to Russia. As the railways have been to a great extent destroyed, the vast net of Lithuanian waterways acquires an increased importance, and unites Lithuania closely with Poland.

V. -- The political and religious persecution of Poles, Lithuanians and White Ruthenians in the XIXth century consolidated the links which were formed in the XIVth century between Lithuania and Poland. The Russian administration has greatly impoverished the country, and despite the most unjustifiable exactions, could not raise a revenue sufficient for its



expenses, so that the deficit reached before the war 40 million roubles. The Russian Government has also deprived Lithuania of the high standard of her public education which she enjoyed under Polish rule. Hatred and contempt for the Muscovites are so general throughout historic Lithuania, that a Russian government could not be tolerated anywhere in this country. The historic frontier of 1772 is fully alive in the memory and consciousness of White Ruthenians, and could not be obliterated by over a century of russification.

VI. — If a Lithuanian State is created apart from the Polish State, ethnographic Lithuania is too small to maintain its real independance. Such a State could not pretend to the historic capital of Lithuania, Wilno, which is situated in Polish territory. It would inevitably have to depend on Germany or Poland. German influence in Lithuania would use this province as a bridge between Germany and Russia, and this would increase the German power in Russia, already so conspicuous under the tsarist as well as under the bolshevist regime. German control of the vast resources of Russia, in men, in agricultural and in industrial wealth, would imperil not only Poland but the peace of Europe. Therefore the maintenance of the old union between Poland and Lithuania, so many times confirmed in past centuries, is the essential condition for the true political and economic independence of both countries.

VII. — The Poles are sure to respect the national rights of the Lithuanians, as they have always done in the past, but they must also defend their own national rights in historic Lithuania, where they are more numerous, and in many ways more efficiently active than the Lithuanians.



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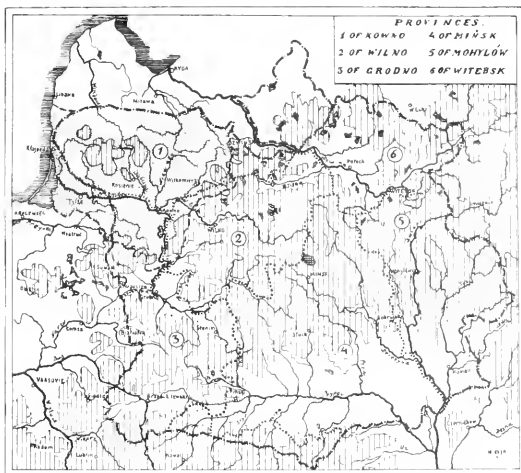
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# LITHUANIA AND WHITE RUTHENIA



PROVINCES:  
 1 OF KOWNO 4 OF MIŃSK  
 2 OF WILNO 5 OF MOHYŁÓW  
 3 OF GRODNO 6 OF WITEBSK

- BOUNDARY OF HISTORIC LITHUANIA AND INFLANTY
- ..... BOUNDARIES OF THE SIX PROVINCES
- ▭ ETHNOGRAPHIC LITHUANIA
- ▨ ELEVATION ABOVE 150 m
- ▩ ELEVATION ABOVE 300 m













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