

Paderewski—Patriot—A notable interview
in this number

FREE POLAND

DEVOTED TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE CAUSE OF A UNITED AND INDEPENDENT
POLAND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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Poland—A State of Order American Pleaders for Internationalism in Poland Will Fail

WHILE the Bolsheviks who sit in high places in certain American editorial sanctums are tirading against the aspirations of the Polish people for a United and Independent Poland, the brightness of Polish prospects is steadily increasing. Despite the brilliancy of diction which these clean collar exponents of internationalism employ in their articles, the Polish people seem determined to ignore their advice and form a sane, orderly, representative government.

The Polish people and their brethren in America are against the Reds, are against Internationalism, are against class wars, and all other peculiar social ideas which these gentlemen are anxious to promote. Although the Polish determination to persist in framing a real, an honest government, is certain to result in a continued flood of abuse which for some months past has been lavished on them, the Poles will not shift their course one iota.

It can be admitted that nationalism has its dangers if carried to an extreme. German nationalism made it possible for Germans in America to take the oath of allegiance to the United States with such private reservations as would allow them to still consider themselves as subjects of the German Empire. This is properly a subject of denouncement.

The Polish nationalist spirit, however, is the spirit which has kept the race alive for centuries, and although Poland has been absent from the map for one hundred and twenty-five years, it is this spirit which has preserved the Polish language and the Polish desire for liberty. Polish nationalism has given soldiers to the army of every oppressed nation, to every subject people when fighting for liberty.

The Polish spirit today is welding the three partitioned portions of the devastated motherland into one concrete whole; it is sending men from Warsaw with worn shoes, thin clothing and defective munition, to fight the forces of disorder which threaten the integrity of the State. Polish nationalism has made it possible for Paderewski, the genius, the patriot, the man of arts, to sit in friendly council and win Pilsudski, the soldier, to his side for the purpose of forming a coalition ministry.

The hope of Europe, yes, the hope of the world, is centered on the persistence of this spirit, on the persistence of this determination, if necessary, to fight for order and to erect a State which shall be free to all, and which will protect all within its borders from the assaults of marauding bands with their banners of internationalism.

Polish nationalism in the United States has made it possible for the American Government to mobilize a great body of men and women in patriotic effort for America in spite of their lack of knowledge of the English language. This spirit has been evidenced by the valiant, self-sacrificing service of 200,000 Poles in the American Army, by the sales of Liberty Bonds in Polish communities where the only regret of the participants in the drives has been that the government would accept the money only as a loan and not as a gift.

And it is this attitude of determination which these late hour coffee drinkers of Greenwich Village seek to destroy. The sense of order, the respect for authority, the love of country, out of which not only a new Poland, but a greater, a more harmonious, more glorious United States will arise, is distasteful to these gentlemen with their treacherous gospel of human brotherhood.

Fortunately, the good sense of the Polish people will protect them from the virus which these Bolsheviki seek to inject into their blood. To the Poles, the vision of Paderewski, walking proudly as a Polish citizen through the streets of Posen, for all of the patter of German machine gun bullets, and sitting in friendly council with the peasant and workmen's representatives in Warsaw, is more inspiring than nation building in coffee houses, within the safe confines of New York or Washington.

THE world is pregnant with great events these days. The maw of the press is insatiable. Headlines are required, not only for the afternoon and morning newspapers, but for the hourly editions. The weekly newspapers, and even the monthly magazines are not a whit behind in their demands for news or what may be displayed as news. But making a reading holiday for the American people often works a great injustice to the people so discussed.

The Poles, for some months, have been the victims of the headline habit, and Jewish pogroms with flaring headlines have been spread in the newspapers throughout the country, alarming not only the Jewish people, but many Americans. Petitions, memorials, remonstrances against these Jewish pogroms have been read, written, adopted and transmitted, not only to American authorities, but to the Allied Peace Council itself.

It surely will not be considered amiss, if at this time, we call attention to the absolute disappearance of these stories and to the positive denials by French and English newspapermen who have actually visited the territory. The other day, momentum was again given to the pogrom legend by proclaiming that a pogrom was in process in Posen, but in this case, a member of the new German cabinet issued a denial.

In short, there have never been any pogroms in Poland, but the American appetite for sensations, and, it must be confessed, the desire of certain Jewish people to create trouble if possible, have succeeded—it cannot be denied—in blackening the reputation of the Poles for events which have never occurred.

Again, it is worth noting that, notwithstanding the elaborate display recording the "Tearing Raid on Berlin" conducted by the Poles, the only disorder in that city (Berlin) is occasioned by the activities of the Germans. In this case, the newspapers have not only carried the Polish Army to within fifty miles of Berlin, but gave notice in frequent bulletins of additional marches. Of course, the towns which they name as having been captured in this march on Berlin actually lay to the north and east of Posen and away from Berlin, but geography does not count when a story has to be told. Even the glamor of the march on Berlin has ceased to deserve the first page, and has been dropped from sight with the pica type announcement that the alleged marches were conducted by Polish militia resident in German Poland, and were conducted for the sole purpose of preserving order.

The lesson, the only lesson which FREE POLAND seeks to point in connection with these stories of pogroms and marches on Berlin is that this is a time for careful newspaper reading. Not all of the stories which work to the disadvantage of the Poles are German propaganda. Indeed, while it is always blunderingly at work, the German at least tries to have his stories plausible and no agent would attempt to remake the map of the world as the newspaper writers have which in many cases, unfortunately, are the result of ignorance. So long as Americans content themselves with reading headlines and skipping the context, these things will happen. Therefore, FREE POLAND asks that newspaper readers weigh the possibilities of these anti-Polish stories before taking them too seriously to heart. It will save embarrassment at some future date.

Lest We Forget

LEST we forget, let us review for a moment, some of the solemn pledges which the Polish people hold:

The most important of which are here set forth.

United States—President Woodrow Wilson, January 8, 1918:

“An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.”

Great Britain—Premier Lloyd George, January 5, 1918.

“We believe, however, that an independent Poland, comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form a part of it, is an urgent necessity for the stability of Western Europe.”

France—M. Pichon, Minister, Foreign Affairs.

“We will never exclude the cause of Poland from our own. We are keeping our obligations to her. We demand a united, independent, indivisible Poland, with all the guarantees for her political, economic and military development with all the consequences which could result therefrom.”

Italy—Count Edward Soderini, Chamber of Deputies.

“It is especially important that the re-awakening of conscience in the peoples of Europe, which seems now to have taken place, should not be a mere passing phase, and that they must insist upon the reconstitution of Poland in such fashion that there shall be no possibility of the promises made during the war being afterwards violated * * * A reconstituted Poland would prove a powerful rampart against certain possible invasions.”

Versailles—Inter-Allied War Council, June 3, 1918:

At the inter-allied war council meeting in Versailles, June 3, the British, French and Italian premiers agreed to the following declaration: “First, the creation of a United and Independent Poland, with free access to the seas, shall be one of the conditions of a solid and just peace, and the rule of right in Europe.”

Additional declarations, pledging the good faith of the nations through their recognized statesmen, have also been made, some of which read as follows:

Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, to Roman Dmowski, President, Polish National Committee, of Paris:

“Therefore, feeling as it does, a deep sympathy for the Polish people, and viewing with gratification the progress of the Polish cause, this Government experiences a feeling of genuine satisfaction in being able to comply with your request by recognizing the Polish Army, under the supreme political authority of the Polish National Committee, as autonomous and co-belligerent.”

Rt. Hon. Arthur Balfour, Foreign Secretary, to Polish National Committee at Paris:

“His Majesty’s Government has repeatedly announced its desire to see the creation of a united and independent Polish State, and was glad to join in the declaration of the great powers at Versailles on June 3, 1918, that the creation of such a state with free access to the sea constitutes one of the conditions of a solid and just peace. I need hardly assure you that the sympathies of this country have been, and are, with the people of Poland of whatever politic, class or creed, in all the sufferings to which they have been subjected during the war. It admires their firm refusal to allow Germany and Austria-Hungary to dictate the future status and boundaries of their country and it looks forward to a time when the present provisional arrangements will come to an end, and a Poland, free and united, will shape its own constitution according to the wishes of its people. That this happy moment may be near at hand is the most earnest wish of His Majesty’s Government.”

M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs:

“We spoke not only for Serbia and Belgium, but also for Poland. The Allies wish an independent and indivisible Poland, with all guarantees for its free, economic and military development.”

Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith.

“We should be stultifying all our professions if we were to submit to a so-called peace which did not provide * * * for the creation in Poland, the prey in the past of dynastic and military ambitions, of a united and self-governing State.”

M. Clemenceau, Premier of France:

“It is necessary that Russia’s place should be taken by a powerful commonwealth that will guarantee to halt Germany in her march eastward, and such a commonwealth will be a united, independent Poland. The establishment of Poland has been definitely decided upon, but she must be powerful and, therefore, must regain all of the territory taken from her by the Prussians, Austrians and Russians. Poland must be so powerful, that in case of war, she could alone take care of Germany. This task will be accomplished by the Allies, irrespective of how much more blood will have to flow. Only Poland can guarantee peace and retain the political equilibrium in Europe.”

The Independent Polish State

Mr. Paderewski is Interviewed on Polish Hopes

[Elias Tobenkin, in the New York Tribune of Sunday, January 5, performed a notable and worthy service for the cause of Polish freedom. As a fellow passenger with Mr. Paderewski on the St. Megantic, Mr. Tobenkin interviewed the Polish patriot, and his impressions and Mr. Paderewski's views are set forth in a page article which should be read not only by all the Polish people, but the American people as well. Through the kindly courtesy of the New York Tribune, the article is here reprinted.—EDITOR'S NOTE.]

By ELIAS TOBENKIN

Poland and her problems are travelling across the Atlantic with me. Paderewski is on board. The great musician, whom circumstances turned diplomat, is hastening to Europe to lend what aid and counsel he can to the new Polish government which has risen from the debris of the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian debacle.

For more than a year the famous musician has been the unofficial ambassador in America of the Poland that is to be. As soon, however, as the cables brought the news that the armistice was signed Paderewski took the first steamer to Europe, in order to be nearer the scene of action, or, as he put it, to be "nearer to Poland."

"A slow boat," Paderewski, speaking in well modulated, measured English, said ruefully. He was standing on the deck of the Megantic and scanning the horizon to the East with strained patience, much like a boy traveling home at Christmas time after a long, long absence, eager to the point of breaking.

Yes, the boat is somewhat slow; it will take us nine days to get to England. But it is open to question whether even the fastest boat would not have been a little too slow for the distinguished Polish patriot and his fiery eagerness—dreams and longings of a lifetime which events in Europe have set free.

While on his way to help build a new country out of the fragments of old dismembered Poland, Paderewski is for the time being still a man without a country. He and his little party, consisting, besides Mme. Paderewski, of his military attache, M. Sigismund Iwanowski, and his private secretary, Edward Piotrowski, travel on special passports, issued to them by the British Ambassador at Washington and making the little party official guests of every Allied government whose soil they touch.

In the smoking room, in the library, M. Paderewski, whenever he comes, is always the centre of polite attention from the distinguished men on board, and there are distinguished men of all Allied nations on board—men of large affairs, military men, diplomats, scientists and scholars. Sharing with Paderewski in this attention is Poland. Everybody on board this small floating world is talking Poland and the Polish question, and Bartholomew's Atlas, in the steamer's library, is constantly in demand. Men are scanning it for such cities as Cracow and Lemberg, Memel, and Kalisch.

And M. Iwanowski, who was a well known artist in New York before he put on the uniform of a Polish lieutenant as military aid to Paderewski, watches this

sudden interest in Poland on the part of all on the boat and is happy. He speaks of Paderewski in a voice that combines the love of a father for a child and the reverence of a faithful pupil for his great master.

"Paderewski is not a politician. Politics is the kitchen where a nation's diet is prepared. Paderewski is the soul of our nation. You must grasp this distinction well. He is a spiritual leader, a great moral force. You must not measure him with the yardstick with which you measure ordinary social reformers."

These words of Lieutenant Iwanowski in a way give the cue for the study and estimate of Paderewski. I found it out when I asked him what sort of a settlement of the Polish question he looked for. He spoke in big outlines. Details did not worry him; they would take care of themselves.

"There can be but one settlement of the Polish question—a just settlement," Paderewski said, and his restless gray eyes became narrowed into a fixed, steel-like gaze. "Any but a just settlement will not be a settlement of the Polish question. And if the Polish question is not settled now and forever, the war, with its appalling sacrifices, has been in vain—a failure. A just settlement of the Polish question means a strong Poland, not a small Polish state of the Polish territory which was held by Russia prior to this war, but a Polish state embracing all Polish territory in Central Europe, a union of Russian, German and Austrian Poland. Such a state must include within its boundaries the Kingdom of Poland (in Russia), Galicia, West Prussia (Danzig), part of East Prussia (Allenstein), the province of Posen, upper Silesia, Austrian Silesia (Teschen), the Polish districts of the present government of Grodno (Bielsk, Bielostok) and Lithuania, the latter an autonomous nation within the Polish state. Such a Polish state will have a population of 40,000,000."

Paderewski was carving out such a Polish state on the map of Europe which lay before us on the table. He was warming up to his subject and I swallowed all questions.

"There is no other way out," he was saying. "There can be no half-way solution of the Polish problem. It is either a strong Poland and stability in Europe or a weak Poland and the eternal festering of the old wound. For look at the map: In a strong Poland, the kind I have outlined, the kind we are asking, Poland gets a gateway to the sea. Danzig will be our seaport. The River Vistula, a Polish river, until now tributary to Germany, takes on new life. It connects directly with the Baltic. It links Poland with the world. It is the greatest stimulus to Polish commerce and industry.

"On the other hand, see what happens if, instead of a strong Poland, with an outlet to the sea, we get a weak Poland, with no direct avenue to the ocean. Poland is then once more dependent upon its two principal neighbors, Russia and Germany. Russia is torn by inner strife and civil war, and for a generation or two will itself be helpless. Poland, therefore, must turn to Germany for help. For geographical advantage is on Germany's side. She is nearer to Poland than England, nearer than is America.

"If, when peace comes, Poland emerges out of this world cataclysm a small, weak state, with no seaport, then Germany has won the war. A weak Poland means a strong Germany. It means that Germany's old diplomacy and cunning have triumphed. German diplomacy before the war with regard to Central Europe in a nutshell was this: It wanted Central Europe, from the Baltic to the Black Sea on the east and to the Adriatic Sea on the west, to be divided into small, weak states, having their own petty kings, but taking their civilization, their commerce and industry and Kultur from Germany. A weak Poland, a Poland dependent upon Germany for its approach to the sea, is a Poland controlled by Germany. A strong Poland, with Danzig as its door to the world—and Germany loses its option on Central Europe."

"Have you any country in mind to model your constitution after any one particular civilization?"

"No," replied Paderewski. "We don't have to go outside our own history to frame a constitution. The structure already exists. We have constitutional traditions. Our old Polish constitution was adopted in 1180, thirty-five years before the Magna Charta, and subsequently changed and revised in 1413, 1505, in 1791 and 1862. We shall revive these traditions and upon their foundations we shall construct an absolutely democratic constitution."

I wondered whether Paderewski was using the word democracy merely because it is current or whether he had definite convictions on the matter. I broached the subject of Polish nobility—the class to which he belongs—and its rights in this new Poland. Paderewski sensed the challenge. His reply was quick and positive.

"There will be a clean sweep of all titles under the new Polish government," he said. "We shall have no nobles, we shall have no classes. All men will be citizens of Poland on the same basis as people are citizens of the United States. As a matter of fact Poland long ago abolished titles and nobility. We have no Polish counts or princes today by law. If men in Poland still either take or are given a title it is purely a matter of convention. France, too, has abolished titles, yet many Frenchmen still title themselves and are titled. Let us hope that in the new Poland this survival will finally and forever be swept out. We want every son of Poland to be a Pole, a citizen, to have an equal vote, equal rights before the law, equal opportunities."

"What will the new Poland do for its peasantry?" I asked, reducing the subject of democracy to concrete questions. "Will it leave the large estates intact and will it bring to the Polish peasant a new nationalism, a new status and dignity as a citizen without bringing

him a corresponding amelioration of his economic condition? What will be the answer of the New Poland to the Polish peasant's clamor for land?"

"He'll get his land," Paderewski responded quickly. "I said a little while ago that it is advisable for Poland to have a government similar to that of its neighboring states. That includes not only the institution of government, but the methods of administration of law and justice, the method of instituting social and economic reforms. I am only concerned for the time being with the great general problem of seeing Poland established as an independent nation. The working out of economic programmes and reforms will follow. With Poland once assured a national existence, I trust that leaders will arise capable of the task before them.

"However the land question stands apart, it is basic and will have to be attended to from the very first. Well, I have no scruples about dividing up estate and giving land to the peasantry. First, estates that are heavily mortgaged probably will be taken. The only provision that I would make is that land be not confiscated but expropriated. The Polish landowners or nobility, so-called, have been bleeding in the last century as no other class has bled to preserve the Polish national spirit. They have been imprisoned, beheaded, hanged; their property was confiscated; their wives and children driven to poverty and starvation. I would, therefore, bespeak for these men in the new Poland not privileges, but a regard equal to that accorded to all. When necessary to take the land from the landowners I would like to see the state pay for the land. What I would like to see in Poland is justice done to all without penalizing any one group of men in the process. We do not want to establish in Poland a reverse aristocracy."

"What about the workers in cities, the factory hands?"

"Poland is almost exclusively agricultural," was the reply, "and it is too early to speak of industrial programmes and reforms there. Except for the textile industry in such cities as Lodz our industries are yet undeveloped. Our problem in this field is rather to get foreign capital to develop industry in Poland, to establish factories, and to call into life the vast natural resources of the country. There is great opportunity in Poland for enterprise, and as far as I am concerned, I should gladly see American capital help Poland in its economic development. We certainly don't want German capital to help us in the development of our resources and in the building up of our industries."

There are about six million Jews living in the territory which, before the war, was Russian and Austrian in Poland and which Paderewski would now include in the new Poland. What would the attitude of the new Poland be to the Jews?

Paderewski was most willing to talk on these questions, not only in behalf of the Polish people, but personally, in behalf of himself. Much had been said and even written about Paderewski being unfriendly to Jews. He disavowed this with sincerity and sadness. It was painful, he said, to be misrepresented on so grave a matter.

"There is practically no Jewish question in Poland," the pianist leaned closer across the table, as if to put great weight into his words. "As for me personally, I have never looked upon the Jews of Poland as other Poles of the Mosaic faith. For 800 years the Jews had lived in Poland. The first charter granted them was in the year 1096 in the city of Kalisch. However attached to their ancestral faith, which is the Roman Catholic religion, the Poles have been the most tolerant of all the nations of Europe. Religious freedom has always been one of the fundamentals in the Polish constitution, and the Jews of Poland have enjoyed religious freedom in Poland as they have nowhere else. Inquisition has never been put into practice in Poland even in Europe's darkest days. On the other hand, the Jews have been and today are among the most loyal sons of Poland.

"For eight centuries the Jews have formed practically the merchant class of Poland, thus forming a part of the Polish middle class. The Polish nobles were too absorbed in political struggles and in war, on the one hand, and were deterred by custom, perhaps, on the other, from engaging in commerce. The peasants were too primitive to develop a commercial or middle class of their own. The Jews filled in the gap. They are the commercial element par excellence. They had and have a definite place in Poland's social structure.

"Since early in the nineteenth century a middle class has been arising from among the Poles. There is now an ever increasing number of Polish business men. Here and there competition arises between Pole and Jew, just as competition arises between Jew and Jew in the business world or between Gentile and Gentile. I do not know of any instances where this business competition has gone over into race antagonism of its own accord.

"There never has been a pogrom in Poland. And if in isolated and rare instances something resembling a feud has arisen between Jews and Poles, such a feud was without exception incited either by Russian or German agents for some definite and sinister purpose. Thus it is known to me personally that in 1906, after the Kishinev massacre, six of the ringleaders of the pogrom in that city were dispatched by Russian officials to Warsaw, with instructions to foster an anti-Jewish agitation there. I suppose it suited the purpose of autocracy to start pogroms at the time as an antidote to the revolutionary movement."

"Well, what these hooligans could achieve in Kishinev they could not achieve in Warsaw. They were not taken seriously, even by the lowest elements. There was no pogrom at Warsaw.

"Here is another instance of how the Russian government sought to antagonize the Poles against the Jews. About two years ago on a great Polish holiday a religious procession passed through the streets of Warsaw. Church dignitaries were in the procession. Crowds mounting into tens of thousands lined the streets. Suddenly, at the height of the ceremonial, a heavily bearded 'Jew' broke through the crowd, ran up to the priest, spat at the sacrament, and with lightning rapidity began breaking through the crowd to make his getaway. Had this man succeeded in escap-

ing I don't know but what Warsaw might that day have had a pogrom not unlike that of Kishinev, but a fortunate thing happened—fortunate for the Jews and Poles alike. Four Polish young men pounced upon the 'Jew' and prevented his escape. One of them grabbed the man by his heavy beard—and the beard remained in the boy's hand. The 'Jew' was no 'Jew' at all. He was a Russian agent of the secret police, a member of the Black Hundred, who had resorted to such a desperate method to start a massacre of Jews."

Paderewski paused and reflected for a moment, then he spoke again.

"Perhaps," he said, "I ought to touch upon one disagreeable matter of recent occurrence in Poland, which is often magnified into an anti-Jewish movement by those not in possession of the correct facts. In 1912 a Polish paper in Warsaw called 'Dwa Groszy' started an agitation among the Poles to boycott Jewish business men. The movement spread to a limited area, but has since collapsed. However, even at its height, the so-called boycott movement was not national but political in its character, and animus and the Russian government, not the Polish nation, was responsible for it.

"After the massacre of Jews in Kishinev and other Russian cities, large numbers of Jewish refugees came to Warsaw. The Russian government, after having persecuted and murdered Jews in its own cities, now turned about. The police began to extend special favors to the Russian Jews in Poland and make political capital out of this new element in divers ways. But like all other schemes of the Russian government for sowing dissension in Poland, this one, too, failed. In any case, whatever the movement has been and however regrettable, it cannot be ascribed to any racial motive. Poland will always remain true to her character and traditions, and will treat with equal justice all her sons, without distinction of race or creed."

I reminded M. Paderewski of the frequent dispatches from Poland during the war, telling of bitter persecutions and horrible atrocities practised by the Poles upon Jews.

"Yes, I read those dispatches," the musician answered. "There certainly was a lot of suffering and cruelty perpetrated in the war zone on civilians of all classes. But that these cruelties were perpetrated by Poles upon Jews as Jews does not seem credible to me. I know the Polish population to be peaceful, neighborly. I have never seen any symptoms of brutality in it. The dispatches all come one way—from the anti-Polish side, the German side. Don't you think that a great many of these stories of cruelties on the part of the Poles may have been skillfully invented, or the cruelties actually put up by Germany for the purpose of arousing feeling against Poland in order to discredit Poland before the world? German propaganda has taken such subtle forms that when one is told that Poland, after eight centuries of peaceful, neighborly contact with its citizens of the Mosaic faith, has suddenly grown bestial and brutal toward them, one might well suspect the source whence the news comes and the motives for its persistent dissemination.

"I have not been on the ground and therefore cannot discuss details. I can only set up more facts against these rumors. There has been a tendency in the press of America to compare Poland with Rumania in their treatment of Jews. This is a grave injustice and is either direct or indirect German propaganda. A Jew cannot buy land in Rumania. He could not buy land in Russia under the old regime. But Jews can and do buy land in Poland. In fact, some of the largest landowners in Galicia are Jews. One of the largest Jewish landowners in Galicia, Grodelzadik, owns something like 120,000 acres. Popper, of Vienna, is another of the large landowners. There are a host of others, like Lazarus, Kalischer, Lindenbaum, Rappaport, Lowenstein, who own vast estates in Poland. In the cities of Galicia Jews hold positions as mayors and judges. They are the presidents of the chambers of commerce.

"The Jews of Polish birth and origin are at one with us today in our demand for a strong and free Poland, as they have been always. I don't say this to please the Jews. I say this as a matter of historic truth and simple justice. My hope is that in the new Poland the Jews will be just as Polish in their language and culture—while staying true to their ancient faith—as the Jews and Poles of America are Americans."

"What will be your immediate programme in London, Paris, or wherever you are going to establish your headquarters during the peace conference?" I asked.

"Simple," he replied. "When our party left New York we had word that a provisional Polish government had been established. The Marconi wireless on board stated the other morning that the Poles have taken Lemberg. Polish troops are opposing the Ukrainians and the Germans. All signs thus indicate that this provisional government in Poland commands the confidence of the people. We shall ask that in the first place the Allied governments recognize this Polish provisional government. Once it is recognized, the provisional government will be entitled to send delegates to the peace conference, to the peace table, where the new Poland will be carved out."

"And the step after that?" I asked.

"This takes us beyond the peace conference. We must suppose that the status of the Polish state will have been definitely decided upon internationally. The next step therefore will be purely national—the calling of a constituent assembly to adopt a constitution."

"What sort of a Poland are you looking forward to—republican or monarchical?" I asked.

Paderewski opened his eyes wide and looked at me quizzically and then came a suggestion of a twinkle.

There were rumors in New York that Paderewski is a monarchist—that he is ambitious to wear a crown, to be the King of Poland. He was wondering whether my question had any reference to that rumor.

When I frankly admitted that it had the twinkle disappeared. He spoke in dead earnest.

"No," he said, "I have no ambition. All this talk is absurd—it is too silly to be dignified with a serious denial. True to my country's traditions, I am a repub-

lican—always was one. I have no thought about myself in this matter. I am thinking only of Poland. I want to see Poland resurrected. I want to see her on her feet and then let her govern herself as she sees fit, as she thinks best.

"There is, however, just one word of advice on the matter of government that I can give my compatriots. This advice comes not from personal choice or predilection, for, as I told you, I am a republican. It comes solely from the careful study of the history of my country—and I have studied its history for many, many years, seeking therein the reasons for Poland's misfortunes in the past and guidance for Poland's conduct in the future.

"It is my advice that after Poland has been resurrected, has been given a new lease of life, it shall have a government similar to that of its neighboring countries. If Russia and Germany are republican, let Poland be republican. If Russia and Germany go back to monarchy, then Poland had better have a monarchy. Our trouble in the past has been that Poland was in advance of the governments of the neighboring states. For four hundred years Poland has been self-governing. A king never meant much to us; the Diet ruled, and her very progressiveness was the cause of our country's downfall. While Russia was steeped in Byzantism, Poland was following the civilization of the West. She was ahead of her neighbors in humanistic ideals. This liberalistic tendency set Russia, Germany and Austria dead against her, and ultimately broke the Polish kingdom into fragments. We want for Poland a steady, normal existence. And such an existence can be best attained by not adopting a mode of government that will be the antipodes of that of its neighbors. She must not strive to be an exception, but go with the crowd and at an equal pace."

SAYS U. S. LOAN IS POLAND'S SOLE HOPE

(From the *New York Sun*)

A strong appeal for a loan from the American Government to the Polish nation was made tonight by John F. Smulski, Polish Commissioner in the United States, in the absence of Ignace Paderewski. It is based on the plea that Poland, while not technically at war with Germany, gave a quarter of a million of her sons to fight Prussianism and by barring the way to Russia prevented a German victory in the first year of the war. The appeal followed conferences among representatives of Poland, the State Department and the Food Administration.

Two and a half million of Poles will die this winter unless the technical barrier to the United States lending money to Poland is removed, Mr. Smulski declared.

"Unless this ruling is changed," he said, "the Polish people are practically doomed to starve. Technically, their position is not legal, and I am advised that only Congressional action will make possible the opening of the purse strings of the American people. This is so monstrous an observance of procedure and precedent that I cannot believe the American people will

sustain such a stand, and I am planning an appeal to Congress for good loans to be made to the Polish nation. There is not a Pole in the United States but would give the last loaf from his cupboard and the roof over his head to aid his distressed countrymen, but real relief can only be a Governmental undertaking."

To emphasize his plea, Mr. Smulski said today Poland is fighting the battle of the world. He declared that since his recent arrival in the United States he had received a cablegram from Swaitopelk-Mirski which argued that aiding the Poles was not only a humanitarian thing but important from the standpoint of world politics. This cable said: "The existing hatred toward the Anglo-Saxons and Allies among the Russians and Germans will make it very easy for the organizing genius of Germany to construct a solid block consisting of 250,000,000 people and incalculable material resources of vast territory east of the Rhine and up to the shores of the Pacific.

"This new block will be unconquerable by any nation and the chief aim will be the imposing of a new social order throughout the world. The only element capable of holding back these rising divisions is the Polish nation, for the Poles are fighting now not only for themselves but for the whole human culture. The Bolsheviki are being organized by Gen. Ludendorff and receiving supplies of arms from the same source. They are advancing steadily and today are almost at the gates of Warsaw.

"Stripped of all her resources by the German invasion Poland is in the worst position, more so than any other nation in Europe. The necessity for help is imperative. It cannot be founded on charity and gifts. The calls are for far too great sums. The Polish organizations in the United States should make a joint request for a loan from the United States, payable within ten or fifteen years. This will be invested in foodstuffs, the distribution of which is to be controlled by the United States."

Germany is trying to make of Poland a vassal state, Mr. Smulski declared. He recited the statement credited to Von Hindenburg, that starvation was a recognized German weapon.

"In this terrible emergency," Mr. Smulski said, "Berlin is being aided unwittingly by many earnest publicists who are spreading German propaganda. A month ago under German auspices American newspapers were flooded with stories of Jewish pogroms which never existed, and only yesterday new attempts to create trouble were made by representing the Poles as marching on Berlin."

German domination of Poland would save the day for Germany, according to Mr. Smulski. It would give Germany an open way to Russia, and German efforts now are to destroy Poland by "bankrupting the world's sympathy for that distressed nation."

"The Allies and the United States do not appreciate it," said Mr. Smulski, "but they are playing into the hands of Berlin, and if they allow Poland to fall they will have lost the war. To every Pole the talk that

Poland is barred from aid because she did not officially declare war against the Central Powers is disheartening. Polish arms and statesmanship from the first have been devoted to aiding the Allies. Suppose the Poles had revolted against Russia, as the German High Command planned at the opening of the war? It would have meant that Germany would have had an eastern military front against Russia held by Poles, which would have enabled the Germans to throw their entire strength against Paris, and the war would have ended in six months with a German victory and Paris captured. Instead the Poles joined the Russian troops and it was the Polish regiments recalled from Siberia which held the line against the Germans until they were wiped out. Then the German inclined Russian General began to give way and Germany gained her foothold."

Mr. Smulski recalled the fact that Poland refused the offer of peace by Berlin and Vienna and the offer of an independent Polish State because of their fealty to the Allied cause. He also recalled that Poles entered the armies of Italy, France and Canada, helped form the Czecho-Slovak army and that 250,000 Poles entered the American Army and Navy. Mr. Smulski then issued this solemn warning:

"It will be fatal to world peace, to the stability of confidence of the oppressed people, if when their military aid has been secured the interest in their moral and physical welfare begins to wane. A law which bars the Poles from being aided at this time must be changed. Congress, I know, will assist and make it possible for this aid to be furnished. The millions in Poland must not be doomed. American laws must not be made German instruments for securing to Germany what she has always sought—Polish lands free from Polish populations."

POLAND—ITS POPULATION—ITS STRENGTH

The new Poland will contain a population of not less than 25,000,000 of peoples all speaking the Polish tongue. It will rank fifth among the nations of Europe, for its population total will exceed the combined populations of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Holland and Serbia. It is not a small nation.

With access to the sea, Poland will be a self-sustaining nation. It is fourth in the world in the production of wheat per hectare; third in the production of corn. The Polish city of Lodz is the second Manchester of Europe. Warsaw, the capital of Poland, is the second largest railroad terminal in the world, and through that city, traverse the rail routes to Eastern Russia, to Siberia and the Far East.

Already economic alliances have been established with the new States of Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia. It is ready for friendship with all nations.

POLAND IS IN DIRE STRAITS

By JOHN F. BASS

Chicago Daily News

The present situation in Poland is most distressing, and probably the most important of that in any country in Europe. The plan of the Allies, I believe, is to make a great Polish state to form the keystone on which will rest the reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe. Lying as it does between Russia under Bolshevism, Austria in a ferment of disintegration, and Germany in revolution, Poland's position is of the highest importance, and the establishment of a suitable government is imperative. Should the effort to do this fail, Poland would form a bridge over which the Bolsheviks might invade Germany and the new states of Austria.

In the present weakened condition of Europe the control of Austria and Germany on the Bolshevik plan of completely overturning the economical, social and political structure of these countries would mean for the whole of Europe an era of disorder, confusion and suffering not unlike that of the middle ages. The condition of Poland is, therefore, of decisive effect, yet the present outlook there is not reassuring.

The government naturally has not yet gained a sound foundation. Poland has suffered as a battlefield between Russia and Austria-Germany during two years of the war. Further calamities threaten on every side. Two million Russian prisoners, famished and desperate, are making their way from Germany back to Russia through Poland, and pillaging with acts of violence, while 200,000 German prisoners are returning to Germany through Poland and pursuing similar methods. Many thousands of Poles who were dragged into Germany to work are now returning to their country without resources. A Bolshevik army is advancing from the northeast, and is attacking towns near the Polish border.

In western Galicia, Lemberg is in the hands of the Poles, but may at any moment be retaken by the Ruthenians. It is reported that the latter have been armed and organized by the former German command at Lemberg and by the Austrian Archduke William. German and Austrian officers are said to be leading the Ruthenians just as they did the Bolshevik army.

Many Are in Want

Danger from Bolshevism is not so great in Poland as in Russia because the Poles are better educated and more patriotic. Large industrial centres like Warsaw and Lodz are not doing any manufacturing, work in all the establishments having been brought to a standstill.

Great numbers of men are out of work, and of these a large proportion are Jews, who are without patriotic feeling for Poland. On this account and because of their distress they are inclined to listen to Bolshevik ideas.

In the country districts is a large class of people who, not having enough land to support them, used to go by tens of thousands to find temporary work in Germany. Today they are in want. The Socialistic

party controls the state, and some of them favor the Bolshevik movement.

It is readily seen how important it is that Poland should not succumb. The great need there is food, but as yet none has been started in that direction. Germany by systematic organization stripped the country of most of its resources. Production itself is at a low ebb. The whole rich region southwest of Warsaw has been turned into a desert by the retreating Russians. Hordes of Polish refugees are following the Russians, and for the most part they never return.

Arms Are Needed

In addition to food arms are needed, since the Germans disarmed the Poles. General Pilsudski has an army of only 60,000 men. He is trying to build up a larger force, but lacks arms and equipment. Poland needs men, and the leaders feel that Allied forces should be sent to maintain order and defend the country against Bolshevik and Ukrainian attacks.

Having forced the Germans out of Poland, where they were the only force capable of maintaining order, the Allies cannot well wash their hands of the Poles and leave them to hunger, penury, and Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks, undoubtedly, will push their frontier to Germany in order to draw that country into the movement.

The horror with which the Bolshevik invasion is looked upon by peaceful populations can be understood when one reads of the terror-stricken appeals of the Esthonians for help. The Bolshevik methods are reported to be constantly growing worse, outdoing those of the Germans and of the old Tartar invasions. As they sweep over the country they not only pillage and destroy, but are said to bury and burn people alive.

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JAMES C. WHITE Editor

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Polish and British Interests at Danzig

By DR. LEON LITWINSKI

(Read before the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, December 4, 1918, Mr. Oswald Saunderson in the chair.)

Before the partition of Poland, and while yet Danzig was growing under the sovereignty of the Polish State, British shipping was one of the earliest sources of its prosperity. So far back as 1392 it received within the space of a single year visits from no less than 300 British ships. Enterprising merchants from these islands established their counting-houses in that far-distant spot; and then they went on to consolidate their own little civilisation, erecting buildings and churches, supporting missionaries, bequeathing money for municipal purposes, and erecting magnificent granaries for storing corn. So fascinating did they find this work that the British Colony in Danzig during the time of Queen Anne was the largest on the Continent. Poland received the name of the British Eldorado. Dr. John Robinson, the Queen of England's Minister Plenipotentiary, was able to write of the city "that there is not in any place of Europe so great a number of British natives and their posterity whose industry God has blessed with such plenty and affluence as here in Danzig." William Lithgow, in his "Discoveries," has written to the same effect in his own antiquated phraseology: "Certainly Poland may be termed in this kind to be the mother of our Commons, and the first commencement of all our best merchants' wealth, or at least most part of them."

These are only a few of the salient facts connected with the period of Polish suzerainty at Danzig, but they demonstrate in a striking fashion the importance of Danzig for British interests.

What is the situation to-day?

Absolutely and entirely unsatisfactory. It is true that there are still at Danzig some vestiges of the British presence. There are an "English house" and an English dam, a "New Scotland" and an "Old Scotland," while the British firm of Gibson and Co., founded in 1661, recalls the glorious business associations of their country with Poland in the past. But these are only small remnants of a former greatness. The regrettable reality of the situation amounts to this, that in spite of all the

rapid shipping developments of the last century the number of British steamers calling at Danzig has latterly been only about 140 per annum—a small result in comparison with the 300 ships of the year 1392. That this, however, is not due to a decay of British enterprise may be shown by the fact that the firm of Messrs. Aird has carried out the contracts for water supply and sewerage works at Danzig. Yet this is only a sporadic manifestation of activity. The significant fact still remains that with the decline of the Polish State and its partition between the neighbouring autocracies one witnesses such a decline of British interests in Danzig as to become a grave menace to the British Empire. This was what was noticed by your Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, in his well-known Glasgow speech, when he said of the present war that "it had become almost the battle of the rivers. The Elbe, the Vistula, and the Rhine were arrayed against the Clyde, the Wear, the Thames, the Medway, and the Tyne" in the race of shipbuilding. The result has been that, owing to the lack of foresight exhibited by this country, Danzig, the Polish port, has become an effective German naval base and the cradle of the German navy. It possesses shipbuilding yards such as that where F. Schichau is building huge "Dreadnaughts," of which Germany in the old days before the war was justly proud. I can easily imagine what kind of feelings surged in the breasts of the British officers and men on the occasion of the visit of the British Fleet to Danzig in 1905, when the late Danzig Burgomaster Ehlers recalled in their presence some of the significant facts connected with the relation of Danzig to British commerce in the past; and when, on the other hand, they saw before them the unimpeachable evidences of German handiwork in the naval strength of its present.

Such a regrettable development as this should never have happened. But to-day after all the events that have been transpiring around us with dramatic suddenness we are in a position to do a great deal more than simply lament a vanished past. It is open to the great British people, if they back up the Polish claims for the

restoration of Danzig with force and conviction, to realise a unique opportunity for redressing wrongs, for repairing mistakes, and for promoting not only the security and prosperity of Poland but that of their own country as well. There is no doubt that Great Britain and Poland have been both hard hit by the fact that Germany has been able to cut off the latter from the sea.

Do the people of this country realise what Poland's lack of access to the sea has meant for Germany and for that German Atlantic traffic, which has brought so much grist to the German mill? The first report on German Control Stations and on the Atlantic Emigrant Traffic issued by the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Trade during the war to consider the position of the Shipping and Shipbuilding Industries after the war gives us a startling answer to any such query.

"The emigrant traffic," says the Report, "is of vital importance to a large section of British shipping which is engaged in the passenger business, and which has borne the brunt of German competition in the past; in fact, Atlantic services could not exist without the passenger business, of which the emigrant traffic has been the foundation."

"The German Atlantic liner sailing from Hamburg and Bremen had a clear geographical advantage in securing the new and growing emigrant traffic from Russia and Austria-Hungary—a traffic which at the outbreak of war had grown to dimensions far exceeding the largest movement ever recorded from the more Western countries; and *to the exploitation of this geographical advantage is due the great expansion of German shipping on the North Atlantic during the last thirty years.*"

Be it observed that the emigrant traffic to which the above extract alludes comes chiefly from Polish territories. Consequently, we are quite entitled to affirm that the partition of Poland, or, to put the matter more precisely, Germany's control of the Polish outlet to the sea has been responsible for that formidable expansion of German shipping which has contributed so much to the commercial importance of the Fatherland.

Besides, if the facts about this emigrant traffic are more closely analysed, it is impossible to avoid being convinced that its monopolisation by Germany is due to no special geographical advantages, but to those perfidi-

ous and unscrupulous Prussian methods of coercing the poor emigrant which are as yet only slightly realised in this country, but which are known as the "German Control Stations."

What are these German Control Stations?

Control stations (says the above-mentioned official report) were first established by the German authorities in 1894, after the outbreak of a cholera epidemic in Russia, with a view ostensibly to preventing the spread of the disease in Germany by emigrants traveling from Russia through that country. At the outset the stations were limited to a few on the Russian frontier, and all emigrants traveling westwards through these stations were required to submit to medical examination, disinfection of person and baggage, and so forth. Whatever may have been the original ground of their establishment, there is no doubt whatever that the control stations came to be used by the German steamship companies for confining the growing stream of eastern emigration to their own lines, and eventually as a weapon in their struggle with the British lines for supremacy on the Atlantic.

In order to avoid the control barrier the British lines were forced to bring their passengers by the sea route from Libau, a route which could not compete with the overland route except for passengers coming from a comparatively limited area, or by a circuitous route south of Germany, particularly via Basle, through Havre, Antwerp, or Rotterdam. To meet this development the German lines in 1910-11 set up a new control station at St. Ludwig, and threatened to erect another at Luxemburg.

Before the war one felt a sense of powerlessness in presence of such unscrupulous German practices. Personally, I did my utmost while resident in Belgium to oppose them in the Press. I even tried to invoke the intervention of the Russian Government, but it was all without practical avail. To-day, however, the conditions have changed, and it is surely obvious that if only Poland were placed in direct control of Danzig such coercive methods would fail of their effect, because direct communication would be opened up between Poland and overseas countries.

It is in the power and for the interest of Great Britain to prevent such events as these in the future by placing Poles in control not only of Danzig, but of all Polish territories, including those which assure Poland's access to the sea.

At this stage, however, it might be reasonably objected that even if Danzig became a Polish port it does not follow that Britain should play there a commercial part comparable to the part she played in the past. What has been need not necessarily again be. The

conditions of the past are no infallible clue to the prevision of the future. Trade routes, it may be argued, are no longer what they were in the 16th and 17th centuries. Danzig's own world position has changed with these changing conditions. But then what are the factors which have been most operative in producing this changed world position of Danzig?

The possibilities in modern trade of Danzig have been so decisively hampered and hindered through the great European crime of the partition of Poland that I have no hesitation in asserting that nobody has a right, on the ground of the events only of the last fifty years, to say what the present position of Danzig maritime trade could have been had it continued to be a part of the living organism of Poland.

To understand this, we must keep before our minds the exceptionally favourable position of Poland as a transitional country between the East and West, its great natural riches, including coal, iron, zinc, lead, oil, salt, and wood; the variety of its agricultural products available for export, such as sugar, glucose, spirits, starch, grain, flour, molasses, black beer, and animal fodders; its imports of raw materials, half-manufactured and finished articles, such as agricultural implements and the machinery necessary for the development of various important Polish industries; and lastly, these very important industries themselves: the textile industry, the Polish industry par excellence, the alimentary and metal industries, etc.

The importance of the Polish hinterland is beyond doubt.

In addition, the reunion of Danzig with Poland opens up highly interesting prospective sources of new traffic for Danzig. Take, for example, the Polish textile industry, which is of the first importance to the country, as regards its yearly production and the number of workmen engaged. Owing to the Russian protective tariff imposed in November, 1887, all cotton coming to Russian Poland through Danzig—in 1887 it amounted to over 17,000 tons—was practically stopped. Yet these prohibited imports were vitally necessary to the Polish manufacturers, who require in all some 70,000 tons of raw cotton per annum.

Another prospective source of increased commercial activity for Danzig will be offered by the rich natural resources of Galicia, and in the first place by its important oilfields, in which over £10,000,000 of British capital has been invested. The yearly output before the war of

these important oilfields was in some years nearly equal to and in some years even greater than that of Roumania or the Dutch Indies. Before the war, that is, Galicia exported from one-half to one-third of its various crude oil products (burning oil, benzine, light oils, heavy oils and lubricants, raw paraffin, refined paraffin, tar) to every European country (Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Turkey) as well as to India, Japan, the United States and Australia. Great Britain received through Hamburg at least 50,000 to 60,000 tons of petroleum per annum. Does it not seem almost Gilbertian that Galicia, the Austrian part of Poland, which sends the products of her oil industry all over the world, is unable to supply any of these products to the Kingdom of Poland of which she forms a vital and integral part? Is it not almost incredible that owing to Poland's partition, the Kingdom of Poland was supplied before the war with Caucasian instead of Galician petroleum? This Caucasian oil came originally direct over the Russian railways, thus adding one-third to its retail price in Poland; but since 1910, owing to the efforts of the "Brothers Nobel" and "Mazut Co.," part came via Volga and Marinski Canal and the Baltic up to Danzig. In this way the cost of transport was reduced by about one-fifth. This instance of a muddle-headed commercial situation is not, however, by any means peculiar. There are many others, such as the importation of salt from Eupatoria on the Black Sea, which also reaches Danzig and then, in spite of the proximity of the famous Galician salt deposits, is imported to the Kingdom of Poland through the Vistula. It is clear that there is no reason why in the above instances, as also in many others implying new traffic for Danzig, British shipping should not take its share. As for the traffic which has developed in the past, we must not exaggerate the importance of the theory of the new trade routes. It is a fact that in spite of the work of centuries the trade routes of Danzig in the 19th century have remained more or less the same as they were in the 17th century. Even if we take the case of such revolutionised trade as the grain trade undoubtedly is, we notice that in spite of the fact that this trade has lost its former importance, Danzig exports are still taking the direction of the same countries as in the past. Thus, in 1900, Danzig exported its grain as follows:—To the United Kingdom (25,000 tons), Nether-

lands (35,000 tons), Sweden (28,000 tons). Denmark (19,000 tons), Belgium, Rhine Provinces, Pomerania, Bremen, Lubeck, Hamburg, Russia, Norway, France and East Prussia.

This traffic between Danzig and its Polish hinterland has not only been hindered or diverted by the antagonist fiscal policy of the three partitioning Powers, but it has been equally harassed and hindered by the policy followed by the German Government in the way of differential railway rates, and by the culpable and unpardonable negligences of Russia and Austria-Hungary in all that concerns the waterway of the Vistula, its railway connections and the lack of suitable harbours on its banks. It all points to the indubitable fact that Russia as well as Germany aimed at depriving Danzig of its Polish hinterland so as to benefit other Baltic ports. In consequence of this, Polish foreign trade was compelled to go through Bremen, Hamburg and Stettin, or Windau, Libau and Riga. Königsberg, too, was another port to which the interests of Danzig were ruthlessly sacrificed. In fact it was even stipulated as between Germany and Russia in 1883 that three-quarters of the Russian traffic should be diverted through the latter town. Consequently it is no astonishing result that, after 1883, the exports of cereals from Russia by way of Danzig fell to about two-thirds of their previous amount.

All such obstacles in the way of the full development of Danzig will be at once removed if a united Poland arises under responsible Polish administration. On that day Danzig will again begin to flourish, while British trade and shipping will have a renewed opportunity to create for themselves an enviable position in a Polish port. This opportunity will be all the more timely as it coincides with a desire becoming ever more apparent among British financiers, merchants, and business men generally to take an active and important part in the economic reconstruction of Poland during the coming years. Let us just consider for a moment what a tremendous impetus to traffic through Danzig such economic reconstruction must imply. In these most deeply important years of their new life the Poles will have to devote themselves not only to the work of rebuilding, reconstructing, revictualling, and restocking what the war has destroyed or rifled or removed, such as will stand before the engineers of a new Belgium; in the new Poland

they will be confronted with a larger problem, that of economically reconstructing those parts of their country which had been most neglected even before the war by alien and unfriendly administrations.

Just as the Poland of a century ago, the coming Poland will also have to construct new railways and new canals, new Government buildings and new town halls, museums, schools, hospitals, and other public buildings. She will have to support in various forms certain industries and branches of commerce. Poland will have to float loans in foreign countries and look towards friendly countries for the supply of all the articles of which it will have need for its reconstruction after the war. Here there will be a considerable outlet for British industry and commerce, as it is unthinkable that devastated and ruined Poland can furnish the considerable number of varied articles necessary for its economic reconstruction.

To judge, however, rightly of the future possibilities before the resurrected Poland, we must not confine ourselves to transitory features; we must also take into consideration those more persistent and lasting economic forces which point undeniably to the nation's brighter and better future. It is fortunate for Poland that there are such forces plainly apparent. They will be set loose by the steady development of her natural resources, by her growing industrialisation, and above all by the wonderful rate of increase of her population.

Mr. J. H. Retinger, in his "*La Pologne et l'équilibre européen*," says rightly (p. 13) that "when the population of a country increases more rapidly than that of its neighbours, the resulting competition and struggle for existence intensifies its efforts and energies, equipping men better for the fight of life, and giving them a value which cannot easily be reached by those who have never known how to overcome difficulties. It is from such competition that there emerges that stronger power of initiative which aids the development of commerce and industry as well as foreign expansion. Examples abound in history. Such are the time of Louis XIV., the period of Queen Bess in England, and the first half of the last century in Prussia."

To-day, when we compare world statistics, we see that it is the Poles who among civilised peoples increase most rapidly. All other European nations, notably the Western democracies, have increased much more slowly. Since 1816,

in fact, Poland has trebled its population, and its largest province, the kingdom of Poland, has more than quadrupled it. Take also the district of Opole in Prussian Silesia. Its population has increased by more than 4 to 1, while Germany has not increased by 3 to 1, and France has little more than remained stationary.

The above facts may be considered the real guarantee for the future Polish economic development, and it is because I am convinced that it is in the interest of British initiative and capital to take a prominent part in this great work that I plead for your earnest sympathy and co-operation in the future.

Speaking more concretely, I ask that the powerful influences of the British world of shipping shall be used to influence the coming Peace Conference in favor of what I consider the most important Polish national aim, viz., that the future Polish State shall necessarily include these territories which secure its access to the sea, including as an indispensable corollary the Polish control of Danzig.

Against this claim there is sometimes urged the objection that it would separate Eastern from Western Prussia.

Before replying to this objection, it may be worth while to explain briefly how this situation has come about.

There can be no question that the whole Baltic coast, from the Island of Rugi to Pernaú, was originally in Polish hands. Then, in 1226, the Poles made a serious mistake when they voluntarily called in the Teutonic knights to settle in the Baltic, with the view of converting the Pagan Lithuanian tribes to Christianity. The intention was noble, but it was not good business. Poland lost by it Pomerania, and, more than that, she put a Prussian population in East Prussia which acted as a kind of magnet to attract Prussian expansion through the upper hinterland of Danzig, or what is called to-day West Prussia. Notwithstanding, however, this initial mistake and the untiring efforts of Prussia under her Hohenzollern monarchs to bridge the intervening space between East Prussia and Pomerania and Brandenburg, it was not till after the second partition of Poland, in 1793, that the Prussians annexed Danzig.

As to the objection itself of a German separation, Mr. Namier, in an article published in the "Nineteenth Century and After," of February, 1917, gives the following answer:—

"By an inclusion of Danzig and its surroundings in Poland not more than half a million Germans would need to be separated from the German Empire; by the whole of West Prussia being left to Germany about the same number of Poles would remain under German rule. There is no reason why East Prussia should not remain German, even if its connection with the rest of Germany should be only by sea."

I accept this view and I fail to see why the injustice of relatively separating a part of a population from the rest is less unjust when it is the question of Prussia than when it is a question of Poland.

I must emphasise again the fact that the Allies speak of restitution, reparation, and guarantees. But, then, if the partition of Poland and more particularly its isolation from the sea is a crime, why should this so-called formula of "reparation" only apply to crimes of a more recent date?

Is it because the Prussians by their policy of thorough expropriation and extermination have crowded back the Polish population from many lands essentially Polish?

Surely, such a conclusion would be very much to be deplored.

I find myself in perfect agreement with the eminent Belgian Socialist and former Chairman of "Internationale," Emile Vandervelde, who in an important interview given in May, 1917, to the Christiania correspondent of the "Matin," said:—

"As to annexations, the German Social Democracy is ready to strike them out of its program. But would it be annexation in their sense of the word to save Armenia from its Turkish executioners and to restore Alsace-Lorraine to France, or the Trentino to Italy? These are rather disannexations, or more properly speaking restitutions for the brutal annexations of the past. No basis for negotiation will exist with a view to the re-establishment of peace so long as this principle of restitution is not recognized."

Whichever of the two available solutions of this very vital question is adopted by the Peace Conference, it is clear that the interest of one or the other parties at issue in the assembly must needs be sacrificed. Surely it is the interest of the Allied nations to see that the interest sacrificed should not be that of the Poles. I say it is the interest of the Allies to help the Poles; but I could go further and say it is the interest of the Allies to promote their own interests. Nowhere is it recognized more clearly than in Germany itself that in securing

Danzig for Poland the Allies will be promoting the expansion of their own trade. To convince you of this, let me append in concluding a quotation from the "Dusseldorfer Nachrichten," purporting to be an article from an alarmed East German, headed "Save the Eastern March." This is what this alarmed German says will happen if the Peace Conference satisfies the Polish claim:—

"German trade would lose a splendid market. The British would establish themselves among the Polish firms on the Baltic and American manufacturers and Belgian merchants would play a leading part. West Germans! press forward as one man in defense of our Eastern Marches. Do not forsake us."

These words need no commentary from me. But they constitute the text on which I have been basing throughout this lecture my appeal of the Poles to the business men of the West.

ANNEX

SOME STATISTICAL DATA

Returns of shipping of all nationalities which entered and cleared in the foreign trade of the port of Danzig during the last half-century:

Years	Average No. of Ships	Entered	Cleared	Total
1861-65	2,719	425,000	410,000	835,000
1866-70	1,776	316,000	315,000	631,000
1871-75	1,728	376,000	390,000	766,000
1876-80	1,394	445,000	487,000	932,000
1881-85	1,883	539,000	581,000	1,120,000
1886-90	1,601	581,000	584,000	1,165,000
1891-95	1,758	628,000	671,000	1,299,000
1896-1900	1,752	662,000	671,000	1,333,000
1900-04	—	803,000	652,000	1,455,000
1904	—	712,000	726,000	1,438,000

Return of British Shipping which entered and cleared in the foreign trade of the port of Danzig during the years 1911-1913:

Year	ENTERED				Percentage	
	All nationalities		British		*	†
	Number of vessels	Tonnage	Number of vessels	Tonnage		
1911	2,043	718,937	98	68,582	4.8	9.5
1912	2,299	727,054	93	55,746	4	7.6
1913	2,293	746,336	78	66,271	3.4	8.8

Year	CLEARED				Percentage	
	All nationalities		British		*	†
	Number of vessels	Tonnage	Number of vessels	Tonnage		
1911	2,037	688,500	124	78,831	6	11
1912	2,120	692,786	125	71,703	5.9	10
1913	1,971	600,898	91	61,794	4.6	10

*Of British vessels. †Of British tonnage.

FREE POLAND

From a better world old Dlugosz may contemplate the union of Silesia to Poland. Among the miners of Upper Silesia, that seemed lost to Poland long ago, there has been, of late, a remarkable revival of Polish language and nationality. The Peace Conference may take a cue from the old treaty of Thorn and single out as autonomous the German territory of East Prussia, while incorporating the remainder of Prussian Poland into the new Polish State. The old harbor of Danzig, controlled by a Polish "hinterland", would assure the vital outlet to the sea while regaining its lost prosperity.

Poland has ever been a hearth of liberty, tolerance, democracy. It cemented its component elements by will to justice—not "will to power." The bugbear of Polish imperialism—like the old slogan of slander that "Poland could not give itself"—is a fabulous monster of sinister origin. German craftiness of word and deed means to strangle "dangerous" Poland by plots and lies. It has bred "foes of the household." It has stiffened the crude Ukrainian nationalism to the point of officering the brigandage of mobs in Polish towns.

It has persuaded neo-Lithuanian patriots that not Germany but Poland was their enemy. In fact, no Poles repudiate the Lithuanian claim to independence. They simply remember that once upon a time the union of Poland with Lithuania was born of the same, ever present peril—also that it was a union of "the free with the free, the equal with the equal." Historic processes that lasted centuries cannot be undone. The pacific inroads of Polish nationality and culture left deep marks in borderlands, in spite of partitions and persecutions. In the interest of peace and justice, the surviving Polish spirit may prove a better guide than the mendacious statistics of its oppressors, unable to eradicate it except on paper.

Although mischievously called a "small nation" by well-meaning people, unwittingly playing Germany's game, the new Poland will provide one of the few great nations of the world, counting some thirty-eight million inhabitants over an area of 200,000 square miles, ranking fifth with Italy among the European Powers. Possessed of rich natural resources, of an old civilization which has proven itself in all fields of human endeavor, it is called upon to be one of the great powerhouses of light and progress in regenerated humanity. If one and undividable, not by mere chance, Poland be thus reconstructed, the word of old Strabo will come true: "This land is but by the action of a far-seeing mind." May that mind inspire the Conference for the weal of Poland, Peace, and Humanity!—Sigismund Stojowski in *New York Evening Post*.

Alleged Trouble in Poland

Reports are coming of conflicts at Warsaw between groups of the Poles who are now undertaking to organize their own government. They are to be read with distinct reserve. It is quite possible that they are of German inspiration, aimed at shaking confidence in the ability of the Poles to establish themselves.

Germany looks with the greatest anxiety at the effort to establish a free Polish state by a reunion of the three parts into which the original Poland was divided. Such a state would have a population of from twenty to twenty-five million and with a rapid rate of increase. It would run from the sea at Danzig—if the Polish aspirations are granted in the peace treaty—to the Carpathians, effectively barring Germany from Russia. It is in Russia that Germany must find her principal markets for many years to come, and the interposition of an autonomous Poland would be a handicap upon her economic expansion eastward. Moreover, Germany needs the mines of Silesia and the rich soil of the Vistula basin.

Poland is today infested with German agents fomenting trouble, encouraging the repatriated prisoners of war to rioting, inciting conflicts between the Poles and the Jews, fomenting factional differences, encouraging bolshevism and by every means seeking to thwart the formation of a new state.

The aims of the military forces of the Poles now operating in Posen are misrepresented. There is no purpose on the part of the Poles to menace Berlin. If the military force now in the field is actually Polish—which is doubted here—its purpose can only be to establish claims to the area which is on ethnological grounds distinctly Polish.

It is so obviously to the interest of Germany to prevent the development of a free Poland that all the news of reaction and riot and conflict among the Poles is to be read with doubt, as it may come from German sources and anything from such sources is legitimately subject to suspicion.—*Washington Star*.