

FREE POLAND

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

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Commencing with the current issue FREE POLAND will be edited under the supervision of the Press Committee of the Polish National Council and National Department by Arthur E. J. Reilly who has been connected with FREE POLAND in Washington, D. C., for the past four months and prior to that time was editor of the New Britain (Connecticut) Herald. From 1914 until the end of 1917 Mr. Reilly was in the American Consular Service, having been Vice Consul first in Magdeburg, Germany, then in Warsaw during the German occupation and finally in Stockholm, Sweden, whence he returned to this country and resumed newspaper work. Mr. Reilly was married in Warsaw on June 8, 1916, to Miss Stefanie Kasprowicz of that city.

FREE POLAND henceforth will be published in Chicago. All communications should be addressed to:

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

ALTHOUGH its place of publication has been changed and the editorship entrusted to other hands, FREE POLAND will continue its original purpose of presenting to the American people the cause of a united and independent Poland and will also endeavor as the occasion warrants to acquaint its readers with economic, financial and industrial developments in the new Polish republic.

The writer is not unmindful of his responsibilities, neither is he unappreciative of the confidence manifested by those who have charged him with the preparation of this work. Poland today is prominent in world affairs. Almost every hour brings fresh mention of the new republic in the American press. Like every other nation, Poland has her friends and her — we had almost said enemies — but we are firmly convinced that with one exception, those who cannot be classed as well-wishers of Poland labor under either a misconception of her aspirations or prejudice created by false impressions of the land and its people. It will be our task to assist in retaining to Poland the esteem of those who understand her and to dispel the mists clouding the vision of those who view her through biased eyes. The first is no task at all, for to know Poland is to love her. The second, however, is a heavier burden, yet sweetened by the thought that the bearer, in aiding toward the enlightenment of American readers regarding the reborn nation is helping a country for whose progress and welfare he would toil unceasingly and for which there burns in his heart a deep-rooted love, second only to that for his native land.

A. E. J. R.

THE days of reconstruction are here. Four years of warfare have left the commerce of the world in a demoralized condition. The industrial activities of every country have been halted, and in some instances completely paralysed, since 1914. No land suffered more keenly in this regard than did Poland. From the day the central powers occupied her industrial centers Poland has been systematically sacked and looted until hardly a semblance remained of what was once a flourishing foreign and domestic trade. And yet such is her stability, such her economic vitality, that the newly born Polish state is already planning industrial rehabilitation as well as the renewal and extension of foreign trade relations severed through the war.

THE task confronting those entrusted with the restoration of Poland's trade is no light one. Credits must be established, raw materials purchased, banking facilities provided, railways built, river navigation developed and agricultural pursuits encouraged on a greatly extended scale. How will Poland be able to accomplish all this? If her coffers are depleted and the distress of the populace as acute as has been reported, how does Poland aim to secure the funds necessary for such extensive reconstruction? Similar problems are proving puzzling enough in other countries where the sword has been sheathed and governments are free to devote themselves entirely to the matters at hand. But how much more difficult must they be for the Polish authorities, threatened on several frontiers by armed foes bent on invasion and destruction. Their greatest, immediate menace is Bolshevism. Polish statesmen realize this full well and their valiant efforts to check the westward advance of this ominous peril have won for them the gratitude of civilization. Poland is the gateway through which the Bolsheviks would sweep. Once

through they could not be stopped east of the Rhine. History records that Poland saved Christianity when Sobieski repulsed the Turks at Vienna. Another chapter of service rendered to the world by Poland is being written today.

One wonders, then, how the Poles can hope to carry out their reconstruction program in the face of these obstacles. The answer is found in Poland's wonderful industries and natural resources. Coal, iron, cereals she has in abundance, or will have soon. Lumber? Miles and miles of virgin forest. Textile mills? Second in Europe only to those of Manchester. Food and dairy products of all kinds are to be had in Poland under normal conditions in almost unlimited quantities. Until this war came and the country was devastated beyond imagination, Poland never suffered from hunger. She always had plenty of food for her inhabitants, and enough to export to the east and to the west. Few people who have not visited Poland realize the vast wealth of the country. And the day is fast approaching when that wealth will make Poland one of the choicest of the world's markets.

IN another column will be found an account of the establishment in New York City of a Polish commercial and industrial bureau for the development of trade relations between the United States and Poland. The necessity of such a bureau is apparent. If Polish commerce is to be extended in this country and if American trade in Poland is to be encouraged, there must be some reliable channel through which business men in each country may secure authentic trade data concerning the other. Such a channel will be found in the newly established bureau. American manufacturers and others interested in the Polish market who have recourse to the good offices of the bureau will find themselves well repaid for their trouble. It may be unhesitatingly recommended to all.

SOON tradesmen of the world will be able to offer their wares to Polish buyers. When the peace treaty is signed and the waterways of the globe are open once again to merchantmen, Poland will loom up as a most attractive field of commerce. American business houses on the lookout for new fields of endeavor would do well to keep Poland in mind. The splendid trade built up there before the war by a few prominent concerns in this country ought to encourage other firms to strive for Polish business. More will be written later in these columns as to selling methods best adapted for Poland. For the present emphasis will only be laid upon this one point—viz-: While it may not always be possible for American concerns to do so at once, they should, at the very first opportunity, resort to **direct representation** if they contemplate gaining a foothold in fields of Polish commerce.

HERETOFORE American goods for the most part have reached Warsaw through branch houses or agencies in England, Germany or Russia. The lack of a seaport made Poland dependent on those countries for her import. But with the ancient Polish port of Danzig at the mouth of the Polish river Vistula restored to the mother country the new state would be able to import direct from the United States. Naturally mutual benefits will accrue to both American and Polish industry on account of this great advantage. Pioneers of business in this country will not overlook the fact that Warsaw, the Polish capital, is the second largest railroad terminal in the world. It is the natural gateway to vast markets in Russia, Siberia and the Far East. No longer will it be necessary for American merchandise, consigned to Poland and points eastward, to be handled through London, Antwerp or Hamburg as in the past. Warsaw is destined to become the commercial hub of the Continent.

France Names Envoy For Poland

M. Pralon chosen Minister to Warsaw. — Appointment revives diplomatic corps in Capital of New Republic.

FRANCE has named M. Eugene Leon Pralon as Minister to Poland, according to a cablegram received by the National Polish Department of America from the Polish National Committee in Paris. Thus, while the American government was the first power to accord the new Polish state recognition, France has taken the initiative in actually naming an envoy to Warsaw. The appointment of Minister Pralon will no doubt be followed by similar action on the part of the other great powers and in time by all the nations of the earth with which the Polish government desires to establish diplomatic relations.

Minister Pralon, having been the first diplomat appointed to Poland, will, if the prevailing custom is adhered to, enjoy the distinction of being the dean of the diplomatic corps in Warsaw, that honor being generally awarded the foreign representative longest stationed at a particular post. M. Pralon's long experience in the foreign service of his country qualifies him eminently for the post to which he has been promoted. During the war he was Consul-general at Geneva, Switzerland, where his admirable handling of the many complicated and delicate situations arising constantly in that neutral country stamped him as possessing extraordinary diplomatic ability. He had previously been Consul-general at Rotterdam, and was also attached for many years to the Foreign Office in Paris. Despite his extended career, M. Pralon is comparatively young as diplomats go. He is 48 years of age, having been born September 13, 1871.

The French Minister may be assured of a hearty welcome upon his arrival in Warsaw. The prompt action of France in naming her envoy to Warsaw is additional proof of her love and esteem for Poland.

WITH the appointment by France of a minister to Warsaw, the first step is taken toward the re-establishment of a diplomatic corps in the Polish capital and this means the restoration of a feature of life in that city which has been missing since Poland lost her independence. From the time of the final partition Warsaw has known no foreign ambassadors nor ministers. The only representatives of other powers familiar to present-day residents of Warsaw are consular officials, and most of these just now are merely honorary consuls, that is, native Poles and not fully authorized citizens of the governments they represent. Before the war there were about twenty consular representatives of foreign powers in Warsaw. The most important of these were the American, British, French, Italian, German, Austro-Hungarian, Swiss, Belgian, Swedish, Japanese, Spanish, Dutch, Grecian, Danish, Norwegian, Brazilian, Argentinian and Persian consuls. Only the first eight mentioned were consuls of career, citizens of their respective countries and engaged only in consular duties. The rest were Warsaw merchants enjoying only partial consular prerogatives and devoting most of their time to their private business.

Inasmuch as Warsaw was situated in that part of Poland left to the jurisdiction of Russia, the consuls were accredited to the Czar's government and received their exequaturs from the Foreign Office in Petrograd, up to, and including 1914. When war broke out, the representatives of Germany and Austria-Hungary had to leave Warsaw since their governments and the Russian government had severed diplomatic relations. These officials turned over their offices and their archives to the American consul as the American government had been requested by the central powers to assume the representation of their interests in all the countries with which they were at war. And so during the first year of hostilities the American consulate in Warsaw not only had to look after the protection and relief of citizens of this country, but of thousands of German and Austrian subjects as well. The office was fairly flooded with appeals for assistance from those caught in Russia who found communication with their relatives in other lands cut off or impeded through the fortunes of war. The consul himself had difficulty at times in getting dispatches through to their destination.

His cables to Washington had to be relayed via Petrograd and thence through Scandinavian countries or the Far East. Although only a night's ride by train from Berlin, he could not communicate direct with American officials there because the line of battle lay between him and them. Instead of being able to send a message by wire from Warsaw to Berlin, and to receive a reply the same day, the consul was forced to transmit such telegrams through neutral countries bordering on Germany and the replies of course had to be routed the same way so that it sometimes required several days for a transaction which ordinarily could be concluded within a few hours.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the consuls in Warsaw had to face a great many difficulties during the first year of the war. But from August, 1915, when the central powers overran Poland and the German military authorities assumed the administration of the capital city, the problems of consular officials in Warsaw increased a hundredfold. Obviously it was impossible for the consulate of Entente nations to remain at their posts. They departed from Warsaw on the last train leaving for Petrograd before the arrival of the Germans.

The representatives of Great Britain and France turned over the keys of their establishments to the American consul, thus enhancing the duties of that official. The German authorities informed all the consuls in Warsaw, through the American official that their exequaturs from Petrograd would be considered null and void, which meant that the consuls in effect had no official standing whatever. Here was a pretty situation! The American consul found himself unable to communicate with Petrograd or Moscow because the pursuing German armies had swept on to the east of Warsaw and the line of battle which hitherto had prevented his communicating direct with Berlin was now shifted so as to cut him off from the capital of the nation to which he was accredited. In short, he and the rest of the inhabitants of the occupied territory were isolated from the outside world. All telephone connections in the city were severed and this added considerably to the many embarrassments occasioned by the occupation. After a month had expired the consul was informed that he and his colleagues would be permitted to correspond only with their respective ambassadors in Berlin who were duly accredited to the German government. It was not even allowed, for example, to send an official report or dispatch from the American consulate in Warsaw to the Secretary of State in Washington by direct route. All official mail had to be brought unsealed to the headquarters of the

German censor in the post-office at Warsaw where it was inspected and then forwarded to Ambassador Gerard by courier. The Embassy in Berlin transmitted such mail to Washington in official, diplomatic sacks, immune from search, but there was no way possible for the consulate in Warsaw to evade the censorship between there and Berlin. For that reason the outside world heard little or nothing of the outrages perpetrated in Poland by the forces of occupation. When postal communication was established with Germany the mails were subject of course to the severe German censorship and it is safe to assume that half the letters posted in Warsaw and addressed to points in Germany never reached their destination. It was not permitted to write to a relative or acquaintance within the German empire and to ask him or her to transmit a message to any point beyond the German border. After a time the German authorities granted a concession to an American Hebrew relief organization to act as medium for the transmission of messages between the occupied territory and the United States.

The problem of the status of the consuls was equally puzzling for the invasion authorities. Although they declared that consular representatives accredited to an enemy country (in this case Russia) had no claims on them to recognition, they could not very well adhere strictly to this theory for the reason that it might in some cases provoke a reaction not at all favorable to German interests. To illustrate:—One day the German governor-general notified the American consul that he would not be permitted to inquire through the American embassy in Berlin as to the welfare of persons residing in England or in any country with which Germany found herself at war. At the same time the honorary consuls in Warsaw (Poles representing foreign governments) were informed that they would not be accorded any official standing whatever inasmuch as they were legally Russian subjects and hence alien enemies so far as Germany was concerned. Consequently the latest edict meant that people in the occupied territory could not ascertain the well-being of relatives who either had fled to the interior of Russia upon the arrival of the Germans or had been detained in foreign lands when war broke out and were unable to return to Poland.

The American consul immediately notified our ambassador in Berlin to this effect, informing him that the Warsaw office would no longer be able to report about people in Poland for the information of their relatives or other inquirers in countries at war with Germany. But it did not take long for American officials to convince the German military

authorities of the short-sightedness of this new ruling. When our embassy in Berlin advised the American embassies in Paris, London and Petrograd as to the German edict, our envoys in those cities sent back word that they were sure it would react against the Berlin government, since, as soon as the governments to which they were accredited would be notified in the premises, they would no doubt adopt measures preventing American officials within their lands, and representing German interests there, from making any inquiries or transmitting any information as to the welfare of German subjects interned in France, England or Russia. This would mean that German prisoners of war and other German subjects detained in Allied countries would be unable to communicate in any way with their relatives in the fatherland. The American consul in Warsaw, at the suggestion of his chief in Berlin, pointed out this fact to the German governor-general who was so impressed by its significance that he rescinded the obnoxious order immediately. Thereafter the German authorities ever kept in mind that American ambassadors and consuls in enemy countries were protecting the interests of German subjects and this thought prompted them to display a certain deference to us at the American consulate. They were intelligent enough to perceive that they could gain nothing and lose much by antagonizing us and hence our relations with them, while never cordial or intimate, were generally marked by cool politeness and little or no friction.

However, when the eventful days of February, 1917, arrived, and diplomatic relations between America and Germany were abruptly severed, the German military authorities could scarcely conceal their hostility. The writer recalls that on Monday, February 5, 1917, as soon as the German governor-general was notified by Berlin that President Wilson had recalled Ambassador Gerard and dismissed von Bernstorff, a deputation from the general staff at Warsaw appeared at the consulate and presented a notification signed by General von Beseler that henceforth the official functions of the consulate should cease, that the shield bearing the American coat of arms should be removed from over the entrance and that the American flag should be withdrawn from the staff where it had flown every day. We were requested to advise the German authorities as to which consul we cared to entrust with the protection of the American consulate with its archives and we were asked to sign a "protocol" solemnly pledging us on our word of honor not to attempt departing from the city until given permission to do so by the forces of occupation. This seemed somewhat grotesque

in view of the fact that all approaches to the railroad station as well as all highways leading from the city were strongly guarded by German soldiers. We signed our names, nevertheless, and began to wind up official business. We asked when we would be permitted to leave Warsaw and received in reply a cold, curt "It is not yet decided." We asked if we might wire to Berlin for instructions and were told "No!" Finally the German authorities agreed to forward a message to Berlin for us, and after two days we received word from our embassy there to turn the office over to the Spanish consul, as the Spanish government had taken over the protection of American interests in Germany.

The Germans objected to this transfer on the ground that the Spanish consul in Warsaw was a Russian subject and therefore persona non grata to the Berlin government. So we surrendered the keys of our office to the Swiss consul. I understand, however, that that gentleman was instructed by his government at a later date to deliver the American archives to the Spanish representative. The American consular officials in Warsaw were detained practically as hostages for nearly two weeks until the Germans had assurances that their representatives in the United States were being permitted to depart unmolested. We left Warsaw on Saturday, February 17, 1917, at 6 o'clock in the evening travelling in special compartments provided by the German military authorities. At the frontier station, Alexandrowo, which was reached late in the evening, our baggage enjoyed immunity from search and we arrived in Berlin the next morning at 7:30 without incident. There we parted, the consul and his wife going to Munich to join the official American party bound for the United States, while we took a train that same evening for Stockholm whither I had been detailed. An official from the Foreign Office in Berlin accompanied us to Sassnitz where we boarded a little Swedish steamer, crossed to Trelleborg and proceeded thence via Malmo to Stockholm.

In the new Polish state embassies and legations will spring up rapidly. Consulates will also function again in Warsaw and the "diplomatic set" will find life there a constant source of delight when normal conditions are restored. The flags of the Allies will be greeted with joy by the Poles and their joy will be the greater at the thought that these foreign envoys will bear commissions accrediting them not to Petrograd or Berlin but to the Republic of Poland and exequaturs issued by the Polish Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

NOTES FROM POLAND.

A neutral commission has arrived in Posen from Switzerland to examine the internment camp.

Major Fordham, Captain Coolidge and Captain Duboste, of the inter-allied military mission to Poland have left for Prague to mediate in the Polish-Czech conflict.

The Bolshevists are compelling 75,000 Polish hostages in Russia to enlist in the Red army under penalty of being refused food should they decline to serve.

Letters from the allied countries to Poland are being returned from Austria to Switzerland with the annotation: "Refused by the Austrian post". Thus Poland is still cut off from postal communication with the outside world.

German troops are committing atrocities on the Polish population living outside the Foch demarkation line. The inhabitants of this region are at the mercy of the so-called "Heimatschutz" troops. Only the evacuation of all Prussian Poland can put an end to this menace.

STAND BY POLAND.

National liberty and integrity were promised to Poland by every one of the belligerents — by the central powers as well as the Allies. Meeting the obligation falls upon the Allies. It can no more be escaped than the duty of making peace with the defeated.

Just over the Polish border to the east, Trotzky's cut-throats are massing, nearly a million strong. Trotzky has definitely announced the intention to invade Poland.

Intervention in Russia is the last thing the Allies desire. It is to be avoided if it possibly can be. Such Allied troops as are in Russia and Siberia must be withdrawn if they possibly can be. But we cannot without shame, we cannot without inhumanity, leave the Poles to the mercy of a combination of German duplicity and Bolshevist ferocity.—Detroit, (Mich.) Journal.

THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM.

Dr. E. J. Dillon Proposes Solution Which He Claims Meets Approval of Principal Russian Spokesmen Now in Paris.

(The Russian problem is one of the gravest confronting statesmen today. The dangers of Bolshevism, the possibility that it may spread throughout Europe, and the terrible consequences to civilization if it is not checked are matters of concern to all the world but especially to Poland and the Poles who, with the Lithuanians, are single-handed preventing the westward progress of this movement. In the following article Dr. Dillon, who is especially well-informed on affairs in Russia and the near East, offers a plan that has many commendable features.)

As the peace conference has not yet devised a clear cut policy in respect of Russia, I venture to propose one which meets the approval of the principal spokesmen of that country now assembled in Paris, and may be submitted to the conference with President Wilson's return.

It first behooves them to reassure the Russians concerning intervention in domestic affairs, which is bitterly resented by all parties. No political group regards the allies without mistrust because while verbally repudiating any interference, their acts contradict their professions.

The bolshevists treat them as belligerent enemies, but simultaneously the constructive elements feel the pressure of the allies' exertions to modify their political conceptions whereby certain individuals and parties are assumed to be reactionary, whereas they are thoroughly democratic.

Suspect Ulterior Designs

Further, the allies are commonly believed to harbor designs upon certain Russian provinces rendered attractive by undeveloped mineral wealth. Thus the knowledge that at this moment certain English-speaking political pioneers are on the way to Moscow to confer with Lenine, who is eager to offer valuable economic concessions, has strengthened these suspicions which in the interests of all concerned should be authoritatively dispelled.

The allies promised moral support to groups that desire a speedy return to normal existence on a democratic basis while regretfully denying them military assistance, yet they are withdrawing somewhat ostentatiously the symbols of moral support in the guise of Canadian troops, which the Russians eagerly desired to retain not as a fighting contingent, but solely to symbolize the allies' moral co-operation.

Pursue Dangerous Policy

They also invited the bolshevists to Princes island without consulting any Russians nor did they repudiate the dubious motives which the bolshevists in their official reply ascribed to them as the mainsprings of the policy. Lastly the great powers are believed to be encouraging dismemberment of Russia but abetting those who are striving to detach from the main body not only the non-Russian nationalities, but also the provinces and peoples essentially Russian, like the Ukraine. This, if correct, would be the most dangerous policy of all.

Before taking fateful decisions respecting these delicate matters the conference would do well to dissipate these misgivings, formulate a definite policy in unmistakable terms and pursue it courageously, calling things by their real names.

Fear New Amazing Moves

Thus it is misleading to profess indifference to Russia's internal affairs when the powers are demanding a thoroughly democratic constitution as a condition of moral support. Veracity and plain speaking are indispensable. Since the fantastic invitation to a pilgrimage to Princess island nobody knows what amazing move the well-meaning allies may make next. I am informed Gen. Denikine, Gen. Kolchak and other champions of democratic Russia are become uncertain whether the entente may not abandon them at any moment, withdrawing the last vestiges of such support as they still give Kolchak, recognizing some form of bolshevism and acquiescing in the dismemberment of the state.

The allies' declaration should embody principles broad enough to admit every Russian willing to co-operate in the restoration of the country on a democratic basis. Parties advocating class domination should be eliminated, and guarantees of adherence to constructive methods having been exacted, amnesty might be proclaimed for the misguided followers of the anarchist movement.

Russia Should Decide

With regard to nationalities the entente should allow its policy to be inspired by the conviction that the Russian people, which has emerged from revolution, has broken forever with traditional centralism, encourages the aspirations of peoples living on Russian territory, is willing to promote their interests, economic, financial and national, desires to harmonize their own reconstruction on a federal basis with autonomy and possibly with independence in cases to be amicably discussed with the interested nationalities.

Therefore, the great powers should solemnly proclaim that the territorial problems concerning Russia within the frontiers of 1914, excepting Poland, and likewise the international status of peoples within these boundaries, can not be definitely settled without the consent of the Russian people, nor consequently until the nation possesses an organ for manifesting its will. Meanwhile, however, purely provisional regimes may be created to hinder anarchistic decomposition.

Information has reached me circuitously from Moscow that under certain conditions, ground might now be prepared for the reorganization of Russia, but whether the powers sufficiently understand conditions and are enterprising enough to make a strenuous, intelligent endeavor to seize and utilize them the world will shortly learn from events.

Two Problems Are Pressing

The general situation in Europe has become so alarming that the delegates have at last decided to address themselves to two problems of decisive moment to counteract bolshevism by feeding the hungry population and to liquidate the war by concluding peace with Germany without avoidable delay.

Official reports received from various German cities depict the condition of the population in most sombre colors. The temper of the German race is the reverse of anarchistic, but famine has smitten the poorer classes with frenzy.

In many places the common man must content himself with a bowl of vegetable soup once in twenty-four hours while the monied classes consume repasts equal to those served in good restaurants in London and New York.

Intellectuals Preach Anarchy

Bolshevism is being spread not only by professional anarchists, but also by intellectuals who preach destruc-

tion of the prevailing order because things may conceivably become better under proletariat domination and can not grow worse.

These considerations determined the plenipotentiaries of the great powers to organize urgency machinery for supplying the Germans with provisions lest decomposition should render the nation incapable of producing anything or paying anything.

The cost in past delay in dealing with the question was the difficulty of arranging details of payment, France refusing to consent to any part of the Germans' gold being expended before claims for reparation had been settled. The Germans will now be allowed to export coal as suggested long ago, possibly also potash and dyes.

Whether these tardy measures will produce the hoped-for effects time will show. The conference must also transport foodstuffs to other countries because the entire continent of Europe is literally maddened by pangs of hunger.

Bolshevism Follows Hunger

From Warsaw and Lemberg the people telegraph me the Polish masses are underfed to the extent of prostration, and symptoms of bolshevism are sporadically noticeable. The same story comes from Czecho and Jugo-Slavs in superlatively degree from the ill starred Roumanians, while the population of German-Austria is in an appalling condition. Unless these people are speedily sustained, the danger of social decomposition may become irresistible.

The conference's second aid is the conclusion of peace with Germany, for which purpose all matters irrelevant to that will be relegated subordinate plans. If discussion of the league of nations, reconstruction of Russia and kindred problems were allowed to take precedence of the peace treaty, or to be conducted simultaneously as heretofore, the state of warfare and restraints on trade and commerce might subsist until the end of summer.

Peoples Are Becoming Restive

Even now the peoples are becoming restive and menacing, hence the delegates are taking the matter to heart and will speed up in an endeavor by the middle of April to present peace terms to the German delegates, who will then be permitted to make practical suggestions respecting the methods of executing terms, paying indemnities and such like, but nothing more.

I ventured to suggest hearing them at an earlier stage in the hope that their remarks might contribute to clear the atmosphere and possibly enlighten the allied delegates and enable them to adjust their policy more efficaciously to the general end of avoiding obstacles, but this proposal was not entertained.

I am apprehensive the enemy delegates when confronted with the terms which render the German people more impotent and less independent than was Montenegro before the war, will oppose a categorical refusal to affix their signatures, return to Berlin and embarrass the allies by a system of passive resistance which could easily have been avoided.

Likely to Prove Intractable

Disarmament as proposed by Premier Lloyd George will not frighten them, because the bulk of the German people are eager to see wars made impossible for long periods, but the other conditions, especially the loss of colonies, economic restraints, liability to inquisitorial visits from various allied commissions of supervision will arouse a feeling of bitterness which may render them intractable.

The British premier's disarmament proposal is still the topic of discussion among continental military specialists, who oppose it vehemently because they foresee the difficulty of maintaining powerful armies in their own country against the Germans if the Germans are disarmed.

Henceforth military parties in Europe must confront their own democracies which will refuse to pay for costly armies, and the result of this contest will, English politicians believe, be the end of conscription. This calculation may be correct, but, if so, much more than conscription will be swept away by the next movement of continental democracy.

Helgoland May Go Begging

The Temps expresses the hope that Helgoland will be returned to England and the German population of the Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein made an independent state with the ownership of the Kiel canal. The Temps forecast probably will not be realized, because England will refuse emphatically to accept Helgoland, which is useless to her, and when dismantled will be equally useless to disarmed Germany.

The idea of artificially dotting a large section of the European continent with petty German states has little chance of being accepted by plenipotentiaries professing the principles of self-determination.

SUPPLIES FOR POLAND.

Great quantities of food, clothing and merchandise will be furnished Poland from the United States under an agreement reached by the Polish government with the American Supply Committee. The arrangement calls for four transports, containing each 20,000 carloads of wheat flour, 7,000 carloads of beans, peas and rice, 5,000 carloads of fats, 240 of condensed milk, 200 of salmon, 200 of tea, 50 of coca and chocolate and 50 of pepper and saltpeter. One lot of these supplies is already in Scandinavian ports. The first delivery was scheduled for the end of January, the Ministry of Communications having at its disposal a sufficient number of locomotives and cars. The last lot will be delivered in Danzig by the end of June. For the distribution of the supplies the rationing system will be adopted in Posnania (Posen), Silesia and Galicia.

Subsequently the United States will also furnish clothes and footwear. To finance these purchases the Polish government has created an official purchasing company with a capital of 20 millions of marks, a great part of which will be furnished by banks in Posen.

POLAND ESTABLISHES BUREAU OF COMMERCE TO PROMOTE TRADE IN UNITED STATES.

Poland is the first of the newly born states to establish in the United States an equipped commercial bureau for the development of trade relations between the two countries. The Polish National Department at Chicago, of which I. J. Paderewski, premier of Poland, is honorary president and which comprises an executive council of the Polish societies in the United States with John F. Smulski of Chicago as active president, has opened a commercial and industrial bureau in New York City, (1032 Aeolian Bldg.)

This bureau will endeavor to furnish American manufacturers and exporters with detailed data relative to the needs of Poland, and later to arrange loans and credits to meet the purchases in every variety of raw and manufactured materials which Polish merchants and the government of Poland expect to make here. Attempts are being made to establish a banking credit here for Polish merchants.

George Fudakowski, E. E., for many years an executive with the Westinghouse Electric company in Paris, Warsaw, and Petrograd, and recently associated with Mr. Paderewski in the relief work for Poland in the United States, has been named director of the newly established bureau. Through his organization he is in official contact with Polish government authorities in Paris, London, and Warsaw. In outlining the scope of the newly opened bureau Mr. Fudakowski calls attention to the fact that the new Polish government is preparing to establish credits in this country, as well as in other allied countries, for the purchase of vitally necessary materials of all kinds.

The purpose of the commercial and industrial bureau is to formulate plans for the development of commerce between Poland and the United States. Poland has a present tremendously vital need of agricultural implements of every variety.

Poland's official representation in Paris has presented to the economic commission of the allies a proposal for the construction of 2,000 miles of railways, particularly in what was formerly Russian Poland. These railroads are to be financed by loans from the allied governments, which it is hoped will be secured by bonds of the Polish government and by securities which will be hypothecated by Polish residents in the United States and of other countries.

Arrangements are now being made in Paris by representatives of the Polish government for the establishment of branches by United States banks in Warsaw, Cracow, Lvov, Posen, and Lodz. The establishment of these banks will not only furnish American business interests with quick and favorable banking facilities, but will also be powerful mediums in destroying the hold which the German banks have always maintained in both Prussian and Russian Poland.

POLISH ENGINEERS UNITE.

Representatives of technical and commercial interests in the United States of Polish blood have organized the Society of Polish Engineers and Businessmen in America, to work in conjunction with the Commercial and Industrial Bureau of the Polish National Department, of 33 West 42d st., New York, in developing closer relations between the new republic of Poland and the United States. The organization is headed by Ralph Modjeski, a prominent civil and consulting engineer, as honorary president. Steven de Czesznak, publisher of Export American Industries, is president. The society's headquarters are in the Engineering Building, 33 West 39th st., New York. Its functions are to associate Poles in America for the purpose of co-operating and collaborating in the technical and commercial fields, and to develop a preparatory work toward bringing about closer economic relations between the United States and Poland.

FOR FREE POLAND.

Connecticut Legislature Adopts Resolution of Committee on Foreign Relations.

The following report of the committee on foreign relations of the Connecticut legislature has been passed by both houses of that body:—

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened:

Whereas a free and united Poland with access to the sea has been accepted by the Allies and the Central Powers as one of the terms of peace; and

Whereas the unification of Poland involves the restoration by Germany of the provinces of Posen, parts of West and East Prussia, the port and bay of Danzig and parts of Silesia; and the restoration by Austria of Galicia and part of Silesia; and

Whereas said provinces are part of the former Kingdom of Poland and are still largely inhabited by Poles therefore be it

Resolved, That it is in the interest of a lasting peace as well as of historic justice that a free, united and independent Polish nation be recognized, to compromise Russian, Austrian and German Poland, including possession of the port and bay of Danzig, and be it further

Resolved, That we urge upon the representatives of the United States at the peace congress to use their influence to accomplish such a result, and be it

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be mailed to the president and to the secretary of state and to the senators and representatives from this state in the congress of the United States.

Credit for the passage of the above resolution is due in large part to the zealous efforts of Dr. Julius Hupert, of New Britain, Connecticut. (Ed.)

NOTICE

FREE POLAND henceforth will be published in Chicago. All communications should be addressed to:

FREE POLAND,

2138 Pierce Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Polish Nuns and Boys Tortured

Madame Helena Paderewska, Wife of Polish Premier, Describes Appalling Conditions Existing in Poland.

The following letter from the wife of Ignace Jan Paderewski, prime minister of Poland, was written in Warsaw on January 28th last to John F. Smulski, Polish Commissioner in the U. S.

"Just now I received word that help in the form of 250,000 marks has arrived, dear brothers and sisters of America. May God bless you all a thousandfold for every penny donated.

"You know, no doubt, about current events — the esteem and love shown my husband by the Polish nation — I will only add that this is due to God's grace and to the dignity and political maturity demonstrated by the Polish nation in this critical hour.

"Shortly after the new premier took office peace and order prevailed throughout the country. There was no attempt at strikes, no disturbances, and this momentous turning point in the history of our nation was reached and passed without a shot being fired. Truly great is the Polish nation. So much for the good news.

Polish Army is hungry.

"There is misery here and famine. The most pitiful conditions exist. The army—the Polish army—is hungry, without shoes, without cloaks in zero weather, without ammunition, arms, and almost without the hope of bettering themselves.

"The hospitals are without linen, bed clothes, sanitary remedies, medicaments, bandages, etc. There are no stretchers on which to bear the wounded from the battlefield. And when we can reach them we find them often killed off by the enemy. Sometimes with their eyes gouged out. Lwow (Lemberg) has no light, water, food, arms, or munitions. The city is constantly bombarded.

"It is defended by women, children, and Boy Scouts. Wounded are transported to various cities in cattle cars. The majority of them die, not from the wounds themselves, but for want of immediate medical attention. Our enemies commit the most horrible atrocities.

"Some of the women taken prisoners (the legionistki) were impaled on pickets. So were also six nuns who were then removed and hurled in a heap and left to die slowly. Boy Scouts were taken and tied together (three and four at a time) with barb-

ed wire and then buried alive. The prisoners of war are tortured most terribly.

"Along the boarder the bolsheviks are looting and burning cities, beheading persons, or freezing them to death by throwing them into pools — in some instances burying them alive, and they have even compelled their victims to dig their own graves.

"In Cieszyn the Czechs are taking our lands by force — killing and hanging and deporting the men. The miners in Karwin defended the land of their ancestors with hatchets and axes. Many were hanged.

"Capt. Haller (brother of Gen. Haller of the Polish army in France) was killed and his body was taken away despite the appeals of his wife and mother. The German army is advancing on the fourth side—Poznan (Posen). We are in a trap.

Germans Destroyed Factories.

"In order to send this letter and papers we are employing a courier who leaves for Paris today by airplane. In Warsaw and throughout the land the factories are idle. The Germans took away every bit of brass and raw materials and destroyed the shops.

"People are without work, the fields are barren, no seeds and no stock—the specter of famine stares us in the eyes. And no help can be seen anywhere. Gen. Haller is not yet coming. Despair!

Endless Lines of Hungry Children.

"The elections occurred so quietly and in such order that American and British delegates here at the time were amazed. The funds you sent arrived just in time and will do worlds of good. This morning I took over a hospital with 100 beds, and some canteens, tea stations at the depots for the soldiers, etc. We are collecting tea, sugar, linen, and cigarets for the wounded soldiers.

"There are endless lines of hungry children. The door is never closed. Through it come countless persons of the better class starved and destitute.

"The White Cross (the Polish White Cross) embraces all the other institutions in three divisions. Every one gives liberally—more than he can really afford. Women give their wedding rings, their last heirlooms, and the poor give their last penny.

"I must hold my heart with both my hands for fear it will burst from pain. —

(Signed) Helena Paderewska."

Fourth Session of Constituent Assembly

At the fourth session of the Constituent Assembly in Warsaw on February 9th last a discussion of Premier Paderewski's program took place, according to advices from the press department of the Polish National Committee in Paris. President Trompczyński of the Diet communicated to the Assembly that the premier, in conformity with his declaration in the House, placed his authority in the hands of General Pilsudski who did not accept the resignation but requested him to remain in office.

Stanislas Grabski, speaking for the National populist Union, emphasized the necessity of completing the re-union of Polish territories, of proclaiming compulsory enlistment, of a close union with the Allies, of the return of General Haller's army and of establishing a definite supreme governmental authority. The speaker pointed out that the internal union in Poland and the orderly conditions prevailing there will insure credit and authority abroad for the Polish Republic. He urged the diet to proclaim the liberty and equality of all citizens and to establish a sound administrative system based upon decentralization. He also recommended the introduction of agrarian reforms (division of land into small holdings), respecting, however, the inviolability of private property. The country should be rebuilt and its industries reconstructed. Mr. Grabski concluded his address by expressing his party's confidence in Premier Paderewski.

(Note:—The National Populist Union is the most numerous group in the Polish Diet, consisting at present of 110 representatives, chiefly members of the National-Democratic Party. This bloc will soon be increased by the number of representatives from "German" Poland.)

Representative Stolarski, speaking for the Thugutt populist group, demanded the formation of a strong national army through

compulsory enlistment; also reunion with German Poland as well as Silesia, Cieszyn (Teschen), Spitz (Zips) and Cracow. The speaker declared himself in favor of a union or close alliance with Lithuania and White Ruthenia. He also demanded liberty for all citizens, the introduction of agrarian reforms through compulsory expropriation and the purchase of great landed estates. He advocated the passage of labor laws protecting the farm workers and praised General Pilsudski for being able to bring about the convocation of the Assembly. Similar demands were made by Representative Witos.

CORRIDOR FIXED

The corridor which the peace conference commission on Polish claims has agreed upon shall go to Poland as a means of exit to the Baltic sea is outlined today by the Journal des Debats. The report of the commission, which is headed by Jules Cambon, will be examined shortly by the supreme council.

On the West, according to the newspaper, the corridor will begin on the shore of the Baltic, west of Danzig, and will include a small part of Pomerania, which is inhabited by Poles. Thence it will run east of Lauenburg and, continuing southward, east of Konitz and Schneidemuhl.

FREE POLAND

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American Press Comment

Opinions of Writers in This Country on Danzig and Other Polish Questions.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific, American newspapers of all political creeds continue to urge in their editorial columns the restoration of Danzig to Poland, and many writers express repeatedly the hope that all of Poland's dreams may be realized. Needless to say, this sympathetic attitude on the part of our dailies is a source of gratification to the Polish immigration here, as well as to those entrusted with the destinies of the new republic. Herewith are reprinted editorials from several leading American newspapers:—

POLAND AND THE BALTIC.

Fulminations by the German press against the proposal to give Poland the possession of Danzig and the lower vistula basin will probably not affect the decision of the Paris peace conference in respect to this important item of adjustment. Poland's claims to Danzig are based on historical, ethnographic and economic grounds. The fact that Danzig is chiefly a German city now will not necessarily affect the solution. In the days of Poland's independence, before the partitions, Danzig was Polish. It is, of course, impossible to correct all the injustices caused by the selfish diplomacy and the wars of aggression in the past. But there is a particular reason now for the establishment of Poland on the shores of the Baltic with a continuous territory southward. By so doing the peace conference will have straitened her capacity for making mischief in the future. Moreover, Poland needs and deserves a port. Internationalization of the Vistula would not suffice. The people in the Vistula basin are chiefly Poles, with the exception of the eastern edge of the proposed Polish area, or rather the western edge of East Prussia. Separation of East Prussia from Prussia proper might entail a hardship. But there is to be considered in this connection the greater hardship to Poland of being cut off from the sea. The Paris conference must weigh the two considerations, and its decision is not likely to be at all affected by the protests now being voiced by the Prussian press, coupled with threats to refuse to sign a peace treaty which grants Danzig to the Poles. Germany will sign the peace treaty, in whatever terms it is written.—Washington (D. C.) Star.

GIVE THE POLES A CHANCE.

We do not know in New York just what is the basis for the report accepted in Warsaw that the United States Government is opposed to the enrollment of a Polish army of 350,000. No doubt there is a good deal of apprehension in Eastern Europe, where Polish intentions are regarded with suspicion by Ukrainians and Lithuanians, and where the fighting with the Czechs has but lately stopped. So far, our only information, from Polish sources, is to the effect that Americans fear that so large an army is inconsistent with the League of Nations.

But what are the Poles going to do with this army? Mr. Paderewski expressly declares that it is intended for defense against the Bolsheviki, who are even now harrying the eastern borders of Poland. He says it is temporary, and will be very greatly reduced when the danger disappears. This is not a danger for Poland alone; Poland is the advance guard of Western Europe on the defensive against Bolshevism. The overthrow of the present Polish Government might well lead to the triumph of Bolshevism in Germany, and probably to the overrunning of the Czecho-slovaks. Unless Bolshevism is stopped in Poland it has a clear field to the Rhine.

That is the world's interest: the Polish interest is the natural and simple one of a nation which has recovered independence after a century and a half, which is living under a government chosen by itself, and which wants to continue so to live instead of being conquered by Lenine and Trotzky. Mr. Paderewski says rightly that advice to Poland not to fight is good advice for a dying man, but not for a man who wants to live and live in freedom. What does the League of Nations offer to Poland as protection against Russia? Russia does not belong to the League. Poland, which does respect the informal League of functioning in Paris, can hardly be deprived of the right to defend herself against attack if we are unwilling to defend her.

Quite possibly the distrust of Poland, so widespread among her neighbors, is reflected in the sentiment of the Peace Conference. But however one may sympathize with the rights of the Lithuanians and Ukrainians, the practical situation cannot be ignored. The Polish Government under Pilsudski and Paderewski has done very well so far. It is fairly stable, reasonably satisfactory to the people, and capable of defending itself. The Polish State is in much sounder condition today than Lithuania or the Ukraine. The interests of the three peoples in standing together against Russian Bolshevism are identical, and the Lithuanians and the Ukrainians ought to be willing to trust the Peace Conference to protect their rights. Mr. Paderewski is said to favor a federation of the three nations, each having complete autonomy except in such matters as foreign affairs and defense. Certainly an alliance of the three is in the highest degree desirable as a preservative of the safety of Eastern Europe, and it cannot be overlooked that the chief guardian of this safety just at present is the Polish army.

The Poles and Czechs stopped fighting in the Teschen district and are ready to await the decision of the Peace Conference. But the Poles and Ukrainians around Lemberg are unwilling to follow this example; the fighting is still going on, to the interest of nobody but the Germans and the Bolsheviks. We shall presently learn who is responsible for this refusal to listen to reason, and it is hardly to be supposed that the party at fault will forward its case before the conference by such contumacy. Allied statesmanship seems to be stricken with an inexplicable impotence the moment it goes east of the Boehmerwald, but the cardinal necessity of settling the quarrels amongst Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Czech cannot be overlooked. The conference has the authority to make decisions and compel the interested parties to respect them. If it uses that power, there is no reason to look askance at the Polish army, which is holding the front line in the defenses of Western Europe.—New York (N. Y.) Times.

PORT FOR POLAND.

The Baltic port of Danzig will probably be handed over to the Poles, in spite of violent objections upon the part of the defeated Germans and also in spite of the fact that the population is principally German. Poland cannot become prosperous without having direct access to the Baltic. There has been some talk of making Danzig an international port, but it is now conceded that such an arrange-

ment would not prove entirely satisfactory. If present plans are carried out, the Germans will be compelled to swallow a large dose of their own medicine. After the third and final division of Poland by the Prussians, Russians and Austrians, an attempt was made to make Prussians out of such Poles as could not be driven out of the new Prussian territory. The hapless victims were compelled to suffer all kinds of indignities and physical hardships. Even their language was under the ban for several generations. Now the day of atonement has arrived and the German population will be in danger of assimilation.

From one point of view, this will not be so much of a hardship as indicated upon the surface. The very name of German is detested and despised all over the world. Those who elect to become Poles will escape some of the odium which now attaches to their race. In addition, they will escape being taxed to the limit to pay indemnities to the allies and the enormous war debt of Germany. Taxes will be high in Poland while the new nation is getting upon its feet, but they will be very much higher in Germany for generations to come. This phase of the situation will doubtless appeal to many Germans now resident in Poland.

Salt Lake, (Utah), Tribune.

GERMAN PEACE VIEWS.

In discussing the report that the peace conference has decided to give Danzig to Poland, and to create a buffer state along the Rhine, the Berlin Tageblatt expresses the hope "that there is nobody in Germany who would suffer such a treaty to be signed", and the Lokal Anzeiger thinks it "absolutely certain that these demands will be rejected if they are made." If they are rejected, the allies will simply resume their march to Berlin, and maintain the blockade with the utmost strictness. But the terms will be accepted.

They are mild as compared with those which Germany proposed to exact from France and Belgium. Even before the war began the German government insultingly demanded that France turn over to her two of the strongest French fortresses as pledges of French neutrality in a war between Germany and Russia. If the Germans had won the war there would have been little left of France.

It is about time that these German editors should realize that the war ended in a German defeat. All that the allies are seeking is reparation and protection. There is nothing in President Wilson's program, which is now so precious to the Germans,

that forbids this. If there were, it would have to be disregarded and set aside. Peace is to be made at Versailles. It was not made a year ago last January, when the President spoke. And the peace will be that imposed by a victor, a merciful victor when measured by any German standard. Danzig surely should go to Poland, since it is necessary that the new state have an outlet to the Baltic and that the sea be no longer a German lake. It is quite as necessary that Germany as a military power be shut up behind the Rhine. We sincerely trust that the peace terms will be such as to drive into the densest or most arrogant mind in Teutondom the consciousness that Germany lost the war. To fail in making that demonstration would be to lose one of the most important fruits of the victory. The comments of the papers quoted above only serve to strengthen this conviction.—Indianapolis (Ind.) News.

RUSSIA AND POLAND.

The position with respect to Russia and Poland gives ground for grave disquiet. Trotzky has succeeded in forming a fighting force, which may be overestimated at 600,000, but which is becoming increasingly formidable.

It is chiefly directed at Poland, which at present serves as a buffer between Russia and Germany, and Trotzky is said to be particularly fierce in his hatred of Paderewski, whose regime is reducing not only the Bolshevik spirit in Poland, but whose growing power is becoming a menace to Russian Bolshevism. Incidentally, the statement that Paderewski has tendered his resignation as Premier to General Piłsudski, the temporary Chief of State, is one to which importance need not be attached.

It most probably partakes of the same character as Piłsudski's own resignation, pending the formal adoptional form of government. Paderewski is not likely to desert his country in its present emergency and as long as Poland continues to need him, as it undoubtedly does at the present moment.

Poland is not altogether favorable to the plans of a League of Nations as it understands them. If feels in the present condition of things, with Russia facing it and with Germany full of hatred on its flank, it must have a large army to protect itself, and it wants all the food and material it can get at the present time to stave off Bolshevism — which thrives on starvation — and equip its forces in order to withstand the menace of Trotzky's army.

It places no confidence in the message received by wireless from Moscow, stating that the Soviet government is ready to enter into amicable relations with the Polish people.—New York (N. Y.) Herald.

POLAND NO MINOR PROBLEM.

IN ORDER to visualize the national and racial problems which any league of nations must meet, consider Poland as just one of the problems. It is next to impossible for the wisest among us to visualize all of them, or even to see clearly the European problems if they could be set apart from the Asiatic and African problems, but we may get a perception of the immensity of the task by trying to visualize the future of Poland, one of the problems that must be met if a league of nations is to be established before the peace treaty is signed.

On the day of his return, President Wilson, in his impassioned speech at Boston, asked: "Do you believe in the Polish cause as I do? Are you going to set up Poland, immature, inexperienced, as yet unorganized, and leave her with a circle of armies around her," This was not mere rhetoric. He wanted the American reply to an intensely practical question. America had not considered it seriously, and has not had sufficient time to give it calm thought, but cablegrams received in one single day last week show that early action by the supreme council at Paris is necessary.

Note the following Associated Press dispatch from Berlin, March 5:

The military situation on the Eastern front is painted in blackest colors by Field Marshal von Hindenburg in an interview. The field marshal declares that unless the population rallies to the defense of homes and families, it will be impossible to ward off attacks by Bolshevik hordes.

"The expectations of the Poles and entente that the Poles will succeed to the German inheritance in the East will be blasted," he says. "I know the Poles and the country to the east will belong either to us or the Bolsheviks."

In the discussion of the Polish question in the German national assembly today, Mathias Erzberger, chairman of the German armistice commission, criticized the old German government severely for its policy toward the Poles, which consistently alienated them. Several speakers supported the views of Erzberger, but the majority argued that the Polish attitude toward Germany was one of injustice and ingratitude.

Also on the same day the Associated Press brought news of continued clashes at arms between Poles and Ukrainians, and the old bitter spirit growing still more bitter and angry.

Von Hindenburg's utterance may be dismissed as characteristic Hun bluff. Erzberger doubtless is perfectly honest. Hostility by the Ukrainians is in keeping with the old system. But all these relatively trifling.

Portland, (Ore.), Telegraph.

(From The Chicago Post.)

POLAND WORSE OFF THAN BELGIUM.

WARSAW.—(By the Associated Press.)—Before departing today for Paris, Dr. Vernon C. Kellogg, a member of the American food administration who investigated the food and health problems in east Poland, said the situation there has improved, partly as a result of the receipt of American food shipments, but that they were far from being solved.

"It will take a year to get Poland on her feet," Dr. Kellogg added. "There are at least 5,000,000 people scattered over 10,000 square miles, who are worse off than were the Belgians, because they have been without any help whatsoever for four years. They are absolutely dependent on the allies for food, clothing and hospital supplies.

"I do not believe the allies have a more important duty than to hasten all available assistance to Poland. We have shipped 80,000 tons of food-stuffs to Poland, but that is not enough. We must send that much each month.

"I am glad to see the American Red Cross concentrating its efforts in the vast territory east of the Bug river, which easily is the most distressed part of the whole country. If only the Americans at home could see the gratitude of these poor people! Three months ago they were complaining and discouraged. Now they are hopeful. Women with their eyes filled with tears ran after us and kissed our coats and thanked us for the food we had given them."

Dr. Kellogg has been co-operating with the American Red Cross in children's relief work, similar to that carried out in Belgium and for which the Polish and American governments have each appropriated \$1,000,000.

