
The Boundaries of Poland



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KIND READER,

During the last five years, Poland has been, and still is, the object of devastation, rape and murder. More than five million of Polish subjects have been exterminated by the Germans, and more than two million have been sent to slave in the labor camps of the Reich. A fifth of Poland's population!

Lidice shocked the world, but in Poland 428 towns and villages have been burned to the ground and plowed under. At last count, the inhabitants of 1,080 small communities either had been massacred or deported.

Approximately a million and a half Poles were deported to Russia in 1939, 1940 and 1941 in most horrible conditions in freight cars which usually are assigned to cattle. How many of them are still alive, after untold sufferings and executions, only God knows.

Hundreds of thousands of them scattered all over the world.

In 1939 Poland resisted the invading German hordes, refusing to forsake her allies, England and France. But she was stabbed in the back and subjugated by her Eastern enemy. Russia liquidated the Polish soldiers, imprisoned their officers and butchered thousands of them. Their martyred remains were buried in the forest of Katyn. For all these sacrifices and tortures Poland is to be rewarded by another partition by Russia. Will her allies, for whom she staked everything, come to her aid?

Polish-German Boundaries

PART I

Danzig and East Prussia

The indication of boundary lines between Poland and Germany does not impress one as conclusively and uniformly in its conception as does the problem of the Polish-Russian boundary (see decision of the National Council of the Republic of Poland in London, in the matter of the boundary of Poland with Russia—Dec. 2, 1942).

In the present situation, however, certain postulates forge to the front in this question, and Poland will be forced to demand the acceptance of these postulates at the peace conference, and use them as the principal directive for her claims.

Here they are:

1. MAKING GOOD THE DAMAGES CAUSED BY THE ENEMIES AND BY AN UNDESERVED AND UNPROVOKED WAR. Inasmuch as peace will find Poland extremely despoiled, she must receive compensation for these damages also in kind; in raw materials, machinery, technical equipment, live stock, and even in the form of work from foreign hands, as the shortage of these will be most keenly felt in the beginnings of reconstruction.
2. EXPIATION BY GERMANS—AS INDIVIDUALS AND COLLECTIVELY FOR THE MONSTROUS VIOLATIONS OF ALL PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN JUSTICE AND MORALITY.

One cannot accept and limit German responsibility to individuals alone. The whole nation must answer for such monstrous crimes, as the persecution and torture of Poles and Jews. The nation as a whole participated in them through statutes passed by the Reichstag in Berlin, and by the execution of these statutes; through the employment of man-power, materials and all effective aid. The nation as a whole profited by the robbery and looting of food and other possessions from people of occupied countries. After centuries of negative experiences humanity must cease to treat the Germans with leniency characteristic of a mother who is helpless before an unmanageable son of evil instincts which guide him toward banditry. For centuries all their predatory deeds, banditry, insidious and cunning acts, lying propaganda, etc., passed by without reaction and frequently these were rewarded by permission to retain the gains of their conquests (see history of the Knights of the Cross, Prussia, etc.).

Germans must be convinced *actively* that methods of weakness will never again be applied toward them; they must be made to feel and see, that all violations of international balance will simply be impossible in the future; finally they must be made to understand that in the face of all their perfidious acts—nobody will again treat them as gentlemen and never believe their statements or signatures. The tragic fact of an honorable Chamberlain, who tried with such candor to justify his political acts, believing all the while that he was dealing with gentlemen recognizing honorable principles and respecting a given word—should always be a terrifying warning in this respect.

In the penal laws of civilized nations individual responsibility for the acts of the main transgressor is an

accepted principle. Neither can the nation itself be relieved of responsibility for acts of individuals in international relations, if such a nation aided the malefactors in the performance of their evil deeds. In spite of the opposing theories held by some, the so-called collective responsibility maintains its place in international law from time immemorial. How else could we explain the reduction of territories of conquered nations, the imposition of them of stated war indemnities, the deprivation of such nations of some of their rights, etc.

SUCH BEING THE CASE, POLAND DEMANDS
THE AFTER WAR RESTORATION OF:

Danzig and East Prussia

There is a universally accepted conviction—undoubtedly just—that the biggest error in the Versailles Treaty was the creation of the Free City of Danzig and the incorporation of East Prussia into Germany. This was done against the uniform opinion of experts, and against the initial proposal of the Council of Ambassadors—all of whom recommended that the Peace Conference incorporate Danzig and East Prussia into Poland without restrictions.

DANZIG—The Vistula, in its entire length, from its source to its mouth, has been everlastingly a Polish river; this river flowed in its entirety within the boundaries of the reconstructed Polish Republic, and only its mouth was unjustly cut off from Poland by the elimination of Danzig from Polish authority. This proved not only an unjust act, but also an economic blunder, and a political experiment ever pregnant with danger.

The question of food in Danzig is first of all, and

always, dependent on the aid and good will of Poland and her people. The alternative would mean the procurement of foodstuffs at a much higher cost from Germany or Russia; it would mean not only the cost of the transportation of food, but also payment of duties. These difficulties would not exist in dealings within Poland.

Commercially and economically Danzig has depended on Poland for its livelihood, its growth, riches and development, and above all, Danzig owes its origin and rise to Poland. The Polish name Gdansk (Danzig) comes from an old Polish word "Gdania", meaning marshy land, overflows from the sea, etc. Danzig belonged to Poland during the Mieszek I regime and Boleslaw Chrobry. When Boleslaw Krzywousty divided Poland among his sons in 1136, Danzig and all territory on the sea, Pomerania, was included in this division as Poland's property. When Wladyslaw Lokietek in his union of all Piast subdivisions sojourned in Danzig in 1306 (as related by the 16th century historian, Dlugosz), he received at the time an oath of loyalty from the citizens and soldiers of Danzig.

The German Knights of the Cross, brought to Poland in 1226 by Konrad Mazowiecki, "reciprocated" this kindness by forcing Poland away from the sea, and by changing the name of the Cassubian city of Gdansk into the German name of Danzig. To accomplish this end they attacked Gdansk on the night of November 24-25, 1308, and murdered ten thousand innocent Cassubians during that one night.

After the battle of Grunwald Polish Gdansk delegates paid tribute to King Jagiello. For this they were stealthily murdered by the Knights of the Cross.

During the Thirteen Year War, the people of Gdansk

were with Poland, aided her King, Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk, with money and armaments, and destroyed completely the Knights of the Cross castle in Gdansk (1454-1466). For this the King rewarded them with outstanding privileges, granting Gdansk broad autonomy and jurisdiction, the right to use a crown on the city's crest, the right to its own fort and port, and even an increase in territory. These privileges formed the basis of the Constitution of Gdansk as a free city (noted by Kasper Schutzius, historian).

From the time of the Thirteen Year War Gdansk continued to remain with Poland for over three hundred years. It was not until 1793 that the Prussian King Frederick, after many years of persecution of the people of Gdansk, incorporated this city into Prussia, subsequent to the second partition of Poland.

It was during those three hundred years, thanks to Poland that the city of Gdansk blossomed into full bloom and became prosperous. Through it flowed the extensive foreign trade of Poland; trade in grain, furs, wood, live stock; through it were imported silks, English cloth, wines, armament, etc. As a result Gdansk became notable in world commerce. During the Swedish attack on Poland Gdansk refused to yield to demands of King Gustav, and did not surrender, "remaining loyal to the Polish King, given to it by Divine right and free choice" (1665). In 1656 King Jan Kazimierz came to Gdansk to express public thanks to its citizens, because Gdansk and Czestochowa were chiefly instrumental in saving Poland.

Gdansk Incorporated Into Poland

As already mentioned—in the year 1793, thanks to King Frederick's political attitude, and the thesis that, in

order to dominate Poland it is necessary to have possession of the mouth of the Vistula—Gdansk was relegated to the rank of smaller ports. Germany having a number of these smaller ports, regarded Gdansk only for its strategic value. Realizing its eventual fate, delegates of the City of Gdansk, attending the Vienna Congress, urged that the city be freed from Prussia. And, when on the basis of the Versailles Treaty in 1919 it again became a port for Poland's commercial use, the city once more boomed with life, and its commerce rose 240%, as compared with the business done in the pre-war years, i.e. from two million tons in 1913 to seven million tons in 1938. It soon became the third port on the Baltic—following Copenhagen and Gdynia, while other Baltic ports, such as Królewiec (Koenigsberg), showed during the same period comparatively small gains. Together with Gdynia, which had nine million tons of commerce, Gdansk ranked sixth among the ports of the world.

These observations make it plain, without doubt, that commercial and economic considerations of Poland, as well as of Gdansk, demanded that Gdansk be included with Poland, to which country the city belonged for centuries, and with which there exist time honored close historical and cultural ties. It is sufficient to stroll over the streets of Gdansk and observe the mementos left there by Polish kings as a result of the mutual historic union with Poland; to count the numerous Polish names on shops and store windows; to visit the museums and historical collections, as well as buildings—the city hall—to understand how closely and intimately related with Poland's past was the past of Gdansk. No argument is needed to prove that Poland, with a relatively large population, with its spacious territory in the center of Europe; with its natural resources and potential tendency

for trade and economic growth—needs this port for her people.

To allow Poland to only share this port, as was the case when the Free City of Danzig was established, would again prove ruinous. The mutual customs agreement with Poland was frequently the cause of endless haggling, as for example: division of income between Poland and Danzig, as per agreement on the one hand, while on the other it proved the means of taking advantage of Poland to cheat her. Danzig formed an opening through which all goods according to German dictates—and with detriment to Poland—could enter Polish customs territory, and leave at will, and without obstacles. Alongside the peaceful, tolerant and ever yielding Polish political attitude on the one hand, and the inconsiderate and domineering attitude of the Germans in Danzig on the other, all control of customs by Poland became illusory. Whenever they could do nothing else Germans resorted to force in order to nullify control by Polish customs inspectors and prevent their performance of duty.

By the complete separation of Gdansk from Poland politically and administratively by the Nazis, and against which Poland found no aid or relief in the League of Nations, Gdansk soon became a ruinous port for Poland, a military center for Germany, a nest for espionage and German propaganda. It was here that plans of attack on Poland were forged. It was here that vicious slogans against Poland were circulated, as well as antagonistic agitation started; it was primarily here that eventually all open and active hostilities on the innocent Polish people began—even on officials of Polish institutions, including the Commissariat. Finally, it was here, and from here, that the treacherous attack on Poland commenced, and on all her terrain of Gdansk (on the post

office, on Westerplatte, etc.). A few weeks before the outbreak of the war the German warship, Schleswig-Holstein, arrived here under the innocent pretext of a school excursion—only to await orders at the outbreak of hostilities, and from the nearest range use its guns to destroy Polish Westerplatte, and treacherously murder the immortal crew of 200 Polish heroes defending this post.

Poland will never again agree to an association of this nature.

East Prussia

Poland is also forced to make a demand that East Prussia—after years of absence—be returned to her rightful, old owner.

East Prussia belonged to Poland during the reigns of Boleslaw Chrobry and Krzywousty (1000-1136). This territory was then inhabited by the original Prussians, pagan people, related to the Lithuanians, but foreign to the German race. East Prussia became a part of Poland in 1166. The Duke Konrad Mazowiecki brought the Knights of the Cross to Poland in 1226. In granting them parts of Polish territory, the district of Chelmno in particular, Poland held in reserve its title to East Prussia, whose inhabitants the Knights were to convert to Christianity. It is well known how the Knights understood their task of converting the Prussians: they exterminated them without mercy, and colonized the lands granted them by Poland with Germans. The Knights of the Cross degraded their Order to the depths of savagery and began to decay from within. However they continued with their destructive, political attitude towards Poland and pushed her farther and farther from the sea. Followed the

massacres of Gdansk, Tczew and Swiec in 1308, and the occupation of Eastern Pomerania. The Knights of the Cross held Gdansk and Pomerania almost up to the treaty of Torun. Historian Dlugosz called them "Bandits of the Cross" (*"Latrones cruce signati"*). Then came their crushing defeat on the field of battle at Grunwald—and a moral defeat at the Council of Constancia in 1414-1418, where two ideas clashed: the idea of Poland—one of peace, concord, loyalty and gentleness, against the idea of the Knights—that of brute strength, oppression, sword and betrayal. In the year 1454 the Prussian Alliance pleaded with Poland for aid in its fight against the Knights of the Cross. The Peace of Torun, victorious and beneficial to Poland, put an end to this long war—Gdansk and a considerable part of East Prussia came back to Poland.

That was the attitude of East Prussia herself towards Poland at the time peace was signed. As a result, Dantyszek, noted Polish writer in the sixteenth century, who was delegated as an emissary to Emperor Charles the Fifth, in 1530, made efforts to convince him that East Prussia constantly submitted to Polish rule: "*Prussia semper subfuisse regno Poloniae.*"

And so from the date of the Peace of Torun part of Royal Prussia and East Prussia and Warmia, which was always Polish and Catholic, belonged directly to Poland until her partitions; the rest of East Prussia, called Prusy Zakonne, became from then on a feudal Polish State.

From here on, too, the Polish King used the full title of his dominion: "Master and heir of all Prussia." Even the Order of the Knights of the Cross was to become part Polish, according to the provision of this treaty. Polish population spread throughout Prussian cities, even in

the Eastern parts, and during the 16th and 17th centuries the Polish nobility and Polish general population predominated here, though from the time of the Reformation quite a number of Polish Mazurs continued to adhere to the Evangelical faith.

After the so-called secularization of Prussia, normal relations of secular Prussians with Poland were established at the Peace of Krakow in 1525. On the neck of the Prussian Eagle, an escutcheon, established during the reign of Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk, there appeared now the crown of Polish kings, and on the eagles breast the letter "S", meaning Sigmundus. The prince was titled "Dux" in Prussia, as only the Polish king was "dominus et haeres totius Prussiae."

Culturally Prussia became bound to Poland by the fact that king Sigmund August established a foundation in Krolewicz (Koenigsberg) for a department of Protestant theology. To maintain and control internal conditions in Prussia Polish kings exercised the so-called method of "Jus Appelandi": all judicial matters in their last appeal were decided by the king's court (1569). The feeling of adherence to Poland and her sovereignty over Prussia was always so alive, that for example, in 1566 the Prussian states demanded from Poland the removal of Prince Albrecht, to replace him with an administrator of Poland's choice (Jan Kostka). And here is another actual fact: when in the year 1640, at the instance of Poland, there was a Polish governor, Ossolinski, in Krolewicz (Koenigsberg).

This active adherence of East Prussia to Poland was deplored by the Germans: "der Kurfuerst war zum willenlosen Statthalter Polens degradiert"—but it saved Prussia during the 30-year war, and safeguarded her

peace and assured unprecedented development. Even the university of Krolewiec experienced a marked growth. It was not until after the Swedish wars that the Hohenzollerns, as Prussian princes, managed to free themselves of Polish rule. This occurred at the Peace of Welawa-Bydgoszcz in 1657, but Warmia remained with Poland, and a Prussian Elector continued to pay tribute to Poland from Elblag, Leborga and Bytow. It was not until then that Polish courts ceased to function in East Prussia. Up to this period they functioned through a tribunal in Piotrkow as the highest court for East Prussia. In this peace agreement, however, the rights of Poland to East Prussian provinces governed by princes,—in the event of a break in the male Hohenzollern dynasty,—were stipulated, and this provision was included in the oath which the Prussian states were to take before the prince. Prussian states, however continued to lean to Poland, and towards the end of King Jan Sobieski's rule the opportunity came to Poland to take Prussia back. King Sobieski's tendency in this direction was open because of the disloyalty of Frederick Wilhelm, who offered Pomerania to the Swedes, and even connived to partition Poland. After the death of Frederick Wilhelm the various states refused to permit his successor to take the oath of office and asked Sobieski for aid; but Poland was then too busy with the Turks.

Then began the sad epoch of Saxons (Sas) rule, who, as Germans, were naturally favorable to Prussian princes. In time, they got to crowning the Elector of Krolewiec as "King in East Prussia" (Koenig in Preussen). The title of "Prussian King" (von Preussen) was not assumed until 1773 by Frederick the Second, after the first partition of Poland. In any event, during this period, Polish was the every day language deep in Mazowsze in towns and

villages, and so it remained for many years in spite of the sharp anti-Polish current to exterminate it. This current was loosed at once against the Polish population by German political elements.

Yet, in spite of the conscienceless and frantic German efforts to destroy every vestige of Polish rule and Polish culture in East Prussian territory, for over a century and a half, in spite of intensive colonization, backed by immense funds, and in spite of special statutes passed for the purpose of merciless oppression of the native population (Colonization Commission), Polish sentiment in East Prussia is felt at every step, and always had appeal for souls and hearts of tourists even up to the time of the last war. That spirit breathes most forcibly in Polish churches, chapels and cemeteries; it is evidenced by Polish Foundations and names of Polish bishops, who for centuries officiated without a break on the princely-bishopric throne of Polish Catholic Warmia; it demands squaring of centuries of accounts and cries out for justice and the return of the country to its Mother, Poland.

The rural and economic conditions in East Prussia were extremely bad, in spite of the tremendous efforts of Germany to remedy the situation, and to uphold Germanism in East Prussia. Numerous German publications testify that East Prussia continued to hold a passive attitude towards German economy. East Prussian lands are the least populated of all German territory: 63 residents for every square kilometer; they are, and should be a farming territory. Yet according to official statistics, farming there is shrinking. This terrain, it would seem, should be easily adaptable for colonization, yet the number of new settlers is many times surpassed—year in and out—by the people who abandon their heavily mortgaged farms in East Prussia, and return to their homesteads in

Germany. The natural increase in East Prussian population, though larger than the natural increase of the population within Germany, is nevertheless lower than the increase in Poland itself: Germany 7%, East Prussia 10.3%, Poland 15.3%.

It may be recalled here that during 1718-1720 there was established in Krolewiec one of the oldest Polish newspapers (a weekly) sponsored chiefly by local Polish nobility.

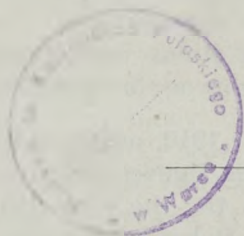
Demographic conditions on the present East Prussian terrain in the 17th century could be summed up as follows: In the cities, Germans, who settled there, predominated; Poles resided in the 18 southern counties, the Lithuanians in 6 counties, and the Germans in 13 counties. In other words, Poles had about 18,000 square kilometers, or half of the province in their hands. After the partition of Poland this state of Polish occupation and ownership was forcefully and artfully changed. A ruthless anti-Polish system was adopted, churches and schools were closed, Polish landowners were expropriated. Then, too, a fictitious census was taken; Poles were reported as Mazurs, and the mother language was changed to German.

In spite of all this, even in 1910, as Prof. E. Romer states in his works of 1919 (his figures taken from the official German school census for the year 1911) East Prussian counties, bordering on Poland, showed a decided majority in Polish population. Included were the entire Olsztyn district, Sztum county, a considerable part of Kwidzyn and Suski counties, and a part of Olecki county in the Gabin district. In all, the ethnographic Polish expanse embraced even then in East Prussia about 11,700 square kilometers, or a little short of 32% of the province—almost a third.

Official German statistics fabricated after the World War cannot be taken into consideration, as these were purposely falsified and do not square with facts. Irresponsible, barbaric, and monstrous machinations of Nazi Germans during the last war could be used very eloquently against them.

A. Kotiuzynski, in his book: "German economic aid to East Prussia" confirms the fact (as evidenced by the minutes of Reichstag meetings) (see March 24, 1931) that there existed an abnormal condition of overdue rentals in East Prussia because of the lack of tenants for farms, shortage of labor, high interest rates, together with lack of money and passive trade balances.

In a word, East Prussia is an iron ball tied to German feet, while Poland needs this land so much.



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Polish-German Boundaries

PART II

Western Frontier; Silesia, Pomerania

Polish Criterion for the Determination of Boundaries

Poland must demand a boundary, which shall begin at the "Slav Sea"—"Mare Svevicum"—as the Baltic was formerly called, leading in a southerly direction to the new Polish-Czech boundary, thereby insuring above all freedom from German invasion in future years, but also protecting inhabitants of ethnographically Polish lands from total extinction by acquisitive Germanic tribes.

Removal of the Boundary to the West

Poland may acquire this assurance by appropriate removal of her boundary to the West, thereby compensating her for damages inflicted by Germany through systematic and conscienceless infiltration of Polish territory. Such a move would materially shorten and straighten the Polish-German boundary, increasing Poland's security to a marked degree and enhancing her potentialities for defence. Poland fully realizes, that her aspirations regarding the West will conflict—because they are bound to conflict—with the interests of the great and eventually victorious United Nations: America and England. Their own interests naturally will be given preference, therefore Poland must hold herself in abeyance until the Allied Powers express their intentions and announce their decisions, before Poland can present her wishes so as to conform with her Allies.

In addition Poland, realizing the necessity of maintaining the closest possible relations with her immediate neighbors and with her blood brothers in Slavdom, particularly with the Czechs and Slovaks, yearns to formulate in advance mutual plans and claims to areas, which will be sliced off from the German empire after the war is won—and to establish a mutual boundary with Czecho-Slovakia in such an amicable manner, that it would be virtually an extension of the boundary with Germany.

For those reasons perhaps it would not be wise at this time to determine or to suggest any concrete proposals or wishes regarding the Western boundary. It appears however to be prudent and necessary to emphasize at the present momentous time all those historical, economic and ethnographic facts, likewise those rightful considerations contributing to universal peace, which would lie in the general interest of the United Nations, Poland included. All those pressing issues should be borne in mind when the new boundary with Germany is being drawn again. During that mapping process we will ever be maneuvering only on the territory of old Poland, inhabited in former years almost exclusively by Polish people who were gradually disfranchised or evicted by brute force.

The History of Pomerania

It is a historical fact, scientifically corroborated, that along the shores of the Baltic Sea, from Danzig (Gdansk) as far as the Elbe (Laba) and on the South from that coast were sturdy settlers in the olden days of many Slav tribes: the Polabians, Wends, Lititians, Upper Lusatians and Lower Lusatians, the Kashubians and from that stock emanated farther south the descendants of Sass and other Slavic tribes. After the reign of the first king of Poland,

Mieszek I, whose kingdom extended to the Oder river, his successor King Boleslaus Chrobry (922-1025 A.D.) united under his sceptre all the Slavonic Lands and nations as far as the river Elbe to the west, to the Danube river in the south, to the Dvina river and to the Dnieper river in the east, while to the archbishopric of Gniezno he subordinated three additional bishoprics, which he founded in Breslau (Wrocław), in Cracow (Kraków) and in the Pomeranian Corridor, while he annexed Silesia to Poland in the year 1018 by enacting the peace pact in Budziszyn.

The Polish-Slavonic territories, situated along the coast from Danzig (Gdansk) to the west as far as Stettin (Szczecin) up to the Oder river, otherwise known as Pomerania (Pomorze), was generally divided into East Pomerania and West Pomerania. Danzig was the capital of East Pomerania, while Kommin (Kamień) and later Stettin was the capital of West Pomerania. It is well known that East Pomerania, together with Danzig, for long centuries belonged to Poland except for a short period when it was under the domination of the Knights of the Cross. As a result of the partition of Poland, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, it was seized by the Prussians. West Pomerania was Polish in the beginning and after King Boleslaus Krzywousty divided Poland among his sons (1136) it was under the rule of district princes, the disciples of Piast, retaining for many centuries its Polish traditions and its Polish rulers. King Casimir the Great (1333-1370) planned to install one of those princes, Boleslaus Piastowicz, prince of Stettin, as the occupant of the Polish throne, therefore adopted him with this purpose in view. History tells us such an event did not come to pass, yet the close relations existing with Poland were in evidence frequently on later occasions

—especially when the need arose—as for instance in the year 1410 when Prince Boguslaw of West Pomerania, from the city of Slupsk, fought side by side with the King of Poland against the Knights of the Cross. As a notable public expression of such partnership with Poland, existing until the year 1637, that is up to the passing of Boguslaw XIV, the last of the Stettin-Pomeranian line of Piastowicz princes, can be cited the oath of allegiance given by them to the King of Poland and the tribute paid as his liege-men. After the Thirty Years' War West Pomerania, with Stettin and Ruge Island, was awarded to Sweden and retained until the year 1815. The population, however, remained Polish and so were those inhabitants of West Pomerania who in the year 1648 (after the Thirty Years' War) were allotted to Brandenburg. Under Napoleon (1806-1807) the Prussians were pommelled by Polish divisions from Pomerania under the brilliant leadership of General Kosinski and General Skórczewski. Immediately after the partition of Poland the Germans began their brutal and systematic extermination of Polish culture, conducted heartlessly (also in Silesia) against religious practices, the use of the Polish language and every Polish custom and tradition, depriving the Poles of their farms and homesteads by enacting special discriminatory legislation and by a lavish disposition of limitless funds. For such nefarious purposes the Prussian Colonization Commission had a subsidy of 500 million marks. That shameful expropriation continued for 150 years and longer, increasing in vengeful intensity with the passing years. But the undying spirit of Poland carried on indomitably, each and every Pole stubbornly defending his heritage, never giving up the endless fight. In recent years, shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, some parts of Poland surprisingly have even shown a substantial increase of land holding by the Poles. In

West Pomerania (capital: Stettin) in the counties adjacent to Poland, like Czluchów, Bytom, Słupiec, Lębork, Złotów and others, there were about 300,000 Polish settlers until the outbreak of the Second World War, while on the remaining territory of Pomerania upwards of 50% of its residents are germanized natives, using the dialect of Polish Kashubs; even in the Stettin area the Polish people comprised 30% of the entire population just before the present war. The Germans themselves in a burst of hapless sincerity do confess (read *Kisielewski's*: "*Land Gathers Ashes*"—London 1941), that the German element is neither pure nor strong and if some other nation should occupy Stettin—in a short period of ten years could change its aspect completely, just as the Poles changed Grudziadz and Tczew. And when elections were held in the communes in November, 1929, the Polish vote was trebled as compared with 1923 in the counties of West Pomerania. In the Stettin circuit the Poles even had their own slate (Compare with *A. Blonski's*: "*We Return to the Oder*"—page 89). Pomerania was, is and will be Slavonic.

The History of Silesia

Silesia belonged to the oldest Polish areas. It was Polish to the very core, bone and sinew. After King Boleslaus Krzywousty partitioned Poland in the year 1136 among his sons Silesia remained Polish and for many centuries thereafter was ruled by the Polish Piastowicz princes. Some of them temporarily gave their allegiance in the XIV century to Czech kings, but after the Thirty Years' War submitted to the suzerainty of the Hapsburgs. Others—for instance Henry Probus—became germanized and joined the Reich. But Silesia itself by no means was denationalized by that (See: "*Polish Cities in Upper*

Silesia" by Prof. Kostrzewski). In the latter half of the XIX century the Polish spirit of its population was strengthening steadily, and it reached the zenith of its patriotic effulgence in the XX century thanks to the untiring zeal of W. Korfanty. For centuries the Germans were laboring systematically to colonize and denationalize Silesia. The German struggle to exterminate the Poles has been going on there as long as in the territory comprising Pomerania, yet, Silesia—particularly Upper Silesia—steadfastly remained Polish, a fact which cannot be denied or altered by any crafty statistical complications (See: "*The Poles in Silesia*" by Dr. A. Dudzinski). The German census in 1910 indicated that there were 884,000 Germans (including 20,000 soldiers) and 1,258,000 Poles in Silesia. Inasmuch as the official ecclesiastical statistics for 1912 listed in the diocese of Wrocław 306,000 Polish children (250,000 speaking Polish only, and 56,000 using Polish and German), while the German children approximated 74,000, hence 80.5% were Poles. After the plebiscite in 1921, cunningly manipulated for the benefit of Germany by inducing persons born in Silesia to return from Germany for voting purposes only—Poland regained roughly one-third of the Plebiscite area and 900,000 inhabitants. Nevertheless there remained about 1,100,000 Poles in Silesia beyond the boundaries of Poland...

Those historical facts and the preponderance of Polish residents were substantiated by three uprisings of the Polish people in Upper Silesia—from 1919 to 1921—demanding their freedom and immediate union with the fatherland. It would be meet and proper to respect the will of the population of Silesia when the new frontiers are drawn, since the people were always Polish and wish to remain so. It is high time to repair the damage done and to remove the injustice inflicted upon these people

after the First World War when the politicoes with incredible blindness favored the Germans and believed their false promises and assurances. Let it be remembered, that the first draft of the peace treaty, presented to Germany on May 7th, 1919, awarded entire Upper Silesia to Poland without a plebiscite, based solely on German maps and statistics. The influence of the Germans, however, was so great that they obtained permission from the victorious powers to hold a plebiscite in June, 1921, embracing the entire area of Upper Silesia. This plebiscite was held June 20, 1921 under circumstances highly favorable to the Germans. The entire administration and supervision rested in German hands. Despite innumerable frauds, glaring corruption and manifest violence, and the importation from innermost Germany of approximately 200,000 Germans ostensibly born in Silesia to participate in this terroistic plebiscite, the election returns from various communes indicated clearly, that entire Upper Silesia up to the Oder river in the east (the so-called Korfanty line) should have been justly awarded to Poland. But the Germans—as related in the personal memoirs of Minister Stresemann and Lord d'Abernon—at that time resorted to another slick maneuver of promising adequate and just payment for all damages sustained by the injured parties upon condition, that Upper Silesia will be retained by them. In such a despicable fashion, by cajolery and threats and faithless promises, the Germans secured from the Allied Powers their assent to compute the total vote cast instead of by separate communes when determining the result of the plebiscite. Actually they intended to award to Poles only the territory around Pszczyna and Rybnik besides a limited share of the Katowice area. That rank injustice brought on a third uprising under the leadership of Korfanty. The shedding of Silesian blood pro-

duced the well known decision of the League of Nations far more favorable to Poland, yet—as stated above—approximately 1,100,000 Poles of Silesia were left at that time with and at the mercy of the Reich.

The Domestic Economy of Poland

The urgent necessity for revision of the boundary between Poland and Germany is indicated also by the domestic economy of Poland and Silesia. It is the concerted opinion of the Poles and their well-wishers in other countries that Poland should be industrialized. Tremendously wealthy Polish Silesia possesses unlimited deposits of coal, iron and zinc, which Poland of necessity requires for such a purpose. Beyond Silesian territory scarcely any of those minerals are found in Poland. On the other hand Germany has plenty of those raw materials in Westphalia lying in Western Germany, hence the bountiful deposits in Silesia are exploited to a very limited degree since they are so distant. The Germans themselves have corroborated these facts by their own arguments, presented during the First World War (for example the generally known thesis of the Berg and Huttenmannischer Verein in 1915) advocating the annexation of Dombrowa Valley and the adjacent territory to Germany, otherwise Silesian commerce might be ruined. Nevertheless it is not indispensable to the Germans. The declarations quoted from that German memorandum were confirmed in toto in 1940 when the German Reich included those disputed territories in the province of Upper Silesia to bolster Silesia industry.

Pomerania and the River Oder

Flowing to the north, the Oder river bisects Middle Silesia and Lower Silesia. As to Lower Silesia, in the

three border counties, the Poles comprise 50% of the population, while farther to the west in Lower Silesia quite a substantial proportion of the inhabitants were Polish up to the outbreak of World War No. 2, say at least 10%.—For instance Wrocław (Breslau), Lignica and Głogów (Glogau) are cities in Middle Silesia everlastingly linked with great events of historic old Poland. Numerous villages and hamlets in that area have a preponderantly Polish population to this very day. Not so long ago one could converse in Polish with the villagers at their county fairs and in the market places at Wrocław (Breslau). Such a state of affairs extended similarly as far as the suburbs of Berlin. Polish names of Nowawieś and Kolno (Colln) could be seen until recently on municipal railroad stations in Berlin.—In the Middle Ages the frontier separating Poland from Germany was situated for a long time beyond the river Oder. But the Oder, just as the Vistula, is a Polish river. And along the Oder river there is a goodly number of Polish settlers even to this day—though some are germanized—as we stated previously.

Slavonic Infiltration Into Northern Germany

Governmental Germanization of Germany

Until the outbreak of the present World War one could meet up with many Slavonic traces even to the west of Oder river as far as Stettin (Szczecin). In the vicinity of Hamburg, in Mecklenburg (Luchów), there are yet some proud descendants of three sturdy Slav tribes, still calling themselves Polabians, Wends and Obotrites. All through North Germany one can find people of Polish and Slavonic stock galore, gradually becoming or mayhap already germanized. The twisted Polish names of inhabitants and settlements clearly so indicate. For that

matter even German men of learning freely admit that fact (See: "*We Return to the Oder*"—page 108—by A. Błoński). Most recent evidence was supplied shortly after the assumption of rule by Hitler in 1934 when the German propaganda bureau issued the family manual "BLUT and BODEN." The attached questionnaire required tracing one's family tree as far as possible. Suddenly those official questionnaires disappeared entirely. WHY? Here are the unexpected results: in the family history of hundreds of thousands of alleged "Germans from way back when"—inhabiting East Germany (not so long ago Slavonic)—the truthful declarations disclosed *Polish and Slavonic ancestry*. Verily, such bald facts could not very well be bruited about boastfully... Better not, for the sake and glory of the German Reich, supply such documentary evidence hence the abrupt withdrawal and complete removal of those family manuals. Shortly afterwards, by official German pronouncement, it was publicly decreed that all Slavonic traces among the Germans should be destroyed. The nefarious task was accomplished with dispatch and Prussian thoroughness: in the years 1935 to 1938 thousands of monuments and tombstones were demolished on all cemeteries in Germany. All plaques and memorial tablets were removed and other inscriptions of a similar nature were erased from temples of worship and public buildings. Old documents were destroyed in the parishes or surrendered to the German authorities. Numerous Slavonic names of inhabitants and settlements were falsified and distorted. Those tireless efforts of *germanizing the northern and eastern provinces of Germany* were directed by the so-called Department of Archives at Breslau (Wrocław).

**How and By Whom is the Western Boundary
of Poland Now Delineated?**

The fate of the present west coast of Germany is not known. From recent sad experience the victorious powers (England, America) should learn once for all that Germany ought to be pushed away from the sea as far as Hamburg, while even the Kiel Canal and its adjacent area should be taken away from Germany under their own joint control. Historically it would not be harmful to Germany, but it might curb their voracious appetite and restrain their reprehensible megalomania.

And how should the western frontier of Poland actually appear in the future? We purposely do not present our personal conception of such a boundary line. Needless to say, the historical facts cited previously and the present status of affairs in those territories should amply suffice to form one's own unbiased opinion. We must, however, confirm the views of British and American spokesmen, likewise the opinions of eminent Polish publicists who found refuge in foreign countries, avowals from underground Polish publications in Europe, declaring openly and unitedly for the same boundary lines to the west so as to establish the permanent security of Poland itself and to safeguard the peace of Europe and the entire world. Briefly it can be described roughly as follows: Silesia in its entirety to be taken away from Germany and returned to Poland, where it rightfully belonged formerly. A just and equitable part of Silesia ought to be awarded to the Czechs, thereby removing the German wedge jammed between Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Polish boundary to the west would then be established from the Sudetenland along the Beaver (Bohr) river up to Krosno, where the Beaver river empties into the left branch of the Oder river and thence

from Krosno along the Oder river up to Stettin (Szczecin) and farther north to the sea, assigning Wolin, Uznam and Ruge Island to Poland. Such a frontier would be much shorter than the preceding boundary, approximately 400 kilometers or less than 250 miles; most of it would constitute a natural boundary, as it would be designated by the Beaver and Oder rivers.—Some such boundary line was proposed by the young British Parliamentarians in their joint work under the leadership of Captain Alan Graham and Sir Hugh Molson. Similar opinions were expressed by James W. Gerard, former Ambassador of the U.S.A. to Germany. The same stand was taken by the distinguished author A. Błonski in his excellent book: *"We Return to the Oder."* Such a frontier is likewise demanded by the mercilessly oppressed and systematically exterminated Polish populace in the Old Country. In the Polish underground weekly "THE TRENCH" (date unknown), circulated secretly in occupied Poland, there appeared recently an article entitled "Our War Aims" which was reprinted by the POLISH DAILY NEWS in London on October 9, 1941 (see: *"We Return to the Oder"* by Błonski). The conclusions drawn in that article as to war aims in Poland are the following: 1) Poland must regain the whole of East Prussia; 2) to the west the frontier must reach at least to the Oder river and Poland must secure both outlets; 3) Poland must regain the whole of Silesia up to Nissa.

Incidentally some of those sources suggest solutions for the problems that may emanate upon establishing such a new frontier. For example, where it may become necessary, follow the Hitler method and forcibly eject the Germans from East Prussia, from Pomerania and from Silesia. Their places may be taken by Poles, employed now in the mines and factories and on the farms of

Western Europe (Belgium, France, Germany), or by their brethren from the overcrowded areas; perhaps even some citizens of the U.S.A. of Polish parentage may decide to return to the land of their ancestors.

The Good Faith of Poland In Relations with Germany

Those who will determine Poland's frontiers must remember henceforth, that the Polish and Slavonic elements who will remain beyond the Polish-German border undoubtedly shall be swallowed up by Germany and lost forever. History of the last several decades teaches us, how good was the treatment accorded Germans while they were citizens of Poland and the co-operative attitude adopted by Poland towards Germany, which was not reciprocated. Because of softheartedness the Germans were continuously getting much more from the Versailles Treaty and subsequent compacts than they really deserved. Suffice to mention schooling: 700,000 Germans in Poland had 432 of their own common schools, 27 high schools or so-called gymnasiums, etc.—while a million and a half Polish residents in Germany could attend only 58 common schools and scarcely two high schools (or gymnasiums); enough to point at communications from Germany to Prussia through Poland which were objected to by the Germans themselves when the Poles made proposals for extensive improvements. And during the German military maneuvers in East Prussia as a gesture of neighborly courtesy Poland surrendered its own trains for use of the German General Staff. Viewed from a political angle that was a big mistake . . . And financially? Germany was constantly in arrears with payments to Poland for use of its railroads, as accurately specified in the peace treaty and in late compacts.

Joint Use of Some Ports By the Slavs

Finally there is one more point worthy of mention anent the Polish seashore. The future development of commerce and manufacturing in Poland depends indubitably on facilitating transport with England, America and the West through extending access to the sea and increasing the number of available seaports. The use of the latter would be arranged by mutual pacts with our Slav brethern: the Czechs, Slovaks, Jugoslavs and eventually the Greeks. By a reciprocal agreement Poland likewise could acquire the joint use of some Yugoslav port on the Adriatic, for instance Riekia. To improve communications for the entire center of Europe and to bind all Slavs more closely—eventually including Greece—thereby providing mutual protection against the Germans, it would be advisable to lay a joint railroad line and to build an international highway for motor transport from North to South, linking the Baltic with the Mediterranean. Two branches of those main highways could emanate from the North: branch one could be built from Stettin (Szczecin) to Posen (Poznań) to Breslau (Wrocław) to Opole to Teschen (Cieszyn) and thenceforth via one joint Slavonic superhighway to Orawa, Trenczyn, Bratislava and through the Slovenian and Croatia country to Zagreb and Riekia.



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Eastern Boundaries of Poland With Soviet Russia

PART III

Historical Rights of Poland

Nestor, the oldest Slavic chronicler of the 11th century, asserts that the so-called Grody Czerwienskie (Red Russia, or rather Red Ruthenia), comprising the present three Palatinates (Wojewodztwa) of Poland, known as the Palatinates of Lwow, Tarnopol and Stanislawow, had belonged to Poland from the first days of Polish history. It was not until the year 981 that Vladimir the Great (Włodzimierz Wielki) took this territory away from Poland. During his reign Russia became christianized in 988.

However, Boleslaw Chrobry, the greatest ruler of Poland in her early days, whose Slavic-Polish empire reached from the Elba in the West and the Dniepr in the East, took Kiev (Kijow) in 1018 and joined Grody Czerwienskie (Red Ruthenia) to Poland. From that time on Red Ruthenia continued directly almost without interruption under Polish rule, or Poland's patronage and protection, both of which were sought from Poland because of internal troubles or attacks by external foes. A considerable part of Northeastern White Ruthenia remained with the Lithuanians from the period of Prince Mendog in 1250, and the Eastern boundaries of Russian territories were during this period and the next two centuries (to 1480) an empire subject to the rule of the Great Tatar Horde.

History tells us that, in contrast with the Knights of the Cross, who conquered and held occupied territories

with fire and sword, Poland was noted for her peaceful and friendly methods toward neighboring nations permanently united with her. Poland did not use force or terrorism, but resorted to mutual agreements which were always kept and adhered to, and with concessions and privileges lavishly dealt out.

An outstanding, noted instance of this took place during the reign of Jadwiga and Jagiello. By the marriage of Jadwiga, queen of Poland, with Jagiello, Prince of Lithuania in 1386, a union (personal one) of Polish-Lithuanian-White Russian (Ruthenian) territories was effected. During the next year, the so-called expedition to White Russia (Ruthenia), which was then occupied by Hungarians, proved to be an endless triumph for Poland and her methods toward smaller nations and weaker races. Without struggle or opposition, district after district paid voluntary homage to Jadwiga, and later on, as in Lwow, to Jagiello. This same attitude was willingly taken in 1389 even by the people of Wallachia and Besarabia. Poland's boundaries were extended all the way to the lower Danube.

That part of White Russia (Ruthenia), united with Lithuania during Mendog's rule, formed a relatively more numerous and culturally higher element in Lithuania. It managed to impose its own language on the Lithuanians as the prevailing language, as well as its own culture. Poland respected the current state of affairs in countries joined with her, and only exerted her efforts for the colonization of the extensive, unoccupied Lithuanian-Russian lands, as well as the Grody Czerwienskie in the so-called Red Russia. Poland also opened her boundaries to all such foreign peoples who were friendly and who settled on her territory to get away from oppression in other parts of Europe.

Moscow, which became meanwhile the rallying point for the mixed Slavonic tribes of Eastern Europe, did not liberate herself from the Tartar yoke until 1480, and from then on began to bear down on Poland. Meantime Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian nations, settled on these extensive territories after numerous overtures for mutual understanding, (as in 1432-1499-1501), finally found an orderly solution of the problem of living together peacefully in the Union of Lublin, concluded in 1569, in which was also sanctioned the question of adherence to Poland. In this act Poland abolished, as was her usual custom, all remaining differences and limitations between citizens residing on territories of Poland, Lithuania and Red and White Russia (Ruthenia). There were also tendencies (Union of Brzesc in 1595) to join Eastern church (Russian) with the Roman Catholic, and thereby draw nearer the political links uniting these countries.

Moscow intrigues, which threatened the greatness and power of Poland, were dealt with by Stefan Batory with his defeat of Russia. Batory's successor, Zygmunt III, drove the Waza legions all the way to Moscow, whose "boyars" wanted to join Poland, and offered the throne of Moscow to the son of Zygmunt III, Wladyslaw. The king spoiled matters by his attempts to secure the Moscow crown for himself, and so the Romanoff dynasty assumed the throne in Moscow (1613). In 1634 Wladyslaw, then King of Poland, renounced any pretensions to the Czarist throne after the war with Moscow. For this he received from Moscow considerable territory in the East, with Smolensk, Livonia, Estonia and Courland.

During the reign of Jan Kazimierz—the last of Swedish Wazas—Poland was subjected to more troubles. Sweden invaded Poland, Chmielnicki incited the Cossacks to revolt, and unfriendly and increasingly powerful Mos-

cow began to harass the Polish nation. Poland's losses during the Jan Kazimierz rule were however limited only to Livonia and the land beyond the Dnieper. King Jan III Sobieski, in order to have a free hand in his war with the Turks, safeguarded peace with Russia by ceding to her Kiev and the district of this city. All the rest of Eastern remained with Poland in spite of everything until Poland's partition. As a matter of fact these territories were even more closely affiliated from the time a Union was effected between the Eastern and the Roman Catholic churches in the diocese of Przemysl in 1692, and in the Lwow archdiocese in 1700.

Between 1772 and 1795 Poland became the victim of partitions arranged by hostile powers: Austria, Prussia and Russia. This was facilitated by Poland's worn out condition, a status for which her rapacious neighbors were waiting for centuries; and they saw to it that any possible aid to Poland was frustrated.

This transpired when Poland was yet in possession of very extensive territory. Out of a million square kilometers belonging to Poland in the middle of the 17th century, she still had before her first partition in 1772 about 780,000 square kil., that is, twice as much as she had after her restoration subsequent to the first World War. Her boundaries in the East, in those days, reached (from the South) past Kamieniec Podolski up to Kiszyniew—then northward to Perejeslaw and Kaniow—from there along the Dnieper almost up to Kiev (Kijow) itself; it embraced Mohylew and Witebsk, along the Smolensk line, which already belonged to Russia, and past Dzwina river and Dynaburg, which remained solidly with Poland—and touched Wielkie Luki; above Riga a wedge extended to the North, and then the line crossed between

Riga and Poland's Mittau along the way to Rys, with Libau (Libawa) included.

The entire Eastern section of this extensive Polish territory, enlarged after 1831 by the addition of the so-called Kingdom of Poland, formed at the Vienna Congress in 1815, went to Russia by the partitioning process. In this manner Russia came to get possession of about three fifths of Polish territory of the pre-partition era.

The economic scheme of the powers which partitioned Poland, especially Russia and Germany, was to amalgamate the stolen Polish territory with their own in the shortest possible time. Czarist Russia, because of the kindred nature of races, set her mind on the complete Russification of all ancient Polish lands, and had no scruples about the methods employed. Terror and cruelties brought a reaction and acts of despair; insurrections of Poles in 1831-1846-1848-1863. It must be especially noted that groups, now included in Russia, such as White and Red Russians (Ruthenians), as well as Lithuania and Zmudz, Samogitia, participated in these insurrections. This fact presents the best proof just how these people felt towards Poland. They had formerly united themselves of their own volition with Poland and her destiny, and now were longing for freedom and protection which they enjoyed while living under Polish rule. All thoughts of conquest and annexation were foreign to Poland, as well as all thoughts of aggression. For this reason Poland never had a really powerful army, nor did she maintain large hired forces. Polish armed nobility always proved sufficient for the protection of the country's boundaries against attacks or to fight for the cause of Christian civilization. This finally proved fatal to Poland, as her neighboring countries were saturated with a different spirit, especially Czarist Russia and Prussia—and both of

them planned and connived accordingly. The four year session of the Polish Diet, and the adoption of the Constitution of May 3, 1791, which made provisions for a standing army of one hundred thousand men—came too late to do any good.

Soviets and Poland Agree Harmoniously

On the Eastern Boundary

After the first World War, and at the end of Poland's war with the Soviets in 1920, peace negotiations were held in Riga. This was followed by a declaration of peace between Poland and Russia on March 18, 1921. In this peace pact Poland and Russia mutually and willingly agreed on a boundary line which runs from North to South—from the boundary of Lotva, almost the same as the boundary given to Poland after her second partition. Poland did not make an effort to reclaim her lands in sections farther East of this boundary, and left them with Soviet Russia. As a result the expanse of territory of free Poland, after the peace of Riga, represented hardly 35% of the territories of the Poland of the Jagiellows at the end of the 15th century, and only 38% of Poland of the 17th century; also not much over 50% of the 1772 Polish territory, at the first partition. At present there is no cause for even thinking of any change in the Polish-Russian boundaries established after the first World War. Even that decision was detrimental and unjust to Poland. An agreement signed by the Polish Premier, Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski, with Soviet Russia in 1941 rather maintains and confirms these boundaries without change.

Etno and Demographic Considerations

Ethnographic, demographic and economic considerations and historical justice also speak for the continuation of the boundaries in question between Poland and the Soviets.

For centuries Poland peopled these Lithuanians, White Russians and Ukrainian territories with her own Polish stock which later amalgamated with the natives and became Russianized. Poland gave these lands her culture and means of life, and Polish nobility frequently sprinkled these lands with their blood in defense of life, property and the religion of their citizens when attacked by Tartars and Turks, Swedes, Wallachians, etc. No wonder, then, that in due time inhabitants of these lands became attached and devoted to Poland in spirit and conviction.

As proof one may cite this historical fact: that the Cossacks themselves, even at the time of their insurrection against Poland during the middle of the 17th century, respected the boundaries of the present so-called Małopolska (Little Poland), and in demanding autonomy for themselves they asked that their boundary extend only to Slucz river. This boundary is considerably distant from the present Polish boundary, which runs along the line of Zbrucz.

As already stated these people took an active part in Polish insurrections with the object of aiding Poland in the overthrow of obnoxious conditions imposed on Poles. Lwow stood staunchly in defense of Poland against sieges by Tartars, Turks and Cossacks, and fought manfully against aggressive attacks of outside powers. Other inhabitants of these border lands of Poland did likewise.

Nationalistic Statistics

When nationalistic relations are considered, last pre-war statistics show that Poland's population was 72% purely of Polish stock. Other nationalistic groups ranked as follows: Russians, 3.8%; White Russians (Ruthenians) 3%; Germans, 2.3%. Czechs and Lithuanians—taken altogether—amounted to not much over one-half percent.

From administrative apportionment statistics show that Polish population was in the majority in 14 Palatinates (Wojewodztwa). A minority is evidenced only in these districts: Polesie, 15% (majority is White Russian) and Wolyn 16.6% (majority is White Russian), and Stanislawow 22.4% (majority is Russo-Ukrainian). In the Tarnopol district one half of the people are Polish and the other half embraces other races. However these territories formed an integral and loyal part of Poland for centuries.

Of course it is possible that, after the long century and a half of rule and management by these conquerors, Czarist Russia and Austria, could have denationalized, or at least weakened the Polish elements, and changed the proportion of their desire for Poland's rights on such territories by exerting constant and consistent tendencies in those directions. These powers could have consciously and by design stirred up anti-Polish attitudes among the people of these parts (year of 1846). These factors and circumstances do not however present an argument against Poland and her boundaries. Poland just cannot recognize them, and will never do it, in view of the origin and character of these factors and circumstances.

Poland's Serious Attitude to Uphold the Treaty of Riga

In adhering to boundaries outlined in the treaty of Riga Poland bases her claims on the highly significant meaning of that treaty. The treaty was concluded only after a voluntary and complete understanding between Poland and Soviet Russia. All this was preceded by lengthy negotiations which afforded both sides sufficient time for complete study and preparation for a decision. An understanding of such nature, as to boundaries, ought to have much bearing on the legal permanency of this international legal act. The Premier of Poland voiced his definite stand in this question at the time. In an address on the evening of the day the treaty of Riga was signed, after receiving direct news of this historical fact Premier Witos said to an audience in the Great Theatre of Warsaw: "This treaty has established definite Eastern boundaries by removing all possible doubts, as these boundaries were settled in an agreement between the *interested parties*." Then, too, in article 3 of this treaty both sides mutually renounced any claim to territories lying beyond boundaries agreed on voluntarily in the treaty. From this it is obvious that the side which was actually the loser by the Riga treaty—was Poland, as she had to renounce the right to many of her lands (about $\frac{1}{3}$ of them). In view of this Russia could not demand of Poland any additional sacrifices to her own detriment, and Poland could not recognize, as just, any demands of this nature, because Poland was most loyal in carrying out her part of this treaty, as well as a later non-aggression pact concluded with Soviet Russia in 1932. In addition to this, Russia, by the above pact with Poland, in 1941, also voluntarily cancelled her agreement with Germany as to the new partition of Poland back in 1939, as well as the results of her

actual temporary occupation of this territory since that time.

Economic Considerations

Poland just could not get along economically without this Eastern territory recently possessed by her. Poland as a nation has no colonies, no remote territories, where her rapidly growing population could be sent from overpopulated regions. Congestion of population is under a strain in Poland: In Silesia and in southern districts the population is crowded with one hundred persons per square kilometer; in western districts it drops to 45 persons per square kil. By proper adjustment of its political attitude the administration could easily direct a certain fraction of the population, from the west and south, towards the empty regions in the east.

The possibility of draining the expansive marsh lands of Polesie along the Pripet river, practically useless at present, would have deep significance in such places. Work in this direction was already past the preparatory stage of appraisal and planning. In fact, it is in the process of active performance. Only the outbreak of the war terminated this work for an indefinite period.

Southeastern districts (Wojewodztwa) have the only petroleum oil fields in Poland. These are so rich that in times of peace Poland could even sell it abroad. According to the official statistical annual Poland produced in 1938 about 507,000 tons of petroleum. Out of this the Lwow district produced the largest share, 325,000 tons, and the Stanislawow fields, 46,000 tons. Poland sent one fifth of its entire production beyond the border.

For a country which desires to develop its industries petroleum is a priceless asset, and Poland cannot sur-

render it at any price. In these regions also (Stanislawow) are located coal mines and mines of precious metals and the exploitation of these mines is steadily progressing. There are also potash and peat fields, as well as saline fields.

Poland produced about 567,000 tons of potash and potash salt in 1938 (mainly in the Kalusz region of the Stanislawow district) and produced some 400,000 tons of brine salt and potassium, a considerable part of this coming from the southeastern districts. In the Carpathian mountains and on their slopes, there is inexhaustible wealth in forests, and these are mainly the property of the state which facilitates the rational conduct of forest economy. In all, Poland secured from state forests in 1938, 8,838,000 cubic metres of wood, and from private and funded forests 7,560,000 cubic metres. In this volume about 60% was secured from forests in regions of eastern and south-eastern districts.

Farther north, in these eastern districts, Poland owns large stone beds which are so necessary in building of roads and new settlements.

Before we come to the point of just distribution of farm products and raw materials necessary for planned economy in Poland, it is obvious that Poland herself will have to guard all factors for self sufficiency which her own lands are endowed with.

With these considerations in mind, there appears to be just one honest and necessary solution of the question of eastern boundaries with Soviet Russia:

**To Maintain in Force the Boundary Outlined
in the Treaty of Riga in 1921**

The appraisal of fairness and historical honesty towards Poland, which has sacrificed and suffered so much for the cause of world democracy and its institutions—is placed with confidence in the hands of those who, at the end of the present war—with Divine inspiration—will sketch another page in world's history.

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