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THE EASTERN QUESTION REVIVED
1940



THE POLISH-GERMAN PROBLEM IN POLAND STATE IN OCTOBER 1939

Author

London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

1940

The Polish-German Problem

*Poland's Western Provinces are the
Condition of her Independence*

by
ROBERT MACHRAY

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ZONES OF OCCUPATION IN POLAND: STATUS IN OCTOBER, 1939

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Prefatory Note

Poland's Western Provinces are from south to north Polish Silesia, Poznania, and Pomorze; certain areas outside the three provinces have been incorporated, along with them, in the area Germany has seized. Further particulars are given on p. 20 in the earlier part of this essay, and the maps should be consulted. From the start it is important to remember that the three provinces which Hitler has incorporated in his Third Reich are, as stated in the essay, "the very cradle of the Polish race and of the Polish State, the moat and rampart of the whole Slavonic world against the perpetual 'Push to the East'—*Drang nach Osten*—of the German hordes, and the part of Poland with the most West-European character politically, socially, culturally, and economically." The province called Pomorze (= sea province) has of recent years had great attention drawn to it in Great Britain and the United States from the fact that Gdynia, Poland's self-created "wonder-port," and potentially one of the greatest ports of the world, was (and is, though the Germans now call it *Gotenhafen*) situated on its small sea front. Near by is Danzig, a name of romantic interest to the British people since the Middle Ages. Completely Germanized, it is no longer the great port it was two or three years ago when its vital interests were Polish.

I must acknowledge, with many thanks, the great assistance given me by Dr. Marian Seyda, in the making of this essay.

Those who desire more detailed information—and one of the objects of this little book is to encourage further inquiry—are advised to read (1) Lord Vansittart's Preface to "Thus Spake Germany" and that work itself, and (2) Casimir Smogorzewski's book "Poland's Access to the Sea," both exceptionally good.

LONDON,
September, 1941.

R. M.

Foliant's History of Poland we find much to read... Polish State, Poland, and Poland... outside the three-part... all that, in the... particular... may, and the... it is... Hitler... in the... the... Poland... that... of Poland... political... position... that... and the... returned... event... Government... we... to the... Government... that... I... resistance... of the... These... of the... any... to... to the... that... both... A. M.

The Polish-German Problem

I

The Nazi "peaceful reconstruction of Europe" and the real aims of the "Herrenvolk."

German mentality and, above all, German political action are not only supremely egoistic, without a thought for other people's interests, they are not only brutal beyond anything that was thought possible in a civilized world, but are cynical in the extreme. This cynicism finds expression in the Berlin statements, intended both for home consumption and for the world, that the German Reich, at the order of the "magnanimous" Fuehrer, intends to bestow upon the Continent of Europe—in spite of the "vile intrigues" and of the "insane stubbornness" of Great Britain—a "new order," a "peaceful reconstruction" of Europe's body politic, of its political and economic life, not only in the interests of Germany but, as she alleges, of smaller nations and states as well.

These announcements of a "peaceful" salvation of mankind by Hitler and his Germans had hardly started when Fascist Italy sent an ultimatum to Greece, which, it seemed, would be helpless in face of the material and numerical superiority of Italy. Berlin and Rome were convinced that Athens would "peacefully" submit. The fact that the Greeks not only resisted but even drove back the Italians was an unpleasant surprise for the Axis. Nevertheless, although the military plans of the Axis were thwarted for the time being, the German Government did not give up its policy, or rather propaganda aiming at "a peaceful reconstruction" of Europe.

But now and then the Nazi leaders commit indiscretions,

which show the true aims of the German Reich and the light in which the "Herrenvolk" really see the future of Europe. A good example is provided by the speech of Dr. Frank, Governor of the so-called "General Gouvernement" carved out of the Central part of Poland. Broadcasting on the occasion of the "German Christmas" celebrations in the Cracow theatre (see the report from a German source in the *Evening Standard*, December 23, 1940), Dr. Frank said that Poland should remain German, and that the Poles have no mission whatsoever in their own country. In the same broadcast Dr. Frank made the following declaration:—

"It is the greatest possible blessing to be able to call oneself a German. We are proud that, as Germans, we rule the world. Adolf Hitler has built a Reich which extends from the Atlantic to the river Bug, and from the Pyrennees to the North Cape. The German war-flag flies everywhere. Never before have we been so great and so powerful. Adolf Hitler is called by Fate to be the leader of the world, unhampered by anyone. He is to-day the greatest conqueror the world has ever seen, the greatest war-god in history."

This German "Weltanschauung" was not invented by the Nazis. It had deep roots in the German soul. In the *Observer* of December 15, 1940, Wickham Steed opportunely reminded the world that similar theories had been held by many leading representatives of German thought in the past.

Herder contended at the end of the XVIII century that Germany alone possesses the secrets of philosophic thought, and that everything in the history of the world and of mankind points to the necessity of German rule for the world.

Schiller claimed that the German mind was alone able to understand sacred matters, and that only the German

spirit has been chosen by Providence to work for the development of mankind. Some day, he said, the whole world will be Germanic.

Fichte prophesied in his *Speeches to the German Nation* that Germany would recover from her defeats at the hands of Napoleon. The German nation, he said, is the realization of Immortality and God. The Germans should be free within their own frontiers, and these frontiers should include all German speaking communities. Within this Germanic area no other people of alien race or speech should be permitted to live. Such a nation, he claimed, is entitled by nature itself to increase its living space by conquering the territories of its neighbours, and afterwards expelling the inhabitants or reducing them to slavery. Everything of any value would be taken away from them, and these slaves would not be allowed even to be partners in their own land.

Hegel, List, Lagarde, Treitschke, and many others, said Wickham Steed, held similar views and expressed them in similar fashion.

These statements by leading German writers and thinkers in the past correspond very closely to the programme of Dr. Frank and other Nazi leaders. Are not these principles applied to-day by Germany in occupied countries and "protected" countries, as well as "friendly" states?

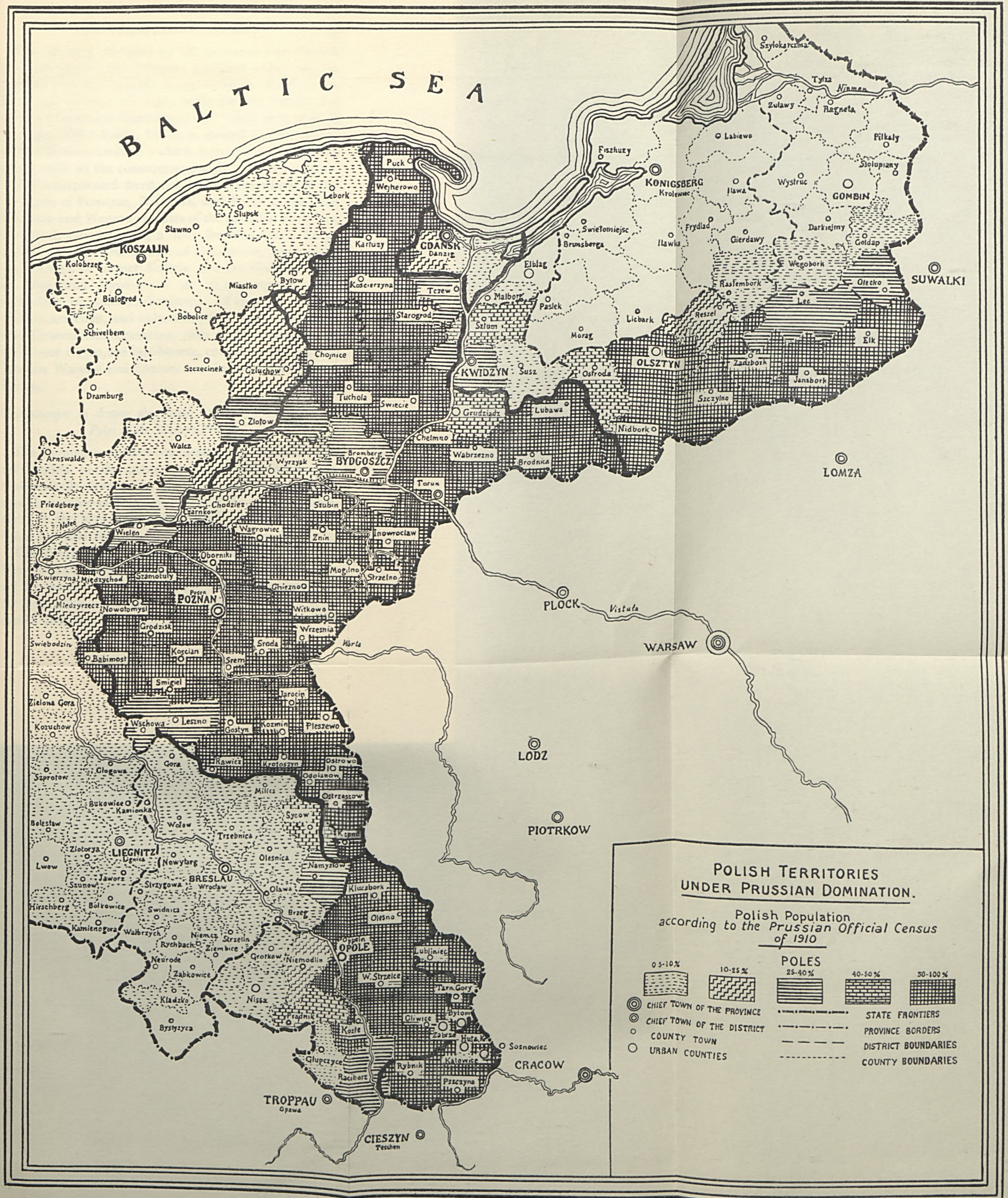
The deeds of Germany in Poland are the most striking and hideous illustration of the realization of the principles of Fichte and other German philosophers. Since September, 1939, Germany has been perpetrating crimes against Poland daily, systematically and with refined cruelty. These crimes aim at the very destruction of the Polish nation. They are the means by which the Germans hope to turn the Poles into proletarian slaves, working for the "Herrenvolk" in the so-called German "Lebensraum," in

order that Germany may be able to rule Europe and some day the world.

In the footsteps of Frederick II

Hitler, following the example of Frederick II of Prussia, who took the initiative in the first partition of Poland, together with Russia and Austria in 1772, conspired with Moscow for a new partition of the Polish state, of which the frontiers had been drawn by the Treaty of Versailles and by the Treaty of Riga concluded between Poland and the Soviet Union in 1921. The plan of the partition was probably finally settled on August 23, 1939, on which day the German and Soviet Governments signed their infamous non-aggression pact.

Having already by illegal and unilateral action denounced her non-aggression pact with Poland, Germany attacked her on September 1, 1939. From the very first day Germany applied all her "Blitzkrieg" methods to the young Polish state which was insufficiently prepared. It was bounded on the north, west, and south by Germany or by states under German control. Just at the moment when the German advance was being stemmed, the Soviet army, acting according to a prearranged plan, worked out in collaboration with Germany, attacked the Poles in the rear. This Soviet aggression decided the outcome of the campaign. In consequence the partitioning Powers occupied the whole territory of Poland. The demarcation line agreed to by Berlin and Moscow on September 29, 1939, follows the river Bug. It leaves under German occupation 73,676 square miles with a population, according to the census of 1931, of over twenty million or, at the outbreak of the war, of over twenty-two millions. The area occupied by Soviet Russia covers 78,550 square miles and had a population of twelve millions in 1931, and over thirteen millions in 1939.



The territory occupied by the Germans was divided into two parts: the Western provinces were—against international law—simply incorporated in the German Reich on October 26, 1939, while the rest formed the so-called "General Gouvernement." This, it is true, is not part of the Reich, but it is treated as "a country under German control," which means it is a German colony with all the consequences such a status entails.

The incorporated territories include the whole of the provinces of Pomorze, Poznan, and Polish Silesia, the Northern and Western counties of the so-called Kingdom of Poland, situated along a line: Suwalki, Plock, Lodz, Kalisz, and the coal district of Dambrowa, besides the coal district of former Galicia and the Galician areas of Biala and Zywiec—in all 36,117 square miles with about 10,750,000 inhabitants. Of these about eight millions are Poles, and only about 600,000 are Germans. The General Gouvernement, with 37,320 square miles and about 11,500,000 inhabitants, consists of the country between Warsaw and Cracow and includes Lublin and Kielce.

The attempts to destroy the Polish nation and especially the Poles of the Western Provinces

The German method of conducting the war, which was not limited to the achieving of strategic aims, was systematically directed to the destruction of the largest possible number of Poles, especially of the educated class, who, by the very nature of things, are the leaders of Polish national life.

The Polish air-force was quickly put out of action. The German airmen could, therefore, without any risk, kill by the thousand the helpless civilian population of the large cities, small towns, and villages, not only with bombs but also by systematic machine-gun fire. The



German airmen attacked people wherever they could reach them, especially on the roads and in the fields. Wherever there were Poles to kill, the German machine-gunners were active.

Even before the invasion of Poland was completed, the German authorities started mass executions, the victims of which were mainly members of the Polish ruling classes. These executions were carried out on the largest scale in the Western provinces of Pomorze, Poznania, and Upper Silesia. Hundreds of the leaders of political, social, cultural, and even economic organizations in every town, small or large, fell before the firing squads. Arrests were made from lists prepared beforehand.

Many prominent doctors, lawyers, priests, farmers, merchants, business men, artisans and skilled workers lost their lives merely because they were known to be patriots or because they had a quarrel with some German. In Bydgoszcz alone, where the German fifth column, under the erroneous impression that the Polish forces were evacuating the town, shot at Polish soldiers from house-tops, church spires, and other points of vantage, and thus came up against the determined action of the army and of civilians who ranged themselves with the army, the number of executions carried out by the German authorities after the occupation of the town exceeded ten thousand. A group of boy scouts, aged from 12 to 14, were among those shot.¹

¹ A special publication entitled *The German Fifth Column in Poland*, deals specifically with its activities. Here are noted briefly just a few facts from the period of the twenty years of Polish independence.

During the Bolshevik invasion of Poland in 1920, the German population of the south-eastern counties of the province of Pomorze did not conceal its sympathies for the Red Army. At the same time there was an attempt at a German putsch in Boruja Koscielna, in the county of Nowy Tomysl, in Poznania. In later years, in spite of formal protestations of loyalty, the German minority did not change its true attitude to the Polish state. There were many cases of spies in which the leaders of the German minority were often involved. In 1926, a great spy ring was discovered in Upper Silesia, closely connected with the "Volksbund," the leading German

The Germans have devised a special form of exterminating the Polish population, the so-called punitive expeditions to towns and villages whose inhabitants are accused by the Gestapo of resisting the German authorities. The inhabitants of the village are herded together, with their women and children, in a school, a barn, or other large building, which is then set on fire. In other cases all the inhabitants of the village are shot and the houses set on fire. Whole villages and their peasant-folk in the districts of Lublin and Radom were exterminated in this way not so long ago.¹

The more prominent social and political workers or any better-known people, who were spared the firing Silesian organization. Ten prominent members of this organization were sentenced to imprisonment for treason.

The Polish-German non-aggression pact of 1934 did not bring about any change in this attitude. The agents of the German Government in Poznania, Pomorze, and Silesia offered secret credits on very favourable terms to German farmers, traders, and artisans in return for a promise to work for the return of these lands to the Reich. Things came to such a pitch in 1936 that the then Polish Government, always so liberal towards the German minority and so faithful to the above-mentioned non-aggression pact, was compelled to close thirty branches of the "Deutsche Vereinigung." In the following year the subversive activities of the organization "Rat der Deutschen in Polen" became so obvious that its president, Gero von Gersdorff, had to be arrested. In the same year the conspiracy of the "National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei" in Silesia was discovered. Its members swore loyalty to Adolf Hitler personally. In this famous trial 109 Germans were prosecuted, the majority being found guilty of treasonable activities and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. The existence of a German Fifth Column in Poland was the direct result of the Nazi doctrine. This doctrine refuted the idea that Germans living abroad owed any loyalty to the states of which they were citizens and stressed the exclusive importance of the blood-link with the German nation, with all the consequences which this entails. Cf. *Arbeit und Ehre, Jahrweiser fuer das Deutschtum als Grundlage auslanddeutschen Seins*, published by the "Jungdeutsche Partei."

The consequences of such a doctrine were obvious enough: every German abroad, conscious of his nationality, was an agent of the German Reich, of a Reich preparing for war. This was and is the part of the majority of Germans living abroad. Poland was a victim of the work of the German Fifth Column.

¹ E.g., villages which had been set on fire, and their inhabitants either burnt alive or shot were:—

In the district of Lublin: Szczuczki, Konopnica, Jozefow Maly, Jozefow Duzy, Bronislawow Stary, Zakepie, Bielany, Ruda, Nowiny, Sereba, Serokomla, Hordziejow and Okrzeja; in the district of Radom: Huciska, Krolewiec, Lelitkow, Skloby, Sulki, Szalasy, Wisniowiec, and seven villages of the Miedziej commune.

squad in 1939, have been and are in perpetual danger of being sent to prison or to a concentration camp. The inmates of these camps were systematically put to death, not only by the squalor, cold, damp, and the bad food, but also by the most refined tortures, as, for instance, by the pumping of water through the mouth or the anus until the internal organs are burst.

Another terrible disaster which has overtaken Western Poland is the mass deportations from their homes of the population to the General Gouvernement. These deportations take place mostly at night and are carried out within an hour or so. If the population resists, as happened in many districts in Poznania and Pomorze, in the county of Zywiec in Galicia, etc., the Gestapo shoots indiscriminately.

Simultaneously, Germans from the Baltic countries, Russia, Bessarabia, the Reich, and the General Gouvernement, are being transplanted to Western Poland on an ever-increasing scale. The number of Poles expelled from Western Poland by March 1, 1940, was estimated at one million; to-day it probably exceeds 1,500,000.

The native Polish population is being expelled in barbarous fashion from lands that have been Polish from time immemorial, for instance, quite often in winter months the victims are put in cattle-trucks—which often leads to their freezing to death. Furthermore, the deported inhabitants are deprived of all their belongings, which are presented as a gift to the Germans moving in. The expelled Poles have no right to take anything except one shirt, one pair of pants, one pair of socks, etc. Hundreds of thousands of paupers have burdened the General Gouvernement, itself impoverished by the occupying authorities and suffering the greatest want, even famine, but still extending a helping hand to the brothers from the West.

At the end of February, 1940, a decree of Marshal Goering confiscated all landed estates, large or small, belonging to Poles, in the incorporated territories. All property of the Polish State throughout both the incorporated territories and in the General Gouvernement was transferred to the German state.

In the incorporated territories Polish property for all practical purposes ceased to exist. In the towns, houses, works, trading firms, and even the larger artisan workshops were handed over to German "Treuhänders" or trustees. These trustees are to be left in charge of these businesses until they are handed over to Germans without any indemnity whatever. In the majority of cases the trustee becomes the owner of the business of which he is put in charge. To-day there is not one Polish bank or trust, not a single larger Polish industrial, transport, or trading concern, in the incorporated territories. The Poles have been literally robbed of their property, the value of which amounts to several hundred million pounds.

Soon after the conquest the Germans started to deport hundreds of thousands of young Poles of both sexes, from both the incorporated territories and the General Gouvernement to the Reich, where they were made to work on the land, in factories or on public works. The conditions of this work ruin the physical resistance of these modern slaves. The Germans make mass-raids in towns and villages, and young people especially are forcibly taken away from their parents and sent to the interior of the Reich. The fate of the young girls is particularly tragic; they are often kidnapped and sent to soldiers' camps. Their parents do not hear from them, until, long after, they return home, broken morally and physically.

It is impossible to state accurately the number of Poles

sent to the Reich for forced labour. Some light, however, is shed on this subject by the secret circular of Governor-General Frank, issued by command of Marshal Goering and dated January 25, 1940, which orders the dispatch of one million industrial and agricultural workers to the Reich from the General Gouvernement alone.

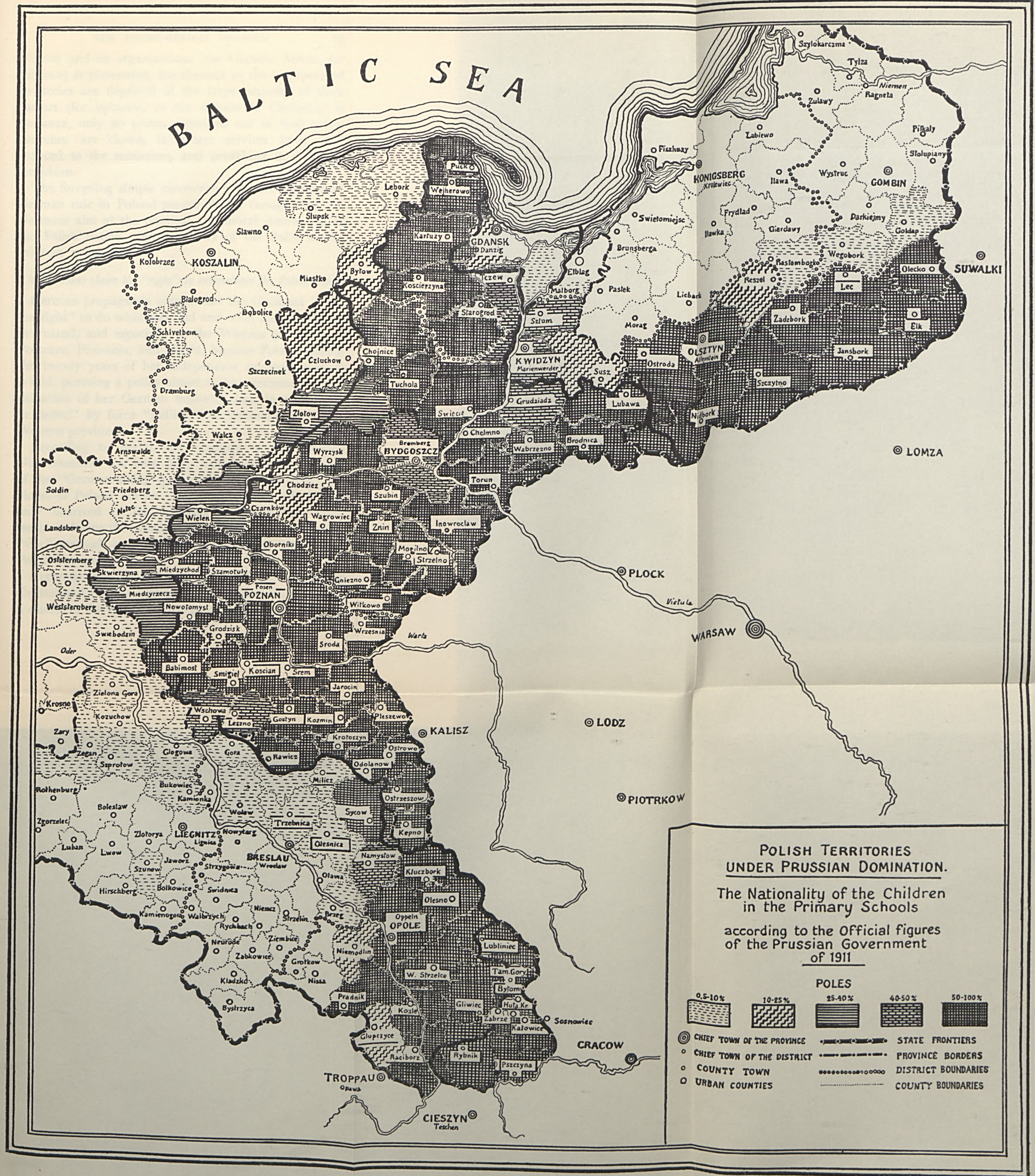
The German fury is directed not only at the physical extermination of the Poles but also at the destruction of all expressions of Polish culture and all its historical and artistic monuments. In their hatred the Germans have destroyed the statues of all the great Polish leaders, and also religious monuments, such as the statue of Christ the King in Poznan.

In the incorporated territories the Germans have forbidden the use of the Polish language in public. All place-names as well as the names of the streets and squares have been Germanized, and there are no Polish signs or advertisements. The publication of Polish books or papers is forbidden.

The theatres, the scientific and cultural institutions, museums, libraries, laboratories, etc., have been closed and their property confiscated, while the most valuable collections have been sent to the Reich.

Since the German conquest the Polish secondary schools and universities have been closed in both the occupied and annexed territories; in the annexed territories primary schools have also been closed. The majority of the University professors have been arrested and sent to concentration camps, where some of them, including a number of world-famous scientists, died from torture.

The Polish clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, have been singled out for special persecution. Many clergy of all ranks of the hierarchy, have been put to death, arrested or deported by the Germans. The Catholic



Church and its organizations (the Catholic Action, for instance) is persecuted, the dioceses in the incorporated territories are deprived of the large majority of their pastors (for instance, in the diocese of Chelmno, in Pomorze, only 20 priests remained out of 600) many churches are closed, in others services have been reduced to the minimum, and preaching in Polish is forbidden.

The foregoing simple enumeration of the methods of German rule in Poland proves clearly enough that the Germans aim at the physical and moral destruction of the Polish nation, and especially of the Poles in the Western provinces.

The Germans claim the "right" to exterminate the Polish nation

German propaganda claims that the Germans "have the right" to do what they did and what they are doing in Poland, and especially in the Western provinces of Pomorze, Poznania, and Silesia, because Poland during the twenty years of her independent existence was, it is said, pursuing a policy aimed at the extermination and ruination of her German minority and, in particular, "expelled" by force "millions" of Germans from her Western provinces.

According to Berlin, the territory of the General Gouvernement has been from time immemorial a part of the "German living space," while the Western provinces of Poland are an "urdeutsch" land, which was only deprived of its "German character" by "vile" methods during the twenty years of Polish rule. The same "vile" methods gave to these territories a "superficial Polish appearance."

Everyone who knows something of the history of Central and Eastern Europe, who has studied, even from a distance, the system of forced Germanization applied

before the war of 1914-18, in the part of Poland under the Prussian yoke, who has followed, if only superficially, developments in Germany and Poland after the last war, will be fully aware of the value of these German statements. They will know that the Western provinces, which are now most brutally oppressed by the Germans, are the VERY CRADLE OF THE POLISH RACE AND OF THE POLISH STATE, that they are the moat and rampart of Poland and of the whole Slavonic world against the perpetual "Push to the East"—*Drang nach Osten*—of the German hordes, and that they are, too, the part of Poland with the most West European character, politically, socially, culturally, and economically.

German propaganda which tries by all available means to falsify the truth about the Polish Western provinces, forgets one thing, namely that there are *official German sources*, official German statistics prior to the world-war, which, in spite of their tendency, reduce to nought every claim which the Reich now puts forward with regard to these provinces.

These German statistics are quoted so that they may prove what was the true proportion of the nationalities in Pomorze and Poznania after almost 150 years, and in Silesia after a much longer period of ruthless Prussian-German oppression, which just then was the most intense ever seen. On the basis of the official Polish statistics there will be proved how many Germans after the rebirth of the Polish state in 1919 moved voluntarily to the Reich, from which they were largely transplanted by the Prussian Government to the Polish Western provinces, and, finally, what was the proportion of Germans and Poles in the Polish republic.

These statistical data will be preceded by a short outline of the century-long struggle of the Polish nation against the Germanic "Push to the East," and of the

victorious struggle of the Polish community in the Western provinces against the policy of Germanization during the period of Prussian domination. Finally, there will be drawn the conclusions dictated by history and by recent and present experiences, by which Polish policy must be guided in the future if present and future generations are to be spared the horrors of another catastrophe.

The German "Drang nach Osten" throughout the Ages

As early as the VII and VIII centuries, the German world was at grips with the Western Slav tribes; of these the Poles and the Czechs are to-day the sole survivors.

The territories then belonging to these tribes lay as far west as the river Elbe. In the X century the Lutiks (a Western Slav tribe) were still in possession of the whole of the present province of Brandenburg, as well as of Western Pomerania and the island of Rügen. Present-day Mecklenburg, the western part of Holstein, and Saxony were all inhabited then by another Slav tribe—the Obotrites. In those days Berlin was still a Slav settlement.

The country between the Elbe and the Oder is a vast cemetery of the Slav tribes. The savage German incursions, of which Marquess Gero, revered throughout Germany as the hero of aggressive Germanism, is the cruel symbol, dealt a death blow to the Slavs.

A historian of this period speaks of the Slavonic world groaning in agony. The first kings of Poland, Miecislav and Boleslav the Valiant, at once began the fight against the German Push to the East. That is why Boleslav is called by his German contemporaries the "enemy," and the "oppressor." King Miecislav fought for Pomerania (Pomorze). He united this province, lying between Gdansk (Danzig) and Stettin to Poland.

Boleslas the Valiant conquered the majority of the Slav tribes between the Oder and the Elbe, and the peace treaty, which he imposed on the Germans at Budziszyn in 1018, temporarily put an end to German incursions; these were renewed only with the arrival of the Teutonic Knights. These knights, in spite of their religious vows, were, in reality only looking for temporal conquests—and they built up, largely on Polish lands, a base for their policy of aggression.

The struggle with the Teutonic Knights ended with a series of victorious wars waged by Poland. These wars, however, failed to bring about the complete collapse of the Teutonic Order. The Treaty of Torun (Thorn) of 1466, at the end of the thirteen-years' war between Poland and the Knights, reduced the power of the Teutonic Order and put it under the suzerainty of the Polish Kings.

This treaty provided that the territories, stolen by the Knights from Poland, i.e. Pomerania, with Danzig and Varmia, were to be returned to the Polish Crown while the remaining part of the Knights' territories (the East Prussia of to-day, less Varmia), with its capital at Koenigsberg, became a vassal state.

In spite of this defeat, however, the Teutonic Knights attempted to regain their lost position and gradually succeeded. The Knights, to begin with, severed their bonds with the Church of Rome; the Grand Master, Albert von Hohenzollern, with the majority of the Knights embraced the Lutheran faith, and the state became an hereditary Duchy and a fief of the Polish crown. In 1525, Albert, first duke of Prussia, went to Cracow to do homage as vassal to the King of Poland.

It cannot be denied, however, that Poland made a grievous mistake in tolerating the establishment of a new German state on the shore of the Baltic, forming an

enclave in Polish territories. This mistake had tragic consequences, for the later misfortunes of Poland were largely the result of Germany's desire to secure for herself the Polish territories on the shores of the Baltic and of the Vistula, bordering on East Prussia.

As early as 1618 the Duchy of Prussia was united with the Electorate of Brandenburg by a personal union. The electors of Brandenburg, who in this way became the vassals of the Polish Kings, not only felt strong enough to evade their duties to their overlord, the King of Poland, but even plotted with his enemies against him. This was the policy of the electors of Brandenburg and dukes of Prussia during the war between Poland and Sweden lasting from 1655 to 1660.

The Polish King John-Casimir was forced to make enormous concessions to his unfaithful vassal, in order to detach him from Sweden. By the Treaty of Welawa in 1657, the Hohenzollerns, in their capacity of dukes of Prussia, were freed from Polish suzerainty. Furthermore, they were permitted to increase their territories, at the cost of Poland, by annexing the districts of Lembork (Lauenburg) and Bytow in Western Pomerania. In 1701 Frederic I, Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, set the seal to his successes by assuming the title of King of Prussia.

Later Prussia sought new conquests; these were indeed among the main reasons for her existence. It was Prussia who took the initiative in the Polish partitions, and she started a merciless struggle with the Polish nation.

In the three partitions of Poland, in 1772, 1793, 1795, Prussia grabbed all Polish territory as far as the rivers Vistula and Pilica. After the disappearance of the Duchy of Warsaw, created by Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna (1815) fixed the frontiers of the Prussian part, which remained unaltered until the World War.

The victorious fight of the Poles of Poznania, Pomorze, and Silesia against the Prussian system of Germanization

The fortunes of the Poles under Prussian-German rule at first varied. Finally, however, when Prince Bismarck and Prince Bülow were chancellors, it developed into a systematic although peaceful scheme for obliterating the Polish population within the German Reich. This scheme was accompanied by well-planned and skilful intrigues in St. Petersburg and Vienna against the Poles. The aim of Germany was that the very name of Poland should never be heard again.

The anti-Polish system of the German Government was applied in every field, whether political, social, economic, or educational. All the administration, both of the state and of the self-governing bodies, such as the towns or counties, the whole judicial system, all schools of every description, and of course the armed forces, were not only exclusively German but, furthermore, were the instruments of the Germanization of the Polish population, individually and collectively.

Here are a few examples: schoolchildren from the age of six upwards were taught in towns, as well as in the country, in German only. Even religious teaching was given in German. Private teaching in Polish was strictly forbidden; such teaching as was given in secret by Polish women was punished by sentences of imprisonment.

The use of the Polish language at public meetings with very few exceptions was forbidden, associations and organizations, especially if they had a political character, were constantly molested. The old Polish names of towns and even villages were Germanized.

The Polish press, although it had to be very guarded for obvious reasons in its defence of things Polish and in its criticism of the German persecutions, had constantly

to cope with police chicanery and was endlessly prosecuted with criminal charges. As a result of these prosecutions the editors of the Polish papers stayed for months and years in jail, while the publishers were burdened with unending and heavy fines. The clergy and the lay intelligentsia were constantly brought to trial for maintaining the national spirit among the wide masses.

The economic pressure of the Prussian Government was directed against all classes of the Polish population: the authorities boycotted Polish industry and trade and used every method to make their existence hard and precarious. But the first and foremost aim of this anti-Polish economic policy was to deprive the Poles, the gentry as well as the peasants, of their land. Several hundred million marks (between twenty and fifty million pounds) were spent every year for this purpose by the Prussian Colonization Commission, the Bauernbank (Peasants' Bank), and the Mittelstands-Kasse (Middle Classes' Bank).

The anti-Polish legislation was mainly directed to the expulsion of the Poles from their land. It was forbidden, for instance, to build a house on one's own land without a special permit from the authorities; and, of course, the Poles could never get such a permit. This law made the parcellation of the large estates among Polish peasants extremely difficult.

In the cultural field the towns were specially affected by the policy of Germanization. This policy aimed at making the towns into centres of German civilization. The Germans even harnessed German priests to the chariot of Germanization: they had to work for Germanism from the pulpit and even in the confessional, etc.

This system of denationalization, invented by Bismarck and perfected by Bülow, practised ruthlessly and relentlessly for some fifty years before the last war, should have

destroyed—one would have thought—the resistance of the Poles, enslaved by Prussia. But it was otherwise. The Poles lost some ground where the German onslaught was particularly fierce, namely in the border counties and in some towns, but on the whole the Polish population in the territory seized by Prussia not only resisted successfully the most systematic policy of denationalization so far carried out but even expanded in certain directions.

This was due to the characteristic virtues of the Western Poles: an ardent, unbending patriotism, which did not shrink before any sacrifice; a level-headed, realistic outlook; the national unity of all classes, who readily forsook their particular interests for the common cause; and lastly, great organizing abilities which succeeded in building up an efficient social system.

The Polish population of Prussian-occupied Poland gave proofs of its gifts for organization, of its stern stubbornness, of its national enthusiasm in every field of life; in the political, cultural, and above all, in the social and economic field. The Western Poles succeeded, through their numerous economic and co-operative associations, financially sound and well organized, in building up during the fifty years before the last war a robust and energetic Polish middle class. The lack of such a strong middle class was one of the main causes of the defective social structure of the old Polish aristocratic republic, of pre-partition days, and one of the reasons for its weakness.

The intellectual, political, and social leaders of the Poles in the Western Provinces, Poznanian and Pomorze, belonged to the middle class of the towns and the country. In Silesia, which was detached from the old Polish state as early as the first part of the XIV century, the rise of the new Polish spirit took the form of a growth of national

consciousness among the mass of the peasants and workers.

The results of the elections to the German Reichstag were a testimony to the vitality and resilience of the Polish population in the face of the ruthless and all-embracing Prussian system. The German population of the Polish provinces, artificially transplanted from Central and Western Germany, actively co-operated with this system. In spite of the most difficult conditions of the election campaigns, the Poles always succeeded in sending between eighteen and twenty deputies to the Reichstag. The Poles also elected between ten and twenty deputies to the Prussian Diet. The electoral system to this body was highly reactionary and most unfavourable to the Poles.

The best proof, however, that the three Polish Western provinces, Pomorze, Poznanian, and Silesia, were, even under Prussia, not "urdeutsch" but purely Polish, is provided by the German official statistics themselves.

Even the German official statistics of 1910 and 1911 show that Poznan, Silesia, and Pomorze were Polish

The statistics, which are quoted in this following Part, are the Prussian census of 1910¹ and the statistics of the children in the Prussian primary schools of 1911.² Both these statistics, but especially the first ones, are highly tendencious. These statistics were taken in years when the Germanization system in the Prussian part of Poland was in full swing, with a long record of ruthless practice. This system, as stated above, consisted in mass-settling on Polish land of German peasants—colonists, officials, business men, shopkeepers, craftsmen, doctors and lawyers, and, of course, of German garrisons in the large towns (the soldiers of Polish nationality were sent to the West of the Reich). All these measures artificially increased the numbers of the Germans, living in these Polish Western provinces.

It is necessary to precede the statistical tables with some general explanatory notes.

A new column had been introduced in the German statistical tables of the census, namely, that showing the "mother tongue" (*Muttersprache*). This was done in 1890, four years after the creation of the anti-Polish Colonization Commission. It is probable that the Prussian Government realized that the results of the work of this Commission would not be too favourable from its point of view. This is the only possible explanation for the introduction of this new classification.

The Prussian Government discovered two entirely new languages, pretending that they were completely different

¹ *Gemeindelexikon für die Regierungsbezirke Allenstein, Danzig, Marienwerder, Posen, Bromberg und Oppeln*, Berlin, 1912.

² *Preussische Statistik—Das niedere Schulwesen in Preussen*, 1911, I Teil, Berlin, 1913.

from Polish; but, in fact, up to then, the very existence of these languages was unknown. These languages were "Cashoub" and "Masur." Furthermore, still another classification appeared in the statistical questionnaires, namely "bilingual." It covered those who considered their home language was both Polish *and* German, Cashoub *and* German, Masur *and* German.

The aim was to divide the Polish population in Prussia into three different nations, in spite of the fact that Cashoub and Masur are merely local dialects of the Polish language, and are recognized as such by all Poles, by the local population, and by expert philologists.

This new classification was introduced in spite of the fact that the Cashoubs, living in the north-west of West Prussia and the Masurs, living in the southern districts of East Prussia use these dialects in their daily speech only. Their literary language, their grammars, prayers, books, papers, and magazines, are printed in the same language as that used in Poznan, Warsaw, and Cracow.

Furthermore, there is a contradiction between the newly invented category of the "bilinguals" and the well-known fact that every human being has only one "mother-tongue" (*Muttersprache*). But this column made it possible for the Government, who controlled the census, to exercise a strong pressure on the population. This pressure was all the easier because the census was taken mainly by Government officials, who were entitled, in case of doubt, to make "corrections." It may be said that, according to all evidence, the classification of a German under the heading "bilingual" was almost unthinkable.

The "bilinguals," the "Cashoubs" and the "Mazurs" ought to be considered as "Poles" and registered as such.

The tendencious character of the statistics of the minorities in the census of 1910 can be proved by other

official statistical data, namely, those relating to Prussian primary schools in 1911. When comparing the numbers in each county of the Polish inhabitants and of the Polish school children, it is easy to notice great differences. The census was much less favourable to the Poles.

The explanation is that when the school statistics were made, pressure was exercised on the children too, but this pressure was less severe than while taking the census, which provided the base for the planned programme of Germanization by the Prussian state.

Even some of the German statistical experts admit the inaccuracy and partiality of the Prussian authorities in taking the census. A German expert on Polish affairs in Prussia, Dr. Ludwig Bernhard, admits this clearly in his foreword, entitled "Die Fehlerquellen in der Statistik der Nationalitaeten," to the book of Dr. Paul Weber: *Die Polen in Oberschlesien eine statistische Untersuchung*, Berlin, 1914.

The tables which follow are taken directly from the two official Prussian statistics. The first column shows the percentage of the Poles, in a given county, in 1910. The second column shows the percentage of Polish children from the age of six to 14, in the primary schools, in 1911.

This last percentage corresponds more or less to the true numerical relations existing then between the Polish population and the total number of inhabitants. It is true that the Germans may argue that the Poles have more children, but the higher Polish birth rate is compensated by the higher infant mortality among the Polish children under the age of six. That is why the school statistics are more reliable than the census.

I should add that the statistics which follow do not cover all the Polish territories under Prussia, but only those which were returned by the Treaty of Versailles to

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I should add that the statistics which follow do not cover all the Polish territories under Prussia, but only those which were returned by the Treaty of Versailles to the reborn Polish republic, as the German propaganda claims that these territories were and are "urdeutsch," and that their return to Poland was "hideous injustice" to the German people. Later the other territories with a Polish population will be considered. The counties which were only partly incorporated in Poland are marked with an asterisk. The percentage of Poles in the column of the school statistics is not given, as it cannot be related with precision.

The counties of the Polish voievodship of Poznan belonged before the last war to the province of Poznan (Provinz Posen).¹ This province was divided into two parts: Poznan (Regierungsbezirk Posen) and Bydgoszcz (Regierungsbezirk Bromberg). The counties of the voievodship of Pomorze belonged to the province of West Prussia (Provinz Westpreussen) divided into two parts: Gdansk (Regierungsbezirk Danzig) and Kwidzyn (Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder). The counties of the

¹ To facilitate researches and comparisons with the German statistics, the Germanized names of provinces, counties, towns, etc., are quoted in brackets.

voievodship of Silesia¹ belonged in Prussian times to the Regierungsbezirk Oppeln (Opole in Polish) in the province of Silesia (Provinz Schlesien).

POZNANIA

County.	Polish Population.	
	Census of 1910. Per Cent.	Statistics of primary schools of 1911. Per Cent.
The counties of the district of Poznan (Posen), returned to Poland in 1919.		
Ostrzeszow (Schildberg)	83.4	93.1
Koscian (Kosten)	88.9	92.2
Kepno (Kempen)	83.4	91.4
Odolanow (Adelnau)	86.9	90.9
Sroda (Schroda)	87.2	90.7
Gostyn (Gostyn)	86.3	90.6
Kozmin (Koschmin)	82.6	89.4
Pleszew (Pleschen)	82.9	88.8
Grodzisk (Grätz)	83.0	87.4
Ostrow (Ostrowo)	77.4	87.1
Srem (Schrimm)	82.0	86.7
Jarocin (Jarotschin)	81.7	85.9
Poznan-West (Posen-West)	82.2	85.6
Wrzesnia (Wreschen)	79.9	85.2
Smigiel (Schmiegel)	81.2	84.7
Szamotuly (Samter)	74.2	79.3
Poznan-town (Posen)	57.0	78.6
Poznan-East (Posen-Ost)	70.8	78.1
Krotoszyn (Krotoschin)	65.5	77.5
Rawicz (Rawitsch)	57.7	70.7
Oborniki (Obornik)	59.3	67.5
Nowy Tomysl (Neutomischel)	53.9	61.1
Miedzychod (Birnbaum)	50.2	58.7
Babimost (Bomst)*	55.9	
Leszno (Lissa)	37.3	47.0
Wschowa (Fraustadt)*	59.9	
Miedzzyrzecz (Meseritz)*	31.5	
The counties of the district of Bydgoszcz returned to Poland in 1919.		
Witkowo (Witkowo)	83.1	85.7
Strzelno (Strelno)	80.0	83.1
Znin (Znin)	72.5	75.8
Mogilno (Mogilno)	70.5	74.2
Wagrowiec (Wongrowitz)	68.4	73.1
Inowroclaw (Hohensalza)	62.9	71.3
Gnieszno (Gnesen)	61.6	70.3
Szubin (Schubin)	55.5	57.8
Wyrzysk (Wirsitz)	48.3	52.1
Bydgoszcz-country (Bromberg-Land)	38.4	43.8
Wielen (Filehne)*	56.9	
Bydgoszcz-town (Bromberg-Stadt)	16.2	34.8
Czarnkow (Czarnikau)*	52.5	
Chodzież (Kolmar i. Posen)*	27.3	

¹ The so-called Cieszyn (Teschen) Silesia, which up to the end of the last war was a part of Austria, is not included at all in the statistics which follow.

WEST PRUSSIA (continued)

The counties of the district of Kwidzyn (Marienwerder), returned to Poland in 1919.

County.	Polish Population.	
	Census of 1910. Per Cent.	Statistics of primary schools of 1911. Per Cent.
Lubawa (Löbau)	78.4	86.1
Brodnica (Strassburg W.Pr.)	64.2	84.1
Tuchola (Tuchel)	65.5	72.2
Chojnice (Konitz)	54.8	62.2
Torun-town (Thorn-Stadt)	32.2	61.3
Torun-country (Thorn-Land)	52.2	61.3
Swiecie (Schwetz)	49.9	60.5
Chelmno (Culm)	51.5	58.7
Wabrzesno (Briesen)	50.6	55.4
Grudziadz-country (Graudenz-Land)	39.2	49.1
Kwidzyn (Marienwerder)*	79.8	
Zlotow (Flatow)*	28.4	
Grudziadz-town (Graudenz-Stadt)	12.5	27.6
Czluchow (Schlochau)*	74.6	

EAST PRUSSIA

The county of the district of Olsztyn (Allenstein), returned to Poland in 1919.

County.	Polish Population.	
	Census of 1910. Per Cent.	Statistics of primary schools of 1911. Per Cent.
Nibork (Neidenburg)*	58.0	

SILESIA

The counties of the district of Opole (Oppeln), returned to Poland in 1919.

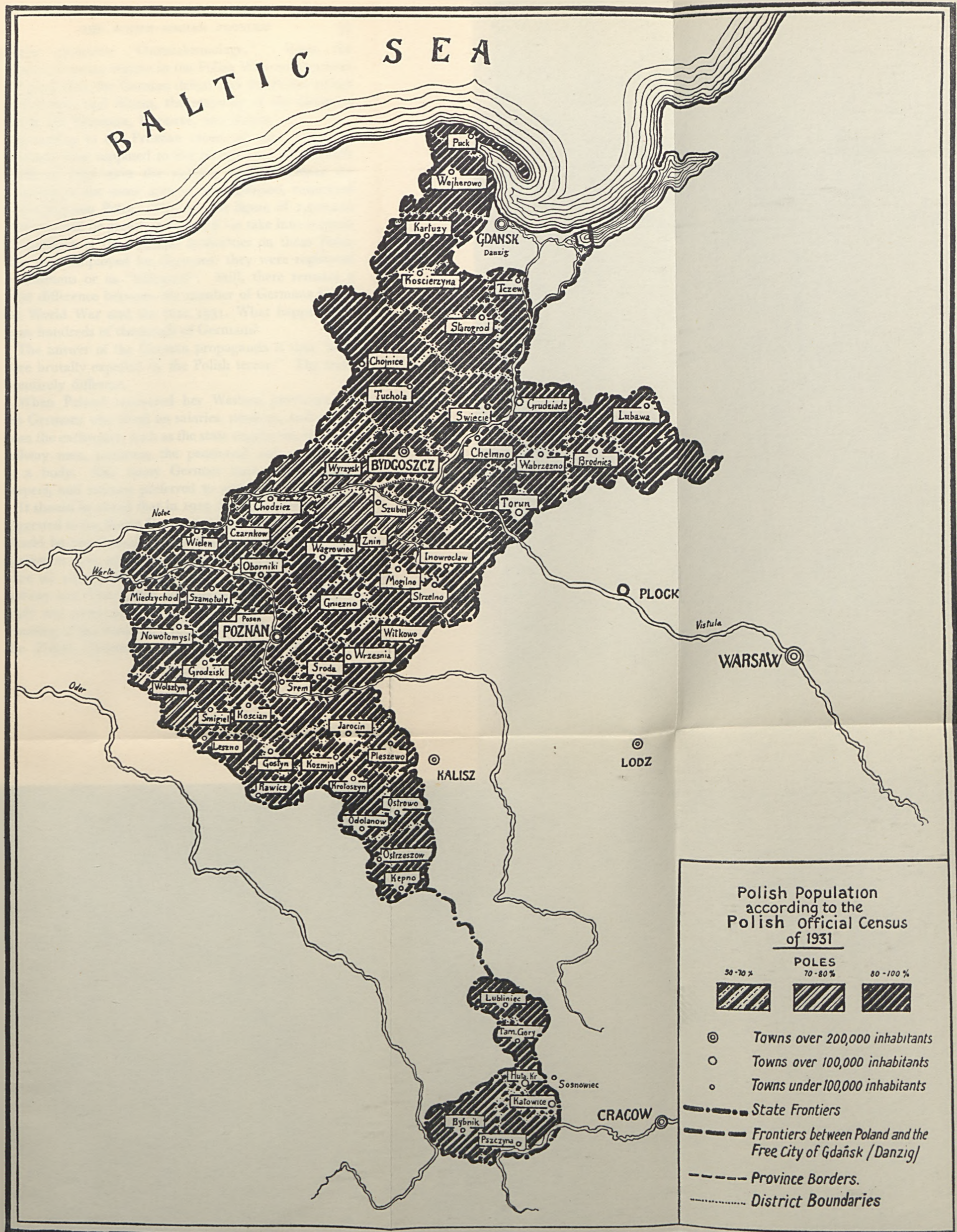
County.	Polish Population.	
	Census of 1910. Per Cent.	Statistics of primary schools of 1911. Per Cent.
Pszczyna (Pless)	86.0	93.1
Lubliniec (Lublinitz)*	80.5	
Rybnik (Rybnik)*	77.7	
Toszek-Gliwice (Tost-Gleiwitz)*	83.9	
Tarnowskie Gory (Tarnowitz)*	61.4	
Bytom-country (Beuthen-Land)*	61.7	
Katowice-country (Kattowitz-Land)	64.9	83.0
Zabrze (Zabrze)*	77.8	
Huta Krolewska (Konigshutte)	34.0	44.6
Raciborz-country (Ratibor-Land)*	94.7	
Katowice-town (Kattowitz-Stadt)	13.4	36.3

The foregoing pp. 32-33 are the "urdeutsch" picture of the Western Polish provinces under Prussian rule, according to Germany's own statistics, characterized already as partial and biased. These statistics date from 1910 and 1911, which means from a period when the Germanization policy was in full swing, backed by half a century of the oppression of Bismarck and Bülow. This Germanization policy consisted, it once more may be recalled, in forcible mass-colonization of the Polish territories with German peasants, officials, soldiers, and people of every profession from the interior of the Reich.

This forcible colonization of the Polish lands, and especially of counties and towns (usually the larger towns), selected by the German Government, by Germans from the Reich could not but lower the percentage of the Polish population in these counties and towns. The statistical abstracts, however, show clearly how the Poles victoriously resisted for a century and a half the pressure of Prussia, of Germany and the Germanization system, how the Poles succeeded in forming a strong Polish line from the shores of the Baltic, through the flat country of Pomorze and Poznania, up to the mines and the agricultural districts of Silesia. This was because the Poles were there on their own land for a thousand years, and they loved this land of their forefathers with all their hearts.

The flight of the floating German population from Poznania, Pomorze, and Silesia after the last war. Poles constitute between 91 and 93 per cent of the total population

The Germans in the Western provinces of Poland were not the original settlers. They were either peasants artificially transferred there, or they were officials who stayed there not because they loved the country, but because they enjoyed the material support of the Reich. In Prussia officials in the Eastern border-marches had a



special allowance "Ostmarkenzulage." When the German-Prussian régime in the Polish Western provinces collapsed after the German defeat and the Polish risings in Poznan and Silesia, the majority of the Germans hastily left Poznan, Pomorze, and Silesia.

According to the Prussian census of 1910, 1,400,000 Germans were supposed to live in this area. The Polish census of 1931 gave the number of the German inhabitants in the same area as only 360,000, compared with 3,857,000 Poles. This alleged figure of 1,400,000 Germans will be greatly reduced, if we take into account the pressure of the Prussian authorities on those Poles, who were employed by Germans: they were registered as Germans or as "bilingual". Still, there remains a great difference between the number of Germans before the World War and the year 1931. What happened to these hundreds of thousands of Germans?

The answer of the German propaganda is that "they were brutally expelled by the Polish terror." The truth is entirely different.

When Poland recovered her Western provinces, all the Germans who lived on salaries, pensions, and grants from the exchequer, such as the state employees, teachers, railway men, postmen, the pensioned and others, left in a body. Also many German business-men, shopkeepers, and artisans preferred to return to Germany.

It should be noted that in 1919 the Polish Government suggested to the Berlin Government that German officials should be provisionally maintained in their posts. This suggestion was made because it was difficult to fill at once all administrative appointments, especially on the railway and Post Office administrations. The German reply was provocative as it requested, in return for the granting of this demand, a revision of the frontiers. When the Polish Government quite naturally rejected this



request, the German Government incited all the German officials in Poland to resign and to return to the Reich. Numerous statements and comments in the German press of this period confirm the truth of this fact. One quotation may suffice—a report from Torun in the *Vossische Zeitung* of July 15, 1919, morning edition:

“More than 75 per cent of the officials of the German Reich and of the Prussian state in the Eastern Marches (and almost 100 per cent of the higher officials), when asked whether they prefer to leave the territory to be ceded to Poland or enter the Polish civil service, replied that they refuse to enter the Polish service and ask to be transferred to other Prussian provinces. Almost 2,000 higher judicial officials in the area, which is about to be ceded to Poland have asked for a transfer to other regions, while at this moment only a few hundred judicial positions are available in the whole of Prussia”. The same report appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of July 16, evening edition.

In this way, a large number of German officials returned with their families—altogether about 200,000 persons—to the Reich during the months which immediately followed the end of the last war.

At the same time many German business men, shopkeepers, artisans, professional people, and even colonists who made a living largely by catering for the needs of the German officials and their families, left Poznan and Pomorze in a body, selling their land and houses, their shops and workshops, etc., because they realized that they could not, under changed conditions, continue to benefit from all the privileges the German authorities had conferred on them. Their number considerably exceeded the number of the officials who left the country.

This migration took place without the slightest pressure from the Polish authorities. The best proof of this is that

many German writers and especially the Nationalistic writers, were disturbed by this mass-exodus of the Germans from the Polish Western provinces, and appealed to their patriotic feelings in urging them to stay.

Thus, Dr. Franz Lüdtkke wrote in 1919, in *Die Ostmark*, the principal organ of the *Ostmarkenverein* (Nr. 8, page 59), in an article entitled *Deutsche Möglichkeiten und Wahrscheinlichkeiten im künftigen Polen* (German Possibilities and Probabilities in the future Poland).

“Do the Germans of the Eastern Marches want to abandon their land, because it has been provisionally taken away from the Reich? One might think that this is the opinion of the mass of the German inhabitants of our Eastern provinces. In fact, thousands and scores of thousands of our kinsmen are flying in panic, abandoning their land, their business, all their property. The Poles triumphantly say: ‘You see what these alleged natives really are! No, this was not the German fatherland, otherwise they would not have left it in such large numbers.’ The Polish papers warn their readers not to buy the German estates too hastily. Wait a bit longer, they say, and their price will still be lower. Are we not ashamed to listen to such words?”

In October, 1919, Lüdtkke again wrote:—

“We see the Germans flying in their thousands and in such a headless disorder, that the Poles are overjoyed and say, you see, this country is not their fatherland, otherwise they would not leave it in such a hurry, when this country needs them.”

The above-mentioned *Vossische Zeitung* on June 21, 1919 (morning edition), published the following alarming statement on the subject of the voluntary flight of the Germans from Poland—the whole German press, it may be added, wrote in the same vein:—

“The flight from West Prussia and other parts of the

Eastern Marches, which are about to be transferred from Prussia to Poland, to the Western and Central German provinces, is increasing to such an extent, that the Germans remaining there are very depressed. The German colonists offer in Polish newspapers their properties for sale. The flight of the German colonists has been stopped, however, by an order of the Polish, formerly Prussian, Colonization Commission. This order provides that the colonies in West Prussia and Poznania cannot be sold even to Poles without a permit from the Colonization Commission.

"The towns especially are losing their German population. The departure of the families of the German officers and military officials has made difficulties for the owners of houses in letting flats. But the German frontier towns are dangerously overcrowded with refugees and their families. In Pila (Schneidemühl), whole families had to be herded in stables and other buildings quite unsuitable for human habitation. The politicians of the Eastern marches warn the German population in pamphlets and leaflets against an unnecessary flight, which amounts to treason to the German cause. The Eastern Marches can be saved only if every German remains at his post."

A similar report was published in the Berlin paper, *Der Tag*, of July 29, and in other German newspapers.

These German statements of the summer and autumn of 1919 confirm what has been said above, namely, that the German population fled of its own will, committing thereby "an act of treason to the German cause." Some of the Polish decrees rather hampered this flight, and now the Germans not only deny these notorious facts, but distort them, claiming that Poland "forcibly expelled hundreds of thousands of defenceless Germans."

The Polish authorities not only did not exert pressure on the Germans to leave Poland, but even did not take

full advantage of their right to expel from Poland those Germans, who, in accordance with article 91 of the Treaty of Versailles, chose to remain German citizens. On July 30, 1924, the Polish and German Governments signed an agreement in Vienna providing time limits for the departure of the different categories of those who had chosen to remain German citizens. Some of them left of their own accord, many—about 10,000 persons—were permitted by the Polish Government, always very liberal, to remain in Poland, and only a small percentage were ordered to leave.

In this way, in Pomorze for instance, the province more exposed than any other to the German push, only 1,688 Germans out of the 5,743 who chose the German citizenship were ordered to leave Poland. Poland paid dearly for the liberal policy of her Government in September, 1939. But German propaganda still has the impudence to attack what it calls Poland's anti-German policy.

German propaganda stressed, furthermore, that Poland rid herself of her Germans by making it impossible for them to earn their living. Poland, it is said, deprived the Germans of 499,000 hectares (about a million and a quarter acres) of land by forced liquidation or by the revision of the deeds of the Colonization Commission, and of 631,000 hectares (above 1,500,000 acres) by expropriation within the framework of the agrarian reform. What are the true facts of the case?

Articles 92 and 297 of the Treaty of Versailles conferred on all the allied states the right to liquidate, i.e. to redeem by decree the property, the rights and interests of the German citizens. This right was meant as a partial reparation and as a precaution against the danger of German infiltration into the Allied states.

This right, then, was also conferred on Poland, but it was restricted by two important provisions: 1. Only those

Germans who bought houses in Polish territory after January 1, 1908, were to be considered as German citizens; all other Germans were to be considered as Polish citizens and thus not subject to the compulsory liquidation of their property and rights; 2. While all the allied countries were entitled to liquidate German property within their frontiers without paying a penny—the assessed price was credited by the Reparation Commission to Germany and Germany herself paid her citizens—Poland had to pay, at once and in cash, the German citizens, whose property was liquidated. The Germans in Poland were in this way really privileged: in England, France, Belgium, etc., the Germans were not treated so well.

The clauses concerning liquidation were of special importance to Poland. The Treaty of Versailles aimed at compensating Poland, to some extent for all the losses the Polish nation had suffered at the hands of the Prussian policy of colonization. In the years 1848–1886 the Poles had lost already some 400,000 ha. (above 800,000 acres) through the pressure of the Prussian Government. This pressure took the form of expropriations and confiscations, of unfair and unjust taxation, of sudden credit withdrawals, with a view to ruin the debtor, etc. In 1886 the Prussian Colonization Commission started, as already stated, a ruthless and systematic policy of depriving the Poles of their land.

Poland not only did not abuse her treaty rights to liquidate German property, but even did not exploit them to the full. At first, the Polish Government waited till the Germans sold their properties of their own accord. This policy had to be changed when pressure from Berlin put an end to the voluntary process of liquidation. Later on, the depressed state of the Polish finances slowed down the process of enforced liquidation.

In 1924 Poland recognized certain categories of Germans as Polish citizens, and this automatically freed them from compulsory liquidation. Finally, in 1929, Poland concluded an agreement with Germany, by which the Polish Government gave up its right to liquidate the property still in the hands of the German citizens; this was mainly the property of landowners and of big industrial concerns. As a result of this agreement, more than 50,000 Germans were permitted to remain in Poland.

It should also be noted that there was no liquidation whatever in Silesia where the German property both in great estates and big industrial concerns was very large. Finally, the liquidation was carried out under the supervision of a Polish-German Arbitration Tribunal, to which those, whose property was liquidated, appealed if they thought the assessment of compensation too low.

The liquidation of the German property was therefore a process by no means known in Poland only. It may even be that in Poland it was carried out on a lesser scale than in other countries. The liquidation was mainly voluntary, only a small percentage of the German property being forcibly liquidated.

Besides the Polish Government did not avail itself—and it was a great mistake—of the right of redemption which the Prussian Government reserved for itself in its contracts with the German colonists. The Prussian Colonization Commission never considered a colonist as the full owner of his farm. In this way about 22,000 farms created by the Colonization Commission remained in German hands. This meant that over 80,000 Germans remained on the land.

Finally, the Polish Government did not make use of its right to annul certain contracts. The Polish Government was entitled to annul the artificial, illegal changes

of property, made by the German authorities after November 11, 1918, in order to avoid the consequences of the transfer of the Eastern Marches to Poland. The right to annulment was applied only to some 50,000 ha. (about 125,000 acres), before Poland resigned it.

The agrarian reform aimed at the breaking up of large estates among smallholders and the landless peasantry. It applied to the estates of both Poles and Germans. It is true that the percentage of German estates which were subjected to the agrarian reform was larger than that of the Polish, and especially so in the frontier counties. But events in 1939 fully vindicated the reasons for such a policy.

It was impossible to maintain a state of affairs in which the German properties above 50 ha. (125 acres) amounted in 1921 to 43.7 per cent of the total in Poznan, to 36.2 per cent in Pomorze, and to as much as 90 per cent in Silesia, while the percentages of the German population in these three provinces were respectively 9.2 per cent, 9.8 per cent, and 6.1 per cent. It should also be remembered that the German estates consisted largely of land stolen from the Polish Crown, of stolen Church and land endowments, or had passed into German hands as the result of confiscation or through the artificial bankruptcy of their Polish owners, etc.

In any case, the Polish agrarian reform was applied to both Germans and Poles, while the Prussian expropriation law of 1908 was applied and was to be applied in the future to Polish property only.

In other fields of economic activity, not only were the Germans in Poland free of persecution, but rather they enjoyed a privileged position. The splendid growth of their middle class, of their businesses of every kind, especially of their co-operatives and banks, which were booming, bear witness to this. The Polish republic

assured them complete freedom in this development.¹

If, notwithstanding, the majority of the German population in the Polish Western territories left in a hurry, it did so because, as was explained above, the Germans were an alien race, and a floating element, not connected by any moral bonds with these lands.

In this way, the number of the Germans decreased as early as 1921, according to Polish official statistics² to 327,846, i.e. to 16.7 per cent on Poznan, and to 175,771, i.e. to 18.8 per cent in Pomorze.³ In 1931⁴ in the three Western Provinces,⁵ the number of Germans fell to 360,000, i.e. to 9.3 per cent.

The statistics of the Germans in Poland, prepared by the German deputies to the Polish Diet in 1926, do not differ much from the official ones.

¹ The German middle class had numerous organizations, the most important of which were: "Verband für Handel und Gewerbe" (Commercial and Industrial Association) in Poznan; "Verband deutscher Handwerker" (Craftmen's Union) in Pomorze and the Notec district with its head office in Bydgoszcz; "Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung für Polnisch Schlesien" (Economic Association for Polish Silesia) in Katowice.

The German Farmers were also well organized, first in the "Verein der deutschen Bauern" (German Peasant's Union) in Poznan and Pomorze, then in the "Landbund" (Country League) in Pomorze, in the "West-polnische Landwirtschaftliche Gesellschaft" (Agricultural Society of Western Poland) in Poznan, in the "Hauptverband der deutschen Landwirte in Polnisch Schlesien" (The Central Association of German Farmers in Polish Silesia) in Silesia.

There were many co-operatives of German farmers organized in two unions, which fully controlled the member co-operatives. These co-operatives formed a vast network of banking, distributive and productive units.

German trade unions and employers' associations were active in Upper Silesia, Cieszyn (Teschen), Silesia and the town of Lodz.

All these economic organizations received financial support from the Reich and worked in hand with the German political authorities and with German diplomatic and consular agents. The utmost tolerance of the Polish Government facilitated their activities.

² *An Abstract of the Names of Places in the Polish Republic*, volumes x and xi, Warsaw, 1926.

³ No census was taken in Silesia in 1921.

⁴ *Polish Statistics*, series C, parts 54, 74, 75, and 76. Without Cieszyn, Silesia.

The Polish census of 1931 gives the following numbers and percentages of Poles and Germans:—

Province.	Total.	Poles.	Per cent.	Germans.	Per cent.
Poznania	2,106,500	1,906,395	90.5	193,080	9.2
Pomorze	1,080,138	969,386	89.8	105,400	9.8
Silesia (without Cieszyn, Silesia)	1,129,024	1,055,340	93.5	68,735	6.1
	4,315,662	3,931,121	91.1	367,215	8.5

Between 1931 and September, 1939, the German population decreased somewhat; and, as the Poles had a higher birth rate than the Germans, the percentage of Poles rose by 1939 to 92 in Poznania, to 91 in Pomorze, and to 93 in Silesia.

The following statistical data for Poznania, Pomorze, and Silesia is based on the census of 1931.

County.	POZNANIA		Germans. Per cent.
	Population.	Poles. Per cent.	
Bydgoszcz—town	117,200	89.3	9.6
Bydgoszcz—country	58,139	86.5	12.9
Chodziez	44,508	71.7	28.1
Czarnkow	43,256	85.0	14.5
Gniezno—town	30,675	97.4	2.2
Gniezno—country	57,256	88.1	11.8
Gostyn	55,929	95.6	4.4
Inowroclaw—town	34,364	97.5	2.2
Inowroclaw—country	48,599	84.3	15.6
Jarocin	87,546	95.6	4.3
Kepno	86,849	95.2	3.8
Koscian	78,899	96.4	3.6
Krotoszyn	75,456	92.4	7.5
Leszno	61,211	83.7	16.0
Miedzzychod	31,032	90.3	9.6
Mogilno	89,186	91.2	8.7
Nowy Tomysl	87,331	81.2	18.7
Oborniki	50,388	83.9	15.8
Ostrow	104,126	96.1	3.8
Poznan—town	246,470	96.8	2.6
Poznan—country	91,182	94.9	5.0
Rawicz	49,882	89.9	9.6
Szamotuly	67,742	92.9	7.0
Sroda	49,902	95.9	4.0
Srem	57,304	94.7	5.2
Szubin	47,825	79.7	20.2
Wagrowiec	54,259	86.9	13.0
Wolsztyn	47,892	79.3	20.6
Wrzesnia	43,698	94.1	5.7

POZNANIA (continued)			
County.	Population.	Poles. Per cent.	Germans. Per cent.
Wyrzysk	66,873	79.4	20.5
Znin	41,521	88.5	11.4
POMORZE			
County.	Population.	Poles. Per cent.	Germans. Per cent.
Brodnica	56,287	90.6	9.1
Chelmno	52,765	84.8	15.0
Chojnice	76,935	89.7	9.9
Gdynia—town	33,217	98.0	1.0
Grudziadz—town	54,014	91.9	6.7
Grudziadz—country	42,801	81.6	18.1
Kartuzy	68,674	93.4	6.5
Koscierzyna	51,716	88.3	11.6
Lubawa	53,621	96.7	3.0
Morski (Weyherowo)	85,295	93.4	6.1
Sepolno	29,563	59.3	40.4
Starogard	71,829	94.6	4.8
Swiecie	87,998	84.3	15.3
Tczew	67,399	93.2	6.5
Torun—town	53,993	94.5	4.5
Torun—country	60,214	87.9	11.8
Tuchola	41,249	92.1	7.7
Wabrzczo	49,852	84.9	14.2
PROVINCE OF WARSAW			
County.	Population.	Poles. Per cent.	Germans. Per cent.
Dzialdowo	42,716	92.8	6.7
SILESIA			
County.	Population.	Poles. Per cent.	Germans. Per cent.
Chorzow	101,977	87.0	11.7
Katowice—town	126,058	84.9	13.4
Katowice—country	215,145	94.1	5.7
Lubliniec	45,232	97.7	2.0
Pszczyna	162,015	96.8	3.1
Rybnik	212,829	97.7	2.2
Swientochlowice	201,176	94.0	5.9
Tarnowskie Gory	64,592	91.6	8.1

These statistics require no comment.

Poles to the number of 905,737 remained in Prussia and Germany outside the frontiers of the Polish state. They remained in those parts of Poznania, West Prussia, Upper Silesia, and East Prussia, which were not re-incorporated in Poland. This number of 905,727 is arrived at on the basis of the tendencious Prussian census

of 1910. These Poles were exposed to the Nazi system of Germanization, which itself was an "improvement" on the methods of Bismarck and Bülow. Of these 905,737 Poles, 577,254 lived in German Upper Silesia (or Oppeln Silesia) alone. Besides, some 50,000 Poles lived in the adjoining German provinces, and many Polish labourers worked permanently or intermittently in the interior of the Reich.

The number of Germans in Poland—outside the Western provinces—was in 1931, 373,000. Of these 308,000 lived in territories now occupied by Germany.

As already stated, the Germans incorporated illegally in the Reich not only Poznan, Pomorze, and Silesia, but also other territories, which before the last war did not belong to Prussia or Germany. The Germans thus annexed namely the country around the towns of Suwalki, Ciechanow, Wloclawek, Plock, Lodz, and Kalisz, and the coal-mining district of Dabrowa in the former so-called Congress Kingdom, and the coal-mining district of Chrzanow, the towns of Biala and Zywiec, which formed a part of former Galicia, and Cieszyn (Teschen), Silesia, which also belonged formerly to Austria. A decree of the Fuehrer was all that was needed to annex all these Polish lands to Germany. It was his will alone which created a German colony in the so-called General Gouvernement, covering 100,000 more square kilometres of Polish territory, with Warsaw, Lublin, Radom, Czestochowa, Kielce, and Cracow. It was again the will of the Fuehrer which handed over the whole Eastern half of Poland to the Bolsheviks, who forcibly deported the native population to Siberia and other parts of Asiatic Russia.

The murder of Poland with the help of the Soviet Union, its partition, the bloody and systematic destruction of the Polish nation—this is the first step in Germany's "peaceful reconstruction of Europe."

The economic value to Poland of her Western Provinces

To return once more to the Western provinces, their population and their value to Poland, this value is by no means limited to the numerical strength of the Polish population there. The moral, national, political, social and economic value of this community should be taken into account as well. In the economic field the Western provinces are of decisive importance for national independence. These provinces assure to Poland not only a large area of exceptionally fertile soil, but above all, valuable mines and ores in the South and an access to the sea in the North. Without this access, Poland would resemble a man without lungs.

Let us briefly analyse the role of Silesia, Poznan, and Pomorze in the economic life of Poland.

Poland is a country with a high birth-rate. Her population was deprived of any outlet outside Polish territory. The immigration laws in North and South America stopped the migration of those who were willing to emigrate and earn their living overseas. The population of Poland increased at the rate of some 400,000 a year, and the over-population was becoming increasingly serious.

In Poland two-thirds of the inhabitants derive their living from agriculture and, as industry and the towns were not sufficiently developed, a steadily growing population had to remain on the land. The density of the rural population was the main cause of the steady division of the farms into still smaller holdings, and it was no wonder that the rural population was poor and its wealth-producing capacity extremely limited.

Industrialization was the only means of making Poland economically strong; of assuring the development of her agriculture, of absorbing the unemployed and of safeguarding the economic independence of the country.

This goes far to prove the paramount importance, from an economic point of view, of Silesia, Poznania, and Pomorze for Poland. They alone possessed the natural resources which could form the basis of national wealth.

The principal wealth of Silesia is coal, often called "the bread of industry." It was on coal that England based her industrial power. It was the coal in the Ruhr and in the Saar that was the origin of Germany's economic expansion and power. Not only in the XIX century was the part played by coal of primary importance in the economic history of the world; to-day, it is a raw material just as important as it was then. The chemical industry constantly finds new uses for coal. Coal can satisfy nearly all the needs of industry.

Without the mineral wealth of Silesia, Poland would be unable to develop her industries and would suffer permanently from economic anaemia. Without the Silesian coal, Poland would be economically weak and backward. Overpopulated and impoverished, she would be a centre of disturbances, dissatisfaction, and misery. She, and with her all Central Europe, would be entirely dependent on Germany.

The raw materials of Polish Silesia permitted the creation of a powerful industry there. The importance of this industry for the defence of the country cannot be over-estimated. With Upper Silesia, Poland has an industrial potential, capable, in favourable circumstances, of rapid growth.

The importance of the provinces of Poznania and Pomorze in the economic life of Poland is also of the first magnitude. Their soil is fertile and their agriculture highly developed. They have a surplus of agricultural products, largely exceeding their own needs. Moreover, as a result of the long struggle against German oppression,

there emerged in these provinces a type of Polish business man fitted for all forms of economic activity.

In these two provinces the food and metal industries are well developed, and they constitute an important link in the economic relations of Poland with the outside world. This gives them an additional role in the economic life of the country.

Poland's access to the sea.

There is no doubt that Poland can develop her economic resources only in the event of her being able to maintain a steady and direct flow of commerce with the outside world. For the more numerous her markets the better can a country develop her resources.

That is why it is of paramount importance for Poland to have a direct, absolutely free and sufficiently large access to the sea. Poland can develop her economic life only with the help of her western provinces, which form a link between her and the outside world.

A glance at any map of Poland will suffice to show that the Vistula is the main Polish river, and that it is truly a national river, right from its source to the mouth. It has been so throughout the centuries. The valley of the Vistula determines the direction in which the vast Polish plains are connected with the sea, and, through the sea, with the outside world. Poland faces the Baltic and above all the Vistula estuary. This is an elementary truth. It is also the key to the problem of Poland's access to the sea.

The Treaty of Versailles unfortunately settled this problem only partly, and the solution was pregnant with the greatest dangers for Poland and the whole of Europe.

The Supreme Council at Versailles disregarded the unanimous opinion of the committee of experts set up

for Polish affairs by the Peace Conference and failed to incorporate Gdansk (Danzig) in the Polish state. Furthermore, the Supreme Council left East Prussia on the right bank of the Vistula, which for centuries had been the main highway of Poland's export trade. East Prussia remained an integral part of Germany. This mistake, as well as the age-long German tradition of the "Drang nach Osten" had as its inevitable sequel the German aggression against Poland in September, 1939.

The Treaty of Versailles gave Poland a coastline only about eighty-seven miles long. This represented only 3.5 per cent of the total length of Poland's frontiers. The port of Gdansk was not included in the small Polish sea-coast. A state of 35 millions had only one port, and its rights there were limited. Moreover, in Gdansk Poland always had to contend with German threats and blackmail. Gdansk with a predominantly German population, the result of a century-long process of colonization, was given full autonomy. The "statute of the Free City" was turned by the Germans into an anti-Polish weapon, and finally helped the Germans to launch their aggression in September, 1939.

How small and inadequate was the Polish sea-shore can be clearly seen when the percentage of the sea-frontier of Poland is compared with that of other countries. In France 60.1 per cent of the total length of the frontiers was sea-frontier; in Italy—80.3 per cent; in Finland—35.5 per cent, in Latvia—26.1 per cent, and in Lithuania—6.2 per cent.

The access to the sea, which the Treaty of Versailles gave to Poland, took the shape of a long, thin, wedge thrust through the West Prussia of pre-1914 days. This Polish spear to the Baltic was hammered in between the Reich on the West and East Prussia, also a part of Germany on the East. East Prussia barred Poland from

the Vistula estuary and from the shores of the Baltic from Elbing (Elblag) to Koenigsberg (Krolewiec).

The victorious Powers of 1918 realized how anomalous was the position of East Prussia. That was the reason why a plebiscite was instituted in the southern half of East Prussia. This plebiscite was held at the time of the Bolshevik offensive of 1920, and that largely accounted for its results, the majority of the inhabitants voting for remaining within the Reich.

The framers of the Treaty of Versailles did not take into account historical, geographical, political, or strategic considerations, and made a frontier about 1,200 miles long between Poland and the Reich. The frontier between Poland and East Prussia alone was 451 miles long. Besides, Poland had a frontier with the Free City of Gdansk 75 miles long. The total length of the frontier between Poland and Germany and the Free City of Gdansk was therefore 1,263 miles.

As East Prussia was left to the Reich, Poland, from the outset of her independence, found herself encircled by Germany.

This province of the Reich, with many forests and lakes, was methodically made by Germany into a military stronghold. It became a fortress menacing the security of Poland. East Prussia was a menace to Pomorze and to the Polish capital, Warsaw. The distance between Warsaw and East Prussia was only 80 miles, i.e. twenty minutes by plane, or a three-hours' drive by mechanized columns.

September, 1939, proved to the whole world how tragic a blunder was made when Gdansk was not incorporated in Poland, and East Prussia was allowed to remain a part of the Reich. The German army attacked Poland not only from the South-West and the South, but also made a violent thrust from German Pomerania through the thin

wedge of the Polish Pomorze to the South-East, to Kutno and Warsaw. At the same time an advance of the German forces from East Prussia closed in on the Polish capital and the whole Western half of Poland from the East.

It should be remembered that a part of East Prussia, Varmia, belonged to Poland until the first partition of 1772; the remaining part of East Prussia was under Polish suzerainty until 1657.

East Prussia covers ¹ an area of about 14,850 square miles, and has 2,400,000 inhabitants. Ethnographically, East Prussia is divided in two halves: the southern and the northern.

In the southern half of Allenstein, even the tendentious German census of 1910 admitted that, except in a few counties, between 50 and 70 per cent of the population was Polish, while the school statistics of 1911 gave the percentage of Polish children in the schools of all the counties except two of the Allenstein district as varying between 64.4 per cent and 90.7 per cent.

The north-eastern part of the southern half of East Prussia is inhabited by Lithuanians or people of Lithuanian descent.

The northern half of East Prussia, with Elbing, Braunsberg, and Königsberg is completely Germanized, though even there, there are some traces of the Slav or Lithuanian tribes which lived in these parts.

The Germans were always fully aware of the political and strategic importance of East Prussia in their fight for the revision of the Treaty of Versailles.

They spared neither effort nor money to maintain what remained of the German population in Poznań and Pomorze. In his speech of March 10, 1930, the

¹ In 1939, Germany annexed to East Prussia the part of Poland known as the "district of Ciechanów." The above remarks apply to pre-war East Prussia without this annexed territory.

former German Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Curtius, made the following statement:—

"The Germans in Pomorze and Poznań are a living bridge between the Reich and East Prussia, and make it impossible to sever this province from Germany. Should this bridge be destroyed, East Prussia would be completely isolated. We want to save this bridge; we shall try to have a base in the Germans of Poznań and Pomorze."

These words go far to explain the German fight against Poland for the revision of the Peace treaties, for the "Corridor" and for East Prussia.

In this fight, the Germans had to face a century-old problem, namely the problem of the emigration of the population of East Prussia. Under Prussian rule this province was deprived of its natural Polish "hinterland," and its trade was gradually decreasing. The Germans themselves thought that this area was hopelessly handicapped, and a permanent "distressed area." This was the reason why the inhabitants were moving in a steady flow to the interior of the Reich. It has been statistically proved that during the XIX century about one million men left East Prussia. The Germans in East Prussia were really an island in the midst of alien populations, and this island was in fact always severed from Germany proper. That, of course, stimulated the German exodus.

After the war of 1914-18, the natural migratory process was not a "push to the East," but a "retreat to the West."

"East Prussia is hardly a natural part of the German empire," writes M. Henry Strassburger, a former Polish representative in Gdansk, and author of numerous books on Baltic problems. "The great distance between East Prussia and the economic centres of the Reich, and the ensuing high transport costs make the exchange of goods difficult. The severe climate of East Prussia does not

attract the Germans from other parts of the Reich. . . . The Reich must artificially support East Prussia with grants, which burden the German exchequer . . .”

But even defeated Germany spent a lot of money on East Prussia. She started to colonize East Prussia on a very large scale. Between 1925 and 1930, 5,500 new farms were created there in pursuance of a colonization scheme. In spite of all efforts, the population of East Prussia migrated to the Reich, and decreased by some 10,000 to 15,000 persons a year. This emigration led to a curious paradox: the landowners in East Prussia were compelled to hire agricultural labour in Poland.

It follows clearly from what has been said above that East Prussia was not in the least an asset to the Reich. One may even wonder whether this province was not rather a liability for Germany.

For Poland, however, East Prussia is of paramount importance for reasons of security. Now, if we weigh the interests of one million and several hundred thousand Germans living in East Prussia on the one hand against the fate on the other of the 35 million inhabitants of Poland, we cannot fail to draw the proper and obvious conclusion.

Poland must keep a strong position on the Baltic sea, not only in her own interest, but also for Great Britain's and the new restored Europe's common cause. Great Britain is greatly interested in getting a strong position of her own on the Baltic Sea and an absolutely free unhindered sea communication with Poland and other Baltic countries. This problem needs a bold solution of the Straits question. The experience of past years, caution and foresight will appeal this time even for the destruction (filling in) of the German Kiel Canal; but it will not be enough to consist only in the maritime road through the Belt, as it is placed too close to the German

shore; no doubt it will be necessary to deepen the Oro Sound to render it accessible for big warships.

Great Britain and her allies, especially Poland, should control that navigation track. Great Britain and Poland should also have navy and air bases on the Baltic Sea as they are necessary to maintain a new order in Europe and steady unbroken peace towards a new Central Europe.

Towards a New Central Europe

But to return to the consequences of the separation of East Prussia from Germany, incorporated together with Gdansk (Danzig) to Poland. It would shorten the Polish-German frontier from 1,263 to 810 miles.

It is obvious that a Western frontier 810 miles long, and with a neighbour such as Germany, is still a very grave danger. This frontier should be further straightened out and shortened in order to alleviate the exceptionally difficult geographical position of Poland and to meet her vital interests. It may be worth while recalling in this connection that the Franco-German frontier, including that part of it which followed the banks of the Rhine, was only 217 miles long.

The redrawing of a reasonable Polish-German frontier will not suffice; it will also be necessary to remove the German population in Poland, artificially settled there both before the last war and during the present one, to the new post-war Germany. Poland, of course, will not follow the Nazi example of bloody violence, but the job must be done, and she will have to do it quickly and efficiently.

Czechoslovakia will have a similar task with regard to her German minority. Poland and Czechoslovakia should form a close union, and it is to be hoped that other neighbouring countries, with similar interests, will join it too. The new Polish-Czech frontier must be lengthened and

in consequence Opole (Oppeln) Silesia, which has an overwhelming Polish majority, ought to be included within the frontiers of Poland.

The well known declaration of the Polish and Czechoslovak Governments, which had such a favourable reception from both European and American public opinion, is a proof that events move in this direction. This declaration and the common efforts of the Polish and Czechoslovak Governments give an idea and an outline of the future organization of Central Europe, and of the harmonious collaboration of the peoples of this part of the world, above all of Poles and Czechs.

The construction of a new Central Europe will put an end to old mistaken rivalries and provide a sound basis for a happier and more secure future. The large area between Germany and Russia will no longer be divided into numerous weak states, at loggerheads with each other. This area will be formed into one single bloc, based not only on mutual good will but also on a realistic outlook and a cool realization of the great common interests of all the constituent states.

Without a strong and healthy body-politic in the area which lies between Germany and Russia there can be no peace or security in Europe.

The creation of such a bloc will be possible only, if Great Britain and the United States realize the necessity for raising the economic level of the countries of Central Europe, and particularly the industrialization of Poland. Poland, indeed, is less industrialized than Czechoslovakia and, above all, she is completely ruined and devastated by the two occupying powers.

The path indicated by political wisdom and political necessities is clear. We have to tread this path without hesitation, we have to march forward to create a new world.



