



Poland and Peace

BY

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and

THE COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

One looking at this large and brilliant assembly cannot help thinking what a tremendous task it is for a modest man to address an audience which contains so many persons of prominence, of distinction, of civic virtue, and of transcendent, even historical, merit.

But I am not a modest man. I am rather humble. Humility, my life-long companion, has taught me among many other things how to accept events and how to grow old without ever having known conceit.

I realize that your presence here, which some people might have interpreted as a compliment to me, is only a compliment to Poland. I realize that even those gracious and beautifully touching remarks just made by the honorable speakers were meant for Poland. Therefore, I beg to offer the distinguished and noble institutions which have so generously invited me to speak tonight, the highly esteemed and eminent orators, and all of you, the expression of my respectful and profoundest gratitude for having honored the country of my birth.

There is a tradition according to which an after-dinner speaker should include in his address, no matter how serious, at least one amusing story. I confess that I do not know

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many stories which could apply to the subject I intend to treat tonight. But I remember one already used by me on a similar occasion in London a few years ago. It is to a degree like those liquid delicacies which you find sometimes in the houses of your law-abiding friends, and which are offered you with the encouraging remark, "It will not hurt you. It is pre-war stuff."

Surely it will not hurt you, Ladies and Gentlemen, what I am going to relate, because it is a pre-war story.

Once upon a time somewhere, in Utopia perhaps, a large sum of money was offered as a prize for the best description of the elephant. Among the competitors there was a Frenchman, an Englishman, a German and a Pole.

The Frenchman immediately went to the zoological garden, visited the elephants' house, made friends with the keeper, invited him to a luncheon, took several photographs and after repeating the experience a couple of times, began his work. Within a few weeks a brilliant book was ready under the title, "Les Amours d' Elephant."

The Englishman proceeded quite differently. He bought a complete hunter's outfit and in that sporting attire, provided with excellent rifles, supplied with plenty of ammunition, cartridges, biscuits, Scotch wine and pipes, he went to the jungles of India, to the wilderness of Africa, saw thousands of elephants, killed quite a few of them, and upon returning home within six months he wrote a concise, graphic essay calling it, unpretentiously, "The Elephant."

The efficient German acted more thoroughly. He started on a long expensive journey, visiting all the most renowned libraries of Europe. He read every book, studied every pamphlet, examined every document pertaining to the huge animal, and after several years of that conscientious work, produced two big volumes under the name, "An Introduction to the Monograph of the Elephant."

As to the Pole, he wrote his book almost as rapidly as the Frenchman. Its title was, "The Elephant and the Polish Question."

With such a competition organized today the patriotic Polish writer would certainly have to change the title of his literary effort and call it by the more up-to-date title "The Elephant and the Corridor."

At the present moment this word, "the Corridor," seems to symbolize the whole of the Polish question, for it is really a masterpiece of propaganda.

I must respectfully call your attention to the fact that the title given to my address should be different. It ought to be "Poland and the Corridor," instead of "Poland and Peace."

You may read today in the newspapers and the magazines that the Corridor has been taken away from Germany. This is not correct. When dealing with serious international problems proper terms should be used, proper formally, historically, and logically. Formally Germany took no active part and found no direct advantage in the dismemberment of Poland. Historically, the territory now called the Corridor was wrested from Poland by Prussia in 1772, and remained a realm of the Prussian kings for 99 years. Only in 1871, still as a part of a Prussian Province, it was included in the possessions of the German Empire.

Is it, then, logical to draw into a controversy the whole of Germany,—into the conflict and the controversy arising even from an act of violence perpetrated as everybody knows by Prussia, Austria and Russia?

We do not harbor any hostile feelings in regard to Württemberg or Bavaria, Hanover or Saxony, though from the latter country we received two very poor kings. We have no grudge against any Grand Duchy or against any other member of the former German Federation or German Empire. We honestly, sincerely, wish to establish with the German people peaceful, friendly relations and to preserve them undisturbed in *secula seculorum*, forever.

The Germans are a very great nation. Their contributions to our modern civilization are of the very highest order. Their achievements in every domain of human activity or thought, in industry or commerce, in science, speculative or practical, in philosophy, poetry, literature, art, and above all, in music, are positively immense.

A nation which has produced men like Gutenberg or Reuchlin, Dürer or Holbein, Kepler or Leibnitz, Emanuel Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Bach, Handel, Beethoven, Weber, Schumann, Wagner, and so many

others, such a nation deserves not only the respect but the admiration and gratitude of the civilized world.

There are a great many Germans outside of their densely populated fatherland. The surplus of the population has always endeavored to improve material conditions of life through emigration into foreign countries, but wherever the Germans by their own free will established their homes the inborn quality and virtues of the race makes them soon good, faithful, loyal, model citizens. You see it in your country as we see it in ours. We had a very large number of true, loyal Poles bearing German names; good German blood has flowed in the veins of some of our most ardent patriots.

In 1848, the year known under the name, "The Spring of Nations," Germany was our friend. In August of that year, Karl Marx, the apostle of modern socialism, published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* a series of strong and violent articles in favor of Poland and against the Prussian Government.

In one of these articles he said, "The partitions of Poland before 1815 were acts of brigandage. What followed after was a theft. Honest Germans, learn how you have been deceived."

And the Germans even in Berlin were on our side during the short-lived revolution. Today, many of them are against us. We deeply regret the fact, but we understand it very well.

Prussian successes in 1866, in 1870 and 1871 (the Proclamation of the New German Empire was Prussian), placed the control of the entire German nation in the hands of the ruling class of Prussia. Two generations have been educated under that influence; two generations have been brought up in the spirit of implacable hatred for Poland.

The iniquity of Poland's partitions was solely due to the initiative of Frederick II, the great King of Prussia. Rarely, if ever, has a single person done so much wrong to a country as that sovereign has done to Poland. Real military genius, remarkable administrator, far-seeing statesman, endowed with many rare gifts and a highly cultured man, he pursued but one object in his life—the aggrandizement of his kingdom,—and he accomplished it almost exclusively at Poland's expense.

The military character given to the little ancestral domain by his grandfather, the Great Elector, developed and strengthened by his father, King Frederick William I, the first king in Prussia, was extended by him to all the conquered territories and carried to such a magnitude and perfection as to provoke Mirabeau's sarcastic remark, "War is the national industry of Prussia."

He firmly believed that the force of arms stands supreme, for he used to say, "God is always on the side of the stronger battalions." Evidently that peculiar conception of God led him to write to his brother, Henry, at the time of the first partition, the letter in which, referring to that act and to his accomplices, he said, "We are going to partake of the Eucharistic Body which is Poland, and if it is not for the good of our souls, it will certainly be a great object for the good of our states."

While preparing that partition, he wrote to Dumhardt, Governor of East Prussia, "I know that the inhabitants of the Palatinate of Pomerania are of Polish nationality."

Notwithstanding that acknowledgment, he seized and annexed the territory because his credo with regard to Poland, that credo repeatedly enunciated before his councillors and confirmed in his political testament, was "Whoever possesses the City of Danzig will be more of a master in Poland than her own government."

Speaking of this in his memoirs, Count Herzberg, Frederick's famous Minister for Foreign Affairs, says that some of the King's advisers, when acquainted with the plan, expressed the opinion that it would be much more profitable to take the fertile and rich province of Poznan. Whereupon the King became furious and even threatened with his stick the confused and perplexed dignitaries who were unable to understand that by annexing that part of Poland he would be in a commanding position and would obtain the rest at any time later.

Frederick II was unquestionably a great personality. Even his cynical frankness is not deprived of a certain grace. For almost six generations he has been the guiding spirit of the ruling class of Prussia. His testament holds its own, his political ideas prevail, and his instructions regarding Poland are still at this very hour most rigorously obeyed and fol-

lowed. For it is in order to restore to Prussia that commanding position and let her take the rest of Polish territory at any time later, it is in order to annul an act of historical justice and to replace it with a ratified and sanctioned offense, that all that propaganda has been started and is going on without respite.

To completely undo the pernicious work of Frederick the Great, Danzig ought to have been given to Poland without reserve. I have prepared some extensive remarks about the free city and its harbor. Unfortunately, owing to their extreme length and also to my sense of duty which advises me to spare your time, your ears and your nerves, I feel obliged, most regretfully, to omit them altogether.

So let me return to the Corridor. As I have already stated, a masterpiece of propaganda has been achieved in giving to an old Polish Province the name of Corridor.

The word Corridor implies the idea of a narrow passage through a solid and more or less homogeneous structure. Applied as it is, it serves its purpose most admirably. It misrepresents and perverts the reality to such a perfection as to convey the impression that in order to comply with the pretentious demands of Poland for an access to the sea, the Peace Conference mercilessly split the national territorial structure of a great state, thus separating a valuable province from the whole empire.

The separation has been made, it is true, but it was by no means a new idea, a new operation. It was simply the restoration of a property to its former and legitimate owner. We have not received one inch of German national territory, not one single district where the Prussians or Germans would be or would have been in a majority.

Ethnographical principles, ethnical considerations, guiding the conscientious and scrupulous territorial readjustments performed by the Peace Conference, were most rigorously observed and rather prejudicial to our economic and political interests, as in the case of Danzig, than favorable to our national restorations. That territory formerly baptized West Prussia and now so cleverly called the Corridor has never been German national territory. Its name in German is Pommern, in Latin and English Pomerania; both words are

but adaptations of the original Polish name, which is "Pomonze."

"Morze" means the sea in Polish. "Po" is the prefix, which means either along or after. In this particular case, both meanings are correct, because they designate the topographical situation and the origin of the land which according to history and legends in the remote past had emerged from the sea. From time immemorial it was inhabited by Polish-speaking people and governed by their own Polish rulers.

In the Tenth Century Boleslaw, the Brave, King of Poland, made a realm of that. The first diocese for Pomerania was founded by him in Kolberg (in Polish "Kolobrzeg") in the year one thousand, consequently 932 years ago. From 1308 until 1454 that province was under the domination of the famous Teutonic Knights. But from the last-named date until the year of the second partition, 1793, it formed an integral part of the Polish state. Considerably reduced and contracted in its width when restored to us by the Treaty of Versailles, it contains actually 90 per cent of Poles as against 10 per cent of German-speaking people.

In the extreme north of that territory there are about 110,000 to 120,000 people known under the name of Kashubs, who live along our small seacoast. They are our kin. They speak a dialect which is as close to our speech as any other of the several dialects we have in our country. The ingenious Prussian statisticians consider them as separate ethnic units, as they do the several hundred thousands living still in East Prussia. It is just as logical as to call non-English all those who speak Yorkshire accent or Cockney.

The best evidence of the Polish sentiment of these people is to be found in the fact that during the entire existence of the German Empire from 1871 the Kashubs as well as the whole of Pomerania never sent one single Prussian deputy to represent them in the parliament. All their representatives have been Poles, and very militant Poles, too.

The few little maps respectfully submitted to your attention have been taken from a German school atlas by Professor Putzger. Our historical rights to the possession of that territory are apparent on every one of them except on that which simply shows the despoilation performed by Frederick the Great. The last map (of present-day Poland) is our Magna

Carta and it is, let me say, the triumph of the American people, for verily without the generous and great gesture of President Wilson, without the assistance of the members of his cabinet, and without the support, mighty support, of American public opinion, the noblest achievement in modern history, the almost complete restoration of the old Polish republic, would not have so easily taken place.

Historical rights, however uncontested, could but produce a rhetorical effect were they not supported by stronger claims, by those based upon actuality, upon life, upon economic conditions and interests. Somebody who could irrefutably prove to be a direct, legitimate descendant of Hannibal, the greatest among the Carthaginians, would have a very little chance to take today possession of Carthage.

Carthage is no more, but Poland is there and very much alive. In his book, "The Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World" (Here Mr. Paderewski interrupted himself) I see in this room a group of American heroes who were with us at that momentous time. They are former members of the now historical Kosciuszko Esquadrille of Aviators. May I not be permitted to salute them and to thank them for their assistance, for their valorous deeds, for their heroism and friendship.

In that "Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World," Lord d'Abernon, a keen observer, an eminent diplomatist, former Ambassador of Great Britain in Berlin, writes, "The victory before the walls of Warsaw was no less vital than the historical contests in which in earlier years Poland acted as a bulwark to the West. Had the Soviet forces overcome Polish resistance and captured Warsaw, Bolshevism would have spread throughout central Europe and might well have penetrated the whole continent. In every large city in Germany secret preparations had been made by Communist agents. Definite plans had been made, leaders had been chosen, lists of victims had been drawn up, the undermining intrigue would have been followed by ruthless assassination and murder."

The propaganda overlooks this fact and this service as it forgets another fact and another service, namely, that of the Polish victory near Vienna, before the walls of the capital of the German Empire, without which central Europe, and

in the first line Germany, would have been invaded by the Turks. Poland seems to be the watchword of that propaganda. Defying or disregarding history, the people who are working for that purpose, for that propaganda, pretend to dwell upon actuality, on economic life and interests. What are their arguments?

The German character of the territory taken away from Prussia is the first argument. The second, the unparalleled monstrosity of the Corridor which is preventing normal communications and causing heavy losses to the entire Reich. The third is the unfair treatment of German minorities under the Polish rule, and the fourth one is the moral injury inflicted upon the nation by the separation of Prussia from the mother country.

Let us examine these arguments, the third of which is flagrantly contradicting the first one. From a long list of German names confirming the Polish character of that territory, I shall quote but very few. The first one is, of course, the august person of Frederick the Great, who frankly admitted himself that the territory annexed by him was inhabited by Poles. We know already the rather vituperative opinion of Karl Marx. Both men are dead, but there are still, thank God, plenty of honest Germans living whose testimony would be no less conclusive. Herr Loebe, President of the Reichstag, in an address delivered before the German inhabitants of Lodz in Poland said these words: "We protest in Germany against the Corridor, yet everyone agrees that its population is Polish."

A very well known German pacifist, Professor Frederick William Förster, another distinguished pacifist, Hellmut von Gerlach, a learned German priest, Father Mukerman, all express similar opinions. A former officer of the German navy, by the name of Hans Krashutsky, while confirming the Polish character of the Province, adds: "The policy that aims at an isolation of Poland from her allies in order to recuperate Polish Pomerania is a most dangerous policy because it is based upon bad faith. Why should we try to recuperate a territory which does not correspond to our vital needs? It is an elusive policy which infallibly leads to a new world war."

Significant words! No less significant are the opinions of

many other prominent German personalities, members of parliament, superior officers, writers, Germanists, but it would take hours to quote them all.

You had last year in your midst a very interesting visitor. An important coal mine owner, a wealthy iron master, came to preach against the unparalleled, unique and monstrous corridor before influential American citizens. I do not know whether he succeeded in convincing many from among your distinguished compatriots. He tried to appeal to your imagination by asking how you would feel if Mexico, for instance, would be powerful enough to split your country and to establish a wide corridor throughout the United States leading to the Dominion of Canada. What a fantastic figure of speech! It is really too hard to imagine that Mexico, having on one side the Atlantic and on the other the Pacific Ocean would be as ambitious as to pretend to a direct communication with Lake Erie, Ontario or Michigan, and to compare your tremendous, glorious East, one of the most prosperous and populous, one of the most active, civilized, industrious and peaceful parts of the globe, with a small, poor, arid and very bellicose East Prussia—it is sheer innocence.

Americans do not need to be informed about corridors by such hyperbolic arguments. They know corridors; they even have corridors of their own. The first one, and a very big one too, is between the United States and Alaska. Those who look for gold, for sealskins and other valuable furs, those who are fond of fishing or of hunting, go to Alaska by steamers without asking for the annexation of British Columbia.

There is another small corridor, a Mexican one, to be crossed and it is crossed very often—I crossed it myself several times—from Yuma to San Diego in California. An American citizen going from Buffalo to Detroit, if he wants to save time, must travel almost the entire way through the Province of Ontario which is at that place many, many times wider than Polish Pomerania.

On the other side, a Canadian going from St. John to Ottawa must travel over two hundred miles through the State of Maine and if he goes from Ottawa to Winnipeg, cannot avoid crossing the State of Minnesota, south of the Lake of the Woods. There are several corridors in Europe, in

Belgium, in France, in Italy, in Greece, even in Finland, but I shall only quote one of them, namely that which is running through the German territory between two Swiss cities, Schaffhausen and Basle; Swiss citizens going that way are bound to exhibit their passports and German visés, formalities which are never imposed upon the people traveling through our territory to or from East Prussia.

The fact just quoted proves manifestly that if there is any monstrosity about the Polish Corridor, it is only the monstrosity of asserting that it is unparalleled and unique. But what about the difficulties of traffic, the abnormal communications and the heavy losses sustained by the entire Reich? A positive answer to that question will be found in an official report of the administration of Reich's railroads in Königsberg. It is a valuable document. It says: "From the transit point of view East Prussia is no more an enclave. The transit is being done without any obstacle. It is effected as if the traffic of passengers along the Polish lines were still in the hands of the German railroad administration. The prices of transportation established according to the German tariff are maintained as if the land situated between East Prussia and the rest of Germany were a German territory. It must be equally recognized that the Polish railway administration does its utmost in order to fulfill all its engagements."

Since that report was made in the fall of 1923, the Tribunal of Transit Arbitration has reviewed but one single case submitted to it by the German Government, namely that of a railway accident near Starogrod. After a lengthy and thorough investigation, the Tribunal decided that the accident could be in no way attributed to the Polish Railway Administration and that the latter maintains the lines in perfect order and condition. No other complaint has ever been presented; the only ones to complain are the navigation companies in Königsberg, because they see the volume of their business steadily decreasing.

The statistics concerning traffic of goods show that in the year 1913, 47 per cent of merchandise was transported by sea, and 53 by land. In 1925, 32 per cent was transported by sea and 68 by that monstrous, mischievous Polish Corridor.

The number of passengers traveling in 1925 between East Prussia and Germany in both directions was 590,000 by rail, and by steamers only 5,000. These figures fully demonstrate how unfounded and futile are the complaints about traffic difficulties of normal conditions and those heavy losses sustained by the Reich.

The argument about the unfair treatment of minorities under the Polish rule can be as well examined in the light of figures. The argument of mathematics may be dry, but it is always persuasive and incontestable. According to Prussian statistics in 1925 there were in Prussia—I say in Prussia because in Germany there are very, very few Poles indeed—but in Prussia there were 985,283 Poles. At the same time there were 884,105 Germans in Poland.

I have no more recent figures, but let me suppose, or let us suppose, that the figures mentioned have remained stationary. Well, the 884,105 Germans have 5 members in our Diet and 3 members in our Senate; and do you know how many representatives have those 985,283 Poles either in the Prussian Diet or in the Reichstag? They have none.

There are 105,861 German children of school age in our country, and they have at their disposal 811 German schools. There are 115,000 in round figures, Polish children in Prussia, and they have at their disposal the big total of 81 Polish schools. Consequently, 72 per cent of German children can receive school instruction in their mother tongue, while not quite 2 per cent of all Polish children in Prussia can attend schools where their native language is taught. Which of the two nations has some right to complain about unfair treatment of minorities?

The last argument concerning the moral injury inflicted upon the entire nation by the separation of East Prussia from Germany is of purely sentimental nature. Separation, moral injury—who in the world would understand the meaning of these words? Who would understand them better than we do? For 148 years we have been separated and oppressed by three ruthless masters. In Prussia, on our own soil, we could not enter public service unless by repudiating our nationality or religion; our estates were expropriated, if not confiscated as in another country, which out of consideration to somebody present I shall not name.

Our peasants were forbidden to build even a miserable cabin on an acquired piece of property; our children were cruelly beaten not only when they were talking to each other, but when they were praying in their own language; and when the great war broke out we were compelled to fight each other, to kill each other, because for the Poles enlisted by force in three opposing armies every battle was a fratricidal combat.

Nothing like this exists in East Prussia, or menaces it. Those among the Germans who have been persuaded by Prussia that this Province, which is so precious to them, is endangered, may rest quiet.

But after all, are the ties binding the German nation to East Prussia so strong, so intimate, so sacred? East Prussia has never belonged to the German Empire which finished its existence in 1806. East Prussia has never belonged even to the Deutscher Bund which existed between 1815 and 1866.

The Peace Conference in its reply to the Allied and Associated Powers justly observed that the German historians have never recognized East Prussia as a country of German origin, but merely as a German colony. Colony it is today! Colony, not only on account of considerable Polish and some Lithuanian population living within its boundaries. The colonial character of that province is demonstrated by the fact that of all civilized countries in Europe, except the mountainous and arid parts of Spain, the rocky Arctic regions of the Scandinavian states and of Finland, it is the least inhabited territory, its population being under 58 to a square kilometer.

The colonial character of that province and of all the eastern borders of present Prussia is still more strongly confirmed by the fact that a provision of over 1,700,000,000 gold marks were voted for the German budget in 1930 for the strengthening of Germanism, or, let us say, correctly, of Prussianism in the East during five years.

How weak must be that pretended Germanism if over \$420,000,000 of borrowed money must be spent for its invigoration. There is no wonder that East Prussia is so dear to some Germans, for it is very expensive. That it should be cherished by younger descendants of the Teutonic knights, that is easily understood. These people, a class apart, how-

ever ethnically related and having a language in common, mentally, and psychologically are quite different from real Germans. Their ancestors, former Crusaders, were introduced into Poland as evangelists by a pious, too pious, Polish Duke, Conrad of Masovia. In 1225, the martial monks or monastic warriors, made considerable conquests, acquired certain military fame for they were warring all the time. They were the principal trouble makers and peace disturbers in that corner of Northeastern Europe.

Finally, defeated and obliged to recognize the sovereignty of Poland, they could not forget their past and their not too enviable glory. They could not forgive the humiliation, and the brilliant English writer says, "They trained themselves to live in a state of perpetual hate for Poland."

Their offspring inherited with large landholdings, with large estates, that fierce hatred for Poland. And that hatred grew from generation to generation. At last the descendants of the Teutonic knights found in Frederick the Great their master avenger, as he found in them his most devout disciples and supporters.

After the partition of Poland they became a powerful aristocratic party and the real ruling class of Prussia. Their hatred and contempt and deep scorn for the Polish nation, which they had partly devoured without being able to digest, were practiced as fundamental articles of a political creed. From 1871 they endeavored to impose that political creed upon the whole of Germany. They have coined the word "Corridor." They have coined that preposterous motto, "We are the nation of masters; all others are but fertilizers."

It is for their sake, for their comfort, for their political prestige, that we are requested now to give up a precious part of our living national body. Is it for the chimeric pleasure of a province, the population of which does not exceed 2,025,000, that we are summoned by some people to sacrifice the real, the vital interests of a state of 32,000,000 inhabitants? Partly yes, but chiefly, it is in order to restore to Prussia that commanding position of Frederick the Great and to permit her to take all former Polish territories at any time later. What would it mean to us if we consented to such an injury? What would it mean immediately for the whole nation? It would immediately paralyze the entire economic

life of the sixth largest state in Europe. It would deprive our country of the only direct connection with the great civilized nations. It would reduce our free and sovereign state to an impotent and pitiable enclosure between Prussia and Russia. It would make Poland a cripple and a slave.

We do not wish to be crippled and enslaved again. We will never accept so monstrous an injury, no matter by whom inflicted. The territory restored to us is justly ours, and we will stand by it with all our strength and uphold it by all our means. For if that restoration is wrong, then the partitions of Poland were right, and nobody should expect us to subscribe to such an iniquitous verdict.

We are peaceful and peace-loving people. The most striking proof of it you will find in our history. Among our 43 kings there were several warriors of the greatest caliber, victorious, triumphant, famous, illustrious as any hero in the world's history; yet none of them appealed to the popular imagination, appealed to the hearts of the people strongly enough as to be called "Great" by posterity. That flattering distinction was conferred upon one king, the last of the Piast Dynasty, Casimir, who was a wise, just and tolerant king endowed with real constructive genius, but pacifist to the core, and he was the "great" man.

We do not want war. Everyone in Poland is longing for peace. We need peace more than any other country in the whole world. Nevertheless, if a war—and I am speaking now not as an official person, because I am not an official; I am a plain citizen, and I assume my own responsibility—if a war, I repeat it, by a formal declaration or by surprise is imposed on us, we shall defend ourselves. Fortunes of war are capricious. Horrible things may happen. One should bear in mind that there are now 4,000,000 confessed Communists in Germany. It is a terrifying figure. One should remember that ten years ago there were only 620,000 registered Communists in Russia. We have our Communists, too, and they are very lively. So far they have been well under control of the government. But supposing the war is imposed upon us, is disastrous, the national government is overthrown, people driven to despair, the Communists, who have nothing to lose and everything to gain, may seize the power and open the gates of the stronghold which has been

hitherto protecting the west and the center of Europe. What would then happen? It is too atrocious to imagine.

Do not believe those fortune-tellers who promise you a speedy return of prosperity provided the Corridor be given back to Prussia. That is a tale for children. A new partition of Poland would not perform a miracle. It would not cure that general epidemic of overproduction. It would not provide work for the millions of unemployed. It would not restore to the industrial nations the huge, colossal market of Russia, completely demolished by the Revolution. It would not reopen for a broad commerce the frontiers now almost everywhere closed.

A new partition of Poland would be a new international offense, an offense against civilization with possibly and probably catastrophic results. A new partition of Poland would be an evil deed and one of the noblest minds that ever thought, a courageous man who refused to eulogize Frederick the Great after his death, the great, inspired German poet, Schiller, says, "It is the curse of an evil deed that continuously but evil it must produce."

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