

27

## THE TERRITORY OF POLAND

The Polish problem is above all a problem of territory. Situated between Germany, the strongest continental nation, always intent upon the conquest and absorption of Poland, on the one side, and Russia, where disintegrating forces appear to have the upper hand and which is unlikely to be able to afford Poland any effective support against German aggression, on the other side, Poland must be herself a solid state, completely independent and capable of taking care of herself and of developing along her own lines. She must be the great constructive democracy of Eastern Europe, a barrier against German pressure eastward and at the same time she must be protected from anarchical influences.

To cope with these difficulties, which flow directly from the circumstances of her situation the following conditions are essential for Poland:

1. She must have an extensive territory and large population
2. The population must be sufficiently homogenous to insure internal cohesion.
3. Her <sup>outlets</sup> franchise must correspond to geographical requirements so as to secure independence of her neighbors. In the

In the past, Poland was one of the largest states in Europe, but its internal solidity was compromised by such extension to the east, as to include peoples but slightly cultured whom it was obliged to civilize at the cost of exhausting Poland proper, while in the west it had very abnormal frontiers which exposed the country to great danger from the Germanic neighbors. After the partitions, the three partitioning powers aiming to render any Polish "resurrection" impossible, used every means of diminishing the Polish population and of restricting the Polish territory attacking especially Poland's border provinces. Prussia placed German settlers on Polish lands and sought forcibly to Germanize the Polish inhabitants; Russia and Austria ~~fomented~~ fomented ill feeling against the Poles among the Ruthenians and ~~the~~ Lithuanian speaking populations on Polish terri-



31  
tories.

To some extent these efforts were successful, but this success has been much exaggerated in the propaganda spread abroad through official and unofficial German and Russian channels.

The enemies of Poland had at their disposal a great weapon. - The "official" statistics which they used to degrade Poland in the eyes of the world and to represent her as a small nationality of very little value to civilized mankind at large. One of the results of the work of the official statisticians, historians, economists and publicists is the indifference of public opinion in the great nations towards the cause of Poland, while in reality the Polish problem is one of the most important of this war. Its importance is fully realized only in one country, - Germany; her statesmen and political writers frequently repeat that the Polish problem is the most important one for the future of Germany and that the reconstitution of a really independent Poland would be an immortal blow to Germany's ambitions in Eastern Europe.

Since the beginning of the war the Central Powers have been very busy in the search of a solution of the Polish problem which would best guarantee ~~in~~ their interests, and there is no doubt that they will employ all available means until the final conclusion of peace to prevent such a territorial solution of the Polish problem as would give Poland a real independence and restore her to her historical role of a barrier against German advance eastward. The existence of such a Poland would be a great obstacle to German interference in Russian affairs; it would change Germany's position on the Baltic which she seeks to dominate entirely; lastly, it would produce ~~its~~ a centre of organization for smaller nations, particularly for the Czecho-Slovaks and the Roumanians whose forces combined with those of Poland would ~~exist~~ <sup>form</sup> in that part of Europe a powerful support ~~at~~ for the cause of Freedom and Democracy.

---

The following analysis of the situation in the different parts of the Polish linguistic and historical territory is an attempt to show the respective importance for the future of Poland and to demonstrate the justice of the Polish claims with regard to the different provinces



## I. GERMAN POLAND.

The Polish territory in the Prussian state is subdivided into four provinces: Posen, West Prussia, East Prussia and Silisia. Posen, West Prussia and part of East Prussia belonged to the Polish state after the first /1772/ and second /1793/ partitions of Poland. Silisia and the chief part of East Prussia did not belong to Poland at the time of the partitions, but ~~it~~ <sup>they</sup> contained ~~the~~ territories linguistically Polish. The strength of the national Polish spirit of this population is undisputably acknowledged on the part ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> the German government by the application of the repressive anti-Polish laws. The Prussian territories in which the anti-Polish laws are in force consist of: Posen, West Prussia, the Southern Polish belt of East Prussia /regency of Allenstein/, Upper Silisia, three Eastern districts of Middle Silisia, and even, as regards the prevention of the progress of the Polish land ownership, a few Eastern Districts of Brandenburg and Pomerania. The number of anti-Polish enactments is very considerable and increased ~~rapidly~~ <sup>rapidly</sup> during the years preceding the war. These laws, which justly provoked indignation of the whole civilized world excluded Polish from the schools, forbade its use in public, /in districts where more than sixty per cent of the population is Polish, the use of the Polish language at public meetings is to be allowed until 1927 under law made by the German Reichstag in 1910/ prohibited ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> building of dwelling houses on lands newly acquired by Polish farmers, authorized <sup>the government</sup> /to expropriate Polish landowners and put every obstacle in the way of the normal existence and free development of the Polish population.

A "Colonization Committee" was founded in 1885 for the purpose of planting Germans on Polish lands in the above mentioned areas and thus gradually casting the legitimate native inhabitants. In carrying out this scheme, the Colonization Committee ~~was~~ expended between 1885 and 1914 1,200,000,000 marks /three hundred million dollars/, and in addition a much larger sum was spent within the same period by the Prussian administration out of the secret funds put at the government's



56

disposal by the Prussian Landtag. These funds were largely used for subsidizing German institutions, enterprises and individuals in the Polish areas, for supporting the anti-Polish activities and in general for fostering and promoting Germanization.

This Government war waged against the Poles was supported by voluntary cooperation of the German nation. Twenty-five years ago there was founded an organization called "the Association for promoting Germanism in the Eastern Provinces" /Ostmarkenverein/, composed of about eighty thousand members, Germans from all over the Empire including majority of the total number of Professors of the German universities and high-schools. This association cooperated with the Government in the relentless strife waged against the Poles; it exposed those of the governmental officials who failed to show themselves sufficiently zealous and in execution of Polish laws and denounced the ministers whenever their policies did not satisfy it as sufficiently vigorous in its exterminative anti-Polish tendencies. Furthermore, the Association inspired and stimulated the enactment of repressive legislation.

All these activities of the German Government and nation have not succeeded in breaking up the national defense of the Poles; the Polish population and the Polish property constantly increased and the Polish business class rapidly gained ground in competition with German industry and commerce. This proves the strength and vitality of the Polish population inhabiting the territory in question and also presents the most striking example of a rule against the will and interests of the people, a rule which will continue its destructive character as long as the Polish provinces remain a part of Germany.

1. POSEN. The northern part of this Province /Netze district/ was annexed by Prussia at the time of the first partition of Poland /1772/; the remaining, much larger part, belonged to Poland until 1793. Posen was the most ancient part of the Polish State and consequently the most advanced in civilization. Being the cradle of the State, it is very



6

dear to the Polish heart and at the same time it has an immense importance for the future of the nation. It is the most cultured part of the national body. Here, the masses of the people in both education and property are on a plane of equality with the corresponding classes in the most advanced Western countries. Patriotism, and the sense of civic duty are the most developed among the masses and no part of Poland will contribute more towards making the nation a real Western democracy. By the language of the population, Posen is an essentially Polish country. Only in the basin of the Netze, which was colonized by Frederick the Great, and on the western extremity of the province, does it include some districts partly Germanized.

The official Prussian statistics show 38% of German speaking population in the province, but the German part of the population actually settled in the country does not amount to more than 20%, the remaining 18% being composed of temporarily imported Government officials, railway, post, and telegraphic employees, school teachers, military garrisons, new settlers on government lands maintained by government subsidies, and a large number of Poles who are forced to declare German nationality at the census because employed in Government service or by private German employers, and threatened with loss of position if they declare Polish nationality. Considering all the above facts, there can be no question as to the right of the Polish nation to the territory of Posen; it is an integral part of Poland and one of the most important to the future progress of the nation.

2. WEST PRUSSIA. With the exception of a few of its eastern districts, this Province belonged to Poland up to 1772. Through this province, Poland had access to the sea. The seizure of West Prussia by Frederick II besides being a severe blow to the sentiment of the Polish population, also caused its economic downfall. After the partition of Poland, the Port of Danzig which had been the wealthiest city on the Baltic, fell rapidly into decay and statistics throughout the whole century show a decrease of its commerce year by year. Within the last 30 years, the German Government, in order to improve the economic condition of the city, and to strengthen its German character, made it the seat of the chief headquarters of the Eastern Army,



7

established large shipyards, founded a Technical College, etc., but in spite of all these efforts, Dantzig, economically, has remained a dead city.

The Germanization of West Prussia has been the chief endeavor of the Prussian Government ever since the first partition of Poland. As a result, the use of German in the province has made extensive progress. A considerable percentage of the population has either foregone the use of the Polish language, adopting German instead, or else still clings tenaciously, though surreptitiously, to its native tongue by using it at home in the family circle, while speaking German in public; but even of those who have long since forgotten to speak Polish, many are conscious of their Polish origin and remain Poles at heart, though outwardly they are often obliged to conceal their nationality so as not to forfeit the means of earning their livelihood; Poles, it must be understood, are as such, refused employment both by the Government and by private German employers. Official Prussian statistics give the number of Polish speaking inhabitants of West Prussia as only 35 per cent of the total population, a figure far below the actual percentage. It may be safely assumed that with the return of the province to the Polish State, a large majority of the population would prove Polish. The official figures for Dantzig represent the city as almost purely German; meanwhile, private investigation conducted through Polish channels, discloses that nearly one-half of the population is Polish, though superficially Germanized. The districts with strong Polish majorities are situated in the Southern part of West Prussia and along the western bank of the Vistula and the Gulf of Dantzig. In the Western districts situated on the Baltic coast, even official Prussian statistics show a Polish majority comprising 55-75% of the population. These districts invariably return to the Reichstag and the Prussian Landtag Polish representatives who never cease to protest against the enforced Germanization of their country.



8

The Province of West Prussia should belong after the war to the Polish State for the following reasons:

- a. It was an integral part of the Polish State before the partitions.
- b. It is Polish by reason of the Polish nationality of the majority of its population except in just a few districts which have been virtually Germanized. /A part of the Germanized territory on the South-Western border of the province might be left in Germany's possession in exchange for the Eastern extremity of Pomerania with a considerable percentage of Polish population. In this way, the Polish frontier line would be moved further West from Dantzic./
- c. The restoration of West Prussia to Poland is the only method of raising the economic condition and securing the rapid commercial progress of this province.
- d. West Prussia, embracing in its territory the mouth of the Vistula, Poland's great river, is Poland's natural outlet to the sea, and is absolutely essential for the economic independence of Poland and for her free intercourse with the outer world.
- e. The loss of that province by Germany would reduce her coast line on the Baltic and would remove the danger of her absolute and undisputed domination over that sea, a domination not only prejudicial to the political independence of the Scandinavian countries, but also facilitating a German commercial monopoly in Northern Russia.
- f. The return of West Prussia to Poland is the only way of guaranteeing Poland's political independence of Germany. Without West Prussia, Poland would be surrounded by German possessions to the West and North; thus in time of peace, she would be entirely exposed to German influence while in time of war, she would stand in danger of being strategically outflanked. Poland, thus, naturally drawn into the orbit of German policy, would become practically Germany's vassal State, subjected to German interference even in her internal affairs. In this way, Poland, instead of becoming a barrier between Germany and Russia, would be a German bridge to Russia.
- g. Leaving West Prussia in Germany's hands would mean the continuation in that province of a rule of injustice, violence and abuse,



9

a rule which ought to be banished from Europe after this war which has necessitated so much sacrifice on the part of the civilized nations.

3. EAST PRUSSIA. The province of East Prussia is composed of two historically distinct parts: a. the smaller, Western Part, Warmia /Ermeland/, with its principal city Olsztyn/Allenstein/ belonged with its Polish and German Catholic population to the Polish State up to the partitions; b. the larger, Eastern Part, with its principal city Königsberg and a population composed of Germans in the Centre and north, Poles in the south and Lithuanians in the East, all Lutherans, has never been an integral part of the Polish state. In the Middle Ages it was inhabited by Prussians, a people now extinct, of Lithuanian origin and language. The Teutonic Order which settled in these parts in the XIII century, after the conquest of the country, partly exterminated, partly Germanized the Prussians. After the Teutonic Order became secularized, the Duchy of Prussia which took its place, remained a vassal State of Poland up to the second half of the XVII century. It gave its name to the Kingdom of Prussia of 1806 which it became an integral part. The possession of that isolated territory by the electors of Brandenburg, who eventually became kings of Prussia, has always been the strongest cause of their enmity towards Poland: their policy was naturally dominated by a tendency to destroy Poland's sovereignty on the Lower Vistula so as to link up this Eastern province with the rest of the Hohenzollern dominions. This aim was finally realized by Frederick the Great and its realization was a mortal blow to Poland's independence.

The German speaking population of East Prussia and of some of the adjoining districts of West Prussia represents a compact group inclosed between the Polish National territory on the Western and Southern sides, and the Lithuanian linguistic area on the Eastern side. It is therefore an isolated linguistic group composed of about 1,500,000 German speaking inhabitants. The existence of this German outpost



between the mouths of the Vistula and the Niemen, the two great rivers of Poland, was one of the chief causes of Poland's ruin and is now the main obstacle to the reconstitution of a really independent Polish State.

The question of East Prussia requires thorough analysis.

Linguistically the larger part of the province is German.

Geographically it belongs to Polish territory.

Historically and racially it is not a German country, its original inhabitants being Prussians, a tribe of Lithuanian stock subsequently Germanized by the Teutonic Order.

Economically, it is a country in stagnation. Being separated by a customs frontier from Poland, to which it naturally belongs, East Prussia must remain an impoverished province with a sparse population /only 144<sup>to</sup>/a square mile, whereas Poland has 260 to a square mile/.

As regards social conditions, it is nearly a mediaeval country: there are large estates of Prussian Junkers and a mass of peasants who are treated like serfs and are brought up in the spirit of serfdom.

Politically, it is a stronghold of Prussian reaction; the extreme conservatives in the Prussian House come mainly from East Prussian constituencies, where they are elected by the docile peasants voting at the command of their masters, the landed proprietors. For these peasants who still preserve the memory of their non-German origin, German public affairs have no interest and they are guided by the terror instilled in them since the days of the Teutonic Knights and kept up by their present descendant the land-owning Junkers. Hohenzollern personal rule had its strongest supporters in the East Prussian aristocracy, a body ~~imbued~~ imbued with feudal traditions and still preserving the mediaeval spirit. The



11

destruction of this retrograde class would remove one of the chief barriers to Germany's social and political progress.

In spite of their reactionary spirit, the East Prussian Junkers receive the support even of comparatively progressive elements in Germany, being regarded by the latter as a bulwark of Germanism in the East, the downfall of which would spell disaster to German ambitions in Eastern Europe.

The proper solution of the East Prussian problem would result not only in a guaranty of Poland's ~~own~~ freedom, but also, to a great extent in the modernization of Germany's political life.

If East Prussia is to remain a part of continuous German territory, Polish West Prussia must also remain in Germany's possession. If East Prussia remains in German hands, an isolated Prussian possession separated from the main body of the country by intervening Polish territories, it will continue to constitute a source of never ending conflict between Poland and Germany, and the latter will always strive to reestablish the territorial link at Poland's expense. If Poland is to be a really free nation, independent of Germany, there are only two alternative solutions of the East Prussian problem: either the Königsberg province, i.e., the part of East Prussia with a German speaking population must be united with the Polish State on a home rule basis, or it must be established as a small independent republic connected with Poland by a customs union. In either case, a great land reform in that province ought to be carried out, the disproportionately large estates should be colonized by peasants. Such reform would constitute a basis for a democratic development of the country.

Economic union with Poland would open a new period of prosperity for that thinly populated country, Polish immigration would follow and in its ~~return~~ turn would strengthen the bond between the two countries. It may be reasonably expected that economic influences alone would be sufficient to do away with the German isolation and estrangement of the Königsberg country, and that the latter would without any political pressure become in time an



integral part of Poland with a mixed German and Polish population.

4. SILESIA. The whole province of Silesia was from the dawn of history and practically throughout the Middle Ages a Polish country belonging to the Polish State. In the XIV century, it was lost to Bohemia and after Bohemia had been incorporated into the German Empire, Silesia became gradually Germanized. Only upper Silesia, more densely populated, even in those remote times, remained a Polish speaking country. In the Seven Years' War, Frederick the Great wrested Silesia from Austria and it became a Prussian province. The second half of the XIX century brought a revival of Polish national consciousness among the Polish speaking population of Upper and of some districts of Middle Silesia. This national movement made such a rapid progress that towards the end of the century, the Silesian constituencies began to return Polish members of the Reichstag, who made common cause with the Poles from Posen and West Prussia in the struggle against the German Government's policy of extermination.

By language, Upper Silesia is one of the most essentially Polish provinces of the whole territory of Poland. In many of its districts, the proportion of Polish speaking population exceeds 90%.

Upper Silesia is a province of immense economic importance as it possesses the richest coal deposits on the European Continent; about one-third of the German industries, particularly those of Saxony, subsist on coal from Polish Silesia.

The strongest reasons call for the reunion of Upper Silesia and of three districts of Middle Silesia with Poland. These reasons, are, as follows: a. Historically it is an ancient Polish Province /it is even called old Poland/ which thrice changed masters and which is at present Prussian only by virtue of a comparatively recent conquest.



- b. Nationally, it is also Polish, the Germans constituting a very small percentage of the population.
- c. Geographically, it belongs to Poland and represents an indispensable link between Poland and the Czecho-Slovak country.
- d. The acquisition of the Silesian coal basin by Poland would give a solid foundation to her industrial development and would make that country a serious competitor of Germany in Eastern European markets. It should be borne in mind that the Silesian coal basin which is situated entirely within the Polish ethnographic territory was divided by the pre-war frontier-lines into three parts, of which the largest belonged to Germany, the second in size comparatively rich, though little exploited, to Austria /Galicia/, and the smallest representing only 5% of the whole basin to the Kingdom of Poland /Dombrowa District/. That last part fed the extensively developed Polish industries which supplied the Russian market.

It is Germany's aim to bring the whole of the Silesian coal basin under her rule. As a first step towards the realization of this aim, she plans the annexation of the Dombrowa district. There is no doubt that the political reunion of the whole of this coal basin would produce more normal conditions, for its development, but it may be reunited only under Polish rule as it is situated entirely on Polish national territory.

---

The problem of German Poland is of immense importance to Germany. Polish Silesia represents one third of her coal supply; the Polish province of Posen is only two hours distant by rail from Berlin; lastly, the Polish territory of West Prussia forms a link between Germany proper and the Königsberg country, a German sentinel overlooking Russia, and a base of German influence in the Baltic provinces /Courland, Livonia and Esthonia/, where the German element although not very numerous, is economically and socially predominant. The possession of the Baltic coast as far as the mouth of Niemen, and the extension of German protection over its Eastern portion, insures



AH

to Germany, complete domination of the Baltic and indirectly puts her in control of the Scandinavian countries and of the commercial sea gate to Russia. Furthermore, the Germans realize that with the Polish Baltic coast in their hands and with a strong German strategical position in Silesia and in the Mazurian Lake district of East Prussia, the independence of Poland, however large her size, will be purely illusory. The chief aim of a defeated Germany will be to keep German Poland, and to that end she will endeavor to conclude peace before her defeat becomes complete and before she has forfeited all her chances of making an advantageous bargain. It must be added that Germany's domination in Central and Eastern Europe which would follow Poland's subjection would be equivalent to her mastery over the whole European Continent, as the remaining independent nations of that Continent would be too weak to withstand such a tremendous power, and would naturally be drawn into the orbit of German political influence.

-00-00-00-00-00-00-

## II. A U S T R I A N P O L A N D .

The territory of Austrian Poland is composed of Galicia, annexed to Austria at the first partition of Poland /1772/, and of the Duchy of Cieszyn /Teschen/, a part of Austrian Silesia.

1. GALICIA has an area of 30,321 square miles and a population of 8,025,675 /in 1910/ of whom 3,200,000 speak the Ruthenian language, while 4,600,000 are Poles.

The Ruthenian speaking population lives in Eastern Galicia where the Poles represent only 25 per cent of the total population. In the second half of the last century, there developed in Eastern Galicia a Ruthenian National movement, known also as Ukrainian. From the very beginning, it was supported by the Austrian Government which saw therein a means of weakening the Poles, and owing to the same motive during the last fifteen years, Berlin ~~also~~ gave to this



movement a ready support. The Ruthenian leaders demand the separation of Eastern Galicia from Poland on the ground that the majority of the population is Ruthenian. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Ruthenian national movement, the existence of which cannot be denied, has neither penetrated the whole mass of the Ruthenian population, the great numbers of which are ignorant and nationally indifferent, nor has it so far produced a strong and independent Ruthenian intellectual class. The official statistics show that in all professions and trades in Eastern ~~xxx~~ Galicia, except that of small farmers, the Ruthenian element represents less than five per cent. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to conceive how the country could be governed by Ruthenians. If the government of Galicia, under the Austrian rule, is in the hands of the Poles, it is not because they are favored by Austria, but because there is no other element in the country capable of assuming its administration. Thus, in the near future, at least, a Polish administration is the only conceivable one for a normal development and progress of the country. The Ruthenian national aspirations must be satisfied to the extent of allowing full freedom to their national life by the recognition of the official character of the Ruthenian language, by Ruthenian instruction in the educational institutions of the country, etc. But as long as the Ruthenian nationality remains in the embryonic stage and as long as the level of Ruthenian intellectual life is too low to produce a progressive modern government to be conducted by Ruthenians, Eastern Galicia should form an integral part of the Polish State.

Galicia is the only part of Poland which, in the period preceeding the war, enjoyed a limited share of self-government, hence it will be the chief source of supply of experienced officials.

The economic importance of Galicia for Poland is very great because of her natural resources. In the West, there are rich coal fields /part of the Silesian basin/, the exploitation of which has just begun; also salt mines worked since the XII century. In the East, there are rich fields, and deposits of potassium



26

salts /Kainite/ indispensable in agriculture /the only other country in Europe where Kainite is found is Germany/.

2. Teshen /Cieszyn/. A small province /area 800 square miles, population 435,000 in 1910/ on the western border of Galicia, is the Polish part of Austrian Silesia. Only the south-western extremity / district of Frydek and a part of the district of Frisztat/ has a Czech majority and should, therefore, be annexed to the Czecho-Slovak country. It is understood between the Poles and the Czechs, that on the Czecho-Slovak frontier, the nationality of the inhabitants is to be determined by their language and that districts with a Czech majority must go to the Czecho-Slovak country, those with the Polish majority to Poland. In this way every cause for conflict will be removed and the two nations united by so many bonds in their past and threatened with the same danger, will be able to live up in perfect friendship united by an alliance and, in all probability, by economic and military conventions.

The delimitation between Poland and the Czecho-Slovak country on the principle of the linguistic majority in Austrian and Prussian Silesia /in Prussian Silesia the Czechs are found in one district only/ as well as in the Carpathians / in the districts of Zips and Grawa in northern Hungary, Poles are in the majority/ may be left to the understanding between the Poles and the Czecho-Slovaks.



### III. RUSSIAN POLAND.

Polish territories which belonged up to the present war to Russia, were composed of : 1) The Kingdom of Poland, 2) Polish Eastern provinces disputed between Poland and Russia.

1. The Kingdom of Poland was established at the Congress of Vienna as a separate state under the sceptre of the Russian Emperor.

After the Polish revolution of 1830-31 it was incorporated into the Russian Empire.

The Kingdom of Poland is the main part of the Polish national organism and the centre of Polish national life. It is the largest of all Polish territorial units comprising an area of 49,017 square miles, with a population of 13,335,400 (January 1st, 1915). Geographically, it occupies the most central position. The Kingdom of Poland is the only part of the Polish territory which, after the partitions, was re-established as a modern Polish State and which only for a short time, remained completely under foreign rule. At the third partition of Poland (in 1795) it was divided between Prussia and Austria; its territory was conquered by Napoleon who established the Duchy of Warsaw. The Congress of Vienna made it the Kingdom of Poland, with a separate crown given to the Russian Emperor, its own constitution and parliament, a Polish government and a separate Polish Army. Here, existed the modern Polish State, and it must be noted that in the period 1815-1830, that country was one of the best governed and the most progressive in Europe. After the incorporation into the Russian Empire in 1831, it preserved its separate Polish administration up to 1864. Only after the insurrection of 1863-4 has it been subject to the rule of foreigners and to a system of denationalization which proved a total failure.

After the occupation of the country by the German and Austrian Armies in the present war an act of the German and Austrian Emperors established here a Polish State, leaving to the future



the definition of its frontiers.

The population of the Kingdom of Poland, as a whole, is linguistically Polish; only the northern extremity (the northern half of the government of Suwalki) has a Lithuanian-speaking majority. In a few southeastern districts (governments of Lublin and Siedlce) Ruthenian speaking minorities are found. Their importance was exaggerated by the Russian Government which, aiming to reduce the Polish national territory, created these districts a separate unit, the government of Chelm, for the purpose of subjecting it to a special anti-Polish regime. This new Chelm problem was artificial. It was brought to life by the exaggerated appetites of the Russian nationalists, and regarded with favor, if not inspired by Berlin. The Germans had two aims in this matter: to produce a new object of quarrel between the Poles and the Russians, and to reduce the unquestionably Polish territory.

They took advantage of this act of the Russian government which gave them a pretext for recognizing the province of Chelm as a part of the Ukrainian territory in the treaty of Brest-Litowsk. The fact is that the majority of the province of Chelm is Polish, that the Ruthenian speaking population is composed exclusively of small farmers and laborers, among whom no separatist tendencies whatever exist.

The Kingdom of Poland is also the richest and economically the most developed part of the Polish territory. As regards the education of the masses and the cultivation of the land, it remains behind German Poland; it had, however, very favorable conditions for an industrial development. Thanks to the existence of coal fields within its boundaries, it developed in the second half of the last century, a large textile and iron industry, supplying the Russian and Asiatic markets. The founders of these industries were mostly Germans, but the capital was not imported from Germany. The fortunes of these great captains of industry were made in Poland and it is



noteworthy that their former German nationality became rapidly obliterated. Today, most of the great representatives of Poland's industries rank, in spite of their German names, among the most ardent partisans of Polish independence, and build their hopes for the future upon German defeat. One of the results of the industrial development (in the pre-war years, half of the Kingdom's revenue was derived from taxation of its industries) was a rapid growth of a prosperous Polish middle class which assumed a leading place in the political life of the country and gave it a strongly democratic character.

The time in which the old landed nobility played the foremost part in the political life of Poland are gone forever.

The Kingdom of Poland must be included in the new Polish State in its entirety, the only debatable part of its territory being the northern extremity with a Lithuanian speaking majority. The future of these few districts will depend upon what will be the political status of the Lithuanian country.

## 2. The Eastern Provinces.

The governments of Kovno, Vilno, Grodno, Minsk, Molyow, Vitebsk, Volhynia, Podolia and Kiev with a total area of 180,911 square miles and a population of 26,013,400 represent the ancient territory of the Polish state annexed to Russia in the course of the three partitions ( 1772, 1793, 1795). In the various parts of this vast country, the respective majorities of the population use either Ruthenian, or White Ruthenian or Polish or Lithuanian as their mother tongue. There are no reliable official data giving the proportion of Poles in these territories; the Russian government statistics on this subject are of no value whatsoever, as they are crudely falsified just to suit the political purpose of showing that the country is not Polish. Recent Polish estimates made on the basis of electoral returns show 6,000,000 as the number of Poles in this territory.



Economically and socially, these are the most backward provinces of ancient Poland. In the first half of the XIX century, the Russian government still recognized these provinces as Polish, the official language of the administration was Polish, and so was the language used in the schools and in the University of Vilno, at that time a great centre of intellectual life. After 1850, the attitude of the Russian government underwent a change as a result of which a system of the most ruthless persecution of everything Polish was put into effect. This system was destined to last until the present war. The Poles being the only intellectual and economic force in that country, the Russian government in endeavoring to suppress their influence, necessarily suppressed the whole national life and economic and social progress of these provinces.

The political future of these territories presents perhaps, the most difficult problem in the whole of Europe.

Up to the present war, the conditions of the Russians as a social factor there was very precarious. They owned half of the large landed estates of which the Poles had been dispossessed, mostly by confiscation, but these land owners did not as a rule, reside in the country, the bulk of Russian residents being composed of government officials who fled from the country during the retreat of the Russian Army. At present, there are no Russians in that country. The restitution of these territories to Russia would, consequently, amount to a re-instatement of foreign rulers, whose previous rule had never taken root, nor acquired a foothold in the country; for it had been a rule of abuse and oppression, hampering the progress of the country and attempting to drag down its most honest, intelligent, and constructive elements.

The Ruthenian (Ukrainian), White Ruthenian and Lithuanian majorities consist nearly exclusively of small farmers and priests.



21

The White Ruthenians represent an entirely passive racial element. There is no national movement of any kind among them; nor are there even any rudiments of a White Ruthenian literature.

For the last fifty years, there has been a certain amount of literary activity among the Ukrainians, followed up by a languid political movement towards national separation. This movement, however, was almost entirely limited to certain circles composed of university students, mostly sons of priests and peasants. It has not yet developed sufficiently to produce a strong intellectual class among the Ukrainians.

If Germany recognized the Ukrainian nation in the treaty of Brest-Litowsk, it was not owing to any consideration of international justice, but merely as a device for splitting up Russia and reducing the territory of Poland; this Germany did with a perfect knowledge that the Ukrainian state could not be really independent and would inevitably become a German protectorate.

Only among the Lithuanian speaking people in these territories did the nationalist movement make a considerable progress. It began not more than 40 years ago, and within this short period, its leading representatives gained some influence over the Lithuanian masses, the latter being more advanced and capable of progress than either Ruthenians or White Ruthenians. But the Lithuanian national movement is still very young. Among the educated class of the country, the Lithuanian nationalists are few in number and the Poles remain the chief cultured element of the country; Lithuanian attempts in the literary field are still in their infancy, and their language has not yet developed beyond a very primitive stage; there is ground to believe that the Lithuanians will develop in the future into an independent nation, but this as yet is not an accomplished fact. Unfortunately, the Lithuanian people are not great in number and statistics show that the Lithuanian speaking population does not exceed two millions living in a more or less



22

compact mass on a sharply defined territory (government of Kovno, parts of the governments of Suwalki and Vilno and a part of East Prussia.)

The Poles, as stated above, represent the cultured element and are the main economic strength of the entire territory of these Eastern provinces. As far back as 1863 they were socially and economically complete masters of the country, but the last half of the century has witnessed their decline to a considerable degree. This was caused by, firstly, the extreme anti-Polish policy of the Russian government which confiscated Polish properties, destroyed whole Polish villages and sent their inhabitants to Siberia (after the last insurrection 1863-4) forbade the use of the Polish language even in the streets etc.; secondly, the anti-Polish propaganda of the Russian agents among the Ruthenian, White Ruthenian and Lithuanian peasants which excited these elements not only against the Polish land owners, but also against intellectual people, among which the Poles were the most numerous; thirdly, the progress of the Lithuanian nation movement, and lastly, and fourthly, the alienation of the Jews, who are very numerous in this territory and who partly adopted the Russian language and culture and as a mass, organized themselves into a separate Jewish nationality with a rather hostile attitude toward the Poles.

The Jews of the Eastern provinces made considerable progress and in the economic and intellectual life of the country are second in strength to the Poles.

The natural process of immigration from the densely populated Poland has been nearly stopped in the last fifty years through the strong measures applied by the Russian government. Instead, the young generation of Poles from these provinces, emigrated in large numbers to Russia, being deprived of the means of subsistence in their own country.

The Poles are at present too weak to rule successfully.



all the territory of the Eastern provinces. Considering that there is no other cultured element of sufficient strength, this makes the problem of the political future of these Eastern Polish provinces nearly insoluble. The establishment of independent Lithuanian and Ukrainian States would mean either anarchy or a rule by foreigners, the Germans. The return of these provinces to Russia would mean no less anarchy and stagnation in intellectual as in economic spheres. The re-establishment of Poland on the whole territory, would burden the Polish State with a task beyond its forces, and deprive it of the internal cohesion necessary to every state and particularly to Poland, the close neighbor of Germany. There is no good solution of this problem, and it is necessary to adopt one which would present less drawbacks than the others. Such a solution would be reached by dividing the territory of the Eastern Polish provinces into two parts: the Western part, where the Polish element is more numerous, and the Polish influence decisively predominant should belong to the Polish State, and the Eastern part should remain in Russia's possession. This would give to Poland a frontier a little more advanced to the East than it was after the second partition (1793). The territory of the Lithuanian speaking majority in the north should be organized as a separate country and united with the Polish State on the basis of a home rule.

Lithuania should comprise the governments of Kovno, the northwestern belt of the government of Vilno, the northern larger part of the government of Suwalki, and the northeastern belt of East Prussia ( the lower course of the Niemen). The southern extremity of Courland, with the small part of Polangen forms also a part of the Lithuanian historical and linguistic territory; it was incorporated into Courland as late as 1848, to satisfy the demands of Courland's Germans who wanted to be in direct contact with Prussia. The frontier should now be rectified and it should even be drawn north of Libau, taking into consideration the fact that Libau as a sea-port carries the trade of Lithuania, and, therefore, the port of Libau, would have



24

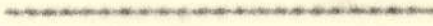
the necessary conditions for a prosperous development. Lithuania would be too small to form a totally independent state, but in union with Poland, its national freedom and progress would be better assured than in any other combination. Lithuania has been civilized by Poland and the continuation of the union with Poland would be quite natural and would present no danger to her national future. A democratic state which Poland will be without doubt, will put no obstacles in the way of the free development of the Lithuanian nationality.

The Polish territory to the East of <sup>the</sup> Kingdom of Poland should comprise the remaining larger part of the governments of Vilno (including the city of Vilno) and the government of Grodno, where the Poles are in the majority or in a predominant minority, the larger part of the government of Minsk, including the towns of Minsk, Slutsk and Pinsk, the western part of Volhynia, as far as the river Horyn, and the western districts of Podolia (Ploskirow and Kamieniec - Podolski). In all this territory, the Poles represent a very strong minority, and are the only intellectual and economic force in the country capable of ruling it. The western part of the government of Vitebsk (Polish Livonia) with the town of Dwinsk (Dvinsk) and the eastern extremity of Courland (Illukst district) is inhabited by the mixed Polish and Lettish population, the Poles being predominant in economic and intellectual life. The inclusion of this territory in the Polish state would be advisable in case Courland and Livonia should not belong to Russia. If, however, these Baltic countries should form a part of Russia, geographical reasons would speak against the incorporation of Polish Livonia into the Polish state.

All the remaining territory of the eastern provinces, i.e., the eastern part of the government of Vitebsk, the government of Mohylow, the eastern part of the government of Minsk, the governments of Volhynia and Podolia, except their western districts, included



in Poland and the government of Kiev, should go back to Russia. In some isolated districts of that territory the Polish element is very strong, but on the whole, it is not sufficiently strong to be able to rule the country successfully. In many districts, the Poles are almost exclusively large land owners, and this part of Europe tends towards the rapid disappearance of large landed properties, their predominant position in the country does not promise to last long. That is the reason why the inclusion of the eastern belt in Poland on the basis of historical rights would create great difficulty for the new state which could be a barrier against German expansion only on two conditions, viz: that it is at the same time a democratic and a Polish National State.



The above territorial program is neither an expression of any ambitions for national expansion, nor is it dictated by any feeling of hostility towards Poland's neighbors. There is no nation in Europe more intent upon the establishment of a solid, lasting peace after the present war than Poland, which has suffered not only during this great world struggle, but during more than a century of war carried on against her by her oppressors. She has before her an immense constructive work so as to heal the wounds of that long war, to restore her economic welfare, to raise the education of the masses, to organize her political life along ~~the~~ modern lines, to become a healthy, constructive democracy, able to live and prosper and to contribute to the progress of all mankind.

To fulfill these tasks, Poland needs a <sup>lasting</sup> ~~long~~ peace and friendly relations with her neighbors, especially with Russia, and she must be in close union with the smaller nations, the Rumanians and the Czecho-Slovacks. But the Poles cannot forget that their country is situated in that part of Europe, the conditions of which are much less settled than those of the Western civilized world, where new problems have arisen in the course of this war, and are likely to cause new difficulties in the future.

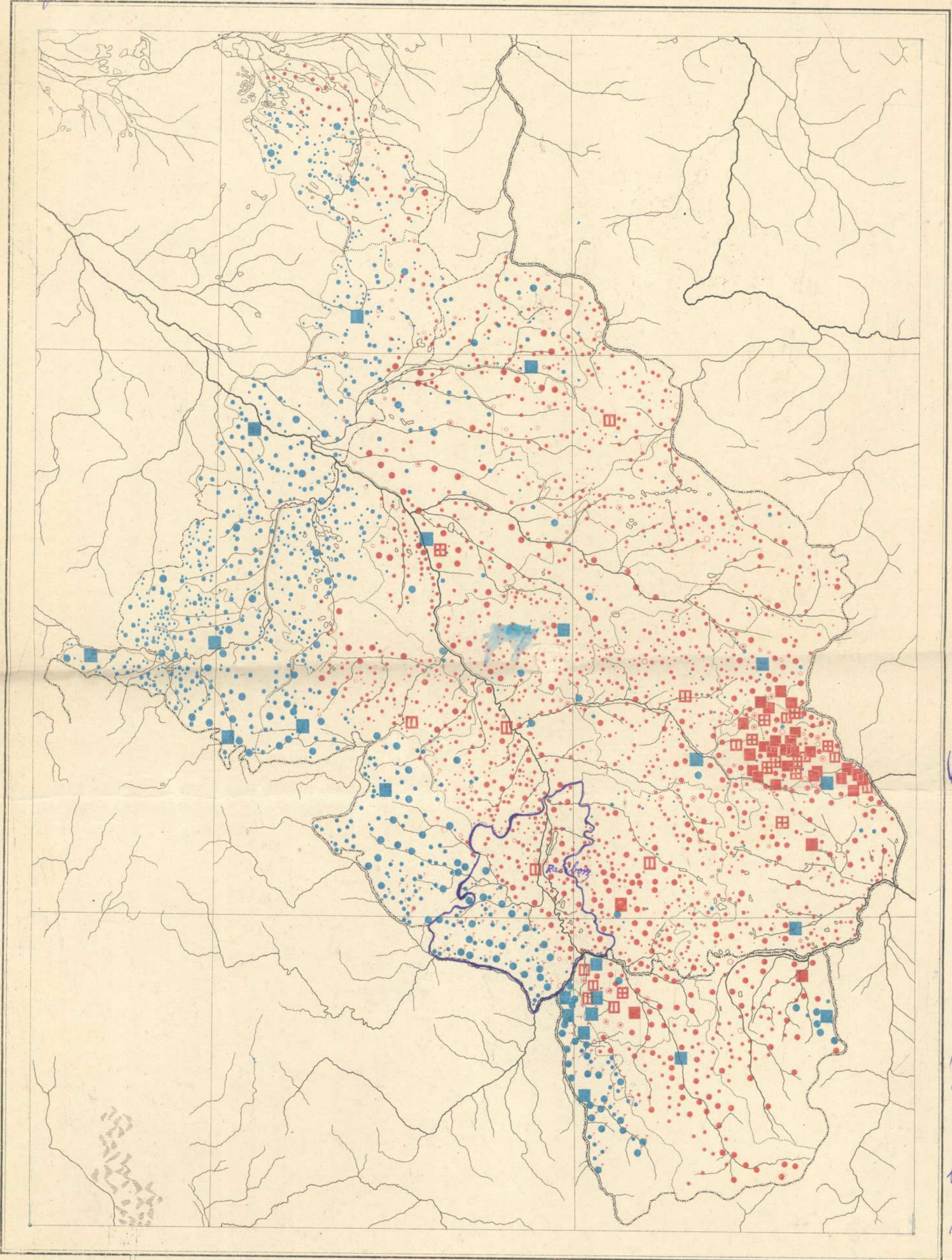


The territorial solution of the Polish problem as proposed above is the result of a long and careful analysis of Poland's situation. In the deep belief of the Poles, it is the only solution capable of assuring the independent development of the country in peace and its safety in case of conflict.

The Polish nation has its rights and its responsibilities. Its ambition is not only to have its rights satisfied and its national independence restored, but also to be in the position to fulfill its duty towards civilized mankind by being a guardian of the high ideals of justice, freedom and peace.

In the exposition of the above territorial program, no attempt is made to conceal the difficulties connected with its realization. This is done in the hope that the enormous sacrifices made by free mankind in this great struggle will not lead to a patchwork peace, avoiding difficulties, and leaving their solution to the next generations, but will end by a great remodelling of the international situation through the building of free, independent and strong units capable of being worthy and efficient members of the future League of Nations.





Communes

- - 200
- 200-1000
- 1-5000
- plus de 5000

rouge • pleine = plus de 65%

bleu avec point ○ 50-65% (sur cercle vide)

○ 35-50% Polonais

bleu = majorités allemandes

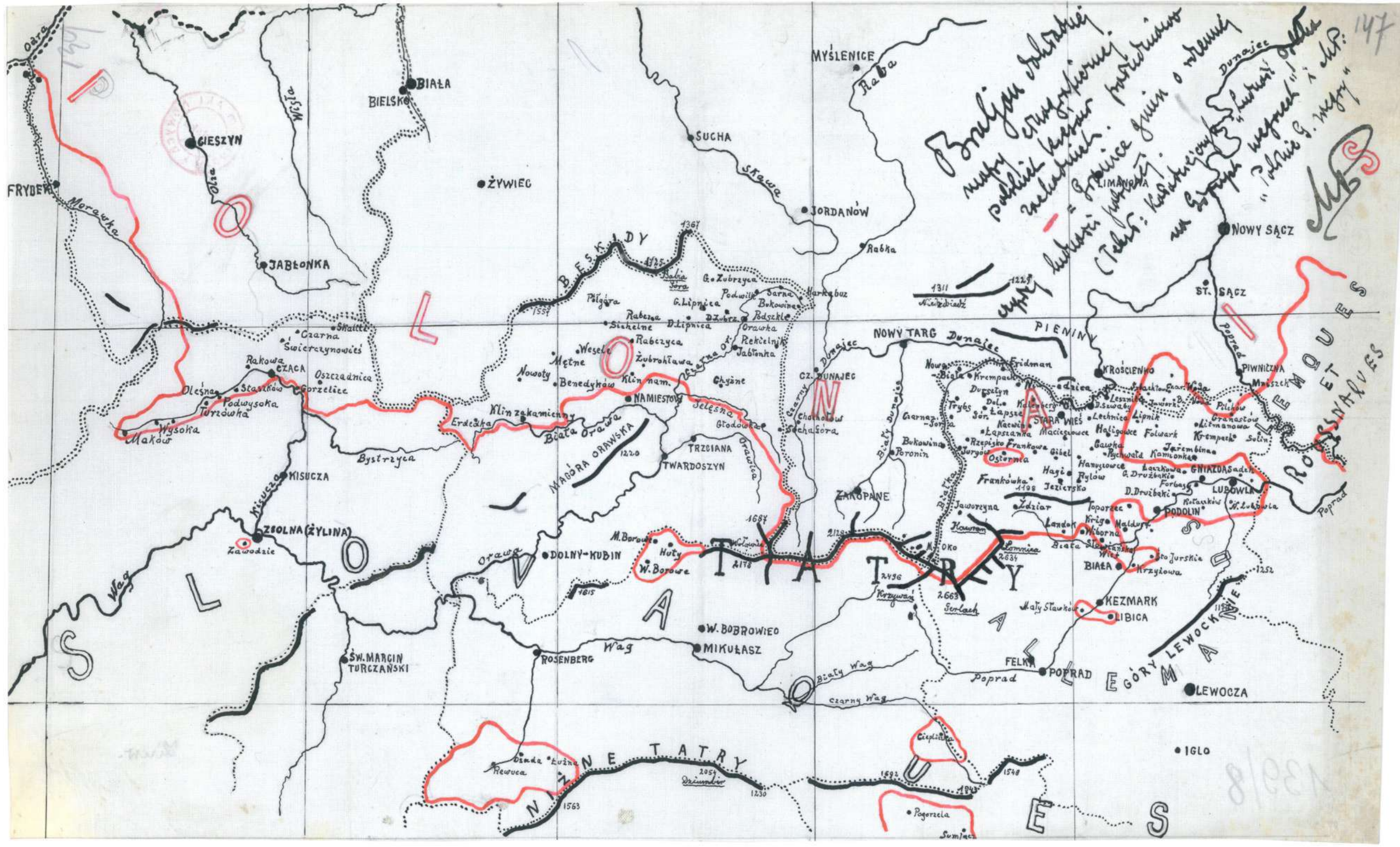
bleu au. flèche rouge = maj. tchèques

Duderzinski-Romer Colonies  
 Pour la Silesie de Cieszyn et de l'Appelle  
 Trav. géographiques Litt. IV. req. par S. Romec

1:750.000

S. Romec





*Bazylika w Białym Targu  
mapy dawnej  
Polska granica państwa  
wskazana  
Tabela: Kucharski  
na stronie 100  
Domańce  
"Polska granica państwa"  
"Polska granica państwa"  
"Polska granica państwa"*

*MSB*

8/1001