

future is opening here in front of us. What deception the entirely negative decisions of the Conference are bringing to us! . . . ' People who see things from close at hand see them thus. Why should we have closed and padlocked the gates of the future to such deliverances?

Since the veto has been pronounced in relation to Austria, why should we not have disentangled that new combination of Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and Baden, a country of recent allegiance which only half a century ago represented that admirable hope which enchanted our fathers; the hope of a non-Prussian Germany, the true Germany? Why did they suppose these states to hold either this or that sentiment? Why did they not consult them?

Under our eyes, under the eyes of our soldiers who are maintaining guard along the Rhine, Prussian militarism has just entered Munich in triumph, and is crushing out under its hobnailed boots the attempt at separation lately manifested there. Bavaria is being treated as was Belgium, and we are looking on.

Therefore, there is no longer a Europe, there are peoples new-born, rich in a future, singing their first songs and ignorant of the 'difficulty of being,' Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, greater Serbia, perhaps to-morrow greater Rumania — but Russia has disappeared. No one can tell what she is or what she will be. Upon this devastated continent there remains to-day, to oppose that inexpiable 'hatred' of which the rhetorician of Versailles has spoken, only France.

France, it is true, can count upon her strong friends from beyond the channel and beyond the sea; they will fly to her aid. At the least peril, the Society of Nations will warn them. They will hasten hither, obedient to their oath, to their fidelity of heart, and to their

Treaty pledges. The sea belongs to them. They need fear no longer the assault either of the battleships or the submarines of Wilhelm II. They will be at hand and at once. Let us count upon them, but, also, let us count upon ourselves.

The peace is good in itself; our enemy has been laid low, we breathe freely. . . . To every day its task. To-day, let us sign this peace. To-morrow, by our courage, our perseverance, and our proved abnegation, we shall improve it, we shall develop it. Europe, if she finds here only foundations, has the whole future in which to build. Only let us take care that the rôles of the play are not reversed; the sowers of hatred are not the conquerors, they are the conquered.

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### III. *A Neutral's View*

THE peace conditions imposed upon Germany are so hard, so humiliating, that even those who had the smallest expectation of a 'peace of justice' are bound to be deeply disappointed. Has Germany actually deserved such a 'peace'? Everybody knows how we condemned the crimes committed against humanity by Germany. Everybody knows what we thought of the invasion of Belgium, the submarine war, the Zeppelin raids. Our opinion on the lust of power and conquest of Germany is well known. But a condemnation of war-time actions must not amount to a lasting condemnation of a people. In spite of all they have done, the German people is a great and noble nation. The question is not whether the Germans have been led by an intellectual group to their destruction, or whether they are accomplices in the misdeeds of their leaders — the question is, whether it is to the interest of mankind, whether there is any sense in

punishing a people in such a way as the Entente governments wish to chastise Germany. The Entente evidently desires the complete annihilation of Germany. Not only will the whole commercial fleet be confiscated, but the shipbuilding yards will be obliged to work for the foreigner for some time to come. Whole tracts of Germany will be entirely deprived of their liberty; they will be under a committee of foreign domination, without adequate representation. The financial burden is so heavy that it is no exaggeration to say that Germany is reduced to economic bondage. The Germans will have to work hard and incessantly for foreign masters, without any chance of personal gain, or any prospect of regaining liberty or economic independence. This 'peace' offered to Germany may differ in form from the one imposed upon conquered nations by the old Romans, but certainly not in essence. This peace is a mockery of President Wilson's principles. Trusting to these, Germany accepted peace. That confidence has been betrayed in such a manner that we regard the present happenings as a deep humiliation, not

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only to all governments and nations concerned in this peace offer, but to all humanity. Whether Germany signs or not, these conditions will never give peace. All Germans must feel that they wish to shake off the heavy yoke imposed by the cajoling Entente, and we fear very much that that opportunity will soon present itself. For has not the Entente recognized in the proposed so-called 'League of Nations' the evident right to conquer and possess countries for economic and imperialistic purposes? Fettered and enslaved Germany will always remain a menace to Europe.

The voice and opinion of neutrals have carried very little weight in this war. But, however small their influence and however dangerous the rancorous caprice of the Entente powers may be to neutrals, it is our conviction and our duty to protest as forcibly as possible against these peace conditions. We understand the bitter feelings of the Entente countries. But that does not make these peace conditions less wrong, less dangerous to world civilization, or any less an outrage against Germany and against mankind.

# THE FUTURE OF POLAND

BY IGNACE J. PADEREWSKI

THE Polish nation is to-day living through solemn moments. I suppose that in its eventful history there was never a time more solemn, more fateful than the present. The fate of our country is at stake; powerful people holding in their hands the destiny of the world, are building a framework for our independent existence, are deciding the frontiers of our State, and soon will pronounce a final sentence, from which, no doubt for long years, there will be no appeal, perhaps for many generations. Violent bursts of hope and of joy and anxiety are strongly shaking our national spirit. From every side, from every corner of our former commonwealth, people are coming here to Warsaw and going there to Paris, in frock coats and smock frocks, in old-fashioned country dress, in mountaineer costume, and they cry aloud and implore that their distant provinces should be united to the Polish state. The Polish eagle does not seem to be a bird of prey, since people are gathering themselves under its wings.

What will Poland be like? What will be her frontiers? Will they give us everything we should have? These are the questions that every Pole is asking. I am here to answer, as far as I am able, all these questions. I have taken part in the work of the Polish Delegation to the Peace Conference, and I am here to report on this work to the Sejm, and I ask for attention. I will begin with what has been done. The Conference has only dealt as yet with one of their defeated adversaries, the Germans. Conditions have been dictated

to them, though they are not yet signed, which give us considerable advantages on the west frontier. We are not all satisfied with our frontier. I admit freely that I belong to the unsatisfied ones; but have we really a right to complain? The Conference tried to decide justly according to the rule on ethnographical and national majority as regards all territorial questions. They applied this rule to our territory, and we have obtained considerable advantages from it on the west. But not everything was decided according to this principle. Thus, for example, our Polish population in the Sycowski and Namyslowski district and in some parts of the locality of Posen has distinctly been wronged. The Polish Peace Delegation will do their best to have this remedied.

The press has already published the chief points of the Peace Treaty. I will, however, remark in passing that by this Treaty we are to receive more than 5,000,000 of population. This territory may yet be increased if the plebiscite in other districts formerly Polish has results favorable to us. The Peace Conference has not yet given us Warmia, Prussian Masuria, part of the Malborg district, also the Stzumsan, Kwidzynsan, and Suski districts, through which passes the railway line from Gdansk (Danzig) to Warsaw by way of the Mlava. The Peace Conference has given us the Keszyski coast, the Silesian mines, and the unlimited use of the port of Gdansk, also complete control over our Vistula, and a protectorate over the town of Gdansk under