

The door opens noiselessly and the professor appears, smiling.

"Guess who's in town. I've invited him to come to dinner. Geoffrey Blake."

"Geoffrey Blake? I don't want to see him!" cries Margaret vehemently.

The professor stares. Margaret's cheeks begin

to glow, and a disquieting surmise passes through the professor's mind like a flash of lightning in December.

"No," he comments to himself. "It can't be that. He's such a brute. But yet, psychology is tricky. Forbidden fruit, and all that."

ALVIN JOHNSON.

## America and Polish Politics

### A Narrative in the Diplomacy of the Coming Great Settlement

THE United States government stands now at the beginning of the second stage of its dealings with the so-called "new nationalities" of Europe. With regard to the Poles, for instance, and with regard to the Czecho-Slovaks, and with regard to the Jugo-Slavs, the question was: Will the war bring them their complete freedom and independence? That question seems now to be answered thoroughly in the affirmative. But the next question, the next stage, equally difficult, perhaps more difficult, at once begins.

What sorts of governments will these revived peoples set up? By what committees, by what political groups, will the setting up be done? Within each of these peoples, as within all other peoples, there are factional strifes, spiritual strifes, of the utmost earnestness and often of the utmost bitterness. In each case the Allies are dealing with certain persons who are regarded as the spokesmen of the nation concerned. Such persons will have a great weight of foreign influence behind them in the organizing of the new national governments. What sorts of persons are they? What sorts of governments would they incline to favor? Liberal or illiberal? Peaceful or aggressive?

In these circumstances, the internal politics of each of these peoples becomes a subject of pressing practical interest to all the Allies and peculiarly to the United States. Millions of immigrants from the ancient oppressed nationalities, now the "new nationalities," of Europe are resident in the United States. The political struggles of their home-lands are faithfully reproduced among these immigrants in our cities. Difficulties over there become difficulties here. For the United States, therefore, in a sense in which no statement can be made regarding Britain or France, the politics of the new nationalities of Europe is a domestic as well as a foreign question of intimate importance.

In this article an attempt is made to present a compact summary of the most immediate and urgent diplomatic phase of the politics of Poland. It is a phase which can best be followed by following the personal records of two men—Pilsudski and Dmowski.

Pilsudski is now in a German jail. Dmowski is now chairman of a group of Poles commonly known as the "Paris Committee," to which the conversations of the Allies on Polish matters are addressed. The Paris Committee, in practice, is the official organ of contact between Poland and the Allies. In the meantime; back in Poland, Pilsudski is Kosciuszko's successor in the rôle of Polish national martial hero.

Pilsudski is a nobleman, of a family for many centuries noble. He is also a socialist. In his youth, at his uni-

versity, he joined a revolutionary society and was exiled by the Tsar's government to Siberia. After five years, seeming likely to die of consumption, he was released. Not dying, he was later again arrested. He simulated insanity and was placed in a hospital for observation. A friend of his contrived to become his attending physician. One day both patient and physician were absent and did not return. Thereafter Pilsudski retired from Russian Poland into Austrian Poland and prepared the movement which was to bring him back to Warsaw in triumph.

Pilsudski's principle, laid down long before the war, was as follows:

A great war is inevitable between Austria and Russia. The Poles in Austrian Poland are relatively well treated—an admitted fact. The Poles in Russian Poland are barbarously ill-treated—also an admitted fact. Russia, therefore, beyond Austria, beyond Germany, is the first enemy to be fought. The Romanoffs, beyond the Hapsburgs, beyond the Hohenzollerns, are medieval night. And that night will be shattered by the war. The Tsaristic government is as inefficient as it is murderous. Therefore let Poland, in the coming great war, help to fight Russia and help to drive Russian medievalism out of Poland forever. Then, with the new strength and the new self-confidence of the Polish people, won by Polish deeds on the battle-field, let all Poland turn to defend its unity and its free independence against the imperialisms at Vienna and at Berlin.

This principle was not novel. It was practiced by Kosciuszko himself. Pilsudski adopted it and began to organize secret units of fighting men pledged to follow him against Russia as soon as the great war should begin.

This principle was also adopted by the leading Poles of the United States. In the year 1912 at Pittsburg there came into being an organization known as the Polish "Committee of National Defense." It included representatives from all the most important and most influential American Polish societies, and Bishop Rhode became its honorary President. It pledged itself to "assist by all means the revolutionary movement against Russia, the greatest enemy of Poland."

The war came. Pilsudski crossed at once from Austrian into Russian Poland and, with his followers gathering about him and forming themselves into the troops subsequently known as Pilsudski's Polish Legions, placed the eagles of Poland in the forefront of the battle against the Tsar. For the first time since 1863 there was a Polish armed force in the field, with Polish uniforms, Polish words of command, Polish officers. In 1916, when Pilsudski entered Warsaw, he entered it in drifts of flowers through which his carriage passed drawn by the hands of his cheering fellow-citizens. He had announced that his policy for a free Poland was that it should be a Poland

with equal rights for all—for all citizens and for all races. Socialist and soldier, great democratic leader and great military commander, he was indeed, in the manner of his times, a Washington. He was the statesmanship of freedom and its sword together.

At this time his enemies spoke of him as pro-German. His conduct was soon a sufficient reply to that charge.

Following his predetermined principle, he now demanded from the Germans and the Austrians a Polish government on Polish soil. When they hesitated, he stopped recruiting for his legions and began to organize new military groups underground. He resigned from his Brigadier-Generalship. In time the Germans and Austrians reluctantly consented to the establishment of a Polish "Council of State." They foresaw, and they have experienced, the inevitable anti-German development of any such body. Pilsudski became the military arm of the new "Council of State" and proceeded to form a Polish national army. The Germans and Austrians then demanded that all Polish soldiers take an oath of allegiance not only to Poland but also to the two Emperors at Vienna and at Berlin. Pilsudski's soldiers were drawn up to take this oath. They refused it. They were interned. And Pilsudski was jailed. First at Wesel and now at Magdeburg he proved and he proves, by exile and imprisonment, his complete loyalty to a Poland completely united and completely independent. He remains the centre of the military pride of all Poland and the centre also of the political hope of certain frankly democratic Polish groups.

The career of Dmowski has proceeded toward a very different end. In his youth he seems to have entertained democratic opinions. He took part in the spreading of popular education. Later he became the leader of a new political party called the National Democratic party. But this party, though at first really democratic, soon became opportunistic and then profoundly conservative. Its representatives in the old Duma at Petrograd opposed the agrarian laws brought forward for the relief of the peasants of the Tsar's dominions. They refused to join the liberal Russians of the Duma in the Declaration of Viborg in 1907—a declaration of protest against the Duma's dissolution. In fact, as M. Leroy-Beaulieu related, in the course of his study of Russia, the Polish National Democrats became "the most conservative of all the parties assembled in the Taurida Palace." And Dmowski, in his book called *Mysli*, in 1907, came finally to the recording of his mature conviction that national ethics cannot countenance the theory that human beings shall have equal voices in the determination of national policies.

This anti-democratic position was strategically necessary to the National Democrats. They had determined to live on livable terms with the Russian anti-democratic government. They had abandoned the idea of any immediate struggle for the independence of Poland. They had embraced the idea of securing concessions from the Tsar by offering services to the Tsar. Accordingly, instead of supporting the revolution of 1905 in Poland, they resisted it. And, when the great war came, they called upon the people of Poland to rally to the Tsar's armies. Their principle was: "The unification of Poland under the sceptre of the Russian monarchy."

This principle was seriously shaken in Polish popular opinion when the Russians, in spite of the manifesto of the Grand Duke Nicholas, continued to practice a rigorous and ruthless Russification upon all Polish territory into which they penetrated. The moral strength of the Russians and the moral strength of the National Democrats

declined together. When the Russians were obliged to retreat out of Poland, Dmowski retreated too. So did certain of his political associates. They appeared at Petrograd, at London, at Lausanne, at Paris. They were known by their records, not unfavorably, to the Tsar's ambassadors and ex-ambassadors. And the Paris Committee was erected, to stand and speak for Poland.

The composition of this Committee is entirely consistent with the political views of its chairman Dmowski. Most of its members are National Democrats. Among the few who are not National Democrats there is Mr. Skirmuntt, whose policy of compromise with the Tsar in the days before the war was so extreme as to call forth a rebuke even from the National Democrats themselves, and there is Count Zamoyski, who has no political record at all but who is simply one of the largest land-owners in Poland and one of the richest men in Europe. It is a Committee entirely of the parties of the Right. The parties of the Left, the democratic parties, have admittedly no representation in it.

The foreign policy of this Committee may be judged from Dmowski's own writings. In his book called *Mysli* he lays down a complete philosophy of racial combat. The German who tries to Germanize the Poles of Posen by force is only obeying the supreme summons and sanction of his race-loyalty and race-destiny. An equal aspiration to loyalty and to destiny should characterize the Poles. Healthy nations endeavor to de-nationalize other nations. It is weakness in the Poles when they willingly vote for a Ruthenian high school in Galicia for Ruthenians. If it is the fate of the Ruthenians to remain within the boundaries of Poland, then they should be Polonized. If it is their fate to realize their hope for a united country of their own, then they will realize it much more robustly if they pass through the ordeal of a combat with a healthy race of de-nationalizing masters.

From this philosophy flows the demand of members of the Dmowski party for a Poland which shall unquestioningly include a great assortment of territories not Polish at all. From the contrary philosophy comes the demand of members of the Pilsudski party in America that the Lithuanians and Ruthenians of old Poland shall be permitted to free themselves, if they so choose, by referendum.

But the power of the National Democrats and of the Paris Committee has extended itself, naturally, to America. Even before the war the "Committee of National Defense" had lost much of its strength by secessions. The seceders shifted from a relationship with the Pilsudski party in Europe to a relationship with the Dmowski party. They were strengthened by the appearance of the Paris Committee. Dmowski appointed to that committee the Pole best known in America—Paderewski. Dmowski himself came to America. A convention of American Poles was called at Detroit. It represented the will of the persons and of the organizations, both clerical and lay, now possessing the greatest weight of local economic and political power in our Polish-American communities. And it accepted the guidance of the Paris Committee fully. Dmowski, armed with the prestige conferred upon him by the Allies through his chairmanship of the Paris Committee, has gained the international leadership of the now dominant elements among the Poles in America.

In the meantime the Pilsudski party in America is pursued with accusations of "disloyalty." The words "Socialist" and "pro-German" are brought into action. The United States government is called upon to make perpetual inquiries on promiscuous charges. And numerous democratic Poles, personally opposed to the anti-democratic

policies of the Dmowski party, are forced to cover their opinions with silence because they fear, and with reason, that an expression of those opinions would imperil their livelihood in munitions-plants and elsewhere.

It happens that the Polish Socialists who belong to the Committee of National Defense were expelled in a body from the American Socialist party for being in favor of armed force as a method of freeing Poland and for being in favor of preparedness for the United States in anticipation of its entrance into the war. It happens also that the Committee of National Defense has repeatedly asserted its belief that the Poland of the future must include every inch of Polish soil ever taken from Poland by Germany. These open facts are utterly incompatible with any concerted "disloyalty" either to Poland or to the United States.

Doubtless there are scoundrels in Pilsudski's party, and in Dmowski's party, and in all parties in all countries. But the pursuit of Pilsudski's party in America is not directed simply against individuals. It is directed against a whole political group, against a whole intellectual movement. Today in America, as once in Poland, we see the Dmowski party engaged in trying to use the elements of authority to suppress, physically suppress, the organized activity of its political democratic opponents.

So we come to the following strange state of things, internationally:

First. In Poland itself, in succession to the "Council of State," there is a "Regency" which must be regarded as one of the possible roots of future Polish self-government. It consists of three extremely distinguished Polish personages, including the archbishop of Warsaw. It has been obliged to reckon with German power and to compromise with German coercion. Yet it dared to publish a most emphatic denunciation of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. And it dared to assert its adherence to the principle of a united independent Poland with access to the sea and therefore with possession of a most valuable stretch of sea-coast long held by Germany. In return the Germans did not dare to disperse it. It has much local support. Various Poles outside Poland charge it with being a German tool. Numerous Poles of all parties within Poland regard it as being a conscientiously Polish body doing its Polish best against German difficulties. In any case, it already discharges many governmental functions. It manages the schools, for instance, and the law-courts and the municipalities. It exists. It is a going concern. But going on what? And going toward what?

Second. Pilsudski is in a place (namely, a cell) where it is difficult to reach him and learn his present views and plans. He was willing to cooperate with the "Council of State." Presumably, therefore, he might be willing to cooperate with the "Regency." He would capture large numbers of votes in any fair campaign for First President of Poland. What we do know about him is that he is the opposite of Dmowski. But what will he do, precisely, when he is released?

Third. From among Dmowski's followers and associates, from among the parties of the Right, and exclusively from among the parties of the Right, we have contrived a Committee at Paris which assumes to be Poland's War Department and Poland's Foreign Affairs Department. Through this Committee, anti-democratic and pro-imperialistic, we speak to Poland and we work toward Poland's future in a world war against imperialism and on behalf of democracy.

Fourth. In America the Dmowski party, officialized by its alliance with the Allies, wages a domestic war of intimidation and extermination against its political opponents

and tries to make an allegiance to Dmowski politics the test of Americanism.

In these circumstances it is certainly not inappropriate for democratic Americans to hope that the Allied governments and the United States government will soon give their attention, drastically, to the narrow and inadequate character of the Paris Committee.

One must candidly admit the perfect naturalness of the sequence of thought leading to the present situation. The Dmowski party, being pro-Tsar, was pro-Ally. The Pilsudski party, being anti-Tsar, was alleged to be pro-German. And when it showed a patriotically Polish resentment against the willingness of the Allies (their tragically necessary willingness) to leave the fate of Poland by treaty to the personal decision of the Tsar, it was again alleged to be pro-German. But that allegation is now lifted from Pilsudski by the common consent of the whole world. It is therefore lifted from his party as a party. That party, with no possible foreknowledge of the advent of Belgium and Britain and America into the war, prepared to shed its blood, and did shed it, against the Tsar, for Poland and for nationalistic democracy. The Dmowski party combined a loyalty to the Tsar with a corresponding hatred and repression of nationalistic democracy. And the war has come to be the seed-bed of free nations and of democratic governmental institutions. And the present situation of Polish affairs at Paris and in America, while thoroughly natural historically, is now thoroughly unnatural, intellectually and morally.

A popularized Paris Committee could establish avenues of communication and cooperation with the popular will in Poland. After all, the fate of Poland should rest with the people of Poland. We stand now at the beginning of the manoeuvres which will make a Europe based firmly on the wills of peoples or a Europe jerry-built again by intrigues of favored factions and by exchanges of imperialistic and financial favors. At such a moment it is surely essential that the western democracies, in guaranty of the faith that is in them, should equip themselves everywhere with at least tolerably democratic instruments.

## A Broken Friendship

Strange little friend of yesterday,  
Although to you and me it seems  
That yesterdays are only dreams  
Ever so far away —  
Although your love for me seems dead  
And friendship's flame burns dim and low,  
By all the things we ever said  
You know it is not so —  
You know it is not so, and we  
Are friends through all eternity.  
Although the years shall drift between  
And tides of Time creep o'er Life's sands  
And Death with heavy listless hands  
Gathers the fruit of love,  
You know that in some starry place  
We two shall meet, and face to face  
Find once again our happy love  
And prove that it is true —  
You know it, little gray-eyed friend,  
Even as I love you;  
It matters not if Time shall part  
Our bodies, for in God's old heart  
All friendships live anew!

JAMES L. McLANE, Jr.