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UPPER SILESIA
AND POLAND
BY
VINCENT RZYMOWSKI

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by VINCENT RZYMOWSKI

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WARSAW
INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY

1921.

Meride 20/-

PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATION
SOCIETY.



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PRINTED BY L. BOGUSŁAWSKI, WARSAW. 11 ŚWIĘTOKRZYSKA.

I.

Upper Silesia occupies the area between the Sudetes and the Little Poland plateau. On the north it extends to beyond the river Malapanvia and on the south it extends into Teshen Silesia.

Upper Silesia consists of some districts belonging to the Silesian plateau (on the west). This plateau, which constitutes the most westerly part of the South Polish plateau, forms a strict orographic whole with that district, with the southern part of the plain of the Oder and with the south-western part of the high land under the Sudete mountains. These parts of the country constitute, again, a geological whole. The substratum in this part of the country is coal, lying horizontally, which only near Jasionka, where there is a fold in the Sudete mountains, gets a little out of its horizontal position.

This substratum is not, however, of the same thickness everywhere, as, after its formation, it was greatly grooved by flowing water and it was upon the uneven substratum thus formed that the later strata came to lie. These later strata are in some places very thin and in others do not cover the coal

at all, which, in this way, sometimes appears on the surface. Formerly the whole district was covered with later strata but they have been for the most part carried away by water and what was formerly an even district has now become uneven and rises in terraces as we advance towards the north east. The most distinct terrace, made of shell-lime-stone, reaches along the southern foot of the Jura mountains from north to south, then, from the source of the Malapanvia, it changes its direction for a western one and goes along the high ledge between the Klodnica and the Malapanvia, forming the Chelm mountain of S. Anne (400 metres high), with a monastery on its summit. The shell-limestone is poor in water as the water flows out through the cracks, but on the other hand near the southern base of the Chelm mountains along the Klodnica we come upon an immense number of springs. The layers of coloured sandstone and of perm which lie along the foot of the shell-limestone and fall towards the coal formation, are less considerable.

These formations are rich in mineral treasures, especially the shell-limestone, which gives lead, zinc and silver, and, since these formations lie on coal, one mine can produce all these minerals together with coal.

This district, which abounds in rich layers of stone-coal, and in mineral treasures, was, even fifty years ago, or a little more, barren, and covered with woods and thinly populated with a Polish population which was employed in floating down wood. It was

only since the discovery of the stone-coal, which is found here in very thick layers (it would suffice for another 1,000 years), that this district changed enormously, becoming one of the most industrial, the richest and the most densely populated districts in the world: it is dotted with numerous and populous towns and is covered with a forest of chimneys, the smoke of which, like a cloud, lies low over the whole neighbourhood. The towns and the factories have been joined by a network of railways, telegraphs and telephones and here, too, for the facilitation of transport, there has been cut the six (Polish) mile long Klodnicki canal, which begins near Gliwa and leads, for a considerable distance underground, to the river Klodnica and along by it.

The southern part of the plain of the Oder is a fruitful part of the country, covered on the south with productive woods, which reach up to the foot of the Sudete mountains.

Agriculture flourishes here as well as the cultivation of vegetables and orchards. This district is of considerable importance for communication, as it lies on the way to the Moravian Gate which leads from southern to northern Europe as well as on the road running along the northern ledge of the base of the Carpathian mountains on the east.

* * *

The population of Upper Silesia, which has resisted Germanization for six hundred years had, it may be said, a sub-conscious presentiment that the

moment would come when it would be liberated and united to its mother-country.

* * *

So far back as the XIV century, the whole of Silesia fell away from Poland and from that time forward it took no part in the history of the Polish State. In spite of that, up to the first part of the XVIII century, that is, up to the moment when Silesia passed out of the hands of Austria into those of Prussia, not only did Poles constitute a considerable majority of the Catholic population of that country but also a considerable part of the Evangelical population of Upper and Lower Silesia felt itself to be Polish.

Polish nationality at that time existed not only among the peasants but also in certain burgher circles. Even in some of the manor-houses which were earliest destroyed, Polish customs and the Polish language were preserved. At the moment when the country was occupied by the Prussians there were not a few priests especially in neighbourhoods which were ecclesiastically subject to the Bishop of Cracow, who did not understand a word of German.

This state of things changed from the moment when the country was annexed by the Prussians. Frederick the Great's government began planned Germanization there, making use of the schools as well as the Church, which it had got under its control, for its own purposes. For a certain length of time a law was binding in Silesia, which declared

that a pair of engaged persons, so as to get married, were obliged to show that they possessed a knowledge of the German language. Germanization met with an opposition which was, it is true, passive but which was steadfast, from the population of Upper Silesia, especially from the peasants. It was easier to Germanize the Evangelical Poles in Lower and Middle Silesia. And yet, in spite of the strongest efforts of the Government, there sounded, even at the beginning of the XIX century, close to Breslau itself, to the north west of that town, Polish songs sung by peasant choirs, like a living witness of the Government's powerlessness. Frau von Stein expressed wonder as to this in the letters she wrote to Goethe. In S. Christopher's Church at Breslau (Wrocław) Lutheran services were conducted in Polish up to the year 1830. The more Polish nationality was expelled from the burgher and gentry classes, the deeper and the more obstinately did it penetrate into the very heart of the common people. In the second decade of last century the first products of popular literature saw the light of day. In the year 1848 Polish nationality which had hitherto been stifled blazed up with a strong flame of regeneration. A distinct change took place in the numerical relations between the Polish and German elements in Silesia: the Polish tide, after an ebb which had lasted many centuries, ceased to ebb, the Polish element began once more to feel its strength and its distinctness, it began to fight and to struggle with the German inflow. The history of those years preserves for us

the name of an active pioneer of Polish nationality, Father Fick, who was, as it were, a centre and a source of instruction for the people in this new era of struggle for national existence. The Polish population of Upper Silesia proved elementally to the whole world that it existed. At the Slavonic conference at Prague in 1848 the Silesians made a declaration that they entered the Polish section, that they constituted an indivisible part of the Polish nation and that in the course of future transformations of the political situation they would not cease to struggle for the rights of the Polish nation. The Polish deputies chosen by Upper Silesia, Father Szafranek and Mr. Gorzala, entered, in the Berlin Diet, the Polish party. In support of the motion brought forward by Father Szafranek that the Polish population should be secured national liberty in the churches, schools, courts and public offices, there flowed into Berlin petitions with thousands of signatures. The Upper Silesian peasant, taking advantage of the first breath of the Spring of the peoples, shook himself out of the rut of Germanization, and, sinking deeper into his racial instincts, again felt himself a son of Poland. On the base of this increased national instinct and under the protection of more liberal laws, the Polish press was born. There began to appear the "Upper Silesian Journal" founded by Joseph Lepkowski at Bytom, a paper which supported the opinions held by Father Szafranek. Other Polish periodicals also came into existence. Through the efforts of Lepkowski, Charles Kosicki and

Smolka a teacher at Bytom, the Workers' Association was formed for the people of Upper Silesia, of persons who had determined to demand equal rights for Polish nationality, who bound themselves to use only the Polish language for speaking and to found Polish libraries and reading rooms all over the country. There were thus founded within a short time libraries and reading rooms in Bytom, Lubliniec, Wezniki, Rybnik and Mysliwace. From that time forward the Polish book became one of the mightiest instruments of national regeneration in Silesia. The attractive figure of Father Bogedain, later on Bishop of Breslau, and remarkable in Upper Silesian history, is a proof that Polish nationality had begun to emerge from its former condition of humiliation, that it had begun to defend itself, nay even had begun to radiate outwards. This Father Bogedain was a German by extraction but he consecrated his most vital strength to forwarding the cause of Polish education among the Polish people. He it was who, when he became an Education Councillor in Upper Silesia, took advantage of the transition period of liberal government under Frederick William IV to introduce into that province the use of the Polish language for teaching in the schools. The name of Bogedain lives to-day in the grateful memory of the people, for he belonged to the last generation of Germans who were animated by a sense of justice and good-feeling towards the Polish nation.

The example of Karol Miarka that real incarnation of the Polish national idea in Silesia, is still

more curious. Although he was of Polish descent he was so strongly influenced in his early youth by Germanization under the mechanical action of the Prussian schools that when he obtained the post of an elementary teacher he wrote a patriotic Prussian song in which he expressed respect for, and gratitude to the government. But it sufficed that he came into contact more closely with evidence of the government persecution of his compatriots, to disperse his artificial patriotism, which came off like a nut-shell, discovering the clean Polish seed. When he took over the editorship of "The Catholic", which began to appear in Krolewska Huta, Karol Miarka at once, by his strong will and his devotion, grew up into such a warrior and apostle as was needed to express the pain hidden in the millions of hearts of the people in Silesia. The threat of denationalization which hung over his own head, seemed to him to be the symbol of the danger and wrong which threatened his own people. Hence his herald words, which brought news of Poland to his people, had in them the heat of the blood which flowed from his own heart. In vain did the German government punish him and imprison him; in vain efforts were made from the German side to buy him over, by offering him considerable sums if he would renounce his national activities. Miarka refused the Judas money, received nothing but punishments and repression from German hands. For this reason he gained the firmer confidence of the people. He — it might be said — taught the peasant in Silesia to read Polish

from the history of his struggle with the Germans. On his account, there took place a rapprochement between the Silesians and the people of Posen, on the ground of their common defence, and at the same time the Congress Kingdom also declared its connection with Silesia. This was particularly remarkable during the famine which ravaged Silesia in 1879; besides generous financial help, there came from Warsaw whole trains full of food-stuffs. The bond of national union became tighter and tighter. A common care, a common thought began to fly across the frontier lines which divided Poland and to penetrate through the whole nation.

Thus began the regeneration of Polish nationality in that country which had been cut off from the mother tree more than five hundred years before. For the moment the Polish nationality which revived here had on it the mark of a certain particularism, which differentiated it from the general character of the patriotism of the nation. The sense of solidarity with the rest of Poland did not ripen all at once. For the moment the prevailing sentiment was one of attachment to the national language, on a base rather of Upper Silesian than of general Polish patriotism.

The Spring of the nations did not thus pass for the Prussian partition, and particularly for Silesia, without leaving a trace. The seed sown during those sunny days fell on fruitful earth. The general political reaction which began with the Bismark era in Germany could not destroy that seed. How expressive are the personalities of Bogedain and Miarka

in connection with this reaction, not only to the historian of the relations and struggles of nationalities, but also to the statesman who has to do with these struggles! These personalities show that the Polish idea of regeneration had, already in the middle of the past century, grown so greatly in strength that it could catch and turn to its own use even the very guards of the enemy and that not by compulsion but by moral force — and convert them into tools for its own work and propaganda. A Prussian office produced the first organizer of Polish education and a Prussian school produced the first champion of the Polish cause in Upper Silesia. Is this not a proof, that even then amidst the people of Upper Silesia there had been kindled a great flame of national sentiment, which devoured the artificially raised barrier and sought an issue through it by which it might join with the common national element?

It is quite certain that the German idea had already, seventy years before lost to the Polish idea its attractive force: from that time forward it only possessed the power to enchain. Bismark's government, when it proceeded to liquidate the institutions and the liberal tendencies which remained after the year 1848, limited or absolutely abolished, by means of administrative orders, the constitutional liberties, which had enabled the Upper Silesian people to breathe the air of its own nationality. The liberty of meetings and associations disappeared; the liberty of the press was abolished; the Polish school fell into ruins; the right to speak Polish was denied; the

child's prayer said in Polish became a crime in the eyes of the State: the Prussian gendarme stood on guard over the German usurped possessions. The Germans felt that, in relation to the Polish population, they had at their disposal only the weapon of undisguised and blind force; this, therefore, they made the instrument of their rule.

But did they not, by these means, abolish forever all rights they might have supposed themselves to have had to Upper Silesia? He who has recourse to the arsenal of force shuts before his own face the road to the court of justice.

We said above that the process of Germanization in Upper Silesia not only was restrained but began to retreat, surrendering into Polish hands the outposts formerly lost by the Poles. This is comprehensible. The Germanization of the Polish population was possible so long as that population was ignorant, isolated from the rest of its countrymen, deprived of its own intelligent class, so long as it saw in Germany intellectual, cultural and social superiority. By degrees individuals who wished for education broke away from it, aiming at higher positions in society. Not only did they assume German nationality, but they became its propagators. But this period had passed beyond recall. The standard of enlightenment had risen, reading and the desire for knowledge disseminated in the national language increased simultaneously with the victorious march of democracy. Democracy at the same time incre-

ased in the peasant and working-class masses the sense of personal and national dignity. There came into existence a real Upper Silesian intellectual class, partly formed of Poles from Great Poland who had come to Silesia, and partly of native Silesians. Together with the rise of the intellectual class and the development of the press, there were formed centres of national opinion, which had the power to condemn renegades and to express commendation for civic services. Finally there came from amidst the working people such poets as the blacksmith Julius Ligon, as the workman Peter Kolodziej, whose dramatic writings have had considerable success.

Such was the rampart which defended the Poles against the most savage attacks of Germanization.

And the Polish population, not only absolutely, but also in relation to the German population, (i. e. per cent) began, from about 1867 to increase in Upper Silesia. As regards the district of Breslau (Wrocław) where the Polish population is small in number, it is impossible to determine the amount of its increase. But in the Polish district of Opole there is no doubt about it. According to the official census (and the partiality of the Prussian officials against Poland is known) from the year 1890 to 1898 the number of persons speaking Polish in Upper Silesia increased from 994,000 to 1,023,000. According to these partial Prussian statistics for the year 1910, in the Opole district there lived

2,208,000 persons, of which number 1,169,000 were Poles, 884,000 Germans and 89,000 who said that they used both the German and Polish languages. There is no doubt that there belonged to this bi-lingual group exclusively Poles who in this way wanted to secure themselves against Prussian persecution.

Taking this circumstance into consideration, as well as the fact that the Niemodlin district, both the Nysk districts (town and country) as well as the Grodkow district are excluded from the plebiscite territory, it is evident that on the territory subject to the plebiscite there lived, in 1910, 712,000 Germans and 1,252,000 Poles, that is, 64% of Poles which means that even according to the Prussian statistics which were unfavourable to the Poles, a great Polish majority existed and that that majority was in course of elemental increase and of growth in power according as the great masses of the Polish people advanced in national consciousness. Not many years ago the Upper Silesians chose no deputies with Polish national feeling. But during several periods, in recent election years, (not counting the election to the present national assembly in Berlin, which the Poles boycotted) the Polish population secured by their votes the election of the warmest advocates of the Polish cause into the Prussian Diet and into the Parliament of the German Federation. The recent elections to the communal councils in Upper Silesia became in the same way a triumph for the Polish element, as they gave the Poles a considerable majority over the Germans.

The cause of the numerical superiority of the Poles in Silesia is the natural fact that the increase in the population is here 18 in 1,000 inhabitants yearly, or twice as much as in the whole of Germany. Two thirds of this increase naturally falls to the Polish population and will from year to year change the numerical relation of the two nationalities to the advantage of the Polish nationality, which, considering the present condition of national consciousness, even if it is not now united to the mother country, will never renounce the idea of being united.

It was not only numerically that the Polish element increased in Upper Silesia. It not only multiplies but organizes itself. It is not only increasing in numbers but is building itself up internally and socially. The Polish Trade Unions, which already some years ago were in many respects inferior to the German trade unions, have now developed splendidly. They impose not only because of the number of their members but because of their great material resources.

The Polish Trade Associations alone number 150,000 members including: — 90,000 miners; 40,000 foundry-men 7,000 railway men (but these latter are only in course of organization). Besides this the workmen who are organized in the Trade Unions, in the Polish Socialist Party number 30,000.

Hence the total number of members of the Polish Trade Unions amounts to about 180,000 and that number is continually increasing and will not cease to increase: for nothing will restrain the ele-

mental tendency of the people of Upper Sil. earth
return to their mother-country. 'h.
ily

But for this Polish population which by its natural increase so elementally spreads out and which by its national consciousness so unrestrainedly grows inside the country, it begins to be too strait within the bounds of Upper Silesia and even within the bounds of the German State! We even pass over the circumstance that the Polish element chiefly exists in the country and is condemned to till the least fruitful fields, since the most fruitful places have been occupied by German colonists.

We pass over the fact that in Upper Silesia 57% of the ground under cultivation is in the hands of great landed proprietors (of all the Prussian districts the Opolski district has both relatively and absolutely the greatest percentage of fidei commissions); and that the fourth part of Upper Silesia constitutes the property of seven German magnates (reckoning in this number fiscal property).

Finally we pass over the fact of the monstrous inequality in the division of the means of production, constituted by those seven magnates having in their hands 188,692 hectares while at the same time within an area which is not much larger (198,806 hectares) there are crowded together 122,576 peasant families, which are almost exclusively Polish, each of them occupying a holding of less than 5 hectares in area.

The ~~r~~ We pass over, I repeat, the abnormal conditions, in ~~sch~~ almost come to expropriation, of the Polish working people in favour of a few German capitalist potentates, who are in no way connected with the population of that part of the country. Let us rather direct our attention to more important facts, to the total numbers which bring out the relation of Upper Silesia to the German Federation on the one hand and to the rest of Poland on the other.

The density of population in Silesia amounts to about 170 to the square kilometre for the whole country and in the four most industrial districts this density reaches 1,400 and even in some places 1,600 to the square kilometre.

If we recall the fact that the density of the population all over Germany amounts at present to 130 heads to a square kilometre, and that hence this density is twice as great as the average density of the population in Poland, where scarcely 69 inhabitants on an average live on a square kilometre, it is easy to draw the conclusion in what direction the overflow population of Upper Silesia must go. Overpopulated Germany which is moreover deprived of her colonies and shut in within her own frontiers has no room to take in the overflow percentage of the Polish population from Upper Silesia. Germany itself will soon begin to stifle within its narrow borders; whilst Poland possesses in its eastern territories beyond the river Bug extensive, thinly populated lands, very well suited for colonization and they

call by the treasures which lie sleeping in their earth for working hands and for living human strength.

In the German state there begins to be not only lack of space but hunger. The Germans already have too great a population for their amount of agricultural production. Even reckoning the most intensive culture of their fields they are not able and they will not be able to feed their inhabitants without import from abroad, especially in consequence of the loss of the Principality of Posen which was the granary of Germany.

Contrary to this, Poland will not only have enough food but will very soon be able to produce a considerable excess of food stuffs for export.

Already to-day the following articles either can be or are exported from Poland: — flax and hemp straw; vegetable seeds, plants for pasture and for cultivation; hops, potates, potato flour, starch, sugar, alcohol, eggs, geese, horse-hair, feathers, bristles, raw hides, bone-glue, wood, wooden goods, farm-carts, willow twigs for basket work, tar, turpentine, vegetables and fruit. Besides this, in a short time Poland will be able to export: — corn, milk, cheese, poultry, meat and butter.

An indispensable condition of the development of agriculture is the possibility of using artificial manures. And in consequence of the union with Poland of Galicia, and Podolia, Polish agriculture has at its disposal immense beds of potash salts, cainick and phosphorites. The beds of potash salt in Galicia stretch over more than 3,000 square kilometres.

Uncountable beds of phosphorites are possessed by Poland in Podolia as well as newly discovered beds in the Congress Kingdom. The production by Poland of bone flour and bone-super-phosphates is developing ever more and more. The building of a factory of azote manures is finished at Bory near Cracow. Poland, in comparison with Germany, which has made its land almost as productive as possible, is a country which has the prospect of a flourishing agricultural future.

Sixty-five inhabitants out of a hundred in Poland maintain themselves by agriculture, and in Prussia only 29 out of a hundred. 0.54 hectares of land fall in Poland to one inhabitant whilst in Germany the figure is 0.35 to one inhabitant. But whilst the Germans, already before the war, had come to the end of their agricultural development, Poland has only reached the beginning of hers, which means that if the land were properly improved it could easily double its production. Even to-day there are in the former Kingdom of Poland 233 kilos of wheat and rye together, per head of the inhabitants; in the Principality of Posen there are 586 kilos and in the Opole district, for the time being, only 177 kilos.

Hence Upper Silesia, being an industrial district, requires the transport to it of agricultural products from outside and cannot expect to have this from the countries of the German Federation, which is itself suffering from the want of food-stuffs. The import of articles for food can only be from Posen,

from the former Kingdom of Poland and from Galicia which means that only Poland can export enough food to Upper Silesia to keep it from famine.

Already during the years 1911 and 1913 the commercial balance of Upper Silesia showed a considerable excess of grain and garden products and also of meat. The numbers given below prove this.

The average import to Upper Silesia:

		From the Posen district:	From the rest of Poland:
1	Wheat	1,044 tons	6,100 tons
2	Rye	20,000 "	5,400 "
3	Oats.	264 "	3,700 "
4	Barley etc.	243 "	10,500 "
5	Potatoes	11,000 "	28,600 "
6	Flour	26,000 "	—

The average import of meat to Upper Silesia was as follows: —

		From the Posen district:	From the rest of Poland:
1	Cattle	11,357 head	554 head
2	Pigs	29,042 "	15,571 "
3	Sheep	491 "	643 "



Silesia which before the war was fed with bread and meat which was imported from the other parts of Poland, is the more destined after the war to import from Poland. Any state frontier together with a fiscal frontier dividing Upper Silesia from the rest of Polish territory would be an attack upon the foundation of the existence of Upper Silesia and would cut off the workshops from their natural granary and pantry.

But if on the one hand Upper Silesia is secured only through Poland a source of provisioning and hence can keep up to the necessary extent the productiveness of its population's work, on the other only Upper Silesia can assure Poland economic independence and that is true from every point of view. The bond which unites this province with the mother-country is, as it were, a kind of mutual dependence: both Upper Silesia and the rest of Polish territory would, without each other, be condemned to incurable disease and, economically, would be perpetually lame.

It is generally known that every modern state which wants to secure itself a base for its free and prosperous economic development, must in the first place have its own source of iron. Now only Upper Silesia and Teschen Silesia of all the territories of Poland have stone coal, which is necessary in the iron industry. This circumstance formed the chief reason why the metallurgic industry could not develop sufficiently in the former Kingdom of Poland.

In the year 1912 the Congress Kingdom produced in its factories 390,000 tons of raw iron and imported within the same period 156,000 tons. The above extent of production would scarcely in a modest degree supply the needs of the province. The limitation of necessities to this extent both economically, industrially and technically was the result of political oppression by the usurping government which continually hindered Poland so as to favour Russian interests. Under the pressure of this paralyzing hand of the Russians, the use of iron in the former Kingdom of Poland was five times, or sometimes eight times less than in other European countries, not even speaking of the United States of North America.

For whereas the use of iron in the year 1910 amounted per head

In the United States to	18,5	pouds
In Germany to	8,2	„
In England to	6,8	„
In France to	5,6	„
In Belgium to	8,0	„

the use of iron in the Kingdom of Poland, counted per head of the inhabitants, would not be more than 1.18 pouds, hence it is easy to understand how great would be Poland's dependance if on having regained her independence, she was obliged, whilst deprived of Upper Silesia, to proceed to the economic resto-

ration of the devastated country and above all to the quick reconstruction of the network of railways, to the building of urban hygienic arrangements, drainage, tramways, factories, weapons, etc., that is to work requiring an unlimited supply of iron. But no other province of Poland would be able to come to the help of the Polish State in this respect. Galicia has absolutely no iron ore, neither is there any in West Prussia or in the district of Posen, and these provinces have not any coal mines or in general coal beds. The former Kingdom of Poland has iron ore but it has no coal which can be made into coke. Therefore as regards the production of iron, the former Congress Kingdom was, already before the war, dependant upon the foundries of Austrian Silesia, (the Karwin coal fields belonging to which have been assigned to the Czecho-Slovak Republic) and upon the Moravian foundries. For the above reasons any attempt to start and develop the metallurgic industry in Poland, if Poland does not regain Upper Silesia, will place Poland in inevitable and absolute dependence upon the State which has control of the Silesian mines and foundries.

The following numbers show that the danger of this dependence is by no means imaginary. According to the data of the German government statistics (Statistics of the goods traffic on the German railways) the export from Upper Silesia to Congress Poland amounted to

In tons

Year	Coke	Coal	Raw iron, steel, boilers and other manufactured goods
1900	835,796	163,509	104,929
1901	754,107	147,041	74,577
1902	502,816	133,041	63,257
1903	514,143	136,867	62,043
1904	488,895	147,080	53,721
1905	836,603	124,842	55,520
1906	716,192	159,939	70,899
1907	442,654	118,177	56,290
1908	727,465	150,449	68,674
1909	432,977	107,241	85,413
1910	819,328	153,600	96,987
1911	1,073,053	247,963	137,201
1912	1,071,080	245,459	159,711
1913	1,209,014	276,345	199,595
1914*)	929,837	185,602	146,324

The former Austrian partition (Galicia) was in the same condition. The transport of Upper Silesian coal into Galicia increased continually, rising from 449,634 tons in the year 1900 to 1,909,620 tons in the year 1913.

The import of coke increased within this same time from 24,229 tons to 60,027 tons and as regards iron and iron manufactured goods the import rose

*) Up to the moment when the war broke out.

from 14,474 tons to 28,408 tons. And let us not forget that both West Prussia and the Principality of Posen which then formed part of the German Federation but which now form part of the Polish State, used exclusively Upper Silesian coal, coke and iron.

So far as concerns the Russian partition, the Congress Kingdom might, in some sort, keep itself from being completely dependant upon Upper Silesia by bringing in raw iron and manufactured iron articles from Russia. But at present, to say nothing of the complete ruin into which Russia has fallen and from which it will probably not soon arise, the fiscal boundary separating Poland from Russia will be a hindrance to an advantageous, from Poland's side, import of iron into Poland: Poland will hence even the more become dependant on Silesian production.

But if that economic dependence made itself seriously felt in other parts of Poland when, in commercial relations with Germany, this dependence appeared as the result of the friendly relations of Germany to Russia and of its alliance with Hungary, it is easy to foresee how far in the future dependence on Germany which is beaten but not rendered powerless, would become politically threatening and morally quite unbearable for Poland which was restored on the ruins of the German usurpation and on the ruins of the Russian and Austrian usurpations which made one concrete whole with it. Such dependence would necessarily end in new armed conflicts.

But on the other hand, if by virtue of its economic necessity and of its geographical position,

the Polish State finds itself forced to take stone coal from the Upper Silesian mines, and to make use of the production of Silesian foundries, this circumstance, which would be disagreeable in itself, if Silesia remained with Germany, might lead, in the nearer or further future, to the involuntary rapprochement of Poland to Germany, which could not be in the permanent interest of Poland, and which would certainly not be in the interest of the western European powers.

All these arguments may be concentrated into one thesis of extreme importance: the political independence of Poland will be incomplete without economic independence; but this cannot be founded without the inclusion of Upper Silesia, that is, its mineral treasures, within the bounds of the territory of the Polish State. The disannexation of Upper Silesia is a simple, natural and absolutely necessary completion of Polish independence.

* * *

It should be added that the strict economic dependence of other Polish provinces on Silesia answers to the dependence of Silesia upon the rest of Poland.

As a matter of fact it is enough to look at the map to convince oneself with one glance that for Silesian coal, iron, zinc, lead and cement, Poland is the surest and the most advantageous overflow market.

Upper Silesia being, as we have seen, both historically and ethnographically Polish, having an im-

memorial and compact Polish population, cuts deeply into two provinces which are now united to Poland, namely the former Congress Kingdom and the former Galicia, the frontier line of which with Upper Silesia is also the prolonged line of Teschen Silesia, a province which is also undoubtedly Polish. Only on the west does Upper Silesia border upon Middle Silesia and Lower Silesia, but these provinces have their own highly developed industries; Middle Silesia, which is 100 kilometres away from the Upper Silesian coal and foundry district, has an inconvenient way of communication with it, by a water-way, for the one and only canal, the Klodnicki canal, which begins at Zebrze and falls into the Oder, is too narrow and has too many sluices to be in a condition to play an important part in the transport of coal and iron into the midst of the German markets. And meantime these products do not like railways which are too expensive. There can then, be no question of the competition of Silesia with the coal and iron of Westphalia either within the bounds of the German State or in western markets. The German government itself has several times declared to the industrial men and miners of Silesia that the German and western markets are shut for them; these markets are reserved for the mining and the industry of Westphalia, and Saxony for Berlin production. And in fact, so it was. The native German industries outgrew the demand of the interior German markets and were already beginning to smother within their confines. The Upper Silesian production sought over-

flow markets for its produce in the east, especially in Congress Poland, in Lithuania and White Ruthenia, in the Ukraine and finally in Russia.

To-day either these parts of Europe are in Polish possession as her immemorial inheritance or they are subject to Polish influence being united to Poland by a common culture, or Poland serves as the most convenient way between them and Silesia. Besides this, Upper Silesia is so closely connected with all Poland through the Vistula and its tributaries and by the system of canals which already exist or are projected, it is so closely connected with Lithuania, White Ruthenia and even with Russia itself that its union with the Kingdom of Poland opens before the mining and foundry industries in Upper Silesia unlimited prospects of development.

That Upper Silesia constitutes economically an organic whole with the rest of Polish territory, is not denied even by the Germans themselves. On the contrary, the Upper Silesian Germans assert in a number of memorials devoted to the analysis of the conditions of local production and placed in the hands of the Chancellor of the German Federation either by the Chamber of Commerce at Opole or by the Union of the owners of Upper Silesian mines and foundries in the years from 1915 to 1917.

The great German manufacturers prove in their memorials that the closest possible connection

with Poland constitutes for Silesia a matter which touches its existence.

When presenting their postulates to the Chancellor of the German Federation, the Chamber of Commerce at Opole, in its memorial dated September 24, 1916, writes among other things as follows (p. 15):

"In the first place we demand the liberation at long last of Upper Silesia from that iron ring within which its geographical and political position shuts it up. That ring is the original reason of all the complaints which come from our province. Although it may be expected that from the moment when peace is concluded the efforts to have an economic union with Austro-Hungary will lead to an increase of the mutual exchange of products between these two countries, nevertheless it remains true that export to Austria and Hungary will always meet with an obstacle in the shape of the efforts made by both these nations to reconstruct their own manufactures and to secure them a still greater development.

"It is thus obvious that export to Austria and Hungary can never replace for Silesia and for the whole of German manufacture (which, as we can foresee, may very greatly increase), export to the Kingdom of Poland, because of the great lack of technical progress in that country. For this reason we take the liberty to direct your most concentrated attention to that point in our memorial in which the question of the relations which have long existed between the trade and manufacture of Upper Silesia

and Russian Poland is discussed in a more detailed manner. The future of Upper Silesia depends upon how its relations with Russian Poland are constituted; because of this our conviction, as the natural consequence of this strict connection with Russian Poland, we express the wish that these two countries should be economically united to Germany or at any rate that the whole western part, adjoining Silesia, should be united to Germany".

And here is another memorial presented by this same Chamber of Commerce at Opole to the Chancellor of the German Federation in July 1917. Being apprehensive that in consequence of the restoration of independent Poland, the economic relations of the latter with Silesia might undergo a complete change, or should entirely cease, the Upper Silesian manufacturers had recourse to strange and indeed incredible expedients. They wished neither more nor less than that the of whole Poland should be kept in bondage!

"We must protest against the idea that Poland can become a state entirely autonomic and independent from Germany, Austro-Hungary and Russia".

That is how the manufacturing potentates of Germany represent the matter, because they derived their wealth from Polish land and from the work of half a million of Polish workmen.

But if the enslaving of Poland should appear impossible, then: — "Poland ought to be made into a state which should remain under the protectorate of Germany and should depend on it, like the pro-

vinces of the former Roman Empire... All means of communication (railways and water-ways) should be managed by the German Empire. The same authorities should have control of the post, telegraphs and cables..."

Independent of this effort to renew the classic tradition of ancient Rome, the Upper Silesian potentates have absolutely no doubt as to "the undeniable necessity of the economic separation from Poland of the Bendzin, Wielun, Czenstochowa and Olkus districts and of their incorporation into Germany. This is, as Your Excellency knows, a fundamental postulate for Upper Silesia".

How do those personal friends and advisers of William II picture the existence of Silesia in case Poland should be separated from Russia? They knew very well that the supremacy of such a few plutocrats over the whole Polish population of Upper Silesia was maintained only by violence and constituted a glaring transgression of all human and civic laws.

Hence they feared that they would lose their authority and here are the means by which they proposed to secure it:

"For the purpose of restraining on German territory the Polish agitation the renewal and extension of which may be expected after the war, there should be formed, along the German frontier a protective sphere where only purely German people should be settled. For this purpose the Poles who inhabit this sphere should be expatriated and should

be transported further into the interior of Congress Poland, on to colonization territories, further advanced towards the east..."

Such are the monstrous plans which German Jingoism conceived in its dreams of world-wide rule! To-day these dreams have dispersed for some time. But the habits and tendencies which for years and decades had been grafted upon the consciousness of the Prussian magnates who ruled in Silesia, will not disappear so very quickly. It is true that now there can be no question of the transportation and driving out of the Polish population from their immemorial dwelling places, though we must realise that the Germans, whether they are ruled by William, Bismark and the Colonization Commission or by Scheidemann, and Noske, will always find a way to realize their nationalistic and imperialistic intentions.

To leave a million and a half of Poles under Prussian rule means to open the way for quarrels and fighting in the future, the results of which, considering the value and importance of the territory upon which they will be fought out, will not cease to shake the foundations of the economic life of the whole of central Europe.

* * *

The German occupation of Upper Silesia is an unceasing threat to the peace of Europe. On the other hand the incorporation of Silesia into Poland would be one of the permanent guarantees of peace.

The Germans themselves supplied proofs of

this thesis, and first of all as concerns the part played by Silesia in time of war.

The great manufacturers assembled in the Chamber of Commerce at Opole wrote, in the confidential memorial which we have already quoted, and which was placed in the hands of Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg in September 1916, as follows:

"The metallurgic works of Upper Silesia have proved how important our province is for the defence of Germany. The war has shown that the industries of Western Germany cannot supply the German army with the indispensable amount of military material. Without the factories of Upper Silesia, the manufacture of weapons, ammunition and other articles necessary for the army, could never meet the needs of the army. Hence it is to the interests of the German army that the manufactures of Upper Silesia should at all costs remain at the disposal of Germany".

Another memorial dated March 18th, 1919, on the subject of a convention with Poland was presented to the Berlin government by the "Oberschlesischer Berg und Huttenmannischer Verein" and presents this whole affair in a quite clear and decided light.

This association says at the beginning of its memorial as follows:

"The importance of Upper Silesian industries was confirmed by the world war. There is no doubt that such a war, with all its tremendous industrial

requirements could not have been carried on without the mines and factories of Upper Silesia“.

Let us add the declaration so often met with on the pages of German newspapers that without the stores of mineral and coal derived from Upper Silesia the Germans would have been obliged to stop the war two years earlier; and then we shall understand what a part Upper Silesia played during the war. It is certain that the Germans will then only be really defeated in the war if they finally lose Upper Silesia, for then they will lose the means to their revenge.

What part would Upper Silesia take in a war of revenge?

The Germans proclaim what it would be with complete and brutal candour, for no doubt they wish in this way to stir up all their citizens to make the greatest sacrifices in order to retain Silesia. The "Ostdeutsche Morgenpost", an extreme nationalist German newspaper in Bytom inserted on June 12, 1920, a leading article in which, amongst other things we read:

"The final aim of French policy is to tear from German hands their last weapon. That last weapon in German hands is Upper Silesia. If the Germans lose the Upper Silesian industries with the coal and with the layers of iron ore, then they will become for ages the slaves of France and will be obliged to submit to any policy she imposes upon them. In case of war the industries of the Rhine district and of Westphalia are condemned to ruin and no war can

be carried on without industries. Hence to tear Upper Silesia from us would be to fasten upon the whole of Germany a condition of the most frightful slavery“.

What will be the fate of Upper Silesia? Will it remain under Germany? Will it be set free from German dominion?

Upon the answer to that question will depend the existence or fall of militarism in Germany for, if they lose the Upper Silesian coal fields, the Germans will be obliged to give up all thoughts of conquests, of the terror of oppression and of their revenge.

The fall of Prussian militarism?

But this was just the greatest aim of this greatest of wars! To free the civilized world from the curse of that iron vampire, which was sucking away all its most vital forces and its best blood! This was the dream for which millions of people went down into nameless soldiers' graves, so that human watchwords, worthy of humanity, worthy of their sacrifice should be written over the entrance to the era rising over their graves: the watchwords of an era of Peace, Work, Thought and Concord.

After the German Sedan of 1870 came the German Jena of 1918. Are new links to be continually forged on the anvil of history in this bloody chain of revenge? Is a second Sedan to come after a second Jena? Did the whole world wrestle for four years, weary as centuries, with German militarism in order, when it had thrown that militarism, to leave its forge in the Upper Silesian coalfield untouched? In vain will

the League of Nations assemble and take counsel as to how to pacify the world if behind its back there burns an unquenched fire in the Upper Silesian forge.

German militarism was overset at the Marne. But it can only be torn up by the roots in Upper Silesia, by taking that province away from Germany and returning it to Poland.

The Allies won the war at the Marne. They can only win a permanent peace in Silesia.

* * *

Upper Silesia is not only the forge of Prussian militarism. It is at the same time the forge of those peculiar Prussian methods of ruling and behaving towards people which, during the war, filled the whole world with horror and indignation.

That these methods underwent no fundamental change in spite of the upheaval of November 1918, can be seen all along the line from the attitude of Germany to the Peace Treaty of June 28th, 1919.

In this treaty it was determined, as regards Upper Silesia amongst other things (Article 88 § 1, line 3):

"That all military or semi-military associations formed in the said zone by the inhabitants of this region shall be at once disbanded. Those members of such associations who do not live in the said zone shall be evacuated".

The Germans have not, from the moment in which they signed the treaty, adapted themselves for

a single day to the decision quoted above. In spite of its distinctness, almost under the very eyes of the Inter-Allied Commission, and with the active support of the German Government, new secret associations, recruited from among former soldiers who chiefly belong to purely German districts, beyond the plebiscite area, are arming and increasing in numbers.

This under-ground movement, which may automatically lead to a catastrophe at any moment, began with the formation of German organizations with ostensibly legal objects: these organizations did not fail to change quickly into centres of conspiracy with the object of rendering the plebiscite impossible.

One of the first organizations of this kind was the "Freie Vereinigung Schutze Oberschlesiens", an institution which was founded under government patronage for the purpose of forming auxiliary forces to recover Silesia. Its chief agents are elementary school teachers who are in its pay: it organizes bands of "fighters" who terrorize the Polish population. The "Freie Vereinigung" supplies them with weapons.

The "Vereinigte Verbände Heimattreuer Oberschlesier" acts in strict union with the "Freie Vereinigung" and has a yet more aggressive character. It tries to settle in each locality a certain number of soldiers originating outside the plebiscite sphere. In June 1920, according to the information collected by the Poles, this organization had at its disposal a force of about 15,000 men. These men draw permanent

pay, at the rate of about 750 German marks monthly, go about in civilian clothes but are subject to military orders.

Amongst the associations which have kindred aims the "Kampforganisation Oberschlesien" occupies a prominent place. Like the two associations mentioned above, it spreads violence and terror among the masses of Polish peasants and workmen.

The "Technische Nothilfe" should also be mentioned. Its head organization is in Berlin. It has a branch at Bytom (Beuten). Numerous companies belonging to this organization are scattered all over Upper Silesia and its members number tens of thousands. In Bytom itself there are more than 700. They all wear revolvers. And a couple of months after the issuing by the Inter-Allied Commission of an order, the transgression of which was to be punished most severely, that the whole population should lay down all arms in its possession, the "Technische Nothilfe" displayed nationalist and monarchist tendencies: it was favoured with the special patronage of the Ministry of Home Defence (Reichswehr). The former Minister, Noske, issued a circular to all formations for Home Defence in which he recommended that all help should be given to this organization both as regards equipment and as regards provisioning and quarters.

A very dangerous and insidious propaganda has been developed by the associations of former prisoners of war (Vereinigungen ehemaliger Kriegs und Zivilgefangener). Germans who returned from captivity

in France or England were purposely detained for some weeks in special camps arranged for that purpose where they were fed very well and were subjected to skilful agitation so as to convert them into first-class weapons with which to fight against the Poles and against the allied troops which occupied Upper Silesia.

This course of proceeding was for the most part successful: almost all the Germans of Silesian origin who passed through this school of military camps, became ruthless enemies of a peaceful solution of the Upper Silesian question and became members of the "League of former prisoners of war" which has its central seat at Breslau.

Beginning with April 1920, certain tactics began obviously to be applied in German propaganda, and these tactics consisted of having recourse to all available means, not excluding terror and violence. During that month there appeared bands of "fighting" Germans, which bands had been formed and armed some time before beyond the demarcation line. At their head stood army officers, acting according to indications received from Berlin and Breslau. So as to efface everything which might disclose the military character of this homogenous organization, these bands were given different names, apparently innocent, such as: "Flurschutz", "Bahnschutz", "Sterbekasse", "Schlesische Notwehr", "Spielverein".

On the day of the Polish national festival, May 3rd, 1920, the Polish population arranged, in all parts of Upper Silesia, solemn processions in which

thousands of the inhabitants, wishing to show their nationality and patriotism, took part. The Germans were beside themselves with anger. In many neighbourhoods bands of Germans armed with revolvers and sabres attacked those taking part in the processions. The latter defended themselves as well as they could and repulsed the attacking bands. There, however, where the attack was unexpected and where the attackers were in a majority, having been reinforced by numbers of soldiers in civil dress, brought in from Germany, the Poles were obliged to submit to force and to disperse, leaving hundreds of wounded behind them. Such a sad epilogue had the Polish festivity, for example, in Opole, where all the German parties eagerly declared that they had nothing to do with the attackers, thus confirming the fact that the latter came in from the German provinces situated beyond the plebiscite demarcation line.

What connection has the central government in Berlin with these fighting organizations and their work?

This question may be answered as follows: Not being strong enough to restrain the anti-republican machinations of these organizations, the government is not inclined to put a stop to their attacks on the Poles. The government understands that, through them, there will be formed in Silesia a militarist and anti-Polish nest but it cannot act against this because in Upper Silesia the tendencies of these associations correspond to German national and political inte-

rests, which interests, for every German, may be primarily expressed in the words "Let us keep Upper Silesia".

And, besides, the paradox which seems to be constituted by the fact that a republican government tolerates and even supports monarchistic tendencies, is only apparent. For it is a proved fact that many of the members of the secret officers' organizations hold posts in the Ministries in Berlin; it is further proved that these conspirators issue on forms bearing the marks and seal of the Ministry, orders absolutely contrary to the policy of such a Ministry and contrary to the general policy of the government. This came to light in connection with Kapp's coup d'état. We have undoubtedly to do, in connection with Upper Silesia, with facts of a similar nature, which decrease the guilt of the German Government but bring into stronger relief the danger which threatens European peace from a government which is incapable of overpowering the elements which cause lawlessness and violence.

However, independent of this lawlessness and violence, which are committed in a sphere beyond the responsibility of the Berlin Government, there exist wide circles of military conspiracy which act hand in hand with the German government. How can this action be reconciled with the monarchistic ideas of the conspirators?

A third fact must here be taken into consideration. Government spheres in Berlin have a special plan of action in everything that concerns Upper Si-

lesia, a plan which is founded upon their own particular system of secret organizations.

The German Government is actively cooperating in the systematic arming of military associations and the collecting by them of materials of war for the purpose of provoking upon a given signal a so-called "German revolution against the Poles" in Upper Silesia: Just as during the peace negotiations, at the moment when Silesia was assigned to Poland, the Germans called forth, by means of troops, a collective protest against this decision, just as, to-day they are capable of representing the photographs of Polish national processions as German processions (see "Die Woche" and "Hamburger Illustrierte Zeitung", May, 1920), so they intend now, with the assistance of military gangs which have come from the interior of Germany, to call forth a "spontaneous" revolt, ostensibly of the Silesian population, against the inter-allied occupation and to drown in seas of blood all opposition on the part of the Polish population. All the preparations for this are nearly finished. The play can begin.

Is it possible for the German troops to get the plebiscite territory into their power?

There is no doubt that they can, for the forces of the Inter-Allied Commission are too small to smother a revolt which would look like the revolt of the civilian German population against the allies and the Poles.

It was an undeniable mistake to leave, contrary to the spirit of the Peace Treaty and to the opinion

of the local Polish population, the whole civil administration in the hands of the Germans. The result of this mistake is that to-day the whole administrative apparatus in Upper Silesia is at the service of the conspirators. A second mistake was not taking the severest measures to prevent the inflow of Germans from beyond the plebiscite frontier. The examination of the passports of travellers who came in from Germany was actually only brought in in about the middle of June, 1920. Thus all the German military organizations had free entrance to the plebiscite territory for several months.

They took advantage of this to the fullest extent. Almost 70,000 persons came into Silesia in the course of last year; and these were persons who had no right to take part in the plebiscite. They all came from Germany and a considerable number of them are soldiers belonging to various secret organizations, disguised as civilians.

* * *

This is how, in Upper Silesia, Germany fulfils the obligations which she took upon her when she signed the Treaty of Versailles.

In spite of the words of the treaty, the Germans continue to consider Upper Silesia as a province of the German State and hold themselves to be the only lawful masters of the country. They continue to look upon Polish propaganda as high treason.

But if that is the way in which the German Go-

vernment and public look upon legal acts which belong to international law, then what value for the local population would the autonomy which the Germans propose for Upper Silesia have? If the Germans, as of old, consider international treaties as scraps of paper, what will an act of autonomy, which will be one-sidedly drawn up and which will only depend on the good-will of Berlin, be? And what prospects would it have of being put into practice? Did we not see a short time ago, at a time when kind promises of autonomy were scattered broadcast, that the decision of the Inter-Allied Commission concerning the introduction of the Polish language into the state schools met with such violent opposition in German political circles that the Commission had to give in? It was decided in consequence of this to introduce separate Polish schools with the stipulation that in each locality the parents should decide as to what national character the school was to have and what language should be used for teaching: so that the burning quarrel was brought into the midst of every village and town.

The bloody oppression with which the former masters of Upper Silesia wished to strangle the renewed stirring of Polish nationality, had quite an opposite result to that intended: Polish nationality increased and was strengthened in every direction and occupied impregnable fortresses in the hearts of the Upper Silesian peasant and workman. It reached such a degree of endurance and force, of strength and resistance as is given to iron by the blows of an iron hammer striking upon an iron anvil,

The present violence and oppression are nothing less than the former ones. But they only attain one end, namely they make the Polish population feel the same hatred for its new oppressors, as for its former ones, identifying them with the latter and judging correctly that the revolution in Berlin has made no change in the relations of the nationalities to each other in Upper Silesia and that the liberation of Upper Silesia can be accomplished not by means of an interior German reaction but by the exclusion of this province from Germany and its union with its mother-country.

The Polish population has a vivid memory how a member of the German Social Democratic Party, Hoersing, who was Commissioner plenipotentiary in Upper Silesia, drowned Polish despair in streams of Polish blood. It remembers that at the head of the troops which unmercifully tormented the unarmed population was General Luettwitz, who was notorious later as one of those who took part in Kapp's coup d'état, and who was a minister in Kapp's government. It remembers that this same General Luettwitz, when he carried out unheard of repressions, was strictly carrying out the orders of the then minister for Home Defence, Noske, who is still to-day a member of the German Social Democratic Party.

These three names: HOERSING, LUETTWITZ and NOSKE, are united in the minds of the Upper Silesian population and form a symbol of the part played towards the people of Upper Silesia by official German Socialism.

But if even the red standard of Socialism, the emblem of liberty and social justice, floating above the heads of the Upper Silesian population, is only red for them with the remembrance of the blood of unarmed Poles which has been shed, then what can be expected from other German parties and camps which already strongly emphasize in their programmes their nationalist exclusiveness?

Hence the Upper Silesian people do not see any future for themselves within the borders of the German Federated States. The Polish population wishes to return to the Polish State.

It has not for six centuries victoriously resisted all attempts to Germanize it, whilst armed only with the half-conscious instinct of its racial separateness, to surrender to-day, when it has regained a full consciousness of its nationality. It did not forsake the national cause when it saw its mother-land powerless and humiliated, dismembered by three powers foreign to each other, and under a yoke. Is it likely to forsake it to-day, when Poland is enrobed in the majesty of independence and has every prospect before her of development, culture, wealth and strength?

The Upper Silesian peasant and workman has had his part in all the misfortunes, wrongs and humiliations of Poland when misfortune wrong and humiliation were the lot of Poland. Hence to-day he counts it as the holiest right of his blood and of his national spirit to have his full share in the independence and prosperity of the future restored Poland.

One thing more.

There are people in Europe who say: Upper Silesia with its precious treasures must be left to Germany so that the latter may be able to pay its debts and compensation for the war.

The opportunistic argument of such persons is short-sighted. Do they think that the German nation is so small-souled that it will allow itself to be made a serf for generations and will not try as soon as it gets the chance to shake off the hated yoke?

Would the Germans keep their Upper Silesian forge in their power to forge the chains which were to keep them in an eternal serfdom?

And besides, ten millions of men did not perish on the battlefields of the great war so as to win compensation from the Germans. There can be no monetary compensation for the blood which was shed there, for those millions of eyes which were prematurely closed forever. The only satisfaction which can be given is the peace of the world which will secure for future generations a happier lot than had the youth of the present age.

Hence the interests of universal peace, not the interests of securing compensation for the war, should decide the Upper Silesian question and decide it in the way which the Polish population of Upper Silesia desires, for only thus can one of the most dangerous centres of war be changed into a centre of work and progress.

The statistic data given above were derived by the author from German authorities and from the official German statistics.



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