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- To the Editor of the "TIMES":

Sir,

Mr. John Maynard Keynes' book "The Economic Consequences of the Peace", the contents of which have only recently become known in Poland, at first staggers the reader by the sheer weight of statistical data, financial deductions, and arguments derived therefrom. But on closer observation it cannot fail to convey the impression, that it is the work of a clever financier, but not the work either of an enlightened economist or a sound politician.

We do not wish to criticise the attitude of Mr. Keynes who after having taken part in the Paris Peace Conference until June 7, 1919 as representative of the British Treasury, suddenly resigned from this position in order to demand publically the revision of the Treaty in a pro German sense. We even agree with him, that the revision of the Peace Treaty would be advisable. But we are deep persuaded, that both historical justice and economical necessities require, that this revision be effected in a sense absolutely opposed to the pro German plans advocated by Mr. Keynes.

Taking the Dantzic question as an example we observe, that Mr. Keynes considers the present solution as far too favourable for Poland and affording us, excessive influence and powers. We, on the other hand must consider this solution as un-

satisfactory as it has not in a sufficient measure given us the possibility of safeguarding our most vital interests. Nor in fact have the interests of Dantzig been taken into due account. For it Poland needs Dantzig as its only outlet to the sea, Dantzig on the other hand needs Poland as its natural "hinterland", to which it is linked by our principal waterway, the Vistula. Besides Mr. Keynes forgets, that Dantzig for about 400 years was united with Poland and that this union was one of the main sources of prosperity and welfare both of Poland and of Dantzig itself.

It is singular fact, that Mr. Keynes, who is so full of pity for the present unhappy state of Germany and Austria, has no word of compassion or even of understanding for the treatment, Poland has experienced during the war at the hands of the representatives of the above-mentioned two states. The difficulties Poland has to cope with at present have, for the main part, been caused by the devastation of her forests, the looting of her stores, the decimation of her cattle, the reduction of her rolling stock and the robbing of her factories of their machinery. But even before the war Poland has had no opportunity of developing her forces as an economic unit; divided into three separate parts she has, for more than a century, been made to serve the interests of the three Great Powers, to whose rule she has been subjected.

Having regained her political existence, Poland naturally cannot reorganize and rebuild her economic life over night, nor can she achieve this object without the assistance of the Great Powers, to whose victory she chiefly owes her independence. She must be afforded the territorial boundaries, which are essential to her further development. We protest against any solution which might curtail this development in the interests of Germany or any other hostile state.

Even if we admit, that Germany's capability of fulfilling the financial obligations, which the Peace Treaty has imposed on her and which Mr. Keynes himself describes as excessive, may be affected by the loss of territories, such as the Sarre-district, Alsace-Lorraine and Upper-Silesia, we absolutely refuse to acknowledge, that such considerations can in any way counter-balance the just claims we have to Upper-Silesia, which so to speak, was the cradle of the Polish State, whose centre it has formed until the 14th century. If Poland during the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th century slackened her hold on Upper Silesia, this is due to the fact, that the Polish Kingdom in those days derived its economic strength solely from agriculture and was ruled by a powerful class of landed gentry, who in their search of new tracts of land turned their eyes exclusively to the East, ~~to the Baltic territories, to Lithuania, Ruthenia and the Ukraina.~~ But to-day Poland is a democratic Republic, dependent on industrial development, supported no longer by an aristocracy of great

landowners, but by the broad masses of its peasants and labourer. The Polish miner in the coal fields of Upper Silesia must therefore be regarded an essential element in the reconstruction of the Polish State.

According to official statistics for 1910 in the Regency of Oppeln of a total population amounting to 2,268,000 souls, 1,258,000 were Poles. The percentage of Poles in the principal mining centres was as follows :

Bytom (country) .....	69	per cent
Gliwice .....	79	" "
Gory Tarnowski .....	73	" "
Katowice (country) .....	68	" "
Kozle .....	78	" "
Lubliniec .....	85	" "
Cieszno .....	83	" "

These figures prove, that the greater part of the coal production of Upper Silesia is due to Polish labour and that by the laws of nationality, which have been accepted as binding by the Peace Conference and form one of the main principles of the Treaty of Peace, Upper Silesia belongs to Poland. Our claim to this district is in no way less justified, than France's to Alsace - Lorraine.

On the other hand Upper Silesia is destined to play a very important part in Poland's future economic life. Mr. Keynes states, that of Poland's pre-war annual demand of coal amounting to 10,500,000 t. (this figure evidently applies to Congress Poland alone) only 1,500,000 t.

were supplied by Upper Silesia and that consequently the total annual coal produce of Upper Silesia amounting to 46,000,000 t. is much to great for Polish needs. This statement is likely to convey a false impression. Mr. Keynes forgets, that the industrial development of Poland is continually progressing and that the consumption of coal will in future be considerably greater than it was before the war. Then he utterly oversees the very important fact, that the districts of Prussia, now united to Poland under the Peace Treaty, namely Posen and Western Prussia, with their highly developed agricultural industries (sugar factories flour mills etc.) will need a large amount of coal about 10 to 15 millions of tons a year, which will equally have to be supplied by Upper Silesia.

Striking as these errors may be, they are mere trifles in comparison to the utter ignorance of Polish affairs coupled with prejudiced animosity, which reveal themselves in passages like the following one: "On the other hand the bankruptcy and incompetence of the new Polish State might deter those who were disposed to vote on economic rather than on racial grounds. It has also been stated that the conditions of life in such matters as sanitation and social legislation are incomparably better in Upper Silesia than in the adjacent districts of Poland".

We can only give vent to our astonishment, that a member of the British Treasury and finan-

cial expert should venture to speak of bankruptcy, which possesses the vast resources and natural wealth of Poland. Has Mr. Keynes never heard of the agricultural riches of Poland, (wheat, barley, oats, maize, corn, potatoes, beetroot, hemp, flax, cattle, poultry), does he really not know, that Poland, next to Russia and Germany, is the principal corn producing country in Europe, has he no knowledge of Poland's mineral supplies (naphta, salt etc.), of its vast forests, its numerous economic possibilities only waiting to be made use of? Does he not know, that whereas the percentage of uncultivated ground amounts to 19 % in Russia, 26% in Rumania, 28 % in Switzerland, 19 % in Sweden, only 15% of Polish soil have been left unutilised?

As to sanitation and social legislation, there is no need for anxiety, that Upper Silesia in the case of its reunion to Poland, would lose the benefits it enjoys in this respect at present. It has been a maxim of Polish administration ever since the revival of the Polish State to maintain in each of the three parts, subjected hitherto to foreign rule, the laws and customs, by which these territories were governed before the war. Thus Austrian laws are still in force in Galicia, Russian laws in Congress Poland and German laws in Posen. It is quite natural that, having the choice between three legislation, Poland will ultimately choose the most suitable for every branch of public welfare. Under these circumstances it is su-

perfluous to point out, that social legislation and sanitary institutions on the districts of Poland, adjacent to Upper Silesia, are not after all on so low a level as Mr. Keynes believes; as a whole series of laws and regulations concerning the welfare of the working classes and the improvement of public health have been issued in Poland in January and July 1919.

Mr. Keynes wishes to see the future of Europe built on the cooperation of German financial and industrial strength and Russian productiveness of raw materials and food stuff. He over-looks, that Poland possesses the economic possibilities both of Germany and Russia and that after having recovered her independence and strength as an economic country Poland will not only be a purchaser of foreign goods, but will be able to export her surplus of very important raw materials. Poland will in no way be a hindrance to the development of economic relations between the West and East, she must on the contrary be considered as a natural economic accessory to Russia.

But more important than this is the fact, that Polish culture is based on Latin thought and science, on which to a certain extent British civilisation is equally founded. Spiritual ties exist therefore between Great Britain and Poland and it is our ardent desire to develop and to strengthen these ties in the interest of both nations.

This object may be prostrated by the publica-  
tion of false assertions like the one Mr. Keynes  
places at the end of his book : "Poland is an  
economic impossibility with no industry but jew  
baiting."

Believe me, Sir,

yours very truly,

Dr. George Adamkiewicz  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Warsaw.

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