

choice of their title, for *The Quest of The Holy Grail* was not a mere romance of chivalry but a Christian allegory of the stumbling pilgrimage through life, its bewilderment and its difficulty of choice: just as *Everyman* is an allegory of its end.

The leaders of the movement have been aware of the many forces and desires now at work in the world. They have been quick to seize on all that are good, and to make it plain that these are of the heritage of Christians. While doing so they have developed a dramatic form that might have been a cause of delight to the ancient Greeks, if they had ever thought of it. This method of representation is in fact in line with the Greek ideal of drama. It opens possibilities as yet barely imaginable; and it carries with it a spirit that the Greeks had not.

K. C. MACDONALD.

## Poland's Foreign Policy

Count Adam Tarnowski recently delivered at King's College, on behalf of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, one of a course of lectures on "Contemporary Poland." A few passages from his lecture are here printed.

Count Tarnowski described Poland's foreign policy in relation to the League of Nations, Disarmament and the Revision of Treaties. He went on to say: "I shall now pass to another matter of first-rate importance: to that of the protection of minorities. We consider that the system set up after the War is unjust. As you doubtless know, Poland was the first of a number of countries to sign the *Minorities Protection Treaty*. But, please, take this into consideration: whilst Poland has on her soil about 800,000 citizens of German nationality (of which only 300,000 are on territory formerly held by Germany), there are over a million Poles living on German soil. With the exception of those living in German Upper Silesia, this Polish minority is deprived of the most elementary international protection. In addition, the existing protection of Poles in German Upper Silesia is due to end when the Geneva Convention expires in 1937.

"The development of the situation we have been witnessing since the war, now especially marked by further deterioration owing to the events of the very recent past, brings out into vivid and striking relief that the national minorities of Europe are split up into protected and into unprotected categories. Both from the point of view of a proper care for the millions of Poles living outside their native land, and from that of the most general considerations, Poland believes the present position of the protection of minorities to be untenable in its present discriminatory form. It is for this reason that the Polish Delegate at Geneva recently so strongly supported the motion that *Minority Treaties* should be generalized, i.e. that they should become operative in, and be binding for, all and every country having national minorities within its boundaries. The motion has not been accepted. Poland will, nevertheless continue to support this demand, and if this is not attained, it will prove impossible to maintain the present status, in which inequality of rights and all the consequences that discrimination entails have become only too glaringly apparent.

"Since I have touched on one of the points connected with Polish-German relations, I shall, with your permission, outline the basic aspect of Poland's foreign policy in this very important domain. A proper understanding of the fundamental trends of this policy cannot be attained without a knowledge of the past history of these relations. Poland's Western frontier originally ran along the line of the river Elbe and embraced the Island of Rugen, Kolberg, Stettin, and of course, Danzig. During the past thousand years of our history Poland has lost 300,000 square kilometres of territory in favour of Germany, this area roughly equalling a half of present-day Poland and two-fifths of

contemporary Germany. The great historical process in Polish-German relations consisted in the struggle for the Baltic and its shores. In spite of the diminution of Poland's territory in the West, her maritime province of Pomorze remained an integral and actual part of the Polish Commonwealth until the partitions with only one break during that time (from 1328 to 1466). Pomorze was thus a part of the Polish Commonwealth for over 650 years before the Prussians seized it.

"I wish to emphasize, further, that in the ten centuries of Polish-German relations, Polish forces have never crossed the German frontier. On the other hand, the role played by Prussia in Poland's history is well-known, the epilogue of cutting Poland off from the sea, the seizure of Pomorze and the dismemberments of the Commonwealth—these are all facts too well-known to require elaboration.

"Reminding you ladies and gentlemen, of these facts, I by no means wish to evoke the impression that Poland's foreign policy is shaped solely under the influence of by-gone conflicts and the strife of neighbours. For us it suffices that, as a result of the Great War, a considerable part of the territory of the former Polish Commonwealth has been restored to us, in this manner undoing the crime of the partitions. Our victory in the war of 1920 furnishes the conviction that, when all is said and done, we owe our independence to ourselves. This has been well pointed out by Lord d'Abernon in his remarkable book: "The Eighteen Decisive Battles of the World." But at the same time, we Poles, who have, as a nation, been spared none of the direst experiences of history, are determined to repel all and any attempts to repeat history; and we hope to do so the more effectively that contemporary Poland, in respect of her organisation and strength, in no manner resembles the Polish Commonwealth of the XVIII century.

"Germany, we consider, should not extract from the annals of history a plan of action for the present day or for the future, but should seek there for indications as to what she should not and must not do. When she understands this—when the Germans revise their thousand-year old policies regarding Poland—then they may perhaps realise that contemporary Poland, if left in peace, does not intend to exist either as an antagonist of Germany or as a dependent of Germany, but on an equal footing with her. This simple formula is of great importance: it furnishes the key to our German policy, namely, that our attitude towards Germany will be identical with that of Germany towards us; it lends support to the conviction that two countries having two thousand kilometres of common frontier and supplementing each other economically, should in their own interests and in those of the whole family of European nations co-exist normally.

"The interests of peace demand that history be shelved if the phantoms of the past which may be evoked, can prestage another world-wide conflict. The claims for revision of the Polish-German frontier, advanced by the Germans during the last fourteen years are recognised by us to be a continuation of the policy of conquest carried on by Frederick the Great at the expense of his neighbours, a policy which since the World War is being disguised under a new cloak of words.

"As I have already said, Poland's foreign policy is based on respect for existing international treaties and for our rights independently of any political fluctuations which may arise.

"A characteristic example of this attitude of ours is afforded by the recently concluded Polish-Danzig Agreement. During the last election campaign in the Free City of Danzig—one which brought victory to Hitler's Party—fear was expressed in some western countries as to what Poland's attitude might be in the face of the course events were then taking. For Poland's foreign policy, however, the matter was quite clear. We considered then as now, that, regardless of the flag under which the Danzig Senate sails, Poland remains the co-proprietor of the port of Danzig, necessary to her for economic reasons, and that she is therefore directly interested, and can be expected so to be, in the integrity of her internationally sanctioned rights in that area being maintained. Both the agreements of August 5th, 1933: that in respect of Poland's utilisation of the Port of Danzig and that in respect of the rights of Polish citizens and of the Polish minority in the Free City, furnish indisputable evidence of these trends in our poli-

cies. I believe that, in the light of the clear-cut postulates of Polish foreign policy as outlined by me, the recent exchange of visits between the Polish Prime Minister, and the President of the Danzig Senate, needs little comment. Polish-Danzig relations have in this case yielded a practical test of our political principles, based on tradition, respect for our rights and a proper appraisal of actual reality.

"Speaking of Poland's neighbours, I cannot omit the opportunity of pointing out the contrast and increasingly positive shaping of Polish-Soviet relations. The various stages of the progress attained are marked by: the Polish-Soviet Pact of Non-aggression, signed in July last year; the Conciliation Convention of November in the same year, and the Pact of Eight—containing the definition of an aggressor—concluded in London this year. When M. Titulescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister visited Warsaw on the 9th of this month, he had the opportunity to hand in on behalf of his Government, to the Soviet Minister in the capital of Poland—the ratification document concerning this important pact. This document had been sent to Moscow, and simultaneously with its deposition in the Soviet Foreign Office (on the 16th of the current month) the Polish Minister to Moscow presented a similar instrument on behalf of the Polish Government. This aspect of Polish-Soviet relations is a noteworthy expression of the decided desire for peace and stabilisation in that part of Europe.

"Poland's policy of defensive alliances remains to be commented on, and her special attention must be devoted to our allies, France and Rumania. Our relations with France have their deeply-rooted historical traditions. They supplement a community of interests and they aim at the assurance and the maintenance of peace in Europe. As regards our second ally, Rumania, I cannot but draw attention to the fact that the efforts for peace made by the foreign policies of the countries concerned and ourselves have resulted in Rumania and Russia signing a momentous political act introducing the stable element of peace into their mutual relations.

"This picture of Polish foreign policies would not be complete were I not to touch on Polish-Lithuanian affairs. To this day, unfortunately, we have no normal diplomatic relations with Lithuania but we believe and hope that time and the traditions of the past will help to bring it about that Polish-Lithuanian relations will assume the character of an economic and political community of interests, in which the two sovereign states will be able to co-operate on terms of mutual confidence and respect.

"Finally, there is another field—a most important one in Europe—where Poland's role and influence, whilst not generally realised in England, is of great importance. I allude to current Danubian affairs. I wish only to state: that in connection with our economic and political situation on the cross-roads of the great trade-routes of Central Europe, our participation would not only enhance the prospects of successful political action in that part of Europe but seems to me altogether indispensable.

"In this sort of address it has of course been impossible to describe Poland's foreign policy exhaustively and in detail. In particular I have deliberately abstained from entering the waste field of our relationship with Great Britain—which I understand will be the subject of one of the next lectures."

### The Cockpit.

[Letters should not exceed 300 words in length and must bear the names and addresses, not necessarily for publication, of their authors.

The Editor can accept no responsibility for opinions expressed by correspondents.]

#### GERMANY AND EUROPE.

Sir,—Your correspondent C. Claxton Turner repeats the common argument in favour of Prussian armament, that it is "only fair." That argument is beside the point, because the only point at the moment is how we can save England from the effects of a European War. The only Government that wants to make War is the Government of Berlin; if it is treated as

an equal by the other Governments and permitted to prepare for aggression as they are prepared for defence, we shall have War. It is not a matter for argument, it is a matter for a house on fire is a matter for argument: either you put out the fire, or you burn. If you think it only fair to the fire to let it go on, why then you will be burnt to death. No one need trouble about the fate of Europe if he doesn't want to: it is England that is in peril.

H. BELLOC.

Sir,—If you will permit me to do so, I would like to lodge a protest against Mr. Gallacher's assumption that those of us who realise that Germany has a point of view as well as other nations must necessarily be "pro-Germans."

Our personal war-records should be sufficient refutation in most cases. If, however, we Britons had had the advantage of comprehension of the German point of view during the War, we certainly would never have believed, as we did, that our then enemies were boiling their dead down to make butter. Similarly, the Germans would have had a different understanding of their Zeppelin Raids.

Open discussion of every point of view is the best way to help ordinary people to gain a correct perspective after reading all sides, and in this regard I for one deeply appreciate your journal as an excellent antidote for the one-sided poisons so zealously administered by the more sensational sections of our Press.

C. CLAXTON TURNER, EX-MAJOR, D.C.L.I.

#### THE AMBULANCE CHASER.

Sir,—I have always understood that the tendency in the Northern Hemisphere is to go to the right.

Is it possible that confusion arises from this reason as soon as we pedestrians step off the pavement?

I have been recently in Rome and in spite of continuous noise found it easier to cope with the traffic moving on the right. During my short stay there I saw neither accident nor ambulance. Could this point be debated in your columns?

J. R. V. WELCH.

#### "MARYDOWN."

Sir,—I feel that a word of appreciation is due to G.K.'s Weekly and its readers. On the occasion of our advertised invitation to the Catholic public to take up shares in Marydown, the first letter opened was from a reader of G.K.'s Weekly and it contained a cheque which covered the whole of our advertising expenses in connection with the appeal. In the issue of Oct. 26th you were good enough to print an extract from a news bulletin regarding Marydown's progress. Again the first post next morning brought a letter from a reader, who, to show his pleasure at the progress we were able to report, enclosed a substantial cheque.

T. W. C. CURD,

Secretary, Marydown Farming Association, Ltd.



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