

Europe Unbound—A War of Liberation

We Have Now to Finish the Fight With Germany Herself

By FRANK H. SIMONDS

Author of "The World War," "They Shall Not Pass"

A FEW days ago there met in Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, the representatives of some sixty millions of people in Europe, members of half a score of enslaved races which in whole or in part have been included within the limits of that grandiose German scheme of Mitteleuropa. These representatives of the races which the German has characterized as "inferior people," and upon whose permanent slavery he founded his hopes of world empire, in the most historic of American buildings made appeal to the American people to lend their aid in making this war a true war of liberation. And it is to this phase of the peace settlement that I desire to turn in the present article.

The Mitteleuropa which the victories of Allenby and d'Esperey have recently all but annihilated extended on the map from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf; it included more than 150,000,000 of people, and of these but half were German; the balance belonged to a score of races, and of these the Magyar, the Osmanli and the Bulgar were admitted to a degree of partnership. In the German conception the Austro-German and the Magyar were to be the overseers of the Slavs and Latins of the Hapsburg empire, the Bulgar the padrons of the Balkan races, the Osmanli Turk the agent of the German master in Asia Minor.

All This Is Only the First Step

This Mitteleuropa has been broken; Bulgaria has surrendered; Turkey is on the point of capitulation. Austria, in the happy phrase of a German orator, "is disbanding." On the negative side we, the nations in alliance against Germany, have prevailed. We have broken the German conception, but this is obviously only the first step. We have now to finish the fight with Germany herself; to achieve that victory which must be achieved before there can be real peace. But beyond this step lies the next, which is of appalling magnitude. We have to prevent a recurrence of the German attack of megalomania, of lust for world empire.

How shall we achieve this end? Obviously, it is not possible to destroy any considerable fraction of the German race, even were there moral justification for such a course. We cannot in any considerable measure partition or enslave the 75,000,000 members of the Teutonic race inhabiting Central Europe. To do this would be merely to create a new Alsace-Lorraine or a new problem such as that of Italy in the last century. That this great mass of German people would ultimately regain its unity, and until it did regain that unity Europe would be in a state of instable equilibrium, is patent.

By contrast, it is not now possible to conceive that the 75,000,000 Germans in the past have undertaken their gigantic attack upon civilization had they not exercised complete control over an equal number of people, only a small percentage of whom were willing subjects or allies. An alliance between 45,000,000 Britons, 40,000,000 French, 35,000,000 Italians, together with the 180,000,000 Russians of the days before the Russian revolution, would have constituted an obstacle too great to be passed. Germany risked her frightful adventure solely because of her mastery of other races.

Throttling Empire-Hungry Germany

If we can break the hold of Germany upon subject races, if we can transform this war into a real war of liberation, if we can free some 60,000,000 of men and women from the yoke of Germany, we shall have created an obstacle too great to tempt the ambition of the most avaricious and empire-hungry German. By contrast, if we fail to do this all history points to the probability that at some other time Germany will return to the charge, as France, in the days before the unification of Italy and of Germany, placed similar obstacles in the pathway of her imperialism.

In its simplest terms the problem of those who are to redraw the map of Europe is to erect such barriers to German expansion at the expense of the

rights and liberties of other races that Germany herself will recognize the impossibility of the undertaking and become what used to be described as "a good European." We cannot do this by taking German territory. Here, again, history is eloquent and unmistakable. The unity of the German people is a permanent fact, doubtless to be extended in the future by the entrance of the Austrian Germans into the Teutonic family establishment.

Our solution must inexorably be found in the just and proper recognition of the rights and aspirations of

here we may be sure that no league of nations can have even a ghost of a chance of success if it is not founded upon the doctrine of equal rights for all races. As a mere insurance against war this league of nations will be as impotent as the Holy Alliance or the more recent Concert of Europe if underneath it there exists an ulcer such as the Eastern question or the problem Italy presented after the Congress of Vienna. If we make peace without bestowing liberty upon any race, that race will repudiate our agreements, seek its own rights and inevitably overset our league of nations as the Balkan States overturned the Concert of Europe.

To make peace permanent we must abolish evils which are a menace to permanent peace, and the greatest of such evils is the survival of international injustice expressed in the denial of liberty to any race or nation. The refusal of Europe, divided by its own selfish ambitions, to do justice to the small Balkan States led the Balkan States to act for themselves, led inescapably through Serajevo to Armageddon.

this consideration in mind that we must examine the map of Europe, studying in the boundaries not merely the political boundaries between existing states, but the ethnographic map on which are written the boundaries between races, to find the solution. If Germany is not to fight the world again, harnessing to her war chariot the Poles, the Slavs, the Rumanians, it must be because we have so written our European settlement that she can no longer control these races and that these races, joined voluntarily and logically with us, will make a force too great for the German to challenge.

So much for the material considerations. We in America are so remote from the battlefield and from the questions which through the centuries have plagued European statesmen that it is not strange that neither on the military or on the political side is there any general grasp of affairs. And yet it is essential that there should be some grasp, now that a new phase is to open. To the information of his fellow countrymen the President had contributed much by his references to various prob-

pansion through the Balkans to Asia, while in Asiatic Turkey other states, Armenian, Syrian and Arabian, guaranteed and protected by France and Britain, will present no opportunity for German exploitation.

And without these things, without these liberated races, our victory, however complete on the battlefield, will have no permanent value. Germany, foiled, will return, no matter what burden be placed upon her and no matter what form of league of nations be framed. Certainly Germany must indemnify France as well as Belgium for her wanton devastations, just as she must restore Alsace-Lorraine and liberate her Poles and the 200,000 Danes of Northern Schleswig; certainly she must pay the bill for illegal submarine depredation, whether tongue for tongue or by money payment. Unmistakably the demand for an unconditional surrender of her military and naval establishment must be made good upon the battlefield if the surrender is refused now. But not all of these things will permanently shackle a nation of 75,000,000.

Redrawing the Map of Europe To Liberate Subject Peoples

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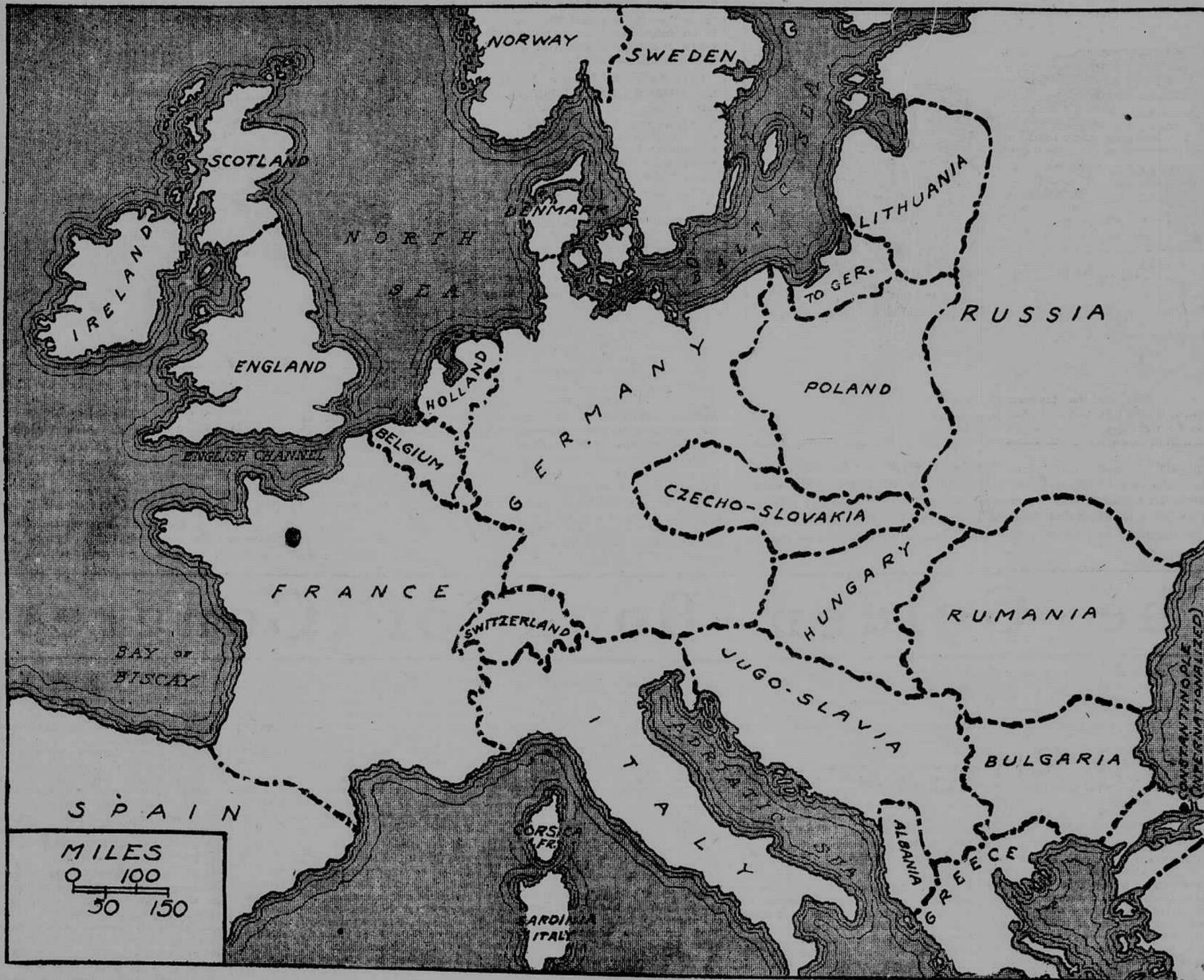
world is free. If we are to have an end of the practical menace of the "superior race," the dream of "world power," we can only have it when in place of half a score of helpless and enslaved nationalities between the German frontier and the Golden Horn we have as many independent nations. The whole German ambition was founded upon the notion of conquering by the aid of subject races, of defeating Russia and dominating Europe by using 30,000,000 subject Slavs. The liberation of the smaller races will thus destroy the whole German opportunity automatically.

And whatever the possibilities of a league of nations, and after the present terrible world tragedy all men will eagerly hope that it may succeed and

the defeat of the greatest menace since the end of the days of the other barbarian invasions, we have the opportunity to undo wrong almost without number.

The ink of the signatures to the final document of the Congress of Vienna was hardly dry before the struggle began to undo its iniquities. The struggle has continued to the present hour. We are at no distant date to frame another document of even greater moment to mankind. To-day the whole tendency in the American public is not to discuss the practical and physical facts, but the impalpable consequences. We are talking in terms of Utopia at the moment when it is possible to assure the liberation of millions of men and women, who must be set free before anything else becomes even a remote possibility.

THE NEW MAP OF EUROPE



those millions of people who were yesterday Germany's helpless slaves, whose men supplied the cannon fodder, whose fields yielded the food, whose factories furnished the machinery for the present war, whose collective contribution to the German side alone made this war possible. We must set them free, we must provide them with the necessary resources for separate national existence, and we must guarantee them our protection during that relatively short period necessary to their organization.

We should do all of this as an act of justice. We owe it to the Poles, the Rumanians, the Greeks, the Serbs, to the people of all the enslaved races, to bestow upon them those blessings to preserve which, so far as we were concerned, we took up arms against Germany. But aside from the moral aspect, which should be controlling and rarely is in international relations, there is the material consideration. Unless we do liberate and fortify these races we shall have to fight the German again, and he will again be able to throw these people against us and to use their labor and their lands to support his war upon us.

The question of the league of nations involves other considerations; yet even

The question of Poland, of Rumania, of the Austrian Slavs, is not, then, a remote and relatively unimportant question for Americans. On the contrary, it is the most vital of all questions, once Germany has been beaten and forced to surrender. Our mission, if we are to have a mission, in the making of peace must lie in resolute championship of the rights of all the peoples whose condition in the past has been such as to make a world conflagration possible, inevitable. If we do not desire again to send our boys to Lorraine and to Champagne a generation hence we must see to it that the protection against a new German assault upon our common civilization is made possible. And we must do this not by making Germany weak—a thing which cannot be done permanently in any case or wisely in any degree—but by making strong those peoples who collectively supply the one sure barrier to a recurrence of the German attack.

Boundaries Between Races as Well as States

It is with this situation in view that we must consider the problems supplied by Poland, by Rumania, by the Czechoslovaks and the Jugo-Slavs. It is with

lems in his celebrated "Fourteen Points," which, so far as they concern the righting of wrongs and the bestowal of liberty, have the unanimous approval of all mankind.

But we in America must not think that the settlement of the Polish question, for example, or the liberation of the Austrian Slavs is a remote and intricate European affair. There are no longer any exclusively European affairs, as our course in this war has proved. It is no longer possible for Europe to fight a general war without involving the United States, and henceforth our frontiers of interest, if not of geography, are European as well as Asiatic. If the present settlement does not abolish the German peril we shall have to join in the next battle to resist it, and therefore it is for us to contribute what we can to the erection of barriers against such a new German eruption.

A new Poland, a unified Rumania, two new Slav states, one on the Adriatic and one along the old frontiers between Russia, Germany and Austria; four states, whose combined population will exceed 55,000,000, a population far greater than that of France, of Great Britain or of Italy; these will be barriers to any new German dream of ex-

As to partitioning these 75,000,000 Germans, shackling them by economic or political chains imposed by the victors, this is a combination of madness and nonsense. The thing is impossible; it is also immoral. But in a free Europe the 75,000,000 Germans will not be a menace. They will be a minority far too feeble to yield to the temptations of the past. To make the world safe for democracy we have first to make it free. Having made it free there is no race among all the races which can hope to dominate the rest of mankind.

Before All Else a War of Liberation

It is not the territorial aspect, however, which I wish to emphasize in this statement, covering ground already discussed frequently in these articles. To me this war is before all else a war of liberation. The fact that a just and honorable settlement will set free some sixty millions of human beings from a slavery which for their respective races has endured over centuries, that it will bestow unity upon other races, that it will draw a map based not upon the ambitions of kings nor the appetites of imperialistic nations, is for me the supreme fact, which goes far to justify all the great suffering of the last four years. If we are to have a "federation of the world" we can only have it when all the

We have fought and are winning a new war of liberation. We have come to the point where we can free sixty millions of slaves. Their hands are stretched out to us, their fate is in a measure in our keeping. Age-long tyranny has begun to crumble and the masters of the old régime are on the run. The last chain which Metternich and those associated with him put upon human liberty at Vienna is breaking. If one could only recall now the millions of men and women of the subject races who have suffered and dared and died, maintained through all their agonies by the hope of the coming of the hour which has come, one could gain a more accurate notion of the splendid possibilities of the day in which we live.

In other times, after wars, coalition wars or contests between individual nations, the prize of the victor was a province, the control of a continent, the power to impose one nation's will upon another. To-day, as there draws to its close the greatest of all wars, the plain opportunity is within our grasp to reach a settlement which will go far toward making a new world war impossible. But we cannot do this merely by international agreements. The Holy Alliance and the Concert of Europe are good examples of the futility of such insurance policies.

If we do not erect strong and homogeneous states across the pathway of German ambition, if we do not enable the Poles, the Rumanians and the Serbs to defend their own independence and thus to protect the world against a new Mitteleuropa, there is nothing in history to suggest that at a later date the great German nation, which will in any event survive this war, will resume its old worship of power and its old lust for expansion. We can not and we should not take German territory from Germany. This will create a new evil. Even the suggestion that we should take the German fraction of Schleswig-Holstein—and this by far the greater fraction—from Germany and bestow it upon Denmark seems merest madness. Denmark could not keep it, and we should sin against our own light.

Profiting by the Experience of Napoleon

It is not by taking German provinces and German people from our present foe that we shall prevent his return to the attack. Napoleon found this out in the case of Prussia. In a free world a united Germany will be in a helpless minority to enforce imperialistic ambitions. In a free Europe the very extent of the states which would be threatened and would fight would veto the attempt. But if we deprived Germany of her own brethren, neither time nor numbers would lead the Germans to despair of a restoration of their "lost provinces." France has proved all this in the last half century.

For me the liberation of Europe is the first and the necessary step toward a league of nations. But it is not merely desirable as a step toward something else. If it is achieved, if Europe is unbound, this great human fact will justify the sacrifices of the last four years, and it must lead toward an eventual revolution in international relations. To add sixty millions to the number of free men and women in Europe is to increase by just this much the potential barrier to future imperialistic ambitions of any one race. The development of Poland, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia in half a century will automatically abolish those German ambitions which seem so terrible to us, exactly as the unification of Germany and of Italy put a term to those French imperialistic aspirations of Napoleon and Louis XIV which troubled Europe in other days.

We have to finish the task of defeating Germany; this is the first duty. We have then to redraw the map of Europe in such fashion as to liberate the subject races, to set free the sixty millions who were to have been eternal slaves of the Germans and have been temporary victims. These things done, and rightly done, the task of erecting the league of nations must be undertaken, but it can be fully undertaken then.