

102

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS BULLETIN

VOL. 1

June-July, 1945

NO. 3



kat. komp.

441355

1(1945), 3

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Published by:
POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, Inc.
1520 W. Division St., Chicago 22, Ill.



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wzbogacił zbiory Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego
Szymon Stanisław Deptuła
emigrant z Polski



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EDITORIAL

POLAND ON CHESSBOARD AT SAN FRANCISCO

Some explanation of our mission at San Francisco where the Polish American Congress represented a group of 6,000,000 Americans, is in order. Many other American religious, social, political, economic and cultural groups were represented and were active at the conference. Each group had a specific field of interest within the frame of the position which the United States is to accept in world affairs. The American labor groups, religious groups and many others watched over the fullest success of America's moral leadership in these affairs.

The Polish American Congress approached the problem of our participation in a world security organization from a political point of view, realizing that the plans for the future of Europe depend on the foundation upon which the organization must rest. In order not to fail her people and world, America must not step into a sickbed but see to it that her partner's heart is organically and functionally sound. Poland is the heart of Europe!

As long as this heart is prevented from functioning normally Europe will not be able to live a normal life. No matter how effective and soothing the chemical palliatives may be or how noble or perfect the promises put forward by the doctors, the whole system will suffer as long as the heart will be cramped and starved.

We believe that America's idealism, democracy, morality and traditions are the only antidotum against fascism, nazism, totalism, injustice and brutality. We believe that once we have discarded isolationism, promising the world four sacred freedoms as well as the tenets of the Atlantic Charter, we must go the whole way to keep our promise.

It would indeed be a tragedy for us as well as for mankind were we to stop in the middle of the road undecided and confused.

The United States must not fail.

Nor must we allow anybody to push us around, force us to compromise against our will, barter ideals on the exchange of exigencies. We want the world to look up to our Statue of Liberty in faith, solidarity and hope.

Historically the question repeats itself:—"Should the United States be a partner in an international organization to guarantee permanent peace?"

Once in the past America's reply was, "No!" That was after the first World War. There are many reasons why the United States refused to join the League of Nations. Some were valid, others were tragic mistakes.

Today, we again face the same question:—"Should the United States take an active part in the affairs of Europe and the world?"

Overwhelmingly, the answer is, "Yes." We now realize that America **MUST** be a partner. It is unthinkable that America should again isolate herself from the rest of the world.

Yet . . . it would be a hundredfold more tragic were we to go out only to be licked, duped, cheated and disappointed. It would be a mortal sin to go out of our way, carrying the heart of America on our banners only to return with an admission of failure and frustration. That would be the end of our democracy and of Christian civilization.

Almost all the nations represented at San Francisco were members of the League of Nations. Every one of them brought to the Golden Gate a record of failure and impotence. They have all failed. The United States has no such liability from the past. But now it will be our responsibility if we join. It is, therefore, our duty to make certain that the new organization will not fail.

Our enormous investment calls for great returns in moral values for our assets are not only wealth and power but also ideals. Lacking these the old League of Nations became a market place for hypocrisy and politics.

The Polish American Congress observes America's entry into this contract from the vantage point of the Polish issue. After a thousand years of proximity with Russia, marked by wars and persecution as well as peaceful interchange and cultural affinity, we feel that we are best qualified to speak about the Polish position on the balance sheet, especially so, since Poland's representative was absent. We brought up this issue in San Francisco in the same spirit and with the same purpose as did those who represented American Labor, American business, cultural institutions and religious groups. We were all concerned with the future of America—inspired with hope for permanent peace but also fearing failure and disappointment.

The Polish issue was not to be officially discussed at San Francisco. The conference, in its conception, had nothing to do with boundaries and problems of that kind as it was to be a convention of members to draft a charter.

The heart of the patient was not to be examined. We were not to look too closely at the bed in which we are going to rest. (It is an old bed, not a new one). We were to disregard infections and sore spots, issues and problems.

That was wrong.

It was unwise to hide old skeletons in new closets, to pretend, deal with illusions or build on quicksand. To do so, means to accept a fateful unbearable mortgage on the new building. The Polish issue and other issues, surge forward calling for courage and sincerity as a challenging test. No force on earth can stifle the truth. Yet the conference tried to by-pass many truths that were self-evident, among them the truth about Poland.

The conference was hastily called without thorough preparation, without a definite classification of the elements with which we are to build the new body. It was unduly advertised, oversimplified, overdecorated and over camouflaged. The average and civilian knew little of the meaning and importance of such words as, "in the first place," of different interpretations, tricky motions and diplomatic verbiage. Little did he know of the mental reservations that were deeply hidden behind every sermon and proposal. The conference became a chess game of expert diplomatic champions.

The Polish American Congress was there to remind the players that the Polish pawn, not a power, not a queen, but a simple pawn, may win or lose the game for the partners. It sometimes happens in so important a game that a little figure placed in a strategic position may mean the game. That little figure is Poland.

It is in a position to defend the queen or to become a queen and decide the outcome of the game.

We called the attention of the delegates that the whole plan of a permanent world peace hinges on this issue. It is not only an issue of boundaries and governments but of principle, a field that **MUST** be crossed heads high if victory is to be achieved.

There was an empty chair at San Francisco. Poland's flag was not among the flags on the stage.

Yet Poland was present in the conscience of every delegate.

For many years to come it will be an issue for America at every step our country will have to make as it becomes involved in European affairs.

There is no retreat open to us now.

We must go forward, determined to achieve what we are aiming at, to reach the goal towards which our sons were going on the road of death and sacrifice.

That goal lies behind Poland.

That goal must embrace a really free Poland. We shall not succeed in by-passing or hiding the Polish issue.

In 1939 Poland's "NO" to Hitler was a turning point in the history of our times.

Poland is again a turning point, marking the way of the world.

The present position of Poland is only a continuation of her position in 1939.

The importance of it was already felt in San Francisco but its warning must register in the mind of every American.

We were there to point out to the delegates at San Francisco that a field marked "Poland" on the chessboard is the key to permanent peace.

We have done it faithfully serving the interests of the United States at a crucial point in our history when our country is about to accept heavy responsibilities and still heavier duties.

NOTED WRITER ON RUSSIAN AFFAIRS SAYS RUSSIA SHOULD FULLY ATONE FOR INSULT TO GOOD FAITH BEFORE FURTHER LEND-LEASE MATERIAL IS GIVEN

William Henry Chamberlin, a noted writer and authority on Russian affairs, in an article written expressly for the Hearst newspapers, recently termed the arrest of Polish leaders by the Reds as "a slap in the face to America and Great Britain."

He termed the arrest of the 16 Polish patriot leaders by the Russians a climatic outrage in a long record of brutality and chicanery.

"It is a cynical demonstration of bad faith, because the Polish leaders came out of hiding and revealed themselves only after Col. Pimienov, the Soviet officer who was carrying out negotiations with them guaranteed their personal safety on the word of an officer of the Red Army," said Mr. Chamberlin.

It was asserted in the article that "stronger action and language than Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Eden took in breaking off discussions for the formation of a new Polish government would have been amply justified."

The writer charged that the incident of the arrest of the Polish leaders should serve to mark an end of an ignoble and ineffective policy of unlimited appeasement of Stalin which he proved a conspicuous failure in bringing about any tolerable solution of the Polish problem.

"It throws grave doubts on the lasting utility or binding force of any paper agreements that may be reached at San Francisco, stated Mr. Chamberlin.

He further charged that the Soviet government displayed the maximum of bad faith and bad will in the negotiations which were carried on for more than two months for the formation of a reorganized government in Poland.

"Every candidate suggested by Averill Harriman, the American Ambassador, and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, the British Ambassador, was vetoed by Mr. Molotov," said Mr. Chamberlin.

He further charged that there should be no resumption of discussion of the formation of a Polish government until the 16 Polish leaders, and all other Poles who are prisoners in Russia, are released; until all Poles abroad are permitted to return to Poland and that country is made accessible to foreign diplomats and journalists.

"Not a penny of Lend-Lease material should go to Russia until this insult to international good faith in general and to America in particular is fully atoned for," wrote Mr. Chamberlin.

Polish American Congress Delegation Asked Stettinius To Investigate Case of Missing Poles

In the early days of the San Francisco Conference, the Polish American Congress through its president, Charles Rozmarek and Frank Januszewski, vice-president, addressed a letter to Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius with the following petition regarding the case of the 16 missing Polish underground leaders, who were arrested by Russia after being invited to Moscow for a conference supposedly to aid in forming a new Polish coalition government.

Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
Secretary of State
Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco
Mr. Secretary:

May we urgently call to your attention the following United Press dispatch dated London, May 2nd:

Minister of State Richard K. Law told Commons today that Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden had been unable to get from Soviet Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov any hint of the fate of sixteen Polish leaders reported to have disappeared in Poland in March.

In reply to angry questions in Commons Mr. Law said the Soviet Government had ignored all British requests for information. He left the impression that the Russians had in effect taken the attitude that the matter was none of Britain's business.

When a member suggested that Mr. Law ask Mr. Eden to get the desired information from Molotov in San Francisco, Mr. Law replied:

"I can assure you that the Foreign Secretary has done and is doing all he can to obtain information on this point from Mr. Molotov."

According to the New York Times, Prime Minister Winston Churchill was reported in parliamentary quarters to have personally approved Mr. Law's statement about the Poles' safety.

"It is evident from the above dispatch, that both the Polish and British Governments have been, thus far powerless to extract from the Soviet Government any inkling of information regarding the fate of sixteen Polish Underground leaders who are, or were the deputy prime minister of the London Government, the commander of the Polish Underground army, three cabinet ministers and an interpreter.

It is our earnest conviction that the Government of the United States is morally obligated to promptly unveil this mystery.

Only a few days ago Mr. Molotov cynically enough called upon the world not to forget Poland. We Americans of Polish descent have not forgotten. We remember the two million Polish citizens forcibly exiled into the wilderness of Siberia during the period of 1939-41 of whom only a few emerged alive.

We have not forgotten the cold-blooded murder of Alter and Ehrlich on the very day on which Polish Prime Minister Sikorski signed the Polish-Soviet Pact of Friendship in December, 1941.

We cannot regard Mr. Law's announcement in the British Commons that he "can give no assurance as to the safety" of these sixteen vanished leaders with anything but the greatest uneasiness.

Therefore we address to you, Mr. Secretary, the most urgent request that you obtain from Mr. Molotov before his departure from San Francisco a clear and definite reply to the question what has become of the sixteen kidnapped Polish Underground leaders?

The American people cannot be told that the life or death of our Polish allies whose banner, though absent at the San Francisco Conference nevertheless flies over every battlefield is not our business.

With even greater insistence we ask you, Mr. Secretary, how much is known to you and what action has been undertaken by the Department of State regarding the charges made by Commander Bower, British member of parliament, that "two American citizens of Polish descent were shot by Soviet authorities on April 15."

The Polish American Congress, representing six millions Americans of Polish descent, repudiates, without qualification or moderation, any policy of Russian appeasement which is and must be a policy of acquiescence in murder.

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS

Charles Rozmarek, President

Frank Januszewski, Vice-President

U. S. S. R. Government Branded As Dictatorship

When V. M. Molotov, Foreign Commissar of Soviet Russia, officially announced in San Francisco what had become of the missing 16 Polish democratic leaders, the Polish American Congress delegation headed by Charles Rozmarek, president, issued the following statement to the press:

"Mr. Molotov has officially disclosed to Secretary of State Stettinius and British Foreign Secretary Eden that the Polish underground leaders who had disappeared after a visit to Red Army headquarters in Poland on March 27, 1945, are under arrest in Moscow charged with 'diversionist activities against the Red Army.'"

Never were the words of President Roosevelt—"The Soviet Union . . . as everybody knows who has the courage to face the fact . . . is run by a dictatorship, a dictatorship as absolute as any other dictatorship in the world" (F. D. Roosevelt, Feb. 11, 1940)—never were these words more actual than they are after Mr. Molotov's statement today.

We believe it to be our duty to brand again the Soviet Government as being a totalitarian dictatorship, using the same methods as Hitler used, against the same heroic people, with the same aim: to destroy freedom and democracy everywhere within its reach and in particular, to destroy the Polish state and the Polish nation as the first bulwark of liberty and Christianity, standing in the way of the Soviet Union in its ruthless drive for world domination.

In a purely fascist way, Mr. Molotov is trying to excuse this new crime by unjustly accusing these defenseless victims. The Polish underground leaders, after more than five long years of uninterrupted struggle against the Germans, at the request of the British Government, voluntarily disclosed their names and their whereabouts to the Soviet Government. The accusation of Mr. Molotov, that these men, asking only for the opportunity to officially contact the President and Government of the Polish Republic in London, as well as Poland's American and British allies, are guilty of criminal activities, can fool only the most gullible.

We appeal to the American press to demonstrate that this is a free country which will not take co-responsibility for Soviet crimes.—POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS—Charles Rozmarek President, Frank Januszewski Vice-President, I. Nurkiewicz—Director."

Stalin Follows Hitler's Pattern

Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish American Congress on June 25th issued a statement to the press condemning "the illegal Moscow installed government now functioning in Poland," and warning the American Government that it would "not only be wrong but dangerous . . . to shower its blessings" upon it.

The statement in full follows:

"It would not only be wrong but dangerous for our American government to shower its blessings upon a new Polish regime, where communists who represent barely one percent of the population of Poland, would remain in complete control. The addition of a few democratic leaders to the illegal Moscow-installed government now functioning in Poland can deceive no one. The new members can easily be outvoted by those who owe their allegiance to a foreign power. And as for free and untrammelled elections, it is nonsense to talk about them unless Russian troops and agents are withdrawn from Poland.

"How can any legal government in Europe or in Asia be safe in view of what is happening not only in Poland but in all soviet-occupied countries, where mass arrests, deportations and executions constitute the theme of the Russian style of liberation? Under the pretext of establishing friendly governments, Russia is taking care of one country after another in Europe in the same way as Hitler did.

"Unless our present policy of appeasement is reversed, Stalin's demarcation line will soon extend beyond England on the west and Alaska on the east. Ultimately the same forces will enslave us all unless we stop suspending the laws of God and man to please Stalin."

An American Soldier Pleads For Poland's Fighters

From occupied Germany comes this simple and touching plea from Pfc. James S. Baird, addressed to the Association of the Sons of Poland in Jersey City, N. J. The letter was read at a meeting of the Executive Board of this organization and was later forwarded to the Polish American Congress.

The letter follows:

Association of Sons of Poland
665 Newark Ave.,
Jersey City 6, N. J.
U. S. A.

From Pfc. James S. Baird
39196561—Co. A, 78th Armed Med. Bn.
APO. 258 c o Postmaster, New York

12 May 45.

Dear Mr. Sudnik:

I am a soldier, at present serving in Germany. In the last few months I have met and talked with many Polish soldiers. Although from previous reading I already knew of their sad plight, I never fully realized it until I spoke with them. I have yet to meet one who intends to return to his home and family. Here are almost 200,000 men, fighting as an Army in Italy, as underground in Poland, and on other battlefronts; fighting six long years for a cause they never betrayed but which now has betrayed them.

A strange comment on the Atlantic Charter, that the soldiers of the first nation to oppose Hitler prefer not to return to their homes because of the actions and oppression of our ally. This is one of the minor tragedies of the war, and one that cannot be laid at Hitler's doorstep. America must bear the responsibility for the solution of this problem, or all that we fight for becomes meaningless.

These soldiers have no place to go; they are homeless, men without a country. If the Statue of Liberty in New York's harbor still stands for something, America will open her doors and allow these men to become her citizens. And she would gain by such an act. These men are not rabble. I was amazed by their high level of intelligence and, even more, the mental alertness evidenced by their quick grasp of the English language. When they say they will be able to speak English in two months it isn't idle boasting, they will. Their ability to learn the language is undoubtedly stimulated by their desire to come to America. If only we give them a chance they will be able to start a new life in a new land, and America will have once again demonstrated to the world that she is indeed a refuge for all men.

Feeling about this as deeply as I do, I cannot stand by and play the part of an disinterested spectator, and still retain my self-respect. Therefore, Sir, I am asking for your advice. Perhaps you could suggest a course of action for me. Your organization is probably already working along this line, and although I am not of Polish descent I might be of some assistance. Any help I could offer these soldiers would be limited by my duties as a member of the Army of the United States. But what I can give will be given gladly and proudly.

Very truly yours,

JAMES S. BAIRD.

London Poles Had Right to Seat at UNCIO

According to a secret protocol between Poland and Britain which came to light recently with the release of the British White Book, the Polish Government in London was entitled to a seat at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. Also by the terms of this same agreement, the Polish Government in London, should have participated in the formal acceptance of Germany's surrender at Rheims.

Article 6 states:

"The undertakings mentioned in Article 6 of the published agreement—should they be entered into by one of the contracting parties with a third state—would of necessity be so framed that their execution should at no time prejudice either the sovereignty or territorial inviolability of the other contracting party."

It is plain from the above that Britain is bound to defend Poland's independence and boundaries. Likewise, Poland needs not recognize any agreements made at Yalta, Teheran or elsewhere affecting her sovereignty or territorial integrity.

MEMORANDUM OF POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS PRESENTED TO STETTINIUS AT UNCIO

The following memorandum was presented to chairman of UNCIO, Secretary of State Stettinius by the Polish American Congress delegation and the next day copies of it were distributed to newspapermen who attended a press conference called at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco by President Rozmarek

TEXT OF THE MEMORANDUM

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
Secretary of State
Hotel Fairmont
San Francisco, California.
Dear Mr. Secretary:

Absence of Poland, a charter member of the United Nations, from the San Francisco Conference, indicates that the International Organization intended for the preservation of future world peace is being constructed on a very shaky foundation. Such a structure, with the tomb of Poland as its cornerstone, cannot endure. "Pax Americana," the only hope of mankind, must not be based on injustice. Victory, achieved through sacrifice of our sons on the battlefield of the world, dare not be rendered futile by a new policy of appeasement at this Conference.

POLAND TEST CASE OF OUR POLICY

It is evident to all that the fate of the heroic Polish nation has become a test case of the sincerity and strength of our American policy. For that reason the silence of the United States delegation on the absence of legal representatives of Poland at this Conference has aroused our apprehensions. This silence permitted the delegate of Soviet Russia to take upon himself the role of a false "defender" of Poland. With unequalled cynicism, Mr. Molotov praised the merits and sacrifices of the Polish nation, recalling the appalling losses suffered by Poland in her struggle with our common enemy. The only purpose of his oratory was to obtain an invitation for a fictitious Polish delegation, composed of Russian puppets. There is no doubt that the "Lublin-Warsaw Provisional Government" of Poland is an agency of the Soviet Government and therefore committed to the destruction of the independence of the Polish nation through ruthless persecution of her people.

TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIAN METHODS

Because no voice has been raised at the San Francisco Conference which would tell the world the whole truth about the methods employed by Soviet Russia in those parts of Europe occupied by the Red Army, and particularly in Poland, we consider it our duty to restate certain basic facts which are well known to the American and British Governments, but not which unfortunately, have been sufficient emphasized to the general public.

In September, 1939, by stabbing Poland in the back and thus invading the first country to resist Hitler's aggression Soviet Russia violated the following treaties, both bilateral and multilateral, which she has voluntarily concluded:

1. The Peace Treaty signed with Poland at Riga on March 18, 1921.
 2. The Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928.
 3. The Non-Aggression Pact between Poland and the Soviet Union, signed on July 25, 1932.
 4. The Convention concerning definition of aggressor, signed in London, July 3, 1933.
 5. The Agreement prolonging the Pact of Non-Aggression until December 31, 1945, signed on May 5, 1934.
 6. The Covenant of the League of Nations which the Soviet Union entered in September, 1934.
- In the later course of events, Soviet Russia also violated:
7. The Soviet-Polish Agreement of July 30, 1941, which annulled the Fourth Partition of Poland performed by Messrs. Molotov and Ribbentrop on September 28, 1939.

8. The Soviet-Polish Protocol of friendship and alliance signed in Moscow on December 4, 1941.
9. The Declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, embodying the principles of the Atlantic Charter as common aims of the United Nations in the war against the Axis.

RUSSIA VIOLATES INTERNATIONAL LAW

The present conduct of Soviet Russia on the territory of occupied Poland constitutes a further violation of international law and particularly of the Conventions of the Hague and of Geneva. By a sequence of unilateral actions the Soviet Russian Government:

1. incorporated into the Soviet Union almost one half of Poland's territory;
2. forcibly deprived the constitutional government of performing administrative duties on Polish territory, applying to the representatives of this Government rules and methods usually applied not to allies but to enemies or common criminals;
3. refused to grant the Polish Home Army the rights of combatants which, upon the request of the United States and Great Britain, was granted to them even by Germans;
4. barred the way to Poland to representatives of recognized international organizations such as the Red Cross, UNRRA and Polish War Relief, Inc.

SOVIET CITIZENS HEAD WARSAW GOVERNMENT

In further disregard of international law, Russia installed in Poland a group of Soviet citizens and Comintern officials, labeling them the "Government of Poland" and appointed a Soviet citizen and Comintern official as "acting president of Poland." The Government of the Soviet Union and also the Government of the White Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics signed with this group of Soviet Communists officials, several "treaties," including an "agreement" establishing the eastern boundary of Poland almost entirely along the line originally drawn by Messrs. Molotov and Ribbentrop on September 28, 1939, and an "agreement" for "an exchange of populations" on both sides of that line which simply means the expulsion of about five million Poles from the territory east of the new "frontier."

Never were the words of President Wilson, spoken in the United States Senate on January 22, 1917, in relation to Poland, more worth reading than they are today. We quote them: "No right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property."

There are many other facts which prove that Soviet Russia's aim to destroy the independence of the Polish State and finally to include the enslaved Polish nation into the Soviet Union is being gradually achieved.

HOW POLAND IS BEING "LIBERATED"

While access to "liberated" Poland is still denied to representatives of the governments, armies, relief organizations and the press of the United Nations, is is known that:

1. Enlisted men and officers of the Polish Home Army are daily arrested and deported inside Russia, sent to concentration camps, in many instances shot or hanged, always according to Soviet rules—without trial.
2. The same treatment is being inflicted on representatives of all Polish political parties except the Communist Party and those who, under terror, accepted Communist control.
3. Mass deportations and arrests are being applied to entire groups of the population. In addition to the estimated 2,000,000 Poles deported into the interior of Russia during the period of 1939-41, according to very conservative estimates 300,000 persons were recently deported into Russia from the Eastern part of Poland, with 200,000 persons deported to unknown destination from Western Poland.
4. A shift of population prepared and partially commenced in the Eastern part of Poland will deprive several millions of their homes.
5. The population of Poland has been completely deprived of all rights guaranteed to them by the Polish constitution, i.e. freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and of the right which is accorded in civilized countries even to common criminals—the right to a fair trial.

6. Economic and social laws applied by Soviet authorities, directly or through officials forming the so-called "provisional government," tend toward complete annihilation of free enterprise and business; all sums of money over five dollars per person and forty dollars per business enterprise have been confiscated; farmland has been divided into small holdings of approximately five acres per family, a size which is inadequate even for the bare maintenance of life. Erection of buildings of any kind upon these new farm holdings is forbidden, a ban which proves the so-called "land reform" in Poland constitutes a first step toward early collectivization.

7. Polish industry is being dismantled and industrial machinery shipped daily to Soviet Russia.

8. Action to deprive Poland of its age-old Christian and Western culture is under way, with children being forcibly taken from their parents and sent to special schools inside Russia for "reeducation."

The above facts give only a partial picture of conditions prevailing in Poland. Though incomplete, they show incontrovertibly that, contrary to the Yalta Declaration, Poland and other countries of Eastern and Central Europe have not been liberated by the Red Army but they are occupied by Soviet Russia. If it were not for the complete blackout under which Soviet Russia keeps the territories occupied by the Red Army, conditions prevailing there would be revealed as still more appalling.

Even this incomplete information, however, permits the statement that Soviet Russia forces now occupying Poland, using methods similar to those employed for over five years by the Germans, tend toward the same aim as that of their predecessors, which is the enslavement and eventual extermination of the Polish people. This analogy becomes more poignant by consideration of the fact that ruthless treatment is being inflicted on those same groups and individuals which for nearly six years unrelentingly fought the Germans.

WARSAW UPRISING AIDED RUSSIA

It is not by coincidence that the commander-in-chief of the Polish Home Army, General Bor-Komorski, who led the heroic Warsaw uprising and was granted full combatant rights by the United States and British Governments, is considered by the Soviet authorities and by their Lublin-Warsaw agency a "fascist" and a "criminal."

It is now clear that the Battle of Warsaw, which lasted for sixty three days, played a decisive role in the success of the Soviet-Russian operations in Rumania. Despite this fact, during the whole period of the Battle of Warsaw, the Red Army stood motionless a few miles from the fighting and bleeding city, not only denying any help to the Polish Home Army, but also successfully preventing any efficient help from American and British air forces from reaching the Poles.

Since the occupation of Warsaw by the Red Army, all leaders of the Polish Underground, as well as soldiers and officers of the Home Army, have been persecuted by the Soviet Secret Police with a zeal equalling that of the Gestapo.

At the same time, the Yalta commitments which constitute a death sentence for Poland, deprived the Polish people of their sovereign right to choose freely their government, a right constitutionally exercised through the legal president of Poland. On the contrary, the commitments invested Mr. Molotov, assisted by two ambassadors to the Soviet Union, with the mission to exercise these rights by creating a "Polish Government" which would be ready to accept that death sentence.

YALTA RESPONSIBLE FOR POLISH TRAGEDY

We are strongly convinced that the Yalta decisions concerning Poland, flatly contradictory to the Atlantic Charter and to the practice of international law, are responsible for the tragedy now being enacted in Poland. We regret that the American delegation to the San Francisco Conference does nothing to remedy this condition, despite official statements that the aim of the Conference is to insure right and justice and that it is not being held in order to justify acts of power politics and violations of law.

It is obvious to every American that no free and independent Government, truly representative of Polish people, can be constituted and be able to function under hostile Soviet occupation. Any act of setting up a government in Poland in disregard of the authority of the President of the Republic and while the Soviet occupying forces exercise authority over any portion of Polish territory, could not be granted recognition by the United States Government. Such a recognition would amount to a complete disregard of our and other United Nations' duties toward the people of Poland and it would cast a shadow over the hitherto magnificent conduct

of Americans in international relations. The Yalta agreements concerning Poland are irreconcilable with our international obligations.

PRES. ROOSEVELT WAS NOT SATISFIED WITH YALTA DECISIONS ON POLAND

When informing the American people of the Yalta decisions, President Roosevelt called them "a compromise," thus indirectly stating that he did not regard these decisions as just and that he was compelled to accept them. He even added, quite frankly, that he was by no means satisfied with all of them. No effort to make Russia fulfill the Yalta agreements makes them any better or more just.

In consideration of all the above, the Polish American Congress representing 6,000,000 Americans of Polish descent, declares that it stands firmly by the principles of the Atlantic Charter and those expressed by President Roosevelt on January 17, 1943:

"American Foreign Policy must uphold the sanctity of international treaties. This idea is a cornerstone on which all relations between nations depend."

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS RESTATES PRINCIPLES

Therefore, the Polish American Congress emphatically restates the principles embodied in its resolution of March 9, 1945:

1. "Only the constitutional Polish Government in London today represents the Polish Nation and people, and only the constitutional Government of Poland can and should take part in the Conference in San Francisco.

2. Any "government" brought into being by a foreign power will not be representative of the will and rights of the Polish nation and as such cannot be recognized by the United States without violation of the elementary principles of law and justice.

3. Any elections held on Polish soil under Soviet occupation are in the nature of things a distortion and falsification of the will of the Polish Nation, a violation of a free conscience and as such are lawless and illegal."

Since the day when this resolution was passed, the Soviet Government has not only continued persecutions in the occupied country and the sabotage of all negotiations regarding Poland, but finally has been forced to admit the arrest of the democratic Polish underground leaders who, under a pledge of safe conduct, had accepted an invitation to confer with the Russians.

That outrageous breach of faith, accompanied by absurd accusations against the victims—the very men who had directed Poland's underground resistance against the Germans and thus contributed to the present victory—is more than just another crime intended to surpass the voice of free Poland. It is also an insult to our own United States, whose Government had encouraged, during all these years, Polish-Russian negotiations and accepted the Yalta "compromise," contrary to the opinion of millions of Americans.

FIVE PERTINENT POINTS OF REQUEST TO U. S. GOVERNMENT

The Polish American Congress therefore, requests that in view of these new developments:

1. The Yalta decisions regarding Poland be denounced by the United States Government;

2. The only legal Polish Government—which conducted the war against Germany from the beginning to the end and also declared war upon Japan—which is recognized by all United Nations with the exception of the Soviet Union and of one or two of its satellites, which never ceased to be loyally supported by the Polish armed forces and by practically all Poles free to express their opinion—should be invited to send an official delegation to the San Francisco Conference;

4. The fate of the two American citizens of Polish descent, whose execution was reported in the British Parliament, and the status of all American citizens in occupied Poland should be at once fully investigated.

5. Finally, we request that in view of the unconditional surrender of Germany and the end of the war in Europe, Article VI of the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, should be carried out, and since the Four Powers promised in this article "that after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the boundaries of other states," the forces of the Soviet Union should be withdrawn from Polish territory.

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS

Charles Rozmarek, President

Frank Januszewski, Vice-President

Ignatius Nurkiewicz, Director

San Francisco
May 11, 1945

London Polish Government's Memorandum

The following is the full text of the London Polish Government's Memorandum handed to the Governments of Britain and the U. S. on April 21:

The Polish Government, after having considered the international situation, desires to state the following:

(1) The magnificent victories of the Allied armies leave no room for doubt that the final defeat of Germany is only a matter of short time. In consequence, Europe will enter a period of peace which will face the United Nations with a great new task of organizing Europe on democratic principles set out in the Atlantic Charter, and of reconstructing her economic and cultural life. Poland, constituting as she does an integral part of Europe, should be given the place due to her in the new European settlement, and all problems connected with the future of Poland should be considered without pressure of war exigencies, within the framework of a peaceful European arrangement.

(2) One of the most important problems calling for a solution within the framework of a peaceful European organization, is the establishment of good-neighbourly relations between Poland and Russia. Fully conscious of this necessity, the Polish Government reiterates its willingness to consider, together with the Soviet Government, all the existing disputes and to conclude a treaty with the U. S. S. R. to guarantee the security of both States, as well as to co-operate closely, within the framework of a general international security organization.

(3) The Vice-Premier and the Council of Ministers within Poland, as well as the leaders of the principal political parties in Poland, accepted, with the knowledge of the Polish Government, an invitation of the Soviet authorities to initiate conversations. At the outset of these conversations the Polish side requested that representatives of the Polish Underground Movement might go to London in order to enter into direct contact with their Government. This request was accepted by the Soviet authorities. The Polish Government hopes that this request will be carried into effect, after which it will be in a position to define its attitude regarding the subject of these conversations.

(4) The internal situation in Poland requires rapid betterment. The restitution of the basic democratic freedoms is an essential condition for the existence of a free and independent Polish State. The requisite conditions must be assured for the carrying out of free elections and, above all, freedom of speech and political action restored, so that not only all Polish citizens in Poland may take part in them, but also all those Poles who in the course of the war have found themselves abroad, and in particular soldiers, airmen and sailors, prisoners-of-war and those deported for compulsory labor.

(5) The Polish Government once again emphasizes its indisputable right to represent Poland at the San Francisco Conference and expresses the deepest regret at not having been invited to take part in it. Should the present difficulties not be removed before April 25, 1945, the Polish Government will nevertheless continue to consider it as of the utmost importance that Poland, one of the founders of the international security organizations, should not forfeit her right, nor miss the opportunity to be elected to the council of the future international security organization, should the participating United Nations deem this possible.

In presenting the above observations the Polish Government expresses the hope that they will meet with understanding and support on the part of the United Nations.

From Ann Su Cardwell's Letter

"On the Continent of Europe"—Well, what is happening on that Continent? Here is a recent report from Poland: The situation is similar to that in Russia after the 1917 Revolution—that is, complete sovietization is being carried out. Collectivization is already being introduced; that was bound to follow land confiscation since there is little far equipment and few farm animals, such property having been taken by the Germans or Soviets. Tenant committees have the management of all city apartment houses. All rural property of even average size, all institution-owned, all co-operative property has been taken over by the communist party. The party or the State has taken over all printing establishments and all paper supplies.

Local government is by Peasant and Workers' Council, with Soviet secret police (NKVD) in every case the actual authority. Railroad workers elect railroad officials and a three months course for workers prepares them for positions as directors and managers. The privileged class includes writers and artists, just as in the USSR—always provided of course that they write Lublin propaganda. Their pay in money and privileges is decided by the so-called Trades Union, which is nothing more than

another Soviet communist tool. As long as they obey the Lublin-Moscow rules, such "writers" and "artists" may have all the material goods, symbolized by caviar and champagne, they wish. But if they do not follow the line—do you, perchance, remember the brilliant and once-powerful Soviet journalist Karl Radek? and what became of him?

The terror exceeds anything under the Germans, frightful as that was. All prisons are crowded. In the Lublin prison alone at the close of April there were over 8,000 persons. The number of executions increases. Not only are concentration camps left by the Germans made use of but at least one new one, for members of the Home Army in particular, has been established. Compulsory recruiting for the so-called Polish Army, ostensible under Zymierski, has gone on continually. Despite precautions many of those forced into these ranks manage to escape. Mass desertions also occur, a whole company of cadet officers from Chelm joined other deserters hiding in the forests.

It is reported that should the Soviets join in the war against the Japanese, the Lublin authorities would probably send these compulsorily recruited Polish troops to fight with the Red Armies in the Far East—"to pay back a debt of gratitude to Soviet Russia for the liberation of Poland."

Deportations to Asiatic Russia or to the northernmost parts of European Russia continue at an appalling rate. Many of those arrested in February are said to be in the Donec Basin. Smaller groups, sentenced to 15 years hard labor, are in the Far East. Among these latter are 16-year old boys and girls charged with attending secret Polish schools—during the German occupation! Groups of people sentenced in March have been sent to the Archangel area. Poles who had been taken by the Germans for labor in the Reich, now "liberated" by the Red Armies and repatriated, are being sent "east." From the Lwow area alone some 10,000 such unfortunates have been thus deported for forced labor in the USSR.

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The Soviet Union needs America and Britain far more than America and Britain need the Soviet Union. Never in our nation's history has it taken so many insults as it has taken from the Kremlin. It looks as if the latter were purposely provoking us but it is more probable that it is bluff, that Stalin thinks a war-weary England and a distant America, that has so far played his game, will be afraid to oppose him. If so, he doesn't know America.

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From certain quarters there is constant talk of the "necessity of co-operation with the Soviet Union," of the "dangers of disunity among the Big Three." What do such persons mean by "co-operation?" For to date Stalin's definition of working together is certainly not ours. He will play only where he is permitted to dictate. No British or American officials or observers or correspondents are allowed to move about in areas the Red Armies have occupied. Many they are not allowed to enter. Where they are permitted they are strictly controlled—even our official representatives.

As for the Yalta decisions, the Soviet Government one day demands their fulfillment to the letter and the next day ignores them completely. I have already called attention to the Soviet disregard of the clause providing for co-operation, designed with the specific purpose of preventing unilateral action. I think there is no need to remind readers of the British-American position on the one hand and the Soviet on the other with regard to the Yalta decisions on Poland. But newer Yalta troubles have arisen, this time in connection with interpretation of powers of the Security Council in the organization of the association that is to preserve the peace we have not yet won. And it will continue to be so. About the time the rest of the delegates have come to the conclusion that a way of working together has been attained, the Soviets will present a demand or an objection that upsets everything again.

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Concerning the Soviet right to consider that it was the Red Armies who won the war you may have your own opinion. You may also have an opinion about the banner of the hammer and the sickle being the "banner of freedom, brotherhood and light." In earlier letters I have told you what the Soviet government, through its puppet "Polish Provisional Government," is doing in Poland. A recent Lithuanian bulletin quotes a radio broadcast which reported that 83,000 Lithuanians had "voluntarily left their country for reconstruction work in the USSR." That "voluntarily" reminds me of the hundreds of thousands of Poles, Ukrainians, White Ruthenians and Jews who left Poland in 1940 to "settle as colonists" in Siberia and Kazakstan. Perhaps the Kremlin has no wish to "enslave" the peoples of Eastern Europe; it prefers rather to exterminate them. Looting, robbing, raping, killing—that is what is happening in the countries under Soviet control. I am sorry to say that I am not writing that on the basis of vague and roundabout reports but based on information from first-hand sources. Vodka is the currency that passes everything and drunkenness among the Red soldiery adds to the terrors.

The Price Poland Paid

10,000,000 CASUALTIES.—According to a comprehensive analysis of military and civilian casualties suffered by Poland since the outbreak of war, compiled by the Polish Army Headquarters in London, roughly 10,000,000 people, more than 28 per cent of the country's pre-war population of 35,000,000, have been killed, wounded, taken prisoner, deported or sent to concentration camps. Military casualties (Air Force, Navy and ground Forces) are estimated at 1,045,000, civilian casualties at approximately 9,000,000.

The 1,045,000 military casualties are as follows:

(1) The September 1939 campaign in Poland: 331,000. This includes 220,000 killed and wounded; 420,000 prisoners-of-war in German camps; 181,000 prisoners-of-war in Soviet camps, and the rest interned by several countries which were neutral at that time.

(2) The Norwegian and French campaigns in 1940, the Lybian campaign in 1941-42, the Italian campaign in 1944, and on the Western Front since D-Day: more than 32,000 killed, wounded and missing. These are the figures up to December 31, 1944. For security reasons, losses in the different campaigns cannot be revealed.

(3) Air Force and Naval losses, including the Battle of Britain; more than 2,400 killed, wounded and missing.

(4) Polish Underground Army (or the Home Army), which was recognized by the Governments of Great Britain and United States as an integral part of the Polish Armed Forces, with full belligerent status: more than 180,000 killed, wounded and missing, including the 63-day Battle of Warsaw in 1944.

The figure of 9,000,000 civilian casualties is made up as follows:

(1) During the German occupation, which lasted more than five years, about 5,000,000 were killed. Of this figure, approximately 3,000,000 were Jews. 2,000,000 Polish men, women and children met their death in mass round-ups and executions, as hostages, in the torture chambers of concentration camps and prisons. Many were killed for their activity in the resistance movement, others in punitive expeditions staged by the enemy as retaliatory measures, which resulted in the total destruction of at least 300 villages and the elimination of their inhabitants.

(2) More than 3,000,000 able-bodied men, women and children were deported for forced labor or into forced military service in the German Army.

(3) About 1,230,000 were deported to Russia, after Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland in September, 1939. Of these, however, 150,000 men, women and children were evacuated after the signing of the Polish-Russian pact of July, 1941; another 150,000 men are estimated to have been incorporated in the Polish Army created by the Soviet Government, while 270,000 are believed to have perished. This would leave roughly 662,000 Poles still unaccounted for somewhere in Russia.

(4) During the 63-day Battle of Warsaw in August-September, 1944, there were more than 200,000 casualties, excluding those suffered by the Home Army.

SOME BRITISHERS SIDE WITH POLAND

Debates in Britain's House of Commons have shown that Great Britain is conscious of the obligations she has assumed to Poland, and that she is determined to carry them out. Here are words of two M. P.'s recently uttered for Poland:

"... We went to war ostensibly for the Polish Corridor. Now we see not only the corridor but the drawing-room, the dining-room, the bedrooms, the whole of the castle is going, but going from another direction, and we have not got a Prime Minister who can get up at that Box and state honestly that his illness at Teheran was not only a physical illness but the political illness of a man who knows that he is being driven remorselessly along a road on which he cannot stop..."

—J. McGovern.

"Dare anyone deny that the Poles have scrupulously discharged all their obligations in the war against Germany? By sea, land and air Poles have fought alongside our own men with incomparable valour. Never for one moment has their spirit or their heroism faltered. Until the war is over and it is possible for the Polish People, unfettered and uncoerced, to express their views as to how they shall be governed and by whom, the Polish President in London, the Polish Prime Minister in London, the Polish Government in London are the rightful rulers and leaders of Poland."

—Commander Sir Archibald Southby.

A FEW MORE RESOLUTIONS

Because resolutions so aptly express the feelings and sentiments of people who meet in larger groups to deliberate on a given issue, in this case the Polish issue, it is appropriate for the purpose of viewing a true cross-section of public opinion, to print a few more resolutions in this edition of the Bulletin.

A PETITION TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN BY THE POLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC UNION

This petition was also sent to all U. S. Senators, Congressmen, all Federal Departments, the Catholic Hierarchy in America, leading Jewish Rabbis, Governors, leading writers, columnists and radio commentators.

MR. PRESIDENT: The executive council of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, assembled at its regular monthly meeting on May 8, 1945, at its headquarters in Chicago, Ill., considered the present situation of our ally, Poland, who has been freed from German occupation.

This meeting fell on VE-day, the day of the official ending of the war in Europe—a day of rejoicing and thanksgiving. Nevertheless, our joy is tempered by anguish and fear because the Polish nation, which was the first to take up arms against the aggressors who now have capitulated before the armed forces of the United Nations, principally the forces of America, cannot be found among the other free nations at the Conference at San Francisco and cannot express her views. This situation is all the more appalling when we note how the Soviet regime is arresting, liquidating by deportations or executions, Polish patriots, who for over 5½ years have been fighting heroically with great sacrifices against our common enemy.

Soviet Russia is supposed to be an ally of the Allied Powers but she deals with Poland, one of the staunchest members of the United Nations, whom the immortal President Roosevelt called "the inspiration of nations," as one of her and our worse enemies. Soviet Russia imposing on Poland a communistic government which has nothing in common with the spirit of the Polish nation, renders more difficult the formation of a representative government in Poland; forms new communistic organizations; allows not freedom of religion, and acts toward Poland as a dictator.

Deporting 16 leaders of the Polish underground to Russia under false pretenses establishes new proof that the Soviet regime is not dealing honestly with the Polish nation but by all possible means is trying to destroy Poland's vital strength and to subjugate her to slavery.

The executive council of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, hereby fervently appeals to you, Mr. President, as the executive head of this country and the Commander in Chief of our armed forces, in which serve thousands of members of our organization, to demand from Soviet Russia, our ally:

1. That she give the Polish nation freedom in selecting her own government;
2. That she discontinue mass arrests in Poland and the deportation of its inhabitants and promptly release the 16 arrested Polish patriots;
3. That she allow American relief organizations entrance to Poland.

Moreover, we also request:

1. That Members of Congress and the press be sent into Poland and the territory taken away from Poland east of the so-called Curzon line to investigate the existing conditions there;
2. That the delegates of the legal Polish Government in London be invited to the conference in San Francisco.

Above all, Mr. President, the executive council of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America resolves unanimously to continue strongly and loyally to support all the war efforts of our Government in the victorious fight against Japan for the establishment of a lasting and just peace on earth. We believe unshakingly that you, Mr. President, as a champion of freedom, security, and the rights of nations will not allow harm to befall Poland, and will not permit that enslavement be the reward of this brave and trustworthy ally of the United States. Therefore, we place the fate of Poland in your able hands and your august judgment.

For the executive council of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America,

John J. Olejniczak, President
Stephen S. Grabowski, Secretary General.

An Appeal by the Polish National Alliance of the United States of North America Asking That There Be No Compromise of Principles in Dealing With the Polish Problem

When a gallant and courageous nation, after a heroic struggle and unparalleled sacrifice, is deprived upon the very threshold of victory, by the decision of three of its allies, of its historic and ancient soil, without the consent or an expression of the sentiment of the people directly affected, we of the Polish National Alliance of the United States of North America, three hundred thousand Americans in whose veins flows the blood of the people thus tragically discriminated against, deem it proper, in the interest of justice and fairness and in keeping with our privilege as free born American citizens, to express our sentiments on the decision reached at the conference at Yalta concerning the rights of the Polish nation.

POWER POLITICS DETERRENT TO PEACE

Peace among nations to endure must be founded upon precepts of morality—of justice. This truth we hold to be self-evident. Power politics have not in the past, nor will they at any time in the future, serve as the basis of a sound and durable peace, nor will they provide assurance to the generations to come against the needless repetition of the tragedies of war. Peace purchased by the denial of the basic liberties of men and the enslavement of nations cannot and will not prevail. To be permanent, peace must be based upon and founded in the recognition of the inherent and just rights of all nations, in due regard for the unfettered exercise of their sovereignty. We the people of this nation at the very entry into war vowed through our government, with the concurrence therein of the governments of our allies, our recognition of the inherent right of all people to liberty and self determination in matters of government. We recognized this prerequisite of a permanent peace then—it holds equally valid now.

POLAND NOT TREATED AS AN ALLY

Poland, our ally and one of the United Nations, is divested by the Union of Soviet Republics of its ancient and historic lands, lands which formed an integral part of the Kingdom of Poland as early as the latter half of the fourteenth century. Divested of territory historically hers without the sentiment of the people in the territory affected by the change of sovereignty being at all ascertained, nor an opportunity afforded them to exercise the basic right of a free people to political self determination. Despite her status of an ally the issue is not allowed to be determined at the peace conference in an atmosphere of calm deliberation and discussion as properly befits the intercourse of one sovereign nation with another sovereign nation, but the determination of the issue is urged and forced while hostilities still continue against a common enemy, when in the stress and emergency of the moment the championing and preservation of its due and proper rights is distorted and made subject of perverse insinuations of deliberate disruption by Poland of allied unity.

POLES DENIED RIGHT TO CHOOSE OWN GOVERNMENT

Without regard to the undisputable right of the people of a sovereign nation to solely determine the constituency of their government, the Union of the Soviet Republics for an easier accomplishment of its purpose denies to the legally constituted and functioning Government of the Republic of Poland, so recognized by the Governments of all of the United Nations with the exception of Czecho Slovakia and the Soviets, the right and authority to represent the interests and speak on behalf of his people; further, the Union of the Soviet Republics usurps to itself an unwarranted prerogative to appoint for an allied sovereign nation without the consent or participation therein of the people to be governed, a government representative of but one thing—its own ideology.

Nothing more truly connotes the actual merits of the claim of the Union of Soviet Republics to the territory of Poland than the campaign of defamation, villification and calumny initiated by the Soviets not only against personalities in the Government of Poland but against the nation itself; than the resort to misrepresentation, to half truths, and to distortion of historical data, wherein events are singled out in support

of a contention and all reference to relevant historical events or to underlying causes which are adverse to the contention advanced, are intentionally eliminated and excluded—all intent upon serving but one purpose, to deliberately confuse and mislead.

SOVIETS BETRAY INSINCERITY TOWARDS POLAND

The sincerity of the underlying motive, of the true intent of the Union of Soviet Republics for the future of Poland is rather clearly and significantly revealed in the denial to the agencies of mercy under American auspices of access to the lands of Poland, which they alone as the military authority in control can grant, whereby these strictly humanitarian organizations would be able to bring vitally essential aid, assistance and succor to a tragically distressed people.

POLAND DESERVES BETTER FATE

Poland deserves vindication of her just rights not alone by virtue of the inherent righteousness and equities of her cause, but on the record of her contribution to a common cause. Through the valor and gallantry of her armies in covering the evacuation of Dunkirk, in the battles of the skies over Britain, on the blood drenched slopes of Mount Cassino,—by virtue of the loss of millions of her sons and daughters in offering resistance to a common enemy whether on the field of battle, on the soil of the native land, or in distant exile,—by reason of the anguish, suffering, privation, sacrifice and the untold misery attendant upon a truly diabolical persecution and planned policy of national extermination, by all of these, Poland deserves a better fate than to be despoiled of her lands, slandered and villified for protesting a wrong and injustice perpetrated upon her.

We of the Polish National Alliance of the United States of North America are actuated by the fervent hope that out of the present tragedy of the Polish nation and the martyrdom of her people may come the awakening of the conscience of the democracies of the world and the realization that no compromise can ever be had of a principle. That the application of the principle of might in the experience of ages failed to secure the benefits of an enduring peace to mankind, that the power of principle, of justice alone, shall endure.

Chicago, Ill., April 20, 1945

POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE
of the United State of North America.

For the Supervisory Council,
F. X. SWIETLIK, Censor

For the Board of Directors,
CHARLES ROZMAREK, Pres.

ILLINOIS ASSEMBLY ASKS RESTORATION OF POLAND'S BOUNDARIES

On May 16, 1945 the Illinois General Assembly adopted a resolution urging the United States to obtain as guaranty in the peace treaty that Poland's boundaries be restored as they originally existed before World War II.

Congressman **Melvin Price** inserted the Illinois resolution in the Congressional Record of May 21, 1945. It reads as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 50

Whereas the first European nation to resist the Nazi aggressor and attempt to defend the freedom of their homeland was the valliant and courageous nation of Poland; and

Whereas the war which Poland waged against the Nazi has been unceasing and occupancy of their country only increased the zeal of the Polish patriots attempting to free their homeland; and

Whereas the remains of Warsaw stand as an international memorial to the courage and dauntlessness of its gallant defenders; and

Whereas this nation that has purchased her freedom with the blood of her sons, is now being liberated; and

Whereas with her resources gone, her people exhausted and with only her fighting spirit remaining this courageous country is now being forced to deliver part of her country to a former enemy, Russia; and

Whereas having reached the limit of her endurance, the great nation of Poland is no longer able to resist forcibly this attempt to annex part of her country; and

Whereas freedom-loving nations the world over should rally to the cause of Poland and effectuate a return to her pre-war boundaries; and

Whereas the Big Three in their last conference gave no indication of restoring Poland to her former boundaries, but tacitly implied an agreement to permit Russia to absorb a part of Poland: Therefore be it

RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SIXTY-FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE ILLINOIS, That we do hereby memorialize the Representatives in Congress from Illinois and the two United States Senators, and request them to petition the President of the United States to have him obtain a guarantee in the peace treaty that Poland's boundaries will be restored to her as they originally existed before World War II; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this preamble and resolution be prepared and forwarded by the secretary of state to each Representative in Congress from Illinois and to our two United States Senators.

Adopted by the House, May 16, 1945.

HUGH GREEN,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
FRED W. RUEGY,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

RESOLUTION FROM PHILADELPHIA

Bibl. Jag.

The following resolution was adopted at a rally held in the Moose Auditorium, Philadelphia, Pa., on June 3, 1945 under auspices of the Eastern Pennsylvania State District of the Polish American Congress:

WHEREAS, for a period over five years, Poland has lain under the cruel heel of a bestial tyrant, yet, nevertheless, has waged a heroic struggle on the battlefields throughout the world, for the freedom, liberty, and independence of all nations, **AND**

WHEREAS, in spite of her heroic struggle for liberty and independence, at the conclusion of this titanic war, we find that, contrary to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the declarations of the "Four Freedoms," Poland has not been liberated, but occupied by the Soviet Russian Forces, **AND**

WHEREAS, we find that—under occupation of the Soviet Russian Forces, ruthless treatment is being inflicted upon the same groups and individuals, which for nearly six years unrelentingly fought the barbaric Nazi oppressors, **AND**

WHEREAS, this ruthless treatment consists of daily arrests and deportations into concentration camps of enlisted men and officers of the Polish Home Army,—of all representatives of Polish Political Parties, except the Communist, and those who under terror, accepted Communistic Control, **AND**

WHEREAS, further, the same ruthless treatment is being applied to entire groups of population, and all this, being done by the Soviet Secret Police, with a zeal equal and comparable to that of the German Gestapo, **AND**

WHEREAS, the Soviet Russian Government has incorporated into the Soviet Union almost one-half of Poland's territory, and upon the remaining one-half has placed a puppet governing body, an alien government, with principles totally contrary to those for which the democratic nations, including Poland have fought and suffered to achieve, and this contrary to legal and moral concepts, and contrary to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, **AND**

WHEREAS, in this conduct of the Soviet Russian Government, we see the enslavement and eventual extermination of the Polish people, an aim similar to their predecessors, the Nazis, **AND**

WHEREAS, we are strongly convinced that the Yalta decisions concerning Poland, flatly contradictory to the Atlantic Charter and to the practice of International Law, are responsible for the tragedy now being enacted in Poland.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the Polish American Congress for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, which represents 200,000 Americans, and affiliate of the Polish-American Congress, Inc., numbering 6,000,000 Americans of Polish descent, in a mass meeting assembled at Moose Auditorium, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on Sunday, June 3, 1945, respectfully request that our United States Government, stand by and affirm the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and denounce and void all agreements and understandings contrary thereto, especially the Yalta decisions has come to many Nations of Europe, the same has been denied to Poland, and that unhappy Nation is being treated as an enemy instead of an ally, contrary to the solemn declaration enunciated in the Atlantic Charter, and assured promises of the four freedoms, and further, contrary to the assurances of the leaders of our Government,

who following the American tradition, a tradition of freedom, independence and self government expressly have stated, that Poland shall be reconstituted as a strong independent nation, with a government of its own choosing. The Crimean proposals as regards to Poland are shocking to all those who adhere to the cause of freedom, and the right of self-determination. Poland is made a victim of injustice, its Government is delivered into the hands of a government unfriendly to the Polish people, contrary to all rules of right and justice,—in that, Poland which has suffered more than any other nation in this world holocaust; in that, Poland which stood against Nazi aggressors from the very beginning of the war; in that, Poland where you found no collaborators with Nazism; in that, Poland which has fought courageously with our armies on every European front,—is being forced by her allies to surrender half of her territory, and the other half delivered to an alien rule.

The peace of the world demands a free, independent, and democratic Poland. For Poland, secure in her rights of freedom and independence, will make further great sacrifices for humanity, and will continue to contribute her share toward the international welfare.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of the aforesaid resolution, expressive of our thoughts and sentiments as free American Citizens, be forwarded to Harry S. Truman, the President of the United States and Edward R. Stettinius, Secretary of State.

Respectfully submitted,
RESOLUTION COMMITTEE
 Stefania Moleska
 Jozefa Niewodowska
 Rev. Stelmach
 Stanisław Stec
 Jozef Domrzalski
 Julian Zbytniewski, Chairman
 Francis J. Nowak, Secretary.

RESOLUTION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE LEGISLATURE

The New Hampshire Legislature adopted the following concurrent resolution on April 24, 1945 and it was inserted in the Congressional Record of May 3, 1945 by Hon. Chester E. Merrow of that state:

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to take cognizance of the inherent right of the people of Poland, as well as the people of other small nations, to determine the form and kind of their own government.

Whereas the circumstances surrounding the disposition and placement of the territorial boundary lines of the Republic of Poland, and of other small European nations, as well as the manner in which the people of these small nations shall be permitted to determine the kind and form of their own government, give rise to serious concern as to whether the inherent right of these people shall be safeguarded; and

Whereas all peoples throughout the entire world are fundamentally entitled to self-determination of the manner in which they shall be governed: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN GENERAL COURT CONVENED, That we look with concern upon conditions in Europe which presently are determining the location of the territorial boundary lines of the Republic of Poland, as well as those of other small nations, and, therefore, respectfully urge and petition the Congress of the United States to take official cognizance of the fact that the matter of territorial boundary lines is of universal concern and a proper subject for determination as a result of conferences between the United Nations as a whole rather than as the result of the decision of a single member thereof and, further, that the matter of the form and kind of government to be enjoyed by any group of people is a matter of self-determination rather than by arbitrary decision of another government; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we respectfully urge and petition the Congress of the United States to take whatever action it shall deem necessary in its deliberations to restore unto the people of all small nations all of their just rights and privileges; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent by the secretary of state to the President of the United States, to the presiding officers of each branch of Congress and to the Members thereof from this State.

RESOLUTION FROM CONNECTICUT

The following resolution adopted by the United Polish Societies of Bridgeport, Conn., was inserted in the Congressional Record of June 19, 1945, by Congressman Joseph F. Ryter:

Whereas these, our United States of America, were founded on the sound democratic principles that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that governments derive their power from the consent of the governed; and

Whereas we, as free and peace-loving Americans, all believe that these principles are the only bases for a just and lasting peace throughout the entire world; and

Whereas these principles of democracy were reaffirmed in the Atlantic Charter in which a clear and unequivocal denunciation of territorial aggrandizement was proclaimed; and

Whereas our sons, brothers, and husbands are fighting and giving their life's blood for the preservation of these principles; and

Whereas at the Yalta Conference it was decided that Poland should be represented neither by the Polish Government in exile in England nor by the Lublin government set up by Russia, but by a truly representative form of government chosen by its people; and

Whereas Russia persists in laying claim and annexing the eastern part of Poland and in refusing to permit the people of Poland to choose their own representative form of government; and

Whereas this situation is sowing seeds of future wars in Europe and is resulting in Poland not sharing its responsibilities and duties at the San Francisco Conference: Now, therefore, be it hereby

Resolved, That we, Americans of Polish descent of Bridgeport, Conn., and vicinity, in meeting assembled, do hereby strongly disapprove of allowing Russia to annex any part of Poland east of the Curzon Line because of its dangerous potentialities, and we humbly urge our representatives at the San Francisco Conference to compel Russia to permit the Polish people promptly to select their Government and to oppose any partition of Poland; and be it hereby further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Hon. Harry S. Truman, President of the United States; Hon. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State; Senators and all Members of the House of Representatives in Congress from Connecticut, and to the Honorable Harold S. Stassen, Senators Arthur H. Vandenberg and Tom Connally; Representative Sol Bloom, Charles A. Eaton, and Virginia C. Gildersleeve.

Dr. B. L. Smykowski, President
Romuald J. Zielinski, Vice President
Rev. Charles B. Ratajczak, Chaplain
Helen C. Starou, Financial Secretary
S. W. Kobza, Recording Secretary
Walter Bakeszak, Treasurer

NOT MUCH OPTIMISM IN THIS

There is grave doubt on both sides of the Atlantic that Poland will soon enjoy any such democratic experience. Instead, many expect the Lublin regime to carry on—perhaps temporarily including two or three western Polish figures for purpose of window dressing.

Even Mr. Churchill does not seem to be any too optimistic. He indicated to Commons that it was possible that the Polish soldiers who had distinguished themselves at Cassino, in Italy, and on many other fronts, might not find it feasible to return home.

England, said the Prime Minister, should offer British citizenship to these troops.

In Washington, many feel the United States can do no less. If these remaining Polish soldiers believe it is unsafe for them to return to Poland, or if they hesitate to go back for political reasons, British and American Governments are in duty bound to find another homeland for them. They are parties to the partition.

The Poles bore the first brunt of the war in 1939. Some escaped to France. Some were taken prisoner by the Red Army and later on released to, and reorganized by, General Anders in the Middle East. Others incredibly made their way to Britain to rejoin their colors there. Not once have they wavered. To be sacrificed now, and by their own trusted allies, it is felt, might endanger United Nations confidence and thereby the post-war set-up.

William Phillip Simms
In The Pittsburgh Press.

WILLIAM H. CHAMBERLIN REFUTES LIES ABOUT POLAND

William Henry Chamberlin, the noted writer and authority on Russian affairs and former Moscow correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, has written several strong articles in defense of the Polish cause, in the Hearst newspapers recently. Following is one which we consider very pointed and forthright in its refutation of lies about Poland. It appeared in all the Hearst papers on May 31, 1945.

Why Lie About Poland

American public opinion is being softened up for the betrayal of Poland and for unlimited appeasement of Stalin by a double propaganda campaign of SHAME-FACED SILENCE and BAREFACED LYING.

Consider first the campaign of silence.

How much candid discussion of such vital elements in the Soviet Polish situation as the mass deportations from eastern Poland, the reign of terror against non-Communist Poles who fought the Nazis, the formation and imposition of a Red Quisling regime by Soviet military force does one find in our leading monthlies and weeklies, in most of our daily newspapers?

THE QUESTION OF POLAND IS OFTEN TREATED LIKE A CASE OF LEP-ROSY, SOMETHING TO BE AVOIDED AT ALL COST. THERE WAS A STRIKING RECENT ILLUSTRATION OF THIS TENDENCY.

The arrest of sixteen Polish patriot leaders in the midst of the San Francisco Conference was an event of distinct political importance. It elicited sharply worded statements from the American Secretary of State and the British Foreign Secretary.

Yet a leading New York newspaper, respected for the scope and excellence of its service and for its other features, did not print one word of comment on this event in its editorial columns.

Now for the campaign of downright lying. In twenty-five years of experience as a writer and newspaperman I have never seen it surpassed. To get down to cases, I herewith list ten familiar falsehoods about the Polish situation, with the corrective facts.

LIE NUMBER ONE:

The so-called Curzon Line was a fair final delimitation of Poland's eastern border by an impartial outside authority after the last war.

THE FACTS:

When the Supreme Allied Council announced the so-called Curzon Line on December 8, 1919, it specifically stated that this was done "without prejudging the provisions which must in the future define the eastern frontiers in Poland," that "the rights which Poland may be able to establish over the territories to the east of the said line are expressly reserved." In other words, the Curzon Line was a temporary demarcation line, with all territory to the west of it recognized as indisputably Polish while the question of where the eastern Polish frontier should be drawn was left open for the future.

LIE NUMBER TWO:

Poland took the territory east of the Curzon Line by force during its war with the Soviet Union in 1920.

THE FACTS:

The final frontier established by the Soviet-Polish Treaty of Riga in March, 1921, was distinctly less favorable to Poland than the line which the Polish armies held before the war of 1920 began.

LIE NUMBER THREE:

Most of the people who live between the Curzon Line and the Polish eastern frontier are Russians.

THE FACTS:

About 1 per cent of the 11,000,000 or 12,000,000 people east of the Curzon Line are Russians. Before the war about 40 per cent of the population was Polish stock, a slightly smaller percentage, according to the Polish census was composed of Ukrainians and there were smaller groups of White Russians and Jews. Without an honest plebiscite, which Stalin has always refused, no one can say with assurance that the Ukrainians and White Russians would prefer annexation to the Soviet Union to association with Poland.

LIE NUMBER FOUR:

The Polish Government in London is made up of landlords, aristocrats and Fascists.

THE FACTS:

There is not a landlord, an aristocrat or a Fascist in the Polish Cabinet in London, which was leading the underground struggle of the Polish people against Nazism when Stalin was collaborating with it.

LIE NUMBER FIVE:

The Lublin Committee regime is composed of Poles who stayed on and fought the Nazis.

THE FACTS:

It is predominantly made up of Communists and near-Communists who fled to Russia when the Nazis swept over Poland whose loyalty is to the Kremlin, not to the Polish people.

LIE NUMBER SIX:

Russia "liberated" Poland, and therefore has a right to set any boundary it may see fit.

THE FACTS:

By this line of reasoning America and England could demand the permanent annexation of France and Italy. If the Red Army, with aid from the Polish underground, drove the Germans out of Poland, America and England contributed mightily to driving the Germans out of Russia. And "liberation" is a mocking term when the Soviet-sponsored puppet government, along with the Soviet army and police, is killing, arresting, deporting and imprisoning great numbers of Polish patriots who consistently fought the Nazis.

LIE NUMBER SEVEN:

Russia's policy in Poland is justified by needs of "security."

THE FACTS:

Russia was twice invaded by Germany when Poland did not exist as an independent state, in 1914 and in 1941. Russia lived in peace and security while Poland maintained its pre-1939 frontiers. The moral surely is that Russian security depends on the enforcement of German disarmament, not on unscrupulous landgrabbing in defiance of its own treaties of nonaggression with Poland and the Baltic States and the principles of Atlantic Charter. Also Poland has some right to security against Russia.

LIE NUMBER EIGHT:

Stalin's policy toward Poland is just like the American Good Neighbor Policy.

THE FACTS:

A more false and utterly inept analogy could not be imagined. Even in the years before our Good Neighbor Policy went into effect we never conducted gigantic raids on our neighbors to the south, comparable with the Soviet mass deportations to forced labor. Nor does the Good Neighbor Policy imply the forcing on Latin American countries of synthetic "governments, made in Washington, by our superior military power."

LIE NUMBER NINE:

Poland has no right to exist anyway, because it was unfair to racial minorities and was owned by a few big landlords.

THE FACTS:

Like most east European countries Poland suffered from excess of nationalism in the period between the two wars. It was a poor country which suffered terrifically in World War I and had to build up from scratch. It has not achieved ideal social justice. So what? America also falls short of perfection in race relations, in some aspects of its political and economic system. Does this mean that Stalin would have a right to send an army over here, set up a pro-Communist dictatorship under Earl Browder and kill or jail Americans who would not stand for this sort of regime? No genuine American would answer yes to that question.

Moreover, prewar Poland, with all its faults, never remotely approached the ruthlessness of Soviet dictatorship, measured by the number of executions or by the number of people imprisoned and consigned to forced hard labor.

As for Polish landlordism, over 80 per cent of the arable land was in farms of 125 acres and less. The much ballyhooed "land reform" of the Soviet upper regime cannot satisfy the land hunger of the Polish peasants, because there is not enough land in big estates to distribute.

LIE NUMBER TEN:

Polish-Americans are deeply split as between the London and Lublin regimes.

THE FACTS:

The 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 Americans of Polish extraction have been as nearly unanimous in upholding the London Government and rejecting the stooge regime which Stalin has installed in Poland as would be possible in a free country, where there is no enforced conformity. The proofs? All the larger Polish fraternal and cultural societies, the nine Polish-American Congressmen, all the Polish-language dailies and an overwhelming majority of the weeklies and monthlies have taken this attitude.

* * *

What is behind this irresponsible lying about Poland and about Soviet-Polish relations? It can be traced to three main sources:

The first of these is COMMUNIST and FELLOW-TRAVELER PROPAGANDA.

The second is widespread IGNORANCE about east European conditions.

The third is a vague feeling, vigorously exploited by Stalin's fifth column in this country, that the SOVIET UNION MUST BE APPEASED AT ALL TIMES AND AT ANY PRICE.

But TRUE and LASTING PEACE will never grow from the soil of spineless appeasement. And a sound, healthy American foreign policy can never be based on a FOUNDATION OF LIES.

Declaration of the U. S. Catholic Hierarchy

The Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the United States, composed of Archbishops and Bishops, issued a statement on April 14 from Washington stressing the obligation of the U. S. "to safeguard the freedom of all peoples" in framing the world organization at San Francisco. The document criticizes the security plans which will seek to substitute the alliance of the Great Powers before the juridical world institution and declares that the voting procedure agreed at Yalta does not seem consistent with the sovereign equality of peace-loving nations recognized as the basis in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals:

A special section on Poland declares:

The solution of the Polish question agreed upon by the representatives of the three great victorious powers in the Crimean Conference was a disappointment to all who had built their hopes on the Atlantic Charter. Poland, which stood against the Nazi aggressor from the very beginning of the war; Poland, which has suffered more than any other nation in the war; Poland, which has fought and is fighting with our armies on every European front, has been forced by her allies to surrender a very large part of her territory.

In apparent exchange, it was guaranteed at Yalta that in the reconstructed world there will be a strong, independent Poland, with a government chosen in a free election by its own people.

Pending the action of the people of Poland in a free election, agreements were made to set up a provisional regime which will be recognized by the three great powers. This provisional government must not be the creation of a single foreign power but the choice of all parties to the Yalta engagements.

Our President is pledged to see that in the choice of a permanent Polish Government the people of Poland be guaranteed in their right of free secret ballot. No foreign power must be permitted to influence this election in a way which will determine its results. The peace of the world demands a free, independent, democratic Poland. It must not be that Poland become a puppet state under the domination and control of any foreign power.

If Poland is secured in its rights of freedom and independence, it will make great sacrifices and do its full part in the international community. If it is enslaved, and its leadership forced into exile or inhumanly liquidated, the love of freedom will not be crushed in Polish hearts, but the seeds of war will have been sown.

THE VOICE OF AMERICA

(Compiled and edited by the Polish American Congress)

Poland's Absence at San Francisco

The representatives of 49 nations at San Francisco were painfully conscious of the absence of Poland. They were also conscious of the REASONS of Poland's absence. The American Press covered Poland's empty chair with flowers of sympathy and understanding.

THE NEWARK NEWS

Of course, Poland will not be kept in a sort of international quarantine forever. She will come in as a welcomed and honored member of the family of nations as soon as the Big Three decide the government under which Poland will function until a national election can be held.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

There can be no detracting from the heroism and the magnificent fighting qualities displayed by Polish units with the Allied air forces, with the ground armies and with the naval units. These men have, on every ground, a basic right to choose their own representatives in whatever Polish government is finally accepted, the rights of individuals being the cornerstone on which we must build a lasting peace.

THE JERSEY JOURNAL (Jersey City)

Let us not forget that we have a debt to pay to Poland for the aid given us by her two great sons, Pulaski and Kosciuszko, in the Revolutionary War, when our forebears were struggling to free themselves from the yoke of the British.

We have to thank Poland, too, for saving France and Great Britain from imminent disaster and diverting the attention of the Nazis from our own shores when she battled the invaders in 1939.

THE OKLAHOMAN (Oklahoma City)

Of all the nations that have been crucified by the Nazi, Poland was the first to resist. In a way she openly invited her own destruction, when she dared to draw her sword before her allies were ready to resist the Hun. But, refusing to count the cost, she lifted arms against the tyrant and accepted a fate that has known few equals in the long list of military savagery. But, now that the tide has turned and American and Russian troops are joined at the very heart of Germany, Poland is excluded from a council called to organize the peace of the world.

President Truman and the Polish Problem

The eyes of America and of the United Nations are now following President Truman. His authority is growing daily, his leadership is accepted as it expresses the will of the people. There will soon be a meeting between Truman, Churchill and Stalin. It will not be in Russia. Stalin will face different men and a different situation. Behind Churchill and Truman will be not only victorious military leaders, but also nations grown wise and determined. A different language will be spoken. If realism is to prevail so will it be, but its meaning will be different from the bill of fare presented at Yalta, Teheran and Moscow. We shall have the Western the Christian cuisine.

Here are some comments on President Truman's position:

POST (Birmingham, Ala.)

Mr. Truman did not mention his deadlock with Russia over justice to Poland—it would have been unwise to do so in the midst of his negotiations. But his repeated emphasis clearly applied to that shadow which so far blankets this conference. Not only the rights and representation of our Polish ally are at stake—important as they are—but the possibility of an effective world organization is in the balance. No world league can guarantee the fruits of Russian dictatorship over Eastern Europe—or of any big power domination anywhere—and live.

OBSERVER-DISPATCH (Utica, N. Y.)

A third point made by the President was that if we do lip service to justice and principle, later betraying the ideals, "we would draw down upon us the bitter wrath of generations yet unborn.

So without mentioning Poland or other specific problems of the conference, Mr. Truman outlined an American stand for a just peace as the only durable and acceptable one. With the conferees remains the choice of whether these ideals shall be resolved into practice or merely given lip service.

THE POST (Washington)

He stood firm on the American-British policy of refusing to invite a Polish delegation to the United Nations Conference until the government at Warsaw has been revamped into a genuine government of national unity.

The White House announcement about the conference between the President and Foreign Commissar Molotov was very brief. It made clear that conversations would continue at San Francisco after Mr. Molotov has had an opportunity "to consult with his government." That is a pretty clear indication that President Truman was putting it up to the Russians to comply with the Yalta Agreement. We think that he was right in doing so. Undoubtedly, his continued rejection of the Russian appeal was friendly and expressed with the greatest good will, but also with commendable firmness. That is an attitude which the Russians will both understand and respect.

JOURNAL (Shreveport, La.)

Premier-Marshel Stalin has insisted upon recognition of his personally constituted Polish government, while Britain and America have just as strongly contended that Poland is not entitled to a place at the conference table until there has been established at Warsaw a democratic government, representing all parties and all interests, recognized by the two great English-speaking nations.

San Francisco Rebukes Molotov

The Commissar from Moscow was lionized at San Francisco. He was the important guest and the dangerous power who could wreck the conference. The fear that the conference could be wrecked weighed heavily on the minds and behavior of the delegates. They were bullied into appeasement and good manners.

Yet when it became clear that Molotov was taking undue advantage of his position both the delegates and the Press voiced their resentment.

TABLET (Brooklyn)

The arguments employed by the Soviet Commissar have been typical of those which have been worn out by the left-wing commentators on the radio. Most of them depend for their strength upon constant repetition following the Hitler technique that a lie repeated often enough is finally believed.

Molotov's attempt to tell the delegates, for instance, that the Soviet puppet government in Poland represented the Polish people—in face of the fact that all of the Polish forces fighting in Italy and on the Western Front have repudiated it—would not even have fooled the Russian people.

NEWS-LEADER (Richmond, Pa.)

If Poland restores the franchise to even 50 per cent of its voters, a withdrawal from a complete partnership with the USSR may be possible in time. For the present the Lubliners are in Warsaw.

BLADE (Toledo)

Only Russia, by delaying the organization of a representative coalition government for Poland under the terms of the Yalta agreement, is blocking her presence at the San Francisco conference. And Mr. Molotov, wondering why Poland's services cannot be remembered if Argentina's sins are to be forgotten, sounds more like a hypocrite than the realist he is supposed to be.

EVENING UNION (Springfield, Mass.)

If we are going to have to say "No" to Russia's government, we might as well start saying it now when the occasion arises.

SUN-TELEGRAPH (Pittsburgh)

Soviet Russia is consistently and insistently playing a lone hand in European POWER POLITICS. She is doing it with disregard of all international interests or obligations. She is doing it in violation of and with violence to all her pledges of non-interference and non-intervention in the affairs of her neighbors. She is doing it with complete contempt of her Allies.

POST-STANDARD (Syracuse)

Russia considers itself a democratic country.

Russians even contend that their brand of democracy is superior to ours.

The fact cannot be denied, however, that so called bolshevist democracy is on the surface only; it has no respect for the dignity of man.

That is, primarily, where the differences over Poland originate. America and Great Britain want a Europe growing stronger and looking forward with hope and assurance because its men and women have a voice, a controlling voice, in its affairs. They want to release the long-suppressed initiative of the people as the very heart of democracy.

A Stern Warning to Russia

America has shown a lot, perhaps too much tolerance and good will towards Russia during the period of Russia's transition from an ally of Hitler, to a defender of democracy. Our patience not only with Russia but with those in America who have glorified Stalin and Russia has been sorely tried—until it reached the limit of endurance. Molotov's provocative moves lifted the mild and friendly voice of America to the heights of stern warning.

COURIER-JOURNAL (Louisville, Ky.)

The timing of Russia's friendship pact with Lublin is not likely to reassure friends of both Poles and Russians as to her willingness to aid in a really representative reorganization.

STAR-LEDGER (Newark)

The important issue is the right of Poland, no matter what her boundaries, to have a government free of foreign domination. Nor would Russia settle Poland's boundaries without consulting a government truly representative of Poland.

THE NATION feels compelled to warn Russia:

Leaving aside the mischievous attacks of professional Russophobes, there is a grave concern in the heart of the average American that the independence of Poland and the political rights of all democratic groups in Poland be respected.

JOURNAL (Milwaukee)

Russia is essential to success at San Francisco, and for that reason Britain and America can well make concessions, and have made some. But they cannot concede everything. The time has arrived for some Russian concessions, too.

NEW REPUBLIC

The Russian attitude in the Polish question, so different from their attitude toward other former enemy statesmen like Baron Mannerheim in Finland, for instance, is difficult to comprehend. So far, at least, no satisfactory explanation has been given by the Russians. A probable reason is that the Lublin Poles, whose hold on the Polish people is said to be still rather weak, fear the return of as popular a leader as Mikolajczyk, who might well steal the show from them. And Moscow, though perhaps not sharing them, seems to uphold these fears.

WORLD TELEGRAM (New York)

This newspaper goes along with that majority judgment at San Francisco, which is the attitude of the United States delegation. We have been deeply disturbed by Russia's acts. Never more than now, when she had kidnaped the Polish leaders and defied Britain and the United States to do anything about her lawlessness.

America Knows What Lublin Means

It is gratifying that American Public Opinion is wise to the character and aims of the Lublin Committee in spite of strenuous efforts of Russia to present it as a "government". America did not swallow this Russian bit, not even when Molotov himself presented it at San Francisco. Not only our government but the American people turn away from this forgery.

COMMERCIAL APPEAL (Memphis, Tenn.)

It is entirely clear that the administration now established in Warsaw is dependent on Moscow and does not contain any cross section of Polish desire and opinion.

STAR-TIMES (St. Louis, Mo.)

To certify the Lublin Poles at San Francisco, as Russia requests, would be to give de facto recognition to an unrepresentative government. Britain yielded to Russia and recognized the Lublin committee as a temporary government of Poland, despite the fact it was not truly representative of the Polish people. Even the Polish peasant party had refused to participate in this committee which is so clearly a puppet of Russia.

CHRONICLE (San Francisco)

We want Poland represented at the San Francisco Conference and urge every effort to that end. But we want any delegation to be truly representative, to make agreements which the Polish people as a whole will support, and not accept merely because present authority can enforce them.

TIMES (Los Angeles)

Most Americans undoubtedly desire that the problems involved be resolved in such fashion as to give all elements of the Polish people a square deal and that a representative government be formed with that objective.

TIMES-UNION (Albany, N. Y.)

The provisional government now holding power in Poland by virtue of the Russian conquest was NOT created by the people of Poland.

It is not a government at all, in fact.

It is a regime established in Moscow while Poland was still occupied by German armies, and it includes many Poles who were outlaws in their own country when Poland was free.

The Polish Issue and World Peace

The Polish problem was not a minor issue at the San Francisco Conference. It was—and still is—a test case, the test still going on, the result to be known later on.

Blair Bolles expresses this well founded view in the FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN (No. 28) in the following statement:

Poland is the key to success or failure at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco. So long as the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union disagree over the Polish government, they will be unable to agree to cooperate fully for the maintenance of peace.

It may be that the issue was recognized and by-passed, but it still remains true that the maintenance of peace will be in doubt as long as this problem will remain unsolved. There is more to it, however.

If the Polish problem should be settled outside of the conference, by the Big Three, it will be disquieting proof that the conference has failed and the "big" ones will continue to rule.

Only one part of the problem was brought before the assembly, and decisively decided. The San Francisco apple cart would have been upset for good if the delegates had had a chance to express their views about the whole problem. It was therefore a serious exigency to keep any discussion about Poland's fate from the floor. The NEWARK STAR-LEDGER:

We fail to see how the world's confidence can be won for an international organization to support peace if it is erected on the foundation of treachery to Poland, the nation that rallied the world against the Axis by brave example.

The SPOKANE (Wash.) SPOKESMAN REVIEW sees in the settlement of the Polish issue:

Here, then is presented an issue which involves far more than a right or wrong settlement of the Polish problem. It is an issue which puts to the test the sanctity of any and all agreements entered into by the three major powers, which in turn will determine the utility or futility of undertaking to build a peace organization based on the plighted word of the United Nations.

OBSERVER DISPATCH (Utica, N. Y.)

But the Russian effort to take Poland's oil, to have an inside track with the governments of Baltic and Balkan nations and to take steps which betray expectation of another war at some future date must be based on suspicion that the world peace pact may not hold.

COURANT (Hartford, Conn.)

But after that and even after San Francisco, what guaranty will exist that any agreement will be worth anything? Indeed, the Russian-Polish treaty is of "great historical significance." It points alarmingly to a return to deceptive diplomacy.

ONE POINT

The San Francisco Conference faced many issues and problems. The most serious one was: sincerity. Diplomacy and sincerity are not synonymous. Yet—through the intricate pattern of diplomacy one issue, one truth surged forth with undecadent vigor and light: the Polish truth. The **Cincinnati Enquirer** recognizes that in these words:

The delegates to the conference could not compel Josef Stalin to honor the commitment made at Yalta, to give Poland a more representative government than the puppet regime spawned at Lublin. At most, they could make it clear that the conference would not condone the political rape of Poland and this the conference did .

Yes, it did.
And it did well.

RUSSIA DOESN'T UNDERSTAND

Such is the headline of an editorial in the **Milwaukee Journal**. Indeed. Russia does not understand us, it does not understand why we went to war, nor does it understand what we want or why we sacrificed a million of our youth. The article concludes with the following sentence:

It is time for Russia to show such maturity, if she does not want to find herself isolated again because of distrust. It seems to be beyond Russian understanding that in this country public opinion rules; and public opinion does not like the spectacle of men being invited to sit in a conference and then finding themselves clapped in jail.

Russia does not understand us.

THE NAKED TRUTH

When millions of our boys set out to die on European battlefields we told them "what we are fighting for." After they had given their lives we still stick to what we told them. And we shall stay there—until victory. The **Providence Journal** speaking for and to 50,000 Americans has this to say in an editorial "The Polish Issue."

But possibly the Soviet attitude as to Poland has served one worth while purpose at least. It may have opened our eyes to the degree of collaboration and the kind of collaboration we may expect from Soviet Russia at the present time. Apparently Russia wants to collaborate for purposes of security and scarcely for ought else. We can count upon Russian military strength then to stop a war of aggression, but collaboration on a broader scale, for the general cultural, economic and social improvement of the peoples of the world, as we see that objective, is hardly likely to appeal to the Soviet Union. They have their own ideas and their own methods in such matters.

That is a complaint but no weakness, no retreat. It is a warning!

THERE IS A LIMIT

The war in Europe was tragic as well as confusing. It challenged the heart and intelligence of America. Then came San Francisco. And the **Washington News** comes down to a very definite warning:

USSR GOVERNMENT BRANDED AS DICTATORSHIP—Po Kukawskim—

Regardless of what Russia has done and may do, so long as the league charter does not underwrite injustice but provides the basis for international cooperation, that is progress. More than that we cannot expect. Less than that America will not accept.

AMERICANS MUST BE FIRM

The **Chicago News** follows the **Washington News** appealing to the American people to remain firm and says so in an editorial "Firm For The Right":

The average American is bewildered and indignant of Russia's actions and attitude. But our diplomats can be neither bewildered nor indignant.

They must be positive in their defense of legal procedure and human rights, and they must be firm.

We must be as firm as were our soldiers abroad.

THE NAKED TRUTH

The **Philadelphia Record** replies to Russian cynicism with our own, American, morality in the following sincere admonition:

Fundamental in that game is what Thomas Jefferson called "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

Whoever ordered the arrest of the 16 Polish leaders, whoever violated their immunity was singularly lacking in "decent respect."

We hope that Molotov's increased understanding of the democratic viewpoint will impel him to cable Stalin a warning:

That these arrests, whatever immediate gain they may represent in Moscow, will only cost Russia a loss of prestige among the people of America and those of other nations who are trying—at times, desperately—to be Russia's friends.

THE PROBLEM OF POLAND

The *Baltimore News-Post* is helpful in setting the average, confused American straight on the issue of Poland with the following, well substantiated statement:

The provisional government now holding power in Poland by virtue of the Russian conquest was NOT created by the people of Poland.

It is not a government at all, in fact.

It is a regime established in Moscow while Poland was still occupied by German armies, and it includes many Poles who were outlaws in their own country when Poland was free.

It is an agency and instrument of Russia, not of Poland, and it is a PUPPET of Russia, not a government representing the people of Poland.

POSSIBLE OR NECESSARY

The *Pittsburgh Press*, writing about the San Francisco zigzag reaches the crossroads between possible and necessary:

Of course no league is going to work miracles. Nevertheless, an international organization is essential—with Russia if possible, without her if necessary. We hope the United States delegation and the conference majority will carry-on as they have begun, with patience and flexibility, compromising on details but insisting on the foundation.

Very few Americans realize that the invisible foundation is more important than the visible super structure.

POLITICAL STRATEGY

The editor of "America" (N. Y.) explains Stalin's moves as cunning political strategy:

One explanation offered, not implausibly, of Stalin's outrageous conduct—to give it no worse a name—is that he is focusing the world's attention on Poland while, behind a blackout screen, he is consolidating his position in eastern and south-eastern Europe. Once Stalin is well established there, he need not care too much what kind of government rules in Poland.

BROWDER'S STRATEGY

The Communists follow suit not without amusing perversion. Both Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Eden accused Russia of breaking the Yalta agreement. Stalin not only refused to cooperate in changing the Lublin Committee but blocked all efforts of ambassadors Harriman and Clark and arrested 16 Polish leaders who were lured into prison. But the "Daily Worker" has this to offer as an explanation why Molotov insisted on seating the Lublinites at San Francisco. Please read, but don't laugh:

It will be noticed that Stalin says the Polish question can be solved, but he then adds a series of "ifs." This two-letter word "if" is the key to everything. The Polish issue as we have been saying for weeks, is only one phase of a general development, an attempt by powerful circles here and particularly in England to back out of the Crimea accord.

The American people want the Polish issue settled. And if they will make themselves heard in Washington, it can be settled.

Yes, yes. America and England are backing out. Yet . . . "if" the Communists go to Washington the government will back in again. That is strategy a la Moscow with a whip.

A WARNING

The "Miami News" gives Russia the following timely and friendly warning:

Does Russia intend in the flower of its strength, to set out now on the course which Hitler took? Our suspicious friends ask the question and the answer could be yes. But have the Russians noted what happens when a Hitler tries that course? He can wreck the world, but he himself lies at the bottom of the wreck. Can never a nation in the pride of its power be wise? It could be wise.

SAN FRANCISCO AND WARSAW

The **Evening World-Herald** (Omaha) asks a pertinent question, namely "Who is to sit in Warsaw?"

Martyred Poland, the land in whose defense the Western Allies rushed to war more than five blood-soaked years ago. Who, if any one, shall represent her at San Francisco? Or to put the same question another way, who shall represent her in Warsaw?

We objected not only to any attempt that Poland be represented by the Lublinites at San Francisco, but we also deny them the right to represent Poland in Warsaw!

DANGEROUS EXCITEMENT

The **N. Y. Daily News** excitedly berated Stalin, but lost its temper and wisdom in an editorial "No Fight Russia":

Excitement continues high, too, about Stalin's designs for postwar Poland. It was over pre-war Poland that this war began. Stalin wants almost half of pre-war Poland for his own, and wants the rest of it run by a government which will be a puppet of the Russian Government at Moscow.

It is difficult to see who is going to keep Stalin from realizing this ambition. Yet meetings are being held, impassioned speeches delivered, and resolutions passed in this country, all aimed at influencing our Government to take a firm stand against Stalin's Polish program.

Stalin's Polish program is no affair of ours. Same as to Stalin's and Tito's Trieste program. Same as to any other map rearranging and territory grabbing that Stalin may do or attempt to do in Europe—or in Outer Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, Chinese Eastern Turkestan or elsewhere in Asia after the Japs are defeated.

The Polish American Congress vigorously defies such an attitude. It is our affair! It concerns us! We are going to be partners! We have a right to demand. The Polish American Congress opposes isolationism as the greatest menace to our welfare and to our democracy.

ONE SENTENCE

We quote one sentence from a brilliant editorial of the **Dallas (Tex.) News** "Handling Poland's Fate."

In this one sentence the editor offers the gist of the Polish issue, when he says:

The Polish people are to have a government "for" them, but not "of" or "by."

That is it. That is the essence, the heart of the whole Polish issue.

A SHOCKING REALIZATION

An American, an honest, good-natured, simple, God-fearing, truth loving American wrote an editorial in the **Jacksonville (Fla.) Journal** under the headline "SHOCKING." There is noble indignation as well as moral strength in this complaint:

It is not difficult to see that Russia must have a friendly government in Poland for its security, or at least must have one that is not avowedly unfriendly. But it is not at all easy to see why Russia must be so derelict in the ordinary civilities between nations, why it refuses even its own allies to enter within Russian lines on the war fronts, refuses newspapermen entry to Russian occupied lands such as Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc., refuses in short to make it easier for better understanding.

After that—period.

We can see the face of the editor.

It is a straight, strong, clean, firm face of an American who can take a lot—but not too much.

WHAT WERE THEY FIGHTING FOR?

The **Oklahoman** (Oklahoma City) reaches the very heart of hundreds of thousands of Polish soldiers in asking the following question:

Heartily as the American people deplore the unhappy lot of the Poles and sharply as many of them may disapprove Russia's treatment of the Polish nation, all Americans know that their matchless armies were fighting and their heroic sons were dying for many things besides Polish independence and Polish boundaries.

British Press Opinions

Great uneasiness was expressed by the British Press following the announcement by Molotov in San Francisco, of the arrest of the Polish democratic leaders. Here are some extracts from the British papers of May 7:

The Diplomatic Correspondent of the TIMES wrote:

"The deepest concern has been caused in London by the news of the arrest by the Russians of Polish political leaders. The action is regarded as a flagrant violation of the Crimea agreement. It is deplored that the common victory should be marred by such a disclosure."

The **DAILY TELEGRAPH** (Editorial): "There can be no disguising the painful impression created by Mr. Molotov's disclosure. The British and American Governments have good reason to complain that they have been treated with much less than the candour and courtesy which they were entitled to expect from a friend and ally."

NEWS CHRONICLE (Editorial):

"The Anglo-Russian treaty binds us to co-operate for the prosperity of Europe after the war. This assumes, as the Yalta Declaration assumed, that Europe is not to be divided into two separate parts. It implies that conditions in Poland—for whose independence we went to war—are a British as well as a Russian interest. It requires the setting up of a truly representative government of one section only. It entitles us to ask that the defence of Warsaw should be regarded as one of the war's great epic struggles against the common foe, and not as an act of treachery."

Mr Vernon Bartlett in the NEWS CHRONICLE:

"What worries them (the British Government, is the way in which the Soviet Government appears to be seeking to destroy all Polish parties except the Communists. There were so few Communists in Poland before the war and the present members of the Lublin Administration have so small a following that in the British view this Lublin Government could not possibly claim to be representative unless it could obtain the collaboration of those democratic parties whose leaders are now being arrested by the Soviets. These are the reasons for the gravest crisis yet between the major Allies."

DAILY HERALD (Editorial):

"The Polish question is, by agreement, one of joint concern. But the Russians act as if they determined to impose their own solution in disregard, even in defiance, of the views of their colleagues. Why does the Soviet Government act thus? Is it because it suspects Britain and America of plotting in the countries bordering on Russia? If so, such suspicions should be openly stated so that they can be openly refuted. Co-operation between the three great Allies is essential for the solution of the difficulties which confront the world. If co-operation is to succeed it must be founded on complete candour. It will never succeed if the partners embark on a policy of trying to confuse and outsmart one another."

THE SCOTSMAN (Editorial):

"Russia's action, if it was in doubt before, makes it plain that her conception of the Yalta pact is fundamentally different from the British and American interpretation. Despite her often reiterated desire to see a strong and independent Poland, her real intention appears to be to set up satellite States which will take their orders from Moscow. There is in this country and in America a sincere desire to work in close and friendly partnership with Russia. To quarrel in the moment of common victory would be tragic. Yet if this partnership is to endure it must be founded on some firm basis.

"More than the exchange of flowery compliments between the Allied leaders is necessary to secure fruitful and enduring bonds between Russia and her Western associates. Mr. Stalin asked the British M.P.'s who visited Russia to criticise openly any shortcomings which they might find. Mr. Stalin believes in plain speaking himself, and he is the kind of man to respect it in others. We desire to work in harmony with our great ally, and if plain speaking will help, then it is time that we indulged in it to clear away the tangle of misunderstandings which exists to-day. It is necessary that Russia should understand that Poland is a test case of Soviet good faith."

Telegrams From Poles Everywhere

Hundreds of cablegrams and telegrams reaching President Charles Rozmarek, attest to the recognition given the Polish American Congress for its activities on behalf of the Polish cause. Poles everywhere are concerned over the decisions affecting their homeland and it is only natural that they seek intercession for Poland among their allies. It is to America they look most for support for the just rights of their unhappy and martyred country. Their faith in American fair-play rings through every message. Following are a few of the cablegrams:

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

The Polish Democratic Society (section Melbourne) considers the decisions of the Yalta Conference concerning Poland as unconditionally illegal, because they have been made without approval of Poles and their legal representatives. The Polish Democratic Society considers these decisions to be unjust to the highest degree, as they deprive the most faithful, the most devoted, the most self-sacrificing ally, of freedom, of independence, of nearly half of his national territory. Since the Yalta decisions have many times been violated by the Soviet Union, especially by arresting the Democratic Leaders of Poland's political life, the Polish Democratic Society (section Melbourne) believes that the Polish American Congress, representing all Americans of Polish descent, will submit to the United States a clear, unequivocal demand that the Yalta decisions be abolished, as they are unjust and harmful to the Polish Nation.

Tarczynski—Torda—Waks.

ARGENTINA

As president of the Polish Alliance in Argentina in the name of Poles in South America, I hereby suggest that the Polish American Congress take energetic action before the U. S. Congress to repeal the Crimean decisions as unjust to Poland and already broken by Soviets. The Poles in Argentina believe in the democratic sentiments of the American people and their sense of Justice.

Zaleski—President Polish Alliance.

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

The Polish Colony at Rio, gathered on National Day at the Polonia Association, send you, Mr. President, words of highest esteem and gratitude for your unflinching stand in defense of the rights of the Polish Nation, its independence and true freedom.

Gabrys—President.

MONTREAL, CANADA

Canadian Polish Congress (Montreal Branch) urges most energetic action toward invalidation of Crimean Declaration in consequence of nonfulfilment by Russia of her commitments and in particular demands release of 16 representatives of Democratic Poland, whose imprisonment is a flagrant example of the terroristic regime tending to the extermination of all Polish leading elements, thus excluding the possibility of Poland's independent political existence.

Roszkowski—President.

CAIRO, EGYPT

We Poles of the Copernicus Scientific Circle in Egypt, deeply shocked by the unjust and illegal Crimean decisions of the Fifth Partition of Poland, ask you, Mr. President, as leader of the World's largest gathering of Poland's friends, who are able to act as spokesmen of the genuine wishes and interests of the Polish nation, the Polish American Congress, to demand that the people and the government of the United States restate and realize those most sacred ideals for which the world is waging war, as against totalitarianism. The moral and the material power of the United States today constitute the inspiration and hope of the nations, who after triumph over Nazi tyranny, face lethal menace again. Let the Crimean decisions, broken recently by the Soviets' unilateral acts, be declared null and void by the government of the United States.

Prof. Kazimierz Rouppert—President.

LONDON, ENGLAND

At this decisive moment in Poland's history the Polish Association of University Women in Great Britain begs you to accept their expression of admiration for your courageous, truly patriotic activity for the Polish cause. Our Association, on behalf of the Polish women of all liberal professions, wishes to endorse unreservedly your Memorandum addressed to Stettinius, in which you state that the Yalta compromise on Poland was not compatible with justice, international law, democratic principles, that it is in any case ruthlessly disregarded by the U.S.S.R., that at the present juncture not only Poland's future but the realization of freedom and justice for all nations is at stake.

Grabinska, Chairman
Halperin, Vice-chairman.

ROME, ITALY

In the name of all the Polish Refugees in Italy we send you, sir, the expressions of our deepest thanks and gratitude for your wonderful and uncompromised defense of Poland's rights to a real independence. Your point of view is that of every Polish refugee who, fighting for the freedom of other nations, asks the same for himself in the name of justice. See that the Yalta decisions concerning Poland be cancelled, because they are unworthy of the freedom-loving nations and have already been violated by the USSR. Do not cease in your endeavors that the Polish government in London be regarded as the only legal representative of the will of the Polish Nation, and that it represent Poland at San Francisco. This would be, even if late, an act of minimum gratitude due a nation which, from the very first beginning of the war, did not even for a moment abandon the United Nations.

Polish Refugee Committee:
Rev. S. Semkowski,
I. Nussbaum,
Zofia Dymyszyna.

BOMBAY, INDIA

The Polish Union of Bombay, unanimously approving letter and spirit of Memorandum, thankfully acknowledge your spokesmanship for Polish cause. Trusting that the endeavors of American Poles will gain support of whole liberty loving American Nation.

Golawski, chairman.

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

Polish invalids, enjoying the hospitality of South Africa, decided by acclamation at their monthly meeting that the unjust Yalta decisions regarding Poland have to be denounced, arrested Polish Democratic Leaders immediately liberated, the legal Polish government in London invited to San Francisco, the red army immediately withdrawn from Poland, and the glorious Polish Forces having fought side by side with the Americans and Britosh admitted to Poland.

Edward Buchfan, chairman Assoc. Polish Invalids —
 South Africa.

STOCKHOLM, SWEEDEN

We suggest that the Polish American Congress adopt a resolution for the revision of the Crimean agreement; for the earliest possible repatriation of Exile Poles to a free, independent Poland. A Polish Wilno and Lwów are safeguards of Polish independence.

West Polish Assn., Sweden.

LEONDEGUARA JUATO, MEXICO

The population of the Polish Refugees Colony of Santa Rosa in Mexico are appealing to the Polish Congress to ask the U. S. Government to cancel the Crimea decisions concerning Poland as being illegal and unjust, and injuring the Polish nation. We believe that the principles of justice and freedom, so dear to America, will triumph in the future peaceful settlement of the world, not excluding Poland.

Konstanty Szyndler, Chairman
 Santa Rosa Branch Assoc. of Polish Veterans.

NEAR EAST

The Polish Political Parties in Teheran, members of the Polish Northeastern Territories Union and Southeastern Union in Iran, members of the Society of Iranian Study, Polish lawyers, engineers, doctors and teachers in Iran, Polish Citizens of Ukrainian, Belorussian and Jewish Nationality, Unassociated Poles in Camps in Teheran Staham Achwaz, ask you to represent them in condemning the Crimean agreement. Demand the removal of Soviet Forces from Polish territory and the freeing of the arrested Polish Democratic Leaders. They wholeheartedly support the legal Polish government in London.

Swiatpol.



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THESE BOOKLETS ON THE POLISH QUESTION

ARE YOURS FOR THE ASKING
If Requested on Your Letterhead:

BULLETIN NO. 1
BULLETIN NO. 2

EASTERN POLAND
With eight maps re-drawn from
"The Eastern Boundaries Of Poland"

RUSSIAN-POLISH RELATIONS
Their Historical, Cultural and Political Background

THE BOUNDARIES OF POLAND

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES
A Memorandum of the Polish-American Congress
To Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

THE POLISH CONSTITUTION
of the
THIRD OF MAY

WRITE TO:

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, INC.
1520 W. DIVISION ST., CHICAGO 22, ILL.