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Life and Works of Henryk Sienkiewicz	3
The Deluge by Henryk Sienkiewicz	12
Mikolaj Kopernik (Nicolaus Copernicus)	16
Polish Journalism in the Days of Kosciuszko's Insurrection by Dr. Nadine Klein	18
Poles on the Sangro by Zygmunt Litynski	23
The Emissary by Marek Swiecicki	26
Declaration of the Soldiers of the 2nd Polish Corps	30
Poland Today as Seen by Foreign Observers	32
To appease Russia Gets us Nowhere by Dorothy Thompson	69
American Federation of Labour Advocates Justice for Poland	71
Cardinal Griffin on Conditions in Poland	73
The Voice of America	74
Some Current Opinions of the Free World	77
What is Freedom by W. Churchill	86

Cover by S. Lipinski



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LIFE AND WORKS OF HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ

Henryk Sienkiewicz was born one hundred years ago on May 5, 1846. He died thirty years ago, on November 15, 1916; consequently the current year is connected in a twofold way with Sienkiewicz and should be solemnly observed.

THE MEANING OF SIENKIEWICZ FOR POLAND AND THE WORLD.

Henryk Sienkiewicz was one of those great Poles, who have not only rendered meritorious services to their own nation and to Polish culture, but who have also contributed priceless values to the treasure chest of humanity, thereby making Poland's name famous throughout the world.

At a time when Poland was torn asunder by three partitioning Powers and obliterated from the map of Europe, when there was no one who could speak in her behalf, express her thoughts and aspirations, Sienkiewicz, having achieved international fame by his literary works, became the Polish nation's Ambassador to the world, the voice of Poland oppressed, but living and aspiring to freedom, and as such he was listened to by the entire world.

By his works Sienkiewicz testified to the vitality of the Polish nation, its strength, its striving for freedom. By showing in his masterpieces the splendor and power of Poland when she was independent, he awakened in the Poles faith in the future and hope for the rebuilding of their homeland. He aroused the admiration of the entire world for his literary genius, and proclaimed before the world that Poland lived, that she was one of the nations, who not only fought for their freedom, but also played a leading role in culture and in the arts, and that therefore independence and an honorable place among free peoples should be restored to her.

Today, when Poland has been engulfed by a night of bondage even worse than in the XIX century, the lesson derived from Sienkiewicz's life and work should be brought to the mind of all Poles to awaken their hope, and to all free nations to awaken their conscience and sense of obligation towards Poland, heroic, leading in culture, and so cruelly wronged.

SIENKIEWICZ'S YOUTH

Henryk Sienkiewicz was born at Wola Okrzejska in the province of Podlasie. He acquired his secondary and university education in Warsaw, studying first at high school and subsequently in the famous Chief School, i.e. the University of Warsaw, which was the last Polish University before the Rising of 1863 in the territories annexed by Russia. Its President was the prominent Józef Mianowski. Among its students were, besides Sienkiewicz, the future great writers, Boleslaw Prus and Alexander Swietochowski. When Sienkiewicz was entering life, the whole country was shrouded in grief for those who had died in the Rising. All hope of regaining independence vanished. The noblest Polish minds were seized with extreme pessimism as to the future of Poland. As a reaction to the heroic endeavors so bitterly frustrated, the conviction appeared that Poland's independence was an unattainable dream, which the Poles should give up, and seek the possibility of saving the Polish nation from destruction in their everyday work.

This conviction was based both on the Polish nation's disappointments and on philosophical currents which then reached Poland from Western Europe, and which, under the name of Positivism, taught that only that was real which could be proved by science, and that consequently the progress of mankind and the solution of the problems besetting it could be sought only in a sober conception of life based on the natural sciences.

In Poland the advocates of that philosophy advanced the watchword of "organic work", and called for the development of commerce and industry, raising the country's material standard and lifting the hitherto underprivileged classes to a higher level of culture and prosperity. It might be said that the same enthusiasm and selfsacrifice that the Polish youth showed in the armed struggle against the Russians, they now devoted to the realization of the new watchwords, wishing to express in them their craving for action and their desire to serve the nation.

Henryk Sienkiewicz was part and parcel of the young people of that period, sharing their enthusiasm, faith and illusions. Starting his career as a writer and publicist with columns and chronicles in the Warsaw "Polish Gazette" and with the "Humorous Sketches from Worszylo's Portfolio", he advocated in them the views and ideals proclaimed by the so called Warsaw Positivism. His first stories, "In Vain", "The Old Servant", indicate the author's uncommon literary talent, his gift of observation, and an unusual sense of humor. These short stories place him at once in the first rank of the writers of the period and gain him a wide circle of readers. Sienkiewicz then plays a considerable role in the group of young Warsaw writers, and forms friendships with leading personalities of Polish life, Helena Modjeska (Modrzejewska) among them.

SIENKIEWICZ IN AMERICA

It is to her example as well as to his desire to leave the suffocating atmosphere of enslavement, to catch a breath of the great world, that we owe Sienkiewicz's journey to America and his stay in the United States between 1876-78.

Sienkiewicz went to the United States accompanied by Julian Sypniewski, preceding Helena Modjeska and her husband who settled permanently in California. Voyages to America were very rare at that time in Europe, especially from Poland, then oppressed by enslavement; and Sienkiewicz gave proof of his unusually wide mental scope and accurate appraisal of America's importance in modern life by deciding on this unusual voyage.

"Letters from America", written as a result of his travels not only was a magnificent manifestation of Sienkiewicz's literary talent, but proof of the greatness of his mind, which excellently comprehended new phenomena and grasped unfamiliar conditions. America, as described by Sienkiewicz who traversed the length and breadth of it, consisted of prairies and big cities. He tried to see and examine everything. It is of course not the United States of today, and Sienkiewicz's "Letters" sound today like a charming tale of bygone times. At the same time, however, all that which constitutes the American character, which forms the essence of this country's culture, its changeless soul, was felt with admirable intuition and comprehended marvellously by Sienkiewicz. He rendered an enthusiastic and simultaneously unusual tribute to the American people for their diligence, spirit of progress and true democracy.

SIENKIEWICZ TURNS TO THE PAST

Sienkiewicz returned to Poland, full of creative elan which could not be contained within the framework of "organic work"; he saw life in a wider, more exuberant and richer scope. Partly in America and partly after his return to Poland, he wrote his most outstanding short stories such as "Charcoal Sketches", "From the Diary of a Poznan Teacher", "Bartek the Conqueror", which are proof of the unusual development of his talent. Sienkiewicz is harassed by the dullness of life in enslavement. The creative, but very restricted activity of his former ideological associates does not suffice to satisfy his aspirations as an artist and a Pole. The school of historians then fashionable in Poland, the so-called "Cracow School", whose most outstanding representative was Michael Bobrzynski, proclaimed that Poland is herself responsible for her fate, that her past has been full of mistakes which brought about her downfall and that, consequently, the Poles should turn away from that past. This

conviction, together with the ideas of the positivists, strengthens the Polish nation's disbelief in a better future and the possibility of regaining independence.

In a spirit of freedom, craving for great ideas and great deeds, Sienkiewicz rebels against this disbelief that was killing the Polish spirit. After reading "Historical Sketches" by Kubala he was convinced that the Polish past, was directly contrary to the one pointed by the Cracow School. Where the "Cracow School" saw only arbitrariness, revolts and madness, Sienkiewicz perceives the powerful, creative instinct of a great nation, its will to greatness, heroism and sacrifice in the service of great ideas. Sienkiewicz digs deep into the sources relating to XVIII century Poland, studies the language of the period, peruses memoirs and documents, transfers himself in spirit from enslaved Poland to the old times, stormy, difficult but free.

THE TRILOGY

In 1883 there began to appear simultaneously in the Warsaw "Słowo" (Word) and the Cracow "Czas" (Times) Sienkiewicz's historical novel entitled "With Fire and Sword", based on the Cossack wars in the reign of King John Casimir. It is impossible to describe the impact of that novel on the minds of the readers, one might say on the soul of the Polish nation, for it was literally read by everybody; and the papers that printed it passed from hand to hand, awaited in every home as good, yearned for tidings.

The Polish nation, tormented and in addition fed for years with the conviction of the hopelessness of its fate and responsibility for its downfall, as it were, recovered under the influence of the picture presented to it by Sienkiewicz's belief in its own strength, began to look with different eyes at itself and into the future.

Sienkiewicz's literary genius, re-created the old Polish life in a thousand scenes full of movement, fervor and flourish. It was a life of struggle for the homeland, unbounded sacrifice and removal of all obstacles. It electrified the Poles, and opened new vistas of thought and feeling for them. Not only in Poland before Sienkiewicz, but nowhere in the world has there ever been a writer of such inexhaustible imagination, capable of rousing such interest for the events described, for the fate of the characters invented by himself. Skrzetuski, Helena Kurcewicz, Pan Włoddyjowski, Longinus Podbięta, and above all the unparalleled Zagłoba, become for Sienkiewicz's readers characters as close as family and friends.

"With Fire and Sword" was followed by "The Deluge", which described the struggle against the Swedes, and finally by "Pan Michael"; so that in the course of six years up to 1889, there appeared altogether

thirteen volumes of the "Trilogy". These volumes placed Sienkiewicz at the head of Polish creative writing, won the hearts of the entire nation and brought him world fame.

Sienkiewicz took as the subject of his work one of the most difficult periods of Poland's history, when she was harassed from all corners by invaders. Even in the period called the "Deluge" by Sienkiewicz, she was completely overrun by them, so that there was not an inch of Polish soil which was free from an invading army. King John Casimir was forced to flee from the territory of his State. But in spite of this flood, in spite of the fact that Poland was abandoned by every-body, she recovered her freedom, and expelled the enemies from her frontiers. Men appeared, such as the modest Prior Augustine Kordecki, who, in that hardest misfortune, did not lose faith in God and in the nation, and who by their example spurred the nation to resistance.

The Polish nation understood perfectly the lesson given it by Sienkiewicz in his "Triglogy". The great writer played a decisive role in awakening the fighting spirit in Poland, and to this very day his work is a source of enthusiasm and the Polish soldier's favorite book.

CONTEMPORARY NOVELS

Sienkiewicz's talent, his concern for the problems of life, and his intellectual interests seek ever new stimuli, questions and areas of observation. Tackling ever new artistic tasks the great writer now took the then fashionable analytical novel in which the French novelist Bourget was the master. In 1891 Sienkiewicz wrote the novel "Without Dogma" couched in the form of a diary of a decadent of the close of the century, concerned only with examining the state of his soul and given to the pleasures of life. This novel obviously could not arouse the popularity enjoyed by the "Trilogy", as it was destined only for a closed circle of literary connoisseurs. It became, however, a magnificent proof of the riches of Sienkiewicz's talent and again a monument of his style.

In his subsequent novel, "The Polaniecki Family", written in 1895, Sienkiewicz again depicted contemporary Polish life. This time, however, the picture was not that of a man deprived of will power, though possessed of a superior mind, but an average individual with healthy instincts and knowledge of life. "The Polaniecki Family", or "Children of the Soil" as the novel is entitled in its English version, is full of incomparable characters depicted with Sienkiewicz's rare gift of observation. It is full of excellent remarks and sense of humor peculiar to Sienkiewicz. In the main, however, the novel was received by the people with apprehension as to whether the writer had not lost his great way and lowered his ambitions.

QUO VADIS

The people, who did not expect that the author of "The Third Woman" and of "Charcoal Sketches" would be able to turn to the past, with a feeling for history and to carry out such a powerful composition as the "Trilogy", were to be no less amazed when in 1896 Sienkiewicz, abandoning both the realm of Poland's history and her contemporary life, shifted his interests to declining Rome and wrote a novel of the time of the martyrdom of the Christians under Nero, entitled, "Quo Vadis".

Now really the entire world was seized with amazement and admiration. The "Trilogy" was known and admired everywhere. Thanks to it, Sienkiewicz became a great figure in world literature. However, the subject of the novel was specifically Polish, the lesson inherent in it concerned Polish life above all. Now Sienkiewicz spoke about matters that had influenced the history of all mankind, about a civilization from which originated the entire European culture as well as that of the whole modern world, it touched problems comprehensible and important to every-body. The mastery with which he had recreated old Poland did not fail him now, when with the help of his literary genius he reconstructed the world of ancient Rome and Christianity, rising out of martyrdom and sacrifice.

As in the "Trilogy" Sienkiewicz's talent shone forth in the "Knights" as a painter of countless battle scenes, encounters, hunts, love trysts, and appeared with unparalleled power in the descriptions of German atrocities, which today seem truly prophetic.

The significance of the "Knights of the Cross" is, like that of the "Trilogy" and "Quo Vadis", not merely purely artistic. That novel pointed to the source of mortal danger not only to Poland, but for the entire world. It is not surprising therefore that when, during the War just ended, a new English edition of the "Knights" appeared in London, the preface was written by Lord Vansittart, the well known British statesman, who so eloquently warned the world before the constantly renewed power of Germany.

SIENKIEWICZ'S LAST NOVELS

Out of Sienkiewicz's reflections caused by the revolution of 1905 arose the novel "Whirlpools" (1910), generally regarded as a weaker work. Nor did he attain to former heights in the novel of Sobieski's times, "On the Field of Glory". But the impression of extreme youthfulness and a renewal of his creative forces is furnished by "In Desert and Wilderness" (1911), a novel of travel for both adult and younger readers. It describes the fantastic adventures of two children, the Polish boy, Stas

Torkowski, and the English girl, Nel Rawlinson, pursued by an African revolt and reaching safety thanks to the uncommon courage of the Polish boy. Sienkiewicz, a passionate hunter, a member of hunting expeditions in Africa (Zanzibar and Egypt 1891), speaks in that novel about things that he saw or could imagine from things seen. The new novel also achieved international fame and demonstrated that in spite of age Sienkiewicz had not exhausted his creative abilities and that in spite of successes, unequalled by any of his contemporary writers, he did not rest on his laurels. Before the war of 1914 the Warsaw "Illustrated Weekly" started the publication of a new historical novel by Sienkiewicz, "The Legions", from the time of Dabrowski's legions. The novel ends with the scene when Polish legionaries before leaving Italian soil for Poland, have just reached Rome after fierce fighting and see the cupola of St. Peter's, the mother of churches. These last pages written by Sienkiewicz, this last picture created by him, move us deeply today when we think of the Polish Army which, having conquered Monte Cassino again opened the road to Rome, again appeared on the age-old track in defense of Christianity and civilization.

SIENKIEWICZ'S ACTIVITY DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

When the war broke out in 1914 Sienkiewicz was in Oblegorek. Convinced that his great name in the world might have some weight in the destinies of the Polish cause, and that it would be necessary to help the Polish nation, so terribly affected by the war, from abroad, Sienkiewicz went to Switzerland. There, together with Ignace Paderewski and Antoni Osuchowski, he organized the Relief Committee for Poland with headquarters at Vevey, and became its chairman. He died suddenly on November 15, 1916. He did not live to see the Independent Poland, whose coming was accelerated by his literary activity. His works reawakened the Poles' belief in freedom and their will to fight. He was buried in Vevey; but independent Poland brought his remains to Warsaw and honored the writer with a solemn funeral, after which the ashes were laid to rest in the crypt of St. John's Cathedral. We do not know whether his sarcophagus was preserved under the ruins of the church destroyed during the rising of 1944.

The Sienkiewicz year should prompt us to reexamine the teachings left by the great writer and expressed by him in the "Trilogy," "The Knights of the Cross" and "Quo Vadis." These teachings commend faith in Divine Justice, which leads men as well as nations on thorny paths, but always punishes sins and rewards virtues. This commendment bids us not to yield to despair or give way before any adversities, because

a strong will animated by a great idea can work miracles and change the most unfavorable course of events. Sienkiewicz finally teaches us that the Polish nation possesses inexhaustible spiritual treasures and vitality which, as in the period of the Swedish deluge, enable it to survive the worst, to emerge from the deluge and to rise from the grave.

What Sienkiewicz did for the Polish nation by the power of his talent is proof of the outstanding importance of art in national life, of the influence that a writer can exercise on his people. Sienkiewicz did exercise this influence not only on his contemporaries, but also on all those who fought for Poland in the present War and who continue fighting, fixing their eyes on his heroes who never had doubts of God and were always ready to offer everything to their country.

SIENKIEWICZ'S WORLD TRIUMPH

As for the Poles Kmicic, Zagloba, Podbipieta, so now Petronius, Vinitius, Ligia, Ursus and Chilo Chilonides, the heroes of "Quo Vadis" became familiar to the readers of all countries, races and colors of skin. "Quo Vadis," translated into all languages of the world, triumphantly traversed the whole world, calling forth countless stage and later screen adaptations, becoming the basis of opera libretti, and an inspiration for painters and draughtsmen.

Sienkiewicz became for many years the most popular and widely read novelist of the world. The wonderment of the readers was accompanied by the admiration of scholars, experts on antiquity, who declared that "Quo Vadis" presented a picture of Rome of hitherto unexisting scientific accuracy. All the more important literary institutions and learned academies of the world, including that of St. Petersburg, extended their membership to him; and finally in 1905 the Swedish Academy in Stockholm bestowed the Nobel prize on him for "Quo Vadis", the highest distinction that a writer may attain. Thus, in the person of Sienkiewicz, it also paid tribute to the national spirit of oppressed but living Poland.

SIENKIEWICZ FIRST AMONG THE POLES

The Polish nation, grateful to Sienkiewicz for everything that he had presented to it, gives him a place among its great men not assigned by any protocol, but which is foremost of all. At all celebrations, such as the unveiling of the Mickiewicz monument in Warsaw he comes first before others. When he speaks to the world, the world knows that the Polish nation speaks through him. And Sienkiewicz with unusual talent always speaks in such a way that the words uttered by him can be accept-

ed by every Pole as in the famous letter to Emperor Wilhelm against the persecution of the Poles under Prussian domination, or in the inquiry directed to the writers of the entire world on the same subject.

THE KNIGHTS OF THE CROSS

"The Knights of the Cross" (1900), which followed "Quo Vadis," carries us back into the remote times of Poland's struggle against the Teutonic Order. Like the Germans in the times of Hitler, the Knights wanted to conquer and destroy Poland, in order to establish Germany's world domination on its corpse.

As in the "Trilogy" Sienkiewicz re-created the language of the XVII century in the "Knights of the Cross." He revived the language spoken by the Poles in the XIVth and XVth centuries. With incomparably fewer sources at his disposal than to the times of John Casimir, he evoked from old chronicles the picture of Poland, which crushed the Teutons at Grunwald with Jagiello's sword, and rendered the world a service as memorable as General Eisenhower's armies a year ago.

By courtesy of the Polish American Congress, Inc. Chicago, Ill.

Grandpappy Morgan hillbilly of the Ozarks had wandered off into the woods and failed to return for supper, so young Tolliver was sent to look for him—Tolliver found grandpappy standing in the bushes.

"Getting dark grandpap" the tot ventured

"Yep"

"Supertime grandpap"

"Yep"

"Ain't ye hungry"?

"Yep"

"Well air ye comin' home"

"Nope"

"Why ain't ye"!

"Standing in a b'rtrap" —

THE DELUGE

by *HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ*

(An excerpt.)

"Well, come out, come out!" cried Volodyovski.

"You are in a hurry to the other world?"

"No matter, no matter, only come out quickly."

The iron bars holding the door on the inside began to groan.

Volodyovski pushed back, and with him the nobles, to make room. Soon the door opened, and in it appeared Pan Andrei, tall, straight as a poplar. The dawn was already coming, and the first pale light of day fell on his daring, knightly, and youthful face. He stopped in the door, looked boldly on the crowd of nobles, and said.

"I have trusted in you. God knows whether I have done well. but let that go. Who here is Pan Volodyovski?"

The little colonel stepped forward. "I am!" answered he.

"Oh! you are not like a giant," said Kmita, with sarcastic reference to Volodyovski's stature, "I expected to find a more considerable figure, though I must confess you are evidently a soldier of experience."

"I cannot say the same of you, for you have neglected sentries. If you are the same at the sabre as at command, I shall not have work."

"Where shall we fight?" asked Kmita, quickly.

"Here,—the yard is as level as a table."

"Agreed! Prepare for death."

"Are you so sure?"

"It is clear that you have never been in Orsha, since you doubt. Not only am I sure, but I am sorry, for I have heard of you as a splendid soldier. Therefore I say for the last time, let me go! We do not know each other; why should we stand the one in the way of the other? Why attack me? The maiden is mine by the will, as well as this property; and God knows I am only seeking my own."

"It is true that I cut down the nobles in Volmontovichi, but let God decide who committed the first wrong. Whether my officers were men of violence or not, we need not discuss; it is enough that they did no harm to any one here, and they were slaughtered to the last man because they wanted to dance with girls in a public house. Well, let blood answer blood! After that my soldiers were cut to pieces. I swear by the wounds of God that I came to these parts without evil intent, and how was I received? But let wrong balance wrong. I will still add from my

own and make losses good in neighbor fashion. I prefer that to another way."

"And what kind of people have you here? Where did you get these assistants?" asked Volodyovski.

"Where I got them I got them. I did not bring them against the country, but to obtain my own rights."

"Is that the kind of man you are? So for private affairs you have joined the enemy. And with what have you paid him for this service, if not with treason? No brother, I should not hinder you from coming to terms with the nobles, but to call in the enemy is another thing."

"You will not creep out. Stand up now, stand up, or I shall say that you are a coward, though you give yourself out as a master from Orsha."

"You would have it," said Kmita, taking position.

But Volodyovski did not hurry, and taking his sabre out yet, he looked around on the sky. Day was already coming in the east. The first golden and azure stripes were extended in a belt of light, but in the yard it was still gloomy enough, and just in front of the house complete darkness reigned.

"The day begins well," said Volodyovski, "but the sun will not rise soon. Perhaps you would wish to have light?"

"It is all the one to me."

"Gentlemen!" cried Volodyovski, turning to the nobles, "go for some straw and for torches; it will be clearer for us in this Orsha dance."

The nobles, to whom this humorous tone of the young colonel gave wonderful consolation, rushed quickly to the kitchen. Some of them fell to collecting the torches trampled at the time of the battle, and in a little while nearly fifty red flames were gleaming in the semi-darkness of the early morning.

Volodyovski showed them with his sabre to Kmita.

"Look, a regular funeral procession!"

And Kmita answered at once: "They are burying a colonel, so there must be parade."

"You are a dragon!"

Meanwhile the nobles formed in silence a circle around the knights, and raised the burning torches aloft; behind them others took their places, curious and disquieted; in the centre the opponents measured each other with their eyes.

A grim silence began; only burned coals fell with a crackle to the ground. Volodyovski was as lively as a goldfinch on a bright morning.

"Begin!" said Kmita.

The first clash raised an echo in the heart of every onlooker. Volodyovski struck as if unwillingly; Kmita warded and struck in his turn;

Volodyovski warded. The dry clash grew more rapid. All held breath. Kmita attacked with fury. Volodyovski put his left hand behind his back and stood quietly, making very careless, slight, almost imperceptible movements; it seemed that he wished merely to defend himself, and at the same time spare his opponent. Sometimes he pushed a short step backward, again he advanced; apparently he was studying the skill of Kmita. Kmita was growing heated; Volodyovski was cool as a master testing his pupil, and all the time calmer and calmer. At last, to the great surprise of the nobles, he said,—

"Now let us talk; it will not last long. Ah, ha! is that the Orsha method? "It's clear that you must have threshed peas there, for you strike like a man with a flail. Terrible blows! Are they really the best in Orsha? That thrust is in fashion only among tribunal police. This is from Courland, good to chase dogs with. Look to the end of your sabre! Don't bend your hand so, for see what will happen! Raise your sabre!"

Volodyovski pronounced the last words with emphasis; at the same time he described a half-circle, drew the hand and sabre toward him, and before the spectators understood what "raise" meant, Kmita's sabre, like a needle pulled from a thread, flew above Volodyovski's head and fell behind his shoulders; then he said,—

"That is called shelling a sabre."

Kmita stood pale, wild-eyed, staggering, astonished no less than the nobles of Lauda; the little colonel pushed to one side, and repeated again,—

"Take your sabre!"

For a time it seemed as if Kmita would rush at him with naked hands. He was just ready for the spring, when Volodyovski put his hil' to his own brest, presenting the point. Kmita rushed to take his, own sabre, and fell with it again on his terrible opponent.

A loud murmur rose from the circle of spectators, and the ring grew closer and closer. Kmita's Cossacks thrust their heads between the shoulders of the nobles, as if they had lived all their lives in the best understanding with them. Involuntarily shouts were wrested from the mouths of the onlookers; at times an outburst of unrestrained, nervous laughter was heard; all acknowledged a master of masters.

Volodyovski amused himself cruelly like a cat with a mouse and seemed to work more and more carelessly with the sabre. He took his left hand from behind his back and thrust it into his trousers' pocket. Kmita was foaming at the mouth panting heavily; at last hoarse words came from his throat through his lips.—

"Finish—spare the shame!"

"Very well" replied Volodyovski.

A short terrible whistle was heard, then a smothered cry. At the same moment Kmita threw open his arms, his sabre dropped to the ground, and he fell on his face at the feet of the colonel.

"He lives!" said Volodyovski: "he has not fallen on his back!" And doubling the skirt of Kmita's coat, he began to wipe his sabre.

The nobles shouted with one voice, and in those shouts thundered with increasing clearness; "Finish the traitor! finish him! cut him to pieces!"

A number of Butryms ran up with drawn sabres. Suddenly something wonderful happened,—and one would have said that little Volodyovski had grown tall before their eyes: the sabre of the nearest Butrym flew out of his hand after Kmita's, as if a whirlwind had caught it, and Volodyovski shouted with flashing eyes,—

"Stand back, stand back! He is mine now, not yours! Be off!"

All were silent, fearing the anger of that man; and he said: "I want no shambles here! As nobles you should understand knightly customs, and not slaughter the wounded. Enemies do not do that, and how could a man in a duel kill his prostrate opponent?"

The colonel was lecturing a class of incipient officers.

"A 40-foot flagpole has fallen down," he said.

"You have a sergeant and a squad of ten men. How do you erect the flagpole again?"

The candidates thought, then offered suggestions about block and tackle derricks, and so on.

You're all wrong replied the colonel. You'd say, "Sergeant, get that flagpole up".

A seaman second class wandered into a tennis tournament and became interested in a match.

"Whose game?" he inquired.

The shy young thing sitting next to him looked up hopefully and replied "I am".

MIKOŁAJ KOPERNIK

(1473 - 1543)

NICOLAUS COPERNICUS

Kopernik Mikolaj - Copernicus Nicolaus, Polish astronomer, was born on the 19th of February 1473, at Torun in Prussian Poland, where his father, a native of Cracow, had settled as a wholesale trader. His mother, Barbara Watzelrode, belonged to a family of high mercantile and civic standing. After the death of his father in 1483, Nicolaus was virtually adopted by his uncle Lucas Watzelrode, later (in 1489) bishop of Warmia. Placed at the university of Cracow in 1491, he devoted himself, during three years, to mathematical science under Albert Brudzewski (1445-1497) and incidentally acquired some skill in painting. At the age of twenty-three he repaired to Bologna, and there varied his studies of canon law by attending the astronomical lectures of Domenico Maria Novara (1454-1504). At Rome, in the Jubilee year 1500, he himself lectured with applause; but having been nominated in 1497 canon of Frauenburg, he recrossed the Alps in 1501 with the purpose of obtaining further leave of absence for the completion of his academic career. Late in the same year, accordingly, he entered the medical school of Padua, where he remained until 1505, having taken meanwhile a doctor's degree in canon law at Ferrara on the 31st of May 1503. After his return to his native country he resided at the episcopal palace of Heilsberg as his uncle's physician until the latter's death on the 29th of March 1512. He then retired to Frauenburg, and vigorously attended to his capitular duties. He never took orders, but acted continually as the representative of the chapter under harassing conditions, administrative and political; he was besides commissary of the diocese of Warmia; his medical skill, always at the service of the poor, was frequently in demand by the rich; and he laid a scheme for the reform of the currency before the Diet of Grudziadz in 1522. Yet he found time, amid these multifarious occupations, to elaborate an entirely new system of astronomy, by the adoption of which man's outlook on the universe was fundamentally changed. The main lines of his great work were laid down at Heilsberg; at Frauenburg, from 1513, he sought with scanty instrumental means, to test by observation the truth of the views it embodied. His dissatisfaction with Ptolemaic doctrines was of early date; and he returned from Italy, where

so-called Pythagorean opinions were then freely discussed, in strong and irrevocable possession of the heliocentric theory. The epoch making treatise in which it was set forth, virtually finished in 1530, began to be known through the circulation in manuscript of a *Commentariolus*, or brief popular account of its purport written by Copernicus in that year. Johann Albrecht Wildmanstadt lectured upon it in Rome. Clement VII. approved, and Cardinal Schoenberg transmitted to the author a formal demand for full publication. But his assent to this was only extracted from him in 1540 by the importunities of his friends, especially of his enthusiastic disciple George Joachim Rheticus (1514-1576), who printed, in the *Narratio prima* (Danzig 1540), a preliminary account of the Copernican theory, and simultaneously sent to the press at Nüremberg his master's complete exposition of it in the treatise entitled *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543). But the first printed copy reached Frauenburg barely in time to be laid on the writer's death-bed, Copernicus was seized with apoplexy and paralysis towards the close of 1542, and died on the 24th of May 1543, happily unconscious that the fine Epistle, in which he had dedicated his life's work to Paul III., was marred of its effect by an anonymous preface, slipt in by Andreas Osiander (1498-1552), with a view to disarming prejudice by insisting upon the purely hypothetical character of the reasonings it introduced. The trigonometrical section of the book had been issued as a separate treatise (Wittenberg 1542) under the care of Rheticus. The only work published by Copernicus on his own initiative was a Latin version of the Greek Epistles of Theophylact (Cracow 1509). His treatise *De monetæ cudendæ ratione*, 1526 (first printed in 1816), written by order of Sigismund I King of Poland, is an exposition of the principles on which it was proposed to reform the currency of the Prussian provinces of Poland. It advocates unity of the monetary system throughout the entire state, with strict integrity in the quality of the coin, and the charge of a seigniorage sufficient to cover the expences of mintage.

Encyclopedia Britannica.

Bibl. Jag.

One morning Moses came to work with a black eye, a swollen lip and other troubles

"Moses" asked his boss "what in the world happened to you"?

"Well boss, was a-talkin' when I should-a-been a-listenin' "

POLISH JOURNALISM IN THE DAYS OF KOSCIUSZKO'S INSURRECTION

by *D. NADINE KLEIN*

The echoes of the French Revolution resounding throughout Europe found a strong response in Poland. The ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity inspired great Polish statesmen such as Stanislas Staszic and Hugo Kollontay. The Great Parliament of 1788-1792 undertook the realization of those democratic ideals: it voted the memorable Constitution of the Third of May 1791, and greatly stimulated the growth of political literature which in turn spread revolutionary thoughts.

Niemcewicz, Mostowski, and Weyssenhoff, all three members of the Diet, founded the "National and Foreign Gazette" to support the reform party. Kosciuszko, on his return from America where he had fought under Washington for the independence of the United States, based his revolutionary appeal upon the principle of universal equality. His official seal bore the words: "Liberty, Equality, Independence."

In his camp near the town of Polaniec, Kosciuszko, on May 7th, 1794, issued his famous proclamation granting individual liberty to the peasants, reduced taxes payable in labor and exonerated from them peasants who enlisted in the Insurrection army. Even Russian sources agree that the Polaniec proclamation greatly impressed the peasants, and prompted them to enlist in the army. Kosciuszko divided voyvodships and counties into so-called "supervision" areas and appointed trusted men to receive the complaints of the peasants and arbitrate their disputes with the nobility. He further appointed country school teachers to enlighten the people as to the aims of the insurrection. The teachers received their instructions from so-called Order Committees which were subject to the Department of Instruction of the Central Administration.

During the Insurrection the Department of Education to some extent replaced the Committee on Education. It was formed by the Insurrection authorities to enlighten the masses. It was also the Insurrection's official information service. During the siege of Warsaw in 1794 by the "united" Russian and Prussian armies, the Instruction Department published a Government's Gazette and distributed copies to the teachers.

The Gazette contained government reports on the progress of the Insurrection, on battles fought, correspondence and special instructions. This Gazette was a great improvement on the information poster the Insurrectionist Government had previously used for propaganda and to give news of the Insurrection. Placarding posters had many disadvantages: it was possible only in cities. The Insurrection sought to embrace all former Polish territories, those annexed by Prussia, Austria, Russia, as far north as the Baltic provinces. Under such circumstances a gazette was the best medium for reaching and influencing the masses. Copies of the Insurrection papers were distributed not only in Warsaw, the center of the Insurrection, but all over former Poland. They were translated into German, Ruthenian and Tatar to be accessible to the foreign minorities who were living on Polish territory.

After the defeat of the Kosciuszko Insurrection, and after the second partition, when General Dabrowski had formed his Legions as a Polish armed force fighting under the tricolor of the First French Republic "For our freedom and yours"—an excellent gazette called "The Legions' Decade" was published by the poet-soldier Cyprian Godebski and General Paszkowski. It was edited in a truly democratic and republican spirit. Its aims were the education of the soldier and to promote the idea of fighting for Poland on foreign soil.

Francis Dmochowski was appointed by General Kosciuszko as director of the Education Department. A prominent publicist in the days of the Great Parliament, a protagonist of radical reforms, a member of a political party called "the Jacobins" in Poland because of its close relations with the French revolutionary movement—Dmochowski was censor, editor, publisher and reporter. A man of action whole-heartedly devoted to the cause for which he fought, he set up a special Press Section in his Department. He collected invaluable historical material. As editor of the "Government's Gazette" he supplied it with excellent reports from the battlefield, which he censored himself; he also published the reports of prominent leaders on the progress of the revolution in towns and country, reports of the Insurrectionist Government, up-to-date editorials on the interior situation and the attitude of France. Sweden and Turkey towards Poland.

The offices of the "Government's Gazette" were situated in the very center of Warsaw, in the Old Market Place near St. John's Cathedral, the Royal Castle and the King Sigismund Monument, now destroyed by the German barbarians.

The Gazette appeared without interruption from July to November 1794, up to the fall of Warsaw, the fire and massacre of the population of the Praga suburb by the Russian armies under Suvoroff's command.

"The Government's Gazette" was the first daily paper published

in Poland. It had branches in the provinces, « The National Gazette » in Wilno, and the "National Gazette" in Cracow. These reprinted a part of the official Warsaw paper adding local news, and collecting valuable data concerning the history of the Insurrection in Lithuania and in the provinces annexed by Austria. Such were the origins of Poland's metropolitan and provincial press. Official papers, inspired by Dmochowski's patriotic effort, were soon to drop their official character and became regular political organs.

Dmochowski by no means limited his activities to the "Government's Gazette". He also published the "Free Warsaw Gazette" and the "Civic and Patriotic Gazette", the last mentioned, edited by Father Meyer, a noted patriot and conspirator who like Dmochowski, belonged to the national-liberal party.

Kosciuszko's insurrectionist press was established by democratic groups, « the Jacobins. » The latter did not in that stormy period, dispose of enough leisure to publish political pamphlets, as they had done during the session of the « Great Diet. » They expressed their views in papers established by the government for propaganda purposes. Their program contained practical as well as utopian planks. It aimed at the realization of the ideal of « Equality, Liberty and Fraternity. » The Jacobins believed that great transformations of universal scope had to be effected by sudden changes, by bloody revolution and violent, radical means. The Jacobins were ardent patriots, free of social and religious prejudices. They revered Kosciuszko as the chief of the Instruction, as a national leader, and, quite particularly, as a man who had been able to carry into effect his democratic convictions. On the other hand, they opposed King Stanislas Augustus, with a traditional revolutionary hatred of kings and tyrants. In special correspondence under a false « Birmingham » date line they criticized King, Church and higher clergy.

The views of the party were vividly expressed in the « National Insurrection Gazette, » edited by Father Meyer with Dmochowski's assistance. This was a periodical in a class of its own. It contained no news, only articles. It was published for intellectuals and its purpose was to arouse educated public opinion and call attention to problems of importance to the Insurrection. Among others it discussed the government's financial policies facing steadily growing difficulties; it demanded judiciary reform, quite particularly with reference to the settling of disputes between the peasants and the nobility; the establishment of criminal courts, a revision of emigration policies. Finally it branded social prejudices.

Special mention may be made here of an article entitled « The insurrection in provinces annexed to Prussia—and means of struggle against Prussia. » The author discussed two methods of warfare. One purely military and the other of an economic character by establishing a commer-

cial blockade and the absolute stopping of Polish exports of swine, grain, leather, wool and hemp, all items urgently needed by the Prussians. The writer cited America's economic policies during the War of Independence.

Three papers in French and German were also published during the Kosciuszko Insurrection. This however was not a novelty. During the reign of Stanislas Augustus, ten French and sixteen German periodicals had been published in Poland. The large number of French periodicals revealed the deep interest of French public opinion and French diplomacy in Polish affairs; while their German counterpart were a symptom of German pressure and an indication of the ever present threat of a « Drang nach Osten. » The foreign language press rendered the Insurrection services similar to those of modern information services. The Insurrectionist Government hoped to be able to expand its foreign propaganda and to secure the aid of nations friendly to Poland. These hopes proved to a large extent a disappointment. Technical difficulties stood in the way because of poor postal services, impeded by the war with Prussia and the « armed » neutrality of Austria. The papers could reach Western Europe only if carried by messengers of the Government. The foreign press, though availing itself of news published by the Insurrectionist papers, did not discuss Polish events in the spirit of the original but adapted its attitude to the interests of its own country. Thus the attitude of the Paris « Moniteur » was one of utter perfidy and dogmatism; the London " Morning Post " sympathized with the Insurrection so long as it was to the interest of the Tory opposition against the Whigs. The attitude of the official Vienna Gazette was one of procrastination. The main thing for Austria was to maintain peace in its annexed Polish province of Galicia. The Prussian press was openly disloyal and slanderous. Yet, in spite of all this, Polish papers were distributed abroad by special emissaries and aroused pro-Insurrectionist sympathies. In October 1794, a revolutionary conspiracy directed by Martynowicz, a former professor of the Lwow University, was discovered in Hungary. In Courland, Mirbach was stirring up a rebellion among the peasants. In the Baltic provinces Kosciuszko's war cry of liberty, equality and independence greatly impressed the Letts. Budding sympathies for the Insurrection were noticeable even in the Russian army. It is well established that young Russian army officers eagerly read Polish revolutionary pamphlets. The « National and Foreign Correspondent » of October 28, 1794 contains a dispatch signed « Nosarzewski » which reports that Russian war-prisoners having learned the aims of the insurrection « had taken an oath to share with us freedom of thought. »

Special mention should be made of a journal published in Warsaw in 1794 in the German language. Its title was « Warschauer Zeitung fuer

Polen's freie Buerger. » This was the first underground paper published in Poland.

Michael Groell, a publisher of merit and formerly the King's librarian, issued and edited the « Warschauer Zeitung. » He had his own information office, owned a printing shop, an auction hall and a circulating library. He firmly believed that he would win for it the support of Polish Protestants of German descent who, at the end of the XVIII Century, numbered about 150.000 in Poland. Beati credentes... Groell was greatly mistaken. As a matter of fact Polish Protestants of German descent favored Prussia. Together with some Dutch colonists they had formed secret military training schools; they were the original Fifth Columnists working for more « Lebensraum » for the alleged « Master race. »

The Kosciuszko Insurrection and his Polaniec proclamation of 1794 shine over Poland like a splendid aura of democratic ideals. They were invaluable to later Polish generations in their struggles for national independence. The insurrectionist press of these days throws light upon that great democratic movement and upon the activities of Kosciuszko, legendary hero and leader of the Polish Nation.

The Polish Review.

His fame will last as long as liberty remains upon the earth... And if, by the common consent of the world, a temple shall be erected to those who have rendered most service to mankind, if the statue of our great countryman Washington, shall occupy the place of the "Most Worthy", that of Kosciuszko will be found by his side, and the wreath of laurel will be entwined with the palm of virtue to adorn his brow.

President WILLIAM H. HARRISON

POLES OF THE SANGRO

by ZYGMUNT LITYNSKI

(Excerpts from an article printed in « The Spectator »)

Both as a Pole and as a European I have always been an advocate of sincere and friendly collaboration between Poland and Russia. Yet nothing during the course of this war has exasperated me more than the excessive discretion which prevents all reference to the sufferings of the Poles in Russia. For what were we fighting? Is it to sink lower than we were, or for a better future? A better future is not to be built on lies. Above all, we must face the truth.

A few months after the Polish-Soviet pact was signed, the Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg was present at the first parade of General Anders' troops before General Sikorski at Buzuluk. He published his impressions of this in No. 3 of the Polish camp paper, *Polska*, in an article with the title "Towards Warsaw." "The men who are passing have endured great sufferings," he wrote. "A human tragedy looks out of the eyes of each one of them. They have lost everything." Who made these men endure such great sufferings? Who imprinted that tragedy in their eyes? Who took their last possessions from them? Ehrenburg knew perfectly well that the wrongs of which he wrote had been inflicted by his own Soviet Russia, and he did not try to conceal it. Instead, he added: "To know how to forget is a very Polish quality. Patriotism for a Pole is not an ideal, but the air he breathes. I shall never forget how Polish women wept in a little Russian town when they saw General Sikorski for the first time. One of them said: 'We knew your name and it was our whole hope.'" And in another part of the same article he wrote about the Polish women in Russia: "Maybe they were born to a carefree life, to wear lovely clothes and be beautiful. But they have endured so much and suffered so much that only victory can give them back their youth."

Did the Soviet writer understand what so many people here do not wish to understand, that there are things about which one cannot be silent, no matter how embarrassing they may be? No. No hypocrisy, no political realism, can hide the fact that on the seventeenth day of her life-and-death struggle against all the might of Nazi Germany Poland was stabbed in the back by Soviet Russia, and that in consequence of this act

of aggression the Russians occupied one-half of their neighbour's territory, and then with the aim of erasing everything Polish from this territory, deported about two million Poles to Siberia to work and perish there. Nothing can hide the fact that the Polish divisions fighting in Italy—against the same enemy that Soviet divisions were fighting on the Seret—were recruited in the autumn and winter of 1941, not from any Polish "emigrants" in Russia, for there were none, but from precisely these Poles who had been dragged off by the Russians to Ivdyal, Archangel, Pechora or Vercholansk, Kazakstan or the Mongolian border. No one can alter the fact that every one of these soldiers has a story to tell which is beyond the dreams of Hollywood. Some of them come from Novaya Zemlya. No. It was no figure of speech when Ehrenburg wrote: "A human tragedy looks out of the eyes of every one of them."

The unsung greatness of the Polish divisions on the Sangro does not spring only from the immensity of the sufferings of these men. Above all, it springs from the fact that this army was created in 1941 in Russia as the expression of a reconciliation almost unparalleled in history between the oppressed and the oppressor, between a conquered and enslaved nation on the one side, and on the other those who had decided to destroy this nation, but had now admitted their fault and set about making amends, under the influence of a common disaster. In the autumn of 1941, the humiliated prisoner stretched out his hand through the barbed wire to the armed guard, the doors of the cells and concentration camps were flung open, people went mad with joy, and a new life—even a new era—seemed to be opening! The men who lived through such things have not yet told their story, the men "who out of the darkness, blinded with the sunlight and drunk with the word 'freedom,' still hungry and bare-foot, but proud and almost happy, paraded in Buzuluk, Yangyul, or Kermine, with white eagles cut from empty tins in their caps."

This was the birth of the Polish divisions. They sprang from the reconciliation of the two great Slav nations, in the intoxication of freedom. It was truly no fault of the Poles that this atmosphere was broken after a few months, to leave in its place disillusionment, suspicion, intrigue and accusation.

What caused this new turn of events? And can wrong still be righted? Is there some evil curse on Russian-Polish relations? I am far from believing in any such thing. Polish-Russian agreement depends simply on removing the causes of discord. And thus, in the hour of reconciliation, when in the winter of 1941 Stalin assured Sikorski that he desired a "strong and independent Poland," nobody who believed in the sincerity of these words could have suspected that he was thinking, as in September, 1939, of a dwarfed Poland, bereft of her eastern territories, in permanent rebellion against her own fate, unable to pursue a normal

existence, with her eastern frontier an incurable, festering wound, a Poland permanently at the mercy of Moscow.

No sharper accusation was ever levelled at Sikorski than that in signing the July, 1941, pact with Stalin, he did not lay particular stress on the actual wording of the document. Sikorski was not, however, a superficial politician. He considered that the future of the two nations would be decided not by this document or the other, but by a soundly-conceived *raison d'état*. Everything pointed to the fact that her *raison d'état* would induce Russia to favour a genuinely strong and independent Poland, and that this same enlightened self-interest would incline Poland to a genuinely sincere, friendly and lasting collaboration with Russia.

Did not Poland, in her pre-1939 frontiers, which guaranteed her the maximum insecurity to the west, poor and unarmed, nevertheless perform to Russia the greatest service which one nation can perform to another? Stalin is well aware that as late as the beginning of 1939 the Germans renewed their attempts in Warsaw to induce the Poles to strike a joint blow at Russia. He knows that if Poland had accepted these proposals, the Red Army would without the slightest doubt have been crushed within a few months and thrown back deep into Asia; that the Germans, with the immense wealth of the Soviet Union at their disposal, would have become the masters of the European continent before the eyes of a helpless world, and that Poland, deprived of Danzig, but enriched by Kiev, would have been Berlin's great vassal-state. That we rejected these proposals, and chose instead to see our country in ruins and millions of our citizens dead, we did—as Stalin also knows—because our years of slavery had taught us to prize freedom above all. And the fact that we did not wish to become even a great vassal of Germany is the reason why today we do not wish to become a miserable vassal of Russia.

This in the crux of the whole matter. We want reconciliation with Russia, and would be ready to make every concession for such agreement if we had anything to concede. Are we to be asked to commit suicide, under the pretext that it will be for the general good? Is there anyone who really believes that lasting peace can be built on such a basis? This war began because Poland, and with her the whole civilised world, did not wish to, and could not, accept dictation by brute force. And now, after all that mankind has suffered, is the triumph of brute force to become the goal of the peace?

THE EMISSARY

by MAREK SWIECICKI

In the centre the high grass in front began to sway, and then two heads in helmets emerged from it.

A patrol.

But no-man's land was quiet and very calm. One of the rare moments of inactivity had just set in. The struggle was continuing along the Gaiano, but on the right flank there had been a pause.

"Remain here" Corporal Antoni Z. in command of the patrol, said to his comrade. "I'll go on a little farther alone, to see what is really happening."

He went on a dozen yards or so, then, crouching down, passed through some trees and came upon a little clearing hidden among the bushes. In the middle of the clearing two Germans were lazily sunning themselves.

"Hände hoch" the corporal shouted.

The Germans turned but, instead of raising their hands, they laughed malevolently.

"You look behind you and raise your own paws," one of them said in broken Polish.

Corporal Z. took a quick glance to one side — for it might be a trick — and saw a dozen or more other Germans who had come out of concealment. There was nothing for it. Slowly but politely the unfortunate patrol commander set down his arms and raised his hands. But only for a second. He dropped his hands again and put them negligently into his pockets.

"What's your idea?" he asked, raising his voice. "Is this the way to treat an emissary? Call yourselves civilized?"

Now the Germans were surprised. What was he driving at?

"You have been completely surrounded by our tanks," Corporal Z. explained. "My commander has sent me to tell you to surrender. There's no sense in your resisting further."

The Germans looked at one another as though taking ocular counsel, and then the oldest of them a sergeant-major, said:

"I haven't any right to take such a decision. Come with me to the company commander."

Antoni was a little put out of countenance at this proposal. But what else could he do? He agreed.

"Capitulation? That is too important a question for me to handle," answered the company commander, a lieutenant. "I'll send you to the battalion commander,"

The corporal's eyes were bandaged, and by devious ways and one spot through water of some kind, he was led perhaps a couple of miles to the rear. The heat was intolerable, the walk with eyes bandaged uncomfortable, the Germans who held him by the arms were rough and brutal rather than otherwise in their treatment. But the corporal kept up the pretence, and was determined at all costs to get safely out of this doubtful adventure.

The battalion commander a tall, gaunt and goodlooking captain, looked down at the corporal, bent his thin officer's cane in his hand, and asked sharply:

"What is your strength? From what direction are you coming?"

"I am an emissary, not a prisoner whom you could force to make a statement, in conformity with your custom," the corporal replied with dignity.

The captain gave a long whistle. He raised his hand more than once, as though anxious to convince the corporal that the Germans had no respect for emissaries either. But evidently he was impressed by the story that his battalion was surrounded by tanks. Without doubt he reflected: other times other manners, but at the moment it would be wise to respect international customs.

"Then you can tell your commander," he replied theatrically throwing out his chest, "that paratroopers never surrender." Corporal Z. saluted respectfully. And then he asked to be returned to his own lines.

"What on earth is all this?" asked the commander of the first Polish platoon with which Corporal Z. fell in on his return journey. Then he exclaimed:

"What are you doing with those Germans?"

"They're my escort, lieutenant, and they've got to be allowed to go free, for I'm an emissary."

"What on earth do you mean by 'escorts' and 'emissaries'? And why have I got to let Germans go free?"

Corporal Z. gave him a meaning wink.

"I'll explain it all, lieutenant, but why should the Germans hear what we have to say? I promised them they'd be allowed to go back, and so they must, just as I have come back. We are in Europe, aren't we?"

So the lieutenant accepted his word, and the Germans went off free men.

From "Seven Rivers to Bologna" By M. Swiecicki.

"I shall be grateful if you will convey a special word of praise to general Anders on the magnificent fighting qualities and tenacity the Polish Troops displayed in capturing the fortress which the enemy considered to be impregnable—this is a proud day for Poland and I salute the Polish flag which now flies proudly from the monastery fortress."

Telegram sent by the then General Alexander C in C 15th Army Group to General Leese O. C. VIII Army.

"In May 1944 the almost impregnable fortress of Montecassino and the neighbouring Heights which had barred the Allied advance for many months were finally stormed after bitter fighting by the 2nd Polish Corps in the Eighth Army. Montecassino is a name that will live for ever in the history of Poland"

— L. Gen. Mc Creery's message broadcast over. B B C.—

Poland as the test case of validity of the Atlantic Charter must be reconstructed after this war undiminished in the area strong and truly democratic.

F. D. ROOSEVELT to Ch. Rozmarek Pres. P.N.A.

. . . It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe. From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient States of Central and Eastern Europe: Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia. All these famous cities and the population around them lie in the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence, but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone, with its immortal glories, is free to decide its future at an election under British American and French observation.

. . . The Communist Parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy...

. . . Whatever conclusions may be drawn from these facts and facts they are this is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essential of permanent peace.

However in a great number of countries far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the direction they receive from the communist centre.

Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist Parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization. These are sombre facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy and we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.

"From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for military weakness

WINSTON CHURCHILL at Fulton U.S.A.

DECLARATION OF THE SOLDIERS OF THE 2ND POLISH CORPS

The moment has come, when the following statement has to be made by us, who fought for 7 years for the independence of Poland and a happier future of the world.

1) According to the decision of our Allies with whom we fought side by side all the time for the common cause of freedom, the independent Polish Forces are to be demobilized.

2) This comes at a time when the Polish Nation has not yet regained her freedom, although the Poles were the first to start an armed struggle for it in 1939 against both totalitarian powers, the Nazi and the Soviets.

3) The whole world knows that Poland remains under the heaviest Soviet occupation. Today the world understands that Poland is ruled by servile agents of Moscow, who have nothing in common with the Polish Nation.

4) The Polish Nation has fought with no interruption and all the time for freedom and has suffered the greatest losses, losing 13,6 % of her population, while Russia lost only 3,7 % and France 2 %. The Polish Home Army was the strongest of all the underground organizations of the world and inflicted the heaviest losses on the Germans. The heroic Warsaw Rising will always remain a symbol of the indomitable spirit of Poland and a prove of the perfidy of the Kremlin. The Polish forces abroad fought all the time at the side of the Allies. There were many casualties among our airmen, especially during the Battle of Britain and the flights over the Continent. Our sailors gave their lives on all the seas. The armies fought in France, Narvik and Tobruk, at Falaise, and Arnhem and our 2nd Corps advanced through a large part of Italy from South to North. Our cemeteries in Casamassima, Montecassino, Loreto and Bologna will stand witness of this to the future generations.

We are deeply convinced that we were always loyal to our Allies at times which were most perilous for them.

5) In spite of this however, there were no Polish soldiers parading on "V" Day. The Polish airmen, who were the only ones to be invited, refused to take part in a celebration where the Polish sailor and the soldier from Montecassino were absent.

6) This was not a Polish "V" Day because Poland is not free yet. This was not the world's "V" Day, because all Central Europe

with her 127.000.000 habitans lives behind the "iron curtain" of the Soviet domination. From there the Christian Civilization and the European culture, the freedom of nations and of man are endangered. Totalitarianism and the strongest reaction against democracy take their sources there.

We believe, that if the destruction of the world is to be avoided, then, a "V" Day must come for all the nations and true brotherhood and peace must come for all people of good will. The victory must belong to the free working man.

7) The war aims have not been achieved. There is no free Poland and therefore we shall continue the struggle for our rights.

We are faithful to our soldier's oath of allegiance and recognize, therefore, that only the President of Poland and the lawful Polish Government in London and nobody else, is authorized to tell us what our obligations are.

8) Our tradition which is a 1000-years old binds us with the western civilization and we do not intend to be forced into a system which is foreign to us and hostile towards us. We shall, therefore, remain loyal to our Allies. We shall stay with them even against their will, as we believe that the true liberty of nations and men will be achieved through the triumph of truth over falsehood and of the Christian culture over the barbarity of the East.

9) We are part of the Polish Nation which is continuing single-handed and unaided her struggle for her right to be independent.

In this struggle there exist no differences between us as far as merit goes. We are all equal: those who took part in the campaign in Poland in September 1939, the soldiers of the Underground Home Army, the civilian displaced persons and we, who fought under British and American command. We demand full military status and veteran rights for all Polish soldiers, the rights which they so well deserve. We shall insist on an adequate treatment of our displaced persons who cannot go back to Poland under present conditions. Their present treatment is not in accordance with the spirit of alliance and friendship.

10) As soldiers of the Sovereign Polish Republic, who remain faithful to their oath, we vow today before God our military banners and the graves of our comrades, that together with all the members of the Nation, both in Poland and abroad, we shall continue our struggle for the liberty of Poland, regardless of conditions in which we shall have to live and act.

Italy, June 15th, 1946.

In the name of the soldiers
of 2nd Polish Corps
W. ANDERS
Lt. Gen.

POLAND TO-DAY AS SEEN BY FOREIGN OBSERVERS

Foreword by Sir GEORGE A. WATERS, M.A., LL. D., J.P.

(Former Editor of "The Scotsman")

The picture of life in Poland to-day, revealed in the first-hand accounts of the foreign observers whose narratives are reproduced in this booklet, must evoke the sympathy of every lover of liberty and justice.

Poland, the first country to oppose by arms the violence of the aggressor, has suffered more terribly than any other in this war of annihilation. Her soil has been twice devastated. To the military destruction inflicted upon her in 1939, when Germany invaded on the west and Soviet Russia on the east, must be added the havoc caused in the final stages of the conflict when Polish soil was once again a battlefield.

But the ravages of war which have made Warsaw, to cite only one example, a heap of mouldering ruins, have been but a small portion of the sufferings of the Polish people. Five and a half years of German occupation took a cruel toll of the manhood and womanhood—even of the children—of the nation. Millions were barbarously done to death or died from ill-treatment and starvation. Fully a million more were carried off into Germany as forced labourers. Those who were fortunate enough to escape death, torture, or exile lived precarious lives under the ever-present fear of the Gestapo.

To this cup of misery Russia added a full share during her occupation of Eastern Poland from September 1939 to June 1941. More than a million Poles, men, women and children, were arrested by the security police, acting on Russian orders, condemned without trial and deported under appalling physical conditions to distant prison camps on Soviet territory. There they suffered, and many continue to suffer, the most abject privations.

In spite of these sufferings the spirit of the Polish people never wavered. The Germans could find no Quisling in Poland to do their bidding. All through the years of occupation brave and determined men and women, scorning danger and facing great risks, carried on a vigorous and successful Resistance Movement. This Underground Army harassed the invaders at

every point, sabotaged their lines of communications, and tied down large military forces. This was an undeniable help to Russia when she was fighting desperately with her back to the wall.

That, however, was far from the only positive contribution which Poland made to the victory of the Allies. First in the field, Poles fought stubbornly and valiantly on land, at sea and in the air, through all the stages of the war, with its fluctuating and anxious fortunes, right up to the end. Polish pilots helped us to win the Battle of Britain. Polish soldiers covered themselves with glory at Cassino and on other Italian fields. In the invasion of France and the final assault on Germany they bore their part nobly. Polish paratroopers took part in the heroic episode of Arnhem.

A people who suffered so much in the common cause, and who contributed a full share in accordance with their resources to the final victory, surely deserved to reap the rewards of their steadfastness and endurance, their courage and their sacrifice. But what do we find? The factual narratives reproduced in this booklet show how pitiful is the condition of Poland to-day. While other Allied countries—France, Belgium, Holland and Norway—have recovered their independence and national sovereignty, Poland has merely exchanged one slavery for another.

The Polish people are not free. The Government which sits at Warsaw has been imposed upon Poland by Soviet Russia. It does not in any way represent the Polish people, the overwhelming majority of whom are strongly anti-Communist. This Government of Russian origin, composed in the main of avowed Communists, with a President who was for long an agent of the Comintern, is ruthlessly exterminating all political elements hostile to Communism. It has established a reign of political terror through its own Security Police, assisted by the NKVD, and supported by the presence of large Russian military forces.

Socially and economically the situation is no better. The economic ruin of Poland, all but achieved by five and a half years of German occupation, is now complete. Factories and farms have been stripped bare of stock and equipment, partly by the Germans, and partly by Poland's so-called liberators, the Russian armies. The people have been left without even the bare tools of economic existence. This, added to the plight of the many millions of Poles forcibly evacuated from Eastern Poland after its seizure by Russia, makes the social and economic position of Poland to-day truly the most pitiable in Europe.

The Poles are a virile race, with a strong sense of nationality and inured to hardships. All they ask is freedom to develop their own national life in accordance with their own ideals, which are Western European and not Russian. The loss of Eastern Poland, in particular the purely Polish city of Lwow, was a grievous and undeserved blow. The territorial com-

pensation offered to them, or rather forced upon them, in the West was largely unwanted, and is of dubious political value. But in spite of these territorial changes, the Poles are still capable, provided no further disaster befalls them, of rebuilding their national life. If Russian troops and the hated NKVD are withdrawn, if Russian influence is eliminated from the Government and Administration, if the elementary rights of personal liberty are restored, if free elections are held, and if a Government representing the real will of the Polish people is placed in office, there is hope for Poland yet. But these are the minimum conditions that can bring relief to his martyred nation.

American observers.

T. S. GORDON (*Representative of Michigan*)

AUTHORIZED by a Resolution of the U. S. House of Representatives of 17th July 1945, a committee of four went on 12th August to Europe to "conduct studies and investigations of all matters coming within the jurisdiction of the Committee of Foreign Affairs." It was composed of the following representatives: Frances P. Bolton of Ohio, Karl Mundt of South Dakota, Joseph P. Ryter of Connecticut, and T. S. Gordon of Michigan. They visited France, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Russia and Poland.

On 11th October 1945, after their return to the U.S., representative T. S. Gordon addressed a public meeting, held in Detroit, Michigan, at the Pulaski Celebrations.

"You want to hear my report on what I saw in Poland," he said in that speech. "Let me tell you right at the beginning that much as I would like to report to you on the day on which we celebrate the memory of Casimir Pulaski, that I saw Poland free, independent and happy, I cannot submit to you such a report. My observations point to the fact that despite indescribable losses suffered by Poland in this war, and despite the untold sacrifices the entire Polish nation has made for the common cause, Poland was unable and still is unable to celebrate with us the day of victory as its day of liberation.

"The general scarcity of food and clothing in Poland," he went on, "is accompanied by the scarcity of fuel, due mostly to the breakdown of all communications. Railroad cars have been destroyed or taken from the country, trucks and bridges are not reconstructed.

"Much as every Pole wants food, fuel, and clothing, he wants freedom more. The spirit of the Polish people is not broken. The man in the street is not afraid to die. He prefers death to life under the present

political set-up. If an impartial, free, and unfettered election could be held in Poland without tickets being prepared in advance, without arrests and deportations, the Polish people would wipe out the Government of Bierut and Osobka-Morawski. However, should the present situation persist, Poland will quickly be turned into a Soviet province, ruled by Soviet police, despite the fact that Russia will fail to communize the Christian Polish people and to imbue the Godfearing Poles with the Soviet totalitarian doctrines. The Polish people need some rallying-point around which they can build their hopes. This is why Mr. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk was every-where received with open arms. He was to them the man who had the backing of the Western Allies. The reception given to Mr. Mikolajczyk was an indication of the feelings against Bierut and his government, completely dominated by Communists and Soviet Russia.

"The hopes which the people of Poland focused on Mr. Mikolajczyk are now rapidly fading away. As much as we wanted to we were not able to see him. The Polish people see that Mr. Mikolajczyk is more and more helpless, and that he was put aside by the present rulers of Poland. In consequence they reason that the United States and Great Britain either cannot or do not want to help the Poles to regain their freedom and independence, and I regret to state that gradually Polish public opinion, shrewdly manœuvred by the Soviet-controlled press, is turning against us. As I told you, more than food, they want freedom. They want us to help them to resist, and finally to release the awful Soviet grip in which they find themselves now.

"The Poles do not speak openly," pointed out T. S. Gordon, "about their worries and about their fate. They whisper in one another's ear, and they do not discuss publicly their issues. Public meetings are run by the Communists and there is no free discussion in the press, despite the fact that the newspapers are numerous. There is a very strict censorship, and the Ministry of Information hands round communiques and issues instructions on what may be printed. I also regret to state that instructions were issued to leave out all pro-English and pro-American news.

"The present Polish Government is trying every means to attract men and women to work in the clearing up of the debris of that devastated city—Warsaw—and for it they would supplement their monthly wage with the Russian card system, good for additional food and living quarters. These cards are known as apportionment cards. But it seems they do not find much response to their plans. Rebuilding of private buildings is practically at a standstill because, first, the Government may take possession of a new place that has been made liveable and simply pay the owner rent at 1939 prices, or second, the Government may requisition the place outright. The result is that the owners resent such propositions,

and are slow to make any headway as to repair, since the best way to retain the ownership is to decline to make the place attractive to live in to those in control of the Government.

"About the same view was given to us by Edward Osubka-Morawski, the President of the Council of Ministers. I was left with the impression, however, that all this depends upon some outside influence.

"The cost of our breakfast at the hotel was at the rate of 150 zlotys; lunch 300 zlotys, and dinner between 700 and 800 zlotys. At the diplomatic rate of exchange the dinner given by the American Ambassador for the Committee cost between 60 and 70 dollars in American money per plate. It was told to us that this hotel is a Russian enterprise, but the help and the waiters were Poles, who receive their meals in exchange for their services. As a tip measure to the waiters we were told to give one or two cigarettes, which they received most appreciatively, as a good cigarette in this part of the country was a luxury, and could be used as a means of barter in the black market in obtaining food for their families. A room here per day cost 56 dollars in American money.

"Some of the following prices have been noted on the black market: a loaf of bread cost 16 dollars, steak 130 zlotys or 26 dollars, a cup of coffee 25 zlotys or 5 dollars, for common ordinary working shoes the price is 60 dollars. Men's suits run around 200 dollars, and women's dresses from 150 to 200 dollars, and other prices are in proportion.

"The Russian occupation army is behaving very badly. We saw their arrogance and unfairness in taking advantage of the poor people of that city. We saw the near-by highways jammed with hundreds of heads of cattle, horses, and farming implements being taken out of Poland by the Russians and going farther East. Pillaging of the shops on the streets was going on most freely, and the snatching of purses from Polish women is a daily occurrence. There also exists a wholesale raping of the Polish women. When resistance could be given, the Russian soldier would use his weapons of war and kill.

"There is no freedom of the press in Poland," emphasized the speaker, "but it was said that arrangements are being made now, by the Ambassador to Poland, for the establishment of quarters for the United Press, the Associated Press, and the International News Service, and it is hoped that the freedom of the press will tell the world what actually is going on in this ghost city, before long. The few publications there now are strictly under Russian censorship.

"Radios are the most restricted instruments that can be used in Warsaw. It was said that most severe punishments are meted out to anyone possessing one without a licence or permit. In some instances, death has been the penalty for having one. The Government has established loud-speakers on the main street, where they broadcast Russian music,

restricted news of the world, and Polish hand Russian announcements were heard while we were there.

"Here and there you can see a Polish uniform, but when you ask a Pole if those are soldiers of the Polish Army, the answer is, 'Oh, no, sir—the Polish Army is still in Italy and in England—they have not come home yet...' The uniformed soldiers roam the streets with tommy-guns on their backs and pistols in their holsters. The officers in the army commanded by Marshal Rola-Zymierski are mostly Russian, but the worst factor in the situation seems to be the fact that the numerous elements of the Soviet-Russian Army are being demobilized in Poland, and the individuals are automatically made Polish citizens. Large numbers of them enter Rola-Zymierski's army or the local police force. Thus a large cadre of pro-Soviet adherents is being created. There is a curfew at 9 p.m. People apprehended on the streets after this hour have been shot, and one can hear shooting on the streets of Warsaw all night through. Russian soldiers are complete masters in Poland.

"Order is maintained by several kinds of citizen militia, police, and gendarmes, but the Russian secret police—the dreaded NKVD—is responsible for all the mysterious disappearances of individuals. Failure to show an identity card results in immediate arrest by the NKVD.

"And so the Poles are continually under the pressure of two main worries—fear of arrest and procurement of food. How ironical must seem to them the two freedoms announced as our war aim—freedom from fear and freedom from want.

"Food—I regret to state that the UNRRA failed to alleviate the terrible sufferings of the Polish nation. (The man in charge of all the UNRRA activities in Poland is a Soviet citizen, acting as one of the Deputy Directors of Mr. Herbert H. Lehman.) The supplies UNRRA sends to Poland for the most part are stolen, and find their way to the black market where they are sold at prices absolutely inaccessible to the population. A small part of UNRRA supplies is being distributed to the population, but this distribution is issued obviously by Soviet Russia for political purposes to spread the communist doctrine across Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe. American representatives have little or nothing to say about what goes on, and the Russians take all the credit, although nearly all of UNRRA's funds—72 per cent. of it—have been contributed by the United States. We were told of instances where American labels disappeared from cans containing condensed or evaporated milk and Russian labels appeared instead. The most important fact remains, however, that UNRRA's activities in Poland became a political weapon and that the population is not being helped by this international organization. It is a fact that Russia up to this time is not a contributory

number of this organization, so why should a Russian be given an important post to cover all of Eastern Europe?

"The production of food in Poland suffers greatly because of two factors: one—requisition of 80 per cent. of the crop by the Government which is compelled to feed the Russian army of occupation, and two—because of mass removals of livestock from Poland into Russia.

"We have seen on the roads, and even on the streets of Warsaw, long herds of cows, horses, pigs, etc., driven eastward by Russian soldiers. We were told by these soldiers that this is German cattle being taken into Russia, but Polish peasants with whom we talked know differently. These peasants, who were given small land-holdings, have to till their soil with bare hands. The cattle and horses, and every implement of agriculture, were taken from them. In a locality near Warsaw where a 120-acre estate was divided among sixteen families, we were told that these sixteen families own 'collectively' just one pig, and they have to hide that pig under straw whenever Russians are in the vicinity. The 20 per cent. of the crop left to the peasant after the removal of his livestock and agricultural implements, and after 80 per cent. of his crop has been taken from him, leaves barely enough for his own family.

"Incidentally, the removals do not stop on the farm. Over 85 per cent. of all the industrial equipment, and even more in the Western territories now allocated to Poland, are being taken away by the Russian armies. This mainly is the reason why Poles would not regard the newly allocated territories as compensation which was promised to them for the loss of the Eastern Polish territories. They are by no means reconciled with the terrific loss. The taking away of Wilno, Lwow, and the oilfields left a deep wound in every Polish heart, and the fact that they are getting territories stripped of every modern implement makes the reconciliation still more difficult. How can they get the mineral riches which were promised to them in Silesia? How can they use the Baltic ports? Every piece of machinery has been removed and—cynically enough—the Russians tell them that they shall get these territories in the state of industrial development as they were in the eleventh century. Thus abuse is added to injury.

"There is the same kind of totalitarian grip over education in Poland. Primary schools, high schools, and universities are being re-opened, apparently free in action, but the Government of Bierut and Osobka-Morawski controls the organization of learning and membership of all academic societies.

"There is no self-rule anywhere—even in villages and small towns. All officials are appointed by the Government, and all of them must take the oath of loyalty to the Government and to Soviet Russia. Any re-

ported anti-Soviet talk subjects one to immediate arrest, and a word uttered against Stalin—is fatal.

“Despite the infiltration of Communists into Polish political life, and despite the fact that Soviet stooges are constantly calling political conventions of all the four Communist-infiltrated parties, there is the general belief that 90 per cent. of the population is against the present Government.

“All the Poles want is to have the present state of things changed as quickly as possible. They want to get rid of the rapacious Soviet Army. They want to get rid of the NKVD. They want to get rid of the Government which assumed power backed by Soviet bayonets, and they want help to regain their freedom and independence. They want America and the whole world to redeem the pledges which were given to them, they want the obligations of the world toward Poland to be fulfilled, they want all of us to help them again to become a free, democratic, and independent nation.” So ended the speech of Representative T. S. Gordon.

E. J. WILLIAMS (*Christian Science Monitor*)

IN the autumn of 1945 the Americans sent a team of brilliant reporters to Poland, including Larry Allen (A.P.), Charles Arnot (U.P.), Gladwin Hill (*New York Times*), and Emlyn J. Williams (*Christian Science Monitor*, Boston).

In his first dispatch, cabled from Warsaw on 31st October 1945, E. J. Williams dealt with the land reform question (*Christian Science Monitor*, 1st October 1945).

“The present Provisional Government was satisfying a popular need when on 6th September 1944 it decreed a comprehensive land reform. The manner and extent of what has been and is being done, however, is much questioned.

“According to official statistics the total area of agricultural land to be parcelled out in Old Poland, that is, Poland excluded to new territory secured in the west, amounted to approximately 1,944,000 hectares (about 4,860,000 acres). By 15th July of this year nearly 70 per cent. of the total area had been parcelled out.

“Some 18 per cent., equalling about 875,000 acres, a large proportion of which is church-owned, was specially excluded from the parcelation, and 12 per cent. still remain to be distributed.

“This land has been divided up among ‘the dispossessed,’ mainly farm workers, small tenants, small farmers, and landless artists and craftsmen in the countryside.

“The procedure adopted was the following: Nobody was allowed to hold more than 125 acres. Had this meant in practice that the former

owners could have retained this amount of land with some place to live, though not necessarily the big country-houses they formerly occupied, it might have been tolerable.

"But what happened was that the big landowners were completely dispossessed, and not even permitted to live within many miles of their former places, not even in a cottage on their own estate.

"In extreme cases (cited personally to the author) in some places in East Poland the former owners were not permitted to take away even their personal belongings, such as family portraits.

"In one instance, where the former landowner had given a puppy to one of his tenant farmers, the latter was forced to surrender it because the gift was made after the date of the land-reform decree.

"Such separation between the former landowner and his land was justified in official circles on the grounds that otherwise there would have been a possibility of sympathy being reawakened for the dispossessed among the new peasant owners.

"The consequences of this land-reform policy have been first, that many Polish peasants have now shown greater regard than ever for the former landowners, and many cases could be cited where the peasants are now feeding them and looking after their interests, even though these people are a long way off. As for the country houses, many of these, stripped of their furniture and all movables, are simply going to rack and ruin. Second, and this is even more important from the viewpoint of Poland's agricultural future, many of the new peasantowners already have discovered that the smallholdings generally are too small to be worked at a profit, for the average area of the new farms resulting from the parcelling out is $7 \frac{1}{2}$ acres.

"When to this fact is also added that the Polish peasant to-day has practically no agricultural machinery, when it was possible for this correspondent to travel over large areas, especially in western Poland, where very few houses or cows were to be seen, it is not surprising to be told by authoritative persons of instances where peasants have gone to the local government offices and have pleaded to be allowed to return their land in exchange for tools with which to work and for a cow or a horse.

"The consequences for the future of Polish agriculture," emphasizes E. J. Williams, "are naturally very serious, since production will be far less during the coming year than in prewar times. And later, either the greatest possible co-operation will have to be developed throughout the countryside so that tractors and other agricultural machinery can be profitably employed, or the Russian Kolchos system will have to be introduced. Otherwise it will mean the ruin of Polish agriculture."

His second cable from Warsaw, dated 2nd November 1945 (*Christian Science Monitor*, 4th November 1945), covers the problem of the Russian occupation and the influence it has on the condition in Poland.

"It is understandable," he says, "that any people want to be masters of their own state, especially individualistic people such as the Poles, who have endured untold hardships and humiliations as a nation during the past six years. Anybody, for example, who has spent some time in France, Belgium, and Holland since VE-Day could say the peoples of those countries also are longing for the time when the Americans and British depart from their soil, though these peoples are not quite so vociferous in their desires as the Poles.

"Naturally, it is harder for the Poles to tolerate their situation since the Russian played a significant role in the fourth partition of Poland in September 1939, and also since the Russian Army, unlike, the American and British Armies, lives off the land, and therefore is an expensive luxury, especially if the part Russia played in the later liberation of this country is forgotten.

"It cannot be ignored, also, that the behaviour of many of these Russian troops, especially those demobilized in Germany and moving homeward across this country, has greatly exasperated the Polish countryside.

"Despite many inquiries, it is impossible reliably to estimate the number of Soviet troops not only throughout Poland but also in any given command or city. The Russians themselves are extremely vague when questioned, while the Poles do not know, or give exaggerated figures, valuable more as an indication of their fears or dislikes than from the standpoint of accuracy.

"At the same time, travelling through the greater part of Poland during the past month, I encountered Russians in almost every town, large and small, often not in large numbers, but sufficient to make their presence felt if desired.

"There must be thousand of Soviet troops throughout the length and breadth of this country. A large number form garrisons essential to maintenance of supply routes across Poland to the Russian zone in Germany. How many are here for other purposes, such as to influence internal affairs in Poland, is another question impossible to answer. In towns like Warsaw, Krakow, and Stettin many members of the Russian security police, with blue bands round their military caps, are seen about the streets.

"Demobilized Russians have been a pest and terror for the Polish countryside, none can deny. In fact, early in October this was tacitly admitted by a Russian higher officer (with the rank of general) attached to special provincial forces whose duties are defined as fighting marau-

ders—interpreted as all those who wilfully steal cattle, corn, etc., and those participating in bandit raids.

"In some quarters there is a tendency to interpret this new development as a move to intensify the Soviet grip on Poland, but there is evidence that Russian military commanders themselves are much concerned about the damage to their armies' prestige from such wild actions. An interesting result of what has happened has been that the Polish peasant often has developed a sense of superiority against the Russians which is not without its political significance, since the Pole considers the present provisional government largely a Moscow creation.

"The largest proportion of hundreds of horses and cattle which I have seen driven eastward along the roads of West Poland probably are Russian booty from Russian-occupied Germany, or such booty as the Russians claim is theirs from parts of the new Poland which formerly were included in the Reich.

"It is difficult," remarks E. J. Williams, "for the impoverished Polish peasant to believe this when what little he has left is stolen by these marauding bands as they pass his smallholding or village. Many of these Russian ex-soldiers get rid of their booty by selling it when they reach the large cities, especially as the Polish zloty is exchangeable for the Russian rouble at an equal rate, and there are a number of reports that they are not permitted to take such booty across the Polish-Russian frontier.

"A more important question is the extent to which the Soviet is influencing Poland's internal affairs. Of course, this is more difficult to answer, since information on such an issue is always hard come by. At the same time, some facts are outstanding. Many high officers in the present Polish Army speak only Russian, being Poles resident in the Soviet Union before the present war, and who early joined the forces organized by the Lublin provisional government.

"The extent to which their sympathies would be Russian rather than Polish in case of any issue is impossible to say. The fact that they are Russian-speaking, however, does increase prejudice among the more patriotic Poles, and give plenty of opportunity for talking about Russian influence in Poland's affairs.

"Another noticeable significant fact is that when a person calls a Polish government department on the telephone, he is often answered by a person who is unable to speak any Polish—only Russian.

"Whether such persons actually are Soviet citizens, or are in the same class as the army officers just referred to, would take much investigation to establish."

"In Poland's political arena to-day," E. J. Williams emphasizes in his third article (12th November 1945), "there are being fought out the

preliminary rounds of a struggle which probably will decide this country's political and economic future for a long time to come.

"It is a struggle between those who defend the viewpoint that Poland should develop according to the conceptions of democracy prevailing in the Western world, and those who seek to enforce what they term a more progressive policy of active democracy, which bears close resemblances to what already has been done in the past quarter of a century in Soviet Russia.

"Home and foreign policies intermingle in a remarkable way with both sections affirming their desire for an independent Poland which will co-operate fully with both the Soviet Union and the Western democracies, but with one obviously looking for inspiration from Moscow and the other from London and Washington.

"In other words, it is practically a struggle between the Lublin and London Governments of the Poles of war-time being continued in the home ground and among the whole nation.

"When the Polish Committee met at Chelm Lubelski on 22nd July 1944 it issued a manifesto which contained, among other items, a draft of the most important economic reforms, such as land-reform and nationalization of heavy industry, school reform, and return to Poland of 'its age-old territories in the west.' Since it has been in power, the government claims to have achieved a number of these objects with Premier Edward Osobka-Morawski, claiming among its political successes the recognition of Polish claims to Western territories by the former British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill.

"This manifesto also laid down as policy the formation of a government of national unity through uniting all democratic groups in Poland and among Poles abroad. In addition, its tasks cited the need to arrange for general elections to be held on a democratic basis.

"At the moment, the provisional government consists of President Bierut, with a council of twenty Ministers—appointed 28th June—of which Mr. Osobka-Morawski is Premier.

"This council has representatives of four political parties, namely: the Polish Workers' Party or Communists, Polish Socialist Party, Peasant Party, and Democratic Party. But among both the Socialist and Peasant Parties there are two sections, which—really means the existence of six rather than four political parties. These two splits represent what may be called trends, one favouring the Lublin Government policies, and the other standing more for political democracy as understood in Western countries. The principal peasant parties are led by Mr. Mikolajczyk, who is one of the two Vice-Premiers and also the Minister of Agriculture.

"This government undoubtedly has been faced with stupendous tasks, not only in attempting to rehabilitate Poland after six years of war and

occupation, but also in trying to do so while the country still remains a transit land for Russian troops shuttling between the Soviet Union and Germany, and while there are still a large number of Russians in its midst.

"Furthermore," E. J. Williams goes on, "it has been complicated even more by the fact that the Workers' or Communist Party is definitely determined to carry through a socio-economic revolution in the shortest possible time.

"For example, land-reform for long has been an urgent need in this country, but there has been much more criticism regarding the manner in which it was introduced and its application since, it is asserted, it has been carried out for the benefit of extreme Leftists, and is uneconomical.

"Since this also is a provisional government legally enjoying power only until free secret elections indicate the Polish people's wishes, it is natural there should be much play, tactics, and manoeuvring as preparation for these elections which, as foreshadowed in the Potsdam Conference communique, had to be held some time in the spring of 1946.

"These tactical manoeuvres are dominated by the fact that the Polish Workers' Party is far from having a majority in the country, as many of its own leaders admit. Even with the Polish Socialist Party—regarded as the strongest single party—it is doubtful whether they could gain sufficient votes to continue in power. A great challenge to their power comes from the Mikolajczyk Peasant Party, which still represents the solid conservative elements in the countryside, and which also may well prove the rallying-point for those sections of the urban population which opposed much of the nationalization which has been done, and which the Polish nationalists opposed as Leftist elements of the provisional government, because they consider them as mere agents of the Soviet Union.

"It should be added, also, that whatever good may have been done or will be done by the Polish Workers' Party, it will, in the eyes of many Poles, find little recognition because of what Russian troops—not always justified—are held responsible for in the way of robbing, pillaging, and looting in the countryside.

"The Polish Communist Party, like similar parties in other countries of Europe, sees little opportunity to gain control itself at any new election. (Results of recent Hungarian elections, with the triumph for the more conservative small Peasant Party, has been carefully noted here.) Therefore the policy is plain. It is that of formation of one common so-called democratic front in which the Communists would be the dominant party. This would save their faces, even though they had only 15 to 20 per cent. of the votes—which many Polish political observers maintain is an optimistic forecast in any genuinely free election.

"The Polish Socialist Party appears momentarily to be agreed to participate in a democratic front. The great aim of Communists now is

to get Mr. Mikolajczyk's party inside such a coalition also, so that the so-called democratic front can present a single list at the election.

"Hitherto this has not succeeded, with the result that Mr. Mikolajczyk is attacked as a Trojan horse by means of which reaction can return to Polish political affairs.

"This struggle and manœuvring are seen clearly in a speech by Wladyslaw Gomolka, also Vice-Premier in the present government. The speech ostensibly was a reply to one delivered by Mr. Mikolajczyk earlier in October in Poznan.

"Mr. Gomolka left no doubts concerning his ideas of democracy—they are of the Russian kind. After condemning Poles suffering from that dangerous illness, a Western complex, he declared he disagreed with Western ideas of democracy.

"The essence of the best conceived idea of democracy at the present stage of social development must express itself in strengthening the power of the state and in cohesion of the nation to fulfil its democratic aims. Later in the same speech he declared: 'Those who would transplant Western democracy to a living organism of present-day Polish reality would wish to diminish and destroy generous and creative achievements of Polish democracy.'

"This would lead, in his opinion, to reaction in the political and social affairs of Poland and, inevitably, the consequence would be plunging our country into a state of political and social anarchy, and this we do not wish to happen. Therefore foreign patterns of democracy are unacceptable to Poland.

"Mr. Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party, according to Mr. Gomolka, must form part of a democratic alliance of workers and peasants or otherwise to be classed with reactionaries and, it would seem, with adversaries and enemies of Poland with whom we can only speak through fighting.

"This speech is extremely significant, since Mr. Gomolka is considered one of the most influential members of the Polish Workers' Party, and his definition of democracy is one which would be enforced unconditionally if he were ruling Poland to-day. His interpretation of democracy means no tolerance toward anything considered as 'reactionary.' and under that terms seems to come everything which runs contrary to the Communists' conception of necessary political and economic changes.

"Presumably," concludes E. J. Williams, "should the Mikolajczyk Party refuse to join the democratic front, its slogan at the coming election would be that Mr. Mikolajczyk is the rallying-point of the Fascists in the present-day Poland."

After an extensive tour of Poland, E. J. Williams returned to Berlin to write freely a sensational article on that country.

The article (*Christian Science Monitor*, 15th November 1945) describes

the general feeling of insecurity caused by the uncontrolled activity of various Polish and Russian police organizations.

"Henryk Swiatkowski, Minister of Justice, also has issued an order that no person shall be detained more than twentyfour hours without being handed over to the proper legal authorities. But I failed to find any Pole who would maintain that this order was being carried out in practice.

"The persons here concerned are those who were arrested for political reasons, which mean that they were 'objectionable' to the present régime, or at least considered by it as 'unreliable.' In other words, it is those who are likely to seek to frustrate the policy which the extreme Left elements in this provisional government want to perpetuate, for it should be emphasized that this is only a provisional government until the holding of elections which would express the popular will.

"One of the most cool-headed Poles I know," he writes, "stated their number to be 20,000, and added that the figures of the Minister for Public Safety were about half that number, namely 10,000. At the same time, it should be stated that such uncertain conditions prevail in some parts of this country that it is doubtful whether even the Minister concerned could state accurately the situation at any given moment.

"Among the persons still under arrest are reported to be hundreds of Poles who have come from Russia. They are awaiting their release, following the announcement of an amnesty some time ago. The time-limit then fixed has long passed, but no move has been made to free them, though in many instances no charges have been preferred against them.

"Some instances came to my notice of persons who have been arrested suddenly at their homes for no good reason known to either themselves or their relatives, and who have been carried off from small town and villages to prisons in large towns many miles away. On our way to the city of Poznan, for example, we gave a lift to an elderly woman desirous of information of her daughter who had been summarily taken from her home by the security police without any charge being preferred. Nothing had been heard from her for more than five weeks.

"To-day there are thousands of Poles outside their own country, particularly in Great Britain, who have fought in the Polish Army in Africa and on the Western Front. When we asked Polish politician whether their return to Poland would not be a good thing for the country's future, he replied: 'Most certainly, but I doubt very much whether they would not either be arrested or find great difficulty in getting jobs if they came back here.'

"They do not have the proper political outlook. Nor for that matter do even members of the Polish Home Army (who fought against the Germans, but not under the leadership of the Lublin Poles). They are un-

popular with a certain section of the government, and a number have been arrested.

"Poland to-day is smaller in size than pre-1939 Poland, and has only about two-thirds of its population. Yet its so-called public security organizations are four times as large as those of August 1939. This is a tremendous increase, particularly in view of the fact that present-day Poland has not the large number of minorities it had six years ago.

"These Polish security organizations, the Poles themselves admit, are at a low moral and intellectual level, and generally are under Communist control. Their activities certainly often extend beyond what could normally be described as the defence of state interests. For example, special courts have been operating in Poland for the examination of war crimes. In one case the assistant public prosecutor had refused to proceed further on the grounds of lack of evidence, and ordered the accused to be released. Two days later the security police called on him, demanding an explanation of his action. His chief, being a man of some courage, advised the assistant to refuse to explain, and await developments.

"Cases also may be cited in which persons having affiliations with political groups unpopular with the government—though by no means anti-democratic—have been arrested. The reasons given for such arrests, if reasons were given, seem extremely shallow. What does emerge very often, however, is that contacts with Western countries, especially Britain, are most unacceptable to certain influential authorities in Poland to-day.

"Conversations with Poles in different parts of the country," sums up E. J. Williams, "lead to the conclusion that generally speaking, there is a great dread of personal harm among the majority of ordinary people who have in any way had anything to do with politics, other than that of the extreme left. Reports from the eastern parts of Poland—even after discounting for much exaggeration—indicate that there the uncontrolled activities of the security police are on an even greater scale than in the west.

"In addition to the Polish secret police there is also throughout the country the Russian secret police, the NKVD, successor to the GPU. These latter have their own activities, which increase considerably the Polish citizens' sense of personal insecurity."

GLADWIN HILL (*New York Times*)

GLADWIN HILL, the *New York Times* Correspondent, did not cable his stories direct from Warsaw. He wrote them in Poland, but they were not printed until the author was safely out of Poland, in the American zone of Berlin.

"One of the most frequent questions that a Correspondent travelling in Poland is asked is: When is the American Army coming to liberate us from the Russians? As incredible and preposterous as this may seem, it is a widespread notion, heard most often from educated and intelligent Poles," he writes in an article, published in his paper on 21st October 1945.

"The Moscow-created Polish Provisional Government admits the existence of this feeling. The government-dominated newspapers have repeatedly acknowledged it, the daily *Zycie Warszawy* recently attributing to such talk the recent inflation in prices.

"The Government ascribes such talk—as it ascribes virtually everything that does not please it—to 'reactionaries.' However, the explanation is not so simple as this. The writer has heard the talk from persons who definitely were not reactionaries, although they, of course, were indulging in wishful thinking. The fact is that the people of Poland to-day have ample reason for disliking the Russians.

"First stands the fact that Poles and Russian have been antagonists for centuries. This ancient animosity was intensified in 1939 when the Russians helped the Germans to partition Poland for the fourth time in 250 years. This was not completely effaced by the Russians' subsequent arrival in the role of liberators, especially when their liberating extended to a lot of Polish property with a zeal hardly distinguishable from the Germans.

"Russian authorities have, in fact, admitted that the Red Army, when it got to Poland, regarded it as enemy territory, and drew little distinction between it and Germany...

"The Russians have been herding farm-animals by the thousands eastward across Poland. A lot of them were going right past the American Embassy in Warsaw, until one day the route was abruptly changed.

"The official line again is that these are German cattle rather than Polish, although some experts who purport to be able to distinguish national differences in livestock disagree. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Russian supply troops by the thousands are settled down on the Polish countryside (the official figure is more than half a million Polish acres now being farmed by the Red Army) herding cattle and using all other agricultural resources just like the Poles.

"The Russians stripped the Polish ports of Danzig and Gdynia of most of their cranes and other maritime equipment, and have taken at least three of the harbours' four important floating dry docks.

"This Correspondent has visited Polish hospitals that have been stripped of their linen and other essential supplies by the Russians. The Russian-Polish trade agreement for six months from last July to January, while nominally calling for an equal exchange of goods on the basis of 'world prices,' seems curiously one-sided in some respects.

"Under it Russia gives Poland 25,000 tons of raw cotton, while Poland is to provide Russia with 45,000,000 metres of cotton cloth—although Poland is desperately short of textiles. Under it Poland gives Russia 5,000,000 tons of coal and coke. Silesian coal operators, 75 per cent. of whose production is going to the Russians (although thousands of Poles are going to freeze this winter for lack of fuel), say the Russians are paying a dollar a ton for coal, although it costs more than that to mine, and the Russians are selling a lot of the same coal in southeastern Europe for ten times that price.

"In numerous conversations with Poles to discover the exact sources of their resentment toward the Russians the writer found that it was mostly the simple fact of the Russians' presence in Poland, not just physically, but mentally, and the influence they evidently are trying to exert—the new 'occupation' of Poland, which some Poles compare even unfavourably with the German occupation.

"The Poles dislike this influence, which manifests itself in scores of ways. They resent the setting up in their provinces of Russian military organizations under Russian generals to preserve order. They resent Russians staffing their army, and synthesizing a new Polish Navy while the real Polish Navy remains abroad. They resent a propaganda with the stamp of Moscow being sponsored to them by their Moscow-created Provisional Government. They say: 'We will work our way out of our misery and distress. We want help. But we want to run the job ourselves.'

"That can be achieved only by a psychological readjustment, and it has to be a two-way transaction. Up to date the Russian handling of their end of the transaction has, in the opinion of competent foreign observers—and in factual evidence—left a lot to be desired.

"The Russian activities in Poland to date are susceptible of two conspicuous interpretations. One is that the Russians want to run Poland and reduce it to a satellite. But this they disavowed at Potsdam when, while getting a mortgage on Polish economy by assuming responsibility for Poland's share in reparations, they helped to underwrite renewed Polish independence with free democratic elections.

"The other interpretation is that Russian activities in Poland are an aftermath of the war with its inevitable disruptions and inequities, and that the Russians have sincere intentions of establishing an equitable relationship with a free Poland.

"If this be true," remarks Gladwin Hill, "the Russians at present are jeopardizing their own cause because the resentment of the Polish people—whether it be called reactionary or what—appears to be reaching a point where it is even redounding to the disadvantage of the present

Polish Provisional Government, the Russians' chosen representatives in Poland."

"There also exists throughout the war-torn country to-day," states Gladwin Hill, in his second report (*New York Times*, 22nd October 1945), "a condition approaching a subtle reign of terror, in which there is no assurance of what may happen to critics of the present régime.

"There are, however, too many indications of what may happen. The official line advanced by some Government officers is that there are no more than 1,000 political prisoners in Poland to-day. However, other Government officials have acknowledge to me that there were between 60,000 and 80,000, with the stipulation that the bulk of them are *Volksdeutsch*—Polish-Germans, or Germanized Poles. The belief is widespread in Warsaw that there are 10,000 at Cracow alone, and some responsible observers think the total may be nearer 100,000.

"The former German concentration camp at Oswiecim, whose name to any Pole is synonymous with horror, is operating again under Polish auspices, and its wire fences have been charged with electricity.

"The round-up of persons whose only evident offence was suspected opposition to the current Communist-dominated régime was in any case extensive enough to have netted in recent days a number of individuals with claims on American citizenship, most of whom are still locked up under no specific charges, and without trial.

"One institution in Warsaw and other cities is 'The Well,' a Gestapo-like operation in which the police keep a guard, for days on end if necessary, at a block, a building, or part of a building, seizing indiscriminately anyone who visits the place. This might be excused as an ordinary man-hunt except that curiously it happens often, involves the detention of innocent people, and has spread such fear that I know of innocent people who have stayed away from home nights on end because they had been told that 'The Well' was working in their neighbourhood.

"I will give other examples of incidents that have contributed to what I have been forced to describe—only after considerable thought and with considerable regret—as a near reign of terror in a country whose régime takes pride in being democratic.

"On 16th September the Polish Peasants' Party, 'principal opposition threat to the present régime held' a rally at Cracow. One of its most prominent regional leaders was a man named Wladyslaw Kojder. The day after the rally I was informed authoritatively that four uniformed men had appeared at M. Kojder's home and had taken him away.

"Three days later he was found shot to death.

"On the recent anniversary of the Warsaw uprising the Polish radio had received a prepared script that was full of digs at the former Warsaw resistance movement so unpopular in Moscow. The announcer protested,

and a woman programme director, a former underground campaigner, said that she could not, in all conscience, ask him to read it. A programme of phonograph records was substituted.

"A few days later the woman was called to account for the substitution and then discharged—on the accusation that there had been a discrepancy of ten dollars in her accounts.

"A responsible official told me that an employee of the Polish Foreign Office had been discharged simply because he had lunched too often with foreigners.

"One of the generals in the Warsaw uprising, who died a few days ago, was buried as a plain civilian without due military honours because his relatives feared reprisals.

"Any of these incidents may be verbally justified by the Government, and some might actually be justified. Nevertheless the fact is that they, and thousands of incidents like them, that do not occur under an American-idea democracy, have engendered a reign of fear—a situation in which the people dare sing the songs of the old Warsaw underground only behind closed doors; in which the Deutsche Blick glance over a shoulder before one says anything—is becoming a universal habit; in which the press uniformly abstain from criticism of the Government and opposition is found only in the illegal underground press, and in which in city after city across Poland I encountered ordinary people afraid to say to what political party they belonged.

"There are two principal organizations of a police character in Poland. There is the Army nucleus, composed of the Polish forces that fought with the Russians, and admittedly largely directed by Russian officers. Then there is the militia, the national police, nominally a civilian organization, but uniformed almost indistinguishably from the army. This admittedly also has been subject to strong Russian influence.

"The pre-war Polish police force was largely discredited by its collaboration with the occupying Germans, and with the liberation of Poland a new force had to be built. At first the Government acknowledged the training by Russian police experts, but now the Government claims that there is no Russian participation.

"Behind the façades of these two organizations are numerous subsections, some of them secret. And it is the general impression among the Poles that the secret police officers are ubiquitous, and are responsible for many arrests.

"What is the purpose of this reign of fear? There are two obvious possible answers. One is that the police measures were taken to preserve order. If this be the aim the measures are failing notably.

"In Polish cities, with shooting a nightly occurrence, even government officials are timid about travelling by night.

"The other obvious answer is that the present 'provisional' régime is going to these extremes to suppress opposition and perpetuate itself. The official attitude is that sweeping measures were necessary against the 'reactionary' and 'Fascist' elements at large in Poland who jeopardized national unity—an argument curiously as old as authoritarianism itself.

"Many foreign observers in Poland feel that this is regrettable, because, aside from the current régime's strong Red tinge, and aside from its obvious political manœuvres to perpetuate itself, which is perhaps expectable on the part of any régime, it is making a manful effort to pull Poland out of her almost unprecedented economic desolation.

"One prime factor in this effort is getting back to Poland the 2,000,000 Poles abroad—displaced persons, military and naval forces, and refuges, whose numbers include experts and leaders in many fields important to the reconstruction of the country. Repercussions from this reign of fear, which inevitably reach abroad, cannot but hamper this return.

"It is no secret situation, and it is of prime concern to official American and British observers in Poland, who feel that under the Potsdam Agreement they bear the stewardship before the United Nations for what goes on in Poland, notably eventual free democratic elections, and the proper preliminary conditions.

"It is no secret, either, that some of these observers are apprehensive lest the present situation be clouded by the current tendency to ignore things that might annoy the Soviet Union.

"It is also unquestionable that along with the current situation in Poland there is a concerted effort to hamper the dissemination of details to the outside world. American and British Correspondents have been in Poland only a few weeks, but already there have been side attacks on them in the press for their clothes, their dancing, and even their cigarettes—as well as on their reporting. Larry Ailen's initial report to the Associated Press that there has been shooting in the streets of Warsaw was indignantly denied by government officials until they were invited to see it for themselves almost any night from the balcony of the United States Embassy. Then they admitted it.

"Charles Arnot of the United Press also has been criticized baselessly for his reports. This Correspondent has been attacked in the Polish press for an alleged 'report to the *New York Times*' which he did not write and, so far as he knows, never had been written by anyone.

"The intensity of this campaign of defamation," writes Gladwin Hill, "before much really had been written about Poland, makes it look like a preparatory backfire to discredit Correspondents' reports in advance, and maintain a shroud of phony propaganda around the Poles, if not around the rest of the world."

In his cable, published by the *New York Times* on 5th November 1945, Gladwin Hill describes how Russia is trying to make a political and economic satellite out of Poland, and sever her traditional links with the West.

"Russia is pulling the strings of Poland's Red Provisional Government. Even in Poland's present dire economic traits a large amount of her industrial production is going to Russia. Daily newspapers, ostensibly Polish, but following the propaganda line of Russia, assail the United States and Britain, and daily Russian soldiers tell Poles that their friends are to the East, not the West.

"Yet by acknowledgment even of top members of the Provisional Government, Poland is dependent for reconstruction on foreign capital (which is hardly coming from Russia), is not even counting on Russia for the bulk of her industrial supplies in the long run, and feels particularly dependent upon the United States and Britain for the machinery and heavy equipment with which to get the wheels of her industry started again.

"Polish industry, led by coal mining, textiles, iron and steel production, and sugar-beet refining, is completely under temporary Government control on the ground of economic emergency, but the proposed 'nationalization' has not been started or defined. High government officials hazard that this will be confined to 'big industry'; that some private enterprise will be retained, although socialistic co-operatives will be encouraged wherever possible, and even that an effort will be made to develop a management middle-class, the lack of which is felt keenly in the de-Germanized western territories.

"It is impossible to ascertain the extent or the condition of industry in Poland to-day. Industry is under the rule of Hilary Minc, pudgy, bespectacled, and dynamic economist who taught at a provincial Russian university during the war, and who is recognized as one of the ablest men in the Government. He belongs to the new Communistic Polish Workers' Party.

"It is understood that Russia has encouraged the Poles to go ahead and get as much assistance as they can from the Western Powers. This puts the United States and Britain on the spot between leaving Poland distressed and a hospitable vacuum for Communism or, in effect, fattening a cow that the Russians are in a position to milk—and indications are that the Russians are not particularly solicitous about any region under their sway having a higher standard of living than in Russia.

"High-placed observers, however see besides this dilemma, a possibly advantageous alternative for the United States—a chance to

diverge from the Santa Claus role, and in return for aid to Poland demand a *quod pro quo*; namely adjustment of certain conditions, like the present suppression of free speech, and free and real political democracy, to conform with what the Big Three have already underwritten at Potsdam."

British observers

CHARLES LAMBERT (*Daily Herald*)

CHARLES LAMBERT, a representative of the London paper, *Daily Herald*, went to Poland in October 1945. The results of his inquiries were published in four articles which appeared in the *Daily Herald* from 4th November until 8th November 1945.

"From my talks," states Charles Lambert in his first article written after his return to London, "and from my observation of life and living conditions in many cities, including Warsaw, Cracow, Katowice, Stettin, Poznan, and Lodz, an assessment can be made of the new Poland and of the value of its Government.

"Is the new Poland controlled by the Soviet Union? The answer is: Yes, it is ultimately controlled by Russia, but not governed by Moscow.

"Poland is occupied by the Red Army. The Russian forces have been steadily diminishing for some time, and will be reduced to a minimum number. But some will remain so long as Russia occupies Eastern Germany.

"A large proportion of officers of the present Polish Army are Russians in Polish uniform, especially in the higher ranks.

"I met several Russian officers of the NKVD, or former GPU, serving with the Polish political police..."

"The new Poland," he continues, "is not a democracy in the British sense of the term. Government circles themselves defined it to me as 'semidemocracy.'

"That is not how I, as a Western European, would put it. I would call the Bierut Administration a semi-dictatorship.

"The Provisional Government embraces most but not all of the Left and Centre Parties. Right-wing and reactionary parties are excluded and, in fact, suppressed, though some live on 'underground.'

"Those who exercise preponderance in Poland to-day govern in the interests of the workers in town and countryside, and with a foreign police of intimate co-operation with the Soviet-Union.

"Smallest in numbers, but mightiest in influence, in the four-party Government, is the Communist Party, called the Polish Workers' Party."

Charles Lambert emphasizes that the Polish Workers' Party members

have the key positions in the Government. They also dominate the administration in the higher ranks of officialdom. They control the police, including the political police.

"The 'Big Five' of the Government," he remarks "are: Bierut; Gomolka, one of the two Vice-Premiers; Radkiewicz, Minister of Public Security; Minc, Minister of Industry; and Berman, a Vice-Minister .

"All are of the Polish Workers' Party and are men around forty, except Bierut, who is in the early fifties. All are characterized by ability and ruthless drive.

"Reliable estimates indicate that the Polish Workers' Party itself is supported at present by about 8 per cent. of the Polish people.

"How is it that a party representing so small a fraction of the people can dominate its Government to-day?

"The 'semi-democratic' system makes it possible.

"I found press, radio, public meetings, and all political activity under strict Government control. Arrests may be made without any charge being preferred.

"The political police are numerous. Their agents are to be found even in small villages. The number of political prisoners is said, unofficially of course, to be about 20,000.

"Every item printed in a newspaper, including articles on literature and theatre and film reviews, has to be submitted to censorship. So have all new books.

"But, nevertheless," says Lambert, "as a well-informed Pole said to me: 'The security edifice is now four times as big as before the war, while Poland is smaller and contains no minority populations.' "

In his third article, published on 7th November, Charles Lambert tells "the story of Poland's Western Desert, that area of Germany given to the Poles when it was decided at the Yalta Big Three Conference to shift Poland some scores of miles from east to west on the map of Europe."

"Vast expanses of once rich agricultural area lie untilled. This countryside has been heavily fought over.

"Homes have been plundered and stripped. Livestock, horses and cattle have gone. You rarely see even a pig. Most of the farm machinery has gone, too.

"This is the empty land to be resettled by the Poles.

"Come to Poland's New Paradise is the message of the bright propaganda posters in Warsaw and other towns and cities of Old Poland.

"Make your fortune in the West, say the newspapers. Land and Work for All, proclaims the radio, in broadcast after broadcast.

"Thousands of Poles and their families in Old Poland packed up and set out for this Promised Land with their cows and horses and covered wagons.

"But thousands of them are now drifting back to where they came from. The struggle is as yet too great.

"It is not only a struggle against Nature. Poland is still the highway of the disbanded Russian armies. They are making their way home, living on the land.

"Before blaming them for the acts of which many Poles now accuse them, one must take into account the abnormal conditions and frame of mind in which they are travelling home through Poland's devastated west.

"Many are men who are thoroughly 'brownd off' after four years of hard fighting and 'precious little relaxation.'

"Many Polish farmers have been stripped of their possessions. Cattle they brought with them into the desert lands have often been requisitioned, along with much of their other livestock.

"Their houses, poorly refurnished, have been combed again by 'souvenir hunters.'

"So, in despair, many of the Poles have given up and gone back from their new homes to the old.

"In the cities there is a similar story. Stettin, which once housed 300,000 Germans, is now a half-ruined city of 40,000 Poles and 60,000 Germans.

"My entrance into Stettin was dramatic," writes Charles Lambert. "It was at night.

"Shots rang out as our lorry slowed down, feeling its way. Intermittent shooting could be heard near by.

"We were soon surrounded by a semi-hysterical group of Poles who begged us to take a man to hospital. He had been shot through the thigh. I propped his head on my knee, gave him as much room as I could, and we drove off through the black ruins of Stettin to find the hospital.

"We were told later that fifty Polish settlers were killed or wounded in Stettin every week, but that figure may well be exaggerated.

"Polish official quarters will tell you that Russian deserters are only partly responsible. Polish gangster elements in the town are equally guilty, or more so.

"The full history of the shooting episode I encountered was later related to me by a Pole as follows: the wounded man, an unarmed Polish militiaman, had heard the cries of a Polish woman who was being robbed by a Russian soldier.

"He had gone over to investigate. The Russian had immediately drawn his revolver and shot him in the thigh.

"The next day we went into a shop. Its owner said it had been burgled the night before and about a third of his stock removed. A street

or two away on the same night a restaurant had been held up by drunken soldiers. They had eaten their fill and had spoiled or taken away a large part of the rest of the stock.

"The Polish municipal authorities close their eyes to these incidents and shooting affrays," concludes Charles Lambert.

In his fourth article (dated 8th November 1945), entitled: "Fortunes and Estates are Wiped out," Charles Lambert describes the economic revolution which Poland is forcibly undergoing under the régime imposed upon her.

"Industry and trade have been nationalized; the remaining large estates broken up; house property limited to what is actually occupied by an owner; and savings in cash or in the banks wiped out," writes Lambert.

"There can now be few private fortunes in Poland except those made by business-men of one kind or another who have managed to obtain and keep 'black market' American dollars.

"The old zloty currency, valid until the Germans evacuated, was called in for cancellation. Only 500 zlotys could be exchanged by any individual Pole into the new currency.

"Measured by what it can buy, this sum represented about one pound in our money.

"This wiped out private fortunes in cash.

"Bank accounts were frozen. In other words, withdrawals could not be made; this ended fortunes kept in banks.

"In the same way property and land were virtually wiped out. Nobody can own more than 125 acres, except the Catholic Church, whose property so far has remained exempted from land reform.

"If you had house property in pre-war Poland you would now be allowed the use only of what was personally necessary for you—one house or a flat.

"That was the end of property in real estate.

"Commercial policy is as follows:

"Shops and smaller businesses generally will be left in private hands. Heavy industry has been nationalized, except for small units—a foundry, for example.

"Employment of fifty persons approximately is the dividing line between free enterprise and nationalization. This new régime wipes out shareholders and stock markets.

"President Bierut told me," says Lambert, "that Poland intends to have an economic system midway between Socialism and Free Enterprise. It is the counterpart of the political system officially called a 'semi-democracy.'

"Originally an official of the Polish statistical bureau, Hilary Minc, Minister of Industry, is now Poland's 'economic dictator.'

"He aims at making Poland half industrial and half agricultural. Meantime, Poland's economy is being closely integrated with that of the Soviet Union.

"The Polish land-owning aristocracy has been completely destroyed. Only a counter-revolution could restore its property and influence.

"As the land reform has been applied, estates over 125 acres have been cut up and divided among landless peasants.

"The original owner of a divided estate is not, however, allowed to have his 125-acre residue, with his house and furniture, on his own former property.

"All is taken away from him, he must remove himself to another part of the country, where a new holding will at some future date be allotted him, if he so desires.

"Many of the former land-owning classes are now destitute.

"Peasants have to deliver about 30 or 40 per cent. of their produce to the Government, at prices about five times pre-war. The remainder they can sell at free market prices between thirty-six and fifty times pre-war.

"The farmers resist delivery at the low fixed prices, which are intended to provide what is on the Polish people's ration cards.

"By 'go-slow' methods on delivery they are, in many cases, not handing over much more than half of their quotas.

"That is partly why so little is available on ration cards in Poland," Charles Lambert concludes his series of articles on the New Poland.

RHONA CHURCHILL (*Daily Mail*)

In the three articles which appeared in the London *Daily Mail*, a well-known woman-journalist, Rhona Churchill, described her impressions of her visit to Poland. The second article had a significant title: "Death Boards the Train to Utopia."

"Six children froze to death in the arms of their mothers on this railways-siding last night," Rhona Churchill writes in her article published in the *Daily Mail* on 14th December 1945.

"They were piled on to a farm wagon and taken away to be buried in paupers' graves, while their weeping mothers—homeless Polish peasants—continued their miserable journey west to colonize the New Poland.

"They are among the first of thousands, of homeless Poles who will freeze and starve to death this winter in cattle trucks and windowless passenger carriages on the railway sidings on the territory that was Poland.

"They number more than a million. They are the Poles from the cities and villages of Eastern Poland which at Yalta became part of the U.S.S.R.

"They are being compelled to vacate their homes, businesses, farmsteads on which their families have lived for centuries, and move west, so that the Russians made homeless by the war can move in and colonize the New Russia.

"They are permitted to take with them what goods they can carry. And they are moved rather by 'persuasion' than force. While life in the old Poland becomes daily more intolerable for them, their ears are filled with stories of the wonderful life that awaits them in their 'Promised Land'—the large slice of Eastern Germany that Russia has handed to the Poles as compensation for the loss of Eastern Poland.

"Cattle trucks are brought to the nearest railway line and the peasants, are 'invited' to board them.

"Windowless passenger coaches are available for the city folk, who have only hand-luggage. They enter full of hope.

"But when I met six trainloads of them on the railway sidings outside Cracow to-day their hope had turned to horror and despair. Three of the trains had taken two months to do what is normally a half-day journey. The other three had been anything from ten days to four weeks *en route*.

"These migrants had seen old men and women carried off their trains on improvised stretchers, more dead than living.

"They had seen each morning the frozen carcasses of dead cattle flung from the trucks.

"Children had watched their mothers catch fever and be taken away from them.

"I talked with a young Jew who, with his mother, had fled into Russia before the advancing Wehrmacht in 1939.

"He said, 'We boarded the emigrants' train two months ago and have sat in it ever since.

"My mother died three nights ago from exposure. The temperature was 18 degrees below zero, and we had no heating and no windows.

"I shall go on to Palestine."

"This young man, like many other Jews on these trains, had been promised that in Cracow he could get transport through to Palestine.

"I had not the heart to disillusion him. There is no transport to Palestine from Poland.

"I looked into many of the waiting cattle trucks. They were all alike. They smelt of the farmstead.

"There appeared to be roughly one wagon per family. Into it crowded grandma, grandpa, their two widowed daughters, and from six to eight children of varying ages, including the inevitable babe in arms.

"But, before the humans entered, the wagon was piled high with sacks of corn, rye, potatoes, maize. One corner was loaded with small

crates of hens and geese; then a couple of cows, and two horses were forced in.

"In most wagons an improvised stove had been built, and on it the peasants burnt the hay they had brought as cattle food.

"They were not dying of cold, but simply of dysentery and typhus. I had to climb over the frozen carcass of a horse to enter. Farther along the trains I saw a group of twenty young children watching two women skin the carcass of a cow.

"I was told, 'One of the men will take the skin into Cracow and exchange it for food. We shall eat the flesh; it may be tainted.'

"Why must they wander and wait? Why are they shunted from siding to siding in the land of their own people?

"I asked these questions of several Polish officials. One blamed the inefficiency of the railway staffs. Another blamed the Russians, saying they controlled the engines and removed them from the trains.

"Another blamed the Germans for killing off all those Poles intelligent and able enough to control such situations as these.

"There is some truth in all these observations, but the choice one came from the suave, foreign-trained Director of Propaganda and Censorship in near-by industrial Katowice—the Cardiff of Poland—who told me:

"'Miss, that is a British lie. Such things do not occur in Poland to-day.' When I told him I had seen the trains, he said:

"'Well, it must be an isolated incident, most regrettable.'

"But," Rhona Churchill concludes, "I was given undeniable evidence that it was no isolated incident, and that such sights as these can be seen on the railway sidings through the length and breadth of pre-war and post-war Poland."

"Tall, bronzed Jan Berezowski was standing in the main hall of Katowice station proudly wearing his new British battledress, black beret, and Eighth Army flash," writes Rhona Churchill in her third report, dated 18th December 1945, entitled, "Poland Under Terror."

"He looked bitter and confused as he stood scanning the crowd of weary refugees.

"'Disillusioned?' I asked him.

"'That is to say too little,' he answered, in halting English.

"Jan is one of the 14,000 Polish soldiers now voluntarily returning home after fighting alongside the British Eighth Army in Italy under the Polish General Anders.

"For six years he has waited for this week. But it turned sour on him before he had been in his homeland six hours.

"He had been in Poland four days when he told me his story.

""There is no freedom in Poland to-day. We are no freer than we were under the Gestapo terror.

""Nobody dare speak openly against the country's present rulers, though everybody mutters.

""The wives of Polish soldiers abroad have been thrown into concentration camps.

""Our newspapers are censored. All our foreign news comes from the Tass Agency.

""No criticism of Russia ever appears, yet the papers are full of anti-British propaganda which I, as a returning Pole, know to be lies.

""Already they have told me General Anders is a traitor, and I must forget him.

""I feel they regard me as a traitor too, though all I want is to help my country.

""It has been said in the English Parliament that Poles now run their own country.

""Yet I see Russian soldiers everywhere in their own uniforms, in Polish uniforms, and in civilian clothes.'

""I have myself seen Russian influence everywhere. I have seen anti-British propaganda in the Polish newspapers, heard Poles scoff at their censored Press, listened to at least fifty beg me to tell their story, found Russian soldiers in every town.

""Poles said to me time and again: 'Does England know about our secret police and our concentration camps? Does England know?'

""One high-ranking foreign observer, who speaks Polish and has been studying the situation for several months, told me, 'The new Polish secret police is run by Radkiewicz, Minister of Public Security.

""The worst elements are getting into this secret police force. They seem to work differently from the Gestapo in one respect only—they do not send home the ashes of their victims.

""I know personally of several instances where middle-aged Poles, whose only crime is that they worked for a free, democratic Poland, have been flung into damp cellars, detained on little food for several weeks, then returned home to die in their own beds of rheumatic hearts or pneumonia caught in political gaols.

""In this way the secret police can say they do not kill their victims.'

""A young Moscow-trained Pole who is Katowice spokesman for the Warsaw Government told me, 'The Polish soldiers you have released to return home will, of course, have to serve in our army or do compulsory work.

""What right has General Anders, who is a traitor to Poland, to decide when they are demobilized?'

"I asked him about the imprisonment of wives of these soldiers, and sought permission to visit a near-by concentration camp.

"It was a camp for 500 of the 50,000 German prisoners and detainees working as forced labourers in the local mines.

"There were two Polish women prisoners in the kitchen. They said they had been summarily arrested in May, and since then had done unpaid kitchen work in concentration camps, living as prisoners.

"They had been brought before no court and charged with no crime. All this was not contradicted by my Polish Army escort."

MAJOR TUFTON BEAMISH, M.P.

On 25th and 26th February 1946 the *Daily Telegraph* published two articles by Major Tufton Beamish, who went to Poland in January as a member of the British Parliamentary delegation. In his first article, after referring to the persons whom he met in Poland and to the devastation of the country, Major Beamish writes:

"In spite of all that has happened in the past twelve months our delegation had a great welcome everywhere because it came from Britain. British films like *Desert Victory*, *Pimpernel Smith* and *One of Our Aircraft is Missing* show to packed houses, and 250,000 people in Warsaw saw the R.A.F. exhibition in five weeks.

"A visitor soon realises that we in Britain still underestimate what the Poles have lost and suffered at the hands of the Germans or how deeply the Germans are hated in consequence. More than 6,000,000 people were killed, half of them Jews, and in Auschwitz alone 4,000,000. The population is at least 10,000,000 fewer than in 1939. I met no Pole who did not mean Poland to keep the territory up to the Oder-Neisse line.

"But the losses at the hands of the Russians are very heavy. One and a half million Poles were deported to Russian in 1939, and now the Soviet has claimed nearly half of the territory which was Poland when the war broke out and a third of her population.

"Thus, even with Danzig and part of East Prussia, Poland is a fifth smaller; 80 per cent. of her oil is in the territory ceded to Russia.

"Industrial and agricultural machinery is very scarce. The Germans took a lot away and destroyed a lot, much was lost in the fighting, and the Russians have taken a great deal.

"Food is short, although before the war Poland exported large quantities. Sufficient exports will not be available to pay for imports for several years to come. Transport is very inadequate and many population movements from west to east and east to west aggravate the

shortage. But everywhere I went I recognised that what is uppermost in the Polish mind is not the economic but the political issue.

"Since 28th June 1945 Poland has been governed by a Praesidium of seven members and a National Council of 500 members, 60 per cent. being representatives of corporate bodies and 40 per cent. nominated by leaders of political parties.

"The President, Bierut," stresses the author, "was unknown in Poland before the war. Bierut is a pseudonym, and many Poles whom I met took the strongest exception to 'Mr. X' being at the head of their affairs. I believe he was born in Lublin. Though on paper non-party, he is a Communist who enjoyed Soviet citizenship for many years.

"The Polish Workers' Party (P.P.R.) is the Communist Party. It has the best brains in the Government and fills most of the key posts not only at the top but throughout the country.

"The Deputy Prime Minister, Gomulka; the Minister of Industry, Minc; the Minister of Shipping and Foreign Trade, Jedrychowski; the Under-Secretary of State, Berman; the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Modzelewski; and the Minister of Public Security, Radkiewicz, are all strong men with capacity and brains. P.P.R.'s support in the country is small and they know it.

"The Polish Socialist Party (P.P.R.) fills nearly every important post which is not filled by P.P.R. Their support in the country is probably small, too, though larger than that of P.P.R. Apart from Żulawski, who joined P.P.S. after the Prime Minister had refused him permission to form an opposition party, and Stanczyk, the Minister of Labour, few of the well-known pre-war Socialist leaders hold important positions in the party.

"Many moderate Socialists whom I met during my tour consider that P.P.S. have so far compromised themselves and discarded the principles for which the pre-war party stood that there is little if anything to choose between them and P.P.R. Several leading members of P.P.S. insisted to me that they are really anti-Communist, but that they must co-operate with P.P.R. since the latter is the only party with a policy acceptable to Russia. 'On ne peut faire de l'histoire contre la géographie' seems to sum up their philosophy.

"The Democratic Party (S.D.) is neither democratic nor a party and has little or no significance. Rzymowski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, represents S.D. in the Government. One well-known member of the party described himself to me as a 'pro-Communist Conservative.' Seemingly narrow-mindedness is not one their failings.

"The Peasant Party (S.L.) has very little more significance and probably a small peasant following of Communists. Litwin, the Minister of

Health, represents it in the Government, and is doing a useful job under most difficult conditions.

"The Work Party (P.P.) is led by Popiel. It is the modern version of the pre-war Christian Democrats and is, or was, founded on a more spiritual and less material basis than the other parties.

"Popiel's support for the present regime has certainly compromised the Christian Socialist principles for which his party used to stand, and must have resulted in much loss of face throughout the country. I found them something of an enigma and believe them to be uneasy stable companions with P.P.R. and P.P.S. 'Tout s'arrangera,' said a leading member with a meaning look.

"The above five parties, together with the Polish Peasant Party (P.S.L.), form the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, provisionally recognised by Britain and America on certain conditions."

Emphasising the popularity amongst the whole population for the Polish Peasant Party, of which the leader is M. Mikolajczyk, Major Beamish goes on:

"Its policy is not in any way anti-Russian. Mikolajczyk told me personally, and has said many times before, that one of the main planks of his policy will always be friendship and collaboration with their great Eastern neighbour, but not at the expense of Polish independence.

"Be it noted that the party's policy is more radical than that of our Labour Government. I had, thus, no political blood brothers among the legal Polish parties. Nor, indeed, was I interested in looking for them.

"The National Democratic Party, before the war very large, is illegal, and such of its members as are not dubbed 'Fascists' are called 'Black Reactionaries.' I do not believe it has kept its influence.

"The organisation in Poland known as N.S.Z. is an extreme Right-wing body, probable less than 1000 strong, which since the Russian-German partition of Poland in 1939 has looked on Russia no less than Germany as an enemy. It is said by the Communists and the Polish Socialist Party to be financed and armed by General Anders and the 'London Poles'; both Osobka-Morawski and Marshal Rola-Zymierski told me this.

"N.S.Z.'s lines of communication are said to be across the 'Green Border' into Hungary and Czechoslovakia. If Poles under British command have any connection with N.S.Z., which incidentally was disowned by General Bor during the Warsaw rising, let the Polish Government provide chapter and verse instead of vague accusations so that the British Government can make immediate investigations into their charges.

"The 'trial' in Warsaw of twenty-three Polish officers accused of armed anti-Government activities is obviously designed to discredit yet further all those who are opposed to the present Government, and will probably be the signal for arrests on an increased scale."

In his second article Major Beamish analyses some of the topical problems of the Polish political situation. He considers that:

"The outstanding question in Poland is whether the forthcoming elections will be held this summer and whether they will really be free. The Polish Workers Party (the Communists) and the Polish Socialist Party favour a 'block.' They constantly emphasise 'National Unity.'

"The Work Party (P.P.) has not yet decided either way, and the Polish Peasant Party at their conference on 20th January played for time by deferring their decision until the election date is announced.

"Their leader, Mikolajczyk, will do what he considers is in the best interests of his country in the long run. The Communists know that he may poll well over half the votes in the country, and will certainly do all they can to ensure that he gets no opportunity to do this.

"The Communists hinted to me that there may be trouble if 'National Unity' is disturbed by a party running its own candidates. That is a threat. Is trouble less likely if over half the country is disfranchised by a sham election with only Government candidates allowed?

"The Provisional Government," he goes on, "has no mandate to sovietise Poland. Once allow a Government to get an economic grip of a country, the political grip will follow.

"The present set-up of a Praesidium and one Chamber, though unconstitutional, is an interim measure and a necessary evil. Any attempt to perpetuate, or unnecessarily prolong, this system, without a mandate from the people, would be wholly contrary to the terms of the Yalta Agreement.

"When the elections are held, and provided they are not conducted on the 'block' system, the people will be voting, not for one political party or for another, but to decide the fundamental question of whether new Poland is to have a system of Government based on the Russian or on the Western conception of democracy.

"The choice should be for the Poles and for them alone. Once this issue has been decided the party issue will be comparatively simple of solution. There is a general feeling that after the election a Coalition Government, based on the will of the people, will best be able to surmount the problems of the next few years.

"Press censorship has relaxed somewhat in recent months, but over 90 per cent. of the newspapers are Government-controlled, and, while never criticising Russia, they have frequently shown a strong anti-Western bias. Mikolajczyk's papers are still severely censored, even verbatim extracts from B.B.C. news sometimes being disallowed, and their circulation is unfairly limited. There are no restrictions on wireless listening, though very few have sets and fewer still can afford to buy them.

"A strong police system under Radkiewicz, a former Soviet citizen trained in Russia, includes a large secret police force which co-operates

with Russian N.K.V.D. detachments stationed in the larger town. Who knows how many political prisoners are languishing in camps and cellar prisons, usually without trial or even charge and always without rights of appeal?

"The Prime Minister, Osobka-Morawski, refused to give me the figures of those actually under arrest for political 'crimes,' but quoted, as an example of the tolerance of the present regime, the fact that 42,000 political prisoners had been released during the last few months.

"There have been fewer arrests in the last few months than earlier in 1945, but the threat still remains, and consequently there is fear in millions of Polish hearts. Few in Poland who disagree with Government policy dare say so in the hearing of a 'party man.'

"Several of Mikolajczyk's chief supporters have been murdered in recent months in circumstances that appear to indicate complicity of the secret police. To counter this and many other murders of opponents of the Communists, the Government state that many hundreds of supporters of the Communist and Socialist parties have been murdered by Rightwing organisations, though this has not been the fate of any of their leaders.

"There is no religious persecution, though there is a feeling that the present regime is using religious toleration as propaganda, and that it may suddenly cease."

Writing about the presence of the Red Army in Poland the author says:

"I was unable to make any estimate of the size of the Russian forces stationed in Poland. The Government claim that these forces are there to protect Russian lines of communication and deal with Russian deserters is reasonable, but the Prime Minister's suggestion to me that they act as a reserve to the Russian forces in Germany makes less sense.

"I was struck by the fact that they were not all on the lines of communication, and in the country areas I went through there seemed to be small parties of Russian troops in most of the larger villages. This may not have been typical, but they are undoubtedly in very considerable strength."

Major Beamish ends his second article by saying:

"We have a duty to Poland to see that the terms of the Yalta Agreement are faithfully carried out. We can best provide a token of our good faith by initiating arrangements for an international commission to visit Poland at once to advise and assist the Provisional Government in the conduct of the forthcoming elections, and by making it abundantly clear that if the agreed terms on which the Provisional Government was recognised continue to be violated, recognition will be withdrawn.

"The future greatness of Poland is not in doubt. These deeply religious, cultured and intensely national people were our Allies from the first day

of the war to the last. No nation has suffered more. It would be a tragedy that must not, that will not, happen if they should suffer still further from want of understanding, on the part of the United States and ourselves, of what is taking place."

A SUNDAY TIMES CORRESPONDENT

On 17th February 1946 the *Sunday Times* published, under the title "Disturbed Conditions in Poland—Freedom denied to People," an article of a correspondent who paid a visit to Poland in January and February.

"One of the most disturbed countries in Europe to-day," reports the *Sunday Times'* correspondent, "with at least two minor wars raging within its frontiers, is Poland. Its people, who dreamed during the war years of a democratic Poland, find thrust upon them willy-nilly one of the strongest police systems in the world, under the cover of which they have been robbed of almost all the fruits of victory.

"The newspapers are censored as heavily as during the war, industries and farms have been nationalised without an attempt at consultation with the people, prisons have become so packed with those who resist the new order that even the Prime Minister admits they are full, and democracy is seen as meaning nothing more than government by a series of parties of the Left.

"Russia has placed the Government in power; and the fear of Russia keeps it there. Under the scanty disguise of Polish uniforms Russian officers direct the Security Police, and also the army. A corps of Poles trained in the Russian training centres, who are themselves Communists, have been distributed throughout the administration. Only about 200,000 Poles have joined the party either from Communist convictions or because they need the kind of well-paid jobs the party offers them.

"Supporters of the Government will tell you ceaselessly, as they show you round factories whose technical excellence belies their words, that democracy as it is known in the West is something which could never be in backward Poland. More fiercely, the Communist Party recently threatened that if M. Mikolajczyk with his Peasant Party converted the elections into something resembling democratic elections as we know them by refusing to join the Government *block*, the appeal to the country would be a bloody affair.

"It seems possible that Mikolajczyk, swayed by the fear uppermost in every Polish mind that Russian troops would take an active hand in the event of disturbance, will decide to give in. Should he do so there will be a big split in his party, but that will scarcely affect the issue, since the number of parties in Poland is limited to six, and the dissentients would have no right of representation.

"Meanwhile the Provisional Government goes ahead with its policy of nationalisation and re-orientation of the Polish mind. No longer do the school history books read as they did in 1939, and children are carefully watched to see that their minds are developing along 'democratic lines' in the new sense of the word. Recently members of the Security Police called at one of the State schools and questioned the elder pupils as to whether they considered the teaching of their professors was 'democratic.' There is also much anti-British propaganda.

"These are just the type of events and incidents which the majority of Poles resent. While realising the necessity for cooperating with Russia, they are also very strongly aware of their connection with the West. From the West they can obtain most of what they require for re-starting their industries, while they know Russia is in as great need of these things as they are. They feel that their present Government's policy, in failing to inspire the confidence necessary for a Western loan, is purposely slowing down the rate of their development in order to gear it with that of Russia."

Marge: "I'm telling you for the last time that you can't kiss me."
Gene: "Ah, I knew that you'd weaken eventually."

TO APPEASE RUSSIA GETS US NOWHERE

by *DOROTHY THOMPSON*

The peace conference was burdened with the accumulation of past policies, which, however tentatively made, have become realities. Although at Potsdam, Britain and America did not finally approve the award to Poland of Germany east of the Oder and Neisse rivers, the radical truncation of Germany has become a fact because the Poles have moved in and settled in the land while a large part of the Germans have fled or been pushed out.

Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Adriatic is effectively in the Russian zone with the exception of Austria, which is divided, as what remains of Germany is divided, between four occupying powers.

Danubia, of which Austria is historically and economically a part, is being steadily integrated, politically and economically, into the Soviet system. Policies have been permitted which made this inevitable. Britain, the U.S., and the U.S.S.R., beginning with Poland, have connived at the First Partition of Europe. They have thus completed the wrecking of Europe, politically, economically.

BUTTERING RUSSIA

All this has been done on the premise that the first requirement of peace is that the Anglo-American countries should "get on with Russia." To challenge this assumption as forming any rational basis for peace has practically amounted to high treason, both in this country and in Britain. But the assumption has been, from the very beginning, false in its primary theses.

An obvious concomitant of the theory that we must get on with Russia is that Russia feels she must get on with us. That is not a primary Russian consideration at all. The Soviet concept has been to create, by rapid faits accomplis, a situation promising control over Europe and Asia isolating Britain and America from the key global positions—in other words, falling heir to Hitler's Eurasia.

Dostojevski predicted a struggle in which Russia would end Europe. Western Christianity would be obliterated and a revived eastern Christian-

ity arise. "The fate of Poland awaits France; not we, but our children, will see the end of England."

Not only the Soviets but Tsarists predicted "Poland had to perish--not the authentic Polish race, but the false civilization, false nationality imputed to Poland."

The "false" civilization and nationality was what made Poland, historically, the easternmost outpost of western Christianity and the historic defender of the West against Central Asia.

Russian civilization has been historically hostile to European, and Communism has not changed this. The 1936 purges were actually the liquidation of the European-trained and influenced Communists. Never in history was Russia more Russian and Byzantine than she is today.

'ROTTING' WEST

Russia has always admired the science and technology of the West, but hates its "rotting and decadent" civilization. Her policy is one of splendid isolation. Expansion now, as in Dostojevski's time, is for the avowed purpose of "regeneration," keeping her own civilization, aloof and uncontaminated, and "cooperating" only for the purpose of achieving her own ends.

The Anglo-American powers, in complete disregard of their own security and in apparent contempt of their own civilization, have been collaborating for their undoing.

This process is not leading to peace. It is leading inevitably toward war--unless we are to presume that the United States will live on sufferance a generation hence.

Russia is not weak, but strong. The sources of her strength are her single-mindedness, the Russian-firsters in every land, her concept that all life is essentially struggle, her people's contempt of death and unfamiliarity with luxury, and the ignorance and muzzyheaded simplicity of western leadership that could fight a colossal war at tremendous sacrifice without ever thinking through in advance the problem of Europe, which lies at the root of both world wars.

From "*Rome Daily American*" 4. VI 1946.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ADVOCATES JUSTICE FOR POLAND

“WITHOUT JUSTICE AND POLITICAL FREEDOM
THERE CAN BE NO LASTING PEACE,”

The Atlantic Charter states that powers signing it “desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned,” and “they respect the right of all people to choose the form of Government under which they will live.” Britain and the United States signed the charter on August 14, 1941, and Russia signed it when she joined the United Nations on January 1, 1942.

At Yalta, and again at Potsdam, Russia insisted that territory in eastern Poland be ceded to her, and that Poland in compensation be given territory in eastern Germany. The United States and Britain acquiesced in this arrangement, although it was contrary to the Atlantic Charter.

Few Americans realize the cruel fate this imposes on millions of people. Altogether 13,000,000 are being driven from their homes, transported to places where they have no means of livelihood, leaving behind their tools, their livestock and their possessions accumulated for generations.

A relief worker in Poland reports: Thousands of Poles have been driven out of their homes east of the new Bug River line to make room for the Russians. They are transported to the territory newly ceded to Poland in eastern Germany. They have no capital, no implements, no stock to operate these new lands. I visited 3000 of them packed on open coal cars, six weeks on the way, travelling from eastern Poland. They buried their children who died en route at the railroad stations. There are 25 transports a week being dumped in Breslau by the Russians without consulting the Poles. The Russians are everywhere in these parts and the Poles are not masters in their own new territory. Another report tells of Germans driven from their homes in the territory ceded to Poland and of rivers clogged with the bodies of those who drowned themselves. Thousands of Germans are being taken to Russia for slave labor. Another report describes conditions of peasants throughout Poland,—the farmers on whom the nation depends for food. About 75 % of their livestock was destroyed, largely by Germans, and the Russians are now taking what is left. An observer reports the roads packed with-

tens of thousands of cattle and horses being driven from Poland into Russia. About 1,000,000 farms are without even a cow. Tools and implements are gone and Poles are digging their fields by hand to plant fall crops.

The Potsdam Agreement permitted Russia to take as reparations 75% of all movable property in her zone of occupation, but it did not provide for stripping the people of their means of livelihood. Russia, however, interprets this provision without consultation with the other allies. She permits no newsmen in her zone to tell what goes on.

Members of Congress and other reliable observers report from Europe that Russia is following a policy of indiscriminate stripping and looting of industrial plants, leaving the workers without tools or machinery. In factories around Vienna, after Russia had taken the equipment she wanted, what remained was deliberately broken up and destroyed, leaving the plants useless. In the great ports of Danzig and Gdynia, vital to Poland, all port facilities—cranes, trucks, loading machinery, etc.—have been sent to Russia. Poland must get supplies through ports under Russian control, such as Constanza in Roumania. In Constanza, 322 American trucks, waiting for shipment to Poland and desperately needed, were stripped of tires, batteries and other movable parts by Russian soldiers. All machinery in Roumanian oil refineries, belonging to American, British, French and Belgian firms, has been sent to Russia without even an answer to our request for compensation.

Throughout Central Europe, farms and industries alike are stripped of equipment and the people left without any way of making a living. In the case of Roumania, stolen farm equipment was returned when the country, on May 8, 1945, made an agreement with Russia placing its economic life under Russian control.

Far from respecting the right of peoples to choose their own governments, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkan States are completely dominated by Russia.

The American Federation of Labor has taken a strong stand against the attempts of Soviet Russia or any other government to dominate post-war Europe and Asia. The Executive Council at its recent Cincinnati meeting said: "Under pressure of selfish power politics, our promises of according to each liberated nation the right of democratic self-government have not been fulfilled... This is a highly dangerous situation... We cannot continue to placate any nation at the cost of principles"... the victims of Fascism "must be accorded the opportunity of establishing free and democratic governments. . . . Our government must continue to resist attempts by selfish interests to set up spheres of influence which ignore the democratic rights of the people."

From *Labor's Monthly Service*, A. F. of L., Vol. 6, No. 11.

Cardinal GRIFFIN ON CONDITIONS IN POLAND

The N. Y. Times carried a dispatch from London about Cardinal Griffin's sermon in honor of Poland's National Holiday, May 3rd. His Eminence said:

"We cannot understand why the elections which were guaranteed by the powers at Yalta should be postponed, we cannot understand why it is necessary for Poland to be under the watchful eye of secret police, nor why it is so difficult for the people of western Europe to visit Poland and for your people to come and visit us; we cannot understand why so many Poles are in concentration camps

Poland will triumph and Poland will rise again. Your people will receive the reward which their struggles have deserved." That resurrection, the Cardinal concluded, would be the test of the sincerity of the promises and guarantees made to Poland during the war.

THE VOICE OF AMERICA

IN THE U. S. SENATE

SENATOR MEAD: A tremendous responsibility rests upon the United Nations Organization to guarantee and assure the opportunity to peoples like the Polish people to live their lives and enrich their existence without molestation and oppression from any source. The nations of the world owe a duty to the Polish people and other similarly situated under the chaotic conditions existing in the aftermath of the war to guarantee that the people themselves shall have a right to select the kind of government they desire in a free election in which there cannot be any doubt that the results are the expression of the free will of the citizens without coercion or improper influence exerted by outside forces. This is a tremendous responsibility, and the United Nations must not fail, the United States must not fail, and we must not fail.

SENATOR VANDENBERG: In respect to Poland we confront a situation which challenges the total sympathy of the American people in behalf of this stricken land which was one of the bravest allies we had in the war. At Yalta we joined in underwriting a guaranty of free elections. Then coming down to Potsdam, we joined in a guaranty of free ballots in those free elections. The guaranty of free ballots is spelled out in the Potsdam agreement to the end that all democratic parties are to be admitted to the ballot in the free election. Those guaranties are the utter minimum of our obligation to Polish patriots, in view of their war record, in view of their historic and traditional devotion to liberty, in view of the fact that the defense of Polish Freedom was the initial objective of the recent contest, and in view of the failure of Yalta and Potsdam to protect Polish rights in other directions, it seems to me that any dealings we have with the Polish Provisional Government in any phase or aspect of our contacts should embrace within their jurisdiction a consideration of all these situations and a disclosure of authenticated facts as to what actually has happened.

There have not been free elections yet in Poland. So far as the reported information coming out of Poland is concerned, the head of the large Peasant Party confronts constant and desperately heavy pressure from the Polish Provisional Government to bring his party into one government ballot, so that there will be only one party in the election,

which is the typical totalitarian device for tyrannical control. We hear serious rumors from time to time, which Mr. Bevin acknowledged on the floor of the British Parliament, that political murder is being exercised in the liquidation of political opposition.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REP. MCCORMACK: Poland must have the freedom of a secret election of governmental leaders. Corrupt and illegal practices in elections, as defined in the laws of this Nation, should insofar as possible be eradicated from Polish elections to the end that the citizens of Poland may have a government of their own free choice in which they have pride and trust. The world needs the courage, the valor, the dignity and the faith which have inspired Poland throughout the centuries if the world is ever to enjoy universal peace.

REP. MARTIN: Today freedom-loving people in every country in the world sympathize with the people of Polish ancestry. They grieve with them that there is not the full freedom in Poland which it so justly merits. They deplore the loss of sacred territory and the domination of the country by an outside power. They regret no one held out in conference for their just cause.

A people who have waited for centuries will still cling tenaciously to the faith and the hope that justice will eventually come to Poland. And it will. Eventually Poland will stand once more among the nations of the world—a free nation—a nation which will not bear the shackles of any foreign power.

America should help to make this hope of the people of Poland become a reality.

REP. SABATH: The whole world will rejoice at the restoration of a national government, based on full popular support, which can begin to reestablish Poland, heal the wounds of war and strife and suffering, and bring about peace, prosperity and harmony to the ravaged people, and firmly reestablish freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of thought and speech and conscience.

REP. WASIELEWSKI: While the Poles await an election, their best people, political leaders, champions of democracy, are being assassinated, liquidated, thrown into concentration camps, or otherwise neutralized in the hope that the will of self-determination and self-government may be broken. If a free election were held in Poland today, even though more than 2,000,000 of her staunchest democrats are in voluntary exile, 90

percent of the people would vote against the puppet Soviet-controlled government now in power. Let us insist on an election now while some whole-bodied and sound-minded men are still available to restore dignity and liberty to a country that has sacrificed so often and so much in the cause of freedom.

REP. TRAYNOR: Poland for its valorship, its sacrifices, should receive aid to help her out in the reconstruction of its devastated cities and towns and given every aid to feed the starved people of that Allied Nation that fought arm and arm with the Allies. Further Poland should receive every aid that a free and unfettered election could be executed under the guidance of Allied occupational forces.

"It is a high privilege to bear witness to the debt which this country owes to men of Polish blood. Gratefully, we acknowledge the services of those intrepid champions of human freedom — Pulaski and Kosciuszko — whose very names are watchwords of liberty, and whose deeds are part of the imperishable record of American independence... They and the millions of other men and women of Polish blood, who have united their destinies with those of America—whether in the days of Colonial settlement, in the War to attain independence, in the hard struggle out of which emerged our national unity, in the great journeyings across the Western Plains to the slopes of the Pacific, on farm or in town or city—through all of our history they have made their full contribution to the upbuilding of our institutions and to the fulfillment of our national life."

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (October 11, 1937)

SOME CURRENT OPINIONS OF THE FREE WORLD

Pressure on Poland from "Truth" May 3rd, 1946.

The reason for Anglo-American pressure on Poland to hold "free elections" is difficult to discover. Western statesmen must know that Russia has no intention of releasing her iron grip on that unhappy country. There is little doubt that a free election would result in a sweeping victory for the Peasant Party, but, even if the Allied pressure were able to achieve this result, nothing would be changed. Russia, through the secret Police, would still be the paramount Power. What has happened in Hungary would be repeated in Poland. Soviet puppets would continue to hold the key-positions and use terrorism to supervise and control the policies of the majority party. The terms "free elections" and "democracy" have no meaning whatever in the Soviet-dominated lands. All that Western influence so far has been able to achieve is that some of the policed and circumscribed opposition leaders are kept alive, and in nominal office, instead of being liquidated outright.

A sombre reflection on Poland's failure to keep her word about the holding of elections in the first half of this year is that, on the strength of another Polish "promise" Mr. Ernest Bevin has used his best endeavours to persuade Polish troops in exile, to return home. It must be obvious to a man of Mr. Bevin's vast experience that promises made by a Marxist Government carry with them no moral obligation of fulfilment. Why the British Foreign Minister should have made himself responsible for passing on to our Polish friends the guarantee of a completely amoral regime is one of the many mysteries of the time.

More Strife in Poland from "Tribune" May 3rd, 1946.

Three weeks ago we reported, with relief, the agreement of the Polish Government parties on the forthcoming referendum. We regarded this agreement as a sign that political tension was relaxing and that genuine elections would be possible later in a calmed atmosphere. It seems that we were unduly optimistic. Strife between M. Mikolajczyk's Peasants Party and the bloc of the other Government parties has started again, and the conflict now looks more serious than ever.

In the referendum people are asked to say whether they approve of the abolition of the Senate, the Governments policy of nationalisation and

land reform, and the new Western frontiers. (Mention of the Russian Alliance was omitted from the 3rd question at the last moment.) On these questions, all Government parties are agreed. It appears, however, that the Peasants Party made its support of the whole plan dependent on the demand that the elections should be held on July 20th. The other parties propose to postpone them until the Autumn, and they regard the Peasant Party's insistence on early elections as proof that M. Mikolajczyk's friends are not interested in agreement, but in an electoral victory to be achieved with the help of the large Right-wing opposition which has no legal parties of its own.

Accordingly, a new campaign against the Peasant Party was launched when the Polish National Council met last week. The motion of the confidence in the Government, tabled after the Prime Minister's report, stated that the Government had achieved much "despite the lack of cohesion due to the Polish Peasant Party." Thus the Peasant Ministers were excluded from the vote of confidence; and, as a result, the Peasant deputies were pushed into the role of an opposition, and refused to support the motion.

Mud-Slinging

The debate was lively. The first Communist speaker immediately accused Mikolajczyk, as Minister of Agriculture, of responsibility for the shortage of seed grain and tractors which was hampering the spring sowing campaign. This was due, he said, to the fact that "Mikolajczyk's whole apparatus was being geared to opposition." A spokesman of the Polish Peasant Party, Banczyk, made an extremely aggressive reply. Repudiating the charge that his party was reactionary, he added that this word was being so much abused that it had ceased to be an insult, and was in danger of becoming a compliment. The Left-wing parties were pushing Poland towards a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the one-party State. This language, never yet heard in Poland from the spokesmen of the Government Party, was all the more startling as Banczyk had been one of those Peasant deputies who collaborated in the Lublin regime and had only rejoined Mikolajczyk after the latter's return to Poland. He now complained that the other Government Parties had not availed themselves of the chance of achieving true national unity which Mikolajczyk's return offered them. The strength of underground terrorism was not the cause, but the consequence, of the lack of law and order in the country it was wrong to attribute all acts of violence to "mysterious fascist groups."

To this, a Communist speaker retorted by accusing the Peasant Party of "something bordering on treason." They were accepting members of the fascist bands into their party; they were supplying information to "Poland's enemies" through their London contacts. Men who "ap-

prove statements by Churchill and Bevin, slandering Poland, cannot be called good Poles."

Who is the enemy?

This is not merely the usual jostling prior to an electoral campaign. This is the language of civil war and of the beleaguered fortress. Whoever criticises the regime is in league with the enemy—that is, Britain and America—who are accused of every form of violent intervention in Poland's internal affairs.

A few weeks ago, the Polish Prime Minister made the fantastic charge that the cuts in U.N.R.R.A. supplies to Poland were due not to the world food shortage, which was "greatly exaggerated," but to Anglo-American desire to put pressure on Poland. (Since then, this mischievous nonsense has been repeated by a Labour M. P., Mr. Zilliacus, in the even wilder form that the British Ambassador in Warsaw had said so!) Now the Communist Minister for Security, M. Radkiewicz has alleged that the underground bands were equipped with "brand new British arms and radio sets"—deliberately distorting the wellknown fact that large amounts of British equipment, left over from the deliveries made to the war-time underground forces fighting the Germans, are still circulating in Poland.

The question arises why the Polish Government should try to conduct an anti-British propaganda war along Goebbelsian lines. Britain has helped to bring this Government into being by signing and carrying out the Yalta agreement. She has used her influence to get as many Polish democratic leaders as possible to return home and co-operate loyally; she is doing her best, on the basis of an agreement negotiated with the Polish Government, to persuade General Anders' soldiers to go home. In exchange, we get a campaign of abuse which deliberately distorts the motive of every British action, and an internal regime which, incapable of achieving consolidation by winning confidence, resorts to blaming us for the unrest and anarchy its actions produce.

Maybe, the Ukrainians would care to bring this systematically hostile propaganda to the attention of the Security Council.

POLISH SOCIALISTS' FUTURE.

It is indeed, highly doubtful how far democratic Socialist parties will be able to exist in Eastern Europe if present trends of Communist policy there continue. After the wholesale liquidation of the East German Social Democratic Party, it seems now to be the turn of the Polish Socialists. Their official leaders, appointed during the Lublin period when the bulk of the party was still illegal, have allowed themselves to be

completely identified with a Communist policy which aims at "single-list elections" and seems prepared to smash peasant opposition to such a régime by intensified police persecution bordering on civil war. It is surely no accident that the veteran party and trade union leader, Zygmunt Zulawski, who took an active part in negotiating the present government of National Unity and has been working ceaselessly for an independent socialist policy of mediation between the Communists and the Peasant Movement, has now — together with his followers — resigned from the party's National Committee because he considers that party leaders have broken the agreement under which he and his followers rejoined the party last December.

One of the consequences of the increasing subservience of the official Polish Socialist leaders to Communist pressure is that they take their full share in the Government's anti-propaganda campaign. Here is an example, quoted from the Polish press, of a speech by Cyrankiewicz, the Socialist Party secretary.

"Comrade Cyrankiewicz stated categorically that British policy, if it was to have any influence in Poland, would tend to bring back to Poland the big capitalists and landlords, because government by them would suit best the interests of the British Empire—the interests of British High Finance. Cyrankiewicz also stressed the fact that the policy of Great Britain is directed towards strengthening Germany, and that together with General Anders' soldiers, the German SS-men, just driven out, would come back to Poland." Even Mr. Bevin's most violent critics in this country could hardly describe this as a fair and comradely criticism of his policy by a fellow Socialist. It is true that we have quoted from a Communist paper, *Trybuna Wolnosci*, and from the April Issue at that. We hope that Cyrankiewicz will use the opportunity of his visit to Britain whether to deny that he ever made such statements, or to convince himself that they are poisonous nonsense.

From the "*Tribune*" May 17th, 1946.

A PLACE FOR THE POLES.

Mr Bevin's statement on the future of the Polish Forces under British command comes at a time when the grounds for the refusal of most of them to return to Poland under the present conditions there have been made painfully clear. The Warsaw Provisional Government has made no effort whatever to endorse Mr Bevin's previous appeal to the Polish forces to return to their country. On the contrary, since that appeal, the Warsaw regime seems to have gone out of its way to emphasize its

antagonism to all pro-British and democratic elements in Poland and its determination ruthlessly to suppress all possible independent opposition.

Honest men like Mr Mikolajczyk and Mr Zulawski (his Socialist counterpart), who let themselves be persuaded to trust in co-operation with the Soviet puppet Government, have found their confidence abused and their position ultimately untenable. Only last week, two more provincial headquarters of Mr Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party were raided and closed down and their leaders arrested, to the accompaniment of threats of still more drastic measures against the party. Official anti-British propaganda continues and it is even reported that the British Ambassador was refused permission to fly back to Warsaw from Cracow, and his plane detained and damaged, after he had been made the object of a pro-British demonstration at the Cracow showing of the British film *The True Glory*. Hundreds of Poles were arrested for taking part in the demonstration.

In these ever-deteriorating circumstances, nobody can be surprised that the response to Mr Bevin's appeal to the Polish Forces in the West to trust the Provisional Government and go home has been negligible. Since the appeal only 6,800 men and women have volunteered to go home, making 30,000 altogether and leaving over 160,000 still under our command. Mr Bevin's assurance that he will endeavour to settle these in civilian life "in Britain and elsewhere" is welcome as far as it goes, but we cannot feel that is far enough to meet our obligations. British obligations to the Poles are twofold: to men who fought many of the bloodiest battles of the war on our side with exemplary courage and loyalty, never letting unceasing political strain and disillusion interfere with their discipline and devotion to duty; and to a nation on whom we bear part of the responsibility for imposing a regime of the kind now oppressing Poland.

Mr Bevin held out no positive hope of the offer of British citizenship proposed by Mr Churchill at the time of the fatal Yalta agreement. It is to be hoped that the Commonwealth has not yet said its last word on this matter. British citizenship could hardly compensate the Poles for the loss of their country. But it is the least — though probably by now the most — that we could offer. Failing that, it must be a charge on every British conscience to do the utmost in support of Mr Bevin's endeavours to resettle these Poles in civilian life in a manner to offer them at least security and an assured standing among us.

"Time and Tide" - May 25th 1946.

POLES FOR POLAND.

The puppet Government at Warsaw which Great Britain and the United States were persuaded to recognize as the legitimate Government of Poland, constitutes a monstrous abnegation of every principle for which we fought the war. It is tyrannous in the extreme and is certainly not supported by one per cent. of the Polish nation. We have had this week further evidence — if such is needed — of the detestation in which it is held. Out of General Anders' Polish Army of about 120,000 men only about 3,000 are prepared to return to Poland under its present Government, although failure to do so relegates them to perpetual exile and a future of blank uncertainty. The rest of the Polish forces still mobilized as a part of the Allied forces, amounting to some 100,000 officers and men, have also taken the decision not to return. Meanwhile, in Poland, we learn from the Warsaw Correspondent of "The Observer", that stricter precautions are being taken to protect Government officials from attack by "terrorists" within the country, and that "increasing disorder and tension have caused Russia to take a greater interest in the internal affairs of Poland". He also goes on to say apropos the referendum that out of 14,000,000 entitled to vote (and this number of course includes many Russians introduced into the country), only about 1,000,000 are members of the Communist and Socialist parties. And yet, in face of this overwhelming proof that practically all Poles long to see the end of the present puppet Government, our Foreign Office appears to be concerned only with what is to be done with the Polish soldiers, sailors and airmen who have fought for us, and where they are to live. Is it not time to suggest that, instead of scattering Poles all over the world, it might be more just and more natural to remove the cause that prevents their returning to their own country? How much more evidence do we need to show us that the Potsdam-created Government is a disgrace to civilization, and that, until it is removed and the legitimate Polish Government re-established, there will be no solution to the Polish problem, and nothing but dishonour and confusion for those who created it.

THE CONTROL OF POLAND.

Poland today is controlled through-out its length and breadth by the Ministry of Public Security. This Ministry was established on December 31st, 1944, by a bill of the "National Council" under M. Bierut, with M. Radkiewicz at its head. M. Radkiewicz is a member of the Communist Party of Western Byelo-Russia and an officer of high rank in the N. K. V. D. He has undergone a long and specialized training in

the Political Security Division of the N. K. V. D. in Moscow, later in the Soviet Military Intelligence and prison guard units, and finally at the Central Soviet H. Q. of the concentration camps. He is the virtual dictator of Poland, since besides controlling the Ministry of Public Security he countersigns all important decrees, bills, and orders of the Government and is also a member of several State Commissions. The Ministry of Public Security comprises five different departments:

- 1) the Internal Security Corps, which is based entirely on the Soviet pattern, is composed of two armoured regiments in Warsaw and Cracow; fifteen official regiments stationed in the large cities of Poland: and nine guard battalions. It is commanded solely by Russian N. K. V. D. officers, and its purpose is to fight all actual and potential opponents of the existing regime.
- 2) Public Security Offices. This organization covers the whole country, its offices being established in every town and village. Its task is complete control of the administrative system and the whole life of the country down to the smallest detail. It has at its disposal detachments of the Citizens' Militia.
- 3) The Citizens' Militia. This is a communist substitute for the pre-war police. It is commanded by two Communist Generals, one of them a Russian.
- 4) The N. K. V. D. or Soviet Secret Police.
- 5) Prison and Concentration Camp guards.

From the above summary it is easy to see the extent of power committed to M. Radkiewicz and his Ministry of Public Security, and how difficult resistance must be to methods of government detested by almost the entire populace. The idea that free elections could be held while this Ministry is functioning is absurd.

"The Weekly Review", May 23rd, 1946.

ABOUT POLAND'S INDEPENDENCE

NEWS - Springfield, Mass.: Light may be thrown on the situation when it is recognized that Poland, including what was taken over by the Soviets and what was left to the Poles, is really under the tutelage of Russia.

WORLD TELEGRAM - New York: It is true that Poland for the time being is under Moscow's thumb. It is true that the Communists,

though a minority party, dominate the Warsaw government; and that they are trying to perpetuate their rule by hook or crook.

PRESS - Forth Worth, Texas: But it is also true that the people want to be Poles and not Russian puppets, that the Communists and the Red Army are increasingly unpopular. To condemn the Polish majority for the faults of the minority, or for the folly of their giant neighbor, is unjust and unwise.

JOURNAL - Dayton, Ohio: In a note appended to the loan agreement, Poland pledges free elections this year along the pattern set down by the Potsdam agreement. The political end herein sought by the United States can hardly be considered selfish. There is no attempt to influence the course of that election; merely the assurance that it will be held. Self-determination of peoples is a principle to which we are deeply committed, and we are throwing our weight around a little to support that principle wherever possible.

VINDICATOR - Youngstown, Ohio: Success is dubious from a practical viewpoint also. Even if Poland's Russian-dominated regime holds really "free and unfettered" elections, it does not necessarily follow that a free government will result. Hungary's experience in the last few months is an object-lesson.

US. Error in Poland

In a formal declaration, submitted to Secretary of State Byrnes, on the eve of his departure for Paris for the conference opening today, the Polish American Congress, through its president, Charles Rozmarek, asked for the withdrawal of U. S. recognition from the puppet government, installed in Warsaw. This would seem like a logical step in the light of developments.

The Yalta decisions, as the memorandum points out, were made by President Roosevelt without the knowledge or consent of Congress and in direct contradiction to the Constitution of the United States. Therefore, they cannot be binding.

Moreover, the Soviet Union has not lived up to its pledges at the historic gathering. The Red Army is still in Poland. The Communist regime has not been broadened to constitute a representative government of national unity as proposed. Free elections have not been held. Terror prevails throughout the land. There is not the remotest possibility conditions will be fulfilled.

What has happened in Poland is no secret. The whole world is witness to the greatest tragedy of modern times. The government in Washington has taken cognizance of the situation by withdrawing an offer of credits because of flagrant violation of the terms, yet it continues to honor the Yalta pact which has no standing legally or morally.

How long must American continue to play the sucker role in the international drama. Must it go on indefinitely? Or, is there a limit? We think there should be.

The United States has been placed in a most unfortunate position by its participation in this crime. So long as we are a party to the Yalta agreement, we must share with the Soviet Union the blame for what is happening in Poland today. That makes this country an accomplice. Polish blood is on Uncle Sam's hands, though it may have been spilled by Communist usurpers in that martyred land. The nation's proud escutcheon is stained. It may be that we shall never live down this base betrayal of an old friend and noble ally, but at least we should make a beginning to wipe out this national shame.

This is not the opinion of Americans of Polish extraction. It is an opinion that is shared by a large segment of our population without Polish ties.

A frightful mistake was made at Yalta in the name of the United States. But there is no reason why this error should be perpetuated.

Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader.

WHAT IS FREEDOM

Is there the right to free expression of opinion and of opposition and criticism of the Government of the day?

Have the people the right to turn out a Government of which they disapprove, and are constitutional means provided by which they can make their will apparent?

Are their courts of justice free from violence by the executive and free of all threats of mob violence and all association with any particular political parties?

Will these courts administer open and well-established laws which are associated in the human mind with the broad principles of decency and justice?

Will there be fair play for poor as well as for rich, for private persons as well as Government officials?

Will the rights of the individual, subject to his duties to the State, be maintained and asserted and exalted?

Is the ordinary peasant or workman earning a living by daily toil and striving to bring up a family free from the fear that some grim police organisation under the control of a single party, like the Gestapo, started by the Nazi and Fascist parties, will tap him on the shoulder, and pack him off without fair or open trial to bondage or ill-treatment?

Mr. Churchill's farewell message to Italian people.

The territorial issue of Poland and the independence of Poland are both matters which are interwoven with British honour.

Mr. RAIKES M. P.

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