

The Polish Review

POLAND FIGHTS

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CITY SACRED TO THE HEART OF POLES WILNO . . .

WILNO, a city of Western culture, entered history in 1385, at the time of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, when on his marriage to Jadwiga, niece of Casimir the Great, the Lithuanian Prince Ladislas Jagiełło became King of Poland and founder of the Jagiellonian dynasty. Wilno had been the capital of a pagan State; but what was a mere village, built of wood and clay, rose to be a great and well-organized city after its union to Poland.

Under the patronage of Polish kings, Wilno became one of the most beautiful cities in North-eastern Europe.

Wilno is famous for its ancient University and many other beautiful relics of the past. In the Roman Catholic world it is chiefly associated with Our Lady of Ostra Brama, whose image, in the old Main Gate, draws pilgrims from all over the country.

At the beginning of the 19th century the University of Wilno, founded in the 16th century by King Stefan Batory, was the center of Polish life and culture. The faculty of mathematics, under the brothers Sniadecki, became famous throughout the world . . .

Wilno also led the way in Poland's youth movement. Polish university students formed patriotic and philosophical organizations, to which both Mickiewicz and Slowacki, two great Polish poets, belonged.

In his drama "The Forefathers", Mickiewicz describes the hardships and sufferings of the Polish youth of Wilno, imprisoned by Czarist Russia for their patriotic activities.

Our picture shows Wilno Cathedral, the work of a famous Polish architect. Wawrzyniec Gucewicz (18th century).



POLAND SPEAKS . . .

From The Underground Paper "Wolna Polska" (Free Poland)
of Jan. 28th, 1942

SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL declared in the Senate of the United States:

"The subjugated peoples of Europe lift up their heads again in hope! All classes and creeds await the hour of liberation when they, too, will once again be able to play their part and strike their blows like men! That hour will strike and its solemn peal will proclaim that night is past and the dawn has come."

Above all we must never for a moment forget that the present war is a total war and that no one, not even women, can be exempted from participation in it, from contributing all that is in his or her power to Victory. Especially with us, this war in its last armed stage, will call for determined effort and active deeds of all classes, groups and parties...

Only by a common, desperate and united effort shall we be able to make up for our lack of war equipment and the overwhelming force of the enemy.

This is a war in which the whole population is engaged, and the nation as a whole is in duty bound to take an active part in it. There can be no talk of voluntary war, as in 1918-1920!

Whosoever fails to comprehend his duty or

to carry it out will find no place in Polish land or in the new free life of Poland. We are fighting for the very existence and structure of the Polish nation, for the common good of all its citizens, that later they may organize it according to the will of the majority—to the greater glory of Poland and for the happiness and prosperity of all her people. The uprising of the nation must not take the form of individual and isolated activities; we do not want a repetition of former unsuccessful insurrections.

The short time that separates us from the final settlement with our enemy — time that flies all too quickly — must be devoted fully and entirely to the preparation and organization of our forces for a general mobilization. A factor of paramount importance in this mobilization is the building to a maximum of the spiritual forces of our nation; that one and all we may be ready to do our duty and fight when the call comes. Spiritual forces will give us the strength to conquer.

We call for a general spiritual mobilization!

The hour of armed conflict is fast approaching. Only by hard fighting shall we regain our lost freedom. Disciplined participation in this struggle, is the moral obligation of all and every one of us!

WOLNA POLSKA

ORGAN Z. O. R.

Rok III.

28 STYCZNIA 1942 R.

Nr. 4 (39)

J.C.T.

DUCHOWA MOBILIZACJA NARODU

Z mowy Churchilla, wygłoszonej w Senacie Stanów Zjednoczonych, jasno wynika, że w planach i rachunkach wojny z Niemcami bierze się pod uwagę udział okupowanych krajów Europy w rozstrzygającym stopniu działań wojennych.

Premier brytyjski mówił: „Narody Europy zaczynają podnosić głowę. Nadzieja z powrotem zawładnęła ich sercami. Niezależnie do ciemności i do wszelkiego rodzaju Quislingów jest tak duża, że jedynie z trudnością przychodzi im powstrzymać się od orężnego działania. Chwila jednak działania nadejdzie, a kiedy pocznie się zbliżać damy im znak. Będzie to znak do zgodnego i decydującego...”

My, tu w Polsce, lepiej, być może od innych, rozumiemy sens tych słów i wnikliwiej odczuwamy logiczną konieczność czynnego udziału w walce z okupantem. Do walki tej przygotowuje się nasz kraj niemal od chwili 1939 r., a w zgodnej opinii ogółu polskiego bodaj niema już dziś wątpliwości i wahań przed podjęciem tej walki.

Nie wszyscy jednak wyobrażają sobie jednakowo charakter działań zbrojnych w kraju. Wielu jeszcze sądzi, że powstanie dokona się wyłącznie za sprawą oddziałów wojskowych polskiej armii podziemnej, czy też tej, która nadejdzie z emigracji, a ogółowi społeczeństwa przypadnie w udziale wzniesienie bram tryumfalnych i patriotyczne manifestacje na cześć zwycięzców.

Starając się o tak konieczną dziś, trzeźwą i rzetelną ocenę naszych warunków i sił, w szczególności duchowych, stwierdzać musimy, iż tego rodzaju nastawienia tkwią niestety w psychice społeczeństwa głębiej, niżby się to mogło wydawać.

Słuszność codziennych naszych obserwacji w tym względzie zdają się potwierdzać doświadczenia wojny polsko-rosyjskiej 1920 r. a więc z przed niepełnych 22 lat, w ciągu których niewiele zapewne zmieniło się w psychice społeczeństwa.

Pamiętamy powszechny entuzjazm i zapał bojowy, jaki ogarnął Polskę w krytycznych dniach najazdu rosyjskiego w lipcu i sierpniu 1920 r., a przecież siły bojowe, jakie mogły być użyte w krytycznym momencie w bitwie pod Warszawą, obliczono z wielką rozpiętością zaledwie na 120 — 180.000.

A LAW FOR CONQUERED PEOPLES

THE GERMAN CRIMINAL CODE FOR POLES AND JEWS

IT IS not possible, within our limits, to survey the legislation and jurisdiction of the German occupant authorities in its entirety, even if we confine ourselves to the case of Poland. But we may examine one specific example of the application of German juridical principles to subjected nations, namely the new criminal code introduced for Poles and Jews in the "incorporated" areas of Poland. We have taken this particular example for three reasons: first, because it is one of the most recent instances of German law; second, because it is not of a temporary character, but is a "law" which is to remain permanently in force, and that in a sphere which is fundamental to any legal system, namely the sphere of criminal law; third, we possess a peculiarly interesting commentary to this law, in the official statement of the German Under-Secretary of State in the Reich Ministry for Justice, Dr. Freisler. In this statement he sought to provide a theoretical and pseudo-scientific basis for the code.

What is the basic conception on which this German legislation for the Polish nation is founded? In Dr. Freisler's view, the basic conception is the duty of Poles to be obedient to the German authorities. This code is not intended, as Dr. Freisler stresses, to be a manifestation of national public morality, it is not intended as a basis for the Poles' ethical attitude to their own nation. Its sole object is to compel obedience to the orders of the German authorities, to orders issued not at all in the interests of the Poles, but in the interests of Germans and the German Reich. As the German commentators indicate, it is a question of compelling the Poles to observe their fundamental obligation, which is labor for Germany, service for German State and national ends.

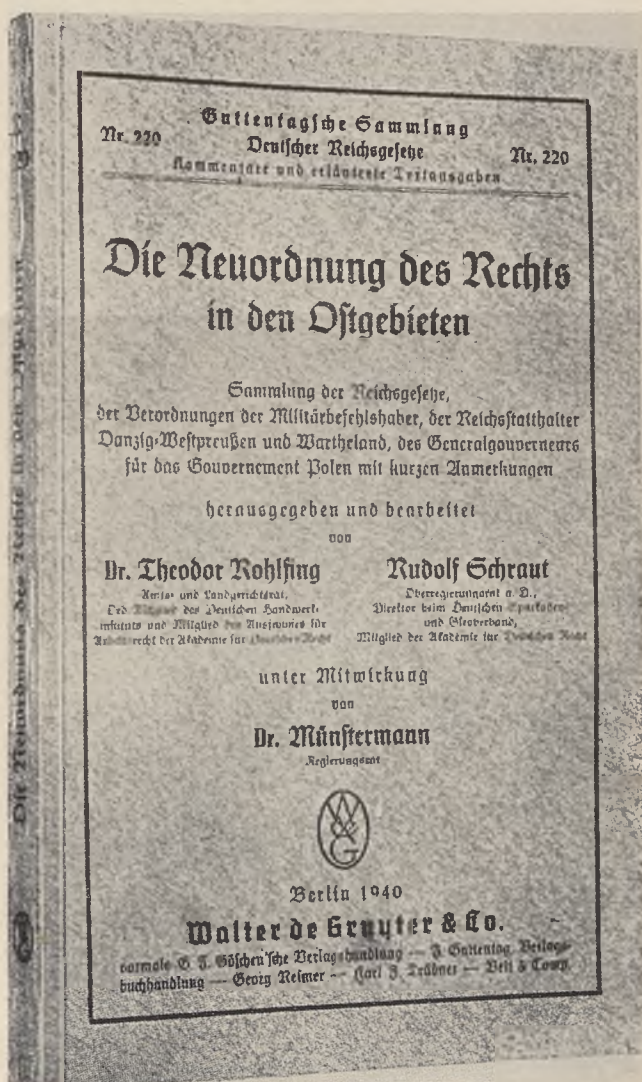
How is this fundamental objective to be achieved? Irrespective of whether Poles are subject to all the prescriptions of the German criminal code, they are also subject to special criminal code prescriptions for what is called "Polish crime." For instance, any act of violence committed by a Pole against a German as such irrevocably entails the death sentence. The death sentence is applicable also (and this is the most important prescription of the new code) in all cases of "demonstrating a hostile attitude to Germanism," especially for the expression of unfavorable opinions of Germanism or Germans, the tearing down or mutilation of official notices, and for any behavior intended to cause detriment to the German

State or the German nation. In minor cases sentence to deprivation of liberty may be pronounced.

There is the cardinal and greatest "Polish crime" that can be committed: the manifestation of an attitude hostile to Germans. And yet the German treatment of Poles is such that only a Pole deprived of all feeling of honor could be other than inimically disposed to Germans, and could willingly and zealously carry out their orders.

The further prescriptions of the new criminal code are in fact only a development of this guiding prin-

(Please turn to page 4)



The title page of a German official publication containing the decrees and regulations (Verordnungen) imposed by the German authorities on the Polish occupied territories.

"LAW IS WHATEVER BENEFITS THE GERMAN NATION; ILLEGAL IS THAT WHICH IS DETRIMENTAL TO THE GERMAN NATION."

DR. HANS FRANK

"Governor General" of the non-incorporated Poland, former Minister of Justice.

(Continued from page 3)

ciple, and formulate certain special cases of "showing hostility to Germans." Here we only mention two characteristic prescriptions. Under the first, the death sentence can be pronounced even in cases for which the code provides lighter punishment, if "the crime is particularly serious." In this case the death sentence can be pronounced even on juveniles. The second prescription provides that lighter punishment can be imposed if the criminal's act is directed against the criminal's own nation.

The procedure laid down in the code is also characteristic of German law. Fundamentally, neither the court nor the public prosecutor is restricted to the prescriptions in the criminal code which lay down the procedure to be followed. They must depart from these prescriptions whenever that seems requisite to ensure a swift and final conclusion of the case. And further, only the public prosecutor can appeal from the sentence, not the accused. And the appeal may never go to the highest instance, the Reich supreme court, which, as the commentators explain, does not exist in order to occupy itself with the local problems of Poles. Finally, as they also declare, Poles have no right whatever to demand that German courts shall be occupied with their cases; so any Pole who is the victim of a crime cannot bring a charge against anyone in a German court. These courts are to function against him, not for him.

Thus we see that the basic principle of the National-Socialist conception of law, as formulated by Dr. Frank, namely, that law is what is beneficial to the German, and illegality is what injures the German nation, has been applied with the utmost consequentiality in this monument to the German juristic spirit. The legal position of the Polish population is regulated only by the idea of the German national interest, without any thought whatever for the interests and good of the Polish nation as a whole, or of a Pole as a human individual. It may well be asked whether in the light of these prescriptions the Pole is even to be regarded as a human being, and whether he is not rather an inferior being.

To such practical results does the consequential application of the National-Socialist doctrine of law lead.

Criticism of the National-Socialist juristic doctrine from the scientific aspect is so easy that it

would seem almost unnecessary. That doctrine is based on two fundamental assumptions, neither of which is, or can be, scientifically justified. It is based on two assumptions which undoubtedly are outside all general conceptions of law. The first is that of the racial superiority of the German nation to all others; the second is that Adolf Hitler is the most perfect, and in fact the infallible incarnation of the German national soul, that soul which alone can be the root source of the German legal system.

Neither of these basic theses of National-Socialist juristic doctrine has anything in common with science, or with the science of jurisprudence in particular. They are both nothing more than a matter of belief and faith. The events of which all humanity is today a witness prove that they are, in fact, a matter of belief and faith for the great majority of the German nation, and especially for the German youth, who have been educated in a spirit of incredible fanaticism and brutal mysticism.

What is the explanation of the fact that this faith has become so generally accepted? It can only be that Hitler has appealed to the instinct for rule and domination, the love of struggle and the cult of force, which lies in the very depths of the German national soul. The legal system and the conditions of existence which the National-Socialist movement has created for the German nation would be completely incomprehensible if this movement were devoted to the objects of peaceful development. On the other hand, this system is in perfect harmony with the phenomenon of war. War essentially requires the subordination of all soldiers without reservation to the orders of the leader; war requires that they should renounce not only their own will, but even their own lives at the order of the leader. Feeling instinctively that Adolf Hitler would lead them into a war for the domination of the world, into this war which the Germans desired with all their hearts, and which is in accordance with their inborn instincts, for several years before the war the Germans subjected themselves to a system which turned the German nation into one great war machine. Only when regarded from this aspect does the National-Socialist juristic doctrine become intelligible and possible. Equally with aeroplanes, tanks and guns, the Nazi juristic doctrine is part of the armament of Nazi Germany. And after this war it will suffer the same fate as awaits the German materials of war: it will go to the scrap heap.

"THE WILL OF THE FUEHRER IS THE LAW."

MARSHAL GOERING

AH, HOW THEY DANCED!



AH, how they danced!

Those Cracoviennes, with their frolicsome hop-skip-and jump measures, and the quick lilt of their clean-cut, tinkling, metallic tunes; and the terse ditties, full of fun and freedom, with which, like the spangled girdles of the peasantry who made them, they are so brightly studded—those tunes welling with joyous, dashing melody, redolent of the strong, abounding, audacious savour of youth in sportful pursuit of the thrilling emotions that tell of the heyday in the blood.

And those Mazurs, long-drawn-out as the paths which streak the endless plains, wind-clamorous and vast as the endless plains they streak: lowly, yet heaven-kissing; melancholy and bold, magnificent and sombre, stately and fierce, genial, warlike, full of discordances, like the peasants nature, set in battle array, united as a forest and rushing to dance with such joyful clamors and wonderful strength as could attack and overcome ten times their number, nay, conquer, sweep away, trample down the whole of a

hostile world, nor reck though they themselves be doomed, and fall, but still carry on the dance after death, still stamping as in the Mazur—still crying out aloud: "Oy dana, dana".

And oh, those Obertases — short of rhythm, vertiginous, wild and frantic, warlike and amorous, full of excitement mingled with dreamy Languor and notes of sorrow; throbbing with hot blood, brimming over with geniality and kindness, in a sudden hailstorm; affectionate voices, dark-blue glances, springtime breezes, and fragrant wafts from blossoming orchards, like the song of fields in the young year; making tears and laughter to burst forth at the same time, and the heart to utter its lay of joy, and the longing soul to go beyond the vast fields around her, beyond the far-off forests, and soar dreaming into the world of All Things, and sing ecstatically the burden, "Oy dana, dana".

And all these dances, beyond the power of words to describe, thus followed one after the other, so that our peasantry might make merry in season . . .



From "PEASANTS", by WLADYSLAW S. REYMONT, Nobel Prize for Literature.
Paintings by ZOFIA STRYJENSKA.

SZYK'S WEAPONS OF WAR



THE MADMAN'S DREAM

When his famous collection of cartoons: "The New Order, 1941" was published, *The New York Times Book Review* said:

"Arthur Szyk, famous Polish artist, is well known in Europe and America as an illustrator and also for his work in illumination. In cartoons he continues with ferocious descriptive skill to be an illustrator, and with sad ruthlessness of veracity he subjects the 'New Order' to the illumination of the X-ray. Here is the terrible bestiality of today's aggression, set forth with polished and relentless art.

"After the peacetime years spent in the peaceful labor of his vocation as artist, Szyk, who is now 47 years old, has returned in this war to an

activity which engaged his young attention in the last one. But in becoming a cartoonist 'for the duration,' he has kept to the technical method of fully elaborated drawings, and with his masterly talent and devastating penetration the combination produces a result that is unique. Not with the simplicity of caricature but with a medieval sedulousness of detail, a finished perfection, these pictures portray the world's tragedy. Death and hideous violence are here, of course, hand in hand with their comrade-henchmen Hitler and Goering and the rest; but this is utter tragedy as well as overwhelming disaster. The dictators and their minions are seen in their own de-humanization; and under their deadly sway man himself is not only beaten and tortured but — as we see in these faces — destroyed from within."

Thomas Craven, one of the foremost art critics of today has this to say:

"Arthur Szyk is one of the most original artists now working in the field of political cartooning . . . He makes not only cartoons but beautifully composed pictures which suggest, in their curiously decorative quality, the inspired illuminations of the early religious man-

uscripts. His designs are as compact as a bomb, extraordinarily lucid in statement, firm and incisive of line, and deadly in their characterizations . . . He concentrates his powers on people — on Hitler and his gang, fixing the guilt where it belongs and creating an immortal record of inhuman conduct and organized savagery.

"In all his cartoons there is a note of strange pictorial tragedy, a sad ferocity of utterance which to me indicates an artist of naturally noble and gentle instincts compelled by the highest dictates of his conscience to express his horror of butchery and ruin, of spiritual corruption and systematic evil. These are remarkable documents. I wish that they might be placed in the hands of every American both as a confirmation of faith and an incitement to action."

And Rollin Kirby, who for more than a quarter of a century has been New York's foremost newspaper cartoonist, and will always be remembered for his savage indictment of Germany in the columns of *The New York World* during the last war, says:

"Arthur Szyk's cartoons are different from anything ever turned out in this country. They have a powerful Gothic quality and the detail is superb. I think that this is indeed an excellent collection."

No less a person than Sol Bloom, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives, wrote the foreword to the catalogue of the Szyk Exhibition in Washington. He said:

"The work of Arthur Szyk is really a one-man Renaissance in itself, for this great Polish artist has recreated the exquisite art of illumination, which for three centuries has been considered lost like the secret of the great



"WAR OF NERFS! JAWOHL! — BUT THE BRITISH HAF NO NERFS!"

stained-glass windows of Europe's cathedrals, or the peach-bloom glaze of Chinese porcelain.

"And yet, although his work compares in every detail to the delicate perfection of the illumination of the early monastic manuscripts, it is no mere slavish copy, but a strong and essentially modern expression of the artist's own personality."

HIMMLER'S HYMN OF HATE!

O MY GERMANY, thou must engrave in thy soul a hatred profound and ineffaceable. Stifle in thyself all human sentiment and speed to the battle.

O Germany, hate! Slaughter thy adversaries and build a monument of smoking corpses rising to the clouds.

O Germany, hate now! Take no prisoners! Transform the neighboring countries into deserts.

O Germany, the time has come for hate! Battalions, batteries, squadrons, all forward! Then thou shalt review them on the ruins of the world, healed for ever of thine ancient folly, of pity for foreigners. Heinrich Vierordt



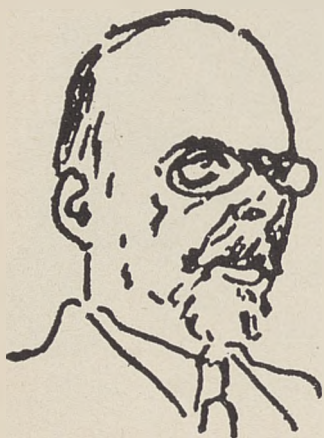
PROTECTIVE CUSTODIAN



SZYK AUTOGRAPHS GEORGE STAMPS FOR THE FIRST OF THE LAND

WHAT ABOUT GERMANY'S FUTURE?

THE VOICE OF A GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVE



For the past several months Round Table discussions have been held in New York by prominent representatives of countries suffering from the Nazi German dictatorship.

During these discussions Professor Foerster* expressed the following views:

I AM very pessimistic as to the effectiveness of any guarantee that Germany might offer to the victors after the war. There is too much wishful thinking in this regard. The present state of the world is due not only to barbaric violence but also to twenty years of illusions, resulting finally in the victory of the vanquished.

Open disarmament of the police and secret rearmament of the bandits has been the result of Geneva pacifism. But this immense psychological error is not yet fully understood, and as a result the world seems doomed to fall anew into the same blunders. The pacifists of all countries say: Versailles produced Hitler; therefore, we must above all avoid a new Versailles; if more concessions had been made to democratic Germany, nationalism would not have succeeded in winning the German people. All this talk is void of any knowledge of the German people. Of course, in the economic field Versailles committed dangerous blunders, but on the whole it was not too severe, but too soft. It failed to exact any real guarantees capable of stopping a revival of Prussian militarism and it was wholly impotent to hinder the flow of millions of marks, which were due as reparations, into an overwhelming campaign of propaganda which poisoned the German people, divided foreign opinion, and prepared the coming of Hitlerism. No amount of concessions would have satisfied the nationalists or deflected them from their ultimate aims; they preferred to take the chances of total war in the hope of attaining total domination. Will they be converted by a new defeat? It would be frivolous to build the new order on such illusions.

The German Socialists always say that the majority of the German people is peace-loving. What difference does that make if it is the dynamic minority that always prevails? The German people are so peaceful that they have never offered the least effi-

cient resistance to their misleaders. The science and practice of power in Germany is the monopoly of the military caste and its disciples and followers. Unless you put this dynamic minority for more than twenty years under some form of international control, represented by a British governor at Berlin, nothing will save the world from a third upsurge of madness, supported by the intimidated masses of Germany and its ever-obedient intellectuals.

Is it not incredible that after all that has happened Friedrich Stampfer, former editor of *Vorwärts*, official organ of the German Socialists, still seeks to distinguish between Hitler and the German people, as if the German people have the privilege of committing monstrous crimes and then throwing the responsibility on their leaders! Stampfer says the good German people have fallen into the hands of an adventurer who has woven his spell over them. Does he not see that if this is so, there is all the more reason why the German people must be put under international tutelage, so that they and the rest of the world may be protected against any new adventurer who might lure them into a third devastation of Europe.

I know that the idea of a foreign governor controlling Germany will provoke strong protests from many sides, as if I were proposing the enslaving of the German people. But the decision of the tortured nations not to allow any possibility of a new eruption of the German volcano will be so powerful and irresistible that it will not be deflected by the German habit of crying out in alarm whenever effective means are devised to forestall new German crimes against the world. Germany may enjoy full economic and spiritual liberty but it must be deprived of its political *Selbstbestimmung* for at least twenty years. This will be the only effective lesson.

Reprinted from "Free World"



THE "NEW ORDER" by A. Szyk

* Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster, formerly professor of philosophy at the University of Munich and German Minister Plenipotentiary to Switzerland under the Weimar Republic.

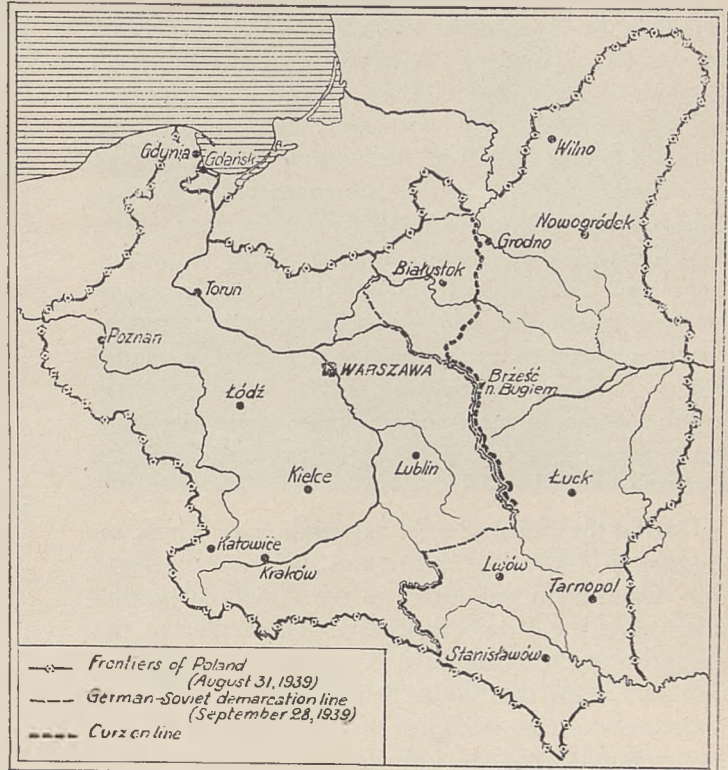
POLAND'S EASTERN BOUNDARY

By ADAM PRAGIER

THE Treaty of Versailles, signed when Soviet Russia was not recognized by the Allied and Associated Powers, did not determine the Polish-Russian frontier. Great Britain and France, reckoning with the possibility of a Tsarist restoration, were unwilling to create difficulties for the future régime in Russia by fixing a western frontier which might prove inconvenient. Article 87 of the Treaty of Versailles therefore left it to the principal Allied and Associated Powers to determine at a later date those Polish frontiers which remained undefined in the Treaty, and in particular the frontier between Poland and the former Russian Empire. To obviate to some extent the inconveniences of this provisional state of affairs, the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers on December 1, 1919, authorized the Polish Government to organize a regular administration in the eastern territories within a temporary line of demarcation.

Two facts in the decision of the Supreme Council should be borne in mind: (1) The temporary demarcation line did not cover the whole length of the Polish-Russian frontier: in the south the frontier between Eastern Galicia and Russia was left completely in abeyance. (2) The Supreme Council explicitly stated that Poland was entitled to claim land lying to the east of this line. Obviously the Council wished to retain a free hand with regard to the Polish-Russian frontier, and to make a decision only when it was clear whether the Soviet system had come to stay or whether the monarchy would be restored. As for Eastern Galicia, this province never belonged to Russia, and the decision could entail no territorial loss to Russia.

The demarcation line fixed by the Supreme Council started at the point where the old frontier between Russia and Austria crossed the River Bug. It then followed the course of that river to the border between the county of Bielsk-Podlaski and Brześć nad Bugiem, and thence along the border of the county of Suwałki to the old Russo-German frontier. This line is shown on the map above. It was not called the "Curzon line" until July 11, 1920, when in the midst of the Polish-Soviet war Lord Curzon, the



British Foreign Secretary, appealed to the Soviet and Polish Governments to halt their troops 50 kilometres to the east of that line. As there was no demarcation line in Eastern Galicia, Lord Curzon suggested that the belligerents should stop on the line reached on the day of the signing of the armistice.

The fortunes of the British mediation effort and of the "Curzon line" which was connected with it were strange indeed. The Soviet Government remembered that the Allied Powers had until fairly recently supported intervention in Russia and had prevented the fixing of a Polish-Russian frontier in the Treaty of Versailles, in the hope of seeing Tsarism restored.

On January 30, 1920, that is, immediately after the decision of the Supreme Council, the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, in a declaration to "the Polish Government and people," proclaimed its "unconditional and unreserved recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Poland" and expressed its readiness to halt the Soviet armies along a line much farther east than the "Curzon line." It ran along the Dryssa River, and through the towns of Połock, Borysów, Cudnów and Bar. The "Cicerin-Lenin-Trotsky line" was the Soviet reply to the "Curzon line."

When Lord Curzon made his mediation offer the Soviet Government stated, in its reply despatched on the same day: "The Soviet Government denies to Great Britain the right of mediation in view of her
(Please turn to page 10)

RUSSIAN PLEDGES

"Russia's attitude towards Poland's right to independence did not arise from fortuitous and temporary military and diplomatic circumstances but from the inviolable principle of the right of every nation to determine its own destiny."

LENIN (Jan. 30, 1920)

"The rebuilding of a great and powerful Poland is a paramount necessity."

STALIN to Sikorski (Dec. 4, 1941)

(Continued from page 9)

military intervention in Russia, and declares that it is ready to grant Poland a frontier which is more favorable than the line of demarcation suggested by Lord Curzon on the ground of the decision of the Supreme Council of December 8, 1919." The Soviet Government even regarded the persistence with which Lord Curzon adhered to the decision of the Supreme Council as evidence of the influence of the Russian counter-revolutionaries in the British Foreign Office. Shortly afterwards, on August 5, 1920, Kamenev, the People's Commissar, in a telegram to Mr. Lloyd George, stated that the Soviet Government emphatically adhered to its recognition of the freedom and independence of Poland, and also to its good will to grant Poland wider frontiers than those resulting from the temporary delimitation of the Supreme Council.

During the Polish-Soviet negotiation at Minsk, on August 19, 1920, the chairman of the Soviet Delegation, Danisevski, submitted to the Polish delegation a proposal for a new frontier much farther to the east than the "Curzon line." At the time this suggestion was made the Soviet delegation was still unaware that the victorious advance of the Soviet forces had suddenly changed into headlong flight. In the course of the subsequent peace negotiations at Riga, Joffe, the new chairman of the Soviet delegation, reiterated Russia's rejection of the "Curzon line." The Polish-Soviet frontier fixed in the Riga Treaty runs east of the "Curzon line," and, on the other hand, does not reach at any point the demarcation line proposed in the Cicerin-Lenin-Trotsky declaration of January 30, 1920. The moderation shown by both parties in delimiting the frontier, which was almost equidistant from the two demarcation lines, was clear proof that the Riga peace was not imposed by force, but was the result of a compromise. When it became clear to the politicians of Paris and London that the Soviet régime had come to stay and that there was no hope of restoring Tsarism, the Western Powers recognized Poland's eastern frontiers on March 15, 1923. That was the end of the "Curzon line."

The Soviet-Polish frontier was again recognized by Soviet Russia when she signed the Polish-Soviet non-aggression pact on July 25, 1932; this was renewed on June 5, 1934. This treaty was to run until the end of 1945, but it was abrogated by the U.S.S.R. on September 17, 1939, when Soviet troops invaded Poland. It is to be assumed that the Polish-Soviet agreement of July 30, 1941, which ended the state of war between Poland and Russia, has restored the non-aggression pact.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the facts mentioned above:

(1) The "Curzon line" was never intended to be

the frontier between Poland and Soviet Russia. At first it denoted a temporary line within which Poland was authorized to set up a normal administration. Later Lord Curzon, in his mediation proposal, suggested that the Polish forces should halt along this line.

(2) The delimitation made by the Supreme Council specifically reserved Poland's right to territorial claims east of this line.

(3) Soviet Russia consistently refused to recognize this line, and even denounced it in official documents.

(4) Throughout the Polish-Soviet peace negotiations neither side ever mentioned this line.

The "Curzon line" was in no way connected with the question of nationalities in the adjoining territories. In the British Press, however, the view has been expressed that this line equitably divided the areas inhabited predominantly by Poles and Russians (or Ukrainians). The population on both sides of this line is mixed: it is Polish, Ukrainian and Bielorussian (White Ruthenian). The percentage of Russians is negligible. The area between the "Curzon line" and the Polish-Soviet frontier (excluding Eastern Galicia) is 134,000 sq. kms., and it has a population of about 6,000,000. Of these 2,000,000 are Poles, 1,500,000 Ukrainians, 900,000 Bielorussians, 550,000 Jews, and less than 100,000 Russians. In addition, there is a number of small groups. This area cannot be described as predominantly Russian, and if any national predominates it is the Polish, both on account of its numbers and its economic and cultural importance.

It has been stated in many articles that Russia had occupied Polish territories up to the "Curzon line" in September 1939, and then had deliberately stopped because of the ethnographic character of the line. This is incorrect. The Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland was actuated by strategic rather than ethnographic motives. The German-Soviet line of demarcation coincided with the "Curzon line" only in the middle reaches of the River Bug. To the north and south of this sector the boundary of Soviet-occupied Poland extended farther west. The Soviet occupied part of Poland had roughly 13,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 5,280,000 were Poles, 4,500,000 Ukrainians, 1,120,000 White Ruthenians, 800,000 "local natives" of no definite nationality, 1,110,000 Jews and only 130,000 Russians. Here, too, the Poles form the most numerous group, while the Russians are a negligible minority.

These territories belonged to Poland always or for long centuries. Most of them never belonged to Russia or only during the comparatively short period of Poland's partitions.

I FLEW OVER FRANCE

THE channel seemed so narrow that it could be jumped over. The weather was fine, and a mass of clouds was wandering below, so the French coast was visible as though it was in the palm of our hands. We crossed it, having B., on the left of us, and after a slight turn to the left we flew into the interior of France. Every one of the pilots strained his eyes and stretched his neck as much as possible, as it is a question of seeing and surprising "them" first, and not giving them a chance to surprise us. That is the first rule for all fighters.

Shortly we all saw at once several tiny objects moving in our direction, but considerably lower which gave us the second plus in fighting. Superiority in height is the second rule for the fighter in a battle. The tiny objects grew larger and larger and in no time we identified them as Messerschmidts. They supposed they were unnoticed and would try to pass and gain altitude to attack us from the rear and sunny side.

Over the radio came the voice of our Commander: "Hello wasps, hello wasps, we attack on the right and downward."

The pilots made quick turns and 12 planes dove wide open on the German planes, every one of us choosing his man.

The Messerschmidts broke in panic, but too late.

We were already sitting on their necks.

Several duels had been waged, which as a rule last only seconds, but they seem like ages. Generally the one wins who surprises his enemy, who has tactical superiority, and greater stubbornness and endurance.

I cannot give the entire picture of the fight, as it is impossible. Only some observer by means of magic could do that. This would make him invisible and if he were in some invisible plane, soaring over the battle — high over the earth, he would be able to witness all the engagements.

My "partner" in the war dance made a right turn, and going down was escaping into the depth of France, trying to reach the salutary clouds as soon as possible. Near him flew another Messerschmidt, but my neighbor took care of him.

Following him at full speed — I had to catch him before he reached the clouds — my thoughts and wishes seemed to increase the speed of my plane. The speedometer showed over 400 miles per hour—



not a bad speed at all. I vowed he would not escape me. The Messerschmidt became larger and larger . . . closer and closer — I got him in my sights quietly, as a fighter cannot be nervous or excited, and fired a long series from my two cannon and four machine guns.

A second of waiting. From the enemy plane appeared first white, then later deep black smoke, a piece of tin plate flew away from his wing, and at this moment he fell into the clouds.

I was very anxious to know what had happened to my adversary. However, I could not satisfy my curiosity, because a second Messerschmidt came into my path, whom I jumped and was able to fire a short series at him before he could hide in the clouds.

I looked around and found that I was alone.

It is unpleasant to be alone over strange territory, especially when the gas is getting low and when one has only a small supply of ammunition. I also made a dive for the clouds, and under their protection I reached the French coast. Near B., I came out and saw an airdrome directly below me, a great hangar was opened in my direction with a large number of planes. The temptation was too great. I dove at full throttle and pulled up close to the ground, firing the remainder of my ammunition into the open doors of the hangar. I passed the French coast, still flying low at great speed. For the moment I became warm, I may say very warm . . . around me I saw a lot of black smoke and streaks. So the ground artillery from B., fired at me. I made a sharp right turn, and

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POLISH TROOPS DISEMBARKING FROM A BRITISH DESTROYER



From the snow covered plains of Russia to the torrid African desert, Polish soldiers are fighting for their country and their freedom. In Poland, France, Norway, England, Palestine, Canada, Egypt, Russia, Iran, Libya, wherever the United Nations are fighting or assembling their hosts, Polish soldiers are to be found.

I F L E W O V E R F R A N C E

(Continued from page 11)

flew parallel and close to the coast and to the positions of anti-aircraft artillery. Probably they were swearing at me as much as they could, for with such great speed they were unable to make corrections on me and therefore they couldn't hit me. I sympathized with their madness, but at the same time I congratulated myself upon getting out of this dilemma without a scratch.

Having reached a quiet spot, that is, a place out of range of anti-aircraft artillery, I took the course to England and, with snake-like turns, for it is always necessary to look all around you, I reached the steep Dover coast, glittering in the sun.

After several minutes flight over England, I was over our airdrome.

Upon landing, the mechanics came running to help me put the plane in its proper place, and on their faces I could see great curiosity. I did not know whether I had shot down my Messerschmidt, therefore I could not give them the signal by looping over the airdrome — a signal accepted by fighters. However, in accordance with the English custom, I raised my thumb smiling at them. — X X X

TO OUR READERS

In order to complete files for Public Libraries, and other institutions the Polish Information Center will be greatly obliged to any of its correspondents who can furnish it with copies of early issues of *The Polish Review* and *The Polish Feature and News Service*.