

# The Polish Review



## 2,500,000 POLES NOW SLAVES IN GERMAN REICH

In a recent issue, the Polish underground paper, "Czyn," gives the following information about Poles doing forced labor in Germany:

"By the end of June, 1943, more than two and a half million people had been deported from Poland to the Reich and only a negligible percentage were what Germans refer to as 'volunteers.' Most of them were victims of mass deportations and street manhunts, Polish slaves seized and carried off to Germany.

"Also doing forced labor are large numbers of Polish prisoners of war treacherously removed from stalags and internment camps in Rumania and Hungary under pretext of being returned to Poland.

"These include Polish prisoners of war handed over to Germany by Russia before June, 1941, and Poles taken from prisons and concentration camps and sent to Germany. Finally there are many children under thirteen—so many that at one time this even evoked opposition from the Arbeitsamt, for the lowest age limit had been fixed at thirteen.

"A decree issued on June 27, 1941, ordered the recruiting of youths between 14 and 16, but a circular of March 23, 1942, said that younger and weaker lads might also be taken. It is impossible at this moment to estimate the number of workers of minorities taken from Polish territory. Up to the time of the Russo-German war no distinction was made. This was changed after June, 1941, when the so-called district of Galicia was incorporated in the Government General. It is safe to say, however, that they only represent a very small percentage.

"Many among that vast mass of two and a half million people are already dead. They rest forever in foreign soil. Many have been sent back, as human material exploited to the full, sick people no longer able to work or in the final stages of tuberculosis. Many have escaped. Escapes are frequent. Those who are caught are sent to penal camps, where the death rate is enormous. If they return from there they are either invalids for life or die within a few months of their release. There are many such camps. Legal basis of slavery—for in Germany even murder is dressed up in legal guise—is provided in the decree of October 31, 1939.

"The declaration by Sauckel, German Employment and Labor Chief, that Polish workers in the Reich had the same rights as

## General Sosnkowski Salutes Poland's Avenging Eagles

On the 25th Anniversary of the Polish Air Force General Sosnkowski, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces, issued the following order of the day:

"Air-men!  
"On the Fifth of November, the Polish Air Force celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary. On that day, twenty-five years ago, the first Polish plane took off on its first operational flight.

"The Polish Air Force was born in the fire of battle, when the supply of personnel and equipment was insufficient and yet, although weak and poorly armed, it contributed greatly to establishing frontiers of the Republic. Not many of those who laid the foundations of the splendid traditions of our Air Force are alive today.

"Many of that first formation died gloriously on the battlefields of this war, among them—to mention only one—that gallant Polish pilot, Col. Pawlikowski, a splendid airman, a perfect leader and a courageous soldier.

"Names like Bastyra and Torun have been inscribed forever in the glorious annals of the Polish Airforce. Pre-war activities and work of training and organizing the airforce added new names, as Idzikowski, Szalas, Zwirko, Wigura. For the Airforce there is no rest and continuous training often demands as many victims as operational flights.

"It should be remembered that the first ten years of the Airforces' existence tore eighty per cent of its original personnel from its ranks. Men trained by the first Polish airmen proved in 1939 that they were the worthy successors and rightful heirs to the honorable heritage of the Polish Airforce won at such cost on the battlefields of 1918 and 1920 and on the air routes of the world.

"During the September campaign in Poland, the Polish Airforce in its fight against tenfold enemy superiority lost 78 per cent of its material and many crews, but inflicted such losses on the enemy that he was unable to play his trumps for many months.

"The Polish Airforce, faithful to its tradition of ceaseless fighting, was reformed first in France, then in Great Britain. Fighting without intermission it is winning immortal fame and by its heroism is bringing glory to Poland's name throughout the world.

"In the course of its twenty-five years of existence the Polish Airforce has served its country well. The ideal of flying for Poland whom you serve connotes ideals of the greatness and might of the Polish Republic, and ideals of a future well-ordered Poland, founded on right and justice. That ideal also connotes contact with the world and the breath of freedom and space.

"Mankind expects that after the war aviation, with its vigor and far-reaching possibilities, will give the world a new and finer character, insure a lasting peace for nations and introduce into international life new moral values, above all, the sense of contact and unity of the world.

"Poland also expects this of you. She also awaits you yourselves with great longing, because she knows you will be the first to bring news of freedom and victory to your native soil. This day is approaching apace but before it comes there are still many difficulties to be overcome, many sacrifices to be made.

"Side by side with our Allies, wing to wing with the Royal Air Force, our comrades in battle and victory, we shall reach our goal! Your triumph will be complete!"

German workmen is an absolute lie. Poles are not even regarded as foreigners. A Polish worker in the Reich is a slave branded with the letter 'P'. His living conditions are appalling. It is literal starvation. He has no cigarettes. Some are so hungry that they would give up everything they have for a piece of bread.

"Polish slaves in Germany are subject to special 'laws.' In accordance with the brutal decree of February 27, 1943, sick Polish workers returning from Germany are not entitled to any of the assistance provided for the Danish, Dutch, Norwegian, French and Rumanian workers. For the past nine months all leaves for Polish workers have been stopped on the grounds that travel conditions are difficult. The real reason is the effort to prevent desertions after leave which had assumed mass proportions just before the decree was issued."

## 1,400 POLISH WOMEN KEPT ON NIGHT WORK

In one of the great Wuppertal factories 1,400 Polish women have been employed in making arms for Germany since 1941, have not had one night's sleep, because they have been kept continually on nightshift.

German women or other foreigners relieve them during the day when the raid danger is much less.

This is not all, for Polish women are always quartered on top stories where the danger from bombs is the greatest. The food received by Polish women has no nutritive value (turnip soup every day, very seldom semolina cooked in water sweetened with saccharine).

## HORODYNSKI MURDERS ARE PAID IN FULL

On October 13th, Martin Fuldner, a German, was executed with his wife and child by the Poles at Chorzowice near Rozwadow. They had been sentenced to death by the Directorate of Underground Resistance.

Fuldner was an Administrator of Seized Property and had been placed in charge of the Chorzowice estate, adjoining the Zbydniow estate, belonging to the well-known Horodynski family. Wishing to obtain control of the latter estate as well, Fuldner staged the murder of the entire Horodynski family by accusing them of hiding two Polish guerrilla fighters.

On June 24th when the family was gathered to celebrate a wedding, the Gestapo massacred 22 Poles in all, including three Horodynski children. For this reason Fuldner's wife and child were included in the death sentence.

Two high German officials from the Government General in Cracow were forced to attend the execution. They were seized by the Polish underground authorities just for this purpose and were later released.

## JEWISH REVOLT IN TREMBLINKA, GERMANS SLAIN

Details are now available of the amazingly successful revolt of the Jews in the notorious Tremblinka concentration camp. In this camp the Nazis had installed the latest equipment for large-scale murder, including asphyxiating gas chambers in which thousands of Jews perished.

A month ago when the Gestapo ordered a number of Jewish young men and women to board the murder wagons they all refused to go. In the confusion that followed one of them hurled a grenade at the guards. This was the signal for attack. Immediately fire was opened on the Germans.

A number of Polish underground fighters lying in ambush joined in firing. The Jews broke through the camp gates and attacked the guards and the police. A number of Germans were killed and many Jews fell, but quite a few managed to escape. Before they left they destroyed the murder wagons.

The German police offer high rewards for information that will lead to the arrest of the escaped Jews.

Like the rising in the Warsaw Ghetto it will go down in Jewish history as one of the most heroic episodes of the Jewish struggle against Hitlerism.

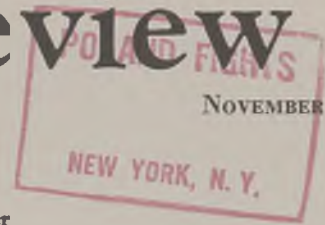
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## NOVEMBER ELEVENTH

by J. P. JUNOSZA

THE twenty-fifth anniversary of Poland's reborn independence finds our country in the fifth year of bondage and resistance. From 1772 to 1920 Poland fought unrelentingly for freedom, and in her twenty brief years of independence after the world war, she strove continually to maintain this dearly bought but evasive freedom. For freedom is indivisible. There can be no freedom in a world where totalitarian nations live side by side with free nations.

We Poles are proud that we have never fought for conquest. In the past we fought as we are fighting now, and ever shall fight, to recover and preserve what is ours. And the most valuable estate alike of individuals and of nations is freedom. World history made Poland a cross-roads that has known the tread of invading hordes from east and west, from north and south. Often our homes have been destroyed by fire and sword, our men and women murdered. Out of the ashes arose new dwellings for new generations, and the blood-drenched fields grew green again and swayed with golden bread-giving grain.

If good neighbors have always found us ready to cooperate, our hands willingly outstretched to help, we have but one answer to aggression—whence ever it comes—the unyielding resistance of a united country.

After the partition of Poland in the 18th century, the aggressors sought to explain the crime committed on the living body of the then most liberal country in Europe. Again in 1939, the two aggressors, who perpetrated the fourth partition of Poland, also sought to justify their aggression. One of them loudly proclaimed her desire to liberate several hundred thousand of her nationals, a small and disloyal minority among 35 million Polish citizens. Whereupon Germany threw off the mask and began cynical tirades about *Lebensraum*,—living space for the “master race.” The other veiled her real aims by a plea of strategic necessity. After which, she strove to return to the situation created 150 years previously by the joint efforts of the Empress Catherine and Frederick of Prussia.

Twenty-five years ago, when peace settled over the rest of Europe, we began a two-year struggle to make our Polish boundaries safe. Devastated by a world war that had raged on our soil, such vital forces had been kindled in Poland that they could be withstood neither by the already demoralized German Army nor by the armies of the Russian revolution that threatened to engulf Europe in a Red deluge.

From the Kosciuszko Insurrection, through the Uprisings of November, 1830, and January of 1863, through the independence battles of the Militants of 1905, to the exploits of Pilsudski's Legions and the two-year struggle under the First Marshal of Poland—the Poles fought for freedom. For



freedom they fought on their own soil and on foreign soil, and the world hailed them as “champions of liberty.” They fought with saber or carbine; they fought with pen, words or melody. In words, our poets forged weapons trenchant as steel; in words, our writers carved heroes of the past in granite; on canvas our painters projected the history of our nation's greatness; in organ-toned tumult of sound our musicians carried to the world, the charm, the sadness, and the heroism of the Polish soul.

From our long struggles we have learned two great lessons: freedom is indivisible, and man himself must fight for his freedom. Poles have always been and will ever remain a nation that to live in freedom, would rather face death arms in hand, than kneel before an aggressor—and die as a nation.

Thus, when Germany threatened our freedom, Poland was the first country in Europe to resist aggression. From September 1, 1939, the Poles have fought on without a moment's interruption at home and beyond the Polish boundaries.

(Please turn to page 14)

# T W E N T Y - F I V E Y E A R S A G O

**T**WENTY-FIVE years ago this month, as the world celebrated with delirious joy the Armistice that terminated four years of bloody conflict, the people of Poland were greeting the beginning of happier days under an independent government of their own. For, Armistice Day is also Polish Independence Day, marking the rebirth of Poland after 123 years of partition by three powerful empires.

Ever since the victories of the Central Powers over Russia in 1915, all of Poland was under German and Austrian occupation. In a futile effort to woo the Poles to their cause, the Central Powers created out of the Polish territories formerly held by Russia a semi-independent "Kingdom of Poland" and set up a Regency Council of three prominent Poles to govern the "Kingdom" from Warsaw.

The liberation of November, 1918, climaxed the events following the peace of Brest-Litovsk signed by Germany and Russia on December 15, 1917. This peace provoked sharp demonstrations in Poland against the occupants. A portion of the Polish legions under General Jozef Haller fought their way from Austria to Russia and united with General Dowbor-Musnicki's independent Polish corps there. General Haller proceeded to France to head the Polish army organized in that country to fight with the Allies. Already in 1917, the latter had recognized the Polish National Committee formed in Paris by Roman Dmowski, and Wilson had proclaimed his famous "Fourteen Points" on January 8, 1918.

On June 3, 1918, the Allied Powers issued a declaration that the restoration of a united and independent Poland with free access to the sea was a condition of European peace.

In the fall of 1918 the World War entered its final stage. Events moved with startling rapidity. Turkey was granted an Armistice on October 30. Austria-Hungary was out of the war by November 3 and freedom came to Southwestern Poland and part of Silesia. On November 7th a provisional government of workers was proclaimed at Lublin by Ignacy Daszynski, the Socialist leader. The same day the Regency Council in Warsaw issued a manifesto proclaiming the principle of Polish independence and demanded of the Germans the unconditional release of Jozef Pilsudski, organizer of the Polish Legions, in Magdeburg Prison since July, 1917. Four days later Germany signed the Armistice and the war was over.

But in Warsaw the days immediately preceding the Armistice were momentous indeed. When the news came through from Berlin that the Revolution had broken out and that the Kaiser had abdicated, Polish civilians and armed units of the Polish Military Organization began to disarm the Germans, taking over buildings and institutions that were in enemy hands. Von Beseler, German Governor General, and his staff fled to Germany in the night of November 10, leaving his army without orders. On the morning of November 11, Pilsudski arrived in Warsaw and was greeted by the people of the capital as the man of the hour. In the afternoon, the Regency Council placed the supreme

command of the Polish armies in his hands. During the night a delegation of German soldiers presented themselves to Pilsudski declaring they were ready to evacuate Poland immediately with their families and requesting safe-conduct. The brazen, arrogant bullies of a few days ago were now humble, frightened and begging for their lives. The Polish ultimatum that all German material of war be left behind and that all Polish railroads be turned over to the Poles, was accepted the following morning by the Soldiers' Councils, formed after von Beseler's desertion. 80,000 crestfallen Germans began an exodus from Warsaw and Central Poland, unmolested by the Poles, who had given their word that these overbearing products of German militarism would not be harmed.

For several days the Regency Council continued to hold power, but bowing to the will of the people, resigned on November 14 and in a public announcement transferred its full powers to Pilsudski. The latter named Jędrzej Moraczewski, Prime Minister, and on November 22 a decree was issued by the new Government that Poland was to be a Republic. It was at this time that Lwow returned to the bosom of free Poland after three weeks of fighting and disorder.

Western Poland won its way to freedom a month later. When Ignacy Paderewski returned to Poland at the end of December, a popular uprising in Poznan swept everything before it. A few weeks later he became the head of the Polish government.

Dmowski and Paderewski were named delegates to the Paris Peace Conference, which began its sessions on January 20, 1919. On February 10, the first Parliament of the reborn Polish Republic met to draft a Constitution. Pilsudski handed over his powers to this Parliament, which unanimously named him Chief of State, limiting his power to military matters.

The ability of the various groups in Poland to bury their political differences, the cooperation of Dmowski, Paderewski and Pilsudski helped appreciably to further Poland's cause at the Peace Conference, and to secure for her in the Treaty of Riga of March 18, 1921, the boundaries that were hers in September, 1939.



Disarming the Germans in the streets of Warsaw on November 11, 1918.



Polish student volunteers replaced disarmed German guards.



Manifestation in Warsaw in November, 1918, celebrating the recovery of Polish Independence.

# FORDHAM ADOPTS LUBLIN UNIVERSITY

FIGHTING was still going on in Poland when on December 9, 1918, the Catholic University of Lublin opened its doors to Polish students. The idea originated with Father Idzi Radziszewski, then President of a Catholic Seminary in St. Petersburg. He laid his plans before Karol Jaroszynski, a wealthy Polish philanthropist, who immediately placed at his disposal the funds necessary to found an university in Poland.

On July, 1918, Father Radziszewski left St. Petersburg for Warsaw where the newly established government of Poland granted him permission to organize an University anywhere in Poland. Lublin was selected, having been the seat of Polish culture in Eastern Poland, throughout the long years of foreign domination.

For the first three years of its existence, the University was temporarily housed in the Catholic Seminary in Lublin. In 1922, it moved to new buildings erected on the site of a military hospital, which had once served as barracks for the Russian garrison. Lecture halls, dormitories and the Professors' House were modern and up to date in every respect.

Soon after its foundation Lublin University was granted full equivalence in recognition of its high scholarship and the excellence of its teaching. It was maintained by the Catholic Episcopacy of Poland. Poles in America contributed generously to its support and Countess Potulicka donated her estate to the University.

Lublin University had faculties of:

1. Theology.
2. Canon law.
3. Law, with branches of social science, history, moral philosophy and economics.
4. Humanities with branches of philosophy, philology, history, Polish philology, romance languages and German.

Only graduates of Catholic theological seminaries were admitted to the faculty of theology, which offered them either a two-year curriculum for the degree of licentiate of theology or a four-year curriculum for a doctorate.

The faculty of canon law also required its students to be graduates of theological seminaries and its two-year curriculum was sanctioned by a licentiate. An additional year of study, with the presentation and successful defense of a thesis were necessary for the degree of doctor of canon law.

The requirements for admission to and graduation from the degree courses of the other two faculties were the same



Corridor in Lublin University.

## LUBLIN REDIVIVUS

*Here in an alien room—alien but kind;  
Alien in soil and speech, but not in mind—  
White eagles tremble to a haven-pause,  
Battered by blasts, heart torn and beak and claws,  
And almost pinionless; but with a pride,  
A dignity, and a firm faith beside,  
That shame the judges of mere dress or face.  
Rust corrodes iron so there is small trace  
Of the initial element; but dust  
Is the proud badge of pilgrims—and the dead.  
Dust is a temporal tarnish whose thin crust  
Breaks into light, as sun stalks thunderhead.*

*Here on an alien peak, the eyes strain far  
To glimpse a toppled eyrie, but no star  
Shines in a flaming sky. The past is not.  
For all who seek the truth this is the lot  
Leading to exile and to martyrdom.  
The answer to "Quo vadis?" is: to come  
Into a land where past and present meet,  
Weary but eager, on unstepping feet.  
The present cannot keep tradition thrall.  
Over the rubble and the corpses hear  
Triumphant challenging of trumpet call:  
Bronze beauty deathless for the future ear.*

*Here at a tortured hour, a life to tend  
Is in our hands. The body scars will mend:  
The mind, though shaken, is again alert;  
The steadfast soul can never suffer hurt.  
A University is thought, not walls,  
Not tree-lined paths, not ivied lecture-halls,  
Not manuscripts—not even men. And why  
Not men?—The roll call surely gives the lie.  
One man, a hundred, are too few to seize  
Time firm. Truth's spirit, only, outlives age.  
No human voice can outlast centuries;  
No word, however deep-cut on the page.*

*Louvain, Tomás, Manila, Lublin—each  
Lives on in spirit, safe from oblivion's reach.*

**THOU WILT STRETCH FORTH THY HAND AGAINST  
OUR ENEMY'S IRE:  
THY RIGHT HAND SHALL ONCE MORE LIFT THE  
PHOENIX FROM THE FIRE.**

**JAMES EDWARD TOBIN,  
Head of English Department,  
Fordham University.**

as for similar faculties in other Polish universities.

In addition to the four faculties summer sessions in Economics and Agriculture were given with great success.

By 1921, Lublin faculties could boast of 53 professors, all specialists in their own field.

Like other Polish Universities the Catholic University of Lublin attached great importance to international cooperation. To that end students and professors of the University were sent to foreign Universities and students and professors of foreign Universities came to the Catholic University of Lublin. Representatives were sent to International meetings like those of "International Student Confederation" and the "World's Student Christian Federation." The University benefited from the "European Student Relief," as did many other young universities in Europe.

Apart from its purely academic aspects, the life of the university encompassed a variety of social interests. There were twenty-nine fraternities, debating societies, art and sport associations and ideological groups.

Lublin University Press published many special works and theses by professors and students. At the time of the German invasion the University Library contained 145,000 volumes, including a valuable collection of books and manuscripts presented by Count Jerzy Moszynski.

Now both the University and its library have shared the fate of all other Polish schools. The University is closed, the treasures of its library taken to Germany, the rest of its books burned. Its professors arrested, deported or murdered.

On October 31, 1943, a symbolic adoption of the Catholic University of Lublin was celebrated. Historic paintings and flags were presented to Fordham University by the General Pulaski Memorial Committee under the Chairmanship of John S. Pateracki for the Lublin room which was formally dedicated on Sunday on the Fordham campus. On this occasion Fordham conferred the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws on Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, Polish President, represented by Jan Ciechanowski, Polish Ambassador to the United States.

Fordham seeks by this unique gesture to "keep alive that great and ancient tradition of Polish culture which the invader has sought systematically to annihilate. It provides on its own campus a hallowed spot where Lublin can find an honorable refuge until the day of Victory and Peace when all the Universities of Poland will light their lamps again."

The Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S.J., President of Fordham University, delivered the Address of Welcome, and explained why the Polish University had been singled out from among the many universities in Europe.

"If you would ask why Poland instead of some other occupied country was chosen," he said, "we should answer that Poland is closer to the United States than any other European country occupied by the Nazis. Poland is close to the



Wing of Lublin University.

United States in spite of the difficulties arising from phonetics. As regards art and literature, Americans are hardly conscious that Polish art and literature are not their own. When they read the Russian novels of Chekhov, Gogol, or Dostoevsky, when they ask for Rimsky-Korsakov they realize that they travel in Europe. But Conrad and Sienkiewicz belong to us. When we read the "Nigger of the Narcissus," "Lord Jim," or "Nostromo" we feel it was written by an American. Our boys raved about Wolodyjowski, they loved the heroes of "Fire and Sword." Chopin and Paderewski are in every American home, like something we have written ourselves.

"But even more striking is the similarity of political ideals. We hear only too often the old slander always brought up by Poland's enemies: 'It is a country of peasants kept in slavery by a small aristocracy, that does nothing but fight and quarrel.' The facts are that Poland was the first country in Europe to elect its kings, the first to organize education for the masses, one of the first to free the serfs and the first to set up a Constitutional Government based on the rights of the common people. Those were the ideals for which Kosciuszko fought in Poland and in the United States. It is precisely because Russia, Austria and Prussia could not tolerate the thought of a free republican parliament, that they partitioned Poland.

"There are many peasants still in Poland, but they are the type that would improve any country. They are spiritual, shrewd, brave. It was the peasants of Poland who made the right choice when the Bolsheviks offered to give them the whole country. They chose order rather than revolution, and it is to the Polish peasants that we owe the fact that Poland did not become a red bridge for Bolshevik Russia.

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Ambassador Ciechanowski accepting for Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, President of Poland, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the Reverend Robert I. Gannon, President of Fordham University. Next to the Ambassador is the Most Reverend Stephen J. Donahue, Auxiliary Bishop of New York.

# PAINTERS OF POLAND'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

by WACŁAW HUSARSKI



"1863" by Jacek Malczewski

*Editor's note:* This article was written in 1928, on the tenth anniversary of Poland's regained independence. Eleven years later, a new war, more horrible than any Poland had ever experienced, laid in ruins what the collective effort of the Polish nation had achieved in twenty-one brief years of freedom. Artists in Great Britain, America, the Near East and the Polish underground have already begun to publish drawings showing Polish heroism during the German attack in 1939 and the bloody occupation that followed. Perhaps out of this conflict will emerge someone great enough to warrant inclusion in the hall of fame of Polish artists who painted their people's struggle for independence.

NATIONAL ideals first found expression in Polish painting on the eve of Poland's loss of independence. It was Jan Piotr Norblin who first put a national event on canvas in his "Proclamation of the Third of May Constitution" and thereby set an example for all future painters of Poland's long and bloody struggle for independence. But while the constitutional assembly in the Royal Castle in Warsaw impressed him so profoundly that he reproduced its session with exaggerated fidelity of detail, the military events of those days moved him even more, and he recreated them all, from the "Battle at Zielence" to the "Massacre of Praga, Warsaw." Such compositions as "Scythe-bearers at Raclawice" showing Bartosz Glowacki, who put out the fuse of a Muscovite cannon with his hat, and the touchingly simple "Kosciuszko Taken Prisoner at Maciejowice" show that Norblin really felt the greatness of the hour, the lofty plane of Polish heroism, the tragic depth of Polish defeat.

These battle scenes held a dual interest for him: a battle painter by early training, Norblin now found a rare opportunity to test the rules for painting human conflict given him by his former teacher, Francis Casanova. In his many illustrations of the Kosciuszko Insurrection, Norblin did not wholly reject the rules laid down by his master, he retained the accepted scheme of composition even when portraying the most soul-stirring events but the element of realism dominated conventional composition. His pictures of fighting in the streets of Warsaw are drawn from personal observation or from accounts of reliable eyewitnesses. In addition to its artistic value, this Norblin cycle is of great historical importance.

The theme of the Kosciuszko Insurrection, along with its treatment, was inherited from Norblin by his most talented pupil, Aleksander Orłowski, who was not only a painter of, but an actual participant in the events of 1794. He recreated those events with such truth and emotion that they rank among his best works. Despite a certain awkwardness in draughtsmanship, or perhaps because of it, his "Fight in Krakowskie Przedmieście on April 17, 1794" is amazingly alive; his "Raclawice" in the Rapperswil collection in Switzerland, where it is erroneously catalogued as a work by Casanova, surpasses in forceful expression and dramatic intensity the drawing on the same subject by Norblin.

Another artist who painted episodes of the Kosciuszko Insurrection from personal observation was the self-taught Michał Stachowicz, an 18th Century primitive. His famous "Oath of Kosciuszko in the Cracow Market Square," with all its naiveté, has in it the thrill of a great historical moment and the charm of utter sincerity. These same traits characterize Stachowicz's paintings from the days of the Duchy of Warsaw.

The works of Norblin, Orłowski, and Stachowicz depicting the events of 1794, are realistic. January Sucho-



DEPORTATION OF STUDENTS TO SIBERIA

by Jacek Malczewski

Kossak in an entirely different way. Like the popular French master his tendency was to idealize reality. The rounded, somewhat exhibitionistic gestures, the harmonious arrangement of the groups, revealed the touch of a born impressario. But behind this veil of slightly theatrical idealism lay a deep feeling for truth and life that never failed the artist, even in his most conventional work. An illustrator of inexhaustible verve and versatility, Juljusz Kossak touched upon every aspect of the fight for independence, from the Kosciuszko Insurrection to the Rising of 1863. His favorite subjects, however, were the dashing lancers of Prince Joseph Ponia-towski and the lively Cracovian peasants.



KOSCIUSZKO AT RACLAWICE, AFTER THE BATTLE VICTORY OVER THE RUSSIANS (1794).

by Jan Matejko

dolski, a painter of the struggle for independence, opens the romantic epoch with its equally dramatic but more theatrical conception of historical painting. This tendency to arrange scenes to suit the rather inexact dramatism of Horace Vernet, is strongly marked in paintings illustrating the military deeds of the Duchy of Warsaw. Suchodolski was a captain of infantry in the insurrection of 1831. His paintings of this uprising are a frank and direct expression of what he felt, but even here reality is influenced by the obsession of pitched battles à la Vernet.

Vernet influenced Juljusz



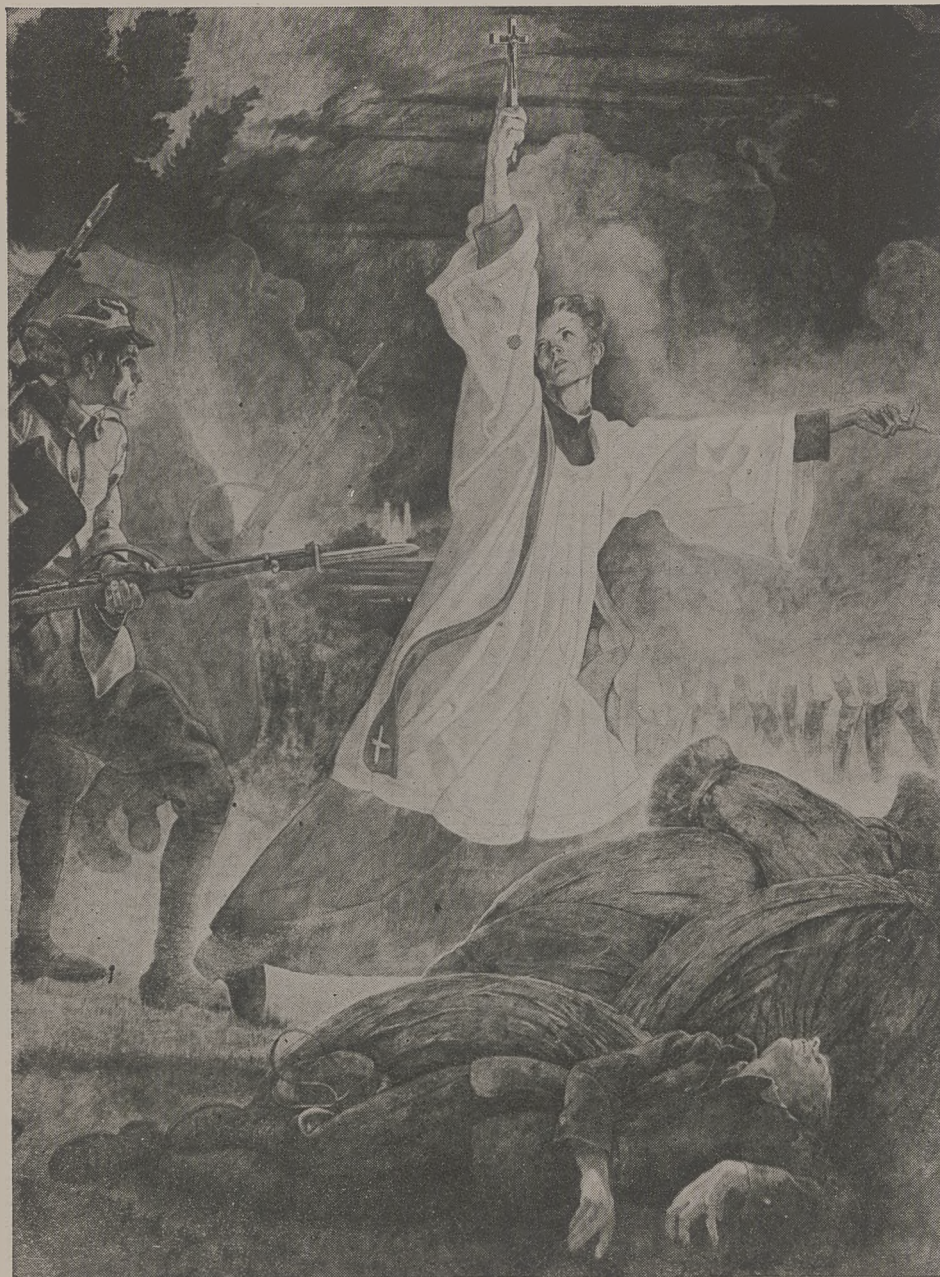
THE INSURGENTS (1863).

by Artur Grottger

There is a wide gulf between Juljusz Kossak's pleasing patriotic idealization and the heights of romantic pathos reached by Artur Grottger and Jan Matejko. Matejko, the Giant of Polish painting, painted Poland's fight for independence only once—in "Kosciuszko at Raclawice." This canvas, in the artist's later style, is not considered one of his best works, yet contains some magnificent peasant types, aflame with victory. Closely related to Polish independence are two other paintings having a rare force of expression, even for Matejko: "The Prophecy of Wernyhora," stirring in its mood and dramatic gesture; and "1863," with admirably contrasted groups of Polish victims and Muscovite hangmen, and exceptionally noble allegory of Poland in chains.

We come now to the artist whose name is forever linked with the tragedy of the January Uprising in 1863. Artur Grottger, for all his talent and knowledge, was not one of the best Polish artists. As painter and draughtsman his work is not free from conventional idealization and sentimentalism. Wherein then, lies this artist's greatness? How comes it that a small drawing, or a picture with no unusual quality of execution, can have become an epochal work and offered spiritual food to generation after generation? The greatness of Grottger's works lies in their complete fusion with the emotional mood of the nation in one of the sublimest moments of its history. Thanks to it, the artist, who seldom rose above acceptable rectitude, became a seer reading with infallible intuition the nation's very soul. Other Polish artists, painting the Rising of 1863, were able to reproduce the course of events and episodes with amazing truth,—

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by Jan Henryk Rosen

DEATH OF FATHER SKORUPKA IN THE BATTLE OF WARSAW (1920).

(Continued from page 9)

something Grottger never even strove to do. But he alone, because of his rather lachrymonious idealism, caught the spirit of these events, the combination of sentimentality and lofty faith, the longing for martyrdom and heroism, the almost angelic purity that revealed itself so wonderfully in this great romantic gesture of the Polish nation.

Truthfulness and accuracy in depicting the struggle for independence was, of course, the characteristic of the following naturalist period. This is especially striking in the paintings of Maksymiljan Gierymski. His "Pickets," "Outposts," "Alarms in Camp" have the direct quality of works painted from life. Gierymski also knew how to make the Uprising of 1831 live again.

Obviously influenced by Gierymski were the paintings of scenes from 1863 by Witkiewicz, Antoni Piotrowski, and Ryszkiewicz. A tone apart in their severe, almost provocative naturalism, are the famous "Stages on the Road to Siberia" and "Exiles" painted by Jacek Malczewski in his first period. The naturalist school showed a special predilec-

tion for the struggle for independence; Zygmunt Ajdukiewicz and Jan Styka painted the Kosciuszko Insurrection. The year 1831 was painted by the super-accurate Jan Rosen and his antithesis—the sweeping Wojciech Kossak. Unlooked for skill in historical reconstruction was disclosed by Jozef Chelmonski in his one and only historical painting "Raclawice," a subject also painted by Włodzimierz Tetmajer.

With the end of the naturalist epoch, the independence theme in Polish art underwent further evolution. In the period of Young Poland, at the turn of this century, painting of actual battle scenes became increasingly rare; in their place came the symbolism—usually of martyrdom and the dawning hope of resurrection. This gave Polish art Stanislaw Wyspianski's "Polonia" and for all the later creations of Jacek Malczewski, one of the most striking being the apparition of an exile in chains and prison garb, returning after years of suffering to his liberated native land.

An apparition that vanished with Poland's rebirth, when the dawn of hope was kindled into the sunny radiance of joyous reality.

... Poland had to live through the most terrible of national tragedies before her artists, stirred to the very depths of their souls by the trials and afflictions of their Motherland, felt the imperious urge to recreate, by the genius of their imagination, what they had lost through the brutality of Might overpowering Right. An additional circumstance, but of no small importance, contributed to a more rapid Polonization of creative art and gave it a more expressive character. Many Polish artists left their country, for the German and Czarist "Reign of Terror" was more than their artistic natures could stand. Exiled, uprooted emigrated without hope of return, they were incurably homesick, but this yearning

for their native land proved an exceptionally powerful stimulant to their creative imagination, that ever and always sought its inspiration in their distant Motherland. This trend, so obvious to anyone conversant with Polish literature of the XIXth century, is equally conspicuous in Polish painting of the same period: as witness an Orłowski sketching magnificent figures of Polish horsemen, even on restaurant menus, for which English collectors pay their weight in gold; a Grottger whose admirable engravings, a graphic epic of the Polish insurrection of 1863, are piously treasured in the Budapest Museum; a Brandt, who paints with loving talent the picturesque scenes of Polish rural life, for the greater joy of Austrian art-lovers; a Wierusz Kowalski made famous by his wolves howling in the moonlight on the snowy plains of Poland.

—Sigmund St. Klingsland.

# POLISH ARMED FORCES: 1918-1943



1918: One of the first units of the Polish Army formed after the expulsion of the Germans. In the background is the Royal Castle, later the official Warsaw residence of the President of Poland.



1938: Polish light horsemen on maneuvers.



# POLISH ARMED FORCES: 1918-1943



1943: Polish airmen, pride of the Polish Armed Forces.



1943: Polish infantry in battle dress.



1943: President Raczkiewicz inspecting the Polish Navy.



1943: Polish Motorized Units.

"On the 22nd day of January, 1917, in his message to the American Senate, the President of the United States said: 'Statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, autonomous Poland.'

"My modest contribution to that momentous happening consisted in the writing of a memorandum on the Polish question upon the request of Colonel Edward M. House. On Monday, January 8th, he said to me, 'Next Thursday I am going to leave for Washington, and I wish to have with me your memorandum on Poland.' Terrified by the suddenness of that request, I explained, 'But I have my recital tomorrow. I shall not be able to hold a pen in my hand for two days, and, besides, it is impossible to prepare such a document without having the necessary data.'

"I must have the memorandum Thursday morning,' he answered. That was the end of our conversation. It took me more than thirty-six hours of uninterrupted work to prepare the document, which was delivered as requested on Thursday, the 11th, at eight o'clock in the morning.

"Led by the purest and the noblest idealism, Colonel House made our cause his own cause. He pleaded it with all the ardor and generosity of an American heart. He pleaded it enthusiastically, convincingly, and successfully."

IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI.

—Excerpt from his address at the Testimonial Dinner in New York on May 16, 1928.

## NOVEMBER ELEVENTH

(Continued from page 3)

After its heroic campaign in Poland, the Polish army was rebuilt under General Sikorski in France, in Britain and in the Near East. France, Narvik, the Battle of Britain, Tobruk, battles on land, at sea and in the air, and the constant bloody struggle with the invader in occupied Poland—such is our contribution to the united effort of the Allied armies.

And the price we have paid?

Freedom is without price, and Poland is paying heavier than any other nation.

Twenty-five years have elapsed since the greatest crime in the history of mankind,—the partition of Poland—was wiped

out. Today on the anniversary of Poland's freedom, we are faced with decisions that may determine our fate for centuries to come.

Today, those in whose hands rest the future of the world and the permanence of peace, must bear in mind that until Freedom reigns on the Vistula, the Bug and the Niemen, there can be no lasting peace on the Seine and the Thames, on the Volga, the Yangtze-kiang, and the Mississippi, on the Amazon and the Congo. So long as Poles die in German concentration camps or in the taigas of Siberia—John Smith of Pittsburgh will be forced to shed his blood on islands in the Pacific or to lay down his life on the sands of the African desert. For Freedom is one and indivisible!

## FORDHAM ADOPTS LUBLIN UNIVERSITY

(Continued from page 7)

"We are inaugurating today the Hall of Lublin as a tribute to the bravery of every class in Poland. It is still true that one Pole is worth ten Germans. The only thing proven by invasion, is that one dive bomber is equal to a thousand brave men on horseback.

"In the last few days great events have been prepared behind closed doors. We hope that the members of the Moscow Conference have not forgotten the confession of Napoleon at St. Helena. Napoleon admitted that three fatal mistakes wrecked all his plans: (1) that he had not strengthened Poland, the Keystone of Europe; (2) that he had not annihilated Prussia; (3) that he had undertaken the Russian campaign. Adolf Hitler has confirmed the folly of the third mistake. Let us hope that the United States and her gallant ally, Great Britain, will never know the bitterness of the other two."

Professor Oscar Halecki, formerly of Warsaw University and now Director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, accepted the Lublin Room and expressed profound gratitude to the President and Trustees of Fordham University on behalf of the professors of Lublin University for their generous resolve to adopt the Polish Catholic University of Lublin.

"In times of peace," said Professor Halecki, "Lublin University would now be celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation, together with the same anniversary of Poland's restored independence."

Following the dedication of the Lublin Room, the Rev. Robert I. Gannon, S.J., President of Fordham University, presented the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, conferred by the University on Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, President of Poland. Accepting the degree on the President's behalf, H. E. Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador of Poland to the United States, expressed his gratitude for the high distinction. He assured the faculty that when news of the noble

adoption of the Catholic University of Lublin, symbolic ally the first step towards the rebuilding of ruined European culture, reaches Poland, it will prove to those who are fighting and dying there that "spiritual forces in America are watching to make sure that out of this brutal war will emerge a better world, in which their wrongs will be righted."

The Most Rev. Stephen J. Donahue, Auxiliary Bishop of New York, presided at the celebration and delivered the benediction. Bishop Donahue emphasized the fact that Fordham University was the first American Institute of learning to become an "educational stepmother" to an European university. He called the introduction of Lublin University into the "household of Fordham University"—a "slight return for the cultural help and influence our Universities have received from the old world." In his Benediction, Bishop Donahue implored God's blessing upon the Poles who are a symbol of courage, that the "light of their spirit which today flickers under heavy oppression may tomorrow shine as the sun."

The invocation was delivered in Polish by Monsignor Joseph C. Dworzak, Rector of St. Casimir Church, Yonkers, New York.

*The cover of the Polish Review, dedicated to the 25th anniversary of Poland's independence, is a reproduction of Jan Matejko's famous painting "Wernyhora." The artist depicts the 18th century soothsayer and bard, Wernyhora, as he lifts his hand from the lyre resting at his feet, and filled with the spirit of prophecy foretells the future suffering and greatness of Poland. Polish poets and writers are listening attentively to his utterances which they will immortalize in their works.*

## RACZKIEWICZ CONGRATULATES CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic, President Raczkiewicz sent the following telegram to President Benes:

"On the occasion of the National Day of Czechoslovakia I beg you, Mr. President, to accept in my name and in the name of the Polish Nation the most cordial wishes for the Czechoslovak people, for their happiness and their future. I firmly believe that the heroic effort of the Czechoslovak nation will soon bring the moment when all its sacrifices and hardships will be rewarded by the victory of those ideals for which it is fighting side by side with the United Nations. It is also my firm belief that after having won the war we shall be able to win the peace as well and both our nations, united by links of sincere and genuine friendship, will greatly contribute to bring peace and justice to the world."

President Benes replied to President Raczkiewicz as follows:

"Deeply moved by the wishes Your Excellency has expressed in your own name and the name of the Polish Nation on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic, I hasten to express my sincere gratitude and beg you to accept my warmest wishes for your personal happiness and that of the heroic Polish Nation. I am convinced too that after our common victory, a close and friendly collaboration, which both our peoples so sincerely desire, will contribute to create a better world in conditions of just and permanent peace."

## "HITLER KNOWS WHAT HE WANTS IN THE EAST"

The Germans are trying by threats and a new propaganda drive to keep up the morale of their settlers in Pomorze, who are greatly alarmed at recent events. Gauleiter Greiser spoke in Leszno, Gostyn and Rawicz after his conference with Hitler, to "pass on his firm belief and faith in the Fuehrer's victory to all Germans in the Wartheland," as they call the western provinces of Poland.

When speaking in Leszno, Greiser threatened that he would "mercilessly destroy all the defeatists." He appealed for faithfulness and firm belief in the Fuehrer.

Addressing numerous evacuees from Berlin in Gostyn, Greiser spoke about Italy, calling it "a fearful example of the consequences of weakness and treason."

## SWIT UNDERGROUND POLISH RADIO

SWIT reports that the Germans shot a further twenty hostages in Towarowa Street in Warsaw on October 31st.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that on orders from the Directorate of Underground Fighting all projectors in the German cinemas in Czestochowa have been destroyed.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports heavy losses among the Poles forcibly conscripted into the Wehrmacht because the Germans use these Polish soldiers for most dangerous tasks, especially for cleaning up minefields.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that the Germans collected in the market place of Wolbromia the entire population, separated the women and imprisoned them in the church, then shot nine men. 23 others were deported to Miechow to be shot.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that the Directorate of Civilian Resistance has renewed its appeal for the destruction of sawmills to save the Polish forests, in view of German orders that wood quotas for 1943 and 1944 be delivered this year.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that mortality in Poland, especially among children, has more than doubled. The reasons are bad feeding and living conditions. This necessitates food and medical help for Poland immediately after the cessation of hostilities.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that in a Lublin suburb a new concentration camp has been set up to house 23,000 people—Poles and Jews. It is a typical death camp with gas chambers. Treatment is terrible, majority of prisoners die after six or eight weeks.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that the evacuation of Germans from the East continues. Seventy trains full of evacuees arrived on the Lwow-Cracow line. The Directorate of Civilian Resistance announced that measures will be taken to impede this evacuation.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that German soldiers from the east front must spend their leave in Poland, because German authorities fear that the sight of bombed German cities would have a most demoralizing effect. Majority of soldiers on leave are sent to the Cracow district.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that during liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto many public buildings and historic monuments were destroyed. It is difficult to estimate the extent of these losses, as the Jewish quarter is cut off from the town. St. Mary's Church in Leszno Street was seriously damaged, and the Zgromadzenia Kupcow School was burned down.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that in Poznan and Silesia, Hitler youth detachments have been ordered to destroy wayside shrines and crosses, also all monuments in Polish cemeteries. Many precious historical monuments have fallen victim to this vandalism. The Cathedral in Pelplin was looted and vestments, banners, equipment destroyed. Its library was burned.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that in Warsaw thirty-seven more hostages have been arrested, and two shot. On Warsaw walls posters appear threatening the execution of further hostages unless resistance stops. Germans also appeal to the population to denounce members of the Polish Underground. In Warsaw terror continues. Germans carry out further street-raids and manhunts, and execute hostages.

V.V.V.

SWIT comments on Himmler's visit to Poland for the Fourth Anniversary of the illegal incorporation of western Poland in the Reich and recalls that after every visit by Himmler to any occupied country, new concentration camps have sprung up. Himmler made a speech in Poznan concerning the age-old fight of Germany against the Poles. That fight, says SWIT, is not finished but will continue even after the war, when instead of the Polish blood, the blood of Himmler's countrymen will flow.

V.V.V.

SWIT reports that the Germans have started intensive action to liquidate the Polish blackmarket. They organize mass searches and roundups on railways and roads, also arrest persons suspected of food contraband. Special German detachments supervise the supply of agricultural quotas and prevent townspeople from going to the country to buy food. Food contrabandists and persons buying food in villages are first flogged on the spot by special German detachments then sent to penal camps. The purpose of this action is to starve the population and make Poland completely destitute. Since the blackmarket is the only means from keeping the Poles from starving, SWIT promises contrabandists help of the DUF.

## POLISH BISHOP GIVES RATIONED MEAL TO FRANK

A fine example of the attitude of the Polish people was given recently by a high church dignitary in Poland, well-known for his courageous and patriotic behavior.

Following the present German policy of trying to enlist the support of Catholics in their fight against Russia, the chief German Satrap in Poland, Dr. Frank, called a congress of all bishops of occupied and Axis satellite countries in Cracow. Then all the bishops were invited to a reception in Wawel, which is now Frank's headquarters. It was a sumptuous affair: Salmon, caviar, venison were served, plenty of fruit, champagne and everything else.

Dr. Frank then suggested that the Polish bishop arrange a reception for the foreign guests. The Bishop agreed. When the guests, including Frank and all the members of his Government, arrived at the Polish Bishop's palace he apologized for the fact that his reception was more than modest. He could offer them only what had been the Poles' regular food rations for nearly four years.

They all sat down to a table covered with a snow white cloth and before each guest was set a slice of rationed bread, a speck of rationed jam, a cup of black ersatz coffee. This story was told in the Polish underground paper "Glos Polski" of July 30th now received in London.

## ADMIRAL SWIRSKI PRESENTATION TO ALEXANDER

In commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the cooperation of the Polish Navy with the Royal Navy in this war, Admiral Swirski presented a silver plaque to the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. A. V. Alexander. The plaque, made by a Polish officer, depicts three Polish destroyers steaming to meet HMS Wallace off May Island in the Firth of Forth on September 1st, 1939.

The Polish destroyers depicted are the Grom, sunk at Narvik, the Blyskawica and the Burza, both still serving with great distinction.

An informal ceremony took place at Mr. Alexander's desk in the Admiralty.

In accepting the plaque, Mr. Alexander expressed deep appreciation of the cooperation between the two navies.

Earlier another ceremony took place at 10 Downing Street, when a similar plaque was presented to Mr. Churchill by the Chief of the Polish Navy, Admiral Swirski.

# AMBASSADOR CIECHANOWSKI AT FORDHAM

After accepting the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon Wladyslaw Raczewicz, Polish President, and expressing his gratefulness, the Polish Ambassador said:

Hitler has been endeavoring to destroy all Poland's intellectual life, to exterminate our spiritual leaders, our scientists, professors, teachers, writers, musicians and poets. The Germans in Poland are torturing and murdering them in the hope of turning Poland into a spiritual desert, and of reducing our population to slavery.

In adopting the Catholic University of Lublin, and thus symbolically taking the first step towards the rebuilding of ruined European culture, Fordham University is paying a tribute to the faith and culture of Poland, so valiantly fighting for our common ideals and civilization.

This University is paying a tribute to the sufferings of those innumerable martyrs, tortured to death and trampled down by the blind robots of German "Machtkultur."

I can assure you that when the news of the noble gesture of Fordham University reaches Poland it will strengthen the spirit of those who are fighting and perishing there. It will prove to them that there are spiritual forces in America which are watching to ensure that out of this brutal war there will emerge a better world, in which their wrongs will be righted.

In our modern world of mechanical and technical progress, the sky appears to be the only limit of human enterprise. The speed of scientific achievements precedes the actual requirements of our life.

We follow breathless in the wake of discovery and invention and endeavor hastily to adapt our lives to the profound changes caused by scientific progress, rather than to control and to direct its course.

Life consists of hasty mental and physical adjustments at a pace which drives us on, ever expectant and eager to fit our lives to the miraculous innovations of our hectic century. In this atmosphere of speed, thinking appears to have become the greatest of all adventures. And yet, never before has calm, concentrated and constructive thought been so urgently indispensable.

Two world wars of unprecedented magnitude and consequences have been allowed to succeed one another in the course of one quarter of a century. They were separated by the short breathing space of an unstable peace.

In both cases, after brief hesitations, civilized mankind rallied successfully to the defense of the principles of Christianity, justice and human decency, mortally threatened by the revival of a mechanized expression of prehistoric barbarism.

But the tragic truth remains that, had we been as bold and united in time of peace, as we finally became in time of war,—both world conflicts would have been prevented.

The now certain victory of the United Nations will bring the end of actual fighting. Upon the smoldering embers of a total war, in the midst of unprecedented chaos, of suffering, famine, destitution and despair hitherto unrecorded in history—human statesmanship will be called upon to establish a just and durable peace, to restore new and permanent bases of security to build, this time, upon solid moral, political, social and economic foundations a new world order of peace for all nations in which international confidence will replace distrust, and the consciousness of real security will abolish fear—that most dangerous element of insecurity, which for some thirty years has dominated international relations.

Never before has human statesmanship been faced by so stupendous a task. Providence has never given so great a responsibility to mankind, or so great and so creative a chance of reasserting and reinstalling the great moral values and principles of our faith, of justice and freedom for all people.

To face these realities we will have to launch wholeheartedly into the great adventure of constructive thinking.

We will have to reject the temptation of cowardly appeasement and wishful thinking, patchwork statesmanship, superannuated concepts of power politics, of division of the world into spheres of interest, of precarious theories of balance of power.

At the price of countless millions of human lives, and material wealth sacrificed to these two world wars, we have learned that world war and world peace alike are indivisible, that in our times of abolished distance, isolation has become but a futile slogan, and collaboration in peacetime is not a matter of choice, but a matter of even more urgent necessity than in war time.

We must realize that not only both war and peace have respectively become indivisible,—but that also justice and freedom are indivisible, and that real security and social peace require that prosperity should likewise be regarded as indivisible the world over.

While these important considerations will have to guide the thoughts of the statesmen entrusted with the task of planning the future peace, they will have to reach even deeper to the basic human fundamentals for their guidance.

Paradoxical as it may sound,—experience teaches us that the purest idealism and the highest principles have to be invoked to stir up nations to fight a war, that most inhuman thing in the world, whereas cynicism, compromising with ideals and principles, and crude materialism appear to govern our minds when establishing the conditions of peace, that most natural and noble state of human and international relations.

If mankind is to be saved from the recurrence of the scourge of aggressive wars,—we cannot compromise with the ideals and principles for which we are fighting. We must be determined to apply them in practice in building the future peace.

The noble principles of President Woodrow Wilson and his League of Nations concept did not fail because they were too idealistic. They failed because the United States refused to collaborate in their application and because the statesmen responsible for their maintenance were too timid to support them by the realism indispensable to enforce them in our world of imperfect human beings.

History proves that all past methods of establishing and maintaining peace have been unstable, precarious and relatively shortlived.

Living for over thirty years in an atmosphere of insecurity has profoundly affected our very mentality. Events threatening peace have outdistanced statesmanship. Statesmen dominated by the fear of conflicts applied palliative measures calculated to prolong an insecure peace, rather than resort to bold measures for the reestablishment of real security.

But the most perilous consequence of insecurity was undoubtedly the tendency on the part of some Powers to glorify the state at the cost of the individual freedom of the citizen. Aggressive totalitarian imperialism and enslavement can flourish only in countries where individual freedom does not exist.

To build on a world scale the foundations necessary of security for the establishment of a just and enduring peace it will be indispensable to give full consideration to this important fact.

Freedom is not a limited birthright of world Powers, or even of smaller states. Freedom starts with that of the individual. The greatness of the Catholic doctrine, the whole strength and enduring rightness of democracy depend on the respect and preservation of the freedom of the individual. This is the most fundamental, the most precious achievement of our Christian civilization. It is its very foundation. It is the essence of our faith in the existence of the human soul. It is the mainstay of family life and of that of the human community which is the only sound basis of national existence and independence and of international equality.

This fundamental principle must be reinstated, fully maintained and safeguarded in establishing the new world order of peaceful human collaboration on the basis of equality, which alone can bring to our torn and suffering world lasting peace and real security.