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POLISH GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT OF JANUARY 5th

THE POLISH GOVERNMENT issued on Wednesday the following official statement:

In their victorious struggle against the German invader, Soviet forces are reported to have crossed the frontier of Poland.

This fact is another proof of the break-down of German resistance and it foreshadows the inevitable military defeat of Germany. It fills the Polish nation with hope that the hour of liberation is drawing near. Poland was the first nation to take up the German challenge and it has been fighting against the invaders for more than four years, at a cost of tremendous sacrifices and sufferings, without producing a single Quisling and rejecting every form of compromise or collaboration with the aggressor.

The underground movement, among its many activities, concentrated upon attacking the Germans in their most sensitive spots, upon sabotage in every possible form and upon the carrying out of many death sentences on German officials whose conduct had been particularly outrageous.

Polish forces, twice reorganized outside their country, have been fighting ceaselessly in the air, at sea and on land, side by side with our Allies, and there is no front on which Polish blood has not been mingled with the blood of other defenders of freedom.

There is no country in the world where Poles have not contributed to furthering the common cause. The Polish nation, therefore, is entitled to expect full justice and redress as soon as it is set free from enemy occupation. The first condition of such justice is the earliest re-establishment of Polish sovereign administration in the liberated territories of the Polish Republic, and the protection of the lives and property of Polish citizens.

The Polish Government, as the only legal steward and spokesman of the Polish nation, recognized by Poles at home and abroad as well as by the Allied and free governments, is conscious of the contribution of Poland to the war and is responsible for the fate of the nation. It

affirms its indestructible right to independence, confirmed by the principles of the Atlantic Charter common to all the United Nations and by binding international treaties.

The provisions of those treaties, based on the free agreement of the parties, not on the enforcement of the will of one side to the detriment of the other, cannot be revised by accomplished facts. The conduct of the Polish nation in the course of the present war has proved that it has never recognized and will not recognize solutions imposed by force.

The Polish Government expects that the Soviet Union, sharing its view as to the importance of future friendly relations between the two countries, in the interests of peace and with the view of preventing German revenge, will not fail to respect the rights and interests of the Polish Republic and its citizens.

Acting in that belief, the Polish Government instructed the underground authorities in Poland on October 27, 1943, to continue and to intensify their resistance to the German invaders, to avoid all conflicts with Soviet armies entering Poland in their battle against the Germans and to enter into cooperation with Soviet commanders in the event of resumption of Polish-Soviet relations.

If a Polish-Soviet agreement, such as the Polish Government has declared itself willing to conclude, had preceded the crossing of the frontier of Poland by Soviet forces, such an agreement would have enabled the Polish underground army to coordinate its action against the Germans with Soviet military authorities.

The Polish Government still considers such an arrangement highly desirable. At this crucial moment, the importance of which in relation to the outcome of the war in Europe is evident to everyone, the Polish Government issues the above declaration, confident in final victory and in the triumph of the just principles for which the United Nations stand.

This declaration has been handed to all the United Nations with which the Polish Government has diplomatic relations.

SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S DECLARATION OF JANUARY 11th

On January 5, a declaration of the exiled Polish Government on the question of Soviet-Polish relations was published in London. It contained a number of erroneous affirmations, including an erroneous affirmation concerning the Soviet-Polish frontier.

As is known, the Soviet Constitution established a Soviet-Polish frontier corresponding with the desires of the population of the western Ukraine and western White Russia, expressed in a plebiscite carried out on broad democratic principles in the year 1939. The territories of the western Ukraine, populated in an overwhelming majority by Ukrainians, were incorporated into the Soviet Ukraine, while the territories of western White Russia, populated in an overwhelming majority by White Russians, were incorporated into Soviet White Russia.

The injustice caused by the Riga Treaty in the year 1921, which was forced on the Soviet Union with regard to Ukrainians inhabiting the western Ukraine and White Russians inhabiting western White Russia, was thus rectified. The entry of the western Ukraine and western White Russia into the Soviet Union not only did not interfere with the interests of Poland, but, on the contrary, created a reliable basis for a firm and permanent friendship between the Polish people and the neighboring Ukrainian, White Russian and Russian peoples.

The Soviet Government has repeatedly declared that it stands for the re-establishment of a strong and independent Poland and for friendship between the Soviet Union and Poland. The Soviet Government declares that it is striving toward the establishment of friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Poland on the basis of firm good-neighborly relations and mutual respect, and, should the Polish people so desire, on the basis of an alliance of mutual assistance against the Germans as the principal enemies of the Soviet Union and Poland, Poland's adherence to the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation could assist in the realization of this task.

The successes of Soviet troops on the Soviet-German front speed day by day the liberation of the occupied territories of the Soviet Union from the German invaders. The selfless struggle of the Red Army and the fighting operations of our allies that are unfolding bring the rout of the Hitlerite war machine nearer and bring liberation to Poland and other nations from the yoke of the German invaders.

In this war of liberation the Union of Polish Patriots in the U.S.S.R. and the Polish army corps created by it and operating on the front against the Germans hand in hand with the Red Army are already fulfilling their gallant tasks.

Now an opportunity for the restoration of Poland as a strong and independent State is opening. But Poland must be reborn, not by the occupation of Ukrainian and White Russian territories, but by the return of territories seized from Poland by the Germans. Only thus can confidence and friendship among the Polish, Ukrainian, White Russian and Russian peoples be established. The eastern borders of Poland can be fixed by agreement with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government does not consider the frontiers of the year 1939 to be unchangeable. The borders can be corrected in favor of Poland on such lines that districts in which the Polish population predominates be handed over to Poland. In such case the Soviet-Polish border could approximately follow the so-called Curzon Line, which was adopted in the year 1919 by the Supreme Council of Allied Powers and which provided for the incorporation of the western Ukraine and western White Russia into the Soviet Union.

Poland's western borders must be extended through the joining to Poland of age-old Polish lands taken away from Poland by Germany, without which it is impossible to unite the whole of the Polish people in its own state, which thus will acquire a necessary outlet to the Baltic Sea.

The just striving of the Polish people for complete unity in a strong and independent state must receive recognition and support. The emigre Polish government, cut off from its people, has proved incapable of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union. It has proved equally incapable of organizing an active struggle against the German invaders in Poland itself. Moreover, with its wrong policy, it frequently plays into the hands of the German invaders. At the same time, the interests of Poland and the Soviet Union lie in the establishment of firm and friendly relations between our two countries and in the unity of the Soviet and Polish peoples in the struggle against the common outside enemy, as the common cause of all the Allies requires.

(Please turn to page 15)

"Freedom which is not based on justice is an empty word full of delusions. The greatest tyrants of mankind cried most loudly of freedom. . . . When all freedom and the rights of independent nations were violated in the case of Poland, we could observe that those with the greatest guilt were the most vociferous in calling upon freedom."

—Stanislaw Staszic (1755-1826).
"Mankind" (1820)

UNDERGROUND POLAND'S PROGRAMME

THE POLITICAL AGREEMENT OF THE FOUR PARTIES CONSTITUTING THE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN POLAND (The Christian Democratic Labor Party, The National Party, The Polish Peasant Party, The Polish Socialist Party).

I. The parties signatory hereto, constituting the Political Representation in Poland and representing the chief trends of political thought and the vast majority of those members of the Polish public who are organized politically, have determined to co-operate with one another, at least until such time as elections for a constitutional legislative body are announced, in dealing with the enormous tasks which confront the Polish nation at the present moment and will confront it when Poland is liberated from enemy occupation: (a) Reconstruction of the Polish State; (b) Establishment of its frontiers; (c) Restoration of internal order; (d) Active participation in setting up new forms of co-existence among the European nations.

These Parties, guided by the principles of policy contained in the Government's declaration will co-operate within Poland, in the following bodies: the political representation in Poland, the Council of National Unity, the Council of the Republic, if such should be formed, and will co-operate in solidarity with the Government's delegate.

The Parties mentioned will also appeal unanimously to their representatives in London to maintain the same co-operation both in the National Council and in the Government. The Parties, supporting the Government which is the expression of their co-operation, and bearing the responsibility for that Government, oppose any other conception of the Government so long as this agreement shall last.

II. On the basis of the Government's before-mentioned Declaration, the Parties will proceed, in the nearest future, to designate the Representation of the Government in Poland and to call a Council of National Unity.

III. The Parties will endeavor to see that the Governmental authorities' executive organ shall have, besides technical ability, the character of an institution closely connected with social and civic elements in Poland and shall be free from elements burdened with responsibility for the past.

IV. The Parties will support, with all their organizational and propaganda resources the Underground Army, which is a general-national organ and will be decisive in the armed struggle for our future; simultaneously they will co-operate to bring about harmonious co-operation between civil and military organs in the sphere of preparation for the action which is the chief goal of all our political, administrative and military effort.

V. In the present period, as well as in the period of peace negotiations and immediately after the cessation of hostilities, the Parties adopt the following program of foreign policy:

War Aims: (a) The basic principle of foreign policy should be co-operation with the Allies on an equal basis, with a distinct emphasis on independence in matters concerning Poland, her sovereign rights and the integrity of her territory; (b) The public of the Allied States should be constantly informed on the danger of totalitarian ideas from wherever they might come.

RZECZPOSPOLITA POLSKA

ROK III. NR. 15 (66)

WARSZAWA

30 SIERPNI 1943

DEKLARACJA POROZUMIENIA POLITYCZNEGO CZTERECH STRONNICTW — STANOWIACYCH KRAJOWĄ REPREZENTACJĘ POLITYCZNA

I. Wobec ogromu zadań jakie stoją przed Narodem Polskim w chwili obecnej i jakie wylonią się w momencie wyzwolenia Kraju z pod okupacji: a) odbudowa Państwa Polskiego; b) ustalenie jego granic; c) przywrócenie wewnętrznej ludu; d) czynny udział w ustalaniu nowych form współżycia narodów Europy — niżej podpisane Stronnictwa reprezentujące główne kierunki polskiej myśli politycznej oraz olbrzymią większość zorganizowanego politycznie społeczeństwa polskiego postanawiają z sobą współdziałać co najmniej do czasu ogłoszenia wyborów do Konstytucyjnego Ciała Ustawodawczego. Kierując się wytycznymi programowymi zawartymi w deklaracji Rządu, Stronnictwa te współdziałać będą w Kraju: na terenie Krajowej Reprezentacji Politycznej, w Radzie Jedności Narodowej i ew. Radzie Rzeczypospolitej, współdziałając solidarnie z Delegaturą Rządu.

Wymienione stronnictwa wystąpią również z solidarnym wezwaniem do swych przedstawicieli w Londynie, by takiego samego współdziałania przestrzegali zarówno w Radzie Narodowej jak i w Rządzie. Udzielając poparcia Rządowi, będącemu wyrazem współpracy tych Stronnictw i ponosząc za niego odpowiedzialność, Stronnictwa przeciwstawiają się w okresie trwania porozumienia każdej innej koncepcji Rządu.

II. W najbliższej przyszłości Stronnictwa przystąpią, na podstawie wymienionej deklaracji rządowej, do dezygnowania Przedstawicielstwa Rządu w Kraju oraz do powołania Rady Jedności Narodowej.

III. Stronnictwa dążą do tego, żeby aparatura wykonawcza władz rządowych, obojętnie fachowości, miała charakter instytucji jak najmniej związanej z czynnikami społecznymi i obywatelskimi Kraju i wolna była od elementów, obciążonych odpowiedzialnością za praktyki reżimu sanacyjnego i tendencje totalistyczne.

IV. Stronnictwa poprzę wszystkie siły organizacyjnymi i propagandowymi Armii Krajowej, jako organ ogólnonarodowy i rozstrzygający o dziedziczeniu walki o naszą przyszłość; jednocześnie będą współdziałać w harmonijnym ułożeniu współpracy organów cywilnych i wojskowych w dziedzinie przygotowań do wystąpienia, które jest naczelnym dążeniem całej akcji politycznej, administracyjnej i wojskowej.

Title-page of the underground paper "Rzeczpospolita Polska" (The Polish Republic), with a translation of the text of the agreement given opposite.

Peace Aims: (a) To obtain Western and Northern frontiers which will guarantee Poland a broad access to the sea and absolute security to keep the Eastern frontier inviolate, and to obtain due indemnities; (b) To form a confederation of States, the nucleus of which would be a Polish-Czech union; (c) To regulate the matter of national minorities on the basis of traditional freedom and equality of rights and obligations.

Home Policy: In the transitional period, before the legislative assembly meets, having been elected on the basis of a new democratic electoral law: (a) The republican structure of the State must be preserved, and its institutions as they have existed hitherto may not undergo any changes without the agreement of the Parties; (b) The Government of National Unity can be changed and added to only with the agreement of the undersigned Parties; (c) Existing political, economic and social legislation will be free, by decree, from

(Please turn to page 14)

"MODERN WARFARE" By General Sikorski *



Late General Sikorski conferring with high-ranking Polish officers.

IN this book written in 1934, General Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister and Commander in Chief, who was killed in an airplane accident at Gibraltar on July 4, 1943, pointed out the dangers threatening the peace of Europe and proposed means of preserving peace. The book has been translated into many languages and is used as a textbook in Russian and Turkish military colleges. MODERN WARFARE is now for the first time made available to the American public.

General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, in a foreword to the American edition says of General Sikorski:

"It was my good fortune to have known General Sikorski during those years of tragic adversity when he was the symbol of Polish hope for the liberation of Poland. Through his leadership an army of 34,000 Poles was transported from France to England in the dark days of Dunkerque, and there under his guidance has been built up into an effective fighting force. Death robbed him of the opportunity to carry his plans to fruition, but his influence will continue and his name will mark a bright page in the history of these terrible years."

General Sikorski after reviewing the European political situation in the post-Versailles era concludes: "Peace will last only as long as its supporters are able to unite and to defend

it, by force if necessary. It is possible to desire peace, to defend it, or to impose it; it cannot be bought, no matter what price is paid for it."

From its inception the League of Nations proved incapable of preserving peace. The author urged that responsibility for the preservation of peace should rest in the hands of an independent international tribunal, instead of being a tool in the hands of a few governments. This body should be supported by armed force because "*force alone decides peace or war.*"

The author warned that national imperialist Germany, Italy and Japan and social imperialist Soviet Russia, had begun to mobilize for war. Already in 1934 the author foretold a world conflict, both social and political. He said that modern war would be total war. The enemy would attack at once the frontiers and the heart of the nation. How long the war would last depended on the strength of the country attacked. By the use of statistics General Sikorski showed that the Axis powers and Soviet Russia were preparing for a long war.

Because of the changed character of future warfare—i.e. the present war—administrative power, both military and civil, must be organized to meet new conditions. To avert the mistakes of the last war, a Commander in Chief responsible to the Government should issue operational orders and make the decisions. The democracies need fear no dictatorship for "*the danger of a dictatorship does not lie in a rational organization of defence which necessarily implies* (Please turn to page 14)

* MODERN WARFARE, by General Sikorski. With a Note by General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army. Roy Publishers, New York, 1943.

POLES JEER AT THE NAZIS

by J. ARTHUR LAZELL

SO long as a people's ability to laugh cannot be crushed that people's soul is unconquered, however mangled its body may be. And the Poles, two of whose clandestine papers are humorous magazines—their ironic, often sardonic, wit directed at the German and his arrogant self-esteem—have found the Nazi's Achilles heel.

These two Polish magazines are Lipa (colloquial for "pulling one's leg") and Szpilka (pin). When actual resistance has at times failed to raise the spirit of the members of the underground or when, as is more often the case, the Pole who is not active in the underground needs a "pricking" to buoy his spirit, the satirical and sometimes cynical humor of these publications has been a good tonic.

The story of Hitler's dismay over his failure to win the love of a "charming" Aryan Venus depicts the Fuehrer coming to "Liar" Goebbels with tears in his eyes—strange as that may seem.

"Herr Goebbels, what shall I do? She doesn't like my sunken eyes or my sleek hair."

"Ach, mein Fuehrer, I'll make it all right if you'll allow me to print the truth about Germany, for then your hair will stand on end and your eyes will pop out of their sockets."

A Warsaw humorist's conception of a Pole is found in this riddle:

*They have no radio, but they know all.
They have no bread, but they eat cake.
They have no army, but they will win the war.
Who are they? The Poles.*

Birthdays, family anniversaries and holidays are all occasions for greetings having a political, and sometimes caustic, meaning. When a Pole meets a friend he often uses this salutation.

*So many Jews without arm-bands,
So many Poles smuggling food,
So many Germans in their graves,
So much luck do I wish you.*

During the first winter of Germany's war against Russia one of the underground papers carried a telling explanation of the strenuous German attempt to confiscate all furs and woolens in Warsaw for the use of troops on the Eastern Front:

With reference to the Germans' recent plundering of civilian furs, an order is expected shortly concerning their distribution. German generals installed near Moscow will receive capes of silver fox, colonels will be given astrakhans, other officers will receive seal furs, non-commissioned officers will get mantles of squirrel, and the privates, of course, will receive sheepskins.

The Governor General, Dr. Frank, will receive an evening coat of ermine; and the Fuehrer, who is modest and patient will wait for the British Queen's chinchilla mantle. In the meantime he will content himself with something less exquisite—his own goose skin from the Donetz Basin.

Perhaps one of the best stories (and this one has circulated openly as well as in underground circles) is a Polish description of the annual German festival in celebration of the "days of German culture." This festival, at first held in the Reich only, has now become an institution in the occupied countries as well. The account bodes ill. Its humor is bitter; its effect will be lasting:

First day: the opening-day ceremonies will revolve about the idea of the influence of German culture on the development of Polish cities. There will be an exhibition of photo-

graphs taken of Polish cities, towns, villages and hamlets after the September 1939 campaign in Poland.

Second day: there will be a formal show under the title, "German Educational Torch of Culture." It will take place on Hitlerplatz and its big feature will be a public burning of all Polish school texts and the works of all prominent Polish writers—men like Sienkiewicz, Mickiewicz, Prus, Zeromski, Konopnicka and others.

Third day: chiefly devoted to a lecture on the ruins of the main auditorium of the University of Warsaw. The subject will be total culture and the day will be marked by the formal closing of all universities, colleges, high schools and grammar schools.

Fourth day: the outstanding feature will be the Freude durch Kraft—which will be a school demonstration of manhunts in streets and in houses. This will take place in connection with an excursion of Polish intellectuals to Dachau, Oranienburg and Oswiecim.

Fifth day: premiere showing of the German school of culture. Its primary objective will be to illustrate the training of Polish university professors in concentration camps. Performance will be by the Hitlerjugend.

Sixth day: will consist of a sightseeing tour of German health centers in the Sejm and Aleja Szucha under the guidance of the Gestapo.

Seventh day: opening of a rifle range in Palmiry (scene of brutal mass executions of Poles, with the victims deliberately placed to topple backwards into trenches dug by themselves) for soldiers and Volksdeutsche ("Poles" of German stock.) First of all there will be a shooting of Poles, each standing in front of a stake; then a shooting of Poles against a wall; finally a shooting of Poles on the run.

Eighth day: closing of the walls of the Warsaw ghetto, in an official and formal ceremony, by bricklayers. (A laying-of-the-foundation-stone show.)

Ninth day: inauguration of a German district in Warsaw, accompanied by a blitz demonstration of a deportation of Poles and a confiscation of all their personal and household possessions.

Almost each day that passes brings forth another joke or another bit of satire—ever-renewed signs of the indomitable Polish soul. In the spirit of the people for whom they battle, the Polish Underground proclaims the words, "Liberty, Equality, Independence."

(Courtesy "Free World")



Clock and Watchmaker Flourished in Old Lwow



Lwow Watchmakers' Guild seal.

ALTHOUGH mechanical clocks were invented in 996 A.D. by Pope Sylvester II, they were not in common use in Europe until the 13th century.

Lwow—on the crossroads of trade in Eastern Europe—was the first city in Poland and also one of the first in Europe to have a mechanical clock on its city hall tower. It was installed

some time in the 14th century. In 1404 the Lwow city records show that the city hall clock was repaired by the city watchmaker. It is difficult, however, to ascertain the exact date of the installation as there were no watchmakers' guilds at that time.

What few watchmakers there were for the most part clocks were made belonged to the locksmiths' guild, but and repaired by monks. With time the care, adjustment and repair of clocks passed into the hands of laymen. These skilled craftsmen usually followed other closely allied trades. They were locksmiths, window framers, or sometimes blacksmiths. As clocks became more plentiful, the watchmakers became specialized and watchmaking was recognized as a separate trade. The city clock was the special care of the Polish watchmakers of Lwow, who constituted a privileged class. The watchmaker placed in charge of the city clock was given a house in the city square and if he performed any extra duty was handsomely rewarded for it. In addition the city watchmaker was never forgotten on holidays. He and his family received gifts and bonuses. So very desirable a position was difficult to attain. As in other countries the secrets of watchmaking were jealously guarded. Fathers passed them on to their sons. So in Lwow the Sokolowski family were watchmakers from 1573 to 1784, the Grabinski family from 1588 to 1825.

With the decline of Polish trade at the beginning of the 18th century when Poland was partitioned, the flourishing watchmakers' craft declined also.

Yet we do hear of outstanding watchmakers. Antoni Kaminski, head of the Watchmakers' Guild, was the most outstanding of that period. Only one of his watches has been preserved in the Lwow industrial museum. It speaks well of his talent, both from an artistic and technical point of view.

In 1803 the watchmakers' guild in Lwow listed nine master craftsmen, in 1811 ten masters and nine journeymen and in 1814 eleven masters. This is quite a goodly number for one city, considering the tests a watchmaker had to pass before he became a master. In those days a master watchmaker had not only to repair clocks, but to make them and embellish

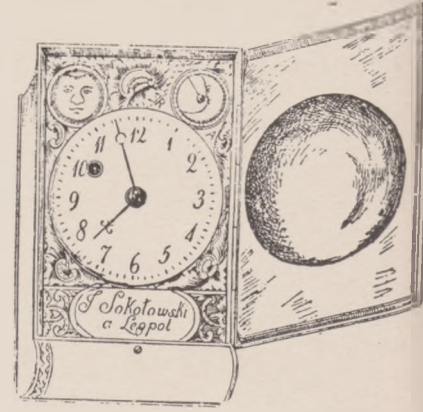
the clock cases. Of the Lwow watchmakers Jan Engel enjoyed the greatest reputation for his cases. He is credited with making a chronometer which "measured time exactly," as the city record states. The clock became famous throughout Poland. It is recorded that a special delegation was sent to Jan Engel every year to bring the watchmaker and his clock to a steeple chase. Another extraordinary

clock is attributed to Jan Engel which took him twelve years to finish. It was wound up once every sixteen months. The clock had four hands showing the hours, minutes and seconds and the seasons. On New Year's day the clock opened up for winding and stood open for ten days. If within that time the clock was not wound up, the opening closed automatically. The clock would continue for another four months and then would stop. In 1850 it was sold by his son and soon after its intricate mechanism was damaged by an unskilled craftsman. This nearly broke Engel's heart.

Lwow's last master watchmaker of great repute was Joseph Weiss. He came from a family of three generations of watchmakers. His three uncles were watchmakers. One owned the Chaud Fond manufactory in Switzerland, the second had one in London and the third, Erasm Schatz, established himself in Lwow. Weiss lived to a great age and cared for the Lwow city hall clock for fifty years. Weiss took his duties so much to heart that once when the clock stopped he had an at-

tack of apoplexy. Weiss is also credited with making the first gnome pocket watch. He was the last great master watchmaker of Lwow.

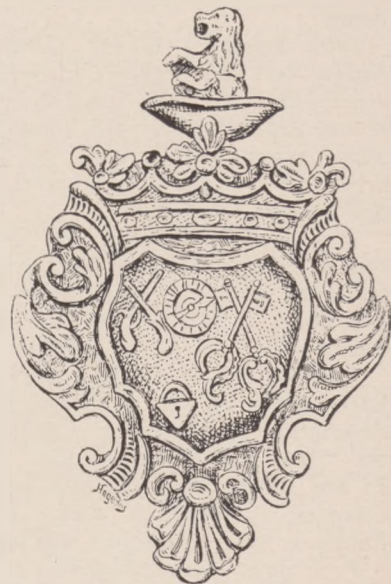
The watchmakers' guild of Lwow did not have a long existence. In the 14th and 15th centuries the watchmakers were



Pocket watch made in Lwow, 18th century.



Halicz clock-tower in Lwow, 16th century.



Lwow Locksmiths', Watchmakers' and Gunmakers' Guild-sign, 18th century.

called "horologistae" or "magistri horologii." They were given their first charter, still as part of the locksmiths' guild, in 1637. This was ratified by Wladyslaw IV in Warsaw on December 29, 1638. No privileges were assigned to them as yet. It was not until 1671 that special provisions and specific tests for watchmakers were added. These were extremely exacting, and this explains why so few candidates could qualify as master watchmakers.

To become a master of the trade a "small" watchmaker had to make a clock that chimed the quarter hours. A maker of large clocks had to build a wall clock that worked by weights and chimed the quarter hour. On the face of the clock there had to be a moon behind hills. Thus the clockmaker had to be a technician and an artist. The tests were difficult and the examinations severe.

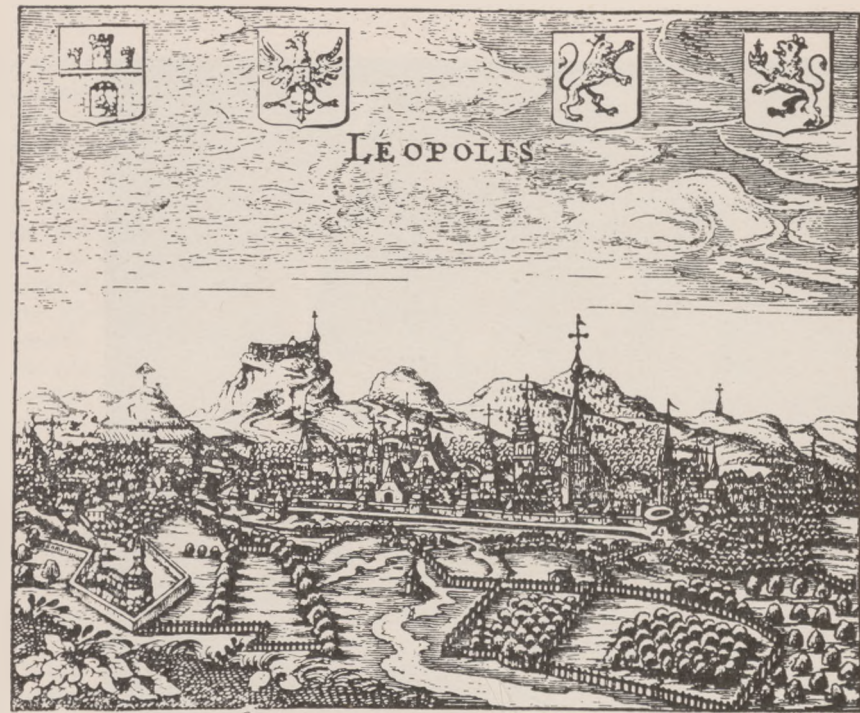
The watchmakers of Lwow remained in the locksmith's guild until the middle of the XVIIIth century. In 1766, fifteen years after a separate watchmaker's guild had been founded in Warsaw, the watchmakers of Lwow, Jan Hackel, Antoni Kaminski, Rokser, Konrad Lukasiewicz and 40 other men of the city of Lwow applied for permission to found a separate watchmakers' guild in Lwow. The statute for a watchmakers' guild was sanctioned in the City Hall of Lwow on June 23, 1766. The same year King Stanislaw August ratified the statute. The original paper was still extant in the Lwow city archives just before the war.

The Lwow watchmakers adopted the guild customs and laws of their Warsaw fellow craftsmen. Each freeman had to pay a silver "votum" to his guild. This "votum" was a registration coin which bore a decoration and the name of the freeman. The guild laws protected the Lwow watchmakers from unethical competition, and the public from watchmakers who were not fully qualified to make or repair clocks and watches.

Further, requirements for a master watchmaker were very strict. A candidate had to spend seven years as an apprentice to a master watchmaker. After that, as a freeman he had to travel to other cities, preferably in foreign countries.



Watchmakers' Workshop in 16th century.



Lwow, general view, 16th century.

After returning from his travels, he had to live and work in Lwow for a year and qualify as a citizen. Finally he had to produce a "master piece," which was judged by the masters of the guild. Upon the presentation of a birth certificate and recommendations as to his character he was given the title of master. As a master he had to "make and provide large and small clocks of every description. He should make them so well that none might have reason to complain."

The sale of clocks was controlled and remained in the hands of the guild. All watches and clocks sold by non-guild makers were confiscated. Other guild laws were binding on apprentices, providing for the payment of dues, obedience to master. A master could not have more than three apprentices. Each apprentice was bound to his employer by a contract and was subject to his master's will.

Thus the road leading to the title of a master watchmaker was by no means easy. Sons of watchmakers were given small privileges in the payment of fees. All other provisions and requirements had to be carried out to the letter.

Guilds were a phenomenon of the Middle Ages, in many cases an anachronism and a hindrance to progress. The watchmakers' guild, however, was important for the Lwow watchmakers. It emancipated them from the influence of other related crafts. By forming their own guild the Lwow watchmakers became independent. They formed a closed organization free from outside interference, and could perfect themselves in their trade.

The watchmakers' craft in Lwow developed simultaneously with watchmaking in other large Polish cities. This is best illustrated by comparing the "master pieces," executed by candidates for the title of Master. In 1671 the guild laws of the Cracow watchmakers provided that "he who would be master must execute a square, tall clock, striking hours

(Please turn to page 14)

THE FOLK ARTS OF POLAND

by MIECZYSLAW TRETER*



Polish Mountaineer (Goral)—by Wladyslaw Skoczylas

POLISH folk art reaches into that forgotten prehistoric epoch when the old Polanie, still living in paganism, honored Swiatowid, the god with four faces, and other Slav deities.

Many of the legends, beliefs, superstitions and prejudices of the Polish people, which are still preserved in the most diverse rites and customs, correspond to the old pagan religion. Folk ornamentation, now sometimes freed completely from the old symbolic meanings, comes also from that prehistoric time and gives a characteristic mark even to the contemporary folk productions in all fields of decorative art. This is true of wooden architecture, carving, utensils, the various objects of daily use, ceramics, various kinds of painting (figures on glass, chests, Easter eggs), embroideries and weavings, and also adornments made out of paper, called *wycinanki*.

Poland accepted Christianity in 966 and thus in the tenth century came into decided contact with western culture. But the people, though baptized, long continued their own traditions. Folk art did not succumb, as did the art of the upper classes, to any Roman or Germanic influences from the west, but became a true storehouse in which the native elements were preserved in the purest possible form.

As is known, the history of the plastic arts as a special branch of knowledge is relatively short. It dates only from the



Folk Design

times of J. J. Winkelmann, that is, the second half of the eighteenth century. The first work of this kind in Poland was the book of Stanislaw Potocki, published in 1815 with the title, *On Art Among the Ancients, or the Polish Winkelmann*.

The furious tide which rolled over the whole of Poland until 1920 (the end of the war with the Bolsheviks) destroyed an enormous quantity of old objects and of remains of the wooden architecture of the people.

Wooden architecture still remains among the most characteristic and valuable productions. We

must realize that in Polish society there was no hard and fast line between peasant and magnate. The actual intermediary was the small-landed proprietor (often belonging to the nobility), the village noble or the one with a few villages.

K. Moklowski points out in his work on folk architecture that between the hut of the poorest serf and the semi-peasant noble, there was very little difference. The walls of the barn, the hut and the castles, even the fortresses, were wrought by the folk-instruments of construction, the axe and the broadax of the village carpenter. This fact united the huts of the peasants and the palaces and castles of the day. "That same carpenter with the same tools, fashioned in accordance with century-old tradition, made everything: granary and barn, hut and courtyard, church and palace."

The folk sense of art in the hut was shown in a lightly carved ornamentation of some details, especially of beams, and above all the chief beam in door-casings and gates. Also, the Polish huts have a small projection under the roof. Especially in Wielkopolska, Krakow and Sandomierz the huts are decorated, with attics supported on carved pillars, with masterful ornamentation of the beams, whose protruding ends are often richly carved and decorated.

The hut provided with a covered entrance undoubtedly inspired the conception for the suburban and urban wooden houses with projecting roofs, so widespread in Polish cities that they have become a characteristic mark. These slants, applied also to village churches as well as to secular houses, rendered possible the use of architectonic motifs. The most curious type of Polish hut, which is also the richest in its artistic values, is the hut of the Goral in the Podhale, the so-called *koliba*.



Peasant Hut

It is impossible to describe here all the details of this hut, but we must emphasize that this style of the Podhale, otherwise called of Zakopane, from the town of Zakopane in the western Tatras, gave the inspiration a quarter of a century ago to a completely new movement in Poland and had its reflection in all Polish artistic handicrafts. Witkiewicz and Matlakowski were the discoverers of this style, in which the characteristic marks of construction and ornamentation had been preserved for long centuries almost perfectly. Thus it happened that the Podhale,

which is on the southern edge of Poland and even borders on Czechoslovakia, was the source of many influences and processes of modern culture, the want of which a few years before had not been noticed.

Witkiewicz saw in the style the origin of a form which would be purely Polish. He planned new houses and utensils in the spirit of *Goral* architecture.

But not only the architecture of the Goral huts deserves to be highly valued. Goral utensils, tables, chests, benches, chairs, various objects like scoops, spoons, etc. form such a treasure of native motifs that this belated discovery of the *Goral* or Zakopane style created by the people became a revelation for the artists of the whole of Poland, inspiring them with inventiveness in the decorative arts and creating a real renaissance in this field.

The Gorals of the Tatras also wove in their own manner rough wool carpets, with which they covered their benches, tables, beds, and the walls of their huts. These weavings, called *kilims*, had been spread in ancient times throughout all Poland, but the style varied with the locality and was accordingly different in the Tatras, the eastern Carpathians, Huculiland, Podolia, Volhynia and the Ukraine. The modern Polish artists use this technique for producing new weavings, which have become famous throughout the world.

Old *kilims* are now great rarities. The most beautiful specimens come



St. Helen—Peasant wood engraving



St. John the Divine—Peasant sculpture

from the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. They show a marvellously harmonious grouping of colors, simple composition, and are shapely and full of special charm. The motif of ornamentation was that of plants or geometric patterns. Since the manufacture of these *kilims* was long preserved in Poland, and noble courts did not despise them, and the nobles willingly encouraged the village girls in the work, the fabrics of older origin represent the imitation of baroque or empire motifs in folk art. The background is usually black or dark blue, although there are *kilims* with a background of natural wool, either gray or brownish.

With all the weavings of folk origin can be grouped the dresses of the village population, which show so great a diversity that it would require a great deal of space even to speak of the outstanding types.

From the mouth of the Vistula, as we pass deeper into the country upstream, the people desire brighter and clearer colors. In some localities there are still preserved the old tra-

(Please turn to page 10)

*From the pre-war article which appeared in "Art and Archaeology," Washington, D. C.



A toy pitcher made from an egg-shell

(Contin'd from p. 9)
ditional methods of dress, although even there factory products are coming in and destroying the old folk handicrafts. Folk embroideries are becoming rarer and rarer, since the peasant women cannot compete with the large-scale production of the factories. Various trade and factory schools, placed in different parts of Poland, are now maintaining the old arts and ideals.

Besides wooden architecture, weaving, embroideries, and old costumes which furnish an inexhaustible source of artistic in-

spiration to Polish painters, the artistic genius of the villages is shown in an original manner in carvings, sculpture and other forms.

Carving, in addition to its use in architecture, is found also in domestic utensils, dishes, hunting implements, sleighs, and objects like spoons and bowls, especially in the Podhale. Except in toys, when it is often painted, the carving of the human figure has always a religious character.

Crosses and wayside shrines or smaller ones hung on trees, form an unmistakable mark of the Polish landscape in all parts of the country. The most beautiful of these, from the artistic point of view, are in the Podhale, Lithuania and Zmudz, connected inseparably with Poland from the days of Wladyslaw Jagiello.

The favorite type in most of these shrines, which sometimes stand alone, and sometimes hang on trees, is a half-bared form of Christ with one hand on his knee, the other bent at the elbow and holding his beard. In the face of Christ is expressed a deep and real sorrow, whence the type is called *Smutkielis*. This type is found also near Lwow, in the Tatra, and in the Podhale. The Polish origin of this type of Christ is undoubted.

The inborn character of the Polish people and its love for ornamental drawing is shown also in the *wycinanki* of colored paper, with an unprecedented wealth of conceptions, marked facility in combining the most diverse elements, and a conventionalization of the various plants. The best known of these *wycinanki* are those of Krakow, Lublin and Lowicz, although others deserve also to be noticed.

Popular woodcuts or figures, painted by the brush of a folk artist on the reverse side of a glass, and similar productions also form a distinct variety of Polish folk art.

Woodcuts and the pictures on glass, especially those with a religious motif, show a very primitive technique, great naïveté in presentation of the theme, and great talent for composition. They reveal the undoubted depth of the religious and other sentiments of the people, who are thus striving to ex-



16th century wooden church in Sekowa—Region of Cracow

press themselves. Now extremely rare—they were a familiar object at the fairs until the spreading of photomechanical methods of reproduction—they receive great attention from artists, since they approach in their style and manner the most modern developments of art, especially expressionism.

Folk painting is shown also in the decoration of the large peasant chests and in the Easter eggs, the so-called *pisanki*.

Painted chests, common in the neighborhood of Krakow, are adorned with conventionalized flowers, in clear and living colors. *Pisanki* made by village girls for Easter are also real products of folk art. These village maidens, who have never heard the word batik, decorate with colors their Easter eggs in a batik manner; remaining within the general traditional designs, they show in these works in miniature the whole range of folk conception in the field of art. The subjects depend upon the locality, for the Easter eggs differ with the region.

The richest collections of the remains of folk art are possessed by the Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw and the Ethnographical Museum in the Wawel at Krakow.

Before the War of 1914, in the lack of independent political life, Polish artistic work was carried off by the conquerors—Germans, Austrians and Russians—and not much was known about it.

Independent Poland has been continuing the study and Polish folk art is becoming known everywhere for its richness and its vitality.



Peasant Girl—Region of Cracow

POLISH REFUGEES IN INDIA

by KIRA BANASINSKA*

SINCE the war started many thousands of Poles have had to leave their motherland and are now scattered all over the world.

At the beginning of 1941 the first batch of refugees arrived in India from the East. They came from Wilno via Siberia, Japan, China and Burma. Another group of refugees arrived from the West via Bucharest, Istanbul and Baghdad. These people, driven by the unfortunate circumstances of war, landed here haggard and exhausted. However, almost all of them have proved themselves most enterprising, and in a comparatively short time have learned the language, found suitable employment and established small workshops. A few specialists in engineering have obtained prominent posts in various factories; they have gained the confidence of the management and of their Indian fellow-workers. They have become independent, have sent their children to English schools and live more or less a normal life. They are also developing their social and cultural life. Through their Union they collaborate with the Czechoslovak Society in Bombay, paving the way to fraternal relationship in the future federated Europe. They publish a monthly review, *Polish News*.

However, the main group of refugees who are our greatest concern are the Polish women and children who arrived in India after being evacuated from Russia in the spring of 1942. These women and children are mostly the families of the Polish soldiers now serving in England, Palestine and Iraq, but there are also the wives and children of the Polish prisoners of war in Germany and a good number of orphans whose parents have perished from typhus or starvation. The first camp for 1,000 of the Polish refugee children was set up at Balachadi in the State of Jamnagar. For the time being there are only 700 children.

The children's sufferings were great: two severe winters

* The author is the wife of the Polish Consul-General in Bombay, who is carrying on much social activity on behalf of her countrymen.



Polish refugee girl in Jamnagar, India.

in Siberia, roaming through the steppes of Kazakstan and on the frozen waters of Amu-Daria, hunger, diseases, orphanhood—all this was almost too much for their young shoulders to bear. Amongst the children in Jamnagar there are, for instance, two boys saved out of seven members of one family. The father of the family, too old to keep pace with the others and unable to board the moving train, stayed behind and is now missing somewhere in Russia. The mother, with five children, continued the journey, though deprived of their father's protection and guidance. But then typhus broke out and the youngest child died in the railway compartment. The rest of the family, also suffering from typhus, were sent to the hospital. Only two children survived—ten-year-old Janka and Stas.

All the boys are anxious to fight in the war for liberty. A group of them, sixteen years of age, will soon leave to join a flying-school. Six boys of the Jamnagar Camp are already serving on one of the Polish merchantmen. One of the six boys is a kind of veteran of

this war. He was arrested by the Germans and sent for agricultural work together with his parents. However, he escaped at the first opportunity to the Soviet side. For illegally crossing the border he was arrested by the Russians and sentenced as a minor for one year only. Now he is free. Let us hope that in the near future he will safely reach his native shores.

There is a group of Polish girls in Karachi. They are living in a convent, where they study English, stenography, typewriting and office routine.

The temporary camp near Karachi comprises 2,000 to 3,000 people, and is used for the Polish refugees proceeding to Central Africa. They live there in tents during a period of a few weeks until sea transport is provided. The local community, the Government, the British military authorities and the Red Cross are taking a great interest in these refugees and are giving them their fullest support.

The American Army is supplying the camp with priceless gifts of great quantities of medicine. Visitors carrying gifts call on Polish children at the camp and the hospital, but also numerous presents are sent to them by post from all parts of India. Miss Ann Gouthrie of the Y.W.C.A. is partly responsible for it. The children, of course, are meeting with a most enthusiastic reception from the Polish soldiers.

In the general settlement scheme 11,000 people evacuated from the U.S.S.R. will be settled in India.

A number of Polish refugees will probably remain in India for some time, having become associated with the trade and industry in this country. The majority, however, will return to Poland enriched by their new experiences and knowledge of the country, its customs and cultural life, of which they knew so little before, and no doubt this knowledge will create new possibilities for the future development of both cultural and commercial relations between the two countries.



Polish refugee children in folk costumes at the Jamnagar Camp in India.

WHEN DEATH COMES SLOWLY...

by PAWEL GURSKI

ONE of the determining characteristics of history is that it is always written from the same perspective. The record of human achievement, of progress, of conflict—and, indeed, the record of man's inhumanity to man—always has in large part the attributes of judgment, a verdict on those who have gone before, and on the sequence of events in which they participated. Thus history is, at best, a critique of causes and effects; at its worst, it is the too facile discovery, through hindsight, of the errors which our predecessors made.

When, on occasion, the historian finds himself permitted to take pen in hand to relate some of the more glorious moments to which men have aspired or succeeded, he is still biased by the fact that all his sources have been supplied by the living, or out of the consciousness of those who, when they contributed their impressions, were very much alive. "Dead men tell no tales." Neither do they write history. Though they may make history, their own stories, their own intimate and very real tragedies, die with them. Only their survivors are privileged to comment upon, to appraise, to interpret the significance of the holocaust which engulfed them.

These generalizations are consistently and pitifully true of the special tragedy which war brings to mankind. Although journalists sometimes like to think that they are writing sufficiently close to the scene and scope of global events to believe that they are actually writing contemporary history, their reporting suffers from this same disadvantage of oneness.

After a bombing raid, after a commando sortie into enemy occupied territory, after a strategic mission or a daring pursuit, it is the surviving witnesses who supply the grim details. But they can not and do not speak for the dead. And the essential tragedy of death is precisely this loss of self-expression.

No one can ever know the real cost of the fray; no one knows the real price paid in the sacrifice of these human resources; one can only list the casualties, coldly and statistically: so many dead, so many missing, so many captured, so many wounded. True, the dead receive their posthumous citations. They are awarded, in memoriam, the medals and ribbons of mute testimony to their "gallantry in action," their "bravery in the face of insuperable odds," and their "meritorious service at great personal risk without thought of self-protection." But what these would have been worth to the dead, what compensation they could have provided to the dying, we will never know. We assume that devotion to duty brings its own reward. But is this—the reward—the thing that means most to those who make the sacrifice?

I wonder. I think I shall never again feel quite sure just which things are most important after learning of the death of my friend Ignace Wolski. I shall never again feel that any one human being is capable of imagining just which realities present themselves most forcefully to any other human being in the face of death. I shall never again dare to compute these ultimate human values.

Ignace apparently had plenty of time in which to face these



Polish Airmen's Cemetery at Newark, England. General Sikorski's grave is in the foreground.

realities, but I do not think it made resolving them any easier. I wonder how many of us could reconcile ourselves to the prospect as calmly, as gently and as simply as he did. Because each of us must die in our own peculiar way. I now realize that the story of his death gives no real clue to what may confront the war's next victim. But I think his example has a quality of nobility about it which should prove a substantial inspiration to others as well as myself.

My information came to me, besides such customary channels as routine flight reports and the scraps of conversation remembered by the various control operators who listened in on the earlier stages of his fatal mission, from a few lines in his own hand—not the familiar script which has flowed so gracefully across many memorable pages of long-hand letters, but the labored, barely legible scrawl of a man writing in intense physical pain and the despair which the

agony of the soul alone reveals—on a small sheet of paper with its top edge perforated.

This brief but infinitely eloquent message, in journal form, was not written to me, needless to say, nor for posterity. It was the faithful dispatch of a technical obedience to those of his superiors invested with the heavy responsibilities of a military supply problem. The slip of paper has been torn from Ignace's knee-pad, when his parched, emaciated body was found beneath the wing of his grounded but undamaged plane on the desert sands south of Tripolitania early in December.

Ignace was one of the many Polish pilots who, after two hundred combat hours as flight leader with an RAF squadron operating over military objectives in Northern France and Germany, was keeping in trim by an interim stint for the Allied Air Transport Command, ferrying newly delivered planes from America across Africa to the Middle East theaters of the war.

I always spent a few days with him whenever my own assignments took me to one of his bases on the Southern shore of the Mediterranean. The last time I was down there, with more than usual anticipation of our customary celebration, I was shocked to receive a message from one of Ignace's favorite mechanics telling me why my friend would be unable to meet me. The message was accompanied by a small package of personal effects which Ignace had apparently directed someone to turn over to me in case of what he had ironically referred to as the possibility of "sudden death." That his death was so far from sudden will always recur to me as the most horrible of nightmares. To meet death so slowly is, I am sure, a fate reserved only for those of indubitably strong character and abundant spiritual resources.

The circumstances, or those of them that I have been able to piece together from the dispatchers' reports at Dakar and the Army's subsequent examination of the plane, make it appear that his death was the result of one of those incredibly trifling mechanical failures which could produce such a result only as a single exception to the incalculably greater odds of never happening at all. A peculiar combination of stresses and strains set up by the presence of a heavy cargo of vital war materials must have caused a short circuit on one or more of the plane's vital power connections. The immediate result was to put his radio out of commission. Thus lacking facilities to locate the successive signal beams along his route, he decided to head back to Dakar or perhaps locate a nearby field where repairs could be made.

As the day waned and darkness came on, however, he decided in favor of landing on the desert while he had sufficient visibility, and to save his gasoline to take off again once he had established his location. Having taken off on December 1st, and the first "ground entry" in his log bearing the date of December 9th, it is believed that he spent most of an entire week, with only the small emergency ration for sustenance, walking across the desert along various directional radii without learning anything of his whereabouts, each time returning to the starting point so as not to lose his plane.

It is possible that he would never have begun the fragmentary record of his last hours had he not reached a point where his physical condition left him with no alternative but to sit down and wait for the end. His resignation is evident from the very first notation on the pad which he had apparently re-strapped to his knee so that it would be found with his body. The succeeding entries were increasingly difficult to decipher, but the text of the single sheet he was able to finish appeared substantially as follows:

"Dec. 9th. 8:00 p.m. It's getting darker now, thank God.

Each day I have prayed that the sun would go down a little earlier to spare me from the heat of its rays, but tonight I hate to see it go nevertheless . . .

"9:00 p.m. I doubt if I will live through this night . . . I can feel myself growing weaker every minute. I think there are about three swallows of water left in my container . . . I am so thirsty, and I can't sleep . . . or is it that I don't want to? . . .

"11:00 p.m. I don't want sleep. I want to go somewhere . . . anywhere . . . but where, then? . . . I am completely lost . . . Trying to write is much too difficult. The pencil hurts my fingers . . . I am completely lost. That is all. This is the end. Please give what money may be found on me to my parents. L. knows how to reach them . . . and [say] that I died peacefully [in my] thoughts of them . . . The thirst is terrible . . . Now [two words illegible] I offer myself to God.

"Dec. 10th. 7:00 a.m. I think I can hold the pencil again for a minute . . . Yesterday I walked for three hours in a Westerly direction, and then I couldn't drag myself [any?] further . . . followed same [route] back to this spot . . . but it took me five hours . . . five . . .

"8:00 a.m. I hardly made it . . . I finished my water. Couldn't save it. Finished my [water] slowly during the night. I think [I took] the last drop at about 3:00 a.m. . . . As long as it is cool I [think?] maybe I can even stand this a little longer . . . I may even live . . . that is . . .

"9:00 a.m. If it gets much warmer there's not [one word illegible] chance of holding out . . . Death is very near now . . . And I did want to try [once more] to take off today . . . There's gas in the tank but it's no use. When [the] battery died . . . I'm so thirsty now . . .

"10:00 a.m. I apparently got a short circuit. Know ignition burned [out] because I heard it sizzling faintly during the night . . . I'm just lying and looking up now for [signs?] but I know rescue will never come . . .

"11:00 a.m. I do try to believe help will come, but I'm afraid I'm having day dreams . . . my throat hurts so . . . I keep imagining what [must lie] in store for me . . . what happens now?

"12:00 noon. I'm dying of hunger or thirst . . . no, hunger and thirst . . . [I'm] weak, weaker, weaker . . . Dear God! Shorten [this] suffering for me . . . No help in sight . . . Awfully hot . . . It hurts so [but] I drink by sucking my own skin for the few drops of perspiration I can find . . . it works . . . But I'm suffering terribly . . .

"1:45 p.m. Here! [Right now?] I hear a plane! It's flying toward the South, just a little to the West of me . . . But God! I can't move . . . I can't stand . . . [They] can't see me . . .

"2:15 p.m. That was my last hope . . . [the plane] disappearing into the hot sky . . . hot . . . hot now . . . There are just minutes [now] . . . I [feel] them ebbing away . . . away . . . Please, God! Have Mercy on my Soul!"

"3:30 p.m. Somehow can't [write?] more . . .

"4:00 p.m. Amen . . ."

I suppose what most of Ignace's friends are thinking about is the pity that after seeing so much enemy action he could not have died in the middle of it. But to me, he died in the way that every Polish pilot will remember heroically. Unable to save his own life, he at least saved the plane entrusted to his care, and when it was found it was promptly and easily put in condition to serve effectively against the enemy.

Ignace Wolski crowded a lifetime of service for a cause he believed in into a few youthful years. When war came he fought bravely. At his death he wanted only to make his peace with God. I know he did.

(Continued from page 3)

any traces of the pre-war regime and the occupation, and will be extended on the following principles:

1. Civic freedom, equality of rights and obligations and complete territorial, economic, social, and cultural self-government;

2. Human labor to be recognized as the greatest social value, on which the country's economic development and well-being are to be founded;

3. Industrial undertakings managed by Germans during the occupation, and all property left by the Germans or un-owned, and credit institutions to be placed, during the transitional period under State administration but with public participation, and public utility institutions to be taken over by local authorities.

4. The immediate introduction of an agrarian reform which will assure such a distribution of agricultural land as will secure the maximum number of healthy, strong, one-family peasant farms, which will guarantee the food supply of the whole nation. In this connection, during the liquidation of the occupation, all real estate destined for agrarian reform, especially land previously held by Germans, is to be put at the disposal of the State.

5. To ensure food supplies and indispensable industrial goods for the people.

6. To create suitable conditions for the development of co-operatives, to assure them their proper place in the organization of economic autonomy and, within the framework of planned economy, to make use of their services in the sphere of production, especially food production, exchange and distribution.

7. To work out a plan of financial and currency policy and a plan for the postwar reconstruction of Poland.

8. To repatriate deportees, those imprisoned or interned in German or Russian camps, or deported to forced labor, to eliminate unemployment in town and country on the principle of providing general employment.

VI. The agreement reached between the Parties signatory hereto shall not hamper them in developing and strengthening their own ideals and policies nor in waging suitable propaganda in the future. However, in any political writings in their Press organs the Parties will observe the loyalty resulting from their agreement and co-operation.

Warsaw, August 15, 1943.

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN POLAND

"MODERN WARFARE" BY GENERAL SIKORSKI

(Continued from page 4)

special powers as to the respective jurisdiction of the head of the government and the Commander in Chief, but in the chaos which would result from the confusion of responsibilities and powers."

In modern warfare, the General appointed Commander in Chief should coordinate the action of the Navy, Army and Air Force and be responsible for military matters directly to the Government or through the intermediary of the Minister of War.

"To conclude, a rational organization of national defence would comprise a reduced war cabinet, headed by the Prime Minister invested with full powers by the Council of National Defence to which the general direction of war would fall, and a High Command, solely responsible for the conduct of operations."

With the progress in mechanical warfare, the industrial nations had gained armed superiority in Europe. This called for a revision of the method of conducting war and of organizing the armed forces. This is how General Sikorski pro-

posed it should be done.

National defence must be based on the principle of compulsory military service built on the skeleton of a highly trained and competent regular army. The corps of professional specialists should be expanded particularly in technical fields such as the air force and tank corps. Emphasis should be placed on offensive training because a soldier trained for the offensive will also be good in defensive operations.

Motorization will enlarge strategic possibilities and mechanized forces would have tactical advantages on the field of battle. Tanks and aircraft have become the weapons of the twentieth century.

Today we can safely say there would have been no war if the Allied Powers had prepared themselves as General Sikorski proposed in 1934. Unfortunately the principles of "Modern Warfare" were followed by the enemy rather than by the Allies and no heed was paid to General Sikorski who wrote: *"The cause of the Western Powers and of the States restored by virtue of the Treaty of Versailles is our (Poland's) cause, just as Poland's cause is their cause."*

CLOCK AND WATCHMAKERS IN OLD LWOW

(Continued from page 7)

and quarter hours, and indicating the months of the year. The seven planets and twelve heavenly signs had to be shown also."

The most famous clock in Lwow was the City Hall clock. When the city hall tower was rebuilt in 1491 chime bells, weighing eleven hundredweight were installed. The hours were rung by hand until a new clock was made and installed in 1504 by Friar Gregorius. According to medieval custom this clock was beautifully ornamented with a painting on the dial. When in 1527 a fire reduced Lwow to ashes, by some miracle the clock though badly damaged survived. It was restored by Lukasz, a monk.

The clock was not so fortunate in 1571. This time a fire destroyed it completely. Almost immediately the city council ordered another clock from Melchior Thyl and three years later the clock was already on the tower. Separate quarter

chimes were added and the dial was again painted by an artist.

Another tower clock with an old history existed in the Halicz Arch. In 1549, the clock was placed in the tower above the arch as its main ornament. It was made by Friar Bernardine.

The tower clocks that struck out the hours of hope, liberty and happiness as well as hours of tragedy and suffering have been silenced by the German invader. But the hour of liberation of Lwow is approaching and new chimes cast from new metal will ring out to welcome a reborn Poland.

Cover: Sculpture in Church of St. Peter and Paul in Wilno.

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POLISH GOVERNMENT'S REPLY OF JANUARY 15th

The Polish Government have taken cognizance of the declaration of the Soviet Government contained in the Tass communique of Jan. 11, 1944, which was issued as a reply to the declaration of the Polish Government of January 5.

The Soviet communique contains a number of statements to which a complete answer is afforded by the ceaseless struggle against the Germans waged at the heaviest cost by the Polish nation under the direction of the Polish Government. In their earnest anxiety to safeguard the complete solidarity of the United Nations, especially at a decisive stage of their struggle against the common enemy, the Polish Government consider it to be preferable now to refrain from further public discussions.

While the Polish Government cannot recognize unilateral decisions

or accomplished facts which have taken place or might take place on the territory of the Polish republic, they have repeatedly expressed their sincere desire for a Polish-Soviet agreement on terms which would be just and acceptable to both sides.

To this end the Polish Government are approaching the British and United States Governments with a view to securing through their intermediary the discussion by the Polish and Soviet Government with the participation of the British and American Governments of all outstanding questions, the settlement of which should lead to a friendly and permanent cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union. The Polish Government believe this to be desirable in the interest of the victory of the United Nations and harmonious relations in post-war Europe."

TASS COMMUNIQUE OF JANUARY 17th

In reply to the declaration made by the Polish Government in London on January 15, Tass is authorized to state:

"First, in the Polish declaration, the question of the recognition of the Curzon Line as the Soviet-Polish frontier is entirely evaded and ignored. This can be interpreted only as a rejection of the Curzon Line.

"Second, as regards the Polish Government's proposal for the opening of official negotiations between it and the Soviet Government, the Soviet Government is of the opinion that this proposal aims at misleading public opinion, for it is easy to understand that the Soviet

Government is not in a position to enter into official negotiations with a government with which diplomatic relations have been broken.

"Soviet circles wish that it should be borne in mind that diplomatic relations with the Polish Government were broken off through the fault of that Government because of its active participation in the hostile anti-Soviet slanderous campaign of the German invaders in connection with the alleged murders in Katyn.

"Third, in the opinion of Soviet circles, the above-mentioned circumstances once again demonstrate that the present Polish Government does not desire to establish good neighborly relations with the Soviet Union."

Mikolajczyk's Broadcast to the People of Poland

PRIME MINISTER MIKOLAJCZYK broadcast to Poland on January 6th as follows:

"Poles! We are entering a turning point of history. According to dispatches from Moscow, the Soviet forces advancing in bitter victorious fighting against the Germans have crossed the Polish frontier. Defeat of our mortal enemies, the Germans, against whom we have been fighting without respite since the first of September, 1939, draws closer. It inspires us with hopes of prompt liberation and brings nearer the moment of our final reckoning with the Germans which will come irrespective of political situation!

"We should have preferred to meet the Soviet troops not merely as Allies of our Allies, fighting against the same common enemy, but as our own Allies as well. You know that on October 27th our government ordered the underground authorities in Poland to extend the existing plan of general organized and unswerving resistance against the Germans, and to intensify the struggle against the enemy, to avoid all conflicts that might possibly arise in view of the absence of Polish-Soviet diplomatic relations, to establish cooperation with Soviet commanders if such relations should be resumed.

"We know that the responsible leaders of the Directorate of Underground Resistance have received those orders. Only a few days ago we took further steps, aiming at further coordination of your struggle for the freedom and independence of our country with the common war effort of all United Nations. Our struggle start-

ed on the first of September, 1939, the day of the German invasion. We have been carrying it on ceaselessly and systematically, without mercy, and we shall deal with the enemy within our means and possibilities, without respite until he is finally defeated.

"Our strength is based on Poland's imperishable right to independence, and on the declarations and obligations of our Allies and of the United Nations. We demand respect for the rights and interests of the Polish Republic, its supreme authorities and its citizens in any war situation and at every stage of the development of the international political situation.

"We are performing our duty and claim recognition and respect for our rights, that is all. Acting as we are, we are entitled to believe firmly that in the struggle in which we are facing hate, violence, murder and robbery, the eternal principles of morality, justice and law as well as those of the Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms are on our side—Poland will win strength, freedom and independence.

"I am convinced that in this moment of most severe trial and in the final round of the fight against the Germans, you will carry out the orders of the Polish Government and of the Directorate of Underground Resistance with calm, determination, discipline and solidarity.

"The moment has come when I can reveal certain decisions taken by the Polish Government, in close consultation with the People in Poland, that had to remain secret until today. The whole world knows that Hitlerite rule in Poland is only surface deep. The Ger-

mans never managed to master your hearts, your thoughts or make you their servants.

"In the Polish underground there exists a complete Polish state, fully organized in all phases of State administration, political, military, social and economic. The highest authorities of that State acting abroad on its behalf, reside in London. The Polish State never ceased to exist. All that happened was that under the pressure of events its organs had to become secret with the exception of those which had to remain in the open for the purpose of carrying out their duties outside the country.

"Acting in consultation with our authorities in Poland, I submitted to the cabinet (I was then Minister of the Interior) a draft decree concerning the temporary organization of administration on the territories of the Polish Republic. This was duly signed on September 1st, 1942, by the President, Prime Minister Sikorski and all members of the Government.

"Our purpose in making public the existence of such a decree is to make plain to the Polish citizens in the Motherland, the legal basis of the authority and competence of that member of the Polish Cabinet who, as Deputy Prime Minister, is a delegate of the Polish Government in Poland.

"He has full authority to carry out all the functions of the Government concerning Home Administration. The delegate of the Government carries out his duties in accordance with orders and instructions of the Government of the Republic, with the assistance of his staff, its network of administrative offices acting, in close cooperation with the Polish political representa-

tion and with the Commander of the Polish Underground Forces. Thus the onerous State duty of assuring continuity of the legal Government in Underground Poland is carried on.

"The time may be close at hand, for the Directorate of Underground Resistance to reveal itself. The Polish Government decided therefore by a special vote to make public the decree of the first of September, 1942. The delegate of the Government, a member of the Cabinet appointed by the President of the Polish Republic will perform in Poland, until the return of the Prime Minister, the duties of deputy Prime Minister just as the Deputy Prime Minister does in London, during the absence of the Prime Minister.

"The delegate of the Government in Poland will reveal his name and official residence in due time. You are familiar with his declarations, and with instructions bearing the signature of the Government's delegate. I am convinced they will continue to be obeyed by you, as scrupulously as they have been hitherto, and that your sense of responsibility as citizens of the Polish Republic, which never failed in times of hardest trial, will not fail now.

"Citizens of the Republic! Everyone of you, even in the most remote parts of our country, knows his rights and duties. Our instructions and orders reach you. By carrying them out strictly, with solidarity, determination and calm, in the days of final test that are at hand, you will fulfill your duties in the struggle for our rights: a strong, free and independent Poland, with free and happy citizens."

THE CHARTER OF POLISH LIBERTIES

THE Government of National Unity nominated by the President of the Republic in conformity with the Polish Constitution, is the lawful executive authority of the Polish State. Considering itself as the instrument of the common will of all the citizens of the Republic to whose welfare it is solely devoted, the Government declares:

1. The principal object of the Polish Government is to liberate their country and restore its due position among independent Nations. It is pursuing this purpose by the most effective participation of Poland and her Armed Forces in the war on the side of the fighting democracies, and by securing for Poland a broad direct access to the sea as well as frontiers which will fully guarantee the safety and prosperity of the Republic.

2. Actively participating in the task of building a new world order the Polish Government is governed by the principle that this new order must ensure a just and lasting peace. Based upon the mutual collaboration of free nations and on their individual right to free existence, it should be protected by organized force in the service of right. Blocs of federated nations rationally and purposely formed in Europe, will introduce and ensure this new order and safeguard the world from the danger of war.

The Polish Government will demand the complete and effective disarmament of the aggressors, which would exclude any future aggression, as well as ask for the severe punishment of those responsible for the present war, that is Germany and her Allies. They must be made to suffer merited chastisement for the injustices, crimes and destruction they have committed and at the same time, must render full moral and material satisfaction to those whom they have wronged. This is enjoined by primary and eternal justice which must govern international relations.

The future political and economic structure of Poland will be ultimately decided by the Parliament of free Poland endowed with legislative power as soon as hostilities have ended. Today, however, when the moment approaches to decide upon post-war organization of the world and of Europe and when international opinion desires to know the nature of the future Poland, in order to justify their confidence in that Country, the Government of National Unity declares:

1. Poland will stand by Christian principles and culture.

2. The Polish Republic will be a democratic republican State, closely conforming to the principles of legal Government responsible to a true national assembly fully representative of the common will of the people and elected by the method of general, equal and direct secret vote. The Polish Nation unreservedly repudiates all systems of totalitarian government and old forms of dictatorship, as contrary to the principles of democracy.

3. Poland will guarantee the rights and liberties of all citizens loyal to the Republic, regardless of national,

religious or racial differences. Coupled with equality of obligations, equality of rights will be assured to the national minorities fulfilling their civic duties towards the State. They will be given the possibility of free political, cultural and social development.

Full freedom of conscience and expression, of association and assembly will be guaranteed to all. The exercise of Justice will be independent of any influence on the part of the State executive authority.

4. Post-war Poland will endeavor to ensure work and a fair livelihood to the whole population, thereby removing once and for all from her territory the scourge of unemployment. Every citizen will possess the right to work, as well as the duty to work, while retaining the choice of occupation. The national economic policy will be guided by this with the necessity of a planned post-war reconstruction and of industrial development and the mobilization of all productive forces vital to the general welfare.

Sound agricultural reform, ensuring the just partition of land amongst the peasant population should, with the exception of a limited number of model and experimental farms, create medium-sized but independent, profitable and productive farms, husbanded as a rule by the farmers' household. On the basis of these legislative, political, economic and social principles we shall raise the standard of life of the working masses, the peasants, the workers and intellectual professions, and assure to them their rightful cooperation in the development of our national culture.

5. The general economic development of Poland was delayed for political reasons during the Partitions and is suffering a setback by the occupation of the country. The Polish Nation will make every effort to attain in the shortest possible time, the level of the Western European countries, and it desires to collaborate in this respect with other democratic nations.

6. The spirit of self-sacrifice and of patriotism as well as sound political judgment of which our nation has given ample evidence during the war, demand that the whole public life of Poland be based upon initiative and activities of the community itself. In particular, the largest possible measure of public affairs should be left to the free administration and decision of local, economic and professional Self-Governments.

7. Poland will possess a strong and efficient executive power, capable of taking speedy and determined action to frustrate any intentions hostile to Poland, and of rallying in times of danger all the vital forces of the country.

Upon these principles and following the resolutions of the National Council, appointed on the proposal of the Prime Minister by the President of the Republic, the Polish Government will work out detailed projects concerning the future political and economic structure of Poland for submission to Parliament immediately after its convocation.