

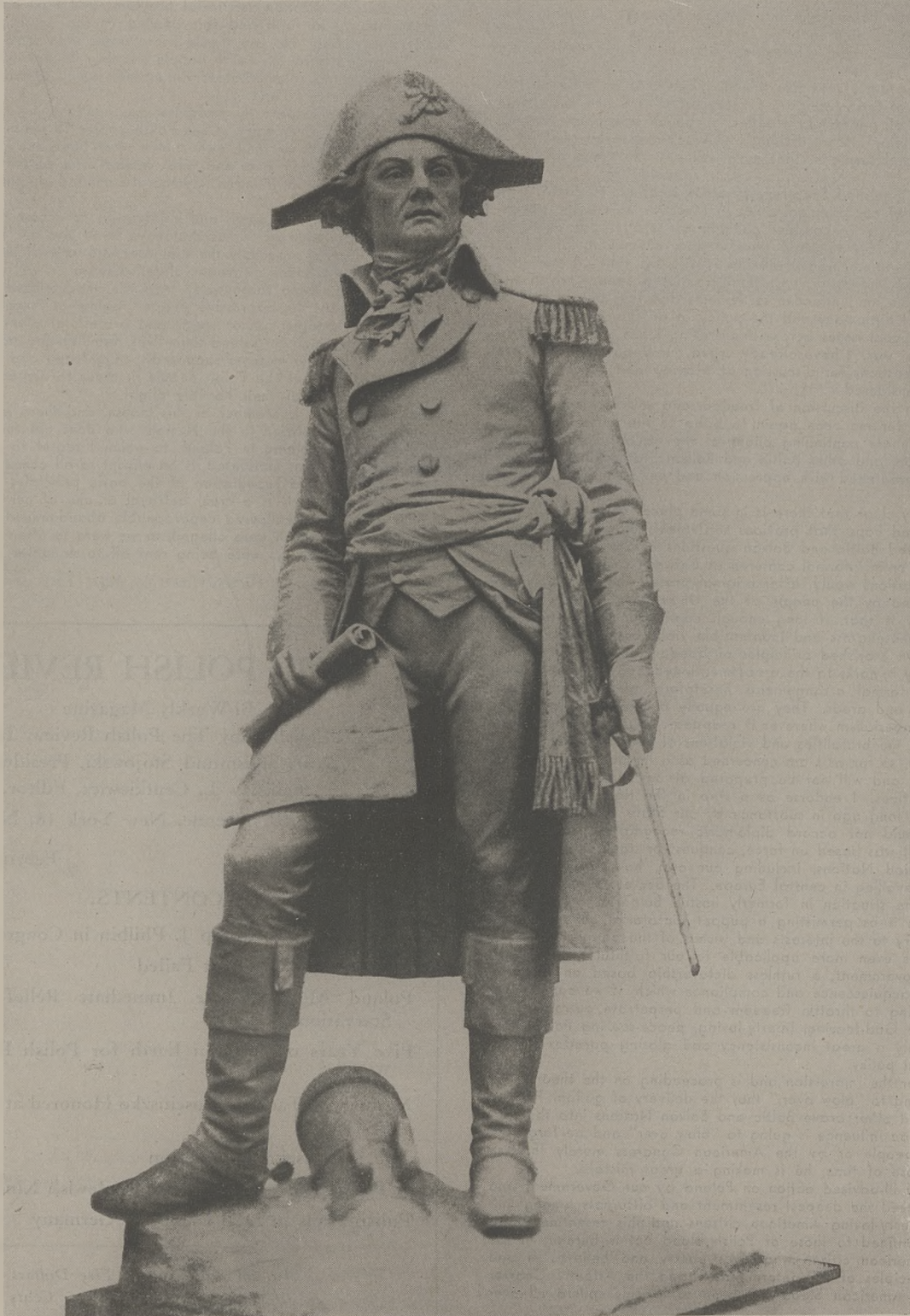
THE POLISH REVIEW

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No. 3

TADEUSZ KOSCIUSZKO BICENTENNIAL (1746-1946)



Tadeusz Kosciuszko, hero of two continents (born February 12, 1746, died October 15, 1817).
Fragment of the Kosciuszko Monument in Washington, D. C. Sculptured by Antoni Popiel.

Speech of Hon. Philip J. Philbin of Massachusetts in the House of Representatives on December 20, 1945

IT IS most appropriate on the eve of the birthday of the Prince of Peace that Congress should give its attention to pending great questions affecting world peace.

I am therefore introducing today a resolution in behalf of the Polish people, expressing sympathy with their aspirations for a completely free status and pledging the assistance of this Congress to their aims for a democratic government of their own choice. It seems particularly fitting, at this time when our Secretary of State is engaged in conferences with leading ministers of the United Nations, that this Congress should express the hope that he will be able to bring into the agenda of these conferences the problems of Poland, Lithuania, and other Baltic and Balkan Nations.

It may also be appropriate at this time to hope that at these conferences our Secretary of State may move successfully to fix an early date for the negotiation of permanent treaties of peace and thus end the dangerous policy of international drifting which appears to be generating feelings of distrust and suspicion that may well sow the seeds of future wars.

Our able and distinguished Secretary of State is about to confer with the foreign ministers of our principal allies in Moscow. This is the appropriate occasion, therefore, to consider pending great questions which involve on almost a world-wide scale the freedom of millions of worthy democratic-minded peoples. Above all, this is also the time to move for and arrange the early negotiation of final treaties of peace which will determine just, durable, and effective settlements and thus put an end to patchwork, piecemeal diplomacy and the policy of drifting and equivocation on vital international issues before this drifting leads us to the threshold of another great war. I have already urged our Department of State to bring up these questions for discussion at Moscow and earnestly hope that they may be considered.

In connection with the discussion of freedom and self-determination, it is most appropriate for me once again to bring to the attention of the Congress the unfortunate continuing plight of the gallant Polish people, the Lithuanian Nation, and other Baltic and Balkan States which are now suffering from, or threatened with oppression and unwarranted denial of freedom.

It would seem very clear that there is in some places here and abroad, the belief, desire, and hope that previous settlements of the Polish question and other related Baltic and Balkan questions heretofore arrived at by unilateral action or in informal conferences between some of the leaders of the United Nations would, after original protest, be ultimately accepted and approved by the people of the United States. The theory underlying this view is that, if long enough continued, our Nation will forget or overlook these gross and indefensible violations of the Atlantic Charter and our own cherished principles of freedom and justice. And I am not confining my remarks to the areas mentioned above because they are pertinent to informal arrangements heretofore made which affect many other nations and areas. They are equally pertinent to the brutal encroachments of imperialism wherever it reappears in ugly form throughout the world as to the brutalities and violations of totalitarianism.

Be that as it may, so far as I am concerned as a member of Congress, I am not prepared and will not be prepared at any time to forget or overlook these injustices. I endorse as a step in the right direction the principle stated not long ago in substance by our State Department that this government would not accord diplomatic recognition to autonomy over any nation that was based on force, conquest or aggression.

Some of the Allied Nations, including our own, have protested the political systems prevailing in central Europe. The Secretary of State has sharply criticized the situation in formerly hostile Bulgaria in particular, because he regards it as permitting a puppet dictatorial government in that country contrary to the interests and wishes of the people. In logic, the same protest is even more applicable to our faithful ally, Poland, where a puppet government, a ruthless dictatorship based on force, is established by our acquiescence and compliance which, if we can believe reports, is proceeding to throttle freedom and perpetrate outrage after outrage against the God-fearing, liberty-loving, peace-seeking Polish people. This is certainly a great inconsistency and glaring paradox of our current international policy.

If anyone is under the impression and is proceeding on the theory that this situation is going to "blow over," that the delivery of gallant Poland, heroic Lithuania and other brave Baltic and Balkan Nations into the special sphere of Russian influence is going to "blow over" and be forgotten by the American people or by the American Congress merely through inertia and the lapse of time, he is making a great mistake.

The irregular and ill-advised action on Poland by our Government and our allies has provoked the deepest resentment and bitterness among millions of decent, liberty-loving American citizens and this resentment and bitterness is not confined to those of Polish blood but is burning in the heart of every American citizen who loves liberty and believes in and stands for the principles of self-determination and the Atlantic Charter for which precious American blood has been so lavishly spilled all over the world.

What could be more destructive of our professed war aims than for

this great, free, and powerful Nation to join with the other nations in turning over the Polish people to an undemocratic and ruthless regime against their will, and without their consent and without action by the United States Senate whose approval of foreign treaties is required by the Constitution. Could we believe for one moment that the United States Senate would ever sanction this outrage?

I am conscious that some Allied statesmen have talked about the political mistakes of the Polish, have advocated the so-called Curzon line as the solution to Poland's territorial problems and have made accusations against the good faith and fair dealing of the Polish people that are most unwarranted. No one should know better than some of these statesmen themselves that the Polish people not only do not accept the Curzon line, but have no voice whatever in present policy or acts of the present puppet masters of Poland.

Those who participate in, recognize, and condone this outrageous violation of the God-given right of the Polish people to maintain and conduct a free government of their own choice must bear due guilt for the evil consequences of their acts and weak excuses and patent subterfuges will never delude the fair-minded, democratic-minded peoples of the earth, here or elsewhere.

It is even more outrageous and indefensible to accuse the Polish people of the terrible inhuman crimes that have been and are being committed in eastern Europe, especially the slaughter and exile of the religious, when it is a known fact that all means of self-defense as well as self-expression have long since been taken away from the impoverished and defenseless Polish people by the oppressive puppet regime in Poland.

These poor people cannot speak and protest let alone procure or use the arms with which to defend their lives, families and possessions. It has become fashionable in some supposedly enlightened and liberal circles to make scape-goats of the Polish people in order to distract attention from those responsible for their horrible plight.

But there is not a Member of this House, and there is not a freedom-loving American citizen in the Nation, who does not recognize that this situation now obtaining in Poland, to which I regret to say our Government apparently has consented, is an affront to all conceptions of honesty and justice. It is a repudiation of the basic principles of freedom and self-determination. It is a cruel betrayal of one of our most loyal allies in the war. It is a calloused unpardonable abandonment of the so-called "four freedoms" which were alleged, as we were so often and so positively assured when our boys were being sent off to slaughter and death in all

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POLAND: THE TEST THAT FAILED

by EUGENE LYONS

THE facts about the betrayal of Poland by its allies have been so often rehearsed that there is little need to repeat them here. Those who at this late stage in the obscene story remain insensitive to such palpable injustice will not be touched by anything I can say.

I know that I am talking to readers who share my sense of outrage, yet I feel that the words will not be wasted. Because the problem is no longer Poland: The problem is our own moral integrity: whether we shall hold steadfastly to our perception of the truth or shall console ourselves with half-truths and outright falsehoods.

We can put our consciences to sleep with ready-made propagandist soporifics. We can accept the hypocrisies with which the betrayal has been camouflaged. In that way we will make ourselves moral confederates in the crime.

Or we can make manifest our disapproval of what has been done to Poland despite the fact that it is unpopular and "impractical" behavior. In that way we can not only salvage our human self-respect but keep alive a hope of justice for Poland and for the world.

The temptation, of course, is to blur the reality with desperate explanations and excuses. They are abundant and almost inescapable, since the resources of a great nation and its fifth columns in all countries are devoted to the manufacture of plausible arguments.

The Curzon line, ethnical alibis, Russia's "security frontiers," a new government of "national unity," territorial compensations in the West for amputations in the East, the promised "unfettered elections." No one of these things may suffice, but all together they seem portentous, as if a kind of truth can be achieved by adding up enough lies.

The temptation, also, is to blame Poland for its own misfortunes. If only we can convince ourselves that the Poles are a wicked people with predilections for fascism and imperialism, we shall be automatically relieved of the burden of sorrow over their new enslavement.

It is all too human to resent the outcries of the victims of injustice. Why can't they suffer in decent silence instead of spoiling the slumbers of a tired world? "Democratic opinion" has adjusted itself comfortably to the sacrifice of the Baltic republics, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Who ever mentions them any longer? For that matter, who ever mentions the raw deal we gave the Chetniks under Draja Mihailovich in Yugoslavia? A few months of complacency on the subject and the Polish question, too, will disappear.

For that very reason, however, some of us believe that it is important to keep the awareness of the Polish tragedy alive—even more important for ourselves than for Poland. A thousand times in the last few years we have heard it said, rightly, that "Poland is the test"—the test of justice for smaller nations, of a sensible and enduring peace, of democratic prestige in the Europe cleansed of Hitlerism. We must recognize, without delusions and without alibis, that the test has failed.

No amount of diplomatic double-talk and forensic hocus-pocus can alter the essential history of these years.

Poland, unlike all other neighbors of Nazi Germany, refused to yield to Hitler, even when he offered tempting loot as a reward for collaboration. On February 10, 1935, Goering proposed to Warsaw an "anti-Russian alliance and a joint



A Moment in Polish-Russian Relations: General Sikorski and General Anders received by Kalinin, President of the U.S.S.R. in 1941.

attack on Russia," with Polish dominance in the Ukraine as the reward.

The proposal was renewed on February 16, 1937, on September 29, 1938 and again as late as March 21, 1939. Poland, unwilling to make itself the battleground of a Russo-German show-down, consistently refused such an alliance, in full knowledge that it was incurring Nazi hatred.

In the crucial summer of 1939, Poland knew only too well that it could not hope for direct military aid from the West and it had no assurances that Russia would offer even moral support. Yet it chose to resist Nazi encroachments rather than to sacrifice its independence. It fought heroically against the invaders for seventeen days despite incalculable disparity in the strength of the two countries and would have fought longer if not for Russia's stab in the back. We have the story in Commissar Molotov's own words:

"One swift blow to Poland, first by the German army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left of this ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty."

Later Communist drivel about Russia's need for "a friendly neighbor" seems sufficiently cynical in the light of the Stalin-Hitler partition of the country. The Soviet occupation of the Eastern half of the country in the twenty-two months that followed was every bit as brutal as the German occupation. The invaders plundered the land and deported 1,500,000 of its people to labor camps and exile regions inside the Soviet Union.

The picture changed in June, 1941—but not through any act of volition of the Kremlin's part. After Hitler's assault on Russia, Stalin not only canceled the partition but hurriedly recognized the Polish government-in-exile. He reconfirmed the frontiers of Poland established by Lenin and repeatedly recognized by the Soviet regime.

It was only after the tide of battle turned against Germany, after the victory at Stalingrad, that Moscow's appetite for Polish soil was revived. It was then that the puppet group of pro-Soviet Poles was organized, subsequently to flourish as the so-called Lublin Committee and provisional government. It was then that all the arguments used until June, 1941 to justify Stalin's division of the country with Hitler were renewed and fortified.

Meanwhile the Germans, failing to find a single prominent quisling in Poland, visited upon that country more horrors

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POLAND: THE TEST THAT FAILED

(Continued from page 3)

than upon the rest of Nazi-held Europe combined. Under conditions far more dangerous than in France or Belgium or Norway, the Polish underground resistance—in continuous and well-integrated cooperation with the government-in-exile in London—developed amazing strength.

Then came “liberation,” victory—and betrayal. The first nation to fight Nazi Germany and the most heroic in continuing the fight after overwhelming defeat, Poland emerged from the conflict shorn of nearly half its territory and nearly all its national independence. Formally among the victorious nations, it is actually no better off than the defeated nations and worse off than some of the Axis satellites.

It is ruled by a Moscow-made puppet regime only thinly disguised by the face-saving addition of a few helpless “democratic” officials. Its people are terrorized by the secret police of a foreign Power which treats Polish patriotism as a high crime punishable by prison, exile, forced labor and even death.

Neither its population nor its war leaders, at home and abroad, have had a voice in the formation of its government, the delineation of its new frontiers, the revision of its social and political institutions. Worse: key leaders of the Polish Underground, lured into Russia by a trick unprecedented in the relations between civilized countries, have been “convicted” of the crime of loving their nation and distrusting the neighbor who divided it with Hitler.

Millions of the country’s inhabitants, Poles and non-Poles, have been forcibly annexed by a strong neighbor and brought against their will under the whip of a ruthless dictatorship. The country has been blacked out by an alien censorship and barred to the representatives of the democratic nations which were its allies against Germany.

This is the tragedy of Poland—and of the postwar world. The nation reborn through victory in World War I has been killed off, in all but name, through victory in World War II. Its fate stands as the most conspicuous and distressing proof that the idealistic and humane hopes aroused by the war—hopes embodied in the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, the passionate oratory of our leaders—have been wrecked and betrayed.

The Polish problem has been officially “settled,” but only in the sense that the Czechoslovak problem was settled after Munich. In the eyes of those not blinded by Soviet propaganda, it is not a settlement but a surrender. “We have no intention of recognizing the Lublin Committee.” Foreign Minister Anthony Eden declared in the House of Commons after the Yalta conference. “We do not regard it as representative of Poland at all.” Yet that Committee is today the government of Poland, recognized by both London and Washington.

It is still headed by a Communist who is a Soviet citizen. The few men carefully picked by the Kremlin from among Poles abroad are a tiny and powerless minority in the regime serving only as a cover for the totally quisling nature of the regime. The men from among whom genuine spokesmen for Polish independent political organization might have come are mostly in Soviet prisons and concentration camps.

That our own government and Britain have seen fit to underwrite this puppet set-up is the most shameful fact of all. The capitulation has not even the saving grace of necessity; the Yalta agreement, in itself a formula of appeasement, has been so crudely violated in letter and in spirit that we had every right to reject the misnamed government of “national unity.”

The territorial “compensation” given to Poland, carved out

of the carcass of defeated Germany, is not only unjust, illogical, and a supreme insult to the Atlantic Charter, but it saddles the country with a frightful new burden.

By creating a zone of war infection, it makes Poland hopelessly dependent on Russia, which was probably the intention in the first place. Besides, two wrongs do not make a right. If Russian seizure of Polish soil by unilateral decision was unjustified, no amount of territory taken from Germany can alter the situation.

Who would have thought, when the Curzon line argument was first thrown into the propaganda hopper, that the world would accept the fiction as if it were a law of nature? The line had never been intended as a final and immutable one. Soviet leaders themselves had declared it “unfair” to Poland when it was proposed, and thereafter had repeatedly attested the inviolability of the frontiers fixed by the Riga peace treaty.

Yet today statesmen and empty-headed radio commentators alike talk of the line as if it represented some profound principle of righteousness. They fail to note that it is now merely a euphemism for the Ribbentrop-Molotov line of 1939, assigning to Russia areas of Poland never cut off by the Curzon proposal.

The argument based on seemingly plausible ethnological facts, likewise, has been accepted unthinkingly, sometimes even by people opposed to the betrayal of Poland. They overlook the critical consideration that in this epoch *ideological* factors frequently outweigh *racial* factors.

Sudeten Germans and Baltic Germans might have no desire to become the subjects of a totalitarian Nazi state regardless how they felt about the blood relationship. By the same token Ukrainians and White Russians lucky enough to have escaped the Soviet totalitarian yoke might prefer relative freedom outside the Soviet walls to inclusion among Stalin’s Ukrainian and White Russian subjects.

We are in an age when political affinities are at least as vital as blood affinities. I can

attest from extensive personal observation that the peoples geographically closest to the Kremlin dictatorship—the peoples of Poland, Rumania, the Baltics, Finland—are precisely the ones who knew most about its horrors and had least relish to share them.

But the Communist explanations and justifications are, in the final check-up, unworthy of serious discussion. Even if every one of them were valid, it would give Russia no right to act as judge, jury and high executioner. Poland was one of the United Nations, indeed a charter member in heroic standing while Russia was still collaborating with Germany.

Any revision of borders or government or social institutions should have remained a matter for decision among all the United Nations at such points where it was not wholly an internal problem for the Polish people themselves.

The simple fact is that Russia has treated Poland like a conquered country, without even bothering to consult its allies in the conquest. Until its full political independence is restored, Poland will stand as a grim rebuke to the conscience of America and all other democratic nations.

We must permit neither habit nor propaganda to dull our feeling of outrage. Poland is still the test—the test of moral awareness in a world where moral values have been almost forgotten.

(Reprinted from the
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"Do Not Give Way to Evil"
Polish medal struck in 1758.

Poland Must Receive Immediate Relief to Avert Starvation

THE REVEREND E. E. SWANSTROM REPORTS ON HIS MISSION OF MERCY

“CONDITIONS are worse in Poland than anywhere else in Europe.” This is how the Reverend Doctor Edward E. Swanstrom sums up what he saw after having spent five months in Europe and the Near East observing the food supply situation in nine war ravaged countries. Father Swanstrom, Assistant Director of the War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Reverend Aloysius J. Wycislo, Director of Polish Projects, visited Poland as agents of War Relief Services—NCWC to confer with ecclesiastical and government officials regarding the needs of the stricken Polish people and to determine the best way of distributing the goods that are being sent over by the Catholic agency.

Father Swanstrom reports that he has seen the German cities that everyone believed to be so destroyed but that they can't possibly compare with Warsaw, in which only five buildings remain standing. People are living in excavated cellars or in former air raid shelters. Some reside across the river in Praga, which is also largely demolished.

“I drove towards Cracow from Warsaw by way of Katowice, Czestochowa and Poznan,” says Father Swanstrom, “and I saw that every one of the towns except Cracow is destroyed. In the farming communities buildings have been torn down or bombed out. Trees have been cut down by the army to put up road blocks and what remains has been used for fuel. There are no horses or farm machinery. Farming is at a standstill even in Western Poland.”

Food is also very scarce, except on the open market, where prices are prohibitive—400 zlotys for a single meal. There is a rationing system based on categories—government employes get first category cards, intellectuals and those in private enterprise get second category cards, while those on relief and pensioners get third category cards—but according to Father Swanstrom, even the first category rations cannot keep body and soul together since there simply is not enough food available. In October, for instance, the father of three children was able to get only two cans of evaporated milk for his entire family, while his coupons went to waste. This winter Poland faces an even greater food shortage, and unless there is immediate outside help, there will be wholesale starvation.

Clothing is beyond the means of 90% of the population as there is none left in the country. “We were there the last week in November and the first two in December. Already then there were blizzards. We met hundreds of adults without shoes, their feet wrapped in burlap. We continually came across children on the roads going to school without shoes or stockings.

“In view of the serious plight of the people,” Father Swanstrom continues, “we were very anxious to do what we could as far as relief is concerned. Our main concern was the children and old people. While I was there, the first shipment of relief supplies that we had sent to Poland arrived in Gdynia. We arranged for its transportation to Cracow and other cities.”

Transportation is a major problem in Poland today. Owing to the destruction of the railroad beds and bridges and to the poor equipment, it takes 14 to 20 hours to cover the distance from Gdynia to Warsaw by rail, a normal 9 hour ride, while it takes 16 to 22 hours to travel from Warsaw to Cracow, ordinarily an 8 hour stretch. There is practically no petrol for motor transport, so most transporting is done by horse-drawn vehicles.

Therefore, Father Swanstrom arranged for the purchase of 24 large 2½ ton trucks in France and had them sent to Gdynia. In this way the War Relief Services will have their own transportation facilities, and will be able to select cities where the need is greatest and send the supplies there. Petrol will be purchased from UNRRA.



Associated Press Photo

In devastated Warsaw life goes on. Here in the suburb of Praga, on the right bank of the Vistula, a trolley-bus line is being put in operation.

Central warehousing will be in Gdynia and Danzig, where the material will be broken down before it is shipped by truck to the designated communities.

Private pre-war agencies such as *Caritas*, Jewish welfare agencies, the Polish Red Cross, the Polish YMCA have been reestablished in Poland and are doing what they can with the small means at their disposal.

The War Relief Services will operate through *Caritas*, a nation-wide relief agency organized along diocesan and parish lines. The Warsaw *Caritas* under the direction of the Archbishop of Warsaw, Antoni Szlagowski, conducts 55 school kitchens, 37 kindergartens, 62 recreation centers, 5 day nurseries, 135 institutions, 17 feeding centers, 7 feeding centers for repatriates, 3 night shelters, and 40 shelters. These serve over 50,000 children and adults. The Katowice *Caritas* has been active since January 1945. Along with the Polish Red Cross it has been rendering aid to displaced Poles returning to Poland and to Poles coming from the East to settle in the West. In the first six months, shelter was given to 412,125 persons and 1,169,786 meals were served. In Katowice there are 15 institutions housing 600 children. Supplementary feeding stations for infants and children, 23 institutions for the aged accommodating 1,400 persons, a convalescent home for mothers, cooperation with 7 hospitals and aid to pre-school institutions are among other forms of ac-

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FIVE YEARS OF HELL ON EARTH FOR POLISH PRISONERS OF WAR

THE Germans did not treat their prisoners of war humanely. But their treatment of Polish war prisoners topped even their customary brutality.

Following the collapse of Polish military resistance in September and October, 1939, the Germans rounded up the flower of the Polish army—the defenders of Warsaw, Modlin, and the seacoast, the cavalymen and the fliers, 6,000 officers and 1,000 non-commissioned officers in all—and confined them in a separate camp at Woldenberg, near the Polish-German frontier in Pomerania, where they created a veritable hell on earth for these Polish heroes.

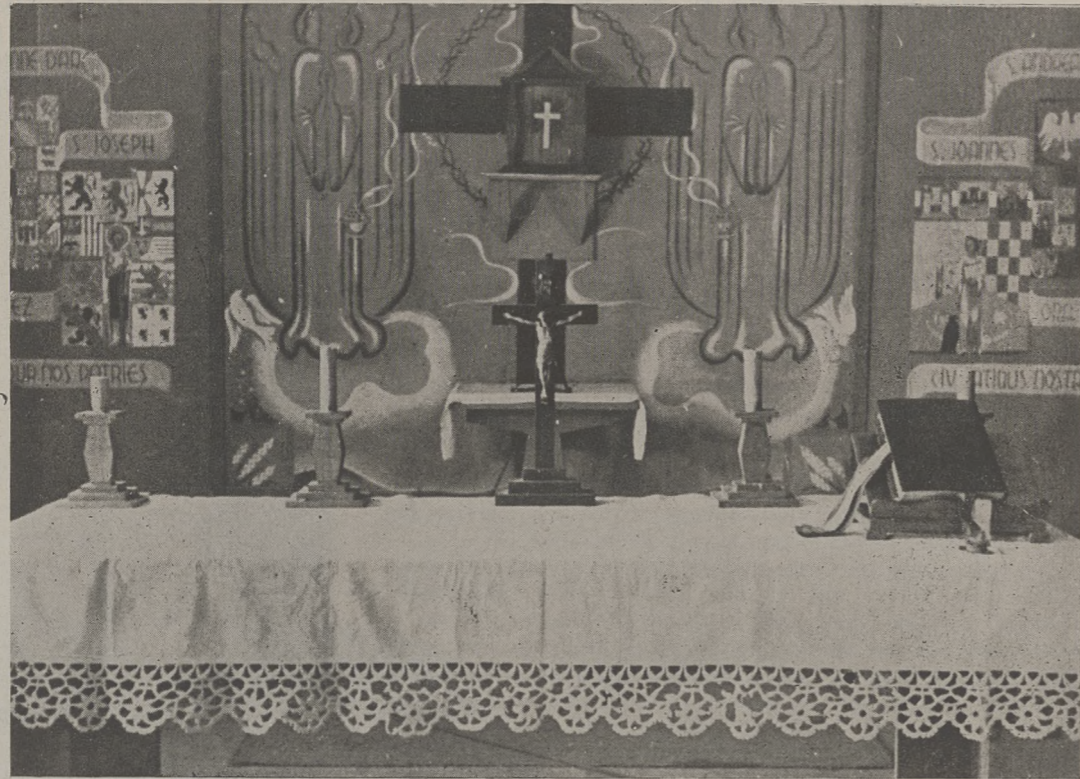
That the mortality rate was high and that 200 were mentally ill in one camp alone, was a perfectly natural consequence of the existence the Poles were forced to lead.

Jan Sulicki, who spent five years in the Woldenberg camp, and who has told his story to THE POLISH REVIEW, lost 60 pounds during his imprisonment. So bad was the food he and his fellow-prisoners were fed throughout these years that after liberation the drinking of a glass of milk or the eating of an egg sufficed to cause a two-week serious gastric disturbance.

"Our quarters were next to impossible," he recalls. "We were issued a paper-covered sawdust mattress and pillow in 1939 and had to hang on to them until 1945. No linen whatsoever was provided, and a thin blanket was the only means of keeping warm in the unheated barracks. So damp was the air inside these stuffy pestholes that the walls were covered with an inch and a half green mold. Acrobatic skill was required to climb the three-tier bunks without the use of a ladder. The place was infested with literally millions of fleas and bedbugs so that prisoners got up three times and more during the night to change their underclothing and get a measure of relief from the vermin. One enterprising prisoner sewed himself a sleeping bag which he fastened tightly at the neck and thus saved himself the trouble of the quick change in an icy room at night. We had less space per man than is allotted to sailors in the cramped quarters of a submarine. Jammed into one medium sized room were 150 men. During the winter months we all congregated inside, because we had no warm clothing for outdoor walking. The noise resulting from the activity and conversation of so many human beings was terrific. We found the bedlam so hard on our nerves that we all longed for the opportunity of getting into the comparative quiet of the camp prison. We swapped choice items from our occasional Red Cross parcels for the privilege of receiving priority on the prison-candidate list."

There were Polish physicians among the prisoners—some excellent ones at that—but they could do little to alleviate suffering without medication or instruments. The complete loss of teeth as a result of scurvy was by no means a rare occurrence.

Life was further made unendurable by the roll call twice daily, by periodic arbitrary German refusal to allow prisoners



A Camp Chapel built by Polish prisoners of war in Germany.

to receive parcels and letters, by the constant searches of every inch of the barracks, and by the deliberate false anti-aircraft alarms designed to disturb the prisoners' sleep.

And yet, in spite of what seemed unbearable conditions, these Polish prisoners of war somehow organized a semblance of life for themselves and even struck back at the Germans in whatever ingenious ways they could think up.

"As in Poland itself, there were two levels of existence," explains Mr. Sulicki, "an open one and a secret underground level. On the surface we adhered to the multitude of German regulations and lived the restricted life of captives. But underneath, the camp teemed with activity. We organized secret schools up to and including the university, we had a secret press, a radio service, we waged psychological warfare, carried out sabotage and devoted all our spare time to planning escape from the camp. Escape was the thought uppermost in the minds of us all."

Time and again Polish prisoners of war succeeded in making a get-away. One striking exploit was that of 15 prisoners who simply walked out of the camp dressed as German guards, duplicating Nazi *heils*, the goosestep and other mannerisms. Out of virtually nothing the Poles had manufactured exact replicas of the German outfits, using bits of wood, cardboard, tin, and various smuggled items in the process. A special staff of artists worked full time forging documents that could pass the closest scrutiny.

But the main activity of the whole camp was tunneling. Passages ran in all directions under the barracks. As a matter of fact, the entire area was dug up like a mole-hill.

So persistent were Polish efforts that the Germans regularly ran tractors across the camp area to churn up all the tunnels. They employed listening devices and even resorted to the planting of spies among the prisoners of war. Still, the incorrigible Poles could not be discouraged.

How did the Poles manage to do such a prodigious amount of digging without being detected? And what did they use for tools?

"Well," says Mr. Sulicki, "at first we used slats from our crude bunks. When the Germans got wise to us, they had each slat numbered and checked the numbers every single day. But this did not faze us. We sliced each slat in half, slept on a thinner bed and laughed up our sleeves at the Huns.

"Getting rid of the sand we accumulated from the digging operations was a more tricky problem. We solved it by having a prisoner make one or two holes in his pocket, fill it with sand and go out into the yard for a walk. The sand trickled down to the earth and fifty other prisoners milling around would beat it into the ground with their feet. A layer of sand over an inch thick covered the floor under the cardboard in the attic and considerable quantities were buried in vegetable gardens which we had to tend."

Strategic measures were also taken. Prisoners secretly made their way underneath the latrines and began a steady tapping which served to confuse the Germans listening through their detectors. Sometimes when the prisoners noticed that the German spies were on the track of an important tunnel, they told a guard about a fake tunnel they had constructed as a false lead, informing him that if he reported its discovery, he would be rewarded with a two-week vacation. A German labor battalion thereupon descended upon the camp and destroyed the "tunnel," while the Poles chuckled inwardly at their success in duping the "master race."

Throughout their imprisonment the Poles carried on an anti-German propaganda campaign. Despite the close German watch, they received news of the outside world. So accurate was their intelligence service—the Poles issued secret bulletins in German for German consumption edited by a superb staff of artists, historians and military experts—that when the German civilians were advised of political and military events, they asked, "What do the Polish officers say?" The Poles launched their own V campaign for German benefit, inventing such words as Verloren (Lost), Verrückt (Mad), Verspielt (Lost).

One of the spectacular achievements of the Polish officers

was to conceal a regular size Phillips radio in the frequently searched barracks. This radio survived 28 detailed searches. It was secreted in walls, under the floor, in wooden columns, under the theatre, in potato stores, and even in the room where the German censor officiated and to which access by the Poles was banned. Not until 1943, while it was temporarily awaiting a new hiding place, was it discovered. For four years it provided the Poles with news from the Polish underground and from the free soil of England, where the Polish Government and Army were stationed.

Sabotage was another phase of Polish prisoner of war activity. Every Pole was a saboteur when it came to dealing with the Germans. Slave laborers removed the eyes from potatoes to insure a smaller crop. During the mating season, the bulls were doctored to create a generation of defective calves. Farm tools were buried in hastily dug ditches.

"We prisoners of war," continued Jan Sulicki, "were given a kind of sugarless marmalade that contained artificial coloring, beets, gelatin and saccharine. We discovered that if we kept this mess in the sun for a few days, it became poisonous to the bees that swarmed to it from the surrounding countryside. So we sabotaged the German honey industry by killing off German bees."

Curiously enough, the destitute Polish prisoners of war had their own currency which enjoyed greater value outside their camp than did German marks. "We had a regular bank of issue of which our camp treasurer was director. We guaranteed that the money, which was in the pre-war style, would be honored by the Polish government after the war. Our zloty coins were made out of apple or pearwood and our banknotes were beautifully engraved by our camp artists.

"This same art work came in handy in creating a supply of reading matter under the very noses of the Germans. At first we received no books at all and then shipments came in through the YMCA. But although they were a godsend, they were censored.

"Finally, a few copies of forbidden books were smuggled in. These could not lie around in their natural state. They had to be camouflaged. And so our artists set to work. Here's what happened to Sienkiewicz's anti-German *Knights of the Cross*: We took a copy of *Mein Kampf* in Gothic type and left the cover, title page and first chapter intact. Then the entire Polish volume, in identical Gothic script, laboriously copied by hand, followed the first chapter. A German who casually leafed through the volume never realized that the Gothic *Mein Kampf* was a Polish novel high on the German black list."

Amateur theatricals were also an important feature of camp life. Here too there were two aspects—the open and the secret. German censors passed on Polish presentations of comedies by Fredro, on operas, on French plays. But they did not know of the secret performances of patriotic plays, political skits and revues. Nor did they know of the prisoners' appetite for English lessons and

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The arrival of a Red Cross package is a red-letter event for Polish prisoners of war. Drawing by a fellow prisoner of war.

Memory of Tadeusz Kosciuszko Honored at West Point in 1828

WHEN the Corps of Cadets at West Point decided to honor Kosciuszko's memory by erecting a monument to his memory on the grounds of the Academy, it selected Cadet Charles Petigru to prepare a special oration for the occasion. Circumstances, however, prevented Cadet Petigru from delivering the address. His colleagues thereupon wrote him a letter in which they stated that "having been deprived of the anticipated pleasure of hearing it, its publication on that account is the more desirable." Cadet Petigru complied with the request and published his address under the title "An Oration, Prepared for Delivery on the Occasion of Laying the Corner Stone of a Monument Erected to the Memory of Kosciuszko at West Point by the Corps of Cadets, July 4, 1828", a condensed version of which follows:

It has devolved upon me to recall on this occasion, some of the virtues and excellencies of the great and good man, as a tribute of our admiration for whose character, and sense of whose services in the cause of liberty in the two hemispheres, the monument which is about to be completed, was designed. His generous self devotion in the cause of his country and of liberty, his constancy of purpose, the unwavering firmness with which he continued under all circumstances to assert and maintain with indefatigable ardour, those great principles which an enlightened understanding had pointed out as the guide of his conduct. In defiance of the allurements of power and of pleasure on the one hand, and of difficulties and dangers which would have appalled any less resolute than himself, on the other—his firmness in adversity, his moderation in prosperity, his unwavering love of justice, even in times of civil wars and party dissensions, when the bond of civil union seemed almost dissolved. These are characteristics far more rare and far more honorable too, than even those superior intellectual endowments which have at distant intervals astonished the world. But these endowments too did he possess in no ordinary degree. Bold in his designs, resolute in their execution, rapid in his operations, and cool in the midst of danger—the ability with which his enterprises were conducted, was only surpassed by the purity of principle and uprightness of intention which had dictated them. Thus did he combine the qualities of heart which most exalt the human character, and the qualities of mind most requisite for rendering his virtues effectual in conducing to the happiness of his country and the happiness of man. These are not vain and empty encomiums, such as are but too frequently heaped indiscriminately and at random upon the undeserving.

I appeal to history to attest the justice of all I have uttered—yea, and to award much higher praises than it would be in the power of an abler eulogist to bestow. For the history of the life of Kosciuszko is his proudest eulogium—the proudest eulogium to which ambition's self could aspire. Let us take a cursory view of it. We will find in it much that is instructive, for rarely does history present to us a character so worthy of being studied as a model; a character in which all must find so much to admire, and even the most illiberal can find so little to condemn. Fortune placed him in a variety of situations, as if that his character having been viewed in every light,

might be seen to be in all respects excellent.

To the military academy of Warsaw, belongs the distinction of having educated one whose high and exalted character did so much honor to his country and to mankind.

His education had but just been completed, when impelled by his hatred of oppression, and his sympathy with those who were nobly striving to resist it, he hastened to cross the Atlantic, to associate himself with those brave and ever to be honored patriots, who were then struggling against fearful odds for that independence which they so happily achieved—the happy achievement of which is on this day celebrated by rejoicing and festivity from one extremity of our Union to the other. "I have come," said he, on presenting himself to Washington, "to fight for the cause of American independence." And in reply to the question, what he could do, "try me," was his characteristic reply. For a short period he served as a volunteer in the American army, and was then on the recommendation of the military committee, appointed Colonel of Engineers. Although the superior abilities which the misfortunes of his own country afterwards called forth, had not yet

fully developed themselves, still for the zeal and fidelity with which the arduous duties of his important office were fulfilled, he is entitled to a high place among those who have strong claims upon our gratitude; and these claims are enhanced by the consideration, that he was pouring out his generous blood and wearing away the flower of his youth, for the attainment of blessings of which neither himself nor any to whom he was related, were to partake. None to whom he was related did I say? Nay, he was related to his companions in this glorious contest, not by consanguinity indeed, but by that stronger principle which connects the brave, the patriotic, the high minded and the free, of whatever clime or country—

To show that I have by no means overrated his services, it will be sufficient to state that his conduct was applauded by Washington, by La Fayette, and all those with whom he acted, as well as Dr. Franklin, and that in 1783 he was on the recommendation of Washington promoted General of Brigade, as a reward, (as his commission denoted,) for his "long, faithful, and honorable services."



Kosciuszko Monument at West Point, N. Y. Erected in 1828. After a contemporary engraving.

called forth to aid in defending a constitution modelled after the constitutions of the United States and Great Britain—a constitution which, taking away the undue power and influence of the nobles, to restore their just rights to the people—modifying the turbulent personal liberty of a few, to grant full and entire social liberty to all, was well calculated to destroy those causes of weakness and dissension which had so long kept Poland, in spite of the bravery of her sons, feeble and dependent. A constitution which had been joyfully and enthusiastically received by the great body of the Poles, but which for these very reasons had excited the indignation of the great autocrat of the north, who had made its adoption the pretext for a declaration of war, and sent an armed force into Poland to undo what the wisdom of the nation had done—and to restore and perpetuate, as she pretended, prosperity and happiness by perpetuating ancient institutions and abuses, which experience had but too well proved to be the bane of those blessings.—Kosciuszko served during the short war which ensued as Major General under Prince Poniatowski, to whom the chief command was confided. His conduct was such as to merit and to gain the esteem and confidence of his countrymen, and to cause him to be looked upon as one from whom his country had most to hope. In all the skirmishes in which he was engaged with an enemy, always vastly superior in number, he displayed great skill and ability.

Kosciuszko disdaining to serve under a government only nominally national, resigned his commission, and having in consequence become obnoxious to the suspicions of the Russians, he found himself under the necessity of exiling himself from a country which it was henceforth

After the conclusion of the peace which confirmed our independence, Kosciuszko returned to his native soil, where he was soon to act a more conspicuous part in support of those principles which he had early imbibed, and which had been confirmed and strengthened by his associations with the patriots and sages of the new world. In 1791, he was called from the retirement in which he had secluded himself after his return, to aid his countrymen in the attempt which was this year made to resist the tyrannical interference of Russia, and free Poland from the despotic and deadening influence which that power had so long exercised over her destinies. He was

called forth to aid in defending a constitution modelled after the constitutions of the United States and Great Britain—

the sole object of his life to benefit. France was chosen as the place of his retreat, and the National Assembly of this nation testified the high sense which it entertained of his merits by conferring upon him by an unanimous vote all the privileges of a French Citizen. From his asylum he continued to watch over, with intense anxiety, the interests of his country, and to await the opportunity of rendering her service. That opportunity did arrive. Joyfully was it seized upon—and most nobly was it used. A generous resolution had been resuscitated in the bosoms of the Poles. A vigorous stand was again made for Liberty! and all eyes were turned upon Kosciuszko, as the man of all others most capable of directing their efforts, and taking the lead in the soul stirring enterprise.

The voice of Kosciuszko, calling upon his countrymen to deliver their country from a servile yoke, soon raised the whole nation in arms. His proclamation breathed a spirit of patriotic self devotion, which rekindled a sympathetic feeling in every bosom. All selfish feelings were forgotten. All willingly sacrificed their private property to the general service, and every man became a soldier. And so liberal were the voluntary contributions, that the supplies for the war were abundant.—And so great the enthusiasm with which the soldiers were inspired, that fresh troops who but yesterday had exchanged the implements of husbandry for the implements of war, were seen to charge so impetuously upon, as to break through the compact ranks of the regular soldier. Peasants armed only with pikes and scythes were seen to rush fearlessly upon, and carry batteries of artillery, manned by the veteran cannoniers of the north. But still the immense inferiority of Poland's natural strength to that of the enemies

with which she had to contend, was well calculated to cast a gloom of despondency even into the minds of the most sanguine—for single handed and alone she had to contend with the whole colossal power of Russia, aided by the disciplined armies of Prussia.

But notwithstanding all this, victory for a time continued to accompany the standard of Kosciuszko—and the philanthropist was long enabled to indulge the pleasing hope, that the cause of humanity might yet be triumphant.

Having learned that General Suwarov, with a formidable Russian army had entered Lithuania, and having beaten the Polish General who commanded in that province, was advancing upon Warsaw, while General Fursen was on his march to join him, Kosciuszko resolved at all hazards to prevent such a junction, and for this purpose set out with 6,000 men, leaving the mainbody of his army under Poniatowski.

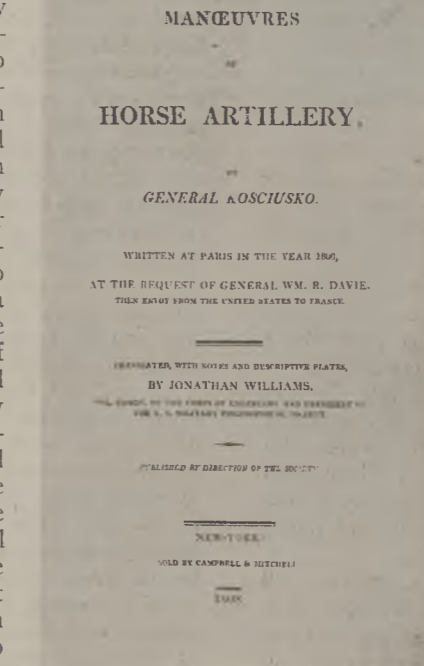
Kosciuszko was attacked by superior force from a quarter when such an attack was least to have been expected. With the promptness and decision by which his character was peculiarly marked, he drew up his small force in a strong position for defence, and a desperate contest ensued, and prodigies of valor long rendered it doubtful with whom victory would rest. Thrice have

the Russians been repulsed, and the field is covered with heaps of their slain, but fresh troops continually supply the places of the fallen, and the oft thinned ranks are still compact—while the Poles are becoming exhausted by unremitted exertion. But they are still animated by the spirit and encouraged by the

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Tadeusz Kosciuszko taking the oath "to fight once again for his country." Copper engraving by Jan May, 1794.



Manoeuvres of Horse Artillery by General Kosciusko. New York, 1808.



General Gates congratulates Kosciuszko after the Battle of Entow Springs. Oil painting by Zygmunt Ajdukiewicz.



Kosciuszko wounded in the Battle of Maciejowice. Oil painting by Zygmunt Ajdukiewicz.

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example of their chief: who cool and collected during the heat of the action, always rallied his troops like a General, and charged at their head like a soldier. The genius of Poland and the genius of freedom are hovering over their standards and incite them to super-human exertions. Again does the foe advance to the deadly charge, and again is the impetuous bravery of the Muscovite on the point of yielding to the untiring valor of the Pole—when oh! bloodiest picture in the book of time—the last hope of Poland—the hero of liberty—the brave and patriotic Kosciuszko, falls covered with wounds!

Deeply was his loss deplored by his countrymen: by it they saw themselves deprived of the services of one on whose talents and virtues they had firmly relied to bear them through the unequal and fearful contest, upon the issue of which all their prospects depended. With him fell the last hopes of the national salvation of Poland; for there was found none, though Poland still boasted many worthy sons, who like him could command the entire confidence of all, or who was so altogether worthy of that confidence. Beset by a host of enemies, she was soon overpowered—her national existence was extinguished, and her territory divided.

As soon as he had been set at liberty, which was not till after the death of Catharine—for that Empress revenged herself for the frequent defeat of her armies where she had expected least resistance, by keeping him confined in a dungeon—he visited the United States where he met with a reception which proves that Americans are not always ungrateful. He afterwards resided several years in France. Napoleon who highly estimated his military capacity, was desirous of engaging him in his service, and high rank in his army was proffered him. But the sword which had thrice been so gloriously wielded in the service of Freedom, was not to be drawn from its scabbard in any cause less sacred.

When war broke out between France and Russia, fresh

efforts were made to induce him to accept a commission—for independently of the great value which was set upon his personal services, the influence which his name would have with his countrymen was duly appreciated. Vague promises of regenerating Poland were held out to him, but by vague promises he was not to be satisfied. "On no conditions," said he, "will I engage in your enterprise unless you will guarantee to Poland a free national government and its ancient limits; do this, and whatever of talents or influence I possess, shall be at your disposal." It did not suit the policy of Napoleon to grant such a guarantee; he had consequently to dispense with his personal services, but not his influence, for there was published in his name, though without his consent, an appeal to the Poles, which induced a great part of that warlike people to rise in rebellion and place themselves under the protection of the French Emperor.

In 1817 all Europe as well as America was in mourning, for the world had lost a benefactor—mankind had lost one of its brightest ornaments, and one of its noblest representatives.—Kosciuszko, full of years and of glory, had died at Soleure in Switzerland, where he had passed a few of the last years of his life. His countrymen solicited and obtained permission to remove his remains to Poland, where they now repose by the side of those of John Sobieski: there a splendid monument is erecting to his memory, to which brave men of many nations contributed. But his fame shall survive the granite of the works erected to perpetuate it—and his name like that of Washington, shall be a "watchword such as ne'er shall cease while there is an echo left to air."

FELLOW CADETS—While we join our homage to that which he has already so universally received, and endeavour to associate more closely his name with this place, with which it is already associated by revolutionary reminiscences, and to render memorable the secluded spot to which when his official duties would permit, he delighted to retire, that his

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THE KOSCIUSZKO FOUNDATION

by STEPHEN P. MIZWA, Secretary and Executive Director

ANOTHER century has rolled by. When Poland commemorates an event in her history it is not a silver, a golden or even a diamond jubilee or anniversary, but some sort of a centennial. In 1943 the civilized world in general and the American educational and scientific world in particular, paid tribute to the great Polish astronomer, Copernicus, on the occasion of the quadricentennial of his death. In the 1960's the educational world will celebrate the 600th anniversary of the founding of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, the second oldest in central Europe, and Poles everywhere will recall that Poland as a historic nation will be one thousand years old. This February 12th the five or six millions of Americans of Polish blood or extraction join the rest of the multi-blooded Americans in paying tribute to the memory of the Polish national hero and American Revolutionary War patriot, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, on the occasion of the bicentennial of his birth.

It is not about Kosciuszko, whose name has been variously pronounced and mispronounced, invoked and misinvoked, but rather about an institution of which he is the Patron Saint that I want to say a few words on the occasion of the bicentennial of this Polish and American hero.

In the fall of 1925, on the eve of the sesquicentennial of Kosciuszko's enrollment in the American Revolutionary Army, a group of Americans (the late Samuel M. Vauclain, Mr. Willis H. Booth, Col. Fountleroy, Professor Paul Monroe, Father Robert Lord and the writer, headed by President MacCracken of Vassar College)—decided to break away from the tradition of erecting another monument of marble, stone or bronze and to establish a living memorial which neither rust will corrode, time destroy, nor changes in passing fancies render obsolete. They established the Kosciuszko Foundation which, on the occasion of the Kosciuszko Bicentennial, celebrates its twentieth anniversary; celebrates it by recalling its modest achievements and by rededicating itself to a revitalized and expanded program of work in the post-war era.

As stated in the Charter, the main objectives, aims and purposes of the Kosciuszko Foundation have been the promotion of cultural and intellectual relationships between Poland and America. The underlying motive or reasoning has been this: Poland and America have certain things in common and the most pre-eminent among them are religious tolerance, love of freedom and recognition of rights of individuals. Kosciuszko in his day forged bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between Poland and America. The underlying purpose of the Foundation as a living memorial to this hero of the two nations has been to keep on strengthening these bonds of friendship and mutual understanding through better knowledge of each other's cultural and scientific contributions.

The activities of the Foundation over the period of the past twenty years have grooved themselves into two main channels: (1) individual services; (2) mass media. Under individual services we have three sub-channels. First, the clearing house of information within the sphere of its main objectives. Since its organization the Foundation has furnished information, upon demand, in thousands of cases—in person, over the telephone and by mail. Although in popular opinion the scholarship program has become almost synonymous for and symbolic of the Kosciuszko Foundation, in fact the informational service—coupled with money raising efforts—has been absorbing the major portion of time and energy of the Foundation's limited staff. Second, the exchange of students and professors. From 1925/26 to 1945/46 the Foundation has "exchanged" 173 students, professors, industrial apprentices and research scholars between the two countries



New headquarters of the Kosciuszko Foundation in New York
(15 East 65th Street).

at the expense of somewhat over \$125,000.00 (101 Americans going to Poland and 72 Poles coming to America). Third, aid to Polish refugee professors and students. During World War II the Foundation extended financial aid (in some cases considerable aid, involving transportation to America) to over 200 Polish professors and scholars in distress scattered throughout several countries and continents. It was also instrumental in the establishment of and in giving financial assistance to the university camps in Switzerland where some 800 Polish soldiers-students-internees had a chance to continue their interrupted studies. They fought in the Polish Army in France and after the capitulation of France were interned in Switzerland. The total cash expenditure for the aid of Polish refugee professors and this educational program amounted to close to \$50,000.

Under "Mass Media" three sub-channels deserve at least a passing mention. First, the Foundation's own publications—books and informational pamphlets. Some books were published by the Kosciuszko Foundation, others by regular publishers but inspired and/or sponsored by the Foundation. Second, a number of books and a countless number of monographic contributions, articles in journals and newspapers were written and published by the Kosciuszko Foundation exchange scholars as the direct result of the exchange program. The value of such publications (take, for example,
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A Polish Kindergarten Visits a Jewish Kindergarten in Tel Aviv

The war has scattered millions of Polish refugees throughout the world. One group of these has found shelter in Palestine, where they have their own schools and their own Polish-language newspapers. Relations between the Jewish people in Palestine and the arrivals from Poland are very friendly. This photograph was snapped on the occasion of a visit by the Polish children to one of the many kindergartens maintained by the Tel Aviv Municipality.

British Combine Photo



POLAND MUST RECEIVE IMMEDIATE RELIEF TO AVERT STARVATION

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tivities. In the area of the Archdiocese of Cracow there are 40 Catholic institutions wherein find shelter 921 children, 878 adolescents and 1,490 adults. There are 74 kindergartens attended by 5,425 children and 11 feeding stations catering to 5,175 persons. These services of *Caritas* are duplicated all over Poland.

That is why *Caritas* has been chosen by the War Relief Services as the distributing agency for their supplies. "We have the natural entity and set-up to carry out a relief program, operating in the same way as in France, Austria, Belgium and Holland," states Father Swanstrom. "One or two Americans will be sent back to Poland to work with *Caritas* on the job. The presence of Americans in Poland gives a tremendous lift to the morale of the Polish people."

In Poland Father Swanstrom and Father Wycislo conferred with Cardinal Hlond and with the newly named Cardinal Sapieha, consignee of the supplies for the *Caritas* agency. All persons without distinction of race, creed and political affiliation can get help from *Caritas*. Relief will be distributed in cities as well as in the villages.

The War Relief Services purchase food, medicines, and medical instruments through funds provided by the National War Fund. They also raise food and clothing through the Catholic parishes of the U. S.

The only other foreign agencies active in Poland are the American Red Cross which through the Polish Red Cross distributes a great deal of medical supplies to dispensaries and hospitals, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and, to a limited extent, UNRRA.

While in Poland, Father Swanstrom paid a visit to various homes for the aged. For the most part they are bombed out

places with built in walls and with paper where there should be glass. The diet in these institutions is bread and potatoes because that is about all they can purchase. "It's really very tragic," he says, "I saw the old people stay in bed until their clothes could be washed, because they had no change of clothing. They had very few blankets, very little food, practically no clothing or shelter and no fuel. As a matter of fact," adds Father Swanstrom, "we stayed in the warmest place in Warsaw, the Polonia Hotel, and I was cold all the time." Broken windows and chinks that defy repair are responsible for the discomfort suffered even by those lucky enough to find fuel.

Father Swanstrom was amazed at the courage of the Polish people in the face of adversity. Women selling produce in the market place stood in the snow without shoes and smiled. "Their courage and fortitude and hope is magnificent. You had to fight your way through the crowds in churches. On the roads you came across them going to church not by the hundreds, but by the thousands."

Because the Polish people are making such a valiant effort, they are all the more deserving of help. It is therefore extremely important that the private agencies do as much as they can and as quickly as they can to save lives in Poland. All gifts made through any parish in the U.S.A. will go to the stricken peoples of Europe, a sizable percentage of which is earmarked for Poland. On October 25, 1945 the War Relief Services-NCWC sent 357,471 lbs. of supplies to Poland and on December 18, a shipment of 238,500 lbs. of material left for that country. Some of the 25 million cans of food collected in the recent drive will also go to Poland.

The Polish people have done more than their share to win the war. It is up to us to help them stay alive.

Memory of Tadeusz Kosciuszko Honored at West Point in 1828

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soul might expand in contemplating the majesty of the works of creation; let us remember that we too are the soldiers of a republic—that as such we owe the same debt which was by him so nobly acquitted—and proud of the high distinction, let it ever be our ambition to act worthily of it. Let us learn

from him that glory in great and honorable undertakings is not dependant upon success—that he who bravely dares for the good of his country; with a willingness to sacrifice himself to her interests, whatever may be the fate of his enterprise or his own, is always sure of his reward in a people's gratitude and in the world's applause.

FIVE YEARS OF HELL ON EARTH FOR POLISH PRISONERS OF WAR

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of the secret productions of English plays.

Each performance was a masterpiece of production—costumes and jewelry and other accessories were all made out of tin and miscellaneous bits of material that looked sumptuous at a distance. Professional coiffeurs created elaborate hairdos and first-rate artists painted the sets. Women's roles were played by young men who looked the part.

Courses in painting and sculpture were also offered. Some very interesting art work was produced. There was, for instance, the over-size sculpture of Our Lady in the chapel, depicted as a Polish woman wearing a crown in her hair, while Christ was shown as a crucified Polish boy, supported by his mother.

Another amazing example of the ingenuity of these Polish officers were the various exhibitions arranged in the camp. Fashioned out of clay, plaster, and odds and ends were philatelic exhibitions, agricultural displays, architectural shows, etc. Particularly unusual was an extensive forestry exhibit which gave a comprehensive picture of all phases of the lumber industry. Perfect copies of machines which actually worked were constructed showing the various stages in the manufacture of paper, boards and cellulose. Even miniature houses, with all details, were included. The effects of plant

diseases were demonstrated and cross sections of the different types of trees were presented—all in pulp.

Thus did the Polish prisoners of war while away their time as they impatiently waited for the day when they could lead a normal life again.

Their hopes were high. Were they justified? Here is what Mr. Sulicki has to say: "In January 1945, when the Soviet winter offensive was closing in, the Germans evacuated our camp and sent us on a death march westward without food. They shot many of us, while others died of heart attacks.

"The Soviet panzer column caught up with us two days later and with the full knowledge that we were prisoners of war opened artillery fire against the farm buildings where we had stopped to rest. In one shed alone, they killed ten navy officers and 28 cavalry officers, and wounded several score more.

"All this at a time when we ourselves had disarmed the German guards and in many instances killed them with iron parts of farm machinery.

"When we were 'liberated', the Russians drove us back east on foot. On the way, they relieved us of all the treasured possessions we had held on to since 1939. Watches, personal mementoes and articles of clothing which even the Germans had allowed us to keep, were taken away from us. Needless to say, we never saw them again."

THE KOSCIUSZKO FOUNDATION

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Professor Kelly's writings) is incalculable from the informational point of view. In this category belong also many radio and other addresses before numerous and various audiences, delivered by former exchange scholars both here and in Poland. Third, we have miscellaneous public functions, anniversaries, etc., which serve as occasions for the wider American public to become acquainted with certain aspects of Polish cultural contributions. The Copernican Quadricentennial, which was sponsored by the Foundation and evoked many newspaper stories, editorials and articles in scientific journals, is a good example. The annual Kosciuszko Foundation Ball at the Waldorf-Astoria, which features certain aspects of Polish folklore, has become an institution by itself.

All that obviously belongs in the past. What about the future—in the light of difficulties and birth pangs of the New Poland emerging from the chaos of war?

The trustees, friends and members of the Foundation may have their individual views and opinions, ranging over the entire gamut of feeling from reassuring optimism to the deepest note of pessimism. The Foundation as an institution, having its objectives clearly stated in the Charter, must of necessity keep out of the political arena. Poland is where the mass of the Polish people are on their own soil and the "Academic Republic of Poland" is composed of the higher Polish institutions of learning and such Polish scholars, in positions of teaching and research, as are still alive. What

the future of Poland as a political entity—or for that matter of Europe and of the world—will be no man can tell. This we already know quite definitely: in view of the destruction of Polish university libraries and the decimation (much worse than decimation) in the ranks of Polish scholars, such scholars as are still alive are pleading—far more urgently than for bread—for American books in various branches of science and learning and for spiritual and intellectual contacts with America and American scholarship. The Kosciuszko Foundation has begun to reestablish contacts with these institutions and looks forward to larger fields of usefulness.

On the occasion of its own 20th anniversary (signifying that it is coming of age and should set up its own house-keeping) and the Bicentennial of Kosciuszko, the Foundation has purchased its own building and as of January 1st has opened its headquarters therein—at 15 East 65th Street, New York. It will have more space in which to expand its post-war activities and the Kosciuszko Foundation House, a magnificent little building in Renaissance architecture, is also designed to serve as a center of Polish culture in America.

On behalf of the Kosciuszko Foundation may I invite my readers to visit our house—and if they like it, and sympathize with the purposes of the Foundation, they are also invited to become contributing members. In view of all kinds of shortage, not excluding pecuniary considerations, it will take some time to furnish the house the way it ought to be. But, as the Polish saying has it, "Czem chata bogata, tem rada". This may be paraphrased to mean: Come anyway.

POLISH PRESS IN D/P CAMPS IN GERMANY

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news, and by a great desire for accuracy. Political news from Great Britain is faithfully presented and London newspaper opinion is regularly given in digest form. To these people who have gone through so much and who still hope for justice, news from London serves as a barometer of their aspirations and yearnings.

Another topic of general interest to camp newspapers is the Polish Army in the West and its contributions to the war at sea, in the air and on land. The newspapers all stress

the continuity and unity of the Polish armed effort from the war in Poland in 1939 through the organization of the Polish Divisions in France, the Home Army, the Army, Navy and Air Force in Gt. Britain, in the Near East and in Italy, and the heroism of the Warsaw Uprising.

The anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising, Polish Soldier Day, and the anniversary of the outbreak of war were solemnly observed in all camps of displaced persons and former prisoners of war, and the solemnities were echoed in special numbers of the camp newspapers.

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corners of the earth, to be the aims for which they were fighting, bleeding, and dying—our hope for a brave new world of peace and plenty.

It is pertinent now, and it will be pertinent until this question is finally settled under principles of international justice, amity, and decency, to ask whether or not it is the intention of our State Department and Government to consent to the perpetuation of this violation of the fundamental rights of the Polish people. To abandon them and leave them helpless before the powerful ruthless tyrants who are now holding them by the throat and stifling their last free breath is an unconscionable offense against the law of nations and the law of God which the decent opinion of this great free American nation will never condone or sanction.

No, Mr. Speaker, this episode of betrayal of gallant Poland will not blow over. It will not be forgotten. It lives in the minds and hearts of all our countrymen who love freedom and it will live in our minds and hearts until Poland is restored to its honored and rightful place among the free nations of the earth.

Some officials of this Government may glibly argue that compromise is a necessary part of world statesmanship but that is a principle that never has been and never will be accepted by the American people. The principle of compromise with terrorism, compromise with injustice is not an American principle; it is offensive to the very spirit of free America. Like every other nation in this world which has fought and struggled and sacrificed for self-government throughout the ages as gallantly and bravely as Poland has done, Poland is entitled to her freedom, Poland is entitled to reestablish and maintain her own government, Poland is entitled to her own territories and her own possessions, and Poland is entitled to her birthright as a free nation. Nothing less than that will ever satisfy the spirit of fearless devotion to liberty that animates the Polish people, and nothing less than full political, social, economic, and ideological protection for Poland as an independent and sovereign nation can or will be recognized by the American people.

Mr. Speaker, as an American, I object to small peoples and small nations being kicked around by the strong and the powerful because I do not

like injustice or brute force, and, moreover, because I understood that this war was to end that sort of thing for all time. I am out of patience with those who pursue the principle of compromise through appeasement and supine submission to the will of radicalism and imperialism. The time has come for our Nation to declare a strong, forceful foreign policy. We seek no selfish gains; we pursue no greedy aims; we ask not for territories or possessions of other people; we demand only that the principles on which our own Nation is based and for which we entered the war and for which so many of our loyal sons have offered up their lives shall be respected throughout the world; we demand this in the name of those who died that human liberty and American liberty might live.

It is time to let other nations understand—and I care not how strong or powerful they are—that we do not intend to sit idly by and watch cynical forces of totalitarianism or imperialism just as evil in their purposes and as ruthless in their methods as Hitler ever was employ brutal force and unwelcome infiltration to sweep across Europe—sweep across the Orient—threatening to destroy or throttle every spark of freedom and justice wherever the withering hand of tyranny is laid.

Mr. Speaker, in our own self-interest as well as for justice it is time for us to act and I urge that our State Department declare a strong affirmative position in this matter and serve notice on every nation to which it may be applicable that we will no longer tolerate oppression and betrayal of the Polish people or any other people desiring freedom, that we will regard continued domination of such peoples against their will and in violation of international morality to be acts of bad faith toward the principles and aims of the United States of America and the United Nations Organization.

Sincere and whole-hearted international cooperation may well bring peace through justice but further appeasement of nations who through aggression and conquest insist upon making a mockery of our war aims and the accepted principles of human decency can only lead to another world war. Let us correct this threatening situation before we bring ruin upon the whole world, before we drift or are drawn into the vortex of another war that will decimate not only ourselves, but all of civilization. Now is the time for a show-down.



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