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THE POLISH REVIEW

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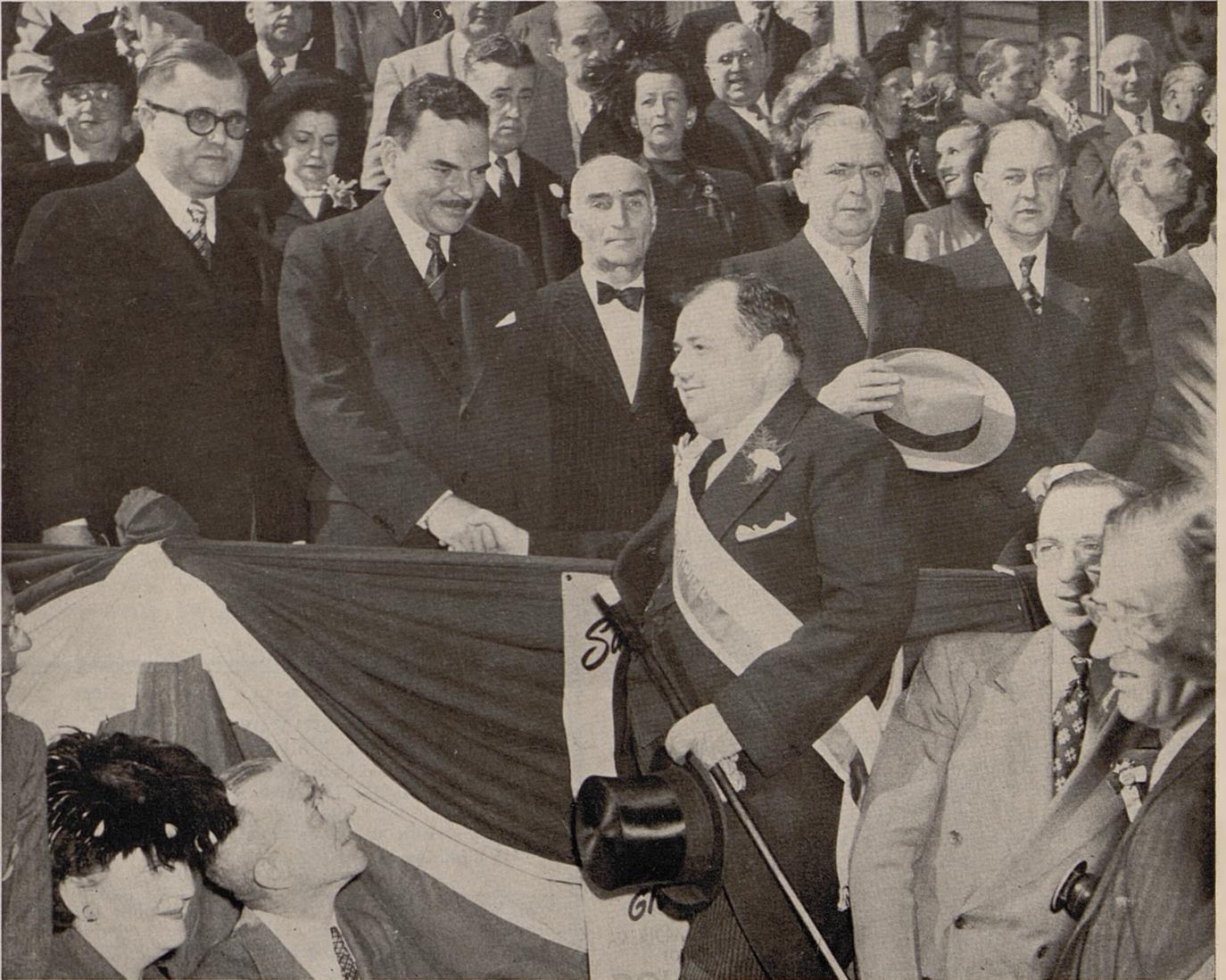


Photo by Ziggmatt

"The people of Poland have been betrayed again. The so-called elections of January 19, 1947 were a travesty, expressing the most contemptuous indifference to the principles of free government. The consequence is that the fair land of Poland is once again enslaved by a foreign power. Misgovernment and indifference have plunged millions of Polish people into dire need."

—THOMAS E. DEWEY,
Governor of the State of New York

(From a proclamation of Pulaski and Kosciuszko Days)

Governor Dewey shaking hands with Stephen J. Kopycinski of New Jersey, Grand Marshal of the 11th annual Pulaski Day Parade in the City of New York, October 5, 1947.

Standing from left to right: Francis J. Wazeter, Vice-President of the Pulaski Memorial Committee; the Governor; Jan Ciechanowski, last constitutional Ambassador of Poland; and William O'Dwyer, Mayor of the City of New York.

THE REVIVAL OF THE COMINTERN

SOMETIME in September a secret conference of top ranking communist leaders from nine European countries took place in the secluded hunting lodge of Herman Goering at Michalkowice, in the beautiful woods of Lower Silesia. During the meeting, presided by Andrei Zhdanov, considered the most likely successor to the post of Stalin's dictatorships of all the Russias and of all Russia's satellites, a manifesto was drafted, containing a call to arms of international communism against western democracies, particularly against the United States of America and Great Britain.

For people who in May 1943 rejoiced over the so-called "dissolution" of the Comintern this newest manifestation of the organized, open communist aggressiveness may have come as a shock. Not so to the Poles.

The Polish people in their occupied motherland and those abroad never believed the meaningless declaration about the alleged liquidation of the Communist International, because they were the first to experience the onslaught of communist fury against their country during the "liberation" of Poland by the Red Army in 1944-45.

The political terror, brought into Poland by the Red Army and the NKVD who took over exactly where the Nazi Army and the Gestapo had left, and the enforced revolution effected against the will of 97 per cent of Poles, have dispersed all doubts on the final objectives of Soviet expansion.

Whereas in America and Great Britain, Yalta and Potsdam were hailed by officialdom and important sectors of opinion forming circles as great achievements on the road to cooperation between Moscow and the western world and even as stepping stones to future democratization of the bolshevik system, the Poles, experiencing bitter, brutal sovietization, had no such illusions.

Victims of communist imperialism, the Poles tried in vain to convince their former allies and friends that what was happening to them at the end of World War II, may very well happen to the rest of Europe and, in the not too distant future, to the rest of the world, if the red tide were not halted there and then, i.e. on the frontiers of USSR in the final stage of the war.

How often at that time thoughtless and unjust charges of Polish "anti-Soviet and anti-Russian bias" were heaped upon every group and every individual, who were bold enough to denounce the mortal danger of Russia's expansion at everybody's cost.

Now, the revival of the Comintern was ostentatiously proclaimed in Poland, and the two representatives of Soviet puppets at present ruling that country, W. Gomulka and H. Minc, took part in the secret communist caucus. It is quite evident that the idea had originated with the Kremlin brain trusters, without whose detailed instructions no such meeting could have taken place and no such manifesto, published. In the calculated attempt further to discredit the name of Poland in the West and to prove the alleged subordination of that country to Moscow, the Politburo of the All-Russian Communist Party carefully chose the meeting place.

It is most regrettable that in the mind of many an American newspaper reader the official restoration of the

Comintern will thus be linked erroneously with Poland. The meeting was held in strict secrecy, in a well guarded, far-off provincial place, because of personal security of A. Zhdanov and G. Malenkov who were obviously afraid to appear openly in Poland.

Why this conference, taking place about 250 miles southwest of the Polish capital, has recently been termed in a public statement by a high United States official, "the Warsaw conference," is difficult to understand. Poland's heroic capital, destroyed by the Germans with Soviet connivance during and after the tragic uprising of 1944, is obviously the last place in the world to have had anything to do with the idea of the international communist conspiracy and of the world wide appetite of Soviet imperialism.

It can not be repeated too often that the present regime ruling Poland is based solely upon Soviet bayonets and Soviet secret police, disguised in Polish uniforms; that, whereas before World War II about 3 per cent of communists and communist sympathizers could be accounted for in Poland, after the Nazi-Soviet attack on that country in 1939 and since the Soviet occupation of Poland in 1944-45 hatred against the new oppressor has been so general that this number is now much smaller. That even the few communists in key positions in the present puppet regime in Warsaw prove the unpopularity of communism in Poland, by calling their party the Polish Workers' Party and carefully avoiding the words "communism" and "communist" in their political terminology.

If nowadays an example of the calculated Soviet mendacity is needed, its newest expression can be found in the linking of Poland's and Warsaw's names with the revived Comintern.

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JUSTICE FOR POLAND

by JOHN DAVIS LODGE*

I KNOW that I need not recall to you in any detail the part played by Poland as our loyal and gallant ally in the war. Her military effort inside and outside Poland on practically all European fronts—on land, on sea and in the air, the courage of her indomitable people, their fighting spirit and readiness to sacrifice their lives for independence and the principles that stake in the common cause greatly surpassed all estimates. In fact, Poland's record as a fighting nation, as an unswervingly faithful ally, as the only nation, which, regardless of Hitler's unprecedented barbarisms never produced a Quisling, stands out unexcelled.

Now, the problem of Poland is one of great importance and urgency. It is a problem which many people here and abroad regard as the test case of American resolve for questions of international justice and that fair play among nations which alone can provide an enduring basis for peace.

The American people realize that, particularly with respect to Poland, the United States has suffered and is suffering strategic set-backs and loss in prestige all over the world.

This active interest in International Affairs is further demonstrated in the press and in the unusual demand for literature dealing with problems of our international relations. In my own survey of public opinion, it appears to me that aside from the normal political considerations and desires arising out of readjustments to peacetime economy, basic problems of taxes and wages, and living costs, there is in America a groundswell of apprehension regarding the conduct of our foreign affairs. As so often happens under our system, the people are in this instance a step ahead of their own Government.

It appears to many Americans, that we have not only sacrificed moral principles, but also needlessly weakened our strategic and economic position in a confused effort to preserve by appeasement, something of what we gained by force of arms.

These concessions largely predicated on military position at the end of the war make it increasingly difficult for us to use our strength to achieve the peace which is the declared purpose of the United Nations Organization.

In the betrayal of Poland, a particularly tragic case, we not only failed to live up to our promises, we also participated in the partition of Poland which has made our later problems much more difficult to solve.

For my own part, I am convinced that it is better to reach no agreement than to reach a bad agreement. By agreeing to the compromise on Poland reached at Yalta and implemented by further concessions at Potsdam, we assumed in fact, a responsibility for this fifth partition of Poland, and for the imposition of a provisional Government composed mostly of Comintern agents known to have been selected by the Soviet oligarchy.

Our Government has failed to obtain the carrying out of the one and only condition upon which it attempted to justify its recognition of that Government; namely, the holding of free and unfettered elections.

While I understand fully the desirability of maintaining contact with the Polish people through our Diplomatic officials in Warsaw, it should be noted that this

continued recognition of the Polish Government by the United States constitutes in the eyes of many people, a recognition of the validity of the very elections which we have officially condemned.

The fact that, in the case of Poland, we are once more given the opportunity to make a definite stand on a matter of fundamental principles, in which our immediate interests are secondary should afford our Government a welcome opportunity to reassert our determination that these principles shall be established as the true basis for International Relations.

Is it not time to admit that our policy urgently requires revision?

The coincidence of moral principles and strategic considerations in the case of Poland seems to me to indicate that Poland should be the starting point for such a new policy.

It is my considered opinion, although we must give firm and patient support to the United Nations Organization, we must also take into consideration the elements of power and basic strategy which still operate in spite of the war's end. For we are living in a period of continuing conflict and it is vital that we make full use of our residual strength and strategical position in order to salvage at least some of those things for which the war was fought.

With that idea in mind, may I suggest, that in spite of our dwindling military establishments, in spite of the severe drains which have been made on our financial and industrial resources, we still have substantial bargaining counters left with which to insure the rights of self-determination guaranteed by the terms of the Atlantic Charter. We can in this way regain the initiative which was ours during the war. We can by this method give a vigorous demonstration to the world that we are prepared in the interests of peace, to exercise the responsibilities of leadership to which our military and industrial predominance entitle us.

Here is our opportunity to face up to the principles to which we have given eloquent lip-service. Here is a challenge to the United States, which took a leading part in the creation of the United Nations, to take a leading part in its perpetuation and enhancement, by calling upon that body to decide one of the most crucial questions of the hour.

Since the Soviet position acquired since V-J Day is largely based on power, can we continue to sacrifice principles when we may ourselves have the peacetime power to make principles secure?

Now—these vast and explosive issues should not be over-simplified, I know — but neither should they be avoided. There's time for decision. The proposed aid to Greece and Turkey and the Marshall Plan will give encouragement to the forces of freedom everywhere, if we follow this up with the determination to bring justice to stricken Poland by means of the United Nations; we shall not only be strengthening that body, we shall be solving a critical and urgent problem. In addition we shall be serving on the world that although we have peace, we know that it cannot be predicated on weakness.

We shall have solemnly proclaimed the exhilarating fact that there are certain principles from which we will not depart and that we are resolved to devote our energies to a peace based on freedom, virtue, and reason.

*Broadcast over Station WSPR in Springfield, Mass. in the series of addresses sponsored by the Western Massachusetts Branch of the Polish American Congress, Inc.

Congressman John Davis Lodge from Connecticut is a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and happens to be the brother of the U. S. Senator, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

THE KRAKOW SHOW TRIAL

ONLY ONE DEFENDANT REFUSED TO "CONFESS"

by A. K. ADAMS

THE three weeks long trial of Stanisław Mierzwa, deputy secretary-general of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), Colonel Franciszek Niepokojczycki, an alleged commandant of the underground WiN (Freedom and Independence) group, and 15 others, ended on September 10, 1947, with nine of the defendants sentenced to die and Mierzwa receiving 15 years imprisonment.

The charge, on which the defendants were indicted and sentenced, was espionage on behalf of the United States and attempts to overthrow the Warsaw regime.

The presiding judge of the military court which passed the sentence was one Klimowiecki, a pre-war starosta (head of county administration). This so-called judge who changed his ordinary family name "Klimow" to a more aristocratically sounding "Klimowiecki," was associated before the war with the Colonels' government and ruled the county of Sanok in southeastern Poland on its behalf. The record of his administration was one of arrests, threats and persecution of the local population. In 1930, during the left wing demonstrations in the town of Sanok, Klimow ordered the police to fire several salvos into "this bloody carcass of Stalin," as he poetically called the demonstrating crowd. After the September 1939 campaign, Klimow first escaped to Rumania, but soon returned, offering his services to the German occupants. The Nazis gracefully accepted Klimow's offer. Ever since the Soviets and the Lublin gang entered Poland, Klimow has again been highly in favor. His pre-war exploits and cooperation with the Germans were conveniently forgotten. In return for Soviet courtesy, Klimow gave a helpful hand to the Communists and is now being consistently chosen as the presiding judge in all major political trials. In this legalized butchery of the Polish patriots, Klimow is rendering great services to the Warsaw regime, following faithfully all instructions. The fact that the presiding judge is an authentic Pole gives the foreign observers the impression of independence and impartiality on the side of the court. However, when Stanisław Mierzwa was brought into the courtroom and asked the customary question whether he had any objections to the composition of the bench, Mierzwa looked at Klimow, shrugged his shoulders with contempt and smiled in silence. Mierzwa's smile, as reported innocently by one of the Warsaw reporters, was more eloquent than words.

The defendants were charged with belonging to the Polish Peasant Party or associating with the pre-war government. For anyone who has some knowledge of the internal Polish situation, this fact alone discredits the trial, because no cooperation was at all feasible between the opposition peasants and the pre-war administration. Mierzwa emphasized it by saying that he refused to cooperate with Marshal Piłsudski's followers even during the struggle against the Nazis and denied emphatically any contact with them in Communist Poland. It was clear from the beginning that such cooperation existed only in the mind of the public prosecutor and the placing of Mierzwa and other PSL members in the dock along with pre-war officials had the purpose of compromising the PSL by an alleged collaboration with "fascists."

The defendants more or less "confessed their crimes." Mierzwa, Niepokojczycki and a few others occasionally made attempts to fight the charges levelled against them, but the general tune of their defense was apologetic and self-accusing. It was evident during the whole trial that

the security police had taken no chances and the defendants were well-prepared. The reddened eyes of Mierzwa and Niepokojczycki proved beyond doubt that the defendants were subjected to third degree methods, kept tied to chairs day and night, and forced to look continuously into powerful projector lamps, while "confessions" were put into their mouths. There was, however, one exception: Dr. Karol Starmach, member of the PSL and professor of the Jagiellon University in Krakow. The government-controlled "Polish Daily" in Krakow gave the following account of Starmach's behavior in the courtroom:

"Starmach employed a method of defense, which was leading nowhere, but was annoying and provocative. He employed it, however, consistently and firmly. He didn't know and didn't remember anything. In a quiet, subdued voice Starmach denied all guilt, but at the same time his penetrating eyes had a cool, sharp glint. We know whom we are up against. He is a stubborn man, a fanatic who will never renounce or deny his beliefs. Starmach must be certainly well aware of the effects of such an attitude."

In the macabre files of the NKVD, Dr. Karol Starmach, professor of the ancient Jagiellon University, and a worthy representative of the Polish farmers, will be marked as the second Pole who refused to sign "a confession." The first one was Zbigniew Stypułkowski, a national-democratic leader of the Moscow trial fame, about whom General Ivanov, former Soviet intelligence chief in Poland, said with admiration that in the history of the Soviet investigation this Pole was the first one who refused to admit, to confess and to sign.

The Mierzwa trial had the purpose of compromising the PSL and preparing its final dissolution. Mikołajczyk's name was mentioned on several occasions. The State succeeded in "proving beyond doubt" that Stanisław Mikołajczyk and his PSL worked hand in hand with the underground WiN organization in supplying Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane and the American deputy naval attaché in Warsaw, William Tonnesk, with all sorts of "state secrets." Another purpose of the show trial was to compromise the U. S. embassy in Warsaw, and particularly Ambassador Lane. Thus, the Warsaw regime hoped to retaliate for Ambassador Lane's revealing articles about the true situation in Poland and the statements he had made after his resignation from the post of ambassador. Mr. Lane's articles in *Life* were put before Klimow as proof of American espionage work in Poland. The information contained in these articles—according to the prosecution—was given to Mr. Lane by William Tonnesk, who in turn received it from the defendants.

It is not the purpose of this article to defend the American Embassy in Warsaw, but it should be stated in fairness that if anybody wants to know what is going on in Poland, he may get the desired facts from the hundreds of refugees who escape monthly from Poland into the western zones of Germany, or he may talk freely to scores of American citizens now arriving in the United States from Poland. The American press correspondents have also given a pretty accurate picture of true conditions in Poland. No American official in Poland has any need to contact Polish patriots inside that country, exposing them to police persecution. All the facts are already here in a most normal and legal way.

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POLISH LITHUANIAN RECONCILIATION—THE CORNERSTONE of EASTERN EUROPEAN PEACE

by CONSTANTINE R. JURGELA

THE POLISH REVIEW considers itself greatly honored to have Mr. Jurgela, Director of Lithuanian American Information Center and eminent leader of Lithuanians in America, initiate an exchange of views concerning the future relations between Poland and her closest neighbors. *THE POLISH REVIEW* expects that Mr. Jurgela's point of view will bring a further discussion.

WŁADYSŁAW MAZOWIECKI, a Polish political writer, discoursing on the "Sources of Discord" (*Tygodnik Polski*, New York, August 22, 1943), lent a sober and realistic opinion on the subject of the Polish-Lithuanian-Ukrainian relations of the past, the present, and the prospects in future.

His main thesis was that the Commonwealth of Poland, Lithuania and Rus' was not an artificial creation based on the whim of the dynasty. Prior to the birth of the idea of nationality states, this Commonwealth had successfully defended itself from Muscovy, enabled all three member peoples to develop their individual national cultures, created a type of citizen-freeman distinct from Teutonic militarists and Muscovite fatalists. He maintained that the war—then raging on several continents—created a negative outlook on small "atomized ultra-sovereign states," and a longing for larger federal blocs of states. He advocated that two elements of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth be adopted: (a) the principle of voluntary ties and (b) the principle of a political unity of states of the same Western Christian ideology, each enjoying its own national life.

Mr. Mazowiecki warned: "A single generation must not, by resorting to the use of brutal force and exploitation of the tragic circumstances, erase and destroy the cumulative achievement of sixteen generations. That would revenge itself, even if the operation should succeed in appearances. — To the development of relations . . . contributed not only the crimes of aggressors and their devious policies, but also the political shortsightedness of many leaders of these nations, the absence of historic perspective's understanding, the submission to demagogic slogans, the seeking of easy successes. In applying a narrow nationalistic criterium to the great historical processes, we, Poles, likewise committed a number of political errors in the years 1918-1939."

These were words of real wisdom and truth, for, certainly, the Polish policies at Versailles (see: Witold Sworakowski, "Granice Polski w Wersalu," *Tygodnik Polski*, December 26, 1943) betrayed the utter lack of understanding of the national renaissance movements born on the territories of the former Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania (and Rus').

Indeed, after centuries of achievements and sufferings in common, there was no cause for Polish statesmen to intrude themselves forcibly into, f.i., Lithuania. There was, and remains, but one single stumbling block in the Polish-Lithuanian relations: opposing views regarding the city of Vilna (Wilno, Vilnius), the ancient capital of Lithuania. Remove this painful argument—and no longer will there be any reason to concern oneself with Polish-Lithuanian relations: these relations would assume the natural road of splendid collaboration, mutual respect and trust, contribution to world's peace.

In the recent past, the rapprochement was disturbed by the older generation, particularly in Lithuania. I have in mind the species of "*Gente Lituani, natione Poloni*," who

were charmed with the visions of old grandeur and achievements of their aristocratic Lithuanian ancestors in common with the Polish aristocracy. They refused to face the realities of a popular national democratic renaissance, to adjust themselves to the views of the majority. They longed for a union with Poland, to the extent of effacing a national Lithuanian face of their own country. The ancient Commonwealth "in common" of two peoples (*Spolna Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodow*, to use the old phrase) was simply—"Poland," in their views. People of this type were strongly entrenched in Polish statecraft. Suffice it to mention two: Marshal Joseph Piłsudski, whose brother, Bronislas, was a member of the Lithuanian Council in Switzerland, and Gabriel Narutowicz, the First President of Poland, whose brother, Stanislas, signed the Lithuanian Declaration of Independence as a member of the Lithuanian State Council.

New Polish and Lithuanian generations have grown meanwhile—and the stumbling block remains in consequence of their different outlooks and interpretations.

The new Polish generation does not betray much interest in Lithuania. Lithuania, to them, is only a country which caused much trouble to Poland with its incomprehensible pretensions to Polish territories. The Lithuanians are total strangers to them, and few of them had ever met a Lithuanian. They do not know, and few care to know, the real roots and causes of the misunderstanding with these strange non-Slavic people who abandoned their political ties with Poland—presumably due to the intrigues of Moscow and Berlin. They are surprised to encounter some of these Lithuanians in the Polish armed forces (in exile). In Germany, however, they come into contacts with their Lithuanian fellow D.P.s—and their relations develop spontaneously, well and easily. Not only that: at Dillingen, a newspaper "*Im Ausland*," published twice monthly as a supplement to "*D.P. Express*," appears under the joint auspices of Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, and Russians, edited by a group of editors under Andrejs Rudzis, a Latvian.

The moral? — When not seated in the seats of power, all of these people are capable of splendid collaboration and mutual understanding.

The new Lithuanian generation was reared under the shadow of the bitter dispute with Poland over Vilna. Young Lithuanians know all the details of the war of 1920—the first Polish-Lithuanian war since 1432. They are uncompromising in their views regarding the Lithuanian sovereignty over Vilnius, their ancient capital where Independence of Lithuania was restored. Their first acquaintance with the Poles, on a mass scale, dates back only to September 1939, when they received and sheltered masses of Polish military and civilian refugees. At that time, as in July 1920, rank and file troops were thoughtful and sympathetic toward the Poles. One look at the Russians sufficed to dispel whatever doubts they

(Please turn to page 15)

CASIMIR PULASKI

by CLARENCE

A. MANNING



General Kazimierz Pulaski. Memorial in the Capitol, Washington, D. C.

distinguished Poland of the day. His father sent him for a while to Mitau to be a courtier with Prince Charles, the son of the last Saxon King of Poland. Charles was trying desperately to maintain the Polish position in Courland against the continuous Russian encroachments. He had no armed forces at his command and no means of escaping the repeated Russian insults and acts of aggression. Yet his hopeless struggle appealed to the young Casimir who not only respected and admired Charles but who idolized his bride, the beautiful Franciszka Krasinska, who was to be the one romance of his adventurous life and who was to help and advise him in many desperate moments.

When Charles was finally forced to leave Mitau, Casimir returned home and lived quietly at Winiary for a few years. However his fate was already decided. He had an abundant opportunity to study the Russian tactics, military and diplomatic, and he never wavered in his anti-Russian policy.

In 1766, when the Russian ambassador presented demands on the Polish government that seriously undermined the position of the Church, Joseph Pulaski thought that it was time for him to act. It seemed madness for an elderly Polish noble to defy the power of Russia, but his mind was made up, and he resolved to risk his all on the struggle. He organized secretly a religious military order, the Knights of the Holy Cross, and became himself the Grand Master. Casimir and his brothers joined as the first members and the vows that were taken were to shape all of his future career. The Knights were organized on the same general pattern as the great mediaeval orders and soon were supplemented by a political confederation. Joseph made his headquarters at the little town of Bar in eastern Poland and prepared for hostilities.

It was not long before the Russians took up the challenge and their overwhelming forces converged on Bar. Joseph was not a trained military man and had no base of supplies and no way of securing any, except what could be taken from the Russians. He and his friends were soon forced to retire into Turkey. Casimir who had already shown his ability as a soldier and leader, was compelled to surrender at Berdyczow and narrowly missed deportation to the depths of Russia.

Yet the example had been set and within a few months similar confederations were formed in all parts of Poland. A flame of revolt broke out and King Stanislas and the small Polish army endeavored to remain aloof and compel the Russians to put down the movement themselves. Unfortunately for the patriots, it was difficult, if not impossible, to coordinate the uprisings and their choice of a leader in Joachim Potocki doomed the entire struggle, for he constantly intrigued against the Pulaskis and did nothing positive himself. Finally Joseph was treacherously seized by the Crimean Tatars and died in prison.

His sons were determined to continue their father's work. The youngest, Antoni, was captured by the Russians and removed from Poland. Franciszek, the oldest, and Casimir continued in Poland, fighting one battle after another, until they were separated by the course of events. Franciszek withdrew into Turkey and Casimir made a dangerous trip with a small band of men across the frozen Carpathians and resumed the struggle near Krakow.

During the next year, the two brothers, now again together, were everywhere. They cut their way across Poland, wiping out small Russian detachments and supplying themselves with captured arms. Franciszek was killed but Casimir continued his raids and his success even won him the praise of the Emperor Joseph II of Austria. He took no part in the intrigues of the nobles and devoted himself to the sole task of winning liberty for his country.

In 1770, France recognized the movement and sent to Poland a military mission under Colonel Dumouriez. He brought with him brilliant plans but few supplies and he soon became entangled in the politics of the confederations



Painting by Stanislaw Batowski

Pulaski, mortally wounded at the Battle of Savannah, Georgia (1779).

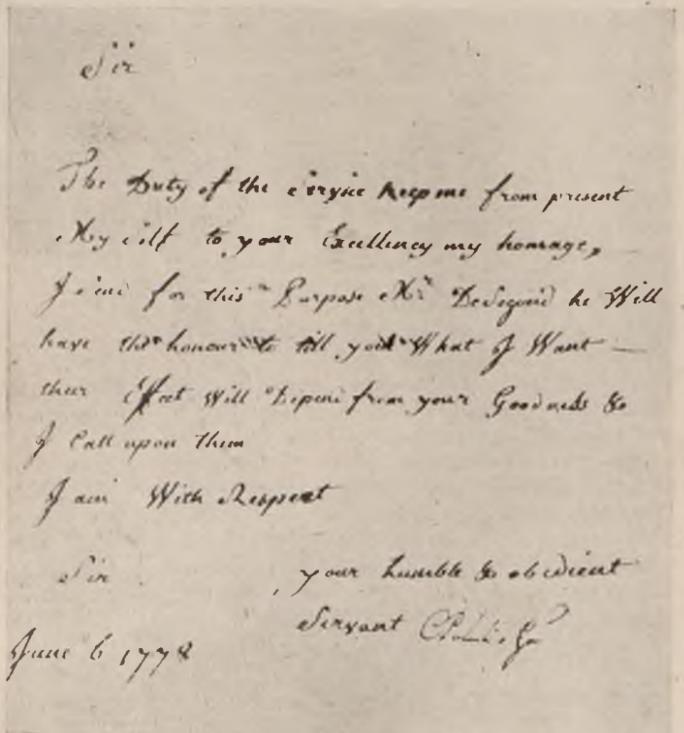
tions and lost any power of controlling events. Yet he disliked Casimir and had little confidence in him, but when it came a question of seizing some fortress and holding it as a base, it was Casimir whom he selected for the mission.

(To be continued in next issue)

IT WAS just two hundred years ago, on March 4, 1747, that Casimir Pulaski was born on his father's estate at Winiary in Mazovia. Perhaps even his parents and the friends of the family little expected from the boy that devotion to the cause of Poland and of freedom which was to characterize his life, win him fame on two continents and bring him to an untimely but heroic end at Savannah, Georgia, at the early age of thirty-two. Today, when Poland, after her sacrifices in World War II, is again being crushed by the Soviet Union with a subservient Polish regime, it may be well to look back at the heroic example of Casimir Pulaski who also struggled at home against a weak king who was only too willing to follow the orders of a Russian Empress.

Joseph Pulaski, the father of Casimir, was a well-to-do lawyer who had made a successful career amid the troubled times of the eighteenth century. He had several estates and lived in general the life of a Polish nobleman of the day. Nevertheless he was profoundly disturbed at the steady encroachments of Catherine the Great and her supporters on the liberty, tradition, religion and independence of the Polish nation. It was obvious to him, if not to many of his friends, that it was only a question of time when Catherine would seize the entire country and wipe Poland from the map of Europe and it aroused him to a point where he even dared to defy Prince Repnin, the Russian ambassador, who lorded it at will over the poor, weak king and the people alike.

The young Casimir had received the fashionable education of the day. He had attended an expensive school in Warsaw, the School of the Teatyni Fathers, but there is little evidence that he had ever taken the instruction too seriously. From his early years, he was interested in riding and shooting and in the country life which so



A Letter from Pulaski to George Washington. From the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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STEFAN NORBLIN, PAINTER OF INDIA

World War II brought indescribable suffering and destruction to millions, played havoc with lives of more millions, but to some afforded strange and unusual odysseys. To this last group belongs the famous Polish painter, Stefan Norblin. His war experiences proved so interesting that THE POLISH REVIEW availed itself of the opportunity to interview the artist during his recent visit to New York in order to acquaint its readers with his life and work. Below we give the gist of his brief reminiscences.



H.R.H. the Prince Regent of Iraq. Portrait by Stefan Norblin.

STEFAN NORBLIN inherited his many-sided talent from his ancestor, Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdain, who was invited by King Stanislaw August Poniatowski about the middle of the 18th century to become his court painter.

Jean Pierre Norblin lived in Poland for nearly fifty years, executing numerous portraits and mural paintings, as well as a number of paintings depicting Polish customs and costumes. He was also the founder of the first Art School in Warsaw. After Poland's partition, he returned to Paris, working for Prince Adam Czartoryski, decorating his Hotel Lambert.

Jean Pierre's son, Sylwin, a sculptor and winner of the

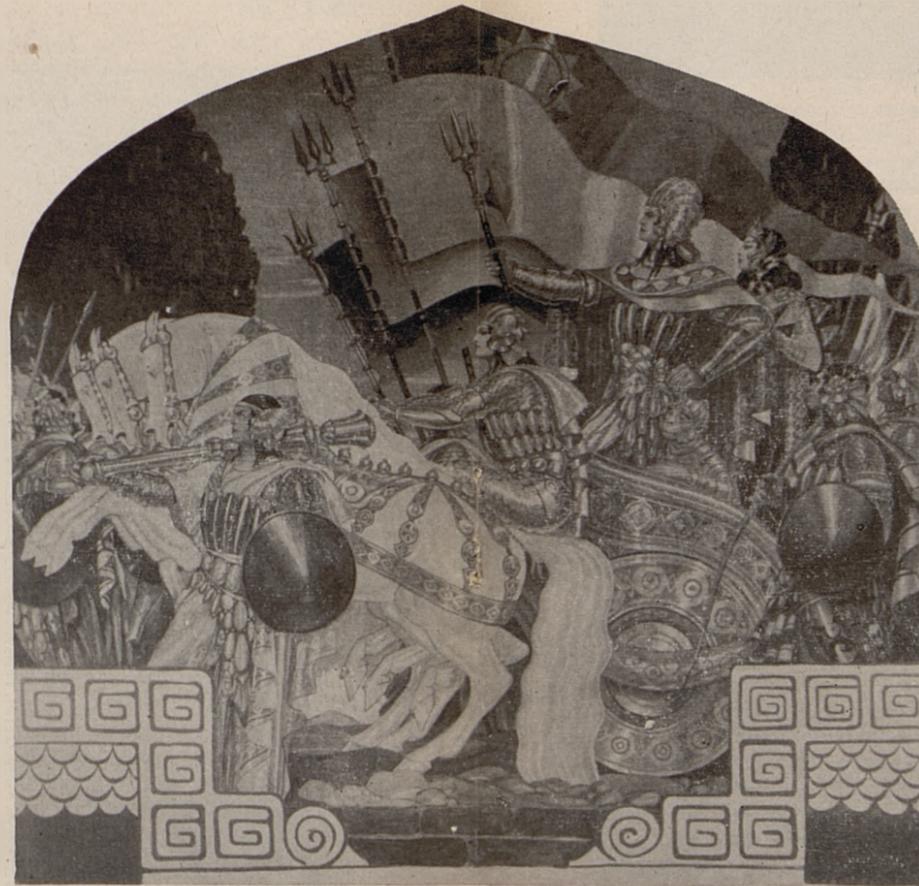
"Prix de Rome," went back to Poland, establishing his home there and opening a foundry for his sculptures. The foundry became one of the largest metallurgical plants in Poland. The family of Stefan Norblin wanted him to manage the family enterprise and induced him for that reason to graduate from the Academy of Commerce in Antwerp. However, Stefan Norblin felt impelled to pursue his inner desire to become a painter.

In March of 1914, at the age of 21, he held his first one-man show at the Memorial Galleries in Antwerp. His portraits and caricatures of well known persons brought him praise and success, but his success, unfortunately, was interrupted by the outbreak of World War I. Norblin had to flee the continent and found refuge in England where he studied the technique of English masters, while earning his living as a commercial artist.

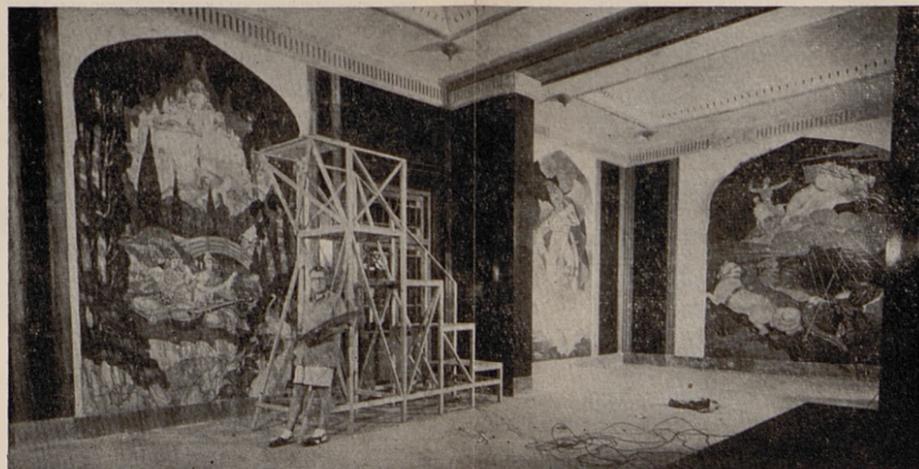
After the war, Stefan Norblin went back to his native Warsaw, attaining soon a high position as a commercial artist, illustrator, and portrait painter. With time, confining his activity solely to portraiture, he became the foremost portrait painter of persons high in diplomatic, military and social circles. Among his sitters were Marshal Pilsudski, Presidents Moscicki, Raczkiewicz, and Zaleski, General Sosnkowski, as well as many others.

Norblin's works were exhibited in Galleries in Poland and abroad, including the Royal Academy in London, where in 1937 the portrait of the late Vavode Jaroszewicz was put on view. The painter was awarded numerous prizes, and the Warsaw Society of Arts presented him with the silver and gold medals, as well as with two "Diploma Hors Concours," its highest award, a distinction but rarely granted twice to an artist.

In September 1939, after



Hindoo Mythology. Mural by Stefan Norblin. Palace in Jodhpur.



Stefan Norblin at work on a mural in the palace in Jodhpur.

the bombardment of Warsaw, Norblin was forced once again to leave his native country and with his wife, a well known Polish stage and screen star, went to Rumania, thence on to Istanbul and Bagdad. In Bagdad the Prince Regent of Iraq commissioned Norblin to paint the portraits of the young King Faisal, himself, and other members of the royal family.

But the Nazi "Putsch" in Bagdad compelled the artist to journey farther east. His arrival in Bombay meant a new chapter of activities for the versatile artist. India's unique conditions of life and her ancient civilization made a profound impression on Norblin. The painter was particularly interested in the art of the Mogul period and studied Hindoo mythology and religions in order better to understand Indian culture, for India is deeply religious. The Hindoos spend hours

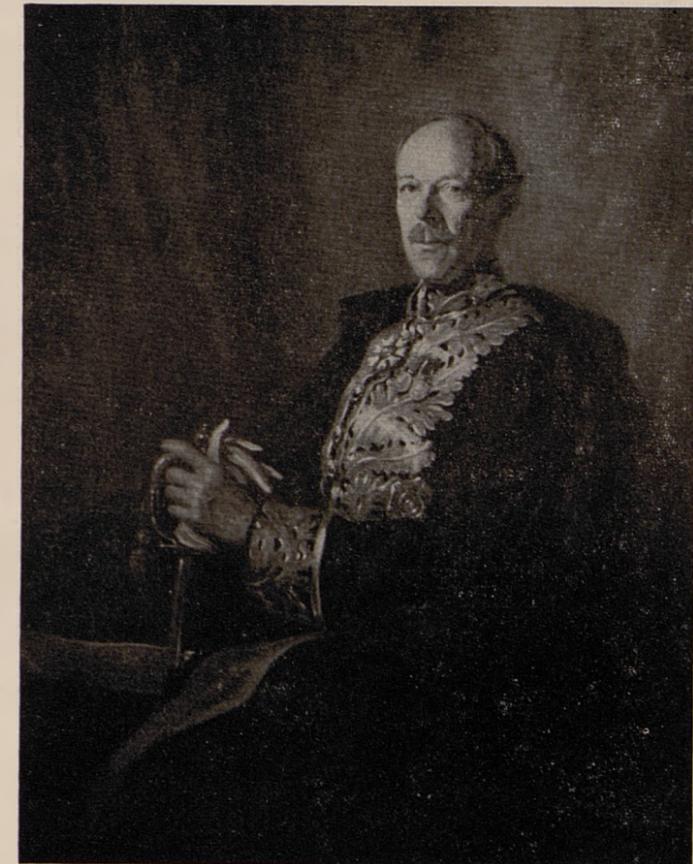
every day of their lives in religious meditation.

Complicated social customs of India with her caste system were a difficulty and a source of misunderstandings for the artist. For example, while working for the Maharajah of Jodhpur, the painter was given a bungalow to live in for himself and his family, consisting of his wife and infant son. Shortly after his arrival in India, he was given a young dog as a gift. The dog, untrained, was not housebroken, and so, one day, Norblin just called his

"boy" to clean up after the dog. The boy, evidently shocked, turned without a word and called the sweeper of the untouchable caste to do it and disdainfully paid him out of his own pocket. Upon being questioned by his master, the boy explained that that kind of work could not be performed by persons in his caste. That is the reason why there must be a large number of servants in each household—each one will do only the kind of work per-

mitted him by his caste. Norblin had to engage thirteen servants to take care of the small bungalow and to wait on three white "sahibs."

The Maharajah of Jodhpur placed Norblin in charge of the interior decorating of his new huge palace, the most outstanding modern building in India, and the artist had an unusual opportunity to display his varied skills and talents. He designed furniture and covered the walls with mural paintings, depicting Hindoo religious and mythological subjects, thus putting his newly acquired knowledge to use. The murals gained him wide renown



Sir Basil Newton. British Ambassador to Iraq. Portrait by Stefan Norblin.

and prospective patrons. After he had finished his work for the Maharajah of Jodhpur, he was commissioned to design interior decorations and to execute mural paintings for the princely palaces of the Maharajahs of Moroi, Ramgarh, Draugadra, and others. Besides his work for the Maharajahs, he was also invited to have a one-man show at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall in Bombay in 1944.

Despite his artistic and financial attainments, the oppressive climate of India impelled Norblin to leave that country after a five year sojourn. His long felt desire to come to the United States has at last been fulfilled, and the artist with his wife and baby son born in India landed on the West Coast. Charmed with the country, Stefan Norblin has made San Francisco his new home, hoping to resume soon his artistic activities.

We wish him the best and greatest success in his lifework.

Ann Su Cardwell's Letter.

No. 172, October 4, 1947

600 WEST 115th STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

THE CZECHS, who have been regarded by many Westerners as the model Central European nation and who have been held up as models for getting along with Moscow without losing their own freedom of action, are rapidly going the way of all peoples who attempt cooperation with the Kremlin. The Communists have now become the all-powerful political factor, having taken into their fold the Social Democrats. At the time of this writing the Benes group still refuses to join that block. But how long can it remain outside, and if it does, will it not go the way of Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party? The Communists control the Ministry of Interior, which controls the police. It controls the press and radio; no private publication is permitted in Czechoslovakia, according to a Prague dispatch to the Christian Science Monitor. With the police, the press, and the treasury Communist-dominated, what chance is there for freedom in Czechoslovakia?

I have not included the Slovaks in the above paragraph. The purge, following the Communist-reported attacks by Slovaks on the regime officials, is an indication of the Slovak attitude toward Communism. The situation is well described by an announcement by the Ministry of the Interior which says (according to the Prague dispatch), that "investigations are continuing rapidly and successfully. Mass arrests are taking place in the Slovak rural areas. Judging from preliminary results, the plot represents the most important anti-State action since the war. Hundreds are arrested, including monks and nuns. Secret radio transmitters, printing presses, subversive pamphlets were discovered. No one is allowed to leave the country."

An Estonian engineer, out of Estonia less than a year, has given interesting information about Russian activities in and around Paldiski, a small Estonian town on the Gulf of Finland. Peter the Great had a naval port built there in 1728, Catherine the Great tried to make it an important Russian port, using convict labor in the building. Now the Soviets have taken up the enterprise, with plans far more pretentious than Peter or Catherine ever dreamed of, as they have not stopped with the town but have included the whole of the Leetse peninsula in their designs. By so doing, since Porkkala just across on the Finnish coast is in Soviet hands, they have made the Gulf of Finland "a Russian lake." The area on each side of the Gulf is a fortified region—"the Russians on the spot talk about the necessity of protecting the Soviet frontiers against capitalist aggression."

In the town itself, "houses of several stories have been built underground. Vast halls have been erected, there are electric plants, elevators, and even tramways. The underground fortifications occupy the entire Leetse peninsula . . . Huge cisterns have been built for storing liquid fuel and large reserves for ships as well as for aircraft are laid up in them." The limestone character of the coast makes underground construction comparatively easy. The local population must do the hauling of materials but all underground work is performed by Russians. Equipment and tools are mostly American, supplied by America during the war.

"One does not kill a cow while it gives milk," runs a Finnish proverb. Moscow is taking everything possible out of Finland, justified by the terms of the reparations forced upon the Finns. And so the Kremlin does much talking about the

sovereignty of Finland and the democracy to be found there; and to date, according to a Finn who recently visited Sweden, the masses of the Finnish people believe that their country is sovereign and free. But what will happen, he asks, when the reparations obligations have been fulfilled and Finland still does not regain full freedom and independence? The Communists are striving by every means to consolidate their position, so that when that time comes they will be firmly in the saddle. But "if no outside events will save Finland, the slowest Finn . . . will see that the nation has been cheated and deceived." Civil war, predicts the speaker, will result.

Latvians permitted to listen to the radio were treated to a lecture on "The American Film," Aug. 9, 1947 by a Riga broadcaster. Here are a few choice extracts: "Films representing real life are getting increasingly rare in America. The reactionaries are oppressing everybody and everything . . . The American film world is ruled by people who really should be sent to the electric chair as criminals . . . Class distinctions and the class struggle could be represented in the films but this is not done . . . The Stone Age and its ideas dominate the American film . . . The American film industry is far behind the film industry in the Soviet Union . . . The aims of the American film industry are scoundrelly and criminal. . . ."

How the Poles feel about their situation is well illustrated by a current bit of humor that comes from Warsaw. One Pole is said to have remarked to another: "It's terrible here in Poland." "Don't complain," said the second man, "there are worse places." "And where can it be worse than in Poland?" asked the first speaker. "Where? Don't you know? in Russia and in hell." The Polish people face a hungry winter. The regime has been trying desperately to get at least 600,000 tons of food grain. The seriousness of the shortage is shown by the fact that the "ambassador" in Washington tried to get 800,000 tons from the United States, for which Warsaw was willing to pay with gold from the Polish reserves. After repeated Polish attempts, Moscow has agreed to let Poland have 300,000 tons of grain—but Moscow's record with regard to agreements is well remembered. To make the outlook still gloomier, official statistics based on examining physicians' reports state that 90% of all Polish children are either ill or below the normal health standard. Anemia and malnutrition diseases are in the lead. Nearly 1,000,000 children, roughly 20%, have had their health seriously impaired.

The commercial stores, on the model of those in the USSR, which Hilary Minc, Poland's economic tsar, established in various cities for the sale of the necessities of life at prices more reasonable than those on the open market have brought no relief. Complaint is made even by the regime's own press that "speculators" buy up the stocks and working people never get a chance at them. Workers—and that means both men and women—cannot go in the morning and spend hours in line. They must go after working hours, and then their patience is rewarded with the information that the articles they want are all sold. After a few such experiences people go to the open market and waste no more time at the store.

"Work 15 hours a day or steal," was the terse definition one observer of life in a satellite state has given to Communism. Certainly the puppets are carrying out the Soviet policy of exploiting labor to the full in Poland. Not long since the so-called Stakhanovite method was introduced in

the Polish coal mines and textile industry. Workers were either urged or ordered to double their output or reach some other specified norm. As has been reported by certain correspondents, workers, undernourished and over-worked as it is, refused and organized strikes. But it is illegal to organize a strike or talk in favor of a strike in Poland today. What, then, can come of such rebellion but long prison terms—which under the Soviet system mean forced labor camp—for the leaders and supporters, and submission to yet harder labor conditions by the helpless masses? As for the terrific extra effort the Stakhanovite or high production plan calls for, only the strongest can endure the strain for any length of time. Undernourished bodies soon wear out; and older men and women in particular are rapidly eliminated from the ranks. All Soviet writing and talk about Soviet care of the aged is pure propaganda. Actually there is no place for old people in the Soviet system, except for those among the Communist Party elite; and it is the Soviet system that is being imposed upon Poland.

Certain employees of the former Polish Government considered returning to Poland and, desirous of being assured of security, they turned to the representatives of the Bierut puppets for information regarding conditions. The following, according to the information bulletin "Nouvelles de Pologne" (Switzerland) is what was given them: They could return to Poland and feel completely safe. "Only, for a certain time after their return they must be under police control and obey the following police regulations: 1) For one year they must remain in the locality where they are settled. 2) Under no circumstance may they write a letter abroad, or receive correspondence or publications from abroad. 3) They may neither receive nor entertain foreigners in their homes. 4) Their correspondence must be limited to Poland and even so it must be limited. 5) They must report to the police each week. 6) The political police will have the right to enter the home and search both it and the occupants without previous notice or court order."

The Swiss bulletin makes the comment that regulations governing the interned Polish soldiers in Switzerland were less severe than those the Warsaw regime now applies to its own citizens who served meritoriously against the enemy and now wish to return home.

The American Embassy in Warsaw had to struggle for two years to get possession of a home it had prepared for itself. The puppets pretended that they were helpless to oust the squatters who had taken possession—doubtless on the regime's instructions. Only when our Ambassador resorted to keeping four radios blaring day and night did the squatters find other lodgings. But the Soviet Embassy has all the time been occupying a seven-story block of buildings that under German occupation had been used as the residences of Gestapo officials; which indicates how good they are, the Germans not selecting second-rate homes. Here the Russians have their offices and living quarters.

On the 6th floor, reports the Continental News Service, is a 5-room office whose entrance is labelled "technical Department." But this is not a department looking after radio installation or the care of the 200 cars at the disposal of Soviet officials in Warsaw. The name camouflages the activities of Soviet employees whose business it is to maintain contact between Moscow and Polish puppet diplomatic and consular offices abroad. The puppet regime's officials abroad enjoy a certain amount of confidence, at least among special groups; and such men can be very useful to Moscow in doing what Moscow's own representatives and agents cannot do. The "Technical Department" acts as a kind of distribution and assignment agency. Material or money from Moscow, the All-Slav Committee or any other Communist source,

is delivered by this office to the parties for whom it is designated without in any way compromising Moscow, at the same time seeing to it that the packets do not fall into the wrong hands.

From the Komsomolskaia Pravda, the Moscow Communist youth organ, of Aug. 15th comes this gem: "Dear Joseph Vissarionovitch! From the far-stretching lands of Galicia we send you, dear and beloved leader, a deep bow and wishes for many years of health, strength, and energy to be used for the welfare of our nation and the great Socialist Fatherland. With great joy we have recently celebrated the third anniversary of the liberation of Lwow and our entire area from the German-Fascist occupants . . . During the dark days of the occupation we always remembered that it was only the Soviet power that rescued us from the yoke of poverty, when in 1939 our age-long dreams were realized and we were united with our Motherland—the Soviet Ukraine, an inseparable part of the USSR," etc., etc. ad nauseam. The message was sent by collective and independent farmers, workers, tractor drivers, and state farm workers of the Lwow region. Comment: rightful inhabitants have been moved out, Soviet "colonists" moved into the Lwow region.

"*Contain Russia*" is a phrase often in use these days. How is it possible to think of "containing" a government, that is limiting it to the area it now controls, when it is that government's avowed intention to expand? when it has for many years been patiently and cleverly establishing a fifth-column network over the world that makes the German effort in that direction seem juvenile in comparison? How can a government that has ordered every member of its huge propaganda machine to attack the "capitalist" peoples and to use every medium for the purpose of instilling hatred of America and Britain in the Russian people ever be thought of as becoming willing to be "contained"? To quote William Philip Simms (World-Telegram), "It is an open secret in western European capitals that Moscow is convinced that Communism is today on the threshold of Eurasian, if not world, domination, and that one determined push can put it across." And this from Neal Stanford, Washington correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor: "For they (the Soviet press and radio charges against the United States) show, as do Soviet denunciations of the United States in the UN Assembly, that the Kremlin is pulling out all the stops in an intensified anti-American campaign. And they give substance to the report circulating here in the Capital that the all-powerful 14-man Politburo in Moscow actually has made the decision to write off its wartime friendship with the United States and consider it as a future enemy. . . ."

The Soviets have set themselves up as the world's elite. They are, as the (London) Dziennik Polski, heads an editorial recently, the new Herrenvolk. They do everything better than any other people can do it. Every discovery of importance, every invention is made by a citizen of the Soviet Union. According to Moscow, Marconi and Edison were followers not pioneers. Whenever anything new is announced in the West, a Soviet announcement soon attempts to make it appear that Soviet scientists or engineers or doctors or whatever the group concerned had found out *that* long ago. The Soviet form of government is the only one destined to survive; therefore, the sooner the world accepts it the better. And it is well to remember, while we talk about "containing" Russia, that the "R" in USSR does not stand for Russia but Republics—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. One of these "Republics" may be located anywhere, not necessarily must it adjoin Russia. Moscow has swung into its campaign to win the world. If we intend to prevent that, we must lose no time in giving support to those who are still our friends and those who are potential friends.

LIFE IN THE BALTIC STATES

AS A part of the Ministry of Interior, better known as the NKVD or secret police, the Soviets have what is called an Office for Transfer of Populations. One feature of the Soviet five-year plan calls for transfer of 100,000 families to the sparsely populated far eastern areas of the USSR—areas that because of climatic conditions have never yielded to settlement. The populations to be “transferred” are supposed to come from overcrowded regions and are to consist chiefly of farmers and fishermen. A recently received report from the Baltic countries states that a Soviet decree has listed Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, those parts of Poland and Rumania incorporated into the USSR as such over-populated areas.

Authorities in the Baltic States entrusted with carrying out the transfer orders received their instructions in time to begin the work of moving out the people falling under this decree early in the year, and an average of 4,000 persons a month have been taken from each of the three Baltic States ever since, with the action continuing at the same rate. In Khabarovsk, where many of the Balts have been taken, local papers have printed “interviews” in which the newcomers have been made to say that they had left their country voluntarily because there was insufficient land for all, while in the Khabarovsk province there was an abundance; also, that the authorities had promised them modern equipment—which had not yet arrived. They were to introduce “new cultures,” such as potato growing.

Estonian fishermen have also been taken to the Far Eastern coast, and almost all the fishing boats and smaller vessels have disappeared from Estonian shores. But foreigners visiting Vladivostok have observed small craft still bearing their Estonian names in the harbor. One such bore the name of the Estonian capital—“Tallinn.” Persons inquiring into the origin of these boats were told that they had been bought in America for the local fishermen.

If this plan of settlement of the Soviet Far East were bona fide, it would be under the direction of the Ministry of Agriculture. Under the direction of the secret police it can mean only one thing—a Soviet method of destroying populations that are likely to make trouble or to aid any people engaged in a future war with the USSR.

A letter from a resident of Riga, written June 11th of this year and got out by irregular channels, gives an excellent picture of Latvian life under Soviet domination. Here are telling sentences:

“The widely announced gigantic construction program exists only on paper. The Bolsheviks have not erected a single new building or factory in Riga, and work has been revived in only a few old factories.” Compare that with the lyrical descriptions and amazing photographs of Latvians singing and dancing in their joy over a “democratic” Latvia that the Soviet bulletins put out here in America provide their readers.

“The greatest curse of the Riga inhabitants and also of the farmers are thieves and robbers. At the market a person can have the eyes stolen out of his head . . . Most of the thieves are ‘homeless’ Russian juveniles, who

have achieved the dexterity of monkeys . . . Our stomachs are empty and we sell clothing, furniture, dishes, or whatever remains to us . . . The greatest difference in the world now exists between the ‘top’ and ‘bottom.’ Members of the Party and of the government and a handful of artists and scientists live in a luxurious and wasteful manner. They save nothing, but spend their enormous salaries . . . They have their own stores, ration cards, and various supplementary incomes. But the underdogs . . . The State is the greatest racketeer. It pays the farmer 9 kopecks for a quart of milk, which it sells in Riga for 12 roubles (100 kopecks to the rouble). It pays him 13 kopecks for a kilogram (2.2 lbs.) of rye, and sells it for 50 roubles.” The writer proceeds to describe the excessive quotas and burdensome taxes demanded of the farmer—a tale similar to that heard from all Soviet dominated countries and then adds, “We do not condemn either bribes or the receiving of bribes, for in that way our economic life manages to drag along.

“Theatres and movies are relatively well attended, for there one can sometimes forget one’s self. Russian and sometimes even American films are shown (old ones, of course) . . . Newspapers are read with disgust, for they contain only propaganda articles . . . Janitors are now important officials, for as agents of the authorities they keep an eye on the inhabitants. The drawback is that they must continually attend meetings and conferences. Recently the janitors and police were extremely busy . . . persuading everyone to subscribe to the State loan . . . especially these not employed in offices or factories and consequently not under the influence of a supervisor. The result: for a few months 10 or 20 roubles are deducted from one’s earnings. . . .

“The demoralizing effect of all these conditions is characterized by this statement made by a Latvian lawyer: ‘Formerly notaries public could certify the existence of lost school documents on the basis of the testimony of trustworthy witnesses. If that were permissible now, everyone would be an engineer or a doctor, since for 5 roubles one can get any number of witnesses. . . .’ In concluding the writer says:

“Please do not send us long letters, and under no circumstances frequently. That is dangerous for us, because all correspondence is registered. Just send a postcard. Be brief, let us know that you are alive. We will reply just as briefly . . . Lately anyone who receives letters and postcards from persons abroad is compelled to broadcast a call to friends and relatives to return home. Do not put any faith in such invitations, even should they come from your closest relatives . . . Our largest radio sets were confiscated but later a few were returned in a damaged condition. Many listen to London and German broadcasts . . . The more our newspapers and the Riga broadcasting station curse the British and Americans, the more interested in them we become. There are all kinds of significant rumors . . . We place great hopes in you emigres. We eagerly await your return, but only accompanied by freedom. All our thoughts can be expressed in the words of the poet Rainis: ‘Matters cannot and will not remain as they are.’”

“ARROW IN THE AIR”

The Institute for Democratic Education, Inc. of 415 Lexington Ave., New York 17, N. Y. has been giving a series of broadcasts on transcriptions by radio stations throughout the country. The last series: *LEST WE FORGET — THESE GREAT AMERICANS* received a Variety Showmanagement Citation as an outstanding program combatting intolerance and promoting better intergroup relations and one of the first awards at Ohio State University's Institute for Education by Radio.

Below we give a script of the series, entitled “ARROW IN THE AIR,” with Victor Jory in the part of Sergeant Reagan. The script treats of prejudice—the poison-tipped arrow of prejudice—against Catholics, Protestants, Jews, foreigners, Negroes, and in this case against Poles. The action takes place in a coal mine somewhere in the United States. (Condensed.)

(RINGING OF TELEPHONE, RECEIVER LIFTED)

SERG'T: Police Headquarters. Serg't Hopkins talking.

VOICE 1: (FILTER) (EXCITED) Hey, hey listen . . . get a cop out here right away. There's been an accident. It looks like a guy's been killed.

SERG'T: Where'd it happen? What kind of an accident?

VOICE 1: (FIL) There was a fight. One of the guys was knocked down. He's not come to.

SERG'T: Okay, okay, but where'd it happen? Where you calling from?

VOICE 1: (FIL) What? Oh—out here at the mine. Fellow named Grater, Ralph Grater, hit 'im. He's just lying here, not movin'.

SERG'T: We'll be right there. Just don't let that Grater get away.

VOICE 1: (FIL) But he's already gone. He's beat it. (REPLACING RECEIVER AND CALLING)

Reagan! Mike Reagan!

(DOOR OPENING AND CLOSING)

REAGAN: (COMING IN) Right here, Hopkins. What's up?

SERG'T: A fight out at the mine. Looks like a guy got killed. Somebody named Grater did it. Got away.

REAGAN: Grater? Ralph Grater?

SERG'T: Yeah, that's it. You know him?

REAGAN: Sure, I know him. And I think I know where to find him!

Reagan climbs the rickety stairs of the tenement house where Ralph Grater lives. He loosens his gun in his holster, as he reaches the third floor landing.

(KNOCK ON DOOR . . . PAUSE . . . REPEAT)

REAGAN: (CALLING) Hey, Grater . . . Ralph Grater . . . Open up. It's Reagan . . . Mike Reagan. I know you're in there, Ralph. Open up.

(DOOR OPENING)

RALPH: Okay, Copper. What's on your mind?

REAGAN: You're wanted down at headquarters, Ralph.

RALPH: Me? What for? What have I done?

REAGAN: You were in a fight a little while ago, weren't you?

RALPH: That dirty Polack! He had it coming!

REAGAN: Same old Ralph Grater. You shouldn't have socked him so hard though.

RALPH: What do you mean?

REAGAN: He's still out. Hasn't come to yet.

RALPH: Oh, I pack a wallop all right.

REAGAN: Better come along now—quietly.

RALPH: What for? I didn't start it. I just hit him in self-defense. Honest. Velchetsky started it.

REAGAN: Velchetsky? Joe Velchetsky? Is that who you slugged? Why?

RALPH: Because he's a Polack. Isn't that reason enough?

REAGAN: When are you going to grow up? That's the way you used to talk when you were a kid. Here, what are you doing? Stay away from that cabinet!

RALPH: (STRUGGLING) Let go of me!

REAGAN: (STRUGGLING) Oh no, you don't. Hand it over. Come on.

RALPH: (STRUGGLING) Hey, you're breaking my arm!

REAGAN: Now let's see what you've got in your hand . . . A locket, huh? Expensive one too. With an emerald on it. Where'd you get it?

RALPH: None of your business. It's mine. Give it back to me.

REAGAN: I've got a better idea. We'll take it down to headquarters with us. Hold still!

(SNAPPING ON HANDCUFFS)

I didn't want to put cuffs on you, Grater, but you asked for it. Now, get moving!

On the way to headquarters, Reagan tries to find a reason for Grater's hatred for Joe. He recalls that Grater always pushed Joe around and made life miserable for him.

SERG'T: Is this Grater, Reagan?

REAGAN: Yeah. He admitted the assault.

SERG'T: Good work! Lock him up!

RALPH: Wait a minute. What for? I know my rights. What are the charges?

SERG'T: Right now, it's assault and battery. If Velchetsky dies, there'll be another name for it!

After having booked Grater, Reagan keeps trying to solve the riddle of that hatred and wonders what the emerald locket had to do with the case. He goes to the hospital where Velchetsky was taken to and there finds Velchetsky's fiancée, Anne Ward.

REAGAN: Excuse me, Miss Ward. I'm Mike Reagan, an old friend of Joe Velchetsky. Can I be of any help?

ANNE: (TEARFULLY) Joe's told me about you. It's been hours. Do you think he's going to be all right? Oh, if anything happens to him, I don't know what I'll do.

REAGAN: You'll just have to be patient. They're doing everything they can, I'm sure.

ANNE: I know. But it's my fault. It's my fault that it happened.

REAGAN: Your fault? How do you figure that?

ANNE: Joe asked me to marry him yesterday. I said I would and then I told Ralph. I thought he'd understand but—

REAGAN: I see.

ANNE: Ralph was furious. And then he—he had to do this to Joe.

REAGAN: They never got along as far back as I can remember.

ANNE: I know. Ralph hated him.

REAGAN: Why? Because of you?

ANNE: I don't understand it. Because Joe was Polish I guess.

REAGAN: That's no reason.

ANNE: It was for Ralph. Ever since he was a child. Yes, I think that's when it started, when his father was hurt in the mine.

(Please turn to page 14)

(Continued from page 13)

REAGAN: I didn't know about that.

ANNE: Ralph told me. One day he came home from school. His father was lying in bed and there was a plaster cast on his leg.

Grater's father was hurt in a mine accident and blamed it on his Polish co-workers. The lie, of which the boy Grater was ignorant, and the poverty ensuing from the accident so embittered the boy against all Poles that he grew up hating their very name.

ANNE: Maybe you can't blame him for feeling how he did about Joe. But it's awful. It twisted his whole outlook. It made him bitter and hateful. And then when I told him I was in love with Joe—But it's so unfair. It wasn't Joe's fault.

Reagan begins to see the reason for Grater's hatred. Remembering the locket, he shows it to Anne and asks her about it.

ANNE: Why that's the locket Joe was going to give me. Where did you find it?

REAGAN: It must have fallen from Joe's pocket during the fight.

ANNE: He was going to have the clasp fixed. It's been in his family a long time. The bride of the eldest son always got it.

REAGAN: I see—I'd like to keep it for a little while. I'll give it back to Joe . . . But now, don't you think you'd better go home. If there's any change, they'll let you know.

ANNE: No, no, I want to stay here. I don't want to leave.

Reagan, pursuing his inquiry, checks records at the mine, while a phrase keeps running through his mind: "I shot an arrow in the air, It fell to earth I know not where."

VOICE 1: Sure Ralph Grater's father worked here. What's that got to do with what happened this morning?

REAGAN: I don't know. I'm trying to find out.

VOICE 1: Well, gosh, I saw the whole thing. I was standing right there at the gate. Looked to me like Ralph was just layin' for him.

REAGAN (TURNING PAGES): Any more reports of about the same date?

VOICE 1: Just these.

REAGAN (TURNING PAGES): Let me look through them.

VOICE 1: Yes, sir, Joe come down the street with a couple of other fellows, all excited about some girl sayin' she'd marry him. He was showin' 'em somethin'.

REAGAN: Did you see what it was?

VOICE 1: Naw, it wasn't very big though. He had it in his hand. Then Ralph stepped out and said he wanted to talk to Joe. Joe said, "No hard feelin' about Anne, huh, Ralph. I mean about her marryin' me."

REAGAN: What did Ralph say?

VOICE 1: Somethin' about any girl wantin' to marry a crumby Polack, deserved what she got. That's when Joe socked him. Ralph came right back and knocked him down.

REAGAN: Then what did Ralph do?

VOICE 1: Bent over him. Looked like he picked up somethin'. Then he just walked away.

REAGAN: Okay. Thanks very much. I found what I was looking for. This piece of paper. I'll return it.

VOICE 1: Sure, hope Joe gets better. And if that Ralph Grater gets life that'll suit me too.

Having found what he was looking for, Reagan decides to show the paper to Grater and returns to headquarters.

SERG'T: Reagan. You're just in time. There's a Miss Ward calling from the hospital. Joe Velchetsky's going to be all right.

REAGAN: Good—here give me the phone. Yes, this is Reagan . . . Wonderful. I'm glad to hear it . . . What's that? . . . Now wait a minute, you can't let him get away with it. You tell Joe that I—All right, if that's the way he wants it. I'll be over there in a little while. Right . . . Good-bye.

(RECEIVER REPLACED)

REAGAN: I want to talk to Grater, Sergeant.

SERG'T: Want me along?

REAGAN: If you don't mind, I'd like to talk to him alone.

SERG'T: Go ahead.

Reagan goes to Grater's cell.

RALPH: How'r'ye Copper. Get a promotion?

(CELL DOOR UNLOCKED, OPENED)

REAGAN: I just got a phone call. Joe Velchetsky's going to be all right.

RALPH: Well, what do you know? Polacks are tougher than I thought.

REAGAN: You can go now.

RALPH: What do you mean, I can go?

REAGAN: You're free. Joe's not going to press charges against you.

RALPH: (LAUGHING LOUDLY) Scared, huh? I tell you there's nothin' dumber'n a Pole. Imagine me acting that way if I was in his place.

REAGAN: I feel sorry for you, Grater.

RALPH: What for? What do you expect me to do, break out bawling?

REAGAN: You were taught to hate, Grater. You never had a chance after that first lie.

RALPH: Lie? What lie?

REAGAN: The lie your father told you when you were a kid. The lie he told you about the accident in the mine—about the Pole he said was responsible for his broken leg.

RALPH: That was the truth!

REAGAN: The truth? Take a look at this, Grater. Here's the report on that accident. Look at the date. Go on, read it.

RALPH: (READING) John Grater was intoxicated on the date named. Because of this, he fell off a coal car and broke his leg. No responsibility attaches to the company. No indemnity is recommended.

RALPH: Indemnity?

REAGAN: If that accident had been anyone's fault but your father's, you wouldn'ta starved for eight months. Maybe you wouldn't be the sort of person you are today. Don't blame the Poles, put the blame where it really belongs. IN A LIE!

RALPH: I—I don't know what to say.

REAGAN: Here's your locket. You can have it back now.

RALPH: But—but that's not my locket. Look, Mike, I didn't—I didn't know. Mike, do me a favor, will you. Drive me over to the hospital. I want to give the locket back to Joe. That's the least I can do.

Reagan, musing aloud, perceives the meaning of the phrase: "I shot an arrow in the air," which has been running through his mind. It was a poison tipped arrow of prejudice that Ralph Grater carried around with him almost his whole life.

By besmirching the U. S. Embassy in Warsaw, the Communist regime is achieving only an adverse effect, as the American Government, Congress and public opinion will grow more and more reluctant to grant any economic help to Poland, which is so badly needed by the Polish people.

As to the other purpose of the trials, providing reasons for the dissolutions of the PSL, it seems that the efforts of the regime were superfluous, to say the least. The prestige of the PSL has not been affected, only more names have been added to the already long list of political martyrs. In a totalitarian state the dissolution could have been accomplished without fake pretences. Some foreign observers predict a trial in the near future of

Stanisław Mikołajczyk on grounds of the "evidence" collected in the Mierzwa trial. This writer does not share such views. Mikołajczyk is isolated and no longer dangerous for the regime. To bring him to trial would be an act of stupidity on the part of the Warsaw Communists. It would cause a wave of protests and embitter public opinion abroad. It is much wiser and safer for the Lublin gang to liquidate the local leaders of the PSL, who were brought into the open by Mikołajczyk's unfortunate policy of "legal opposition," while the chairman of the PSL, isolated and in no position to act, would be kept intact in order to furnish foreign countries with proof of Communist good will and the democratic conditions prevailing in Soviet Poland.

POLISH LITHUANIAN RECONCILIATION—THE CORNERSTONE OF EASTERN EUROPEAN PEACE

(Continued from page 5)

had regarding the latter—their own Western Christian civilization provided too great a contrast.

Furthermore, the old ties of martyrdom-in-common were renewed by large masses of Lithuanians and Poles, both in Siberia and Germany, since 1940. The result was that, in Lithuania, the natives did all they could for Polish prisoners and exiles, and for the men in hiding. In Poland, too, Lithuanian prisoners and men in hiding received succor and shelter. Nothing need be said regarding the common mass graves of Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Ukrainian, etc. martyrs in Arctic and Siberian Russia.

The first attempts of armed collaboration between the underground resistance movements of Poland and Lithuania dissolved against the problem of Vilna: neither side would grant a concession to the other on that score. In fact, Polish Underground Army leaders recommended to their Government-in-Exile that there must be no independent Lithuania—that Lithuania should be subjected to Poland's protectorate for 25 years . . . Since the Soviet-managed evacuation of the Polish-speaking masses from Lithuania—armed collaboration against the Soviet oppressor became a fact, even if on a limited scale. Symbolically enough, a Lithuanian guerrilla leader was recently captured, tried and executed in Białystok, Poland, but his unit continues to operate on both sides of the frontiers.

The Lithuanians agree that East Prussia must be eliminated as a bastion of military aggression, and must either return to the original—Polish and Lithuanian—owners or constitute, after minor adjustments in favor of Poland, the fourth member of the Baltic Union. A great many of the East Prussians of German speech are likewise sympathetic to either of these two solutions. They believe that a decentralized Germany is necessary and desirable in a general European confederation; that a lack of Polish-German reconciliation would doom Poland to the status of a Soviet dependency, at the same time dooming forever the Lithuanian nation to total extinction.

It is difficult to attempt, at this unsettled stage of affairs, to suggest a definite plan, particularly regarding the proper place of the truly independent Poland and Lithuania.

I am a "federalist," favoring a European continental confederation of several regional federations. A very important position in such a European bloc should be occupied by a North-Eastern Federation, embracing Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, possibly Finland and Scandinavia. A federation of Poland and other states interested in the Freedom of the Sea—*Dominium Maris Baltici*—is quite feasible and advisable: Poland, a comparably large state, would make one partner, and the United Baltic States—the other. This plan contemplates a "federation within a federation." I believe that three little Baltic States, numbering 6 to 7 million Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians of long traditions of tolerance, can form a compact federation on the Swiss model, regardless of their language differences. Lithuania, alone, is too small to enter into federal ties with Poland—the disparity would tend to efface the little partner. But the three Baltic nations, acting as a bloc, would provide an ideal partner to a monolithic Poland. This plan would not depart from the ancient historical path—old Livonia used to be a co-dominion of Lithuania and Poland.

Regarding the Ukraine and White Ruthenia—I, as most of people of Lithuanian origin, entertain warmest sympathies toward the people of those countries. Nevertheless, their religion, their cumulative historic development, their national temper, and the historical lessons of the past, — point to incompatibility of life in a single Commonwealth. Ukraine and White Ruthenia are entitled to their sovereignty—or a Ukrainian-White Ruthenian Commonwealth. As independent states, those countries would be excellent neighbors of Poland, Lithuania, and the Baltic States, and would contribute much to stabilization of peace by weakening the aggressive mongrel Muscovy. But as partners in a confederation of Poles, Lithuanians and Balts — life could hardly be compatible.

Going back to Polish-Lithuanian relations, I believe that history gives its lesson: the past five centuries provide a guide to the future which should be based on closest political, economic and cultural ties between these two sovereign peoples, the two easternmost outposts of Western Christendom.

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