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American Red Cross Photo by Waller

American Red Cross milk and fat reach needy children in Poland's villages. Polish Junior Red Cross handles this work for Polish Red Cross.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HEN THE news came that the Communists had taken over in Czechoslovakia, nobody conversant with Soviet ideology and plans was surprised. They knew very well that the much talked of independence of that little country undertaking to live on "friendly" terms and cooperate with Moscow was merely a facade behind which the process of complete sovietization was being prepared. The only question was—when would the men of the Kremlin judge the time ripe for the puppets to be put in the saddle.

Whether that time was deemed to have arrived or whether the recent moves of the West made Stalin turn from infiltration and destruction of the real Czechoslovakia by slower "legal" means to the use of the sudden coup, is a question significant for statesmen determining Western procedures. And to them that question can be left. But one thing is now perfectly clear to the most doubting: Moscow is travelling the road to the domination of all Europe, and will flout all efforts aimed to win Russian cooperation or even Russian willingness to allow other nations to choose their own form of government.

The sympathy of all brother peoples of Central and Eastern Europe that live under complete Soviet domination goes out to the Czechs and Slovaks at this time. Already under the yoke for years, these unfortunates know the weight of the oppression and the horrors and sorrows of the persecution that is meted out to all true patriots in the lands where Moscow installs its puppets.

But in all the shadows that fall over Europe with the loss of the remnants of freedom in this once proud state, there are certain rays of light. One of them lies in the fact that the world is forced to understand the motives of the USSR. Even the left-wing British Labor weekly, The Tribune, says: "If the Soviet Government and its supporters in foreign lands are determined to make the methods used in Czechoslovakia the pattern of their international conduct, theirs will be the primary responsibility for setting the whole world ablaze."

Another positive gain is made in having the false front torn off for the Czechoslovaks themselves. They must now make their choice—not East and West but East or West. Under the red banner with the hammer and the sickle, or with the clean red, white, and blue of the flags of the West.

Americans of Polish descent have thus expressed how they feel about the situation through their spokesman, the president of the Polish American Congress, Charles Rozmarek: "When the Western democracies gave Russia a free hand in Poland, instead of demanding her withdrawal, the signal was given for Communist advance across Central Europe. Next they will be reaching for the world."

A powerful instrument in checking that advance and turning back the aggressor would be a union of the free forces representing and fighting for the independence of the European states now under subjection. Such a union would begin the tolling of the bell for totalitarian aggression and at the same time initiate steps toward the ultimate independence of the countries now enslaved.

LITHUANIA

TODAY what is left of the Lithuanian nation on its native soil is in the hands of the men in Moscow. Not one of the freedoms possessed by independent peoples exists in that little northern land. The gains that had been made during the two decades of statehood preceding the Soviet aggression of 1940, followed-by the German, in turn succeeded by a second Soviet occupation in 1944, have been obliterated. Lithuanian material wealth has vanished, removed to the Soviet Union or destroyed, or wasted through incompetence. The population has been decimated by executions and deportations. Patriots have had to flee the country or join outlawed bands.

But the Lithuanians are one of the most ancient of the European peoples. They have not survived the struggles of over a thousand years to accept the dictates of the atheistic Kremlin. They are a tough, unyielding people, a Christian people. When thirty years ago this month—to be exact, February 16, 1918—they proclaimed their Declaration of Independence, they were breaking the bonds of serfdom under the Russia of the Tsars, after a century and a quarter of bondage which had been laid

upon them but which they had never accepted.

It is not surprising, then, to learn that the Lithuanian underground is active against the present Russian seizure and transformation of the country into a Soviet republic, or that Lithuanians in America and Americans of Lithuanian ancestry have from the very first months of the rape of their homeland been diligent in presenting its plight and its cause to the American public. Now that it is permitted to publish the truth about what Moscow is doing in Eastern Europe, the Lithuanian protests and appeals are receiving a hearing, and a conservative paper like The New York Times has gone as far as to say that "Sooner or later the world will have to take note of their (the Lithuanians') struggle and give it the support it deserves."

That is a statement to which all decent people will give approval, with the added hope that the support will

not be long delayed.

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"THIS WORLD WILL NEVER BE FREE UNTIL POLAND IS FREE"

By RUPERT HUGHES*

OST OF US have seen the Polish Republic come and go. Born of the First World War, it perished in the Second. We are apt to think that this must be the fault of the Poles themselves. But the fault lies with their fate.

There were great Polish patriots, men of genius and the highest principles, who fought wisely and well for their ideals and for their country but were crushed by

circumstances they could not change..

We Americans should feel a kinship with the Polish people for many reasons. If anything distinguishes our country above all other qualities it is our love of freedom.

For centuries Poland was peculiarly a land of refuge for the oppressed. When the persecuted could find shelter in no other country, Poland opened her doors. She never had an iron curtain—either to keep other people out or

to imprison her own people.

We believe in elections and the rule of the majority while holding sacred the rights of the minority. Poland, so far as I know, was the only country in all history where even the Kings were elected. This was a source of weakness for Poland since she was surrounded by nations whose rulers were tyrants. The last king of Poland before she was divided by the surrounding nations, was a weak man who won the majority vote.

But who are we to criticize? How many of our many presidents have been weaklings although elected by a majority? Only, we have been luckily placed, with powerful enemies far away. Our situation is so secure that our follies and our blunders have never endangered our safety. We ought, in all humility, to recognize how much

we owe to geography.

Look back a little more than a century and a half ago when the thirteen colonies lying along the Atlantic Coast rebelled against the English parliament and the taxes it imposed. We had three million people here and they should have furnished Washington with an army of at least a hundred thousand men. Such an army could have swept the British into the sea in a few months; for the great British empire was so weak at that time that it had to hire Hessian troops. The British armies were neither large nor well supplied, and they had to cross the ocean in sailing vessels that took from one to three months to make the voyage.

Yet so many of our people were opposed to this war that George Washington could never muster as many as fifteen thousand men at a time, and they were often half-naked, half-starved, and so badly shod that their

feet left bloody footprints on the snow.

Furthermore, there were more American-born soldiers fighting on the side of the British than on our side.

We were saved from defeat by the French, who furnished us with weapons, ammunition, uniforms, money, and men.

At the Battle of Yorktown when the Americans forced the surrender of Cornwallis there were 6,000 British troops, 8,000 American troops and 31,000 Frenchmen!

The British gave up the fight because they were too far away. In despair during the early part of the war, Washington planned to flee across the mountains and live in the wilderness. Back of our infant republic was a vast continent occupied only by roving bands of savages. In front was the Atlantic ocean. North of us was the

Canadian wilderness. South of us the scattered Spanish colonies.

We were permitted by fate to be safe in our infancy and we found an enormous empty world for later generations to spread out in and grow till the three million are now more than 140 million and the thirteen colonies are now the solidest, the richest, the mightiest nation on earth.

Compare our history with Poland's—but first let me add what few people know, that there were Polish pioneers in this country with the very first settlement in Virginia. The Pilgrims and Puritans and the Mayflower and other ships did not arrive till twenty years after the first Poles.

More people realize that in the Revolutionary War we received vital help from two brilliant Polish officers, Kosciuszko and Pulaski. Both of them were fugitives

from a crushed and conquered Poland.

Why was Poland conquered? From no lack of courage or brilliance or resolution or willingness to die fighting. But where we had the wide Atlantic on our Eastern border—a gigantic moat that kept our Eastern enemies three thousand miles away, Poland had on her Eastern border, the mighty Russian empire. A boy could toss a stone from Russia into Poland. A soldier could step across. To the North of Poland and to the West were the Germans with their millions and their hatred. To the South of Poland was the Austro-Hungarian Empire. When a Polish band of heroes was overwhelmed, it could only retreat into the power of other enemies.

And so Poland was finally conquered by Russia, Austria and Germany and divided among them. The great Partition of Poland it is called; for a hundred and fifty years the Poles suffered partitioning, but again and again they

rose in magnificent rebellion.

At the end of the first World War, Germany was in defeat and Russia was in the chaos of the Bolshevik conquest of the enormous empire the Czars had built up. Poland became a republic; and prospered till Hitler rose and built Germany into such a military machine as the world had never known. On the other side of Poland, Stalin was building the multitudes of the Russian world into another gigantic machine. Hitler and Stalin joined forces. They agreed that they would first crush Poland.

Poland saw the disaster coming. On the West the Germans goose-stepped across the border with their tanks rolling and their airplanes darkening the sky. On the East the Russian millions swarmed across the border. Crushed between the two mightiest armies in history Poland fought on with a heroism and an endurance never

surpassed.

When she was trampled down at last, Hitler turned on his partner; and the Russian armies fled back across Poland and across Russia almost into Asia before Russia's old ally, the icy winter, saved her from final disaster.

When Hitler was crushed and Stalin could come rolling West again, his armies halted at the edge of Warsaw till the valiant underground army of Poland was called out, till the Germans had destroyed or captured the Polish heroes. Then the Germans fell back, and the Russians came on in a flood that overswept Poland.

I have talked with many Polish people who lived in Poland under the German domination, and they said they

(Please turn to page 15)

Political Trials in

By LT. GEN.

POLITICAL trials were little known in the old Polish Commonwealth, which was noteworthy for its emphasis on individual freedom. The Polish Habeas Corpus law—Neminem captivabimus nisi jure victum*—dates from the fifteenth century. During the three subsequent centuries there were no more than a dozen important political trials. It was only at the end of the eighteenth century, when Poland, divided among Austria, Prussia, and Russia, became a part of these three empires, that political inquisitions and trials were to become a feature of Polish national life. Severe sentences, bloody executions, and deportations were then carried out by Austrian, Prussian, and Russian authorities, while the Poles appeared only as the accused.

Now, that is since 1945 and under Russian domination, political trials have reappeared on a large scale, and again it is Polish patriots who are being tried. These trials started with the notorious case of the sixteen Polish underground leaders before a Soviet military court. This took place in Moscow in 1945 at the same time that the representatives of the "Big Three" were engaged in establishing a government of their choice over what they called a "free and independent" Poland.

Once this new Poland was established, it became necessary to transfer the Soviet-assumed jurisdiction over political offenses to Polish tribunals. To make certain that the sentences would fall in with Soviet wishes, the independence of the judges had to be abolished and the judicature reorganized on the Soviet model. The "Minister of Justice" declared that "the guiding principle for judges in passing verdict will be the consolidation of the rule of the peasants and workers;" which meant, of course, the rule of Moscow. Similar pressure is exercised on the legal profession. Thus at the session of the Lawyers General Council held in Warsaw in May 1947, the "Minister of Justice" being present, a resolution was passed stating that "although it is permissible to accept voluntarily the defence of persons on trial for treason, or in trials for rehabilitation proceedings, the Regional Council must ensure that a lawyer undertaking the defence in such cases shall act in accordance with the interests of the Nation, of the State and the popular understanding of the Law." (For "popular" read "Moscow.") The Security Police, the Polish branch of the NKVD, was given full power to arrest any suspect and to keep defendants under their care both during the period of investigation and during the trial.

All these measures, however, seemed inadequate for reducing the tribunals to complete submission to the Communist regime. So "offences particularly dangerous in the period of rebuilding the State" were transferred

*'We will not imprison anyone without a lawful verdict.'' A charter of 1430, awarding personal immunity (Habeas Corpus) to the landed gentry.

by decree to military courts, in which the judges are Security Police officers disguised in military uniforms. The proceedings of these courts are mostly in camera; even the verdicts and executions often remain secret. This is the usual way of liquidating less known dangerous opponents without provoking public opinion. In more important cases the proceedings are public, but only the verdicts are reported in the press.

In a third and less numerous, though most important category, are the big show-trials on the Soviet pattern. In totalitarian police states, legal opposition being liquidated or silenced, elections faked and mock-parliaments allowed only to agree with the ruling faction and to acclaim its deeds, political trials are something more than acts of political terrorism. They reveal the government's political tendencies, the trends of public opinion, the activities of the opposition. They are an East-European counterpart of the debates in the British House of Commons or the American Congress. The long series of last year's show-trials in Poland has illuminated the Polish political stage as with a floodlight.

In the first days of January 1947 a spectacular trial was brought to an end. That was the case of Colonel Rzepecki, the last Commander of the Polish Home Army, accused of having organized from the remnants of this army an underground political league called WIN (Wolnosc i Niepodleglosc, i. e. Freedom and Independence). The leading idea of the trial was demonstration of the folly of all such resistance to Soviet domination and in general the futility of any Polish action independent of Moscow. The trial of Count Xavier Grocholski and two other Poles, who were a few days later sentenced to death and hanged for alleged spying for a foreign power, was staged in order to compromise the British Ambassador, whose reports on the general election enraged the Communist rulers. At the same time, this action was intended to deter the Poles from having any contact with British and Americans, and to demonstrate the inefficiency of any intervention of the West in alleviation of the fate of Poland. This purpose was again apparent last December in the trial of Mrs. Marvnowska, a translator in the British Embassy, and of her co-defendants.

Many leaders of the Polish Peasant Party, as Baginski and Augustynski, were also sentenced to long-term imprisonment and some of them to death for alleged disclosures of the truth of the situation in Poland to foreign powers. A much publicized trial conducted along similar lines was held in Cracow. In this instance persons charged with being members of WIN, the new chief of that organization, Colonel Niepokolczycki, and certain leaders and workers of the Polish Peasant Party were

Poland in 1947

M. KUKIEL

together accused of activities in common against the security of the State and of spying for a foreign power.

Their trial lasted a month, from August 11 to September 10. Most of the defendants were kept in prison for nearly a year. They were carefully prepared for the big show on the familiar lines of Soviet trials and much was done to extort confessions and soften their attitude. One of the accused, Strzalkowski, was brought into court on a stretcher. Mierzwa, one of the 16 tried in Moscow in 1945, lost his teeth and appeared as a sick man, and was prevented from telling the court of his experiences in prison.

The prosecutor was unable to prove the Polish Peasant Party guilty either of espionage or of cooperation with the underground. Nevertheless, out of the 17 defendants eight were sentenced to death, including Colonel Niepokolczycki, former chief engineer of the Polish Home Army in charge of sabotage action against the German transport system in Poland. His services had been invaluable in handicapping German operations against the USSR. The remaining men were sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

The primary intention of this trial was, of course, to establish the guilt of the Polish Peasant Party, thus preparing the way for later liquidation of the party and trial of Mikolajczyk, whose escape frustrated their plan. The second target was the American Embassy, particularly the Ambassador, Arthur Bliss Lane, because of his protest after the fake elections. Finally, the fact that three of the accused were professors or lecturers at the Cracow and Breslau universities gave the government a pretext for starting a campaign against the universities, the freedom of which was curtailed and the professors put under severe political control.

On August 24, 1947 a conference of the chancellors of all the universities and other academic institutions was held in Warsaw "under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education." They "unanimously" passed a resolution condemning "for underground activities against the Polish State and Nation" those members of the universities who were at that time being tried in Cracow. We do not know how the resolution was extorted. In any case the Warsaw regime has succeeded where the cruel autocrat, Tsar Nicholas I, who failed in 1828 in his attempt to force the Senate of the small Polish Kingdom to condemn Polish underground leaders for high treason.

The old and strong right wing Polish political party, the National Party, has had to face a long series of trials and harsh sentences for purely political activities. The party had a fine record in the underground struggle against the Germans and suffered terrible losses at their hands. Moreover, it was always anti-German. But the

Soviets had doubts about its really being "anti-Nazi" and "democratic," and therefore the National Party had legal existence denied it. At a trial of some of its former members October 1947, the accused were sentenced for having organized a committee for helping Poles beyond the Curzon Line. Two of the defendants were sentenced to death, eight to long-term penal servitude; among them was the very eminent Polish authority on English literature, Professor Wladyslaw Tarnawski. Another trial of former members of the National Party took place in November 1947, when two more death sentences were pronounced.

The Polish Socialists have also had their share in the staged trials. While the party's rank and file is in bitter opposition to the present regime, the superimposed authorities of the party are Communist run. The real leaders are either in jail or in exile. A trial of Polish Socialists, among whom is Puzak, chairman of the Polish Underground National Council 1943-1945 and one of the Polish leaders tried in Moscow in 1945, has long been in preparation. Its purpose is intimidation and enforcement of an agreement to a definite fusion of the Socialists with the Communist Party.

At the close of the year 1947 a final show was put on in Warsaw. That was the trial of the so-called Co-ordination Committee; Colonel Lipinski (WIN), Marszewski (National Party), Obarski (Socialist) together with certain others were accused of having organized such a Committee and of having given both the British and American Ambassadors information regarding the political situation in Poland. Mrs. Marynowska, the former secretary and translator of the British Embassy mentioned earlier in this article, was among the defendants.

Lipinski and Marszewski were sentenced to death, their co-defendants received life or long term sentences (Marynowska received twelve years). These persons were condemned for trying to achieve unity among Poles in Poland, for close cooperation with the Polish Government in exile, and for attempts to establish contacts with the free nations of the West.

In addition to the great political cases there are many trials for minor offences, such as for "spreading gossip provoking political unrest." The sentences are very harsh, for example, five or six years imprisonment and confiscation of property. They aim at silencing the Polish people, at preventing them from talking about their plight, from discussing current matters and exchanging information.

This being the situation in Poland today, it seems that it is time for the free peoples of the democratic West to speak for their less fortunate brother nations of Eastern Europe.

Periview looks at "Culture"

HE SOVIET authorities' recent dictum that all the expressions of culture must be channeled into the grooves of party usefulness, and Drew Middleton's remark on "the cultural schism between Russia and the West" raise the whole question of the use and meaning of that word. We must constantly remind ourselves of its two general meanings, the one which we may call the European, sociological, and anthropological use of the term, the other, its meaning as connoting elegance and

The former designates a stage or state of civilization, as one might refer to Hottentot, Fiji, or contemporary Russian oulture. In this sense its content is a race's use of material developments, the arts and crafts; for instance, of fire, wheels, boats, houses, clothing, domesticated animals, machinery, money, writing, printing, irrigation, and of such less material developments as government, education, religion, and decoration. This is "cultural anthropology," and it includes language, the arts and crafts and social institutions. It has to do with "social heredity."

The contrast is with our American popular use of the word to indicate cultured behavior, fineness or elevation and restraint in thought, speech, taste, dress, social relations, and a certain blending of delicacy and virile strength; absence of what is rude or crude in language and conduct. To us culture is "the art of polished and

refined life," graceful living, correctness in accordance with high standards of social experience and intercourse.

Contemporary Soviet culture consists of slave labor, secret police, subjugation of all the arts to political ends and police censorship, the destruction of the middle and upper classes where the roots of real culture are always found, the reduction of society to two classes, the exploiting and the exploited, a fearful bureaucracy, and a fearing proletariat and peasantry; a reduction of these latter to the status of industrial and agricultural live-stock, like all live-stock shipped here and there at need and eventually slaughtered. "Communism" means a reducing of all things to the common, in the sense of low, wretched. and degraded.

In our happier land, though we use the word "culture" in all its scientific connotations, the meaning of the word which first leaps to our mind is that of gracious living, dignity, self-respect, broad and generous sympathies, a rich tolerance, courtesy, interest in the finest products of all the arts, and a degree of knowledge of history, politics, literature, and science; these, and a strong sense of honor, responsibility, and decorum. Those things we have found so lacking in our recent Bolshevik guests, Molotov, Vishinsky, and Gromyko, and in all the writing that comes out of contemporary Russia, and the pronouncements of its representatives in various lands.

THE WAR NOBODY WANTS

THE WORLD press, government officials. United Nations delegates, generals and all and sundry discuss the possibility of war. Scientists detail its horrors, forecasting the destruction of civilization. Yet nobody wants war. Americans do not want it; otherwise they would have reacted long ago to the insults handed them. The British shudder at the thought of war, seeing their island bombed out of its "silver sea," leaving a junk heap to mark its location. France faints at the vision of becoming both a Soviet province and a battlefield. The Eastern European nations might welcome war as their one hope of liberation from the "liberator." But Moscow wants no war-now. Why, then, does war's shadow darken the world?

Because Moscow so wills. Stalin declares that war between the "imperialist" West and the USSR is inevitable. He supported Hitler, hoping to keep the war going in the West until Europe was exhausted and he could step in and take over. Compelled in self-defense to fight Germany, he was never our ally, but took from us all he could get to fight that war and to prepare for the war to come—against the West. Stalin makes no bones about it;

he is out for world domination.

To achieve that end Moscow intends to keep the world in economic chaos, allow no peace-making. It feverishly prepares its own people and the satellite nations for war through false propaganda, inculcation of hatred toward the West, the building of a monster war machine. It integrates the industries of the satellites for the benefit of Soviet purposes and places Red Army officers in command of their Soviet-equipped armies, which, because of mutual assistance treaties, are practically sections of the Soviet army.

Russia, sure of a coming American depression, expects us to withdraw altogether from Europe. It expects America to be so softened up by its agents and organizations that when Moscow signals, the American "masses" will rise and follow. It does not believe we will go to war. If we would, why, they reason, have we continually retreated? Why have we not used the atom bomb while we have the advantage? They are convinced that our humanitarians, instigated by Moscow's agents, will never permit the atom bomb to be used.

The present international situation is similar to that of 1938 and 1939, when nations clung to neutrality—that they might be picked off one by one. They would not unite and say, "We will oppose with force the first intimation of aggression." Had there been such a union. had America joined Britain and France and said, "You can't do that," there would have been no war in 1939. But every nation waited its turn for attack, and for a time the aggressor seemed to have the world in his pocket.

The emotional situation in the USSR today is similar to what it was in Nazi Germany in those days. And therein, perhaps, lies the gravest danger. The Stalinreared crew, inflated with self-praise, impressed by their be-medalled chests, contemptuous of Western achieve-ments, may try Western patience once too often and overplay their hands.

The Russian people have been made to believe that the Soviet Union is in all things supreme-in armament, production, science, culture; that the Red Army is unconquerable. We know how little truth there is in that. So does Stalin. And in that, possibly, lies the hope of avoiding "the war nobody wants." If we would now plainly tell Russia to withdraw to its September 1, 1939 frontiers or face the consequences, there is a chance that the advice would be heeded. If not, Stalin unprepared would have to fight and lose the war he expects later to fight and win. But Stalin is credited with being more shrewd than Hitler, who gambled and lost.

6

OBSERVATIONS

By PERIVIEW

O AMERICANS fully realize that in the USSR today there exists a system of human slavery that makes the dark picture of Negro slavery in the U.S.A. before 1861 look like a labor utopia? And do our American Negroes realize this? Of course Paul Robeson does not, but he is a singer of poetry.

"Russia über Alles." Another great state tried that a few years ago and where and what is it now? And who gave it the who done it? Moscows papers please copy.

Do you remember Charles Morgan, the English novelist who 25 years ago wrote "The Fountain?" The other day I read a line of his, written during World War II, which I want to pass on to you. "Proofs reach us in increasing strength that in France, in Scandinavia, in all the occupied territories, desire for the reintegration of a free Europe is burning and effective." Those same fires burn in Eastern Europe today. We must feed them, give them something to live on.

Here is another good sentence from Mr. Morgan. "It (totalitarianism) consists in the destruction of all values but one—the value of power; the annihilation of all private virtues but one—the virtue of obedience; the poisoning of all reason and all faith that may act as a corrective to a single fanatical exaltation."

Gen. Victor Grosz, of the Polish puppet government in Warsaw, who is not a military man, whose real name is not Grosz, and who is not a Pole, is much peeved by our "Voice of America," which now penetrates far into Poland and the Poles, and tells them a whole lot of things they want to know. Grosz's peeve indicates the large measure of our success with said "Voice." Touche, General. Thanks for letting us know we hit a sensitive spot. He wants us to talk about affairs in America and not in Poland. We will take his tip in reverse.

Oscar Lange, the bird that renounced his acquired American citizenship so as to help betray the land of his birth, Poland, into the hands of Russia and get a fat job as puppet ambassador to the United States, is again back in America, this time as the puppet representative in UNESCO. All the puppets who can, secure jobs outside Poland and no wonder. We shall not welcome him here, but give him the cold shoulder, though preferring to give him the hot foot. He is very much, as Irvin Cobb once said, persona au gratin.

Well, Oscar has discovered that the Marshall Plan springs from political motives and considerations, and, Russia prompted, has accused us of this at a meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. He further said that the idea of such a policy was to create a new balance of power in Europe. Now that was real clever of Oscar to discover that. It leads us to hope he may discover the political significance of the Bill of Rights and of its meaning for Europe. Lange is a very obedient puppet. The Russians have him right by the tail and swing him about as they wish. But that discovery of the purpose of the Marshall Plan! We will have to give Oscar an Oscar for that.

There is a great deal of evidence to indicate that Russia is definitely pushing the puppet government in Warsaw to do and say things that will provoke America into an anti-Polish attitude and destroy America's sympathy for the Polish people. But our peopla must remember that these provocative acts are not the acts of the Polish people, nor indeed, even of the puppet government, which would like good relations with the U.S.A. so as to get loans and concessions. They are the acts of Russia, and we will not co-operate in their evil objective, the turning of America against the Poles.

Let us take two sentences from the 105th Psalm and make one of them. "The iron entered into his soul, until the time came that his cause was known." For over eight years the iron has entered into the soul of the Pole, and no one cared for his cause. Now at last it seems about to

gain a hearing from the civilized world, and his claims to justice appear about to be heard. May great and able advocates arise who will be able to move the conscience of the world as regards Poland and release powerful springs of action.

One of the sad results of the present situation in Poland is the fact that uninformed Americans, some of them of great influence, are getting the impression that the Poles are Communists and that the government in Warsaw is a Polish government. Both these are great errors. Not 5% of the people of Poland are Communists. The government in Warsaw is Russian imposed, and largely composed not of Poles. The only legal government of Poland is the constitutional government in exile in London. It should be re-recognized as such by America and Great Britain.

Several years ago, say in 1943, I was one of the few Americans who had the temerity to pan Russia, saying they were useful fighters against Germany but not really our allies and in fact fundamentally our enemies. Today this is recognized by most everyone and is being stated in high quarters, Governor Dewey of New York and Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain among them. Attlee pans Communism as "an inverted czarism" which has "turned its back on civilization."

Two of our foremost contemporary American historians are Allen Nevins and H. S. Commager. Here are a few sentences from their "Pocket History of the United States." "But Wilson realized, as did F. D. Roosevelt a generation later, how fatal were the consequences that might follow an acquiescence in lawlessness or a recognition of the fruits of violence." But alas, just these two things we must now lay at F. D. R.'s door, or on his grave one should say. Now follow some noble words of Wilson when he asked for a declaration of war against Germany, April 6, 1917. On page 446.

"But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for unviersal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have." But in 1948! Ah me, will we?

Here is an awful lie from the very lips of Bierut, the puppet president of Poland. He is speaking of today. "For the first time in the history of Poland did the millions of her people know the dignity of real citizenship, the dignity of being masters in their own land." What brazen effrontery! What hypocrisy! What impudence! What a lie! He states exactly the things which all know are not true. It takes a special kind of immoral crust to make such statements as Bierut there utters. He closed his speech thus: "Ours is the task of building a just and happy Poland." (Sic!) It is, in fact, a land of misery, persecution, injustice, secret police, and exploitation of workers and peasants. And Bierut leads in this vile enterprise, backed by Russian armed force.

"Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1944. The Department of State." That is the official title given the American Government's publication in which it presents these historic documents to our nation and to the world. Not "German-Russian Relations," but "Nazi-Soviet Relations," thus bracketing together and equating as cognates these two bodies, the Nazis and the Soviets. I agree with this joint classification, though, knowing each from long personal observation, I consider this a little hard on the Nazis. Now pursue this parallelism by the Department of State a little farther, into the future. The Nazis are gone: discredited, despised, destroyed. Humph. It's a pleasant reflection and outlook.

Russia, in reply, has at this date itself published documents which it thinks relevant. Probably others will follow as soon as they can be written by such experts in journalistic fiction as Ilya Ehrenburg.

HOW BAKUNIN FORESAW REVOLUTION IN PRAGUE, 1848

From "The Origins of Modern Russia" by Jan Kucharzewski

Michael Bakunin, a Russian revolutionary working for a time with Marx and Engels, born 1814, died 1876. The following extract from the recently published book of Professor Jan Kucharzewski "The Origin of Modern Russia" published by The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, New York, N. Y., shows the importance of Prague in the world revolutionary movement in 1848 and is therefore of special interest at the present time.

IN HIS Confession Bakunin reports in an interesting way how, during the events of 1848, he imagined a desirable form of government in the future system that was to arise on the ruins of the existing one.

"I wanted a republic"—he wrote—"but what kind of a republic? Not a parliamentary one.

"I believe that in Russia, more than anywhere else, a strong dictatorial power will be indispensable, which would solely concern itself with raising the standard and the education of the peasant masses, a power free as to its direction and spirit, but without parliamentary rights, with the printing of books expressing ideas of freedom, but without freedom of the press, surrounded by unanimous people, hallowed by their council (soviet), strengthened by their free activity, but unlimited by anything or anybody." The difference between such a dictatorship and a monarchy lies in the fact that this dictatorship is temporary, because its goal is the "freedom, independence and the gradual maturity of the people." while the monarchy tends to permanence.

Indeed, in his plans Bakunin anticipates the spirit, nature and phraseology of the Soviet regime.

Disappointed by what he saw in Germany, and having lost faith in the French revolution, Bakunin now placed his hope in the revolutionary movement of the Slavs. After the failure of the Polish insurrectionist attempts, after the April defeat of the Cracow movement and the fall of the rising in Poznania in the first half of May, Bakunin in turn directed his attention to Bohemia. He left for Prague at the end of May because, as says in his Confession, he hoped to find there the Archimedes' point for his plans. He took an active part in the Slavonic Congress opened in June by Palacky. Bakunin felt that "a Slavonic heart awoke in him." However, he soon became disappointed in the Congress, at which particularly the numerically preponderant Czechs were very cool to Bakunin's revolutionary enthusiasm. "Again I felt sad and I began to feel in Prague equally isolated as I used to be formerly in Paris and in Germany." After street riots in Prague, on June 12, the city was for two days bombarded by Windischgraetz. Bakunin left Prague and we see him again in Cologne, Wrocław and Berlin. At that time the Russian government followed Bakunin's steps with vigilant attention. At the demand of the Russian legation he was finally expelled from Berlin in September. He went to Wrocław, but the Prussian government expelled him also from there and threatened him with extradition to Russia. He tried to stay in Dresden. but also the Saxon government, in deference to the request of the Russian legation, expelled him from its territory. Bakunin settled in Cöthen, where the government of the Anhalt duchy tolerated his stay. There

Bakunin developed conspiratorial activity, and established connections with German democrats who were preparing a general German rising in the spring of 1849. Nor did he lose sight of the problem of a Slavonic revolution and wrote his appeal to the Slavs. At the end of 1848 he moved to Leipzig together with a few German friends who revealed to him their revolutionary preparations. In Leipzig he published, in German, his appeal to the Slavs, established connections with Czech students, won them for the idea of stirring up a revolution in Bohemia and used them as emissaries who helped him to enter into relations with revolutionary Czech elements in Prague. Bakunin dreamed of a great peasant war and believed that in Bohemia it would still be easier than in Germany to start such a war. Speaking with the young Czech patriots about the liberation of Bohemia and of the whole Slavonic world, Bakunin did not reveal to them his ultimate aims. However, he wrote of them to Herwegh and expounded them in detail in his Confession. His Czech friends would have been probably dumbfounded if they had known what Bakunin's Slavonic heart, that was awakened in Prague, envisaged for Bohemia. In his Confession Bakunin, enraptured by the spell of his memories and his pride as a revolutionary, transmits to posterity interesting avowals of his Czech plans. He admits that he placed his hope not so much in the inhabitants of the cities as in the Czech and German peasants. In 1848 feudalism still existed in Bohemia in the full sense of the word and the situation of the peasants was extremely hard. It would have been easy to start a peasant rising which would have no doubt embraced the neighboring countries.

"In Bohemia"—writes Bakunin—"I wanted a decisive radical revolution, in a word one which, even if it were later defeated, would have managed to overthrow and turn upside-down everything, so that after victory the Austrian government would not find anything in its old place. Availing myself of the favorable circumstances that the whole nobility in Bohemia and, in general, the whole class of the landowners is exclusively composed of Germans, I wanted to expel the whole nobility, the whole hostile clergy and, after confiscating without any exception all landed estates, I wanted to distribute a part of them among the landless peasants to incite them to revolution, and use a part of them as a source of extraordinary revolutionary income. I wanted to destroy all castles, to burn all files in all of Bohemia without exception, all administrative, legal and government papers and documents and proclaim as paid all mortgages as well as all other debts not surpassing a certain sum, for instance 1,000 or 2,000 guldens. In a word, the revolution, planned by me, was terrible, unprecedented, though it was directed more against things than against people. Indeed, it would overthrow everything in such a way, it would so deeply penetrate the blood and life of the people, that the Austrian government, even if it were victorious, would never be able to eradicate it, it would not know what to do, it would not be able either to gather or even to find the remnants of the old order destroyed forever. and would never be able to reach an agreement with the Czech nation. Such a revolution, not limited to one nationality, would by its example and by its red-hot propaganda attract not only Moravia and Austrian

Silesia, but also Prussian Silesia, and in general all adjacent German territories, so that the German revolution which so far was a revolution of cities, townspeople, factory workers, writers and lawyers, would become a national revolution.

"But my plans did not end at that, I wanted to transform all Bohemia into a revolutionary camp, to create there a force capable not only of defending the revolution in the country itself, but also of offensive action beyond Bohemia . . . In this way the revolution was to embrace a large area rich in resources, whose center would be Prague. A revolutionary government with unlimited dictatorial power should sit in Prague. The nobility and the whole recalcitrant clergy would be expelled, the Austrian administration completely crushed, all officials removed and only some of the principal, more skilful ones, would be maintained in Prague for consultation and as a library for statistical information. All clubs, newspapers, and all manifestations of talkative anarchy were to abolished, all submitted to one dictatorial power. The youth and all fit men, divided into categories according to the character, ability and inclination of each of them, would be sent throughout the country to give it a provisional revolutionary and military organizations. The peasant masses were to be divided into two parts, some armed with what is on hand, would remain at home to defend the new order and would be used for guerrilla warfare, if such would occur. Young men, all men without property and capable of carrying arms, factory workers and unemployed artisans, as well as a considerable part of the educated bourgeois youth would create a regular army."

Agitating among the Czechs in favor of starting a rising, Bakunin showed them that aspect of the matter which would appeal to their national interest and ambition: getting rid of the German nobility, shattering Austria, making Red Prague the capital and the center of the revolution that would overflow the neighboring countries. He was very clever in finding the chords which should be struck in an ally to win him over for one's plans. He became acquainted with the excessive Czech ambitions at the Slavonic Congress. "The Czech Party was not content with the general domination of the Slavonic element in the Austrian Empire," he wrote about the plans of the participants of the Congress. "It wanted to create for itself a kind of Czech hegemony and establish among the Slavs the domination of Czech politicians. They obviously met with the strong resistance of the Slovaks, Silesians and above all the Poles." "The Czechs were concerned with their own ambitious plans" —he writes about the Congress in another place. He decided to utilize these ambitions for his plan. Actually, Bakunin was as far from the idea of allotting the Czechs forever a leading role in the future free Slavonic Federation, as he was far from assigning such a role to Poland, when in turn, he would see the Archimedeanpoint for a universal revolution in the brewing Polish rising of 1863. Bakunin's design was always the same in that respect. "My main object was to find in the united Slavs a point of departure for a broad revolutionary propaganda in Russia. In the Slavonic Union I saw a larger homeland in which, if only Russia would join it, the Poles and the Czechs would yield her the first place." Red Prague was

only a stage to Red Moscow or, as Bakunin sometimes foresaw, to Red Tsargrad (Constantinople) as the capital of free Slavs federated under the aegis of Russia. He admits that he was thinking of one Slavonic state and in order to round it out he incorporated in it the Hungarians, Rumanians, and Greeks. "I hoped — he writes in his Confession — that in this way a free Eastern State would be created and that its capital would be Constantinople."

With the help of a Czech from Prague, Dr. Arnold, who came to Leipzig, Bakunin intended to establish, first in Prague and then in the whole of Bohemia, a secret revolutionary organization. It was to be composed of three groups independent of each other and having no knowledge about themselves: one for the townspeople, the other for the youth, and the third for the peasants. Each of these societies was to be adapted in its action to the character of the environment in which it was to agitate. Each was to be submitted to a "severe hierarchy and absolute discipline." These three societies were to be jointly directed by a secret central committee composed of three, and at most, of five persons. Bakunin and his right hand man for Bohemia, Arnold, were of course, to be members of that committee. In case of the success of the revolution that secret society was by no means to be liquidated, on the contrary, it was to be strengthened and expanded and place its men in the offices of the revolutionary hierarchy.

This was the Czech-Slavonic conspiracy whose watchword was to be the liberation of Bohemia and of the whole Slavonic world.

Bakunin's emissaries went to Bohemia, while the instigator himself remained in Leipzig. Impatiently awaiting decisive news from Prague, Bakunin soon reached the conclusion that his friends were acting too slowly, and in the early Spring of 1849 he went to Prague himself. There he found that matters were not in an advanced stage and that the ultimate goals of the revolution should be kept a complete secret. "I seem to have frightened them with the impetuousness of some expressions which I blurted out." Bakunin saw that it would not be politically advisable to make the Prague democrats know that, for him, their movement was only one of the instruments of his great plan. "I found that by leaving a large scope for their amibitions and yielding to them all external attributes of power I would without difficulty be able to seize real power, when the revolution started."

After a short stay in Prague Bakunin returned to Germany. This time he chose Dresden as his headquarters and supervised from there the preparations in Prague. However, the outbreak did not occur there, but in Dresden.

He regarded the outbreak of the Dresden rising as the signal to the universal revolution which he so feverishly expected in the preceding months. Although, according to his plan, Prague was to be the place of the outbreak and the center of the rising, as far as a universal revolution was concerned, a geographical error in his own anticipations was of no importance to him, and he who was preparing a Slavonic revolution enthusiastically welcomed the Saxon revolution.

Ann Su Cardwell's Letter.

No. 179, March 1, 1948

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

HE SITUATION IN GREECE, which we undertook to remedy nearly a year ago, has undergone little change. The Soviet-and-satellite-backed guerrillas continue their game of emerging from beyond the protection of Yugoslav and Albanian frontiers to attack, lay waste villages, and seize "recurits" and then retire again within the safety of those same frontiers. The United Nations Commission remains helpless, and will as long as the Soviet Union has any say in the matter. But there is at least one positive result to show for the year of indecisive struggle in the Greek area; that is, that political reconstruction, stability and security must pre-cede economic reconstruction. America may not recognize that fact with any pleasure, but it already knows that to leave Greece to the USSR is something it cannot do without letting down another tremendously important barrier to Soviet domination of Europe—and the world. If that means American military aid to Greece we shall find ourselves sending it.

"We sing the Marseillaise" is the caption of an interesting report on France occurring in a recent issue of Polska Walczaca (London). After discussing what is seen in the movie houses, the writer says, "There is no doubt whatever about it: the Communists have lost not only materially but psychologically. And what is most important and most interesting, it is not only the Communists

but Russia that has lost.

"Go to the cafe Saturday evening. A large place in Lille. A French middle class family is celebrating Saturday with a bottle of Dubonnet. Typical, proverbial everyday people"... The orchestra plays, a singer gives selections popular 25 years ago—Russian songs. A voice calls out sharply, "Garcon, assez, Garcon!" (Waiter, enough!) The father in our group has aroused from his drowsing and drums on the table with a coin, while he loudly repeats, "We are in France. Enough! We want no Russians here. We are in France. Waiter! The company pays its bill, leaves half-filled glasses on the table, and departs. That was not a manifestation against Communism; it was anti-Russian. . . .

"Communist posters are torn down. Before it was other posters that were so treated . . . One of the papers carried an article to the effect that 'Leclerc broke the strike,' . . . 'for his death roused the national conscience.' You may put that in a more frank way by saying that for several days everybody had to listen to the 'Marseillaise.' That is not cynicism. That is only a certain reaction, occurring at a critical moment." And in the movie houses again it is the "Marseillaise" that rouses the Frenchman, though he may sit through a showing of a film of German overlordship of France without betraying the least interest—until the end is reached and Frenchmen in the film reply to the German "Wacht am Rhein" with the "Marseillaise." Then, "At the first notes of the national anthem there is a murmur throughout the house, a murmur of enthusiasm . . . a decided, unambiguous reaction . . ." To quote a French humorist, "The situation is tragic but not serious," and should not be as long as the French people sing their challenging national air.

Czechoslovakia is now being made to toe the Communist line. Benes and Masaryk, among the first of the men of the West to laud Moscow and pay their respects to Stalin, were of the opinion that they could work with

both East and West. Had they been statesmen of the calibre with which they were credited by most Americans, they would have known how utterly impossible that was. Enough persons had tried to work with the Kremlin and failed to supply proof for the assertion that cooperation with Communists is unattainable; that in the end the would-be cooperators must take Communist dictation. The Czechs, in their fear of the Germans, have surrendered themselves to the control of a government with which they have nothing in the world in common. And what they have endured under German domination will be as nothing to what they will suffer under the Soviets—until the day arrives when together with all the other nations of Central and Eastern Europe they are liberated from their bondage by that West from which they turned in 1941.

Benes, though a politician, and a not too scrupulous one at that, must now realize that he made a colossal mistake when he did not fight Hitler in 1938. Had Czechoslovakia fought, France and Britain would have had to go to its side; and the war trials have brought out evidence showing that even had the West attacked the Germans in 1939 when Poland, made its stand the

Germans would have lost the war.

A second and equally colossal mistake was made by Benes when, having escaped the Germans, and become the leader of Czechs in exile, he elected to play Stalin's game and returned to Czechoslovakia, taking the members of his entourage with him. Had a Czech government remained in exile, how different the European situation might be! What his return actually amounted to was the placing of the Czechs and their country at the service of Moscow. Benes is not an evil man, and as he looks back over what he has done for his country and his people his reflections cannot be very pleasant. He must have known for some time past that Moscow was getting ready to put an end to even the semi-independence Czechs were enjoying, so that—shall we say?—the Russian people could be told that there is no longer any danger of the Soviet Union being encircled by Czechoslovakia.

Prague has been the scene of another conference, this time a conference of the Foreign Ministers of Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia to discuss the German problem, in other words to cook up all the argument they could against the Marshall Plan. The fact that a declaration was made on the announcement of the meeting that the USSR had nothing to do with calling it, is sufficient evidence that Moscow did order it, with Poland's puppets the cat's paw. The satellite governments will naturally be the screen behind which Moscow will do a lot of acting during the coming months. As for satellite fears of what the Marshall Plan and the Western nations will do for Germany, fears are just as great and as well-founded regarding what Moscow will be willing to do to win German cooperation. Stalin is on record as having said that there is nothing permanent about Germany's eastern frontiers.

Rumania has passed completely under Communist control. The last pretense of independent action was given up when the Socialists fused with the Communists as the Workers Party. The Polish Socialists are travelling the road that will lead to a similar fusion in Poland. The

political leaders in Hungary have been visiting in Moscow-probably a command visit-during which the signing of a 20-year cooperation and mutual assistance pact between the USSR and Hungary was announced. But it is believed that this was only part of the occasion of the visit, especially as practically all the key men in the Hungarian cabinet were included in the group. A very important event is scheduled for Hungary on March 6th, the convention of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. Moscow knows the necessity of its stooges keeping the upper hand in Hungary, and to do that the Social Democrats must be kept within bounds until they can be absorbed. So the Communists are called to Moscow to get detailed instructions and orders on handling of the situation. Just as the Polish puppets and the Czechs have to journey to pay their respects to Stalin from time to time.

A further word about those pacts of "cooperation and mutual assistance." Every one of the satellites is now pretty well tied to every other and to the Soviet Unionmilitarily and economically. And in these days when Soviet spokesmen are outdoing each other in fulfilling Stalin's orders to insult and provoke America, it might be well to note Art. 4 in the pact between the Soviet Union and Poland, which is typical of the agreements on this point with all other satellites. It says that "should one of the high contracting parties be drawn, in the postwar period, into military operations against Germany in the event of Germany's renewing her aggressive policy, or against any state acting in concert with Germany directly or in any other way," the other party to the pact would be under obligation to render military assistance. And along with that, place the assertion of Bulganin, Soviet Deputy Premier, Minister of the Armed Forces, on Soviet Army Day, February 22, to the effect that the Soviet Union must always be prepared for war. Against whom are these military pacts being concluded?

The Lithuanians, according to reports brought out of the Baltics by escaping Estonian seamen, were at first believed by the Communists to be the most friendly disposed toward them of all the Baltic peoples. They had this impression because of the stubborn Lithuanian resistance to the Germans when the latter took over in 1941. The Bolsheviks were not long in finding out, however, that their first impression was not to be trusted; that they were hated by the Lithuanians just as they were hated by all other peoples who have fallen under Bolshevik domination. "The Lithuanian woods are full

of guerrillas. . .

Europeans competent to speak on the matter have time and again warned us that there cannot be a divided Europe. One of the latest warnings comes in an article by Dr. Kazimierz Papee, in which he states flatly that Europe is one of two things-a Europe one and indivisible in its traditions and culture or the battlefield on which two opposite worlds will engage in a struggle of life and death, a struggle that cannot in the end be avoided. If the West is to win in that struggle, it must have the support of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe—nations that the West has betrayed—and to get that support blunders made by men either ignorant of or ignoring the lessons of history must be rectified. Dr. Papee further declares that those peoples are waiting for the West "to knock at their door," that this is something we will find ourselves obliged to do, and that Eastern Europe, wise through the school of terrible experience, will then lay down its own conditions.

To write of Poland is to chronicle the progress of sovietization in that country. The merger of the Socialists with the Workers (Communist) Party draws nearer. It is asserted on excellent authority that the five leading members of the Socialist Politburo, organized Jan. 12, 1948, are Communist stooges. Oscar Lange, first the

puppets' ambassador to this country and now their delegate to UNESCO, is one of them. It has been useful so far for the Kremlin to have a so-called Polish Socialist party. The day approaches when all pretense of permitting political thinking at variance with Moscow will be thrown aside, and Poland will become a one-party state. That is, on the surface. The underground could reveal a different story.

The regime and the Catholic clergy have announced their respective positions, and the struggle of the one to reduce the Church to impotence and of the other to hold its place in the life of the people is on. Following the usual Communist procedure, the regime is using every possible underhand, indirect means, in addition to placing obstacles in the way of the clergy carrying out their normal functions. Since the puppets control the school system, the radio, the press, the trade unions, most of the youth organizations, and have their spies everywhere,

they naturally have the advantage.

A compulsory savings law is now in effect. Every person with an income of 20,000 zlotys a month must deposit 2% of it each month in a bank, the percent rising with the salary. The pseudo-Polish economists figure that by the end of this year the sum thus deposited will amount to 20 billions. It is explained that this is not a tax; but that explanation is received with reservations by the people. And while speaking of this, it may be well to remind readers that 20,000 zlotys a month is far below the amount necessary to support a family, and that taxes and "contributions" have to come out of that.

The vilification of America and Britain continues.

The vilification of America and Britain continues. The "Polish" press is outdoing Moscow in condemning America. But the best indication of what the people think of us is the fact that between 200 and 300 of them are escaping each month from a land they no longer consider their Poland and entering the American and British occupation zones in Germany. A report that came in a few days ago states that "some 40.000 political refugees from Poland, who crossed the border recently, are in Germany..." Recall similar reports of Hungarians fleeing to Austria, of Baltic citizens escaping to Sweden or Germany, of the thousands of deserters from the Soviet Army, of Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, and Rumanians, and Bulgarians—and you will get an idea of the popularity of the "liberation" the Soviets take to the nations they dominate.

Moscow knows that it must win youth in the lands where it would establish permanent Soviet control. In Poland the "Militant Youth" organization is one of its instruments used toward that end. This organization had a great rally Dec. 6, 1947, at which Gomulka was one of the speakers. One sentence from his speech indicates how much stress the regime puts on youth training: "The nation will be what we bring up our young people to be." Note the "we." It is the regime that will do

the educating

What the spirit of that training is comes out in a message sent by the Soviet youth body. Komsomol, on that occasion. It is too long to quote in full but here are excerpts: ". . . We know that the freedom-loving youth of Poland is taking an active part in consolidating the People's Democracy, and that it is energetically fighting the agents of Anglo-American imperialism, passionate foes of the Polish nation . . Today, when war mongers from the imperialist camp directed by the U.S.A. and Britain try to deprive the brotherly nations of the freedom and independence won in the fight against Fascism, we . . . should unite all the forces of progressive youth . . . Long live and develop the lasting friendship of Soviet youth and the democratic youth of the new Poland! Long live the leader of all progressive mankind, beloved teacher of Soviet youth, genius-commander, and best friend of the Polish nation, mighty STALIN!"

A SCOT BEARS WITNESS

By JOHN F. STEWART, F.R.S.G.S.,

Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom

HAVE been honored by being asked to write this Foreword; I have no particular claim to the honor, as I am no writer. But I happen to have had intimate relations with Estonia and the other two Baltic Republics for a number of years up to the outbreak of war. I was at the head of an organization contacting all three, and I paid visits once or twice a year of varying periods, and was in a position to observe closely their progress or otherwise. . . .

I think that no better picture of what Estonia was when free can be given than by the experience of a well known American Socialist writer in the early days of World War II. Mrs. Washbourne was convinced of the superiority of her brand of Socialism, and decided to visit Europe to have her views confirmed. She looked on Fascism, Nazism and Communism as something of variants of her own creed, with a very distinct leaning to Communism. She visited Italy, France and Germany (America was not then in the war) and was bitterly disappointed in all three, but she went on to Russia, where she was sure she would find her ideal. She did not, she found Russia a tyranny so unlike Socialism that she could not bring herself to remain till the expiration of her visa. She wished to shake the dust of Europe off her feet and to get home at once to "God's country" but found that the quickest way was by way of a place called Tallinn, which she had never heard of . . . and, in a few days she had to spare she was so much struck with the apparent happiness and prosperity of the people that she determined to come back and spend a few months in Estonia. She did so and had her earlier impressions confirmed.

When Mrs. Washbourne left America on her first visit, she laid down seven conditions which had to be fulfilled to realize her idea of a happy country, and she expected to find them in the countries she had visited. These conditions were, 1) Plenty of Food; 2) Shelter, including Houses and Clothing; 3) Occupation at high enough wages to buy all necessary things; 4) Education; 5) Good Health; 6) Love and Family; 7) Freedom of Expression. She found little enough of any of them till she arrived in Estonia.

With all my heart I can agree with Mrs. Washbourne. After World War I, Estonia started from scratch. She had had her country devastated and her people murdered indiscrimately by both Germans and Russians; after the World War ended she had to fight both German and Bolshevik Russians before she could free the country from aliens and settle down to reconstruction and to redeem her scorched earth. . . .

My own knowledge (of that achievement) is gained by having lived and worked among the people. Long before Russia's invasion of Estonia a campaign had been started in the London press to undermine her independence. With now so many years' experience of Moscow-directed infiltration and bribery, no honest thinker can doubt the source of the press' inspiration. One supposedly influential journal stated categorically that Estonia was too small to stand alone, and that, financially, she could not meet her necessary debts and must collapse sooner or

*The Foreword to "Technique of Economic Sovietization." a volume in the "East and West" series published by the Baltic groups in Stockholm.

later. Contacting with Estonia as I did, I knew that her financial position was completely sound, and that her credit throughout the world was second to none. . . .

Not only did industry flourish, but music, the arts, science, medicine, surgery, social amelioration, health services, the prosperous condition of the farmers and peasants—Estonia was behind no country in the world and far ahead of most. So far from being an insignificant country to deride, she was a country for all others to emulate.

As for comparison with Soviet Russia which has murdered or deported her people and destroyed her admirable economic structure and industry, no comparison is possible. As it happens, shortly before my first visit to the Baltic States I had, in the course of my work, travelled through thousands of miles of Soviet Russia, staying several times in Moscow and other large cities and living for months at a time in scores of Russian villages with

peasants for varying periods.

There was no class in Estonia to compare with the luxury-loving autocrats who tyrannise over the unfortunate people of Soviet Russia. There was nothing in Russia to equal the Estonian farmer and peasant. In Russia, at the best, the workers was not an individual with any freedom of his own, but a mere cog in the industrial wheel which could be taken out and put into an industrial wheel thousands of miles away. The food of the worker in Russia was rationed on a scale that barely kept life in him; in Free Estonia food was abundant, varied and within reach of every purse. In Estonia the shops were full of every conceivable variety of goods, all within everyone's reach. In Russia it was often impossible to buy anything at all, even from the scanty supplies in the all-Government shops. When I left Moscow for the first stage of my long tour through Russia I was unable to buy a quarter of a pound of tea in all that great city, although I ranged every shop supposed to sell it. This was typical. So far from comparing Russia with Estonia, there could be no greater contrast imagined.

But, above and beyond all this was the contrast in the spiritual atmosphere of the two countries. In Estonia, prosperity, freedom, joy of living, the exercise of all human rights. In Russia, sordid misery, suspicion, fear, oppression, the slave camps, the terrible NKVD knock at the door at three o'clock in the morning and the sum-

mons to come, never to return to loved ones.

No country in the world less deserved the terrible fate that has overtaken Estonia and the other Baltic States. What their fate meant was unknown to our people—propaganda had so cleverly prepared the ground. And during the war, the press, with one or two honorable exceptions, concealed the truth and praised Russia to the skies. The truth is slowly leaking out and opinion is beginning to change. Russia's machinations in our own country are becoming exposed, but their consequences are still imperfectly realized. Unless Russia and her Fifth Columns are checked in their drive to dominate the world, our own country will at no distant date find herself in the same position as Estonia. Russia's method in that Republic—brutal force—will not be used, but insidious disintegration from within will.

(Please turn to page 15)

EXHIBIT OF CONTEMPORARY POLISH PAINTING

By DR. IRENA PIOTROWSKA

N EXHIBIT of contemporary Polish painting under the title "Polish Art Today," organized by the Association of Polish Artists, whose membership includes all artists in Poland, has been opened in the Kosciuszko Foundation House in New York City. In August of 1947 a circular letter informed the artists that arrangements had been made for the exhibit and in November a committee of artists selected the paintings. These were brought to the United States in January

by Mrs. Jozefa Wnuk, one of the exhibiting artists.

The paintings were chosen from the work of artists who create "art for art's sake." The exhibit is timely. for we have much wished to know what the artists in Poland are doing, to what extent they have been able to rise above the sordidness, often the cruelty of reality; whether the recent years have left their marks or if creative genius has come unscathed out of the war and occupation period; and what effect the loss of 258 Polish

artists has had on art in Poland.

We are deeply moved to discover among the exhibitors the work of painters well known in prewar days-Jan Cybis, Zygmunt Radnicki, Leon Dolzycki, Zenon Kononowicz, Emil Krcha, and many others. During Poland's twenty years of independence all of these belonged to groups that inculcated a love of color. This was a trend that met opposition from other groups. In the 1920's a group taking its guiding principles from peasant art, and another, known as the Brotherhood of St. Luke, seeking inspiration in past centuries, were decidedly the most influential of all groups. Yet in 1924 there came into being what was known as the Paris Committee, artists generally referred to as "K. P.," the initial letters of the Polish words, or as "Kapists," whose purpose was to establish the closest possible contacts with Parisian art life. The pioneer in this movement was the greatest of Polish colorists, Jozef Pankiewicz, whose death occurred at an advanced age in Paris some years ago. In his Paris studio, in the Louvre, and at current exhibitions, the members of the "Paris Committee" developed into artists of sound culture, colorists of a high order. About 1930 one after another of these artists returned to Poland and began the spread of their artistic convictions among their colleagues, among whom there were many who, while not belonging to the "Paris Committee," had for years been particularly interested in color harmonies. At first these Polish colorists enjoyed the approval of only a handful of art lovers, but in the last years before the war their influence was greatly widening, to such an extent that preceding the outbreak of war Polish art was dominated by color. The present exhibit bears witness that color continues to be the dominant.

Contemporary Polish painting, then, is an unbroken continuation of prewar Polish painting. The only change that has taken place is this—the artists who in earlier years struggled for the right of their art to exist, today

are the leaders attracting the younger painters.

The war, therefore, has not interfered with the development of Polish painting. The pictures on the walls of the Kosciuszko Foundation House tell us nothing of the terrible events, the frightful living conditions, the many and painful disillusionments in Poland. For here "art for art's sake" has carried the artists beyond daily affairs into the world of ideals, in this instance the world of beautiful colors and forms.

The Polish insurrections of the 19th century were directly reflected in Polish art, not in oil paintings but



TULIPS, watercolor by Jan Cybis.

in drawings and sketches, chiefly those of Arthur Grottger, who, unable to take part in the insurrections because of ill health, lived and worked in Vienna. His Polish drawings, therefore, were the creations of his imagination. The oil paintings of the 19th century insurrection scenes, which we see in American art collections, were not painted by eve-witnesses but by artists living in a later period, very often living abroad. Artists who witnessed those insurrections painted pictures of Poland in the past, pictures of a general nature, and landscapes.

So contemporary Polish artists do not paint war and occupation scenes, of which they were witnesses, but seek to attain beautiful colors and lines in their work. chiefly with flowers and landscape subjects. Their painting, like that of contemporary American and French war veterans, has nothing to do with reality. There are, to be sure, numerous drawings and a lesser number of pictures of Polish war and occupation scenes, but most of them are by Zdzisław Czermanski, who did them after leaving Poland, some of them in New York

A most interesting thing about the exhibit is that it shows that art in Poland is not an isolated manisfestation but a part of the whole Polish art trend, whether in Poland, Great Britain, or Italy, wherever there are Polish art centers today. In London and in Rome the problem of color dominates in the Polish studios. Former members of the "Paris Committee" are leaders in each of these centers; in London, Tadeusz Potworowski; in Rome, Jozef Jarema. These artists remain faithful to

(Please turn to page 15)

POLISH SOURCES TO THE HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II

A S EARLY as November, 1939, the Polish Government, then in Angers, France, published a "White Book" which contained some of the most important diplomatic dispatches from its ambassadors in Berlin and Moscow and thus revealed the background of the German and Soviet aggressions. Ever since the cessation of hostilities, Polish statesmen, generals and diplomats have been publishing a steady stream of memoirs, closely packed with excerpts from officials minutes and despatches, while a number of publicists have written comments and tentative historical papers, or compiled available documents and other evidence bearing on the events of 1939-45. In addition pre-war Polish policy has been searchingly examined in a number of publications.

Of the memoirs perhaps the most important so far are those of M. Jan Ciechanowski, Polish Ambassador in Washington from March, 1941, to July, 1945, published last year by Macmillan in New York under the title, "Defeat in Victory." This book gives a very accurate record of the conversations which the Ambassador had with President Roosevelt and the State Department. It is written vividly and is a first-hand account of an important eye-witness, which no scholar can afford to ignore.

A number of other Polish Ambassadors are writing their memoirs, too, but so far they have published only short articles. Thus M. Lipski, Polish Ambassador in Germany, 1933-39, has published two important papers in the Polish Review of International Affairs (London), Nos. 3 and 4 for 1947, in which he gave a thorough analysis of Polish-German relations in the crucial years 1938-39. Count Raczyński, Polish Ambassador in London from 1934 to 1945, contributed another paper to the same review on the history of the Anglo-Polish alliance of 1939; this paper is to be published shortly in English. M. Łukasiewicz, Polish Ambassador in Paris 1936-39, has published a series of articles in the Polish Daily, London, dealing with the various negotiations he conducted with the French Government; these articles are excerpts from his memoirs which he hopes shortly to complete. M. Tytus Komarnicki, a former Polish Delegate to the League of Nations, has also written a substantial review of the negotiations between the Polish and the Czech governments in exile in London with a view to establishing a union after the war, and analysed the reasons for their ultimate failure; so far this important paper has not appeared in English. M. Sokolnicki, Polish Ambassador in Turkey, since 1936, has just published in Paris a book of reminiscences, so far not yet translated; and the Diary

of the late Count Szembek, Polish Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1932-39, a highly truthful and interesting account, is about to be published both in Polish and French.

Polish military leaders have been somewhat less prolific than their diplomatic colleagues; the lamented General Sikorski left of course nothing at all at the time of his tragic death, but General Anders is shortly publishing a bulky volume of war-memoirs, which will appear simultaneously in Polish, English, French and Spanish, while General Bór-Komorowski, the leader of the Warsaw Rising will print shortly a history of that gallant though tragic page of the war, in the U. S., excerpts from it have already appeared in the Reader's Digest. Gen. Szyszko-Bohusz who commanded a corps under General Anders has also vividly recounted his campaigns in books so far published only in Polish.

Of Polish statesmen, the former vice-premier M. Jan Kwapiński, has published a short but pleasant volume of memoirs; two Polish Ministers of Information have set to themselves more ambitious aims: Professor Pragier has written extensively about Polish war and peace aims (his book has been translated in almost every language), while Professor Stroński has published a number of pamphlets in English in which he commented on a number of topics such as the Curzon Line, the Iron Curtain, the Atlantic Charter, etc. The late Colonel Matuszewski, who died in 1946, wrote shortly before his untimely death a concise and terse pamphlet in English, "Great Britain's obligations to Poland under the Anglo-Polish Treaty of Alliance of 1939," which bears all the hallmarks of that singularly acute and brilliant mind.

Various sets of documents have been published by independent research workers; among them two volumes on Polish-Russian relations by Colonel Umiastowski (in English); another publication on the Katyú massacres is about to appear, yet another one deals with the tragic history of the Polish Home Army and its finale, the Warsaw Rising, etc.

M. Mikołajczyk is now publishing serialized memoirs in the Hearst Press in America, while M. St. Mackiewicz, one of the most combative Polish publicists, has written a number of violent diatribes both against M. Mikołajczyk and Colonel Beck, his book on Beck has been printed in English. And the output is still very far from being dried up.

(From "Polish Fortnightly" London.)

"THIS WORLD WILL NEVER BE FREE UNTIL POLAND IS FREE ONCE MORE"

(Continued from page 3)

found it hideously cruel. But when the Germans retreated and the Russians took over, the Poles found the Communists so ruthless that they cried "Give us back the Nazis again."

I have no time now to speak of what many Americans, including our ambassador to Poland, Arthur Bliss Lane, have called "the betrayal of Poland." It is one of the

blackest deeds in our history.

Few Americans realize how much we contributed to the Russian tyranny that keeps Poland once more under the heel of a merciless tyrant. We helped the imposition of the Communist government of Poland, that mockery of a government. We recognized it. We admitted it to a vote in the United Nations.

That is our shame, but history may one day give us the chance to redeem our honor and Poland's freedom.

If we cannot now give help and hope to the brave Poles, let us at least give them the honor they have so wonderfully deserved.

In this last war we called Russia our ally, but she would never give us a share in her plans, never allow our representatives to enter her boundaries even when they brought her six billion dollars' worth of munitions. She merely fought against the same enemy while we were helpful to her.

But the free Poles were our real allies. An American aviator who flew with the R.A.F. when it saved England from Hitler and Stalin, told me that the thousands of Polish aviators were the finest in the world. When the war ended there was an army of 140,000 Poles left in Italy. They dared not return to their beloved country because they would have been put to death by the Communists who have already butchered countless thousands of Poles and now hold millions of them in the most inhuman slavery.

Knowing something of what Poland has done for the world and what fate has done to Poland, I find her situation today the most heartbreaking thing on earth. Knowing as I do so many Poles so well, I can say in all sincerity there are no people on earth whom I hold in higher honor.

This world will never be really free and its highest duty will be unfulfilled until Poland is free once more.

A SCOT BEARS WITNESS

(Continued from page 12)

My opinion as to the remedy is my own. But I hope it will be increasingly shared till my hope is realized.
Russia's actions in the United Nations and in every

Russia's actions in the United Nations and in every country in the world since we saved her, have shown her intention not to cooperate with civilized countries in restoring peace and prosperity to a distracted world, but to

cause further chaos. I do not see any possibility of the spiritual and material restoration of the world till Russia is completely checkmated. And to do this it seems to me that it is vitally necessary that she should, by some means or other, be returned within all the frontiers she has violated since 1938.

EXHIBIT OF CONTEMPORARY POLISH PAINTING

(Continued from page 13)

their prewar artistic convictions, despite their active service in Polish fighting abroad and association with various foreign art movements. Their art is as removed from reality as that of the painters in Poland and only sketches and drawings present war scenes.

The fact that Polish artists at home and abroad show the same trend is proof that Polish art is developing according to its own law, following a line that is manifest generally in the art world, to which historians of art have given the name "will of art." The present Polish exhibit provides evidence that the "will of art" in its relation to Polish art has not been broken, despite war horrors and occupation servitude; that its development

was not checked by the enormous loss suffered in population and so in talent; and what is of first importance, it proves that in Poland or elsewhere in the world Polish art is one. That always, without reference to conditions of work, it produces masterpieces. Notable among the items of the present exhibit are: "Two Vases," by Emil Krcha; "Poppies," by Zygmunt Radnicki; "Tulips" and "Fruit and Vegetables," by Jan Cybis; "A Podolian Village," by Leon Dolzycki; "Field Flowers," by Romuald Kononowicz; "Apples and Flowers," by Zenon Kononowicz; the Napoleonic themes of Wladyslaw Goscimski, the drawings of Stanislaw Borysowski, Henry Stazewski and Ludwik Tyrowicz, and the abstract paintings of Maria Jarema.

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